

The MacArthur Asia Security Initiative

2010 ANNUAL MEETING

July 7-9, 2010

The Westin Chosun, Seoul

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The East Asia Institute

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presents

MacArthur Foundation Asia Security Initiative (MASI) 2010 Annual Meeting

July 7-9, 2010

Westin Chosun, Seoul, Korea

The second Annual Meeting of the MacArthur Foundation Asia Security Initiative comes at a time of great change and ascendency in East Asia. The Global Financial Crisis in 2008 caused numerous difficulties in the region as well as in the global economy, and brought about meaningful changes in international political orders and global governance system. The growing importance of the G-20 meetings and China's economic and political significance underscore the need for new solutions in this rapidly changing world. As power shifts increasingly toward Asia, new difficulties emerge and historical conflicts persist. The rise of China, the North Korean nuclear threat, energy security, environmental issues, and terrorism remain as the region's major challenges to future progress. Although East Asia lacks multilateral and regional cooperation relative to other regions, the emergence of such supranational problems in the region encourages more and more approaches and discourses for the East Asian community.

This Annual Meeting for the MASI network seeks to address the two issues of "Post-Crisis Global and Regional Order" and the "East Asian Community." Throughout the meeting, two research groups will each focus on one issue, drawing up insights and policy recommendations that will be published in a conference report afterwards. In this way, the 2010 Annual Meeting provides opportunities for inter-cluster and cross-cluster collaborations, laying down the foundations for a strengthened network in Asia.

In the Post-Crisis world, the East Asia region is taking the lead in economic recovery while playing crucial roles in nuclear non-proliferation and climate change. Although the United States is no longer as dominant in Asia, it still plays an important role through its alliances with Japan and South Korea, as well as its strategic partnerships with China and India. As President Barack Obama remarked, the United States and Asia are not divided by the Pacific but rather bounded by it. In this post-crisis global order, middle powers like

Australia, Indonesia, and South Korea will play stronger roles, while rising powers like China and India will take on new regional and global responsibilities.

It is clear that the role of Asia is now more profound than ever before, but the future of the East Asian Community remains uncertain. Therefore, enhancing regional cooperation remains as the main challenge to overcome inherited suspicion and lasting mistrust. While issues such as the *Cheonan* incident reveal differences in the Asian states' approaches toward North Korea, their unity in implementing sanctions against Pyongyang in the wake of its nuclear test in May 2009 implies a growing effort in security cooperation. On the economic front, the signing of the India-ASEAN Free Trade Agreement demonstrates increasing cooperation in other important areas. The next stage will be to transform these contacts into a wider and deeper cooperative network. At the same time, questions need to be addressed on the identity, scope, and purpose of a regional community.

The challenges for the region are so complex and vast that they often involve more than one country. In this new order, nations can no longer tackle problems unilaterally. Issues such as the North Korea nuclear crisis and water security in the Himalayan River Basin require comprehensive solutions through close cooperation with involved parties and related countries. Therefore, this meeting provides a venue for discussion and sharing of ideas on how the Asia region will shape in the Post-Crisis era internationally, regionally, and internally. Freed of the bipolar divisions of the Cold War and no longer in a unipolar world dominated by the United States, Asia is now in a stronger position to frame its future.

MacArthur Foundation Asia Security Initiative 2010 Annual Meeting

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Agenda

July 7 Wednesday

All day Arrival of overseas participants

18:30~20:00 Reception / Dinner _Lilac & Tulip & Cosmos Room, F2

July 8 Thursday

Preliminary Session _Grand Ballroom A, F1

09:00~09:10 Welcoming Speech: Sook-Jong Lee, President of East Asia Institute

09:10~09:40 Keynote Speech: Changyong Rhee, Secretary General of the Presidential Committee for the G20 Summit

09:40~10:00 Coffee Break

10:00~12:00 **Session I. Group Discussion**

Group 1: "Post-Crisis Global and Regional Order" _Grand Ballroom B, F1

Moderator: Young-Sun Ha, Seoul National University

Memo#1: "Changing Global Governance after the Economic Crisis, and the Future of G20 Summit"

Presenter: John Ravenhill, Australian National University

Memo#2: "Post-Crisis Asian Order: Beyond American Unipolarity?"

Presenter: Jae Ho Chung, Seoul National University

Group 2: "East Asian Community" _Grand Ballroom C, F1

Moderator: Feng Zhu, Center for International & Strategic Studies

Memo#3: "Past and Present of East Asian Community"

Presenter: Nikola Mirilovic, George Washington University

Memo#4: "Different Views from Different Countries: Challenges to East

Asian Community"

Presenter: Tiehlin Yen, National Chengchi University

12:00~14:00 Luncheon _Grand Ballroom A, F1

14:00~15:20 **Session II. Cluster Discussion**

Cluster 1 Meeting _Grand Ballroom B, F1

Moderator: Feng Zhu, Center for International & Strategic Studies

Cluster 2 Meeting _Grand Ballroom C, F1

Moderator: Chaesung Chun, East Asia Institute

Cluster 3 Meeting _Cara Room, F3

Moderator: Mely Caballero-Anthony, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies

15:20~15:40 Coffee Break

15:40~17:40 **Session III. Group Discussion**

Group 1: "Post-Crisis Global and Regional Order" _Grand Ballroom B, F1

Moderator: Mely Caballero-Anthony, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies

Memo#5: "Post-Crisis and Post-Modern?: New Issues in Global and Regional Governance (Climate Changes and Environmental Cooperation)"

Presenter: Meredith Miller, National Bureau of Asian Research

Memo#6: "Towards a New Asian Order: Solving Traditional and Non-Traditional Security Issues"

Presenter: T.J. Pempel, University of California, Berkeley

Group 2: "East Asian Community" _Grand Ballroom C, F1

Moderator: Tadashi Yamamoto, Japan Center for International Exchange

Memo#7: "Issues for and against the Community: Security, Economy, Energy, and Human Security Issues"

Presenter: David F. von Hippel, Nautilus Institute

Memo#8: "We-ness for Asians: Identity Politics and Building East Asian Community"

Presenter: Brad Glosserman, Pacific Forum Center for Strategic & International Studies

18:30~20:00 Dinner _Grand Ballroom A, F1
Speech: Jin Park, Assemblyman, Grand National Party

July 9 Friday

Session IV. Closing Session _Orchid, F2

Concluding Speech
09:30~09:50 Qingguo Jia, Center for International & Strategic Studies
09:50~10:10 Mely Caballero-Anthony, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies
10:10~10:30 Chaesung Chun, East Asia Institute

10:30~11:00 Q & A

12:00~14:00 Luncheon _Lilac & Tulip & Cosmos Room, F2
Speech: Walter L. Sharp, Commander of ROK-US Combined Forces Command
14:00 Farewell Speech: Sook-Jong Lee, East Asia Institute

The MacArthur Asia Security Initiative 2010 Annual Meeting Outline

1) Purpose of the Meeting: The 2010 Annual Meeting will be organized to meet the following three key objectives: improvement of the MASI network by bringing together core and partner institutions from all three clusters, provision of a venue to discuss and exchange ideas on the major issues in the Asia region, and possibly production of a policy report based upon the findings and conclusions of the meeting.

The 2010 Annual Meeting will be focused on developing the network and exchanging information between grantees towards the goal of developing an epistemic community.

2) Format of the Annual Meeting

Day1 (July 8) 10:00~12:00 Session I	Group 1, Memo #1 & #2 "Post-Crisis Global and Regional Order"		Group2, Memo #3 & #4 "East Asian Community"
Day1 14:00~15:20 Session II	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3
Day1 15:40~17:40 Session III	Group 1, Memo #5 & #6 "Post-Crisis Global and Regional Order"		Group2, Memo #7 & #8 "East Asian Community"
Day2 (July 9) 09:30~11:00 Session IV	Closing Session		

The aim of Session II is to enhance the network within each cluster. Each cluster will discuss issues among themselves bringing together the grantees according to their clusters. The core institutions of each cluster will then lead discussions within their respective cluster.

The EAI plans to hold a roundtable discussion on the major issues of the Asian region in order to achieve the second and third objectives mentioned above. The topics entitled, "Post-Crisis Global and Regional Order" and "East Asian Community," are very timely issues and cover all three clusters' research areas. Considering the effectiveness of the roundtable discussion format, the participants will divide into two research groups: Group 1 and Group 2 (15-20 people per group). The two groups will have roundtable discussions during Session I and Session III. To facilitate the discussion, each group will have a speaker in each session and he/she will present talking points and draw up an agenda. The findings and conclusions from these two sessions will be presented by each group in Session IV on

Day 2. Following each group's presentation, an open discussion will follow with all participants.

3) Agenda: There will be two topics for the Annual Meeting. The first topic, "Post-Crisis Global and Regional Order," will look at the impact of the Post-Crisis World with newly emerging powers, particularly China and a declining yet still important United States. The second topic, "East Asian Community," will focus upon developing a community in a region that is becoming vastly more important in a changing and more complex world order. Please refer to [4\) Memo Presentation](#) for specifics of agenda for each session.

4) Memo Presentation: In order to stimulate discussion, specific questions will be answered by presenters for each Memo presentation.

Memo#1. Changing Global Governance after the Economic Crisis, and the Future of G20 Summit

- How is the global economic crisis defined? (e.g. scope of impacts on different regions, depth of issues, etc)
- What issues are included in the post-crisis agenda? To what extent does this newly emerging global governance have impacts on non-economic areas, particularly in security, political, social, and cultural realms?
- How will the G20 in the post-crisis era fundamentally differ from the G8? What are the current status and future prospects for the G20?
- What are the expectations and assessments of role of the G20?

Memo#2. Post-Crisis Asian Order: Beyond American Unipolarity?

- To what extent the global economic crisis has affected the East Asian economic order? Did it change the relative power distribution between East Asia and non-Asian regions? What are the perceptions on the rise of Asia?
- Is it politically correct to say that the United States is declining and China is rapidly rising in terms of relative power? How much of the G2 rhetoric is realistic?
- How is the crisis likely to change the East Asian order in both security and non-security issues?

Memo#3. Past and Present of East Asian Community

- What efforts have been made toward establishing an East Asian Community and how does each state evaluate these efforts ? successes or failures?
- What are the catalysts and obstacles for multilateral cooperation in East Asia

when compared to multilateralism in other regions?

Memo#4. Different Views from Different Countries: Challenges to East Asian Community

- Is multilateral cooperation considered a top priority in foreign policy agenda in Asia? How significant is the idea of an East Asian Community in national agenda?
- What are the different strategies of regional powers in building an East Asian Community? How does each state differentiate its relative strength in East Asian multilateral cooperation compared to that of other regional powers?

Memo#5. Post-Crisis and Post-Modern?: New Issues in Global and Regional Governance (Climate Changes and Environmental Cooperation)

- Has the crisis changed existing perceptions on traditional security issues? Has the awareness of transnational security issues increased?
- What are the non-traditional security issues that have newly emerged in East Asia? Is the framework for bilateral or multilateral cooperation changing accordingly?
- What can be learned from the comparison of multilateral frameworks in Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia?

Memo#6. Towards a New Asian Order: Solving Traditional and Non-Traditional Security Issues

- What kind of effort is needed for strengthening multilateral cooperation in a changed environment after the crisis?
- Is there any proper strategy to coordinate or connect different perceptions (or strategic plans) of an individual state on Asian multilateralism?
- Through which analytical tools and policy considerations can we effectively address both traditional and non-traditional security concerns?

Memo#7. Issues for and against the Community: Security, Economy, Energy, and Human Security Issues

- What issues can foster multilateral cooperation in East Asia? How are these issues interlinked and prioritized?
- What can be learned from our past experiences ? both successes and failures ? to build an East Asian Community? What can be suggested for future development of an East Asian Community?

Memo#8. We-ness for Asians: Identity Politics and Building East Asian Community

- Are there any specific factors that either encourage or hinder multilateral cooperation in East Asia? What are the root causes of these factors?
- How do we define the linkage between nationalism in East Asia and regional identity? Is there any desirable form of nationalism that can contribute toward establishing shared regional identity?
- What will be the feasible plans that can greatly strengthen collective identity in East Asia?

Memo#1

Changing Global Governance after the Economic Crisis, and the Future of G20 Summit

The G-20: Prospects and Challenges

John Ravenhill

Australian National University*

The G-20 came to prominence with the staging of its first summit meeting in Washington in 2008, and with its leaders' declaration at the third summit in Pittsburgh in 2009 that the G-20 would henceforth be the "premier forum for international economic cooperation".¹⁾ The elevation of the G-20 to summit status was a recognition that global problems could not be resolved without the participation of the rising powers; it also was an acknowledgement of the creative contribution that "middle powers" can make to global diplomacy.

The G-20 grouping has played a significant role in mitigating the worst effects of the global financial crisis through its coordination of its members' expansionary macro-economic policies. It has driven reform of voting rights within the international financial institutions, has increased the resources available to the International Monetary Fund, and directed the Fund to focus on expansionary policies and precautionary lending in response to the recession. It has also energized regulatory reform in the global financial regime through the Financial Stability Board.

These achievements notwithstanding, the G-20 will have to overcome a number of challenges if it is to make a successful transition from a role of "crisis committee" to one of "steering committee". Effectiveness and legitimacy are intertwined in these challenges. Among the principal issues:

Membership: The G-20 is a self-selected group. It has been criticized by some for being too small (unrepresentative) and by others as too large (unworkable).

- Unrepresentative: Europe is widely-perceived to be over-represented (France, Germany, Italy and the UK enjoy individual representation; in

* Memo for the MacArthur Foundation's Asia Security Initiative meeting, Seoul, July 2010.

1) The grouping had come into being in December 1999 as a meeting of finance ministers and central bank governors of "systemically significant" countries to address problems in the financial system that the Asian financial crises had exposed.

addition the rotating presidency of the European Council represents the European Union [EU]).²⁾ There is considerable resentment in some regions that only their largest economies are members, and concern that these economies are not and should not be perceived to be their “representatives”. And other regional groupings take exception to the privileged position enjoyed by the EU.

- Unworkable: Others have expressed concern that the G-20 meeting (which also includes World Bank and IMF leaders, ex officio) is already too large for effective and efficient decision-making. Because governments that host the G-20 meeting can also invite other countries as observers? status accorded the Netherlands and Spain in previous summits? the numbers around the G-20 table may expand still further.

There are evident trade-offs between representation (and thus legitimacy) and effectiveness.

Related to the issue of membership is the question of the:

Relationship with the G-7/8: In proclaiming that the G-20 was the “premier forum for international economic cooperation”, leaders were assumed to be declaring that the old G7/G8 was obsolete. In the period since the Pittsburgh summit, however, it is by no means clear that such assumptions were correct. The G-7 finance ministers’ meeting, for instance, issued a statement on the Greek debt crisis before their G-20 counterpart.

Some members of the G-8 clearly fear that their influence will be diluted within the broader G-20 grouping. Some prefer the narrower grouping because it excludes their regional rivals.

The Canadian government, in hosting both the G-20 and G-8 summits in 2010, defined the agenda for the G-20 meeting narrowly while assigning a broader range of issues to the G-8 meeting, suggesting again that some countries believe that the G-8 will continue to co-exist with the G-20 in the foreseeable future.

Concern that the G-20 is already/will become too large a grouping for effective negotiations has led to suggestions that the key grouping for governing the global economy should not be the G-20 but the G8+5. This informal arrangement involving the G-8 plus the five leading emerging economies (Brazil, China, India, Mexico, and South Africa) came into being at the Gleneagles G-8 summit in 2005.³⁾

Agenda: Path-dependence, compounded by the pressing requirement to address

the problems of the global financial crisis, has determined the G-20 agenda to date: the reform and strengthening of the global financial system. In contrast, the G-8, although also beginning with a focus on managing the global financial system, soon moved to other economic issues such as development (including debt reduction) and cooperation on energy, and subsequently to a wide variety of non-economic issues including nuclear safety and security, terrorism and other security vulnerabilities, environmental issues, transnational crime, and good governance. The broadening of the G-8 agenda was reflected in the proliferation of ministerial meetings: to the original finance ministers’ meetings were added ministerial meetings in the fields of agriculture, crime, development, education, employment and labour, energy, environment, foreign affairs, justice, science and technology, and trade.

The interconnectedness of issues makes it impossible to isolate financial stability from some of the other dimensions of the agenda that the G-8 has embarked upon. But some question the suitability of the G-20 as a forum for negotiating complex issues such as climate change or trade liberalization, as opposed to a body that can help set agendas. The G-20 itself is unlikely to ever move beyond “soft law” and peer pressure: it will depend on other institutions for developing enforceable commitments.

Again, questions about the representativeness of the group are salient here. There is also a risk that the G-20 process either will simply mirror the cleavages evident in the Doha Round negotiations and at the Copenhagen Climate Change Conference (some fear the “UNCTADization” of the G-20), or that the outcome of its meetings will be the rhetorical and ritualistic statements of support for the WTO, for instance, that APEC meetings generate.

Moreover, the G-20 lacks supporting institutions outside of the area of finance, and has yet to develop the panoply of ministerial meetings that back up the G-8 (or, indeed, APEC). In turn, this issue raises questions of:

Institutionalization, Administration and Accountability: The G-20 process

2) If size of GDP was the criterion for G-20 membership then Europe would actually be under-represented. World Bank data for GDP for 2008 (expressed in dollars at current exchange rates) indicate that Spain, the Netherlands, Poland and Belgium join the four individual EU members of the G-20 in the world’s 20 largest economies.

3) In the following year, a G-8+5 Climate Change Dialogue was launched. At the 33rd G-8 summit in Heiligendamm, the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, proposed a permanent dialogue between G-8 and the Plus Five: later that year, French President Nicolas Sarkozy suggested that the “Plus Five” should become permanent members of the G-8.

relies entirely on member states for administrative support, each country being responsible for providing “sherpas” for various working groups. The advantage of this approach is that it avoids the expense of a centralized bureaucracy, minimizes concerns over loss of sovereignty, and gives each member state a sense of “ownership” of at least part of the agenda. The G7/8 has operated without a secretariat since its inception. The approach is very much in accord with that of most Asian regional or transregional institutions. The risks, however, of operating without a centralized secretariat that has some responsibility for agenda setting and for monitoring members’ implementation of their commitments is seen in APEC where the institution meanders from one agenda to another, depending on the enthusiasm of the country hosting the annual leaders’ meeting, often without any follow up.

Accountability problems have been a problem for the G-8 as well as for APEC. Member states have expressed disappointment, for instance, at the failure to implement agreements such as those on debt relief reached at the Gleneagles summit. APEC’s experience again points to the desirability of having independent review mechanisms such as those of the WTO’s Trade Policy Review process.

Engagement with Civil Society: Finally, again linking back to questions of legitimacy, is the issue of engagement with civil society. The G-20 has yet to develop mechanisms for effective engagement with stakeholders, including the business community.

Memo #2 Post-Crisis Asian Order: Beyond American Unipolarity?

Jae Ho Chung
Seoul National University

While it has further highlighted the rise of China and Beijing’s due place in the international system, the global economic crisis has not done so much to downgrade the United States in international politics and economics. Its relative decline has long been forewarned and is progressing only very slowly. America’s global role is still very much appreciated in different corners of the globe.

What it really did was to underline the cacophony between the two titans, Washington and Beijing, on a wide range of global and regional issues. That state of affairs puts the efficacy of G-2 in doubt and may possibly raise expectation for a system of global management that includes more responsible players.

While the rise of G-2 is still an open-ended question on a global scale, it is already a reality in much of the politics in East Asia. US-China relations, therefore, are the most crucial variable of inter-state dynamics in the region. The end of America’s unipolar moment was foreseen even before the crisis hit the region. The key question concerns: what next? Several scenarios are available from the field:

- A. The “middle” Kingdom or “muddle” kingdom scenarios
- B. Building of a Neo-Sinocentric order
- C. Outright confrontation scenarios (ideational versus structural)
- D. Mixed Cooperation and Contention

Under what circumstances and when would G-2 become a reality for the region? And how do we know that when it really happens? Is there something that Asia can do collectively to minimize the adverse impact of a confrontational G-2 structure?

Memo #3

Past and Present of the East Asian Community

Nikola Mirilovic
The Sigur Center for Asian Studies, The George Washington University

The subject of this memo is regional integration in East Asia in the form of regional intergovernmental organizations. Particularly notable such organizations are the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the ASEAN + 3, the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), and Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). The memo focuses on the post-Cold War period. It defines East Asia broadly, so as to include both Northeast and Southeast Asia. The memo compares regionalism in East Asia with that in Europe and it identifies the key catalysts and obstacles to further community building in East Asia.

Regional integration in Western Europe had begun earlier and has developed further than regional integration in East Asia. The European Union (EU) countries have removed many barriers between their economies, adopted a single currency, created many legally binding regulations on the European level, and established permanent European-level political institutions. By contrast, with the partial exception of ASEAN, regional cooperation in Asia tends not to be formalized. Instead, it tends to take the form of regular meetings and informal links.

Key catalysts of regional integration in East Asia include the following. First, crossnational economic links in East Asia have grown, arguably creating the need for regulations at an international level. Second, regionalization in Asia is in part a response to the creation of regional blocs elsewhere, most notably the EU and NAFTA. Third, the Asian financial crisis of 1997, and the perceived failure of the existing institutions to adequately address it, provided an impetus for alternative institutions. Fourth, the end of the cold war weakened traditional alliances in East Asia and elsewhere. This allowed for a degree of integration between former rivals. The end of the cold war also led to new uncertainties. In particular, uncertainty over the future intentions of the United States in the region has encouraged regional integration either as a means of keeping the US involved in the region or as a foundation of an alternative regional intergovernmental structure should the US withdraw from the region in the future.

Key obstacles to further integration in East Asia include the following. First, legacies of World War II continue to be a source of distrust and hostility. This dynamic is particularly

problematic in the relations between Japan and China and South Korea, respectively. Second, legacies of colonial rule partly account for the particular emphasis placed in Asia on issues of sovereignty and territorial integrity. Consequently, East Asian states are reluctant to formally limit their sovereignty. Third, East Asia is characterized by regime type variation, with some states being authoritarian while others are democracies. By contrast, the fact that all the member states are democracies facilitates regional integration in Western Europe. Fourth, there is disagreement over the question of membership. Most notably, some states (most notably Japan) would prefer for integration to occur along Asia-Pacific lines and to include the US, Australia and/or India. Other states (most notably China) favor an emphasis on East Asia and a more limited geographic scope for regional institutions. Fifth, there are disagreements over institutional design and voting rules. Smaller states seek to be overrepresented in decision making mechanisms, while larger states seek to ensure a leadership role for themselves.

Memo #4

Different Views from Different Countries: Challenges to East Asian Community

Taiwan's New Security Concept

Tiehlin Yen

Institute for International Relations, National Chengchi University

Engaging directly with the threat

Ever since President Ma's inauguration in May 2008, the cross-strait relations have been greatly improved. Both sides of Taiwan Strait have since signed 11 agreements regarding trade, financial, and tourism. And a framework agreement (Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement) to regulate the trade between both sides of Taiwan Strait, is about to be signed soon. All the efforts that contributed to this desirable and favorable situation were derived from President Ma's engaging China Policy.

Assuring peace and stability

In his speech to a group of senior military officers, President Ma asked the military prepare itself, in addition to defend against aggression, to support the cross-strait dialogue. At the same time, he also stressed he would make sure that there would be no war in next 4 years during his watch. By saying that, he urged the military to beef up the readiness to deter any aggression. He also implied that he would aggressively engage China in order to maintain peace and security in this region. In hindsight, this policy works.

Assuring allies and friends

Early this year, President Ma indicated, during one of his regular interview with foreign media, that Taiwan military is desperate in need of F-16 C/D fighters and urging that the United States would make the decision to sell the long awaited fighters to Taiwan in the earliest possible future. Additionally, he also expressed that Taiwan has no intention to involve the United States to fight China for Taiwan, which was believed what he meant was: with sufficient defense capability, Taiwan would be more confident to engage China, especially the future dialogue on cross-strait confidence building measures, the more exchanges between both sides of Taiwan Strait would ensure more stable and more peaceful environment. Hence, the war in the strait can be avoided, and there would be no need for regional powers, like the U.S. or Japan worry too much of getting involved should

there is a crisis.

IIR's engaging initiative

We believe the cross-strait issue can only be solved only after people on both sides of Taiwan Strait understand each other better. Therefore, we are taking advantage of the current government's policy and the booming academic exchanges, to put both sides PhD students together in the same classroom, and have them to draft a plan for the future cross-strait exchange mechanism, which would be peaceful stable and irreversible. The first such seminar between students of both sides will be in the end of July. Then we will see how it goes, and continue to improve it and hopefully to institutionalize this seminar.

Memo#5

Post-Crisis and Post-Modern?: New Issues in Global and Regional Governance (Climate Changes and Environmental Cooperation)

Meredith Miller

National Bureau of Asian Research

The recent financial crisis and continuing global economic downturn have reinforced East Asian views on economic security prevailing since at least the 1997 Asian Financial crisis. Both crises demonstrated that existing systems of global and regional governance cannot fully guarantee economic security. Like the 1997 crisis, the recent economic crisis has spurred closer regional cooperation through mechanisms like the Asian Bond Market and Chiang Mai Initiative.

Historically, economic security has been the focal point for cooperation in East Asia, allowing parties to sidestep thornier security issues. This foundation has led to deeper cooperation on non-traditional security issues in recent decades. Plans are proceeding towards establishing the ASEAN Plus Three Emergency Rice Reserve, a “ice bank” system along similar lines as the Chiang Mai Initiative, with individual countries maintaining rice reserves as well as currency reserves. Additionally, there has been increased communication and coordination in tracking shipping and new collective efforts on disaster relief and disease control.

Climate change and environmental degradation will clearly impact both the economic and security spheres and demand a multilateral response. Climate change will, for example, jeopardize freshwater availability, threaten fisheries and endanger both crop and marine productivity. In the long-term, climate change could create a scramble for resources and may transform economics and trade from a center of cooperation to an arena of antagonism.

For example, India and Bangladesh share more than 140 common water systems, many of which originate in the Tibetan plateau, where the glaciers are shrinking at an alarming rate. India and Bangladesh are not the only countries that will be trying to divert scarce water to their citizens: the Register of International Rivers reports that 87% of the water generated from the 25 largest rivers in the world crosses international boundaries, thus compounding the challenges to political cooperation. For crop and marine productivity, the effects may be no less dramatic.

Given these trends:

- What developments are most likely to spur cooperative activities on non-traditional security issues in the coming decades? Which events or trends might lead to friction between states?
- What multilateral institutions or organizations are most capable of meeting challenges today? What type of institution or organization, if any, is needed to fill the gaps not currently met by existing regional or international entities?
- Are these challenges best met at the sub-regional level? For example through efforts like the Coral Triangle initiative and the Greater Mekong Initiative?

Memo#6

Towards a New Asian Order: Solving Traditional and Non-Traditional Security Issues

T.J. Pempel
UC Berkeley

The US continues to be the world's most powerful single country both in absolute GDP and in the size and relative dominance of its military machine. Its soft power attractiveness declined dramatically during the Bush years and stumbled further as a result of the continuing wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and the American economic crisis that began in 2008. But under Obama's re-embrace of multilateralism and diplomacy along with explicit outreach efforts to Asia, the overall image of the US has improved in most of Asia.

Asia can no longer be pictured as simply a passive subsystem of broader global power arrangements. Asia's economic and political weights have grown considerably. Today Asia (including India) is the regional dynamo of the world economy, accounting for 35 percent of world GDP compared to only 20 percent for the US and 20 percent for the EU respectively. Asia's contribution to world growth was about 50 percent vs. 18 percent for the US and about 12 percent for the EU. Asia also accounts for about 27 percent of the share of global exports and nearly 40 percent of global foreign exchange reserves.

Regional production networks and cross border trade, increasingly fostered by formal preferential trade and investment agreements splice together what were once highly nationalistic economies and turning much of Asia into a far more harmoniously integrated 'factory to the world.'

Greater financial integration has proceeded steadily since the crisis of 1997-98. This is most notable in the deepening and multilateralization of the Chiang Mai initiative, in regional bond market expansion, through foreign entry into once closed Asian banking and insurance sectors, in enhanced financial transparency, and with deeper financial cooperation from the more sophisticated financial sectors to those still in early development.

Asian regional cooperation has taken on a more formal institutional character. The ASEAN Regional Charter has expanded and institutionalized the longstanding ties among the Southeast Asian ten. The APEC forum, the ASEAN Regional Forum, the ASEAN plus Three, and the East Asia Summit all demonstrate enhanced efforts to formalize mechanisms for intra-Asian and Asia-Pacific cooperation. And within Northeast Asia, the

up-and-down Six Party Talks must still be acknowledged as a major step toward security cooperation; the talks have knitted together five potential security competitors (China, Japan, Russia, South Korea and the United States) in a 'concert of powers' that is trying to deal with the commonly perceived challenge posed by a nuclear North Korea. And finally the leaders of China, Japan and Korea (the 'plus three' of the APT) have institutionalized their annual meetings, thus creating a regularized summit to address trilateral issues in a variety of functional areas.

Significant regional cooperation is occurring through both institutionalized and ad hoc arrangements in a host of non-traditional security areas such as disease prevention, human trafficking, interdiction of drugs and pirates, environmental protection, natural disasters, and migration.

The central lesson is that a New Asian Order is being forged, one in which Asian cooperation, however ad hoc and grudging it may appear at times, is both more evident and more effective. The end result is that Asia cumulatively is gaining an enhanced capacity to deal with intra-regional problems, and simultaneously to command greater world attention.

Memo #7

Issues for and against the Community: Security, Economy, Energy, and Human Security Issues

David F. von Hippel

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Bound together by geography, the nations of East Asia have nonetheless on occasion been referred to as an “anti-region” A history of conflicts and conquests, some relatively recent or ongoing, and some going back many centuries, have created durable divisions and have made cooperation between East Asian states the exception, rather than the rule. Policy choices by actors outside the region, most notably the United States, have affected regional cooperation as well. Still, present global circumstances offer East Asian countries many good reasons and opportunities to cooperate to improve their own and regional security in a variety of areas. In the energy sector, for example, cooperation on shared infrastructure to move oil, gas, and electricity extracted from the vast resources of the Russian Far East to the demand centers of the Republic of Korea, China, and Japan has been discussed for many years. Coordination to improve energy efficiency, spur the uptake of renewable energy systems, and disseminate other “green” technologies regionwide could couple technologies from Japan and the ROK (with China up-and-coming) with markets, factories, and renewable resources in developing East Asia, allowing the latter to “leapfrog” existing technologies to a more efficient, less-polluting future, thereby benefiting themselves and, by reducing greenhouse gas emissions, all nations. Regional transboundary air pollution — including acid precipitation and photochemical smog — is another area where regional cooperation is in the best interests of many nations. Here exports of clean technologies from nations to the east not only help to reduce pollutant loads in nations to the west, but reduce their own (downwind) air pollution problems. Cooperation on nuclear energy and the nuclear fuel cycle has been discussed among the countries of the region for many years. East Asia is home to both major vendors of nuclear technologies and the world’s major future markets for nuclear power, and all nations have a considerable stake in making sure that expansion of nuclear power occurs without the proliferation of nuclear weapons technologies. Relatedly, the key international security concern in East Asia is arguably the peaceful disposition of the North Korean nuclear weapons program, which requires cooperation from all of the countries of Northeast Asia, and countries beyond as well, to address a complex tangle of military, energy, economic, environmental, and human

security issues. Economic cooperation and trade in East Asia, at least on a bilateral basis, has boomed in recent years between many countries, with support from governments but substantially motivated by private and state-owned businesses. East Asia is home to countries with very different political systems and cultural traditions, which have made true cooperation on human security issues, including treatment of refugees, ethnic conflicts, and economic migrants, a challenge.

Given this vast (and the list here is hardly comprehensive) range of issues, what approaches can help to foster coordinated action by an East Asian Community? Are there specific issues that should be focused upon first, either because they are central to the solution of other problems, are the most tractable, or are the most critical? What can we learn from cooperation efforts that have thus far been largely successful — such as the Northwest Pacific Action Plan cooperation on marine issues — and what can we learn from the history of East Asian cooperation efforts, such as the Tumen River Area Development Project (now the Greater Tumen Initiative), that thus far have made limited headway? Does cooperation uniformly yield positive results, or are there sometimes negative consequences as well, and if so, how can they be foreseen and avoided? What role can/should outside actors play in promoting positive cooperation within the region? Strategic uncertainties related to shifts in alliances following the end of the Cold War have spurred the formation of multilateral organizations in parts of East Asia, but have those organizations been effective? In the context of regional environmental cooperation, Shin-wa Lee suggests that the five factors required, at a minimum, for effective establishment of institutional mechanisms for regional cooperation are “national leadership, involvement of international organizations, participation of transnational scientific networks, active involvement of nongovernmental organizations, and significant public concern.”¹⁾ This may be a good starting list for use in identifying tractable approaches and points of leverage by those looking to create an East Asian Community to address key shared problems.

1) Shin-wa Lee, “Building Environmental Regimes in Northeast Asia: Progress, Limitations, and Policy Options” Chapter 9 in *International Environmental Cooperation: Politics and Diplomacy in Pacific Asia*, Paul G. Harris, editor (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2002).

Memo #8 Asia's "We-ness"

Brad Glosserman
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1. Difficult to add value to this conversation

- a. What are the factors that encourage or hinder multilateral cooperation?
- b. What is the linkage between nationalism and regional identity? Is there a desirable form of nationalism that can contribute to shared regional identity?
- c. Are there feasible plans to strengthen collective identity in East Asia?
- d. Answers are well known

2. Ken Itoh JFIR, 2004

- a. We need a "common value" that goes beyond a "common interest."
- b. Starting from the "sense of respect" and the "principle of equality" among ourselves, we can and should build confidence among ourselves. The confidence that our neighbors will never resort to the threat or use of force as a means to settle international disputes would take us to the higher level of "community building."
- c. Here, what really matters is not a legal framework but a state of affairs as having been achieved.
- d. Our "community building" can start from "economic community," and add "energy community," "environmental community," etc. But it must, before reaching the final stage of an "East Asian Community," accomplish "no-war community" in the region.
- e. Mention of values = problematic (deep suspicions)

3. If "we-ness" means Asian identity, then...

- a. Can't identify Asian identity when Asia itself is undefined (Historically the region is a European construct: east of Europe)
- b. Intellectual appreciation of need for identity but no emotional connection. Esp true in NEA, but conversations in SEA show little or no connection to NEA.
- c. Common interests don't make for a common identity
- d. Common features? Culture (broadly defined) is most attractive: chopsticks; films

(even this is tricky); sports teams?

- e. Most compelling: sense of shared grievance: disenfranchised; under-represented, under appreciated and misunderstood.
- f. Is the group the defining criteria? Then is the shared identity by definition artificial? EAVG Guiding Principle 13: "We shall develop a shared regional identity by working together to galvanize the aspirations of our peoples, promote greater trust and confidence and advance common interests so as to foster a new sense of regional community."
- g. CSIS poll of regional elites: the trend in Asia is toward identification with universal rather than Asian values. While more than 80% of respondents across the region demonstrated support for establishment of an East Asian community, they ranked "good governance," "rule of law" "free and fair elections" and human rights as priorities only after "confidence building," "conflict prevention" and "economic integration for the future of regional architecture". "Develop regional identity" is lowest of "important elements" ? 61%
- h. CSIS conclusion: Asian elites more confident in national and global institutions than regional ones

4. A focus on regional identity is mistaken

- a. Ultimately, identity is socially constructed (nod to the theorists)
- b. Search for efficiency has yielded larger economic arrangements, but the process has simultaneously driven the atomization of political identity
- c. Rest of world doesn't think "regionally." Not in North America (despite NAFTA): EU: Amitav Acharya notes the EU's claim to have developed a collective identity did not stand up to scrutiny. Jeffrey Checkel of Oslo University found that "the identities, discourses and public spheres fostered by European institutions are still dominated by their national counterparts or, at best, co-exist uneasily side by side with them".

5. The region's dilemmas

- a. Success of nation building makes region building even harder
- b. Leadership dynamics can undermine group ambitions
- c. Success of subregionalism makes regionalism tough: John Miller (APCSS): Another factor that may slow down East Asian regionalism is the reluctance of Southeast Asians to fold themselves into a larger East Asia where they might be overshadowed by China and Japan. Having forged a regional identity of their own, which is based largely on their common interest in resisting Great Power dictation, Southeast Asians can hardly welcome the prospect of a closed East Asia

- in which they would be at the mercy of their giant northern neighbors.
- d. Asia's growing success = further diluted regional identity
- e. Fundamental problem of the US: distinctly not part of Asia but integral to Asian order

6. The question to ask: What is “we” for? Voice? Action?

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Banerjee retired early from the Indian Army after 36 years of active service to pursue full time a career in strategic planning, peace and confidence building, disarmament, regional and international security, among others. For the last two decades he has held senior Directorial level positions at leading think tanks in India and the region. For the last six years he heads the Institution of Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS), a leading independent, autonomous think tank in Delhi highly acclaimed world wide.

During his military career he trained at the Staff College, UK. Attended the National Defence College Course, New Delhi in 1987 and has taught at all the leading military institutions in India. He held key operational and staff appointments in India's border areas and participated in a combat role in all its conflicts. His final operational command was leading the forces countering insurgency in Kashmir in the early 1990's.

From May 1999 - Oct 2002, Banerjee assumed the appointment as the Executive Director and Head of the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, located at Colombo. This is the only regional strategic institution of its kind in South Asia and allowed him access to all South Asian governments, think tanks, universities and nongovernmental organisations. Banerjee was in the US for a year as a Jennings Randolph Fellow at the United States Institute of Peace, Washington, DC, in 2002-03. Since then he has headed the IPCS and has initiated and participated in many global and regional initiatives for peace and disarmament.

Banerjee was a member of the International Advisory Group of the ICRC, Geneva. Was a consultant to the UN Group of Government Experts on Conventional Arms. He led the campaign for global elimination of land mines and addressed the plenary session at the Treaty signing conference at Ottawa in Dec 1997. Presently under his leadership the IPCS is closely involved in nuclear weapons elimination initiatives and collaborates with the "Global Zero", "Base Camp" and the four leaders initiative led by the Nuclear Threat Initiative. Banerjee currently convenes several initiatives involving China and Pakistan over Nuclear Security and Elimination, South Asian Security and other international efforts.

Banerjee was personally involved with the UN Secretary General's High Level Panel in

2004 as an international advisor in Asia. In this capacity he participated in major international consultations, including those held in Singapore, Hangzhou and Kyoto. He convened and organised the South Asian consultation of the High Level Panel at Delhi.

Banerjee is a member of many international organizations promoting peace and disarmament. He leads several initiatives in Asia in collaboration with leading international foundations. Banerjee travels extensively around the world participating in global initiatives on peace and disarmament and conflict resolution seminars and presents papers. He personally writes frequently in major national and international journals and op-ed pieces in leading publications. His current work involves examination of Indian strategic options, China's policies and military potential, confidence building measures, arms control, disarmament and related issues.

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David von Hippel is a Nautilus Institute Senior Associate based in Eugene, Oregon. His work with Nautilus has centered on energy and environmental issues in Asia, and particularly in Northeast Asia. He is currently involved in several Nautilus initiatives, including the multi-nation East Asia Science and Security Project, centered on energy paths analysis including exploration of potential nuclear materials issues in the region. These projects involve training and working with a group of Northeast Asian energy researchers to develop and evaluate the energy security implications of different energy paths for their countries. Also for Nautilus, he has done extensive analyses of the patterns of fuels use and prospects for energy efficiency and energy sector redevelopment in North Korea, and is currently involved in preparing an update to Nautilus’ DPRK Energy Sector Analysis, and in the DPRK Building Energy Efficiency Training project, an engagement activity with a DPRK counterpart. He is a co-editor of the forthcoming Asian Energy Security Special Issue of the journal Energy Policy, the lead author of the forthcoming (2010) *Nautilus Report Future Regional Nuclear Fuel Cycle Cooperation in East Asia: Energy Security Costs and Benefits*, and the lead author of the *2007 Nautilus Report Fueling DPRK Energy Futures and Energy Security: 2005 Energy Balance, Engagement Options, and Future Paths*, as well as numerous articles, presentations, book chapters, and reports on energy security and related topics. Dr. Von Hippel holds M.S. and Ph.D. degrees in Energy and Resources from the University of California-Berkeley, and M.A. and B.S. degrees from the University of Oregon.

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Jia Qingguo is Professor and Associate Dean of the School of International Studies of Peking University. He received his Ph.D. from Cornell University in 1988. He has taught in University of Vermont, Cornell University, University of California at San Diego, University of Sydney in Australia as well as Peking University. He was a research fellow at the Brookings Institution between 1985 and 1986, a visiting professor at the University of Vienna in 1997 and a fellow at the Center for Northeast Asian Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution in 2001 and 2002. He is also a member of Standing Committee and the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and a member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the China Democratic League. He is serving on the editorial board of several international academic journals. He has published extensively on U.S.-China relations, relations between the Chinese mainland and Taiwan, Chinese foreign policy and Chinese politics.

ROY D. KAMPHAUSEN

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Roy D. Kamphausen is Senior Vice President for Political and Security Affairs and Director of NBR's Washington, D.C., Office.

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Prior to joining NBR, Mr. Kamphausen served as a U.S. Army officer—a career that culminated in an assignment in the Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD) as Country Director for China-Taiwan-Mongolia Affairs. Prior postings included assignments to the Joint Staff as an intelligence analyst and later as China Branch Chief in the Directorate for Strategic Plans and Policy (J5). A fluent Chinese (Mandarin) linguist and an Army China Foreign Area Officer (FAO), Mr. Kamphausen served two tours at the Defense Attaché Office of the U.S. Embassy in the People's Republic of China.

His areas of professional expertise include China's People's Liberation Army (PLA), U.S.-China defense relations, U.S. defense and security policy toward Asia, and East Asian security issues. He co-authored the chapter "Military Modernization in Taiwan" in

Strategic Asia 2005-06: Military Modernization in an Era of Uncertainty, with Michael Swaine; wrote the chapter "PLA Power Projection: Current Realities and Emerging Trends" in *Assessing the Threat: The Chinese Military and Taiwan's Security* (2007), with Justin Liang; edited the volume *Right-Sizing the People's Liberation Army: Exploring the Contours of China's Military* (2007), with Andrew Scobell; edited the volume *The People in the PLA: Recruitment, Training, and Education in China's Military* (2008), with Andrew

Scobell and Travis Tanner; and edited the volume *Beyond the Strait: PLA Missions Other Than Taiwan* (April 2009), with David Lai and Andrew Scobell. He is editing the forthcoming volume *The PLA At Home and Abroad: Assessing the Operational Capabilities of China's Military* (due out June 2010).

Mr. Kamphausen holds a BA in Political Science from Wheaton College and an MA in International Affairs from Columbia University. He studied Chinese at both the Defense Language Institute and Beijing's Capital Normal University. He is a member of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), and the Council for Security and Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP). He is married to Arminda (née Armitage) Kamphausen and together they have three children—Abigail, Hudson, and Delaney.

SUNG-HAN KIM

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Kim Sung-han is Professor at the Graduate School of International Studies (GSIS) and Acting Director of the Ilmin International Relations Institute at Korea University. Before joining GSIS in September 2007, Dr. Kim was a professor from 1994 to 2007 at the Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security (IFANS) in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Trade. Prior to that, he worked as a Research Fellow at the Institute of Social Sciences and as expert advisor to the Prime Minister's Committee for Globalization (1992-1994). Dr. Kim has also served as Vice President of the Korean Association of International Studies; President of Korean Association of American Politics (KAAP); Secretary General of the Korean National Committee of Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP-Korea); and Chairman of the Vision Council for the ROK-U.S. Security Policy Initiative. Currently, he is advising the Foreign Relations Committee of the National Assembly, the Ministry of Unification, and the National Intelligence Service. He also serves as member of the Presidential Advisory Council for National Security, which consists of nine security experts. Dr. Kim specializes in U.S. foreign policy and international security

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SANTOSH KUMAR

Ambassador

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- Ambassador Kumar joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1969.
- He served as Indian Ambassador to South Africa, South Korea and Yemen. He also held Ambassadorial rank as DCM in the Indian Mission to the European Union. He has worked as Consul General in Frankfurt and held senior diplomatic assignments in China, Pakistan, Belgium and Hong Kong.
- During 2002-2004, Ambassador Kumar was Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs & Dean of the Foreign Service Institute of India which imparts training to Indian and foreign diplomats as well as other officials and journalists. As Dean, he:
 - Was responsible for designing and implementing course curriculums covering international politics & economics, strategic affairs, regional issues, diplomatic practice and public relations.
 - Lectured at the Institute of foreign policies of major powers, international economic issues and the role of diplomacy in the 21st Century.
 - Ambassador Kumar has also lectured extensively on these subjects at other institutions like the Conference of Heads of Foreign Service Institutes and Academies, the School for Naval Studies and various South African and Korean academic institutions.
- Ambassador Kumar has held senior policy-making positions in the Government of India in the Ministries of External Affairs, Finance and Commerce.
- After his retirement in 2005, Ambassador Kumar has been co-opted by the Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations (ICRIER), a leading independent think-tank on economic and strategic issues. As Senior Consultant guiding work in ICRIER’s thrust area of “Strategic Aspects of India’s External Relations” he is Project Director of the National Interest Project (NIP) & Strategic and Economic Capacity Building Programme (SECP).

- He also gives consultancy to corporates on international and domestic business.

Personal Details:

- Date of Birth: 9th May 1945
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 - M.Sc. (ECON) in International Relations from the London School of Economics, University of London.
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Selected Publications:

- Ambassador Kumar has written for periodicals such as *the Economic and Political Weekly* on various aspects of foreign policy and politics in India.
- Ambassador Santosh Kumar has also published a collection of Hindi poems under the title *Chhitakety Quark* apart from contributing articles and poems to various Hindi literary magazines.

CHUNG MIN LEE

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Dr. Chung Min Lee is Dean and Professor of International Relations, Graduate School of International Studies, Yonsei University. Dr. Lee concurrently serves as an Ambassador for International Security Affairs and Global Issues, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade and a member of the President’s Foreign Policy Advisory Council and the Presidential Committee on Future & Vision. He is also an advisor to the Prime Minister’s Office, the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of Unification, the Foreign Policy and Unification Committee of the National Assembly and other government agencies. Since April 2009, Dr. Lee also serves as an Adjunct Senior Fellow for Asian Security at the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) and is a member of the board of the Seoul Forum for International Affairs (SFIA).

Dr. Lee was a visiting professor at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore (2005-2007), the Graduate Research Institute for Policy Studies, Tokyo (2004-2005), a policy analyst at the RAND Corporation (1995-1998), and a visiting research fellow at the National Institute for Defense Studies, Tokyo (1994-1995). Dr. Lee also served as a research fellow at the Sejong Institute, Seoul (1989-1994) and the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Cambridge, Massachusetts (1985-1988).

Dr. Lee received his MALD and his Ph.D. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University in 1988 and his B.A. in political science from Yonsei University in 1982. For over twenty years, Dr. Lee has written extensively on various aspects of East Asian security including strategic developments on the Korean peninsula. His research covers international and Asian security and defense planning, WMD proliferation, crisis management, and intelligence. Dr. Lee has lived in ten countries and is a citizen of the Republic of Korea.

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She graduated from Ewha Women's University Summa Cum Laude in Economics, studied Economics at Ewha graduate school, worked as an international banker at Kookmin Bank and a research analyst at Samsung Economics Research Institute, and received her Master's degree in International Economics at University of California, San Diego, with honors. Having brought up in the USA, Korea, Japan, Hong Kong and a few other countries, she has an interest in international political economy and economic development, Asia and Africa in particular.

SHIN-WHA LEE

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Shin-wha Lee, Professor of the Department of Political Science and International Relations, Korea University, received her Ph.D from the University of Maryland at College Park and held a Post-Doctoral Fellowship at Harvard University. She was a research associate at the World Bank, a visiting scholar at Uppsala University and Stockholm International Peace

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SOOK-JONG LEE

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Sook-Jong Lee is a professor of public administration at Sungkyunkwan University, Seoul, Korea. Professor Lee is currently the President of East Asia Institute, an independent, non-profit think-tank based in Seoul. Her research interests are the civil society and democracy of Korea and Japan, and the two countries' political economy and policy opinions. Her previous positions include Research Fellow at the Sejong Institute, Visiting Fellow at the Brookings Institution, and Professorial Lecturer at the SAIS of Johns Hopkins University. She has been participating in the Korea-Japan Forum, speaking at various American universities as well as think-tanks. She also published numerous articles, and edited several books. Her recent publications include "The Demise of 'Korea Inc.': Paradigm Shift in Korea's Developmental State," "The Assertive Nationalism of South Korean Youth: Cultural Dynamism and Political Activism," and "Japan's Changing Security norms and Perceptions Since the 1990s." Professor Lee received her Ph D. in Sociology from Harvard University.

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Ms. Miller has both public and nonprofit sector experience. She served as the Deputy Director for the Office of Economic Policy in the Bureau of East Asia and Pacific Affairs, and as an analyst in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research at the U.S. Department of State. Prior to joining the State Department, Ms. Miller worked at the U.S.-Vietnam Trade Council on a technical assistance program to support completion of a bilateral trade agreement between the United States and Vietnam the last step toward full normalization of relations between the two countries.

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ANM MUNIRUZZAMAN

**Major General
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Major General Muniruzzaman (Retd) is a career military officer who served on active duty for 38 years. During his tenure with Bangladesh army he served in all levels of command up to an infantry division. He has also been on the faculty of the Defence Staff College and the National Defence College. He has served as the Military Adviser to the President of Bangladesh. General Muniruzzaman is an experienced peace keeper and has served in UN Peacekeeping operations in different conflict zones. He also headed the post election UN Mission in Cambodia.

General Muniruzzaman is founder and President of Bangladesh Institute of Peace and Security Studies (BIPSS). He has previously headed the govt think tank BIIS. He is a member of the International Military Advisory Council (IMAC) on Climate Change. He also heads the BIPSS specialised centres Bangladesh Centre for Terrorism Research (BCTR) and Bangladesh Centre for China Studies (BCCS). He is the Editor of the quarterly academic journal 'Peace and Security Review'.

JIN PARK

Member (Grand National Party), National Assembly of the Republic of Korea

Dr. Park Jin is Member of the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea from Grand National Party (GNP), and Member of the Committee for Science and Technology & Information and Communication. Dr. Park was appointed as Spokesman of the GNP, the majority party of Korea. As an expert in political science, especially in the issue of inter-Korean relations and Korean politics, he was appointed as Press Secretary and Political Affairs Secretary to President Kim Young Sam. He was then elected as member of the National Assembly while he was serving as Special Advisor to President of GNP. Dr. Park earned his B.A. in Law from Seoul National University, M.A. in Public Administration from Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, LL.M. from School of Law, New York University, and Ph.D. in Political Science from Oxford University, England.

T.J. PEMPEL

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T.J. Pempel is a political scientist at the University of California, Berkeley. His research focuses on comparative politics, Japanese political economy, and Asian regional issues. His most recent books include *Remapping East Asia: The Construction of a Region* (Cornell University Press), *Beyond Bilateralism: U.S.-Japan Relations in the New Asia-Pacific* (Stanford University Press) and *Crisis as Catalyst: Asia's Dynamic Political Economy*.

SRINATH RAGHAVAN

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Srinath Raghavan is Senior Fellow at Centre for Policy Research. He is also Lecturer in Defence Studies at King's College London. Previously, he was Associate Fellow at National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bangalore. He has been associated with King's College's e-learning programme, War in the Modern World, and was a Visiting Lecturer at Royal Air Force College, Cranwell. He took his MA and PhD in War Studies from King's College London. Prior to joining academia, he spent six years as an infantry officer in the Indian army.

Srinath's research interests are in the international politics of South Asia, India's foreign and defence policies since 1947, civil-military relations, Indian military history, and strategic theory. His book *War and Peace in Modern India: A Strategic History of the Nehru Years* will be published to wide acclaim earlier this year. He is now writing an international history of the India-Pakistan war of 1971 and the creation of Bangladesh. He is also at work on two projects of long-standing interest. The first examines the conceptual and cognitive foundations of strategic thinking. The second project looks at the evolving forms of civil-military relations in South Asia, and its implications for inter-state competition and cooperation. Srinath is the editor of *Routledge Studies in War and International Politics*. He comments regularly on contemporary security issues in Indian newspapers and magazines.

V.R. RAGHAVAN

General

President, Center for Security Analysis

After a distinguished career in the Indian Army, where he was decorated on three occasions, Gen. Raghavan retired as Director General of Military Operations. His combat experience included operations in wars with Pakistan and China and in counter-insurgency campaigns.

The General is the founding President, CSA and has led programmes on peninsular India's security perspectives, relations with South East Asia, Civil Society-Governance interface, and on the conflict in Sri Lanka. He joined DPG as the founding Director, in which capacity, he successfully conceptualized and implemented projects on South Asian Comprehensive Security focusing on the political, economic, environment security issues and on Non-Traditional Security. He led the programme on Nuclear Policy Stewardship aimed at sharpening the nuclear debate in India for introducing restraint and responsibility in nuclear policy.

The General was advisor and research consultant to the International Commission on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament convened by the Governments of Australia and Japan. He was Council Member, International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS), London and presently an elected member of the Council of United Service Institution of India. He was a Commissioner of the Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission chaired by Dr. Hans Blix; Visiting Fellow at CISAC, Stanford University and the Henry L. Stimson Centre. He was also a member of the Committee to review the Armed Forces Special Powers Act. Gen. Raghavan has addressed conferences at the Institute of Regional Studies, Islamabad and the Islamabad Policy Research Institute the Shangri-La Dialogue, Singapore and Global Strategic Review Conference in Geneva. He has made presentations and chaired sessions in conferences and seminars in India, South Asia, South-East Asia, Australia, Japan, Taiwan, Europe and the United States.

The General has authored books amongst which, the monograph, *India's Need for Strategic Balance* essay on *Limited War and Nuclear Escalation in South Asia*, the books *Infantry in India*, and *Siachen-Conflict without End* are widely known. He has edited more than dozen books. His articles have been carried in leading newspapers, journals, magazines in India and internationally. He is a Guest Lecturer at Indian War colleges and the National Defense College.

He graduated from the Royal Military College of Science and Army Staff College, U.K. in 1968.

JOHN RAVENHILL

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John Ravenhill is Professor in the Department of International Relations, College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian National University. After obtaining his PhD at the University of California, Berkeley, he taught at the University of Virginia and the University of Sydney before joining ANU in 1990. In 2000, he took up the Chair of Politics at the University of Edinburgh for four years. He has been a Visiting Professor at the University of Geneva, the International University of Japan, Nanyang Technological University in Singapore, and the University of California, Berkeley. His work has appeared in most of the leading journals of international relations. His most recent book, co-edited with Andrew MacIntyre & T.J. Pempel, was *Crisis as Catalyst: Asia's Dynamic Political Economy* (Cornell University Press). He was the founding editor of the Cambridge University Press book series, *Cambridge Asia-Pacific Studies*. He is a Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences in Australia.

CHANGYONG RHEE

Secretary General, Presidential Committee for the G-20 Summit Committee

Dr. Changyong Rhee is Secretary General of the Presidential Committee for the G-20 Summit Committee and the new Korean Sherpa from November 2009. Prior to joining the Committee, he served as Vice-chairman of the Korean Financial Services Commission. Before that he was a professor of Economics at Seoul National University in Korea and the University of Rochester in the United States.

In addition to his extensive work in academia, Dr. Rhee has been an active policy advisor to the Korean government. Former positions Dr. Rhee has held include Director of the Global Financial Research Institute & Korea Fixed Income Research Institute, non-executive director of the Korea Development Bank, advisor to the Bank of Korea and advisor to the Korea Securities Depository. He was also a fund manager of the endowment fund of Seoul National University.

Dr. Rhee received his Ph.D. in Economics from Harvard University in 1989.

JOHN SCHAUS

Executive Officer to the President, Center for Strategic and International Studies

John Schaus is executive officer to the president at CSIS. In this position he functions as deputy chief of staff to CSIS president John Hamre, with particular focus on the evolving dynamics in Asia. In addition to work on Center-wide issues, he was also heavily involved with the National Petroleum Council study on the future of global oil and gas, Hard Truths. Prior to beginning at CSIS in November 2005, he worked at the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis. John spent two years in Northeast China teaching university English courses. He holds a Master of Public Policy from the University of Minnesota's Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs and an undergraduate degree from St. John's University in Minnesota.

WALTER SHARP

Commander, United Nations Command (UNC), Combined Forces Command (CFC), and United States Forces Korea (USFK)

General Walter Sharp is the Commander for UNC, CFC, and USFK. He was born in Morgantown, West Virginia while his father was fighting in the Korean War. General Sharp commanded troops in Desert Shield and Desert Storm, Operation Uphold Democracy in Haiti, and SFOR's Multinational Division (North) in Bosnia. He has served numerous command and staff positions throughout his career, including Assistant Division Commander for Maneuver, 2nd Infantry Division, Camp Red Cloud, Republic of Korea, and Division Commander, 3rd Infantry Division, Fort Stewart, Georgia. General Sharp has had four assignments at the Pentagon on the Joint Staff. He was the Deputy Director, J5 for Western Hemisphere/Global Transnational Issues; the Vice Director, J8 for Force Structure, Resources, and Assessment; the Director for Strategic Plans and Policy, J5; and the Director of the Joint Staff.

General Sharp is a graduate of West Point, and he earned a M.S. from Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. He is also a graduate of the U.S. Army War College. His awards include the Defense Distinguished Service Medal, Defense Superior Service Medal, Bronze Star, and Legion of Merit.

ANDREW SHEARER

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Andrew Shearer is Director of Studies and a Senior Research Fellow at the Lowy Institute for International Policy in Sydney. He is a frequent commentator on foreign policy and strategic issues in the Australian media and has had opinion pieces published in a range of international publications including the *Wall Street Journal*, *The Weekly Standard*, *The Spectator*, *Pragati-the Indian National Interest Review* and *the Jakarta Globe*.

Andrew has extensive international experience in the Australian Government, most recently as senior foreign policy adviser to former Prime Minister John Howard. Previously he occupied a senior position in the Australian Embassy in Washington DC and was strategic policy adviser to former Defence Minister Robert Hill. He occupied various positions in the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, and the Office of National Assessments.

Andrew has honours degrees in Arts and Law from the University of Melbourne. He was awarded a UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office Chevening Scholarship and has an MPhil degree in international relations from the University of Cambridge.

PAUL B. STARES

General John W. Vessey Senior Fellow for Conflict Prevention

Director, Center for Preventive Action Council on Foreign Relations

Paul B. Stares is the General John W. Vessey senior fellow for conflict prevention and director of the Center for Preventive Action at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). Besides overseeing a series of Council Special Reports on potential sources of instability and strife, he is currently working on a study assessing long term conflict trends. Dr. Stares recently led an expert working group on preventive diplomacy for the Genocide Prevention Task Force co-chaired by Madeleine Albright and William Cohen. Prior to joining CFR, Stares was the vice president and director of the Center for Conflict Analysis and Prevention at the United States Institute of Peace. Stares worked as an associate director and senior research scholar at Stanford University's Center for International Security and Cooperation from 2000 to 2002, was a senior research fellow at the Japan Institute of International Affairs and director of studies at the Japan Center for International Exchange from 1996 to 2000, and was a senior fellow and research associate in the foreign policy studies program at the Brookings Institution from 1984 to 1996. He has also been a NATO fellow and a scholar-in-residence at the MacArthur Foundation's

Moscow office. Stares is the author of numerous books and articles, including most recently *Enhancing U.S. Preventive Action* (with Micah Zenko), *Preparing for Sudden Change in North Korea* (with Joel Wit), and *Rethinking the "War on Terror: New Approaches to Conflict Prevention and Management in the Post-9/11 World*.

RICHARD TANTER

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Richard Tanter is Professorial Fellow in International Relations at the Research and Innovation Portfolio, Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, and Senior Research Associate at the Nautilus Institute. He is Acting Director of the Nautilus Institute in Australia, hosted by RMIT where he coordinates Austral Peace and Security Net and the Australian Forces Abroad briefing book series, and the Climate Change and Reframing Australia-Indonesia Security Project. In Nautilus, his particular responsibilities are for the Global Problem Solving Project, and the East Asian Science and Security Collaborative.

From 1989-2003, he was Professor of International Relations in the School of Environmental and Social Studies at Kyoto Seika University in Japan. In 2003 he was Senior Curriculum Consultant to Deakin University for its Security Studies graduate program at the Australian Defence College's Centre for Defence and Strategic Studies.

He received his Ph.D in Politics from Monash University in 1992.

WILLIAM T. TOW

Professor of International Security, Australian National University

Professor William T Tow is Professor of International Security at the Australian National University's Department of International Relations. He has authored or edited 16 books and numerous journal articles/book chapters dealing with Asian security issues and U.S. alliance politics. His book *Asia-Pacific Strategic Relations: Seeking Convergent Security* (Cambridge University Press, 2001) has been widely cited over the past few years as one of the most comprehensive treatments of that region's security politics. Tow served as Editor of the *Australian Journal of International Affairs* from 2001-2006. He has also served on the Australian Fulbright Commission's Board of Directors and on the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade's Foreign Affairs Council. He is currently co-directing the ANU's program on bilateral-multilateral security relations in the Asia-Pacific funded by the John

D and Catherine T MacArthur Foundation and also leads the ANU's Security Project component for the Centre of Excellence in Policing and Security funded by the Australian Research Council. He was recently named as one of Australia's five most influential international relations scholars impacting on Australian foreign policy by the College of William & Mary's survey on Teaching, Research and International Policy (TRIP).

KIRSTEN TROTT

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Kirsten Trott is the Director for Strategy and Research Impact at the Centre on Asia and Globalisation at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore. She works closely with the Centre Director to set the strategy for the organization and ensures the Centre's research has impact beyond academic publication, bringing academic research to a greater audience. Kirsten is a lawyer with a broad background in policy, regulation and governance. Previously she held positions as Chief Executive Officer at the Code Compliance Monitoring Committee in Australia and Deputy Director of the whistle blowing charity, Public Concern at Work, in London, England. She has advised and trained international business and governmental organizations on how to promote open, accountable and ethical workplaces, investigated compliance breaches and contributed to policy debates on whistle blowing, bribery & corruption and transparency.

FU XIAO

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Ms. Fu Xiao is Associate Researcher at the Research Department of China Foundation for International and Strategic Studies (CFISS). Before she joined CFISS, She was assistant editor in *World Affairs Press, Beijing* from 1995 to 1998. Her areas of research focus on Asia-Pacific security issues, China-US relations. She graduated with BA of English Language and Literature in 1995 and obtained her MA at School of International Relations, Peking University in 2001.

TADASHI YAMAMOTO

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Tadashi Yamamoto is president of the Japan Center for International Exchange (JCIE), which he founded in 1970. He has promoted policy-oriented intellectual dialogue and policy research through JCIE various projects including the Trilateral Commission, Asia Pacific Agenda Project, Japan-Korea Forum, Japan-U.K. 21st Century Group, Japanese-German Forum, and the Shimoda Conference series. He has also promoted the development of Japan's civil society and its involvement in international cooperation which includes the Friends of the Global Fund, Japan, the Program on Global Health and Human Security, and diverse NGO exchange programs. Through Parliamentary Exchange Programs such as the U.S.-Japan Parliamentary Exchange, Congressional Exchange, and the Japan-Australia Political Exchange he has promoted dialogue and study among politicians. He has been involved in several government commissions including the Prime Minister's Commission on Japan's Goals in the 21st Century and the Council on Security and Defense Capabilities. His honors include the Commander's Cross of the Order of Merit from the German government, Honorable Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire, Honorary Officer (AO) from the Australian government, and the 2009 Person of the Year Award from the American Chamber of Commerce in Japan. After studying at Sophia University in Japan, he received a B.A. from St. Norbert College and an M.B.A. from Marquette University.

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TIEHLIN YEN

Research Associate, Program Director, Institute for International Relations, National Chengchi University

Yen, Tiehlin currently is a research fellow at the Muchia Center for Security Studies (MCSS), Institute of International Relations, National Chengchi University. He joined the MCSS right after he retired from the Navy in November 2009. In his 28-year service in the Republic of China Navy, He spent totally 8 years at sea; his last sea tour was the commanding officer of ROCS Yue Yang, a Sumner class Destroyer. Under his command, Yue Yang had accomplished several operational patrol and convoy missions, which earned Commander Yen three medals. Commander Yen promoted to the rank of Captain in 1999, since then he served mainly in Ministry of National Defense (MND). In last 8 years, his area of responsibility was coordinating the business of the military to military exchange between Taiwan and the U.S.A. His last assignment in the MND was Director of Defense

Research Division, Integrated Assessment Office, MND. During his tenure as, he supervised and coordinated the first R.O.C. Defense Review, the 2009 Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR), which is a primary guidance for Taiwan's Defense Development. Yen earned his Master degree of Security Policy Studies at the George Washington University; He also attended the US Naval War College for the Staff Course. In 2002, he was selected as the first R.O.C. military officer to attend the Executive Course in Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies (APCSS). Mr. Yen specializes at force planning and defense analysis.

FENG ZHU

Deputy Director, Center for International & Strategic Studies, Peking University

Dr. Zhu Feng began his college studies at the Department of International Politics of Peking University in 1981 and received his Ph.D. from Peking University in 1991. He is currently a professor at the university's School of International Studies and Deputy Director of Center for International & Strategic Studies (CISS) of Peking University. Dr. Zhu served as the research fellow a couple of distinguished institutes like Washington-based Center for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS), Fairbank Center for East Asian Studies at Harvard University and a visiting scholar at Durham University in UK. He writes extensively on regional security in East Asia, nuclear N. Korea issue, American national security strategy, China-US relations and missile defense. He is a leading Chinese security expert and senior research fellow of the Center for Peace and Development of China. Dr. Zhu Feng sits on a couple of editorial boards of several scholarly journals,

consults independently for the Chinese government and private sector, and comments frequently on television, radio, and print media on China foreign affairs and security policy. His recent books are *Ballistic Missile Defense and International Security* (Shanghai: Shanghai People's Press, 2001), *International Relations Theory and East Asian Security* (Beijing: People's University Press, 2007), and *China's Ascent: Power, Security and the Future of International Politics* (coedited with Prof. Robert S. Ross, Cornell University Press, 2008).

GENERAL INFORMATION

The East Asia Institute (EAI) welcomes your participation in the MacArthur Asia Security Initiative (MASI) 2010 Annual Meeting, July 7-9, 2010 in Seoul, Korea. MASI 2010 Annual Meeting is primarily designed to offer MASI grantees an excellent opportunity to meet, network, and discuss topics important towards the goal of developing an epistemic community.

Date

July 7-9, 2010, Westin Chosun Hotel

Following the welcome reception on July 7, conference sessions will run from July 8 to 9.

Conference Venue

The Westin Chosun

87, Sogong-dong, Jung-gu, Seoul 100-070, Korea

Tel.+82-2-771-0500 / Fax.+82-2-319-1467

www.westin.com/seoul

July 7	06:30PM	Reception/Dinner	Lilac & Tulip & Cosmos Room, F2
July 8	09:00AM	Welcoming Remarks	Grand Ballroom A, F1
	10:00AM	Session I	
		• Group 1	Grand Ballroom B, F1
		• Group 2	Grand Ballroom C, F1
	12:00PM	Luncheon	Grand Ballroom A, F1
	02:00PM	Session II	
		• Cluster 1 Meeting	Grand Ballroom B, F1
		• Cluster 2 Meeting	Grand Ballroom C, F1
		• Cluster 3 Meeting	Cara Room, F1 3
	03:40PM	Session III	
		• Group 1	Grand Ballroom B, F1
		• Group 2	Grand Ballroom C, F1
	06:30PM	Dinner	Grand Ballroom A, F1
July 9	09:30AM	Session IV	Orchid, F2
	12:00PM	Luncheon	Lilac & Tulip & Cosmos Room, F2

Dress Code

Reception / Dinner : Business Casual

Meeting : Business Formal

Accommodation

EAI will offer all attendees a three-night stay (incl. breakfast) at the Westin Chosun. Reservations will be made on your behalf based on the information you provide in your registration application. Please note that individuals are responsible for all add-on expenses other than room rate charges such as telephone charges, mini bar, room service, laundry, internet charges, etc.

Check-in: July 7, 3PM, Check-out: July 10, 12PM

Please indicate in advance if you request early check-in and/or late-check-out. Those who need to change or cancel their original schedule, please inform us as soon as possible. If you request an extra night's stay, the room rate is KRW 326,700 per night (incl. tax).

Executive Deluxe Benefits & Facilities

- Daily breakfast is served each morning at Executive Floor Lounge (20F) from 6:30AM to 10AM.
- High-speed Internet LAN connections and wireless Internet are available for your laptop computer with a charge of KRW 22,000 (per day, incl. tax)
- Eligible for Starwood Preferred Guest points (Award program: www.preferredguest.com)
- Free rental of mobile phone with personal number in every guest rooms (Call charges will apply)
- Complimentary use of the Fitness Center (City Athletic Club) & all-season swimming pool

Reimbursement Guidelines

Reimbursements will be processed by the EAI administrative staff upon the completion of the MASI 2010 Annual Meeting. Original receipts will be required in order to receive reimbursement.

Reimbursable Expenses

- Air Travel

Round-trip, economy class flight from your home country to Seoul/Incheon are

reimbursable. Please purchase your airline tickets in advance and keep the original receipt for the ticket to reimburse. If traveling with an e-ticket, the e-mail receipt/confirmation with proof of payment will suffice. Please forward the e-ticket using e-mail to the EAI staff. A paper receipt may also be requested at the airline check-in counter. All flight receipts/documentation must include the form of payment.

- **Ground Transportation**

Ground transportation is reimbursable with your submission of original receipts. Please refer to 5. Transportation: Incheon International Airport of Westin Chosun for modes of transportation.

- **Visa Fee**

Please note that EAI does not and cannot issue visas for overseas travelers. Overseas participants from countries not under Visa Exemption Agreements are required to apply for a visa in advance. Fees for the visa application are reimbursable. Original receipt is required.

Important Details to Remember

- Before mailing, keep a photocopy of all original receipts.
- Please enclose the following documents: a copy of picture page of your passport, your bank information, and original receipts. Your bank information must include 1) Recipient's Name, 2) Bank Name, 3) Bank Account Number, 4) Bank Address and Branch Code, and 5) SWIFT CODE.
- Reimbursements will be processed from July 12 through August 13, 2010.
- You will receive reimbursement via wire transfer. It will take up to three business weeks from the time we receive your original receipts for you to receive reimbursement funds.

For additional questions, please contact Ms.Eun-Hae Choi(ehchoi@eai.or.kr). Please mail the requested documents along with original receipts to the following mailing address.

The East Asia Institute
909 Sampoong B/D, 310-68 Euljiro 4-ga, Jung-gu, Seoul 100-786, Korea
Tel. +82-2-2277-1683 / Fax.+82-2-2277-1697

Other Expenses

While this guideline includes general information about common expenses, individual cases may include other reimbursable expenditures. Please feel free to contact Ms. Eun-Hae Choi.

Transportation: Incheon International Airport — Westin Chosun

KAL Limousine Bus

Ticket Counter: The limousine bus center (Situated at exit #4 and #5) is located in the arrival hall on the ground floor of the Incheon International Airport. (Business hours: 05:30-21:30). See http://www.kallimousine.com/eng/schedule_en.asp.

KAL Limousine buses link the Incheon International Airport and downtown Seoul. Tickets are available at the hotel front desk or airport limousine counters. The spacious KAL buses can conveniently accommodate travelers with even very large luggage. KAL Limousine Buses run about every 20 minutes. Travel time is around 1 hr(non-rush hour) or 2 hrs during rush hour.

Route: Incheon International Airport - Plaza Hotel - Lotte Hotel - The Westin Chosun Hotel - Koreana Hotel - KAL B/D - Incheon International Airport
No 4B/11A Fare KRW 14,000

Hotel Limousine: please inform me in advance if you request the service.

Pick-up : KRW 135,000 (including Toll Fee)
Drop-off : KRW 125,000 (including Toll Fee)

Taxi (Fares are approximate)

Regular: KRW 70,000(Toll Fee included)
Deluxe: KRW 100,000(Toll Fee included)

Local Weather Forecast

July, Seoul (based on previous years)

- Min Average Temperature: 21 °C
- Max Average Temperature: 29 °C

Local Contact

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Institutes' Achievements & Future Plans

Cluster 1: Regional Security Cooperation

Center for International & Strategic Studies, Peking University (Core Institution)

About Us

The Center for International and Strategic Studies (CISS) was grateful to be chosen as a 'core institution' under the MacArthur Asia Security Initiative (MASI). CISS was designated to lead research on 'Asian Security Cooperation', looking particularly at how China's rise is altering regional security dynamics and architecture, and offering practical guidance on how to encourage greater security cooperation across Asia. As a core MASI institution, CISS manages a research cluster composed of a number of partner institutions working in the same area. CISS is responsible for facilitating the sharing of information and research, and the organization of regular conferences and seminars.

CISS was founded in 2007 and is based at Peking University's School of International Studies. It aims to enhance academic and policy research in the fields of international politics and security through cutting-edge research, regular publications and high-level events. Although the focus of CISS's work is on the analysis of China's international role and changing strategic environment, it also conducts research on major power national security strategies, economic globalization and non-traditional security issues. The MASI program is run by a core team headed by CISS Director Wang Jisi. It includes CISS Executive Deputy Director Yuan Ming, Deputy Director Zhu Feng and General-Secretary Yu Tiejun.

The annual report consists of four parts: research, capacity-building, network-building and policy impact.

Research

Grand Strategy in US-China Relations

The major CISS project under MASI has been the study of the concept of US and Chinese "grand strategy". Although definitions vary, this is generally taken to refer to the process of defining a nation's long-term interests and devising strategies, drawing on all elements of national power, to preserve and enhance those interests. The premise of the project is that

the concept of grand strategy offers a potentially helpful organizing principle around which the future US-China relationship could be managed. By elaborating on how both the US and China think and make grand strategy, the project aims to deepen mutual understanding, offer strategic reassurance and point to potential policy commonalities. This will be fundamental to Asia's future security environment.

CISS hosted two major events over the past year under this research project. The first was a workshop on November 7, 2009 on the 'The Outlook and Making of China's Grand Strategy: Lessons and Experiences from the United States'. International participants included Roy Kamphausen, Robert Ross, Jean-Marc Blanchard and Sarah Raine. Chinese participants included CISS scholars, prominent academics and officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The workshop was opened by Wang Jisi, Director of CISS, and Matthew Stumpf, MASI Program Officer. This workshop aimed to establish working definitions and principles for the project before it moved forwards. Presentations were offered on US approaches towards China, China's nuclear and military strategies, and China's policies in Africa.

The second was a major international conference on 'Grand Strategy in Historical and Comparative Perspective: Implications for US-China Relations', which was held from May 20-21, 2010. It was jointly organized by CISS and the Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University. Attending were around 30 leading scholars from leading universities and policy institutions in the US and China. Discussants at the conference included Robert Art, Tom Christensen, Jia Qingguo, Pan Wei, Qin Yaqing, Robert Ross and Richard Samuels.

The first part of the conference looked to draw "lessons" from the history of rising powers that will be useful to China as it crafts a grand strategy consummate with its growing international status and reflective of changes in the 21st century. Papers on the historical rise of other great powers were offered by the George Quester, Jack Snyder, Charles Kupchan, Colin Dueck, Cynthia Roberts and Jeff Taliaferro. Together the papers highlighted the complex interaction between international and domestic factors in shaping the paths chosen by rising powers. It also pointed to areas where China could learn from the mistakes made by other states.

The second part of the conference focused on Chinese grand strategy and Sino-US relations. It aimed to deepen US and Chinese understandings of each other's strategic intentions and perceptions. The history and current developments in Chinese grand strategy were covered by papers from Zhang Shiping, Zhang Baijia and CISS Deputy Director Zhu Feng. These points were furthered developed in presentations focused at the policy-level by CISS Director Wang Jisi, Robert Sutter, Roy Kamphausen, Andrew Scobell and Christopher Layne.

The "grand strategy" research project has already brought together a number of

leading experts, scholars and officials from both sides. As a project, it has both important academic and practical significance. Participants agree that this project should continue to develop in the future and form a key academic/policy strand to the US-China relationship. The next step in the project is the second leg of the conference at Texas A&M University on October 9, 2010. It is anticipated that the revised papers will be published as a single volume.

Capacity-Building

Events and Activities

The following are some of the events that CISS has hosted under the MASI program over the past year:

US-Japan-China Trilateral Security Dialogue

From August 29-31, 2009 CISS hosted nearly 30 scholars from the US, Japan and China, along with two South Korean observers, for what is now an annual 'Trilateral Security Dialogue'. Discussions ranged widely across domestic politics, Cross-Strait relations, the North Korean nuclear issue, environmental politics and regional security architecture. The event was organized in cooperation with the Research Institute for Peace and Security (Japan) and Pacific Forum at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (US).

The US-Japan-China relationship has always been a critical topic in the region and each stakeholder has a profound interest in it. This dialogue brings together well-known experts and young scholars to explore various problems in the US-Japan-China relationship. It helps to build better understandings across numerous levels and approach the question of Sino-US relations from a different perspective. The next round of the US-Japan-China Trilateral Security Dialogue will be held at Peking University in August, 2010.

Senior Japanese Defense Expert at CISS

Professor Masahiro Akiyama from Japan's Rikkyo University, former Vice-Minister at Japan's Defense Agency (now the Ministry of Defense) visited CISS from October, 11-18 2009. During his visit, Professor Akiyama gave a series of lectures and met with staff and students for discussions. He focused on recent changes in Japanese politics and the significance of the Democratic Party of Japan's victory after more than 50 years of almost uninterrupted rule by the Liberal Democratic Party.

It was an honor for CISS to host Professor Akiyama. His lectures drew on his experience in government and gave students and faculty the opportunity to engage in direct discussion with a leading authority on Japanese foreign and defense policy. Audience members particularly appreciated that Professor Akiyama was able to shed light on the

dynamics between domestic politics and foreign policy in Japan.

Roundtable on Cross-Strait Relations with US Academics

On January 14, 2010 CISS hosted US visitors Professor Robert Ross of Boston College, Professor Steven Goldstein of Smith College and Alan D. Romberg of the Stimson Center for a roundtable discussion on recent developments in Cross-Strait relations. They were joined by, amongst others, Wang Jisi, Jia Qingguo and Zhu Feng. Ross, Goldstein and Romberg spoke about their recent research trip to Taiwan and meetings with senior government and military figures. Discussion focused on developments in Taiwanese domestic politics and Sino-US relations over the Taiwan issue.

Cross-Strait relations are a key element of Asia-Pacific security and help shape the nature of the US-China relationship. Dialogue between leading experts in the US and China over the issue promoted mutual understanding and offered an opportunity to discuss freely a sensitive issue.

US Policymakers Discuss Sino-US Relations

On March 10, 2010 CISS hosted Frank Januzzi, Senior Advisor to US Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Senator John Kerry, and Thomas Christensen, Professor of Politics and International Affairs at Princeton University and former US Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs. Januzzi and Christensen met with various CISS scholars, including Wang Jisi and Zhu Feng, to discuss issues in US-China relations, notably the North Korean and Iranian nuclear crises, military-military relations and domestic political changes.

The meeting arrived at a difficult moment in Sino-US relations. It therefore served as a useful opportunity for influential policymakers to discuss some of the key difficulties in the relationship and search for greater understanding.

Foreign Ministry Policy Chief Speech

On April 28, 2010 Le Yucheng, Director of the Policy Planning Department at the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), spoke at CISS about the “current international situation and Chinese diplomacy”. Director Le drew on his lengthy experience in diplomacy in making his speech and followed it with a question and answer session with faculty and students. This was a rare opportunity to hear from the front-line about China’s interaction with the world.

Stanford Academics Discuss Korean Peninsula

On May 28, 2010 John Lewis and Bob Carlin from Stanford University’s Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC) visited CISS for a roundtable discussion

about recent developments on the Korean Peninsula following the sinking of the *Cheonan* warship and US-China security cooperation. Professor Lewis is the William Haas Professor of Chinese Politics, Emeritus, and Mr Carlin is a CISAC Visiting Scholar and previously an expert on North Korea at the US Department of State and Central Intelligence Agency.

This seminar was held against the backdrop of new instability on the Korean Peninsula. With their backgrounds working on the politics of the Korean Peninsula, Lewis and Carlin attracted a large audience eager to understand more about the implications of the *Cheonan* incident and possible future developments in the region.

John Ikenberry Lectures at CISS

On June 2, 2010 CISS invited Princeton University’s G. John Ikenberry to speak to faculty and students about US foreign policy under President Barack Obama and US relations with Asia. Professor Ikenberry focused on the potential for reviving and reforming the post-1945 “liberal order”, which he described as a key foreign policy goal of the Obama administration. His speech was favorably received and offered an insider’s insight into the thinking of the current administration.

Publications

CISS has three in-house publications. *The International and Strategic Studies Report* (国际战略研究简报) is a policy bulletin-type brief, typically offering analysis of recent developments in international politics and economics. The annual *China International Review Strategy* (中国国际战略评论) offers longer but accessible articles, similar in tone and content to Foreign Affairs. Finally, *Strategic Review: Research Report Series* (战略纵横——研究报告汇编) consists of detailed research findings and working papers. These are now established publications in China with a wide readership amongst the academic and policy community.

The 2009 edition of *China International Strategy Review* included articles by Wang Jisi, Zhu Feng and M. Taylor Fravel. Over 15 editions of the *International and Strategic Studies Report* have been issued over the last year. They have included contributions by both Chinese and foreign experts. The following is a selection:

- Fan Jishe, “Adjustments in US Nuclear Policy and Responses in China” (April, 2010)
- Wang Jisi and Tang Shiqi, “The Basic Features of Developments in World Politics over the Last 30 Years” (March, 2010)
- Zhang Haibin, “Challenges and Responses for China Post-Copenhagen” (January, 2010)
- Zha Daojiang, “New Energy: New Frictions Between the US and China?” (September, 2009)

- Makoto Iokibe, “A Review of and Prospects for Japanese diplomacy” (July, 2009)
- Shashi Tharoor, “Terrorist Attacks in Mumbai and Indo-Pakistan Relations” (June, 2009)

Institutional Development

CISS has used funds under the MASI to expand its institutional presence over the past year. Particularly important has been the recruitment of two new research fellows — Dr. Xiangning Wu and Mr. Tom Rafferty — to specifically run the MASI project at CISS. They work in liaison with other support staff and a team of graduate students.

MASI funds have been used to purchase video conferencing equipment. All CISS events over the past year have been recorded and taped. CISS has also established a specific MASI website (<http://www.ciss.pku.edu.cn/EN/macdefault>), which is currently in the process of being further developed and is due to be re-launched in late June. The new website will help to enhance the wider impact of CISS work and boost its international standing. It will include, for instance, an ‘In the News’ section that will link directly to expert comment given by CISS experts in the media and elsewhere.

These developments mean that event organization and external communications at CISS are now better organized and more effective. Feedback from recent events suggests that visitors have a very good impression of the level of organization and the level of support offered to them.

Network-Building

US-China Maritime Security Dialogue

In the context of difficulties in US-China relations and the suspension of bilateral military ties, CISS hosted a two-day dialogue from March 11-12, 2010 with the China Maritime Studies Institute (CMSI) of the United States Naval War College (NWC) to discuss US-China maritime relations. The NWC plays a major role in training US Navy officers, shaping US naval policy, and conducting research on issues of international security and cooperation. The CMSI is the foremost institution in the United States for the study of China's maritime development. Joining NWC faculty was a high-level Chinese panel, including CISS scholars, academics from various research institutions, and both present and former representatives of the People's Liberation Army Navy. The US Embassy in Beijing was also represented.

This Track-II dialogue was designed as a means of dispelling strategic mistrust and increasing mutual understanding. Discussions covered the development of naval doctrine in the US and China, anti-piracy and sea lane security cooperation, and issues of contention in the South China Seas. Track-II dialogues are an essential part of the US-

China bilateral relationship and an important means of tackling deeper issues away from day-to-day political events.

Multi-University Collaboration on East Asian Security

A new program called “Collaboration with Five Universities on East Asia Security Cooperation”, involving Peking University, Tokyo University, National University of Singapore, Korea University and Princeton University will be launched in December, 2010. This program will establish a crossregional research network through which well-known American and Asian scholars can engage in in-depth discussion and continuous study of regional security. The project is policy-focused and the December conference will focus on the US-China relationship through the topic of “Regional Responses to Two Giants”.

International Institutions, Global Security, World Order and US-China Cooperation

CISS has launched a new project with Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs on “International Institutions, Global Security, World Order and U.S.-China Cooperation”. China's return to world power status will have important implications for the institutional and normative structuring of world politics, which currently largely reflect the interests and dispositions of the United States as the predominant international actor. Critical to the future development of the international system will therefore be the relationship between Washington and Beijing.

Following a meeting between Wang Jisi, John G. Ikenberry and Zhu Feng on June 3, 2010, it was agreed that the first conference will be held in May/June 2011 at Peking University and the second at Princeton University in November/December 2011. Following the two conferences, a book of essays, co-edited by Wang Jisi, G. John Ikenberry and Zhu Feng will be published.

Policy Impact

Under the MASI, CISS has become a high-end platform for in-depth scholarly and policy-focused communication, exchange and co-operation. Almost all events and activities held over the past year have focused on topical issues in international relations and security. Participants involved in CISS activities have ranged from established academics to those actively engaged in policymaking. CISS has worked as a forum to improve communication between academia and government, aiming to bring insights from scholarly analysis to the practical realities of day-to-day decisionmaking. Ideas formulated during events and activities have had a discernible impact. The US-China Maritime Security Dialogue, for instance, by drawing together leading scholars and policymakers fed into the national debates in both the US and China. It was also heavily reported by the Chinese *Global*

Times.

CISS publications are disseminated not only to academics and scholars but also to key departments and decision-making organs within the Chinese government. CISS enjoys a particularly strong relationship with the Policy Planning Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA). CISS is a “key partner of the MFA in policy research”, a status that only four research institutions in China have received. It demonstrates that CISS is producing policy relevant work and is a clear sign of the impact that MASl can have on the policy-making process in China.

Australian National University

Project Overview

Launched in late May 2009, this project is an undertaking of the Australian National University (ANU), which has been designated a partner institution under Theme 1 on “Managing State-to-State Competition and Cooperation” of the MacArthur Asia Security Initiative (ASI). It aims to investigate alternative policy approaches for shifting from a predominantly US and allied bilateral security posture to a viable bilateral-multilateral nexus in order to enhance regional security.

Project Launch

Professors William Tow and John Ravenhill, co-managers for the ANU project, attended and presented talks on the ANU project and on blogging opportunities for ASI participants during the official launch of the ASI project in Singapore on 27-29 May 2009. In this project launch, Professors Tow and Ravenhill established linkages with participants from other MacArthur grantee institutions and explored areas for project collaboration. In particular, they discussed possibilities for cooperation with Professor Kiichi Fujiwara of the University of Tokyo, Associate Professor Ralf Emmers of RSIS, Nanyang Technological University (NTU), Professor Chung Min Lee of Yonsei University, Mr Rory Medcalf of the Lowy Institute, and Professor Zhu Feng of Peking University.

In all cases, the project has since expanded cooperation with these individuals and their institutions. Professor Tow has worked with Professor Fujiwara on projects dealing with Australia-Japan security relations and with human security with support from Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and the Japan Foundation. Professor Tow is also affiliated with a separate ASI component directed by Associate Professor Emmers while Professor Ravenhill has interacted with Professor Zhu via the International Alliance of Research Universities network. Professor Tow and Professor Lee have recently collaborated on a project dealing with Australia-Korea bilateral relations and have brought together promising young Australian and Korean security scholars in a workshop on that subject. Professor Ravenhill and Professor Tow regularly interact with Mr Medcalf and recently hosted a panel of Lowy Institute experts at the ANU speaking on their own MacArthur ASI work.

During his visiting residency at the ANU (July-August 2009), Professor T.J. Pempel of the University of California, Berkeley and Professors Tow and Ravenhill discussed how best to ensure that overlap between the economics-security nexus component of the ANU project and that of the UC-Tokyo-Yonsei project could be minimized. Professor Pempel

addressed a number of ANU seminars and also interacted with scholars at Griffith University in Brisbane and with the community at large via the Australian Institute of International Affairs.

Project Participants

By the end of December 2009, the ANU project established a full contingent of seven to eight members for each of the four Focus Groups comprising its basic structure. A full list of Focus Group members is attached as Appendix A for reference. The project has also elicited the services of Professor Steven Lamy of the University of Southern California (USC) to write and deliver a case study during the Case Study Teaching/Simulation Sessions in November 2010. Professor Lamy is a renowned case study teacher with an extensive background in teaching Pew Diplomatic Investigation case studies at USC, Harvard and other American institutions. The project has also appointed Admiral Chris Barrie (Ret) as Simulation Director. He is working with Professor Lamy to achieve a smooth integration of case study teaching and simulation activities in November 2010. Admiral Barrie is a former Australian Chief of Defence Force and a highly experienced simulation mentor having worked at the National Defense University in Washington, DC and at other North American venues in such a capacity.

Project Organisational Meeting

The project managers convened a Project Organisational Meeting in Tokyo on 25 September 2009. This session gathered together selected Focus Group members, staff and representatives of other MacArthur grantee institutions. Specifically, the meeting was attended by Professor Tow, Professor Ravenhill, Professor Rikki Kersten (ANU), Dr. Brendan Taylor (ANU), Professor Fujiwara, Associate Professor Emmers, Associate Professor Ajin Choi (Yonsei/U), Associate Professor Ken Jimbo (Keio University), Assistant Professor Ryo Sahashi (U/Tokyo), and some ANU project support staff.

The Organisational Meeting provided an opportunity for the project leaders and the representatives of other MacArthur grantee institutions to conduct productive discussions on the following objectives:

- a. To facilitate the integration of this specific project with other “Track I” ASI projects;
- b. To explore whether the concepts that are intended to unify the efforts of the four Focus Groups for this project are sufficiently coherent; and
- c. To identify which Focus Groups should take the lead in examining specific

conceptual and policy issues.

Inaugural Focus Group Meetings

Throughout the latter part of 2009, project managers and administrators prepared for the first round of Focus Group Meetings that convened in March 2010. Focus Group 1 on *Bilateral and Multilateral Security Nexus* led by Dr. Brendan Taylor convened in Tokyo on 11 March 2010; Focus Group 2 on *Alliances* led by Professor William Tow and Focus Group 4 on *Arms Control* led by Professor Robert Ayson convened in Canberra on 4 March 2010; and Focus Group 3 on *Intersecting Economics and Security* led by Professor John Ravenhill convened in Manila on 11 March 2010. Members of the Focus Groups presented outlines of their papers at these meetings. Preparations were also made by the project’s Postdoctoral Fellow, Dr. David Envall, for field interviews that took place in Tokyo, Okinawa and Seoul during mid-March 2010. Professor Tow participated in the Tokyo interviews. A highlight of the Tokyo focus group meeting was an opportunity for Professor Tow, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Envall and Dr. Evelyn Goh from Royal Holloway, University of London, to give a special panel presentation at the National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS) in the early evening of 11 March. This session was noteworthy in that Mr Nobushige Takamizawa, Director General of the Defense Policy Bureau of Japan’s Ministry of Defense attended and offered valuable input on the project’s research. Additional analysts from the Defense Policy Bureau met with Professor Tow, Dr. Taylor and Dr. Envall on the morning of 12 March.

A more extensive report on Focus Group deliberations and selected papers will be submitted to the Foundation in early May 2010.

Asian Security Seminar Series and Visiting Fellows

The Asian Security Seminar Series was also launched in 2009 by ANU’s Department of International Relations and its Strategic and Defence Studies Centre with the support of funds from the MacArthur ASI and from the Australian Research Council (ARC) Centre of Excellence in Policing and Security (CEPS). To date, it has hosted the following activities:

- a. Lecture of Associate Professor Ralf Emmers of RSIS, NTU, on 30 April 2009;
- b. Lecture of Associate Professor Bilveer Singh of the National University of Singapore on 3 June 2009;
- c. Lecture of Professor T.J. Pempel of the University of California, Berkeley, on 30 July 2009;
- d. Lecture of Professor Stuart Harris of ANU on 20 August 2009;

- e. Lecture of Dr. Gudrun Wacker of the German Institute for International Security Affairs on 29 September 2009;
- f. Lecture of Professor Douglas Webber of INSEAD on 23 October 2009;
- g. Roundtable Discussion and Young Leaders Briefing with Mr Ralph Cossa and Mr Brad Glosserman of Pacific Forum CSIS on 23 November 2009;
- h. Roundtable Discussion with Dr. Ren Xiao of Fudan University on 4 December 2009;
- i. Lecture of Lowy Institute key officers Mr Andrew Shearer, Dr. Malcolm Cook, Mr Rory Medcalf and Mr Raoul Heinrichs on 5 February 2010;
- j. Lecture of Professor Renato De Castro of De La Salle University in the Philippines on 5 March 2010; and
- k. Lecture of Ms Amy King of Oxford University on 1 April 2010.

The seminar series has promoted in-depth discussion on various issues and current developments in Asia Pacific security among academic staff, students, think tanks, policy makers and government practitioners in Canberra. Associate Professor Emmers and Professor Pempel were also Visiting Fellows at the ANU during April 2009 and July-August 2009, respectively. Their presence facilitated coordination and dialogue between the ANU's ASI project and that of their home institutions (NTU and the University of California, Berkeley, respectively). We have secured a commitment from Professor Robert Ross (Boston University) to become a Visiting Fellow in late 2010 and are communicating with other well known US and regional scholars to accept a similar appointment during 2011 and early 2012.

Media Dissemination and Outputs

The project has successfully launched its project website at <http://asi.anu.edu.au> which features project information and updates, as well as podcasts of the seminar series.

The ASI project was featured in a press release by the ANU's Media Office on 20 May 2009 and in the *Australian Financial Review* on 4 June 2009. It will be the topic of a feature article in the ANU Reporter to be published on 5 May 2010 and distributed through the *Canberra Times* as well as within the ANU campus.

Professors Tow and Ravenhill both contributed to the MacArthur ASI blogsite in 2009 and have written op-ed articles for the *Canberra Times* and the *East Asia Forum*. Professor Kersten has also contributed op-ed pieces to the *Canberra Times*.

Professor Tow and Dr. Taylor published a major piece on Asia Pacific multilateral security "What is an Asian security architecture?" in the *Review of International Studies*, volume 36, number 1 (January 2010), pages 95-116.

Dr. Taylor and fellow Focus Group 1 member Dr. David Capie have had an article

accepted by the *Pacific Review* on Track II multilateral politics in Asia that will appear in that journal's third issue to be published during 2010.

Postdoctoral Fellow

The postdoctoral fellowship was awarded to Dr. Envall, who joined the project from La Trobe University, and commenced his duties on 19 November 2009. He has been involved in preparing for research interviews in Tokyo, Okinawa and Seoul, which took place in March 2010, and in preparing for interviews to be carried out in Singapore, Bangkok and Manila in July 2010. He has also initiated a database for all the four Focus Groups to access using the Zotero database system. Focus Group members were provided extensive briefings on using the Zotero system during the inaugural focus group sessions convened in March 2010.

Project Support Staff

In January 2009, Ms Sheila Flores was designated as the Project Officer. She assists the project managers in project implementation and coordination. She also liaises with all project participants and partners, supports the convening of the seminar series, and maintains the project website. Ms Chizuko Horiuchi also supports the project as Administrative Assistant.

The Way Ahead (Years Two and Three)

For the remaining two years of the ANU's ASI project, major activities planned include the following:

- Professors Ravenhill and Tow will be panellists at the ANU National Security College launch on 27 May 2010 and will speak about the Project following a keynote address by Australia's Prime Minister Kevin Rudd;
- Professor Tow and Focus Group 3 member Dr. Andrew Phillips will host a workshop on nuclear non-proliferation on 23 June 2010 featuring ANU Chancellor and former Foreign Minister Gareth Evans and several North American experts on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty;
- Second Annual MacArthur Grantees Meeting in Seoul, South Korea, on 7-8 July 2010;
- Mid-Project Evaluation Workshop in Singapore on 20-21 July 2010;
- Research interviews in Singapore, Bangkok and Manila in July 2010;

- Asian Security Seminar Series and Visiting Fellows throughout the project's second year;
- Second Focus Group Meetings in Canberra, Australia, on 2-3 November 2010;
- Case Study/Simulation Exercise in Canberra, Australia, on 4-5 November 2010;
- Workshop and Presentation of final papers of all Focus Groups in Beijing, China, projected for May 2011; and,
- Production of edited volumes or publication of work in refereed journals in 2011 and 2012.

Center for Strategic & International Studies

The Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), through the generous support of the MacArthur Foundation Asian Security Initiative, has recently completed a center-wide project with seven of our relevant regional and functional programs looking at patterns of cooperation among Asia-Pacific countries to address non-traditional security challenges. This inquiry was driven by our previous study for MacArthur, *Strategic Views of Asian Regionalism* in which CSIS completed a survey of Asian leaders and elites on their views about the future regional architecture. The survey results demonstrated that despite broad support conceptually for an "East Asia Community," there is still skepticism across Asia about the ability of current regional institutions to handle security, economic, or transnational crises.

In our latest study, *Asia's Response to Climate Change and Natural Disasters: Implications for an Evolving Regional Architecture*, CSIS scholars examine how Asia as a region has responded to the nontraditional and trans boundary security threats of climate change and natural disasters. We discuss its implications for the evolution of regional institutions to meet future challenges.

While climate change is generally acknowledged as a threat to the region, Asia as a whole has not responded forcefully or in unity to this challenge. Many governments do not see this threat as urgent or of high priority, given pressing and often competing demands for sustaining livelihood and economic growth, especially among the more populous developing countries. They look to the United States and other advanced industrial countries to take on greater responsibility for meeting this global challenge. At the same time, however, there is increasing awareness of the potentially catastrophic risks associated with climate change, particularly among those affected or likely to be affected. A number of countries have set their own targets and, often with external assistance and within regional organizations, have undertaken measures to increase energy efficiency and reduce carbon emissions to curb pollution while enhancing energy security. Indonesia and some of its neighbors in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) have begun to address the effects of trans border haze, for example. Moreover, some governments aspire to take the lead in global climate change negotiations to enhance their prestige, while others seek economic gains from emerging "green industries."

In contrast to climate change, Asia's response to natural disasters has been more vigorous. A series of major disasters that started with the Indian Ocean tsunami in 2004 has generated an outpouring of international assistance and proliferation of regional initiatives. In 2005, ASEAN members signed the first legally binding treaty in the world for comprehensive interstate disaster management. In 2010, the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum decided to elevate its task force on emergency preparedness to a

permanent working group.

Governments and regional institutions are also looking beyond immediate humanitarian relief missions to developmental issues of mitigation and adaptation to reduce disaster risk. There is increasing focus on slow-onset disasters related to climate change that may affect critical water sources in the Himalayas and along the Mekong River Basin. Our study cautions, however, that these initiatives have not cemented the region's ability to respond to future disasters. We discuss problems related to the lack of coordination at different levels, the uncertain role of the military and continued gaps in resource and expertise in key organizations. We recommend steps be taken to rationalize the multitude of initiatives to improve coherence but, more importantly, to develop greater technical expertise and on-the-ground capability among existing institutions.

Although Asia lacks, and is not likely to develop, a single umbrella organization such as the European Union or the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, our study concludes that the region's patchwork of overlapping institutions can work to address problems in response not only to local environmental hazards and natural disasters but also to other security threats, through arrangements like the Six-Party Talks on the Korean Peninsula. Responses are effective when there is consensus on common threats and interests and when individual governments and institutions are willing to take on responsibility for forging collective action.

These *ad hoc* arrangements and the pluralistic structure of overlapping regional institutions are often more flexible and able to circumvent the constraints of political rivalries and formal organizations, as in the cases of Cyclone Nargis in Burma or the Sichuan earthquake in China. Moreover, we see strong bilateral ties as complementing rather than undermining these multilateral arrangements. Nonetheless, we also acknowledge that such *ad hoc* arrangements face issues of duplication and seldom address broader and longer-term regional challenges, such as climate change or other security issues. Current efforts should focus on strengthening and, in some cases, further institutionalizing existing arrangements to increase transparency and accountability and bring sharper focus on Asia's long-term challenges.

Looking further ahead, particularly with respect to U.S. policy, we believe that the U.S. role will continue to be critical in supporting the region's response to many of the natural disasters it will face. At the same time, the United States should seek to focus Asia's attention increasingly on the long-term threat of climate change and other slow-onset disasters. Not only is the region expected to be a major victim of the consequences of climate change, but it is also a major source of the threat itself. We recommend that the United States not only continue its bilateral and multilateral programs to increase energy efficiency and the use of alternative energy and clean coal technology but also begin to explore broad, secure, low-carbon pathways within the Asia-Pacific Partnership on Clean

Development and Climate. We recommend that the partnership expand its membership and mission by including other major emitters like Indonesia and countries that expect to be severely affected by climate change to address the related threat of fresh water shortages and flooding within the Mekong River basin and coastal waters. We conclude that U.S. leadership in the partnership can also generate the momentum needed to achieve a global agreement on climate change.

As CSIS moves forward in our study of Asian regional architecture, it is clear that legacy challenges of history, identity, rivalry have prevented states in the region from forming unified formal institutions- a factor in why the existing architecture is a patchwork and informal network of institutions. Historical rivalries in Asia shape regional institutions, multilateral and bilateral relationships, and still at times impede practical cooperation. This legacy limits the commitments of regional powers not only in traditional, hard security areas, but even in response to nontraditional, transnational threats.

Assessing the impact of these legacy challenges on institution building in the region will be critical for the future. CSIS and its Asian regional team of experts will study these factors by surveying national leaders and utilizing the regional network built up from past work with MacArthur, with a view to allowing decision-makers to better understand how legacy challenges frame states' perspectives in the region. Understanding Asian views of identity, power and institutions will be critical to prevent international conflict and manage common challenges in the future.

Centre for Policy Research

Centre for Policy Research (CPR) commenced a project titled 'Prospects of Regional Cooperation in South Asia' under the Asian Security Initiative in May 2009. This project examines the possibilities and prospects for new forms of inter-state cooperation in South Asia — a region that teems with a host of old and fresh security challenges. The major powers of the region continue to have outstanding territorial disputes; the arc of security challenges posed by terrorism stretches from Kabul to Dhaka; the ability of the states to cope with ethnic conflicts remains moot; and the security implications of key developmental challenges like migration, climate change, and uneven growth are particularly intense in the region. The project seeks to deepen our understanding of the drivers of conflict and insecurity in the region, and the prospects for changing the paradigms in which they are currently understood.

These objectives are sought to be realized by creating and fostering high quality scholarship both academic and policy-oriented. In so doing, CPR aims at imparting much needed scholarly heft to the disciplines of International Relations and Security Studies in South Asia. It also seeks to forge closer links between academia and policy-makers, by promoting closer interaction, meaningful research and better diffusion of ideas.

In the past year, much of our effort has been channelled towards defining the key themes of this ambitious intellectual agenda; identifying appropriate scholars and creating a strong network of expertise; and commissioning the first set of research studies and policy briefs. The project has a core team of two CPR faculty members: Dr. Nimmi Kurian and Dr. Srinath Raghavan. They are supported by a project associate and research assistants. We have also constituted an advisory board for the project, comprising of leading international academics. The board primarily functions as an intellectual sounding board for the project, helping us to identify research themes and scholars, to ensure quality control and wide dissemination of research. The advisory board currently includes Professor Wang Jisi (Dean, School of International Studies, Peking University, Beijing), Dr. E. Sridharan (Director, University of Pennsylvania Institute for Advanced Study of India), Dr. Ashley Tellis (Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington DC).

The research focus of the project is divided into four broadly-defined clusters. The first focuses on the relationship between domestic politics/political economy, and the foreign and security policies of states in South Asia. Research on this theme concentrates on several aspects of this relationship: civil-military relations, strategic culture, coalition politics, institutions and identities. The second cluster examines the interaction between states of the region, major external powers and the wider architecture of global governance. The topics that are examined include South Asia in American grand strategy, China and

the subcontinent, the Sino-Indian relationship, the impact on international institutions of the emergence of India and China, International Relations theory and the rise of India. The third cluster focuses on the theme of ethnicity and transnational conflicts in the subcontinent. The research will centre on a set of long-standing problems: Pashtuns and the Afghanistan-Pakistan rivalry; Tibetans and the Sino-Indian relationship; Tamils and the India-Sri Lanka relationship; ethnic conflicts and India's neighbours in North-East. The fourth cluster concentrates on non-traditional security challenges and regional architectures for dealing with them. The topics that will be examined include water, migration, trade and business, energy and resources. The themes that have been chosen are of major contemporary relevance and are likely to remain important in the years ahead. Thus they not only address significant gaps in our current state of knowledge, but also set out a long-term research and intellectual agenda.

The project intends to undertake and commission 20 research papers in the next two years. This will be achieved by drawing on a robust network of international collaboration, which brings together both established and upcoming scholars. We have already commissioned 10 papers focusing on the themes laid out in the first two clusters: domestic politics/ political economy, and foreign and security policies; South Asia, the major external powers, and global governance. To work through these papers, we are convening our first research workshop on 26-27 November 2010 in New Delhi. The workshop will provide an opportunity for detailed presentation and indepth evaluation of research. The participants will not only benefit from the comments and suggestions of their colleagues but also of external discussants and policy-makers. The working papers of the participant will be hosted on the programme website (currently under renovation). The final, longer papers (about 15000 words) will be submitted by the participants within 3 months of the workshop.

The faculty members working in the project are also pursuing their individual research in areas that are central to the intellectual agenda of the project. Dr. Nimmi Kurian's research focuses on exploring major debates in Asian International Relations with a focus on India and China, multilevel governance issues and state-society relations in India and China. She is currently working on a book project *Margins and Mainstreams: Sub-Regional Imaginaries in India and China* that looks at how national borders situated in transnational neighbourhoods wrestle with several inherent contradictions between national and transnational interpretive lenses. She is also working on a coauthored book manuscript *The India-China Borderlands: New Connections for Ancient Geographies*. Dr. Srinath Raghavan has recently published a book *War and Peace in Modern India: A Strategic History of the Nehru Years*. The book examines the origins of the India-Pakistan and Sino-Indian relationships and the drivers of conflict that persist to date. He is now writing an international history of the Bangladesh crisis of 1971. This book is slated to be

published in late 2011. He is also editing a volume of papers focusing on institutions and practices of national security in India (to be published in 2011 by Routledge). In addition, he is pursuing his long-standing research interests in civil-military relations and strategic theory. During this period, both faculty member have also published several journal articles and book chapters, and presented research papers at international conferences.

In addition to academic research, the project publishes policy briefs on topical issues of regional security and cooperation. The first of these was published in February 2010. It examined India's options in Afghanistan in the aftermath of the London Conference. The brief was widely circulated and elicited interest from several quarters, ranging from the Indian government to NATO member countries' embassies in New Delhi. The forthcoming briefs will focus on nuclear security and non-proliferation, naval competition in the Indian Ocean Region, the upcoming East Asia summit, and Myanmar.

Faculty members working on the project have also been active in public interventions on current policy issues. They have written extensively in leading Indian newspapers, magazines and journals of opinion, contributing over 35 opinion pieces in just the past year. The project has also been organizing a series of public talks as well as closed-door discussions on contemporary foreign policy and security issues. This series has hosted an excellent line of speakers including Professor Stephen Rosen, Dr. Thant Myint-U, Dr. Bruce Jones, among others.

The project is also collaborating with the Department of War Studies, King's College London in conducting periodic meetings on the evolving situation in Afghanistan and Pakistan. These meetings bring together senior officials, military personnel, and academics from India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, the UK and the US for intense discussions over two-days. The first meeting was held in London in August 2009 and the second in March 2010. We expect to help organize another round in September 2010. These meetings have proved extremely useful for sharing of views, analysis of trends, and percolation of ideas. The outcomes of these meetings have been shared with the respective governments as well.

Looking ahead, we wish to continue focusing on the production of high-quality research by expanding and strengthening our network of collaboration. Later this year, we intend to commission a further 10 papers focusing on the other two clusters: ethnicity and transnational conflicts; non-traditional security challenges and regional architectures. We will convene a second workshop, possibly as part of a larger conference, in late 2011. This will enable us to have all the commissioned research papers by April 2012, when the current round of funding comes to an end.

At the same time, we also intend to concentrate on the dissemination of research products. Three issues in particular will be addressed. First, we are keen to further strengthen our links with policy-makers, both in India and abroad. Our efforts in this direction have been considerably strengthened by the most recent addition to CPR faculty:

Mr. Shyam Saran, former Foreign Secretary and Special Envoy to the Prime Minister. We hope to leverage Mr. Saran's presence at CPR to reach out to policy and decision-makers at the highest levels.

Second, the new project website will be in place soon. We wish to use it as a platform both to showcase our work (working papers, policy briefs, op-eds) and as a resource for our widening group of collaborators.

Finally, we wish to focus on the modality of publication of the research papers. We are currently exploring the option of publishing each of these as a stand-alone monograph (along the lines of the Adelphi Paper series published by IISS) in collaboration with an academic press. We are current discussing this option with an international academic publishing house. Alternatively, we will publish them as two large volumes of collected papers. The thematic organization of the papers lends itself quite easily to this format as well. In either form, we hope that the publications will attest the quality as well as the quantum of research undertaken by CPR as part of the Asian Security Initiative.

Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University

The Sigur Center for Asian Studies promotes research and policy analysis on East Asia, Northeast Asia, Southeast Asia and South Asia through an active program of publishing, teaching, public events and policy engagement. The Center offers students the largest Asian Studies program in the Washington, DC metropolitan region — with around 70 faculty members working on Asia. It has enjoyed status as a signature program of the university since 2003. This report summarizes the achievements of the Sigur Center in general and of the Power and Identity in Asia project, sponsored by the MacArthur Foundation, in particular over the past academic year. The report also describes the future plans of the Power and Identity project.

Providing Intellectual Leadership on Asia

Faculty at the Sigur Center made a significant contribution to scholarship on Asia with six book launches in 2009-2010: Daqing Yang and Bernard Finn, *Communications Under the Seas: The Evolving Cable Network and Its Implications* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2009); Chad Rector, *Federations: The Political Dynamics of Cooperation* (Cornell University Press, 2009); Henry R. Nau, *International Relations in Perspective: A Reader* (CQ Press, December 2009); Young-Key Kim-Renaud, *Korean: An Essential Grammar* (Routledge, May 2009); Bruce Dickson and Jie Chen, *Allies of the State: Democratic Support and Regime Support among China's Private Entrepreneurs* (Harvard University Press, June 2010); Robert Sutter (adjunct professor), *Chinese Foreign Relations: Power and Policy since the Cold War* (Rowman and Littlefield, Dec. 2009).

Sigur Center scholars also wrote a wide range of articles, both to educate the broader public and to contribute to academic knowledge. Professor David Shambaugh's article "China's 60th Birthday: The Road to Prosperity," was the lead article in *Time's* September 28, 2009 international edition. Intervening in a policy debate, Mike Mochizuki contributed "A Proposed Compromise on Futenma: The Unnecessary Crisis" in *The Oriental Economist* (January 2010), pp. 13-14. Henry R. Nau reviewed the President's accomplishments and approach in "Obama's Foreign Policy," *Policy Review* (April/May 2010).

Faculty also contributed a wide variety of scholarly articles. Shawn McHale explored the genesis of fanaticism in "Understanding the Fanatic Mind? The Viet Minh and Race Hatred in the First Indochina War (1945-1954)," *Journal of Vietnamese Studies* (Oct. 2009): 98-138. Other essays and articles included Mike Mochizuki, "Political-Security Competition and the FTA Movement: Motivations and Consequences," in *Competitive*

Regionalism: Explaining the Diffusion and Implications of FTAs in the Pacific Rim, eds. Mireya Solis, Barbara Stallings & Saori Katada. NY: Palgrave, 2010; Nikola Mirilovic, a postdoctoral Research Associate at the Sigur Center, published "The Politics of Immigration: Dictatorship, Development, and Defense," *Comparative Politics* Vol. 42, 3 (April 2010); Jisoo Kim, "Individual Petitions: Petitions by Women in the Chosôn," in JaHyun Kim Haboush, ed., *Epistolary Korea: Letters in the Communicative Space of the Chosôn, 1392-1910* (NY: Columbia University Press, 2009), 68-76.

Increased Engagement: Expanding the Dialogue on Asia

Over the year, the Center drew an audience of 3,446 to our ongoing lecture series, conferences and seminars. Attendees came from the academic, policy, government and non-governmental worlds. We held 69 events at the Elliott School with 3296 attendees — the highest audience numbers we have ever recorded. In addition, we held five distinct events in Beijing, China and New Delhi, India that included 150 attendees. We reached a new record in terms of attendees and number of events.

Of great interest was our partnership with outside organizations. We hosted at ESIA the "2009 Northeast Asian Women's Peace Conference," co-sponsored with a network of Korea-based organizations. We collaborated with the Smithsonian Institution and the Korea Society to bring a Korean Buddhist ensemble to Washington for a major performance in ritual, song, and dance. We continued our valuable collaboration with the Asia Society, which brought prize winning political scientist Duncan McCargo from the UK to speak on violence in southern Thailand. Well-known public intellectual and China historian Jeffrey Wasserstrom spoke to over 200 attendees during the launch of his book *China in the Twentieth-First Century: What Everyone Needs to Know*.

Among the numerous talks and conferences, some stand out. We were pleased, along with our affiliated Program on Memory and Reconciliation in Asia, to support a major international conference on "The Tokyo War Crimes Trial and Japan Today." It took place on September 11-12, 2009. We supported the 17th Annual Hahn Moo Sook Colloquium, a signature event at GWU, with its conference on "Representing Korea's Visual Culture and Heritage: Defining Identity through the Aesthetic Qualities of Korean Art." This event was co-sponsored with the Columbian College of Arts and Sciences, and the Institute for Ethnographic Research. C. Raja Mohan, a leading voice on Indian affairs, captivated attendees with his November 16th, 2009 talk on Rising India's Great Power Burden.

The Sigur Center's Affiliated Research and Policy Programs

The China Policy Program, led by Professor David Shambaugh, hosted two major

conferences last year. The first, in June 2009, was the “Sixth U.S.-European Dialogue on China,” was held at the Elliott School and co-sponsored with the Sigur Center, the Centre Asia of Sciences-Po (Paris) and the European Council on Foreign Relations. Program Director David Shambaugh also hosted an international conference on “Charting China’s Future, 2010-2015” held at and co-sponsored with Jesus College, University of Cambridge (England) in December 2009.

The Taiwan Education and Research Program, directed by Edward A. McCord, sponsored two Taiwan Forums, the first featuring Charles W. Freeman, III, Freeman Chair in China Studies, Center for Strategic and International Studies, and the second which had commentary from Tony (Sowang) Kuo, Visiting Fellow, Stimson Center. The US-Japan Legislative Exchange Program, directed by Henry R. Nau, built on its past successes. The US-Japan-South Korea Legislative Exchange Program involves a bilateral exchange (LEP) with Members of the Japanese Diet and a trilateral exchange (TLEP) adding Members from the South Korean National Assembly. The program brings together twice a year a core group of U.S. Congressional Members, Japanese Diet Members, and South Korean National Assembly Members to debate in-depth and informally the broad range of issues affecting domestic and foreign relations. The LEP, which began in 1989, completed its 42nd session in Tokyo, Japan in January 2010, while the TLEP, which began in 2003, held its 10th session.

The Memory and Reconciliation in the Asia-Pacific Program, co-directed by Mike Mochizuki and Daqing Yang, co-sponsored a workshop on the Tokyo Trials, which brought together experts from around the world to discuss the legacy of the war crimes trials in Tokyo after World War II. Within the workshop, there was a public event, “The Tokyo Trials and Japan Today,” which featured presentations by some of the workshop participants. (Professor Yang has submitted a separate detailed report).

Power and Identity in Asia Project

The primary question that the project addresses is whether international relations in Asia in the foreseeable future are likely to be characterized by cooperation and regional integration or by security tensions and interstate war. The secondary goal of the project is to assess the dominant security orientations of the powers studied (China, India, Japan, Korea, ASEAN) regarding cooperation with the United States and United States leadership in Asia. We study how those outcomes are affected by variation in national identities: what values key actors in those states hold and how they prioritize them, how they perceive their role in the region, and what international perspectives they hold.

The project will make an important contribution to the international relations literature. Scholars increasingly study identity issues, but defining and operationalizing identity have remained problematic issues. A related problem has been a lack of cross-national comparison and testing in the literature on the relationship between power and identity. Our project examines several countries across the same dimensions of identity which allows for cross-national comparison.

The project also provides key insights for policymakers. Identity issues matter for international security outcomes, and thus are important from a policy perspective for regional actors and the U.S. alike. Moreover, perceptions of history and past conflicts greatly shape national identity and images of other countries. A better understanding of how identity issues affect the international policies of China, India, Japan, Korea and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), is essential for promoting regional peace and cooperation. We will make information about the relationship between identity and power in Asia available to policymakers, journalists and analysts through several mechanisms described below.

Project Achievements

Attracting High Level Expertise: We have recruited some of the leading experts on China, India, Japan, South Korea, and ASEAN as the co-authors of scholarly articles on each of those countries or international organizations. The U.S. based authors are Amitav Acharya of American University, Allen Carlson of Cornell University, and Gregg Brazinsky, Charles Glaser, Mike Mochizuki, and Deepa Ollapally of the George Washington University (GWU). The Asia-based authors are: Allan Layug, of the University of the Philippines, Diliman, Song Wei, of the School of International Studies, Peking University, Pratap Bhanu Mehta, the President of the Centre for Policy Research (New Delhi, India), Isao Miyaoka of Keio University, Tokyo, and Jong-dae Shin, of the University of North Korean Studies in Seoul. Nikola Mirilovic, who recently completed his political science PhD at the University of Chicago, has been hired as a postdoctoral research associate.

China Events: The Sigur Center and the China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU) co-organized a conference on identity issues and regional cooperation in Asia that took place in Beijing on May 19, 2010. In addition to the scholars affiliated with the Power and Identity project, prominent China-based Professors acted as conference presenters or discussants. They are affiliated with the following institutions: CFAU, China Institute of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR), Peking University, and the China Institute of International Studies (CIIS). In addition to the conference, meetings were held between U.S.-based conference attendees and experts from the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs

and the China Institute of Contemporary International Relations. Nikola Mirilovic interviewed more than a dozen China-based experts, mostly young Professors based at top Chinese universities, for his research on the role of diasporas in international relations.

Website: The Sigur Center has launched a website (<http://www.gwu.edu/~power/>) used partly as a means to disseminate the findings of the “Power and Identity” project. The project has attracted broad international interests. Visitors to the site have come from 40 different countries from six different continents. U.S.-based visitors have come from 32 different states. Altogether, 873 different people have visited the website from mid-January until early June.

National and Asian Networks: We are making rapid strides in establishing weblinks and expanding our network of US and Asian contacts. The website includes links to leading universities and think-tanks in China, India, Japan and Russia, with additional links in South Korea and other ASEAN countries forthcoming. We are compiling country relevant lists of experts and media personnel in the US for each of the countries being studied as well as contact lists in these countries. In India alone, we have a list of more than 300 key individuals who receive our announcements and publications.

Policy Commentaries: we have produced and distributed to our lists of contacts two policy commentaries on the trade agreements between ASEAN and China and India, respectively. The authors of the policy briefs are Professors Jiawen Yang, Elliott School of International Affairs (GWU) and Amita Batra, Jawaharlal Nehru University (New Delhi, India), respectively. A third policy commentary, by Dr. REN Zhe of Hokkaido University, Japan will be completed shortly.

Peter Katzenstein Event: the formal launch of the “Power and Identity” project took place on April 13th. The keynote speaker was Peter Katzenstein, an acclaimed political scientist and a Professor at Cornell University. Professor Katzenstein’s talk was followed by a dinner which included prominent Washington DC-based academics and government officials.

Policy and Media Briefing: on April 27th, Professors Brazinsky, Carlson, Mochizuki, and Ollapally presented their “Power and Identity” research in Washington, DC. The audience included prominent DC-based academics, policy analysts, and journalists.

University-Wide Impact: Michael Brown, the Dean of the Elliott School, has supported the “Power and Identity” project, for example by committing to attend and by helping fund the Katzenstein event described above. Steven Knapp, the president of GWU,

highlighted the importance of the “Power and Identity” project in his comments at a GWU event in Hong Kong. Furthermore, a new pilot course “Rising Powers: Rivals or Allies” which is part of another project, will directly benefit the “Power and Identity” project. The co-principal investigators will serve as guest lecturers for the course which is scheduled for Fall 2010.

Rising Powers Initiative Consolidation: The Sigur Center has consolidated the “Power and Identity” project with related work into the new Rising Powers Initiative (RPI). Over 3,000 contacts in the U.S. and Asia were notified of the electronic launch of the RPI in January 2010 in an announcement by the Dean of the Elliott School, the Director of the Sigur Center and the University President. President Steven Knapp described it as “an opportunity for George Washington’s outstanding Sigur Center to deepen out understanding of some of the most vibrant and turbulent nations.” The Initiative is in turn is in the process of being upgraded to the status of a Program at the Elliott School. Program status will ensure an enduring effect for the “Power and Identity” project work.

Future Plans

Colloquium in New Delhi: This event will be held in January 2011 and will be hosted by the Centre for Policy Research. It will be a one day conference, followed by two days of extensive meetings with government, media and non-governmental organizations.

Policy and Media Briefing: Two more policy briefings, following the format described above, by U.S. based experts on China, Japan, and India, will be held in Washington DC.

International Workshop: Will be held at the Sigur Center on “Identity and Security in Major and Aspiring Asian Powers: Implications for Regional and Global Cooperation” toward the completion of the project.

Policy Commentaries: In addition to the policy commentaries described above, The Sigur Center will commission and distribute four more policy commentaries in addition to the ones listed above.

Blog: We are currently in the process of establishing a Blog as part of the Rising Powers Initiative which will focus on developments in Asia and issues of concern.

Peer-reviewed Publications: An important end product of the project will be six 25-page collaborative papers on regional and global security cooperation (on China, Japan, India,

Korea, ASEAN, and the US, respectively). The papers will be submitted for publication to a prominent political science academic journal, either individually or as a part of a special issue.

Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations

Strategic and Economic Capacity Building Programme (SECP)

Lead Researcher: Amb. Santosh Kumar

Researchers: Partha S. Sarkar, Ishaan Joshi

Sponsoring Agency: MacArthur Foundation

Duration: 3 years

Commencement: August 2009

This 3-year programme, undertaken by the Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations (ICRIER), is being supported by a \$450,000 grant from the MacArthur Foundation as a part of its Asia Security Initiative. The objective of the project is to address South Asia's increasing need for research and capacity-building in formulating its policy stance on strategic and economic international relations. The target group is the South Asian external policy community, including diplomats, other government officials, academics, politicians, and media persons likely to be future decision and opinion makers on strategic and economic issues.

This is being addressed through two modules — a *Research Module* to undertake quality research and build research capacity through 6-month research projects, to be undertaken by younger researchers with mentoring from internationally reputed experts; and a *Training Module*, to expose the strategic-economic community to international front line thinking and analysis by conducting annual advanced briefing programmes on critical strategic and economic themes for senior diplomats, academics, political and media persons, and other decision/opinion makers of South Asia's external policy community. Both modules will take the help of internationally reputed faculty and experts.

Research Module

In this year, ICRIER has so far commissioned 4 research papers, being prepared by researchers from India, Nepal and Pakistan, under the mentorship of reputed experts. The titles are:

- Trans-border Identity: Implications for India's Foreign Policy
- External powers and regional cooperation in South Asia: Sino-US equation
- Indo-Nepal Relations for the Future: Giving a Strategic Thrust
- Strategic Influence of Soft Power: Chinese Engagement of Southeast Asia

Several other research proposals are under consideration.

Training Module

The first Advanced Briefing Programme on Critical Strategic and Economic Themes is being organized from 8-20 November 2010 in New Delhi. A pioneering effort, it aims at exposing South Asia's younger diplomats and opinion makers to front line international strategic thinking and analysis, in an innovative, interactive framework. It has been designed as a state-of-the art programme, with a faculty of internationally reputed experts. There will be more than 20 sessions over a period of two weeks, on issues of the future organized within the following broad themes:

The Global Situation: Broad overview of developments in the global economy, the shifting balance of power, international trade and governance regimes, and scenarios for the future

The South Asian Context: The rise of Asia, prospects for regional cooperation in South Asia, scenarios for India's future

The Dynamics of Power & Security Challenges: Global and regional geopolitics and security issues

Climate change, Energy and Natural Resources: The present situation, future scenarios, problems of international cooperation

Within these themes, there will be more than 20 sessions covering the following issues:

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|---|--|
| • The World: 2020 | • Nuclear, Space & other Critical Technologies |
| • The New Economic Order | • Cyber Security |
| • The Decline of the West? | • Strategic challenges in the Indian Ocean |
| • The Rise of China: Myth and Reality | • Human Security |
| • Global Governance: Evolution and Reform | • Smart Power |
| • International Trade: the Dangers of Protectionism | • Climate Control as a Global Public Good |
| • The Asian Century | • The Energy Challenge: towards a Carbon-Free World |
| • Whither South Asian Integration? | • Energy Cooperation |
| • India: Many Futures | • Water Resources: Conflict and Cooperation |
| • Regional Security Architecture and Dynamics | • The Next Green Revolution: Agriculture & Food Security |
| • Jihadism and the Af-Pak Region | |
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More details about the programme can be found at the website:
http://www.icrier.org/research/ongoing_strategicSECP.htm

Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies

The Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS) has been sanctioned a three-year grant of USD 450,000 by the MacArthur Foundation's Asia Security Initiative in 2009, for the project titled "Developing a Framework for Regional Cooperation in Southern Asia".

The aim of the project as envisioned by the IPCS is to sustain and strengthen the process by which India and China are able to cooperate on the key challenges affecting their bilateral relationship and, to involve their smaller neighbors in their economic growth stories.

To facilitate this, three focus areas have been identified:

1. Strengthening Military Confidence Building Measures on Land and Maritime Issues between India and China
2. Expanding Economic Activity along the Sino-Indian Border Areas
3. Developing Infrastructure for Connectivity between India and China

Each of three focus areas under the project proceeds according to individual schedules, running parallel to each other over the proposed time period. The objective in each case is to produce policy documents, including interim ones, where necessary that will make specific recommendations to the governments involved aimed at pointing out areas suffering for lack of sufficient attention, addressing lacunae, correcting course or creatively dealing with hitherto intractable problems. Ideas generated during field trips and research will be disseminated periodically through extensive interaction and reporting through the media via, op-ed articles, news reports, interviews and other means of information sharing through the Institute's enormously popular web site.

FOCUS AREA 1

Strengthening Military Confidence Building Measures on Land and Maritime Issues between India and China

MAJOR ACHIEVEMENTS: Thus far, for the first focus area the IPCS has held the following major activities:

1. **Planning Conference** (October 2009, Singapore)
2. **Conference with draft papers** (March 2010, Beijing)
3. **Meetings with think-tanks** (March 2010, Beijing)
4. **Debriefing** based on the Beijing meetings for the strategic community in India (April 2010, New Delhi).

The Planning Conference held in Singapore (October 2009) included leading scholars and experts from **India** (Maj Gen Dipankar Banerjee, Director, IPCS; Prof Srikanth Kondapalli, Chairperson, Centre of East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University; Brig Gurmeet Kanwal, Director, Centre for Land Warfare Studies; Mr Mohan Guruswamy, Director, Centre for Policy Alternatives; Mr Sanjoy Hazarika, Managing Trustee, Centre for North East Studies and Policy Research; Ms Rukmani Gupta, Research Fellow, IPCS) **China** (Amb Zhou Gang, Director, China Foundation for International Studies; Maj Gen Pan Zhenqiang, Deputy Chairman, China Foundation for International Studies; Prof Shen Dingli, Director, Centre for American Studies, Fudan University; Prof Ren Jia, Vice President, Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences; Prof Zhang Guihong, Executive Director, Centre for South Asian Studies, Fudan University; Dr Li Ling, Assistant Professor, Institute of Economics, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences) and **Nepal** (Mr Nishchal Nath Pandey).

The purpose of the Planning Conference was to:

- identify the broad themes that need to be addressed in focus area of Military CBMs;
- identify potential participants for a two day conference on Military CBMs in March 2010;
- offer suggestions on reaching the results of the project to policy-relevant circles.

The Conference on Military CBMs was held in Beijing (March 2010) in collaboration with the Chinese People's Association for Peace and Disarmament. Papers were presented and discussed during this two-day conference. The titles for the papers were:

- India-China Strategic Relations
- Enhancing Military CBMs along the border in the East and the West
- Promoting Nuclear CBMs
- Mutually Beneficial Maritime Cooperation
- Anti-terrorism Cooperation
- Facilitating Media and Think Tank interactions

Scholars from India (Maj Gen Dipankar Banerjee, Director, IPCS; Brig Arun Sahgal, Consultant, IPCS; Prof Srikanth Kondapalli, Professor, Chinese Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University; Cdr KK Agnihotri, Research Fellow, National Maritime Foundation; Prof Swaran Singh, Professor, Diplomacy and Disarmament, Jawaharlal Nehru University; Ms Rukmani Gupta, Research Fellow, IPCS) and **China** (Mr Niu Qiang, Secretary General, Chinese People's Association for Peace and Disarmament; Maj Gen Pan Zhenqiang, Deputy Chairman, China Foundation for International Studies; Sr Col Wang Guifang,

Senior Research Fellow, the PLA Academy of Military Science; Prof Shen Dingli, Director, Centre for American Studies, Fudan University; Prof Xia Liping, Dean, School of International Relations, Tongji University; Maj Gen Gong Xianfu, Deputy Chairman, China Institute for International Strategic Studies; Prof Wang Fan, Director, Institute of International Relations, China Foreign Affairs University) **participated in this conference.**

The IPCS-led delegation to Beijing held **Meetings with leading think-tanks** on topical issues that included : India-China Relations; 'Af-Pak' Policy and the Region; East Asia and Emerging Architecture; Nuclear Issues; Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The IPCS held meetings with **China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR)** where the Chinese participants included Cui Liru, Director, CICIR; Hu Shisheng, Deputy Director, Institute of South and Southeast Asian Studies; Feng Zhongping, Director, Institute of European Studies; Du Bing, Assistant Professor, Institute of South and Southeast Asian Studies; Lou Chunhao, Assistant Research Professor, Institute of South and Southeast Asian Studies; Wang Shida, Institute of Asian and African Studies and Li Li, Associate Research Fellow, Institute of South and Southeast Asia Studies.

At the meeting with the **China Institute of International Studies (CIIS)**, the Chinese participants included Rong Ying, Vice President, CIIS; Zheng Ruixiang, Senior Research Fellow; Chen Yurong, Senior Research Fellow, Director, Centre for SCO Studies and Department of European-Central Asian Studies; Li Guofu, Senior Research Fellow, Director, Division for South Asian, Middle Eastern and African Studies; Hu Shaocong, Associate Researcher; Zhao Zhen, Assistant Research Fellow and Li Qingyan, Assistant Researcher.

In addition, the IPCS also held discussions with scholars from the **China Foundation for International & Strategic Studies (CFISS)** including Chen Zhiya, Secretary General, CFISS; Sr Col Ouyang Wei, Centre for Defense Mobilization studies, NDU; Col Ding Hao, Department of World Military Studies, Academy of Military Sciences; Lu Dehong, Director, Department of Research, CFISS; Dai Jian, Associate Researcher, CFISS and Fu Xiao, Associate Research Fellow, CFISS.

A Debriefing (April 2010, New Delhi) for members of the strategic community, academia and media was organized to discuss issues raised during the course of the conference and external meetings in Beijing (March 2010). A report of the meetings held with CICIR, CIIS and CFISS was circulated at the debriefing.

FUTURE PLANS: In keeping with the aims of Focus Area 1, a compilation of the papers presented at the Conference on Military CBMs is currently being undertaken. It is expected that the final publication, in the form of a book, will be available by November 2010.

FOCUS AREA 2

Expanding Economic Activity along the Sino-Indian Border Areas

MAJOR ACHIEVEMENTS: Thus far, for focus area two, the IPCS has undertaken the following major activities:

- **Planning Conference (October 2009, Singapore)**
- **Field Work in the Border Areas (India, China, Nepal and Bangladesh)**

The **Planning Conference held in Singapore (October 2009)** included leading scholars and experts from **India** (Maj Gen Dipankar Banerjee, Director, IPCS; Prof Srikanth Kondapalli, Chairperson, Centre of East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University; Brig Gurmeet Kanwal, Director, Centre for Land Warfare Studies; Mr Mohan Guruswamy, Director, Centre for Policy Alternatives; Mr Sanjoy Hazarika, Managing Trustee, Centre for North East Studies and Policy Research; Ms Rukmani Gupta, Research Fellow, IPCS) **China** (Amb Zhou Gang, Director, China Foundation for International Studies; Maj Gen Pan Zhenqiang, Deputy Chairman, China Foundation for International Studies; Prof Shen Dingli, Director, Centre for American Studies, Fudan University; Prof Ren Jia, Vice President, Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences; Prof Zhang Guihong, Executive Director, Centre for South Asian Studies, Fudan University; Dr Li Ling, Assistant Professor, Institute of Economics, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences) and **Nepal** (Mr Nishchal Nath Pandey).

The purpose of the Planning Conference was to:

- discuss methodology and mode of conduct of research;
- identify broad themes that need to be addressed in the core area of economic activity in border areas;
- identify potential institutes and individuals who can participate and carry out the required field visits over the duration of the project;
- streamline the deliverables, and advice on the type and nature of the outputs of the fieldtrip and studies;
- offer suggestions on reaching the results of the project to policy-relevant circles.

On the basis of the recommendations reached at the Planning Conference, the IPCS has identified scholars to undertake **Field Work in the Border Areas in India, China, Nepal and Bangladesh**. The field surveys are currently underway and IPCS expects to receive the preliminary report of this field work from the researchers by August 2010.

FUTURE PLANS: Apart from regular publications in the form of articles and issue brief,

the IPCS has planned for the following:

- A Conference with draft papers (Chengdu, September 2010), which will be based on the findings of the field surveys, aimed at discussing the findings of the field work and identifying potential areas of convergence and divergence across the four countries.

The participants for this conference are expected to include: Maj Gen Dipankar Banerjee, Director, IPCS; Dr D Suba Chandran, Deputy Director, IPCS; Dr Uttam Lal, Reasech Scholar, Jawaharlal Nehru University; Dr Teiborlang T Kharsyntiew, Assistant Professor, Sikkim University; Dr N Vijaylakshmi Brara, Reader, Manipur University; Prof Li Tao, Professor, Tibetan Studies Institute, Sichuan University, Chengdu and Mr Nishchal Nath Pandey, Director, Centre for South Asian Studies, Kathmandu.

- The publication and dissemination of an Interim Report and Policy Recommendations (February 2011)
- A Final Conference (New Delhi, November 2011)
- The publication of the Final Report (February 2012)

FOCUS AREA 3

Developing Infrastructure for Connectivity between India and China

Given the interconnected nature of economic activity and infrastructure for connectivity, the schedule for this focus area runs concurrent to that of focus area two.

MAJOR ACHIEVEMENTS: Thus far, for focus area three, the IPCS has identified scholars to undertake **Field Work in the Border Areas in India, China, Nepal and Bangladesh**. The field surveys are currently underway and IPCS expects to receive the preliminary report of this field work from the researchers by August 2010.

FUTURE PLANS: Apart from regular publications in the form of articles and issue brief, the IPCS has planned for the following:

- A Conference with draft papers (Chengdu, September 2010), which will be based on the findings of the field surveys, aimed at discussing the findings of the field work, identifying potential areas of improvement and making relevant policy recommendations to improve infrastructure for connectivity between the four countries.

The participants at the conference are expected to include: Maj Gen Dipankar

Banerjee, Director, IPCS; Dr D Suba Chandran, Deputy Director, IPCS; Prof Awadesh Sinha, Formerly Dean, Sociology Department, Sikkim University; Dr Sanasam Amal Singh, Research Associate, Manipur University; Prof Ren Jia, Vice President, Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences, Kuming; Prof Li Tao, Professor, Tibetan Studies Institute, Sichuan University, Chengdu; Mr Chiran Jung Thapa, Independent Analyst, Kathmandu and Dr M Rahamatulla, Transport Policy Advisor, Bangladesh Planning Commission, Dhaka.

- The publication and dissemination of an Interim Report and Policy Recommendations (February 2011)
- A Final Conference (New Delhi, November 2011)
- The publication of the Final Report (February 2012)

ICRIER's Future Plans: Regarding the Asia Security Initiative

The Himalayan arc — from the Hindukush in the west through the Karakorum to the main Himalayan range and thence to the Arakan offshoot reaching down to the Bay of Bengal — is important not only as a topographical feature. It has been the separating axis between the Indic and Sinic civilizations as also an important strategic barrier. But, with the increasing outreach of states in modern times, it has become an area where policies of several states collide, particularly Asia's rising powers — China and India. The Himalayan region therefore holds the potential for alternative futures of competition, conflict, or cooperation, depending on how its problems and potentials are handled.

The potential has been grossly under-utilized due to various reasons, including political divergences, foreign economic policy/priorities, and negotiating strategies of countries involved. It can be used constructively for promoting bilateral/multilateral cooperation and structural linkages between the countries of the region. Failing this, economic and demographic growth trends in the region point towards increasing shortfalls in water availability, food production, and energy, leading to intensified inter-state competition for such resources.

Inter-government initiatives to address the problems and potential of the region are yet to produce results. It is therefore important to involve a wider set of players from the region to examine and push forward optimal solutions if we want to prevent conflict and promote inter-dependence in Asia. This we believe is in line with the programme strategy of the *MacArthur Foundation*

ICRIER has proposed to MacArthur Foundation to conduct a three year study on **Managing State-to-State Competition and Cooperation for Water and Hydro-power resources in the Himalayan Region**. This Study, if agreed to, would be conducted under the *Asia Security Initiative*

International Institute for Strategic Studies (London, UK)

Evolving Power Dynamics in the Asia-Pacific Region.

The International Institute for Strategic Studies' programme, under the auspices of the **MacArthur Foundation's Asia Security Initiative**, focuses on the policy implications for small and medium powers of the changing balance of power in the Asia-Pacific region.

Work under this programme involves workshops in both our Singapore and Washington offices. In November 2009 the first workshop was held discussing:

- How major power relationships in Asia are likely to evolve;
- How the policy elites of small and medium powers in the region see the future of their security relations with the United States, China and other major powers;
- How the often overlapping forms of multilateral security collaboration in the region interact;
- What the prospects are for creating a viable regional security architecture;
- To what extent regional states' military programmes are potentially destabilising.

The workshop attracted a good mixture of government and academia, including a number of other beneficiaries of the ASI scheme. The findings and outcomes of this first workshop are reported on the IISS website: <http://www.iiss.org/about-us/offices/washington/iiss-usevents/iiss-us-workshop-major-power-dynamics-in-asia-implications-for-small-and-medium-sized-powers/>

On Thursday, 15 April the second in the series of these workshops, which took place in Singapore, focused on responses within the broad region to the evolving strategic roles of the United States, China, Japan and India. It investigated the defining geopolitical assumptions among policymakers and international relations thinkers about great power competition, the reactions of smaller states to major powers' military programmes, the types of security order that lesser powers wish to see materialise, and the challenges ahead for small and medium powers as the regional power dynamics change.

Linking Asia Security Initiative (ASI) experts to the IISS Shangri-La Dialogue Process

A further component of the **MacArthur Foundation's Asia Security Initiative** project involves linking experts from other ASI institutions (both Core and Participating) with the Shangri-La Dialogue process through a series of inter-sessional workshops. These meetings are intended to provide an opportunity for representatives of other ASI institutions to

participate in developing themes emanating from the preceding SLD.

On 14 April the first of these workshops took place in Singapore on 'Asia-Pacific Security and Defence Policies'. Aimed at taking up key IISS Shangri-La Dialogue themes, it assessed the Dialogue's role in developing discussion of the future of America's security role in the Asia-Pacific, emerging powers' regional security roles, security cooperation and security community-building in the Asia-Pacific, defence policy and military modernisation, and the transnational security agenda in the region. The workshop also looked towards possible future developments in the Shangri-La Dialogue's agenda.

In all, 35 participants from Asian countries, the US, Australia and Europe, including many leading experts on international relations and security and defence policies in the Asia-Pacific region, participated in the workshops.

In November 2010 a further two workshops will take place, again in Singapore, expanding on the issues of small and medium powers, and the SLD process.

Additional Activities

POWER, SHOCK AND CHOICE: ASIAN SECURITY FUTURES

The International Institute for Strategic Studies and the Lowy Institute as beneficiaries of the **MacArthur Foundation's Asia Security Initiative** collaborated in an event to discuss the findings of the Lowy Institute report **POWER, SHOCK AND CHOICE: ASIAN SECURITY FUTURES**. A group of 40 experts assembled from Asia, Europe and the United States to discuss the report and to provide guidance for the subsequent development of the Lowy Institute project.

The event took place in Singapore, on Monday 7th June, 2010.

Japan Center for International Exchange (Japan)

In autumn 2009, JCIE launched a three-year study to analyze the role of civil society organizations in regional security in the Asia Pacific and explore how civil society contributions can be strengthened. While states have long been the key actors in the realm of security, especially in Asia, the changing nature of the threats facing the region and the way these threats jump borders to affect the security of communities and individuals has meant that, increasingly, states alone cannot forge effective or lasting responses. Instead, the involvement of various sectors of society, including civil society, seems increasingly essential to ensuring security in the region.

For instance, the spread of deadly communicable diseases, the proliferation of piracy and international crime, and the degradation of the environment all have important implications for regional security and stability, yet governments are often ill-equipped to engage the communities most involved with these issues, whether as perpetrators, victims, or both. Rather, formal and informal civil society organizations tend to be better positioned to help alleviate the root causes of these problems, give voice to affected communities, provide technical expertise, and collaborate with likeminded groups in other countries in the region.

In the initial year of the project, JCIE has set out to assess precisely what roles civil society organizations and networks are playing in East Asia on regional security issues. While it seems clear that civil society can make important contributions on many of the nontraditional security challenges-and even some of the traditional security challenges-in the region, its evolving roles seem to be poorly understood and generally undervalued. In order to gain a better grasp of what civil society is doing, JCIE recruited a study team of 7 promising younger and midcareer specialists from around the region: 2 based in ASEAN countries, 2 in Japan, and 1 each from China, Korea, and the United States. These participants have been carrying out a survey of civil society activities in individual issue areas in the region and working to analyze the efficacy of civil society organizations' responses and the degree to which they are involved in cross-border coordination and cooperation. Their work is being buttressed and guided by a group of senior advisors which includes some of the most prominent foreign policy thinkers in the region.

Senior Advisory Group

Tadashi Yamamoto, President, JCIE (Project Director)
Hitoshi Tanaka, Senior Fellow, JCIE (Chair, Senior Advisory Group)
Han Sung-Joo, Chairman, Asan Institute for Policy Studies
Charles Morrison, President, East-West Center
Jusuf Wanandi, Vice Chairman, Board of Trustees, Centre for Strategic and

International Studies (CSIS), Jakarta
Wang Jisi, Dean, School of International Studies, Peking University

Study Team

The evolving concept of security and the role of civil society (including the role of epistemic communities)

Rizal Sukma, Executive Director, CSIS, Jakarta (Indonesia; Project leader)
Gui Yongtao, Associate Professor, Peking University (China)

Climate Change

Chung Suh-Yong, Associate Professor, Korea University (Korea)

Human Trafficking

Jun Honna, Associate Professor, Ritsumeikan University (Japan)

Global Health

Yanzhong Huang, Director, Center for Global Health Studies, John C. Whitehead School of Diplomacy and International Relations, Seton Hall University (United States)

Piracy

J.N. Mak, independent analyst; former Director of Research, Maritime Institute of Malaysia (Malaysia)

Disaster relief and humanitarian assistance

Yukie Osa, Chairperson, Japan Platform; President, Association for Aid and Relief, Japan (Japan)

After a series of consultations throughout the summer and autumn among the senior advisors, the first project workshop was held in Tokyo on January 18-19, including the study team and a small group of civil society practitioners. There has been limited systematic examination of the role of civil society organizations in Asian security issues, so the group struggled with definitions and analytical approaches in their discussions. However, once they started to put this aside and focusing on describing what is really happening on the ground around Asia, it became clear that civil society organizations are playing even greater roles that we initially anticipated, whether by formulating ideas and spreading norms, raising awareness and pursuing advocacy, providing services, or taking on facilitating roles.

For example, while responses to piracy are generally thought of as being limited to naval and coast guard operations, a wide range of civil society organizations are actually involved in diverse aspects of piracy in the Malacca Straits. Forums and organizations such as ASEAN-ISIS, CSCAP, and Journalists Without Frontiers are active in leading the intellectual debate on the issue; fishermen's associations and other self-help groups are

working at the local level to improve conditions for communities whose impoverishment often fuels piracy; advocacy groups, especially environmental organizations, have pushed governments to take measures to deal with problems such as overfishing that contribute to piracy; and nongovernmental organizations such as the International Maritime Bureau play key roles in collecting information on piratical activity.

Another theme that emerged in the discussions was the sense that cooperation among CSOs can contribute to the formation of regional community. Given the historic animosity and mistrust among states in the region, there is a built-in speed limit to any attempt to forge genuinely effective government-to-government cooperation on hard security issues. However, states around the region share similar concerns about nontraditional security threats, which also happen to be issues on which civil society organizations can make important contributions. Therefore, schemes to build civil society cooperation have the potential to strengthen momentum for government-to-government cooperation. One example is the area of disaster relief, where civil society organizations play particularly prominent roles in providing aid. In Japan, the Japan Platform, a consortium of roughly 30 civil society organizations involved in various aspects of disaster relief, has been formed to coordinate the participants' responses and channel government and charitable funding through them in emergencies. A similar consortium operated along these lines at the regional level could prove useful in making disaster relief more effective and, through coordination with regional institutions and involved governments, help build patterns of cooperation.

Based on the discussions of the January workshop, the study team has been conducting deskbased and field research, and it will convene again on August 2-4 in Jakarta so that the participants can present full papers on their issue areas. The papers will be compiled into a report to be published this winter. In conjunction with the paperwriters workshop, a larger seminar will be held at CSIS Jakarta involving NGO practitioners, security specialists, and representatives from regional organizations in order to discuss the key findings.

The second year of the project, which will commence with a workshop in late autumn or winter, will dig deeper by exploring the factors that determine whether civil society organizations can be effective in dealing with security issues and how they can better contribute to regional security cooperation. This will also include a second workshop and study trips before culminating in a publication. Then, in the third year, the study will focus on how to encourage the development of collaborative networks of civil society organizations and how they can be linked with more formal regional institutions.

Lowy Institute for International Policy

Introduction

Launched in May 2009, the Lowy Institute's MacArthur Foundation Asia Security Project aims to identify realistic ways to minimise the risks of intense competition and conflict in Asia as the region's shifting balance of power produces new strategic calculations among the region's major powers. The project charts the limits of cooperation and promotes measures to expand cooperation to those limits, with practical recommendations for confidence building and risk mitigation.

The last 12 months have been busy and successful ones for the Lowy Institute's Asia Security Project. This report outlines the progress of the project. It details the major activities and achievements of the first year — including publications, events, research travel, administration and networking — and concludes with a brief update on prospective activities for the remainder of the project.

Administration

One of the central challenges of the first year, especially in the opening months, was to establish solid administrative foundations for the project. This was identified as an essential precondition to producing the highest quality research. Notable first-year administrative achievements include:

- The recruitment of a full-time Research Associate and Project Coordinator to steer the project, manage key administrative aspects, undertake research in support of senior member of the project team, co-author reports and help organise and manage events.
- The design and launch of the Lowy Institute MacArthur Foundation Asia Security Project website, accessible at <http://lowyinstitute.org/AsiaSecurityProject.asp>, with links to all content — research, events and related publications.
- The online release of a project brief, press statements and launch material from the ASI inaugural Grantees meeting in Singapore.
- The development of the project's key design concepts — logos and insignias
- The refinement of the year's research agenda and budget, and the establishment of an extensive literature database comprised of books, book chapters, journal articles, thinktank reports and online resources.

Publications

The first year has seen the publication of two major ‘flagship’ MacArthur reports as well as a large range of related papers, including op-eds in major regional newspapers, journal articles, Lowy Institute reports and blog posts.

Major reports

Malcolm Cook, Raoul Heinrichs, Rory Medcalf and Andrew Shearer, *Power and Choice: Asian Security Futures*, Sydney, Lowy Institute for International Policy, June 2010

In June 2010, the Asia Security Project released its second major publication, a substantial 100-page report entitled *Power and Choice: Asian Security Futures*. Jointly written and developed by the members of the Project team, the report—which sets the scene for forthcoming publications—outlines four possible strategic futures for the region, the strategic dynamics and political choices that could give rise to each of them, and their implications for security cooperation and regional architecture. The report then outlines a number of potential shocks that could tip the region’s future in one direction or another, and concludes with a discussion of the need for realistic confidence building measures to mitigate the most serious risks of competition or conflict. The report is available in hard-copy and as a free download from the website.

Fergus Hanson and Andrew Shearer, *China and the World: Public Opinion and Foreign Policy*, Sydney, Lowy Institute for International Policy, November 2009

In November 2009, the Asia Security Project released its first major publication: *China and the World: Public Opinion and Foreign Policy*. Co-authored by the Project’s Director, Andrew Shearer, the ‘China Poll’ is a unique, wide-ranging survey of Chinese public opinion regarding a number of critical foreign and security policy issues. The report explores Chinese threat perceptions; popular Chinese feelings towards Japan, the United States, Korea and Australia, among others; and popular attitudes in China regarding China’s military policies and future place in the world. It attracted significant media coverage in Australia and across the region. The report is available in hard-copy and as a free download on the website.

Related publications by the MacArthur team

- Rory Medcalf, “Our China Question: Friend or Foe”, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 April 2009
- Malcolm Cook and Andrew Shearer, “Australia and Japan: Going Global”, *Perspectives*, Lowy Institute for International Policy, May 2009 (in English and

Japanese).

- Malcolm Cook and Andrew Shearer, “Repeating History”, *Australian Financial Review*, 20 May 2009.
- Andrew Shearer, “The thrill is gone: Australia falls out of love with China”, Vol.14, No.46, August 2009
- Andrew Shearer, “The China Paradox”, *Wall Street Journal*, 19 August 2009
- Raoul Heinrichs, “China presents tough challenge”, *Canberra Times*, 24 August 2009
- Rory Medcalf, “Wicked Weapons: North Asia’s Nuclear Tangle”, *Lowy Institute Analysis*, Lowy Institute for International Policy, September 2009
- Malcolm Cook and Andrew Shearer, “With Japan now clear on change, expect a cloudier view from the south”, *Jakarta Globe*, 3 September 2009.
- Raoul Heinrichs, “Regional Community no answer to regional challenges”, *Canberra Times*, 10 October 2009
- Andrew Shearer and Fergus Hanson, “Tomorrow’s China offers scope for hope as well as cause for concern”, *The Australian*, 2 December 2009
- Andrew Shearer and Franklin Miller, “US Disarmament is dangerous for Asia”, *Wall Street Journal*, 17 December 2009
- Andrew Shearer and Fergus Hanson, “Not unpopular in China”, *Pragati*, January 2010.
- Andrew Shearer, “Will America Defend its Asian Allies?”, *Wall Street Journal*, 5 February 2010
- Rory Medcalf, Malcolm Cook et al., “How China’s roar will be heard across the world”, *The Australian*, 13-14 February 2010
- Rory Medcalf, “India Ahoy!”, *Wall Street Journal*, 29 April 2010
- Malcolm Cook and Anthony Bubalo, “Horizontal Asia” *The American Interest*, May-June 2010.
- Malcolm Cook and Anthony Bubalo “Asia Reconnected”, *Asahi Shimbun*, 11 May 2010

All publications are available for free download on the Lowy Institute website.

Events

Throughout the year, the Asia Security Project has hosted, or otherwise been involved in, a number of events, both at the Lowy Institute and elsewhere. The most important of these involved a series of workshops, from July 2009 to February 2010, which enabled the Project team to meet with leading regional scholars and practitioners — including a number of ASI co-grantees — to test the assumptions and ideas that underpinned Asian Security

Futures, and to stand the paper up on stronger intellectual foundations.

Major Lowy Institute MacArthur Asia Security Project events

'From primacy to balance' Lowy Institute Forum, 3 July 2009

On 3 July 2010 Raoul Heinrichs, Research Associate and Coordinator of the Asia Security Project, led a round-table discussion at the Lowy Institute's monthly forum on the strategic implications of East Asia's emerging multipolarity. The Forum is a traditionally informal, off-the-record gathering of Lowy staff, external scholars and officials, which in this case created the impetus for a publication that would systematically explore these issues in greater depth.

'Asia's changing strategic landscape' Australian chapter of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific, 24 September 2009

On 24 September, Andrew Shearer, Rory Medcalf and Raoul Heinrichs hosted a panel discussion on the long-term implications of tectonic shifts under way in Asia's power distribution for regional security arrangements. The event took place in the broader context of a meeting of the Australian chapter of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP), the region's most established 'Track 2' security forum. Participants included Australia's most senior strategic experts.

'Asian Futures: the view from government', conference with Australian government strategic analysts, Canberra, 5 February 2010

On 5 February the Asia Security Project team met with strategic analysts from Australian government agencies to run a workshop on the judgements and assumptions of *Asian Futures*. The unclassified off-the-record conference provided the team with an opportunity to test its assumptions against government expert analysis regarding Asia's long term security arrangements.

Shaping Up: Order, Change and Discontent in Asia's Security Future, seminar at the Australian National University, 5 February 2010

On 5 February 2010 the Lowy Institute's MacArthur Project team delivered a four-part seminar at the Australian National University entitled 'Shaping Up: Order, Change and Discontent in Asia's Security Future.' The seminar was hosted jointly by the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre and Department of International Relations (MacArthur ASI co-grantees), with the support of the Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence in Policing and Security. The seminar is available as a free podcast from the website.

The Changing Foreign policy Challenges of a Rising China: Periphery as Core, Roundtable, 8 March 2010

Raoul Heinrichs, Rory Medcalf and Malcolm Cook hosted a roundtable discussion led by Professor James Tang from the University of Hong Kong. Discussions, which focused on the most pressing foreign policy obstacles China faces in its effort to become the leading regional power, included Lowy staff and a number of leading academic participants.

'Japanese Defence' Roundtable' 19 March 2010

Raoul Heinrichs, Rory Medcalf and Malcolm Cook hosted an off-the-record roundtable with a senior official from Japan's Defence Ministry. Participants discussed US-Japan and Sino-Japanese relations, SDF modernisation and Australia-Japan security cooperation.

Power and Choice: Asian Security Futures, Report Launch, 1 Canberra June 2009

On June 1 2010, the MacArthur Foundation team officially launched their major report, *Power and Choice: Asian Security Futures*. The report was launched by Mr. Dennis Richardson AO, a former Ambassador to Washington and head of ASIO, Australia's domestic intelligence agency, and currently Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. The Launch was held at Canberra's renowned Portrait Gallery, and was attended by many of Australia's most eminent foreign and security policy thinkers and practitioners.

Asian Security Futures, Workshop, Singapore, 7 June 2010

On June 7 2010 the MacArthur project team, together with the International Institute for Strategic Studies (ASI Co-grantees), hosted a half-day workshop based on the recently released *Power and Choice* report. Held on the sidelines of the Shangri-La Dialogue, the event attracted a number of the region's foremost experts on international and strategic affairs and enables the Project team to promote their work to a wider, regional audience.

Related events involving the MacArthur team

'Going Global', Wednesday Lowy Lunch Presentation, 17 June 2009

At the Wednesday Lowy Lunch on 16 June, Malcolm Cook and Andrew Shearer discussed how the Australia-Japan relationship can help both countries respond to the emerging new order in international relations.

'Wicked Weapons', Wednesday Lowy Lunch Presentation, 24 June 2009

At the Wednesday Lunch at Lowy on 24 June, Rory Medcalf drew upon recent consultations in the region to warn that efforts to reduce global nuclear dangers will founder if they do not account for the rising strategic concerns of North Asian powers,

especially China and Japan.

'The Great White Paper Fleet', Lowy Institute workshop, 28 July 2009

In this one-day symposium, experts, officials and military officers from Australia and regional countries — including Japan, Singapore, and Indonesia — explored the drivers and implications of Australia's naval modernisation plans, including in the context of rising Chinese power. Discussions covered how to minimise risks of an arms race dynamic emerging as various Asian powers modernised their navies in response to China's growing maritime footprint and ambitions.

'Asia's Nuclear Futures', Conference, Sydney, February 2010

In February 2010 Rory Medcalf, senior Project member co-hosted a major international workshop on Asia's Nuclear Future with the US-based Non-Proliferation Policy Education Centre. Leading experts and security practitioners from the United States, China, Japan, India, Pakistan and Australia had a candid exchange of views about the challenges in restraining nuclear weapons and preventing nuclear-armed conflict in the Asian century.

'Asia Pivots', Wednesday Lowy Lunch Presentation, 3 March 2010

At the Wednesday Lunch at Lowy on 3 March, Dr Malcolm Cook, spoke on how Asia's continental and horizontal dimensions are reasserting themselves - in ways that question Australia's place in Asia. The podcast is available for free download on the website.

Rory Medcalf Research trip, Japan and India, October 2009, November 2009, April 2010

Rory Medcalf undertook a research trip throughout the region in April 2010. He met with officials from Japan's Ministry of foreign affairs, Ministry of defence, and researchers from the Japan Institute for International Affairs, The National Institute for Defense Studies, and other academic experts on maritime and nuclear issues. Mr Medcalf also presented roundtables in New Delhi at the Institute for Defense Studies and Analysis on 5 October 2009 and at the United Services Institute of India on 11 November 2009, on regional security challenges including maritime and nuclear.

'Nuclear Weapons in Asia', Presentation, March 2010

In the Lowy Institute's first Food for Thought lecture in Melbourne, on 23 March, Rory Medcalf explored how the dangers of nuclear-armed confrontation between states might be minimised in the Asian century. He focused on relations among the United States, China, India and Pakistan, considered Japan's difficult position, and touched upon whether a middle power like Australia could make a difference.

2010 Canberra Lecture, US Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia, Dr Kurt Campbell, 6 May 2010

Dr Kurt Campbell, US Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and the Pacific, visited Australia to deliver the Lowy Institute's annual Canberra Lecture. He spoke to an especially distinguished audience on the future US strategic role in Asia. In coming weeks the Lowy Institute will publish an essay by Dr Campbell drawn from his Canberra Lecture.

'Horizontal Asia' Seminar and Presentation, Foreign Correspondents Club Japan, 18 May 2010

Anthony Bubalo and Malcolm Cook gave a lunch-time presentation on their American Interest article Horizontal Asia to over club members. Horizontal Asia focuses on how the rise of China and India are reshaping Asia strategically to the detriment of its traditional maritime powers.

ASI Networking

Over the course of the year, one of the highest priorities for the Lowy Institute's Asia Security Project has been to build and encourage networks between MacArthur Foundation ASI grantees. To this end, Lowy's project team has participated in a number of external events, either hosted or supported by ASI co-grantees.

MacArthur ASI Program Launch and Inaugural Grantees meeting, 27-29 Singapore May 2009

One of the earliest, and most important, project activities in the opening months involved the attendance of the Institute's Project team at the MacArthur Foundation Asia Security Initiative Inaugural Grantees Meeting and Official Launch Ceremony in Singapore, from May 27 to May 29. The Lowy Institute was represented by a delegation of three, headed by Director of Studies, Andrew Shearer. The meeting afforded the project team the opportunity to make two 10-15 presentations — the first outlining the Institute's MacArthur Project and the second on 'new-media' and electronic outreach, for which the Lowy Institute is widely regarded as leader in its field. Both presentations are available for free download on our website.

The Australian National University's MacArthur ASI Project Inaugural meeting, Canberra, 4 March 2010

On 4 March 2010, the Lowy Institute's Rory Medcalf and Malcolm Cook participated in the Australian National University's two-day inaugural ASI project meeting. Mr Medcalf presented a paper entitled, 'the Dangers of Denial: the China-India strategic and nuclear

relationship', which questioned assumptions about the stability of Chinese and Indian nuclear force-structures and doctrines in relation to one another.

International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)-Asia ASI workshop, Singapore, April 2010
In April, Andrew Shearer and Malcolm Cook travelled to Singapore to attend a two-day workshop on Asia's smaller powers hosted by the IISS-Asia under their ASI project.

Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) MacArthur Conference and publication, April 2010

Malcolm Cook is presently writing a chapter for the CSIS MacArthur ASI project on the politics of climate-change in Asia. Dr Cook travelled to Washington D.C. to attend the writer's conference.

Taiwan Senior Executive Program, Seminar in collaboration with CSIS, 21-22 June 2010
The Lowy Institute is organising a two-day seminar for a delegation of senior Taiwan military and diplomatic officials. This follows the successful launch of the Lowy-CSIS Taiwan Executive collaboration in 2009, which saw the most senior Taiwanese delegation ever visit Australia for off-the-record discussion on a wide range of Asian security issues. Each member of the delegation will be provided with a copy of the report.

Looking ahead

The coming year promises to be an exciting one for the Lowy Institute's MacArthur Asia Security Project. With the first major report completed, the team is working on a series of shorter, more targeted pieces aimed at charting competition between Asian powers in range of key domains and crafting practical recommendations to dampen strategic competition across a number of areas. These enquiries will focus on maritime security, nuclear stability, energy, space and cyberspace and the new competition to shape Asia's multilateral regional architecture — and will involve workshops, roundtables and travel as key research components.

The team has also commissioned a piece exploring the strategic nuclear dynamics of South Asia, where an increasingly skewed conventional military balance together with a legacy of war and hostility does not necessarily bode well for stable nuclear deterrence. In addition to this, we look forward to the imminent release of a new series of papers, 'Strategic snapshots', which will provide sharp analysis in bulletin form on a range of long and short term security issues facing Asia. Early papers in this series are likely to focus on national responses to Asian Futures; and on maritime security, such as the China-India and China-Japan maritime relationships.

National Bureau of Asian Research

This report provides an update of The National Bureau of Asian Research's (NBR) major accomplishments and future plans for the organization's two MacArthur Foundation Asia Security Initiative-funded projects: 1) *Non-Traditional Regional Security Architecture for South Asia* ("SRS" for short), and 2) *Maritime Energy Resources in Asia: Opportunities for Joint Development* ("MERA" for short).

Non-Traditional Regional Security Architecture for South Asia

Project Brief:

Employing a unique alternative futures methodology, this three-year initiative examines potential future scenarios for South Asia's non-traditional security challenges in 2025 and explores opportunities for cooperation on shared non-traditional security concerns as potential building blocks for developing a viable regional security architecture for South Asia.

Activities Update (2009-2010):

NBR successfully launched the project with a first-phase workshop exploring "Non-Traditional Security Challenges in South Asia: 2025" on November 20-22, 2009 in Dhaka, Bangladesh, in partnership with the Bangladesh Enterprise Institute (BEI).

The workshop plenary, organized around three thematically-focused panels on: 1) Food and Water Security; 2) Environmental Security and Disaster Management; and 3) Health and Human Security, respectively, included paper presentations by experts from Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Sri Lanka, China, and the United States. The plenary session was well attended by a cross-section of policy stakeholders and received coverage in the local media, with an appropriate mention of the MacArthur ASI, highlighting the importance of these issues for Bangladesh. Bangladesh Foreign Secretary, Ambassador Mijarul Quayes, delivered the keynote address.

The second day of the workshop was dedicated to a closed session scenarios exercise with the expert panelists. During this session, applying NBR's Back Story: Pathways to Plausible Futures model of alternative futures analyses, the project team analyzed three potential future scenarios for South Asia's non-traditional security challenges in 2025. The full-day exercise proved to be a worthwhile learning experience, providing fascinating insights into regional perspectives on the issues under discussion.

Challenges and Opportunities:

Lack of Pakistani participation at the workshop. Unfortunately, due to the security

situation in Pakistan at the time, none of the Pakistani panelists on the project team were able to attend the workshop. However, their papers were included in the workshop packet, and integrated into the scenarios material for discussion.

Strengthening regional network of experts. The workshop successfully demonstrated NBR's core strength of bringing together diverse groups of expert communities that might otherwise not engage with each other. To the extent possible, we endeavored to comprise the project team of across-section of different stakeholder communities, drawing on policy, technical, academic, and civil society expertise in the region. Based on informal feedback from project team members, we found that while quite a few of the experts with a foreign/regional policy background were known to each other, the workshop provided a unique opportunity for those representing a more technical expertise on the issues to engage with their policy counterparts, an effort that was much appreciated across the board. Given that project team members represented key institutions in their home countries, many holding leadership positions, the workshop helped reinforce existing relationships as well as build new ones toward further strengthening regional institutional ties and cooperation mechanisms.

Successful 'transfer of technology.' There was a great deal of interest and high degree of receptivity to the alternative scenarios methodology applied for this project among team members, with potential for replicating and/or applying a version of the model in their own home institutions. NBR had shared in advance of the workshop a comprehensive 'futures toolkit' with the entire project team as preparation for the scenarios exercise. For several of the participants, this was the first time they had engaged in such an exercise; select members of the project team have expressed interest in beginning a dialogue with NBR toward potentially developing a training course on policy planning and scenario building for their home institution.

Current Status and Future Plans:

We are currently in the process of preparing the first phase report, which will include select papers from the first-phase workshop and a workshop summary report. We anticipate the phase 1 report will be available for dissemination in summer 2010. In addition to circulating the report to our U.S. and regional network, NBR will leverage the networks of our phase 1 partner institution and project team to ensure wide dissemination and impact within the region.

As we wrap up the first phase activities, we have begun planning for the second phase of the project, which will also apply a futures approach. For this second phase, NBR will apply its *Jumping Ahead: Implications of a Hypothetical Future* model of alternative futures

analyses, drawing on phase 1 findings to develop a future scenario framework for discussion at the phase 2 workshop. Select phase 1 participants will be invited for phase 2 participation. The phase 2 workshop is tentatively scheduled for December 2010. In keeping with the MacArthur ASI principles and NBR's project objective to contribute to regional capacity-building, we have proposed partnering with The Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS) in Colombo, Sri Lanka, for the phase 2 workshop. We are currently in discussions with Dr. Amal Jayawardane, Executive Director of RCSS, on proposed partnership and workshop logistics. Dr. Jayawardane participated in phase 1 of the project and has accepted our invitation for phase 2 participation.

Maritime Energy Resources in Asia: Overlapping Claims and Opportunities for Cooperation

Project Brief:

This project examines the nature of and possible avenues for jointly developing maritime energy resource in three critical bodies of water with overlapping maritime claims: the South China Sea, the East China Sea, and the Gulf of Thailand.

Activities Update (2009-2010):

NBR successfully launched the first phase of the project with a planning meeting in Bali, Indonesia December 3-5, 2009. The purpose of this meeting was to discuss draft research outlines and review the overall direction of the project.

Ambassador Hasjim Djalal, Special Advisor to the Minister for Maritime Affairs and Fisheries, Government of Indonesia, provided a keynote address to kick-off the proceedings. Over the course of the planning meeting, project scholars presented the outlines of their research studies and received feedback from team members and invited respondents to further hone their arguments.

Following the Bali meeting, project scholars submitted revised outlines in January, followed by the first drafts of their papers in March. Drafts are in the process of being reviewed by project Advisors and returned to the scholars for revision.

Challenges and Opportunities:

Project Name. It was suggested by project team members to change the project name to have a more positive connotation to minimize potential sensitivities and maximize our regional outreach potential throughout the project life cycle. As such, the project name is now "Maritime Energy Resources in Asia: Opportunities for Joint Development."

Additional Team Members. One aspect of the research design for this project is to

incorporate a diverse range of regional perspectives from up and coming scholars in the claimant states and facilitate their interaction. At the time of the Bali meeting, however, additional representation was still needed. NBR has since recruited three more scholars from the region who will help round out the assessments in the East China Sea and South China Sea paper sets.

Relationship building. NBR has strengthened its relationships with regional think tanks and other research entities as a result of the MERA project. In addition to assembling a project team of scholars from countries throughout Asia and from diverse academic and professional backgrounds, NBR has sought to engage the ASI network more broadly to further expand and inform the range of views related to maritime resource issues. During visits to the region, NBR team members have engaged with RSIS in Singapore, the Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam, the East Asia Institute, and the Center for International and Strategic Studies at Peking University, among others. In addition, NBR's DC office has hosted representatives from the Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam and invited project scholar May Tan-Mullins to present a briefing on her project-related research as well as other research dealing with China's investments in African countries.

Current Status and Future Plans:

Planning has begun for the next project workshop, which will take place in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam from August 6-7, 2010. The purpose of the workshop will be to present second drafts of the papers for critical review and feedback, thereby preparing the papers for publication during the third and final phase of the project. This phase will also entail sharing the main findings through a robust regional outreach effort with briefings and private meetings.

Pacific Forum Center for Strategic & International Studies

Project Description and Format

The Pacific Forum CSIS received support from the MacArthur Foundation to conduct a three-year study of the future of US alliances in Asia. As proposed, we held bilateral meetings with each of the five US treaty allies in Asia (Australia, Japan, Philippines, South Korea and Thailand) in the first year. (The various reports are available on the Pacific Forum CSIS web site or from Pacific Forum.) Thus far in year two, we have held bilateral meetings and workshops with four of the five allies (the Australia meeting will be held later in 2010), have convened one trilateral workshop (US-Japan-ROK), and will hold two larger trilateral meetings (US-Japan-ROK again and USPhilippines-Thailand) later in the year. In the third year, we will try to put the pieces together by holding two quadrilateral dialogues to see how the US and Australia can work with US allies in Southeast Asia and Northeast Asia to tackle current and future concerns. In addition to the meetings and workshops, we presented key findings from those discussions to government and military officials, independent analysts and think tanks in the various countries for feedback and a reality check. This has facilitated broad dissemination of our work, given us the opportunity to test preliminary conclusions in the real world, and provided a "third" (and sometimes fourth) national perspective on these relationships.

A key component of this project is the inclusion of "next generation" perspectives. Participants in the Pacific Forum CSIS Young Leaders program have attended the meetings, providing insights as well as holding their own roundtable discussions. At one meeting, Young Leaders from the US, Japan, and South Korea held a simulation in which they compared national responses to a political crisis in North Korea. (Results from this extremely interesting exercise are being compiled; publication of the findings is expected later this summer.) In some cases, these perspectives display a generational divergence on core concerns; on other issues, there is considerable continuity in views.

Key Takeaways

US alliances in Northeast Asia are strong — US allies perceive an increasingly hostile security environment — but both Japan and South Korea seek to modernize those relationships. In particular, they want to reduce the US footprint and burden on local communities and both want greater equality among alliance partners. Washington shares that objective. It isn't clear whether the US and its partners agree on the meaning of "equality" or on the appropriate rebalancing of responsibilities within the alliance, however.

The US and its allies recognize that new security challenges and new Asian realities demand new thinking about responding to threats. Governments and analysts are just beginning to think about how to link alliances and other potential partners to tackle the security challenges of the 21st century. Thus far, however, there is little support for or confidence in purely regional initiatives to take up the task.

Domestic politics in each country seems to be the critical variable in shaping alliance relations. The US and its allies need to do more to insulate their relationships from these vagaries.

In *Japan*, there continues to be strong public support for the alliance. Even though relations with the US were a source of particular difficulty for the short-lived administration of Prime Minister Hatoyama Yukio, the alliance appears to have been insulated from political turmoil in Tokyo. Nevertheless, Japanese security horizons are shrinking. And long-term problems, stemming from structural issues such as demographic trends and the strength of the economy, may shift the parameters of engagement between Japan and the US.

In *South Korea*, the alliance has become stronger after the return to power of a conservative government in Seoul and increasing belligerence from North Korea. South Koreans worry that the transfer of operational command of wartime forces will undermine the US commitment to South Korea's defense and the Seoul government is pressing for indefinite postponement of that decision. Despite a continued readiness to participate in out of area security challenges, South Koreans remain focused on peninsular security concerns.

The alliance with *Australia* continues to be strong and changes of government in Washington and Canberra have little impact on the security partnership. The strength of this relationship allows the US-Australia leg to serve as a base for trilateral relationships with US allies. While Australia's economic fortunes are increasingly tied to Asia, there is little tension between Canberra's security relationship with the US and its role in regional integration.

In the *Philippines*, the alliance is seen predominantly through the lens of domestic political developments. Not surprisingly, the alliance has a largely negative public image, although perspectives depend on the context of the particular discussion. Security professionals see the alliance as essential to the country's national security, especially as a hedge against China's activity in the South China Sea. There are calls to broaden the scope of US engagement with the Philippines in ways that promote sustainable development and diminish the centrality of the military, but others worry this could lead to an overwhelming US presence in other areas of Philippine life and politics.

In *Thailand*, the alliance is also strained by a number of issues, the majority of them local or domestic. Topping the list are concerns about the stability of the current

government in Bangkok, its legitimacy, and the credibility of the political process in Thailand. These worries are exacerbated by the handling of "red shirt" and "yellow shirt" protests and the ready resort to extraconstitutional processes (people power, martial law, etc.). The Thai government has expressed its concern about US reliability as an ally, which have inflamed by US mil-mil cooperation with Cambodia (which has moved forces to the Thai border and is "hosting" former Prime Minister Thaksin) and a lack of intelligence sharing (especially in regard to the Burma-DPRK connection). Both Southeast Asian allies worry that the US is more interested in collaborating and cooperating with new security partners — especially Indonesia — than allies.

Macro concerns

There is concern among alliance partners about US engagement with Asia in the aftermath of the global economic crisis. There are fears that the US is distracted by events elsewhere and the need to get its own house in order. There is a sense of relative decline in US power.

To compensate for the prospects of disengagement and decline, Asian allies seek other ways to ensure a robust US commitment to the region. Deeper economic integration in the form of free trade agreements (both bilateral and regional) is one option; another is ongoing consultative mechanisms to ensure dialogue and the communication of Asian views on key concerns. These mechanisms are critical as they respond to allies' needs for reassurance by Washington of its commitment to their defense.

China's rise is taken as a geopolitical reality. Chinese attempts to reassure US allies of its benign intentions have not succeeded. While those nations are not prepared to cross Beijing in public, in private, they demand US attention to China's new military capabilities. This creates additional dilemmas as those same countries acknowledge the need to work with China on other security threats.

New security challenges mean allies can forge broader bilateral agendas. This creates opportunities to engage new constituencies and reinvigorate these relationships. At the same time, however, this also creates management issues as it isn't clear how to introduce or coordinate these new actors.

Finally, there is a reflexive tendency to think in "status quo plus" terms when discussing alliance modernization. It isn't clear that this tendency will be able to reconcile the structural transformations underway in the Pacific: the limits on US activity created by its economic troubles, broader redirection of trans-Pacific economic flows, and demographic changes in Northeast Asia.

S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University

Project Overview

The Multilateralism and Regionalism Programme at RSIS has been invited, in particular, to concentrate on “Managing State-to-State Competition and Cooperation”. (See Appendix A for coordinators of the Programme and research team). This research project studies multilateral security in East Asia, with a focus on the role of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). The primary research question tackled is: what is the function and relevance of ASEAN in East Asia’s emerging institutional security landscape? This question has direct implications for the future of the ASEAN Security Community, the relevance of the ASEAN cooperative model to wider regional arrangements (ASEAN Regional Forum, ASEAN Plus Three, East Asia Summit), and finally, for the further institutionalization of great power relations within these multilateral structures. To that end, the project covers four themes: (i) ASEAN’s role in institutional developments in Southeast Asia, (ii) ASEAN’s role in multilateralism and security cooperation in East Asia, (iii) ASEAN’s role in the institutionalization of great power relations, and (iv) non-ASEAN led initiatives and the emergence of alternative approaches to regionalism in East Asia.

The East Asian security architecture is characterized by sub-regional dynamics, especially in Southeast Asia, where a four decade-long experiment in regionalism has been undertaken in the form of ASEAN. The sub-regional element in multilateral security cannot be ignored, given ASEAN’s perceived role as the ‘driver’ of pan-Asian regional institutions. Issues to be examined under the first theme include: the prospects for the establishment of an ASEAN Security Community; whether the ASEAN members are able to integrate their security outlooks and responses in view of their diversity; and whether the ASEAN culture of consultation, accommodation and consensus can be integrated into a more rule-based Security Community. When it comes to the wider region, advocates of multilateralism claim the relevance of ASEAN to East Asia’s stability and security, and see its cooperative initiatives as an essential contribution to regional community formation. On the other hand, as regionalism in East Asia has historically been process rather than product-oriented, critics see little institutional change in the region. To overcome the tension between these propositions, progress in security cooperation can arguably be ensured through collaboration in functional areas. Issues to be examined under the second theme include: the ASEAN-led institutions (ARF, ASEAN+3, EAS) and their contributions to regional peace and security, as well as the prospects for greater complementation between the ASEAN-led institutions (roles, mandates, agendas, etc.) as a

basis for regional security cooperation.

No study of the regional institutional framework is complete without considering the impact of the great powers as well as the influence of their interactions upon the nature of those institutions. The international relations of Asia are characterised by four great powers (the United States, China, Japan, and India). A core driver of East Asian regionalism is the institutionalization of ties between these powers through and with the support of the ASEAN-led arrangements. This ostensibly helps to secure the commitment of the great powers to the promotion of regional peace and security.

Issues to be examined in the third theme include: multilateral arrangements as instruments to tie great power relations; the rise of China and India as well as the normalization of Japan and their impact on ASEAN; and finally whether the geopolitics of the region predisposes the Association to be the only possible anchor for multilateral security cooperation.

Although non-ASEAN led proposals on regionalism have been voiced from time to time, most have been poorly received because they have raised unanswered questions regarding the leadership issue. In the absence of an alternative acceptable to all participants, ASEAN has continued to assume the leadership of the emerging institutional architecture. Yet, it has to be said that the Association’s authority as the region’s leader is increasingly being challenged. Issues to be examined in the fourth theme include: the potential evolution of the Trilateral Summit involving China, Japan and South Korea, as well as the ‘Asia-Pacific Community’ and the ‘East Asia Community’ proposals introduced respectively by the Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd and Japan’s new Prime Minister, Yukio Hatoyama; whether such proposals complement or compete with the ASEAN-led initiatives; whether the centrality of ASEAN in the institution-building process in Asia is being questioned; and finally whether ASEAN will and should continue to occupy the driver’s seat in regional institutions.

Summary of Activities

There were considerable networking activities, including the organisation of a conference, various seminars and a public lecture, as well as numerous briefings and discussions with visiting delegations and project teams. Programme staff and associates also presented papers at various academic as well as policy-related conferences, workshops and roundtables both within and beyond Singapore. Among these, the RSIS-MacArthur Workshop on Regional Security Cooperation entitled “Building Institutional Coherence in Asia’s Security Architecture — The Role of the Association of Southeast Asian nations (ASEAN)” is noteworthy.

Publications

The research output included: 6 commentaries, 5 working papers, 1 conference report, 1 refereed journal article, and 3 op-ed pieces.

MacArthur ASI Fellowship

Mr. Deepak Nair was a Visiting Fellow from 1 November-31 December 2009 and while here, he produced a working paper and commentary.

Achievements and Future Directions

The first “RSIS-MacArthur Conference on Regional Security Cooperation” was held from 24-25 November 2009 at Traders Hotel, Singapore. The research conference brought together teams of researchers, all specialists in Asian security affairs with academic and/or policy expertise. The aims of the conference were: (i) to facilitate the sharing of and cross-appraisal of individual research; (ii) to consolidate actionable policy implications and recommendations; and (iii) to explore ways to feed research findings into the policy process.

Dr. Joshy M. Paul has been appointed as a Visiting Associate Fellow from 4 May-31 July 2010. While at RSIS, his responsibilities will be to produce a working paper, hold a seminar as well as to produce commentaries. The second “RSIS-MacArthur Conference on Regional Security Cooperation” will be held from 19-20 July 2010 at Marina Mandarin, Singapore.

A series of Policy Roundtables will also be hosted to bring together the researchers and a broad representation from the regional academic, policy, and civil society communities for the following objectives: (1) public dissemination of research findings, conclusions and their policy implications; and (2) to facilitate regional dialogue and debate in response to our research. Being half-day events, each roundtable will involve a selected number of project participants and a wider audience.

The first roundtable will be held at the **Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)**, Jakarta on 19 October 2010. Topics to be discussed are ASEAN’s role in institutional developments in Southeast Asia, as well as its role in multilateralism and security cooperation in East Asia. The panel of speakers comprise of Mely Caballero-Anthony, Christopher B. Roberts, Alan Collins, Herman Joseph Kraft, and Ralf Emmers.

The second roundtable will be organized at the Australian National University (ANU), Canberra in late February 2011. Issues to be examined are ASEAN’s role in institutional developments in Southeast Asia as well as its role in multilateralism and security cooperation in East Asia, and the alternative approaches to regionalism. Speakers involved are Christopher B. Roberts, Takeshi Yuzawa, Ralf Emmers, William T. Tow, and David Capie.

The third and final roundtable will be convened at Peking University, Beijing in May 2011. Subject matters to be considered are ASEAN’s role in multilateralism and security cooperation in East Asia, the alternative approaches to regionalism, and ASEAN’s role in the institutionalization of great power relations in Asia. The panel of speakers includes Ralf Emmers, Chung Chong Wook, Alice D. Ba, Evelyn Goh, Cai Penghong, and Ian J. Storey.

University of California, San Diego

Major Achievements (as of May 30, 2010)

2009

June 30-July 1, 2009

IGCC-Yonsei Project "Cooperation in Northeast Asia: Architecture and Beyond"

Principal Investigators: Susan Shirk (IGCC), T.J. Pempel (IGCC), Chung-Min Lee (Yonsei)

Session 1: Northeast Asian Security Complex

Moderator: T.J. Pempel

Paper 1: Chung Min Lee, "The Northeast Asian Security Complex: History, Concepts, and Emerging Issues"

Paper 2: Myeong Jin Cho, "The European Experience and Lessons for Northeast Asia"

Paper 3: Joseph Grieco, "Power Distribution and Nuclear Proliferation in Northeast Asia"

Paper 4: Ajin Choi, "The Requirements for Multilateralism in Northeast Asia"

Discussants: GeunWook Lee, Jae-seung Lee, G. John Ikenberry and Joon Oh

Session 2: Actualizing Multilateralism: Changes and Opportunities

Moderator: Chung Min Lee

Paper 1: T.J. Pempel, "Lessons from the Past"

Paper 2: Susan Shirk, "Forging Track Twos and Cooperative Security in East Asia"

Paper 3: Tai Ming Cheung, "Between Traditional and Non-Traditional Security"

Paper 4: Jong Kun Choi, "Economic Interdependence and Regional Security"

Discussants: Jaechun Kim, Yong Pyo Hong, G. John Ikenberry and Joon Oh

Session 3: State Interests and Strategies

Moderator: Susan Shirk

Paper 1: Sukhee Han, "Multilateralism and China"

Paper 2: Ken Jimbo, "Multilateralism and Japan"

Paper 3: Hyung-Min Kim, "Multilateralism and Korea"

Paper 4: Giacomo Chiozza and Carol Atkinson, "Multilateralism and the United States"

Discussants: Brendan M. Howe, Du Hyeogn Cha, Etel Solingen and Hiroataka Matsuo

Wrap-up / Discussion

Moderator: Chung Min Lee

The first of two planned conferences was held in Seoul Korea from June 30-July 1, 2009. Thirteen papers were presented by participants from the ROK, China, Europe, Japan and the United States. The central puzzle addressed by most of the papers centered on the fact that Northeast Asia, despite considerable rhetoric and saber-rattling from various quarters, has actually been at peace since the Korean armistice more than fifty years ago. Moreover, military spending throughout the region, though rising, is increasing more slowly than the economies as a whole. Yet, in contrast to many of the predictions from both international relations theory and from the experiences of security mechanisms in other regions, Northeast Asia is devoid of any deeply institutionalized multilateral security bodies that might have been credited with ensuring the relatively peaceful conditions.

Paper writers addressed this situation from three main directions. First, several papers examined the "lessons from elsewhere." These included experiences of Western Europe, the CSCE, the treats(or absence thereof) from states after they had become nuclear, and the predictions from various schools of international relations theory. Ironically, many of the lessons drawn predicted, not a more hostile Northeast Asia, but one that might well be on a rocky and windy but generally low tension path toward security collaboration.

The second group of papers dealt with the security perceptions and behavior of the major state actors in Northeast Asia?apan, China, the US, the DPRK, and the ROK. In these papers, the main questions centered on governmental perceptions of the linkages among unilateral, bilateral and multilateral approaches to enhanced security. Clearly each state has pursued a mixed combination of policies but all have begun to utilize multilateralism as an increasingly important component of their overall foreign policy approaches.

Finally, a third group of papers examined various multilateral processes already in place within the region. These included bilateral alliances, Track II processes, a number of new trilateral processes with different mixtures of states participating, the Six Party Talks and the ASEAN Regional Forum. The broad conclusion of most of these papers was that Northeast Asia is being best served, not by any uniform push toward a single "best" multilateral architecture, but rather by the current surfeit of overlapping and functionally differentiated institutions.

Coming out of this meeting, the project is moving in three directions. First, it has produced a policy brief based on the papers presented. Second, authors have revised their papers in accord with the overall discussion in preparation for a second conference in June 2010 and eventual publication as an academic volume. Finally, the project will be using its collective findings to prepare for a 2010 training module for mid-level government officials

from across the region.

July 2-4, 2009

IGCC-Tokyo University Project "The Economic Security Nexus in Northeast Asia"

Principal Investigators: T.J. Pempel (IGCC), Kiichi Fujiwara (Tokyo University)

Session 1: The Economy-Security Nexus Revisited

Moderator: Kiichi Fujiwara

Speakers: Iida Keisuke and Min Gyo Koo

Discussants: Etel Solingen and Yoshiko Kojo

Session 2: Economic Statecraft as Conflict Management

Moderator: Chung Min Lee

Speakers: T.J. Pempel, Hiroko Imamura and Tai Ming Cheung

Discussants: Susan Shirk and Roger Smith

Session 3: Economy-Security Nexus in Times of Economic Crisis

Moderator: Akihiko Tanaka

Speakers: Scott Kastner, Yasuhiro Matsuda and Mie Oba

Discussants: Akio Takaharam, Fumiaki Kubo and Ryo Sahashi

Open Forum: Toward A Northeast Asian Security Architecture

Moderator: Kiichi Fujiwara

Panelists: Chung Min Lee, Akihiko Tanaka, Zhu Feng, Susan Shirk and Shin'ichi Kitaoka

The first of two planned conferences was held in Tokyo, Japan from July 2-4, 2009. Twelve papers were presented by participants from the ROK, Japan and the United States. An additional nine discussants were present. The central puzzle addressed by most of the papers is that of commercial peace. That theory holds that as economic interactions rise across national borders the incentives to conflict should be reduced. Certainly, economic interactions among most of the key states within the region have been expanding exponentially, particularly in trade and foreign direct investment. And Northeast Asia has indeed been at peace since the Korean armistice more than fifty years ago. Yet, the rhetoric of contestation remains high and most countries are locked in classic security dilemmas, planning systematically for anticipated conflicts, and seemingly unable or unwilling to revolve many longstanding security problems from border disputes to EEZ contests. At the most basic level, therefore, namely the absence of shooting wars, economic

interdependence and reduced conflicts have moved in sync. Yet even as economic ties have increased, the region's actors have been much slower to reduce arms investments or to create any shared sense of mutual security. The conference papers examined various aspects of this paradoxical relationship.

Fujiwara and Pempel provided two perspectives on the commercial peace theory to set the stage for the remainder of the papers. We then had a total of seven papers examining different specific facets of the interface between economics and security. Four of these dealt with the geographical interface between economics and security, focusing on how economic interdependence and security have operated on the Korean Peninsula and across the Taiwan Cross-Straits. Three papers then examined the economic-security interface in different functional areas — global economic crises, technonationalism, and disputes over historical memory. Clearly, all pointed to numerous conditions under which no simple linear relationship has been played out between economic interdependence and enhanced security, leaving us all with a far more nuanced perspective on that complex relationship.

Three additional papers examined the various institutions now in place within the region that are designed to enhance security cooperation and/or blending security cooperation with economic cooperation — The extensive mix of trilateral summits, the East Asian Economic Summit, the ASEAN Regional Forum, bilateral alliances centered mostly on the U.S., and Free Trade Agreements being the most prominent. Again, it became clear that there was far more complexity to security-economic interactions in Northeast Asia than is suggested by classical linear arguments. We feel the project is ripe with potential to offer suggestions as to the specific conditions that actually shape this interaction in the region along with offering suggestions as to how economic ties might be utilized in the enhancement or regional security.

Coming out of this meeting, the project is poised to move in three directions. First, it will be producing a policy brief based on the papers presented. Second, authors have revised their papers in accord with the overall discussion in preparation for a second conference and eventual publication as an academic volume. Finally, the project will be using its collective findings to prepare for an August 2010 training module for mid-level government officials from across the region.

In addition to these two conferences, T.J. Pempel spent six weeks at Australia National University collaborating with their MacArthur project and has also reached out to over half a dozen other MacArthur project leaders for the purpose of discussion and collaboration.

2010

This year, we are in the process of organizing the following events at which our scholars will present their research:

June 14-15, 2010

MacArthur Architecture Meeting in Seoul

Draft Agenda

Session 1: Northeast Asian Security Complex

Moderator: T.J. Pempel

Paper 1: Chung Min Lee, "The Northeast Asian Security Complex: History, Concepts, and Emerging Issues"

Paper 2: Ajin Choi, "The Requirements for Security Cooperation in Northeast Asia: Theory and Reality"

Session 2: Security Challenges, Drivers and Issues

Moderator: Susan Shirk

Paper 1: Joseph Grieco, "Nuclear Weapons, State Bellicosity, and the Prospects for an East Asian Security Architecture"

Paper 2: Geunwook Lee, "Between Multilateralism and Bilateralism"

Paper 3: Hae-Won Jun, "European Experience and Lessons"

Session 3: State Interests and Strategies

Moderator: Chung Min Lee

Paper 1: Sukhee Han and Luo Jianbo, "China's Strategic Option: Multilateralism and the Pursuit of Influence"

Paper 2: Yoko Iwama, "Multilateralism and Japan"

Paper 3: Hyung Min Kim, "ROK: Toward Peace and Cooperation"

Paper 4: Carol Atkinson and Giacomo Chiozza, "U.S. Perspectives on Security Cooperation in East Asia"

Session 4: Actualizing Security Cooperation and its Future

Moderator: Etel Solingen

Paper 1: Susan L. Shirk, "The Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue: Building a Foundation for a Regional Concert of Powers?"

Paper 2: T.J. Pempel, "Security Architecture in Northeast Asia; Reflections From the Rearview Mirror"

June 16-18, 2010

MacArthur Architecture Training Program for policymakers in Seoul

Draft Agenda

Session 1: The Northeast Asian Security Complex: History, Concepts, and Emerging Issues

Lecturer: Professor Chung Min Lee

Session 2: The Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue: Building a Foundation for a Regional Concert of Powers?

Lecturer: Professor Susan L. Shirk

*Simulation Exercise: North Korea Nuclear Crisis and Non-proliferation
China, Japan, ROK, and US (2 participants respectively)*

Moderator: Professor T.J. Pempel

Day 2, Session 1: Security Architecture in Northeast Asia; Reflections from the Rearview Mirror

Lecturer: Professor T.J. Pempel

Session 2: Extended Deterrence in Northeast Asia

Lecturer: Professor David Yost

*Simulation Exercise: The Rise of China and Multilateralism in Northeast Asia
China, Japan, ROK and US (2 participants respectively)*

Moderator: Professor Chung Min Lee

August 23-24, 2010

MacArthur Economics/Security Meeting in Tokyo

Draft Agenda

Session 1: Economic Peace Theory and the East Asian Puzzle

Presenters: Kiichi Fujiwara and T.J. Pempel

Session 2: Interface of Economics and Security in Northeast Asia

Presenters: Stephen Haggard, Scott L. Kastner and Hiroko Imamura

Session 3: Functional Interactions of Economics and Security

Presenters: Mie Oba, Tai Ming Cheun and Jong Kun Choi

Session 4: Institutions for Economic Cooperation and Conflict Management

Presenters: Min Gyo Koo and Keisuke Iida
Session 5: General Discussion

August 25-28, 2010

MacArthur Economics/Security Training Program for policymakers in Tokyo

Agenda to be drafted

Fall 2010 (exact dates to be confirmed)

MacArthur Roadshow Events for each project will be held in Beijing, Seoul, Tokyo and Washington D.C.

Yonsei University

In response to the Asia Security Initiative of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, Yonsei University's Graduate School of International Studies submitted a two-year research proposal entitled "Cooperation in Northeast Asia: Architecture and Beyond," in collaboration with the University of California, San Diego's, Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation and the University of Tokyo. The three universities agreed to pursue two subjects of (1) formulating a regional security architecture roadmap and (2) building the economic-security nexus in Northeast Asia over 2 years from January 1, 2009 to December 31, 2010. The project has three objectives:

- English and Korean Volumes
- Policy Briefs
- Training and Education Workshop

The Project Year One:

In collaboration with Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation at the University of California, San Diego, Yonsei Graduate School of International Studies hosted the International Conference on "Cooperation in Northeast Asia: Architecture and Beyond," held from June 30th to July 1st in 2009 in Seoul, South Korea. There were a total of 27 participants including academic scholars and governmental officials from China, Japan, Korea, US and European states.

The conference has the following sessions where 3-4 scholars made presentations in each session and discussants from various academic institutes and embassies of Japan, Korea and the United States made comments on papers and presentations from their perspectives.

Session 1: Northeast Asian Security Complex

Session 2: Actualizing Multilateralism: Changes and Opportunities

Session 3: State Interests and Strategies

Session 4: Wrap-up and Discussion

Based on the participants' presentations and discussions during the conference, a policy brief has been prepared and will be published soon after a last process of reviewing and editing. Although the brief does not reflect every view of each individual member, it represents our best collective views and opinions. The policy brief aims to provide an overview of the current challenges and hurdles facing Northeast Asian security. By outlining the challenges and difficulties that are still present in the region, this brief intends

to provide a starting point for discussing the future steps that can be taken. In order to achieve this objective, the report attempts to identify security issues and analyze interests and strategies from the perspective of the United States, China, Japan and South Korea. The next section explains how regional security architectures have been shaped and how bilateralism and multilateralism will develop in the region. In conclusion, this brief provides a future prospect of security cooperation in Northeast Asia by invoking lessons from European cooperation and addressing the current Six-Party Talks and ways to improve it. Since the brief is almost exclusively the combined work of preliminary and incomplete research compiled from participants, the finalized and more concrete brief will be published in Year Two.

Regarding the Korean Volume, it has been approved in April 2010 by Yonsei University Press on publishing the Korean version. Yonsei GSIS and IGCC have been discussing on publication of the English volume through a leading publishing house in the United States.

The Project Year Two (scheduled):

There will be two main events in 2010 to achieve the project objectives.

Graduate School of International Studies at Yonsei University, in collaboration with Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation at the University of California, San Diego, will hold the second International conference on “Cooperation in Northeast Asia: Architecture and Beyond” from 14 to 15 June, 2010 in Seoul, Republic of Korea. This conference aims to review and update how much drafted papers submitted at the first conference in 2009 have been developed and articulated. On top of that, the conference also attempts to share different ideas and thoughts among participants in order to encourage interactive intellectual exchanges which will help participants edit their own papers for final submission after the conference. The program schedule is consisted of the following sessions and presentations.

Session 1: Northeast Asian Security Complex

Paper 1: Chung Min Lee (Yonsei University)

“The Northeast Asian Security Complex: History, Concepts, and Emerging Issues”

Paper 2: Ajin Choi (Yonsei University)

“The Requirements for Security Cooperation in Northeast Asia: Theory and Reality”

Session 2: Security Challenges, Drivers and Issues

Paper 1: Joseph M. Grieco (Duke University)

“Nuclear Weapons, State Bellicosity, and the Prospects for an East Asian Security Architecture”

Paper 2: Geunwook Lee (Sogang University)

“Between Multilateralism and Bilateralism”

Paper 3: Hae-Won Jun (Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security)

“European Experience and Lessons”

Session 3: State Interests and Strategies

Paper 1: Sukhee Han (Yonsei University) and Luo Jianbo (Central Party School of the Communist Party of China)

“China’s Strategic Option: Multilateralism and the Pursuit of Influence”

Paper 2: Yoko Iwama (National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies)

“Multilateralism and Japan”

Paper 3: Hyung Min Kim (Seoul National University of Technology)

“ROK: Toward Peace and Cooperation”

Paper 4: Carol Atkinson and Giacomo Chiozza (Vanderbilt University)

“U.S. Perspectives on Security Cooperation in East Asia”

Session 4: Actualizing Security Cooperation and its Future

Paper 1: Susan L. Shirk (UC, San Diego)

“The Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue: Building a Foundation for a Regional Concert of Powers?”

Paper 2: T.J. Pempel (UC, Berkeley)

“Security Architecture in Northeast Asia; Reflections From the Rearview Mirror”

Session 5: Wrap-up and Discussion

Moreover, there will be a training and education workshop. Yonsei will host a training/education workshop for some 15-20 national security and foreign policymakers, leading analysts and academics, and journalists over a 3 day period from 16 to 18 June, 2010. Participants will be invited from all of the relevant regional states such China, Japan, Korea, Mongol, Russia and US with a special emphasis on regional security and multilateral cooperation in Northeast Asia. Over the two days of the workshop, there will be 4 sessions in which lectures will be given and general discussions regarding topics and issues will be followed.

Day-1 (June 16)

Session 1: The Northeast Asian Security Complex: History, Concepts, and Emerging Issues(Professor Chung Min Lee, Yonsei University)

Session 2: The Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue: Building a Foundation for a Regional Concert of Powers? (Professor Susan L. Shirk, UC, San Diego)

Day-2 (June 17)

Session 3: Extended Deterrence in the Region (tentative)
(Professor David Yost, Naval Postgraduate School)

Session 4: Security Architecture in Northeast Asia; Reflections from the Rearview Mirror (Professor T.J. Pempel, UC, Berkeley)

After 2 sessions for each day, simulation exercises will be conducted. The simulation exercises will be focusing on the two topics:

1. North Korea Nuclear Crisis and Non-proliferation
2. The Rise of China and Multilateralism in Northeast Asia.

On the last day of the workshop, June 18, Yonsei is planning a one-day field trip to the DMZ in order to visualize the challenges that lie ahead for both Korean and regional policymakers and experts. Overall, the training and education workshop will emphasize as much “informal bonding” and information sharing as possible in order to build personal and professional networks.

The List of Participants of the International Conference on “Cooperation in Northeast: Architecture and Beyond”

June 14-15

New Millennium Hall, Yonsei University

Presenters:

Giacomo Chiozza (Vanderbilt University)

Carol Atkinson (Vanderbilt University)

Etel Solingen (UC, Irvine)

Joseph Grieco (Duke University)

Yoko Iwama (National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies)

Luo Jianbo (Central Party School of the Communist Party of China)

Fujiwara Kiichi (University of Tokyo)

T.J. Pempel (UC, Berkeley)

Susan Shirk (UC, San Diego)

Chung Min Lee (Yonsei University)

Ajin Choi (Yonsei University)

Sukhee Han (Yonsei University)

Geunwook Lee (Sogang University)

Hyung Min Kim (Seoul National University of Technology)

Hae-won Jun (Institute of Foreign Affair and National Security)

Observers:

Joon Seok Hong (PhD student, UC Berkeley)

Seo Hyun Park (Professor, La Fayette College)

Cluster 2: Northeast Asia

East Asia Institute (Core Institution)

MISSION

The East Asia Institute (EAI) has been playing a leading role in Cluster 2 under the title of “Northeast Asian Security Challenge” with six other partner institutions from both South Korea and abroad. As a core institution, the EAI plays a pivotal role in coordinating research efforts and developing feasible policy recommendations. Now in its second year as a MacArthur Asia Security Initiative core institution for Cluster 2, the EAI strives to continue the progress already made.

For its first year, the EAI’s ASI activities largely fell into four areas: 1) the three project teams under each of the EAI’s three research programs; 2) the ASI Scholars Program, which produces scholarly papers in the form of working papers and issue briefings, and also translates noteworthy Korean papers into English; 3) roundtable discussions with prominent scholars and policymakers; 4) MASI partnerships with other scholars and research institutions, such as through various collaborative efforts

MASI Project Teams

Alliance Networks in Northeast Asia

For the first research program, *the Transformation of Alliance Networks and Changing Balance of Military Power in Northeast Asia*, the EAI utilized its National Security Panel (NSP) in order to analyze current and emerging foreign affairs and national security issues in the era of transformation throughout the world. In 2009 the NSP held eight meetings to analyze the evolving conceptual and structural changes in the 21st century alliance networks.

The panel’s findings were published in Korean as a policy paper series in November 2009. Under the leadership of Young-Sun Ha (Seoul National University), the ten authors of this series, entitled *Transforming Alliances in the 21st Century*, are some of the country’s most prominent experts on foreign affairs and security in East Asia and Korea. The following are the titles and authors:

1. *The History of Alliance Networks* Chaesung Chun (Seoul National University)
2. *The U.S. Alliance System in the 21st Century: Historical Overview* Sang Yoon Kwon (Catholic University of Korea)
3. *The Obama Administration’s Foreign Policy Agenda* Sang-Hyun Lee (The Sejong Institute)

4. *The U.S. Security Implementation Strategy* Dong Sun Lee (Korea University)
5. *The Obama Administration’s Strategy for East Asia and the Korean Peninsula* Seong-Ho Sheen (Seoul National University)
6. *Japan’s Alliance Strategy in the 21st Century: Power Transfer, Transformation, and Rebalancing* Yul Sohn (Yonsei University)
7. *China’s Alliance Policy in the 21st Century: Change and Continuity* Young-Nam Cho (Seoul National University)
8. *The Transformation of the U.S.-Europe Alliance in the 21st Century* Joon Suk Kim (Catholic University of Korea)
9. *Changes and Prospects for Russia’s 21st Century Alliance/Partnership Policy* Beom-Shik Shin (Seoul National University)
10. *The World View of the Middle East and Alliance* Nam Sik In (Institute for Foreign Affairs and National Security)

Future of North Korea

A primary strategy for conducting the second research program, *the Future of North Korea: How to Succeed with a Failing State*, was to utilize the EAI’s Future of North Korea Panel (FNKP) in order to produce interdisciplinary analyses and facilitate comprehensive discussions on pressing issues. The FNKP conducted research and generated ideas on six key areas in North Korea: domestic affairs, international affairs, economics, human rights, information technology, and the military. In 2009 the FNKP met seven times to analyze its research on North Korean politics and diplomatic relations, which will be published as a policy paper series. Under the leadership of Young-Sun Ha (Seoul National University), the six members of the panel serve as experts in each of the six areas:

1. *Chair* Young-Sun Ha (Seoul National University)
2. *International Affairs* Chaesung Chun (Seoul National University)
3. *Military* Jihwan Hwang (Myongji University)
4. *Economics* Dongho Jo (Ewha Womans University)
5. *Information Technology* Ho Je Kang (Ewha Womans University)
6. *Human Rights* Soo-Am Kim (Korea Institute for National Unification)
7. *Domestic Affairs* Seungji Woo (Kyung Hee University)

The policy paper series maps out the post-Kim Jong-il era into three phases: crisis, transition, and transformation, and proposes that North Korea can connect itself with East Asia and the world only through changes in its policies and system of governance. It also suggests feasible, step-by-step methods of transforming North Korea in the areas of denuclearization, economy, government, information technology, and the military.

National Identity Rivalry and Regional Stability in East Asia

Recognizing that identity is now a key variable in redefining security challenges and explaining both the sources of peace and of insecurity in the region, the EAI formed an Identity Study Team in May 2009 to explore the relationship between *National Identity Rivalry and Regional Stability in East Asia*, the third research program.

The Identity Study Team met with both Korean and foreign scholars to develop its direction and research agenda, as well as a preliminary theoretical framework by which to examine how to mitigate bilateral and regional disputes that are caused and amplified by identity conflict in East Asia for such key actors as China, Japan, South Korea, and the U.S. The team also conducted in-depth analyses on the background of the study of identity, determining root causes, sociopolitical factors, and possible research methodologies, which include conducting surveys in both domestic and international settings. Additionally, it has examined the influence of identity on policymaking, and is devising a specific approach to fulfilling the ultimate goal of publishing a paper series that gives creative policy suggestions to deal with identity conflict in East Asia.

ASI Scholars Program

The EAI's ASI Scholar Program selected 16 scholars in 2009 in the field of national security to support their research on EAI's topics of alliance networks, future of North Korea, and identity in Northeast Asia. Research outcomes were published as working papers and issue briefings throughout the year. See the table at the end for a full list of the EAI's working paper and issue briefing publications.

Roundtable

The EAI has held several roundtable events within the MASI program in both English and Korean, attracting scholars, policy experts, and government officials from around the region and the world. See the table at the end for further details of the events and related memos issued.

InfraVision

InfraVision forums are designed to facilitate discussions with prominent leaders on current issues of national security, with the goal of establishing a blueprint for the development of a future infrastructure in Korea and East Asia. They provide an arena for scholars and policymakers to develop systematic transformation strategies for leading global society in the 21st century. Two forums were held, inviting Hyun Cho (Ambassador of Energy and Resources) and Hyun-Chong Kim (Ambassador for International Economic Cooperation).

Smart Talk

To accelerate various international research collaborations and develop a global academic network on East Asia, the EAI launched its Smart Talk series in 2009, providing opportunities for leading scholars in Korea to meet and engage with prominent figures from around the world. Each Smart Talk consisted of a presentation given by a guest speaker, followed by a discussion with a panel of experts. These discussions challenged topical issues of concern to the East Asian community through thought-provoking debate between perspectives within and outside of Korea. Detailed summaries of each Smart Talk forum were published on the EAI website, serving as valuable tools for policymakers, scholars, and students alike. Seven forums have been held with leading experts such as Charles Pritchard, Joel Wit, and Mike Mochizuki.

Global Net 21

The Global Net 21 forum has 99 members from South Korea's academic community and press, bonded by their common interest in understanding comprehensive security and its domestic political repercussions. As part of its ASI initiative, the EAI hosted two such forums last year, inviting experts to discuss the urgent security issue of North Korea as well as long-term strategies to deal with the nuclear issue and the North-South Korean relationship. Such reports of the forum have compelled leaders as well as average citizens to reevaluate the effectiveness of South Korea's policies toward North Korea, and consider different perspectives on the best strategic approach to dealing with North Korea. There have been two meetings with Stephan Haggard (UCSD) and In-taek Hyun (Ministry of Unification).

Security Net

The Security Net panel is an ad hoc committee of experts who meet usually in response to a major event, change, or crisis related to East Asian security, and release commentaries that provide analyses of the situation as well as policy recommendations. It consists of four core members who invite other scholars or experts according to their expertise and knowledge of the issue in question. The Security Net has usually published immediately following a noteworthy event or crisis, so as to maximize its effectiveness, relevance, and policy impact. Topics have ranged from the North Korea nuclear crisis to President Obama's trip to Asia.

MASI Partnerships

In order to extend its collaborative experience and build relationships with other researchers in the field, the EAI sought to undertake projects with partner institutions.

Through various joint seminars and conferences, the EAI was able to connect existing local and foreign partnership relations with the ASI program cluster system, and work towards internationalizing its research networks. Furthermore, it was able to broaden its potential target audience, as well as its press coverage, from the local to regional and even international levels.

2009 World Congress for Korean Politics and Society

“G-2 Era? Global Rise of China and the Future of Asia / the Future of American Leadership” (August 21, 2009)

Presenters: Chi Wook Kim (Sejong Institute), Shunzhang Zhao (Shanghai Center for Strategic and International Studies), Feng Zhu (Peking University)

Moderator: Chaesung Chun

Discussant: Seungjoo Lee, Chaesung Chun

2009 Northeast Asian Security Dialogue between China and ROK

“East Asia’s Future after the Global Economic Crisis: The Role of China and South Korea for the Region” coorganized by the EAI and Peking University’s Center for International & Strategic Studies (CISS) (November 23, 2009)

Future Goals

Setting the Standard for Quality The EAI is dedicated to producing top quality work that reflects structured, thoughtful research, and provides relevant and feasible policy recommendations. To this end, the EAI will invite a top U.S. think tank as a special partner institution and utilize its experts as quality setters in interim workshops and annual conferences. Using this strategy of import substitution, the EAI intends to raise the standard of research among East Asian participants. In addition, the EAI will make every effort to control, counter, and overcome profound threats to the quality of any collective research program, such as by putting in place a robust system of peer review that will allow for critical appraisals of each other’s performance.

Extending Collaborative Experience Through a series of workshops with partner and other core institutions, the EAI intends to strengthen its relationships with both existing and new partners, particularly through various collaborations that bring in scholars from all over the world. It also hopes to promote the active participation of leading American and East Asian experts in workshops and conferences. Furthermore, the EAI will publish policy reports including in-depth findings and policy suggestions, and present the research outcomes to various public audiences. These papers will be written in English and Korean,

and presented both online on the website and offline at workshops, as well as in video conferences, in conjunction with partner institutions. The EAI firmly believes that such collaboration and interaction will not only consolidate resources and expertise, but also encourage internationalization of its research networks. Currently, the EAI is well on its way to achieving its goal of doubling its institutional capabilities in the area of collaborative experience, particularly in expanding its partnerships with foreign research institutions.

Augmenting Public and Policy Impact By extending its collaborative experience, the EAI also hopes to broaden its potential target audience to sell its research products from the local to regional and ultimately global level. The EAI believes in the necessity of effective coordination among research institutions of the East Asia region in disseminating valuable research outcomes, and intends to fully exploit various internet resources to developing more effective, innovative ways of reaching larger audiences. In addition, it will focus on broadening media coverage of its activities, particularly its collaborative efforts, in hopes of attracting public attention from outside of the country.

The EAI’s Asia Security Initiative Publications and Events

Type	Author/Event	Title	Date
Working papers:	Yong Wook Lee	<i>Regional Financial Solidarity without the United States: Contested Neoliberalism in East Asia</i>	Sept 30
	Jihwan Hwang	<i>Understanding North Korea’s Strategic Assessments in 2009 and the Reference Point Gap on the Korean Peninsula</i>	Nov 10
	Dong Sun Lee & Sung Eun Kim	<i>Ties That Bind? Assessing the Impact of Economic Interdependence on East Asian Alliances</i>	January 31, 2010
	Byung-Yeon Kim	<i>Markets, Bribery, and Regime Stability in North Korea</i>	April 7, 2010
	Hyung-Min Joo	<i>‘Democratic Inconsistency’ in the North Korean Nuclear Crisis</i>	May 31, 2010
Issue briefings:	Chaesung Chun	<i>Moving from a North Korean Nuclear Problem to the Problem of North Korea</i>	June 1
	Sook Jong Lee	<i>South Korea’s Soft Power Diplomacy</i>	June 1
	Seongho Sheen	<i>A Smart Alliance in the Age of Complexity: ROK-U.S. Alliance in the 21st Century</i>	June 1
	Dongho Jo	<i>Muddling along with the Missiles</i>	July 24
	Yul Sohn	<i>Japan between Alliance and Community Aug 13</i>	
	Chaesung Chun	<i>How Comprehensive is Comprehensive Enough? Dealing with the North Korean Nuclear Problem in a Comprehensive Deal</i>	Oct 19
Sook Jong Lee	<i>China’s Soft Power: Its Limits and Potentials</i>	Oct 20	

	Min Gyo Koo	<i>Embracing Asia: South Korean Style: Preferential Trading Arrangements as Instruments of Foreign Policy</i>	Nov 11
	Sukhee Han	<i>Prospects for Change in the Beijing-Pyongyang Nexus</i>	Dec 31
	Sung Bae, Kim	<i>How Can an Inter-Korean Summit Contribute to the Denuclearization of North Korea?</i>	June 10 2010
Memos:	InfraVision #5	<i>The Prospects and Reality of Regionalism in Northeast Asia**</i>	May 21
	InfraVision #6	<i>The Background and Prospects of the G-20 Summit**</i>	Dec 10
	InfraVision #7	<i>Current Issues in ROK Japan Relations</i>	Feb 12
Smart Talk #1	<i>Finance for Development: East Asia, Latin America, and Eastern Europe</i>	May 7	
Smart Talk #2	<i>The North Korean Nuclear Threat</i>	July 1	
Smart Talk #3	<i>Reconciling Rivals: War, Memory, and Security in East Asia</i>	July 9	
Smart Talk #4	<i>United States' Economic Policy Toward Asia</i>	Oct 16	
Smart Talk #5	<i>Four Future Scenarios for a Nuclear North Korea</i>	Nov 11	
Smart Talk #6	<i>Summitry and the Six-Party Talks: U.S. Policy toward North Korea</i>	Feb 23	
Smart Talk #7	<i>The Washington Nuclear Summit and Challenges on the Road to the Korean Summit in 2012</i>	June 1	
Global Net 21 #16	<i>North Korea Opens: Recent Economic Developments in the DPRK</i>	June 24	
Global Net 21 #17	<i>Finding Solutions to North Korea Nuclear Issues and the North-South Korean Relationship</i>	Oct 28	
Security Net #1	<i>Assessment and Challenges of South Korea-U.S. Summit: From a Policy of Sanctions to a Policy of Coevolution</i>	June 17	
Security Net #2	<i>North Korea at the Crossroads</i>	Aug 27	
Security Net #3	<i>Japan under the DPJ: Changes in Foreign and Defense Policies</i>	Sept 1	
Security Net #4	<i>The Future of ROK-Japan Relations</i>	Oct 15	
Security Net #5	<i>Toward a Smart Alliance: The ROK-U.S. Relationship after President Obama's Asia Trip</i>	Nov 19	
Security Net #6	<i>Lessons from the Cheonan Incident and South Korea's Response</i>	May 17 2010	
Security Net #7	<i>Kim Jong-il's Visit to China and Its Implications</i>	June 7	
Security Net # 8	<i>The U.S. "Nuclear Posture Review (NPR) 2010" and the Nuclear Security Summit</i>	June 11	
Security Net # 9	<i>China's Dilemma regarding the Cheonan Incident and the Future of ROK-China Relations</i>		
Other	<i>"G-2 Era? Global Rise of China and the Future of E. Asia" at the World Congress for Korean Politics and Society</i>	Aug 21	
Policy Papers:	NSP	10 policy papers on Transforming Alliances in the 21st Century	Dec 2009
Multimedia	Global Net21 #17 Stephan Haggard	North Korea Opens: Recent Economic Developments in the DPRK	June 24

Center for Preventive Action, Council on Foreign Relations

The Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) is an independent, nonpartisan membership organization, think tank, and publisher dedicated to being a resource for its members, government officials, business executives, journalists, educators and students, civic and religious leaders, and other interested citizens in order to help them better understand the world and the foreign policy choices facing the United States and other countries. Founded in 1921, the Council takes no institutional positions on matters of policy. The Council carries out its mission by:

- Maintaining a diverse membership, including special programs to promote interest and develop expertise in the next generation of foreign policy leaders;
- Convening meetings at its headquarters in New York and in Washington, DC, and other cities where senior government officials, members of Congress, global leaders, and prominent thinkers come together with Council members to discuss and debate major international issues;
- Supporting a Studies Program that fosters independent research, enabling Council scholars to produce articles, reports, and books and hold roundtables that analyze foreign policy issues and make concrete policy recommendations;
- Publishing *Foreign Affairs*, the preeminent journal of international affairs and U.S. foreign policy;
- Sponsoring Independent Task Forces that produce reports with both findings and policy prescriptions on the most important foreign policy topics; and
- Providing up-to-date information and analysis about world events and American foreign policy on its website, CFR.org.

Current membership of more than 4,300 is divided among those living in New York, Washington, DC, and across the country and abroad. The David Rockefeller Studies Program — CFR's think tank — is composed of more than fifty full-time and adjunct fellows who cover the major regions and significant issues shaping today's international agenda. The program also includes recipients of several one-year fellowships.

The Studies program is organized into twelve program areas and centers that focus on major geographical areas of the world or significant foreign policy issues, including the Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies, the Center for Preventive Action, and the International Institutions and Global Governance program.

Established in 1995, the Center for Preventive Action (CPA) seeks to help prevent, defuse, or resolve deadly conflicts around the world and to expand the body of knowledge on conflict prevention. It does so by creating a forum in which representatives of

governments, international organizations, nongovernmental organizations, corporations, and civil society can gather to develop operational and timely strategies for promotion peace in specific conflict situations. The center focuses on conflict in countries or regions that affect U.S. interests, but may be otherwise overlooked; where prevention appears possible; and when the resources of the Council on Foreign Relations can make a difference. The Center does this by:

- Drawing attention to emerging and potential areas of instability through rigorous, in-depth analysis and consultation, and by identifying practical opportunities for early preventive action;
- Contributing to the body of practical knowledge about preventive action through commissioned studies and meetings to discuss “best practices” and “lessons learned”; and
- Providing a regular forum for government and nongovernment experts to consider policy options for preventive action.

RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS

- CPA sponsors Council Special Reports on specific regions and thematic issues, including a series aimed at improving U.S. preventive action through better organizational arrangements for early warning and response, as well as strengthened cooperation with relevant international organizations and private sector actors.
- Contingency Planning Memoranda consider plausible short- to medium term crises and discuss measures the United States can take to reduce their likelihood and mitigate their consequences.

MEETING SERIES

- The Flashpoint Roundtable series addresses known areas of instability where the threat of violence and escalation is particularly acute and considers practical methods for resolving the sources of conflict.
- The Contingency Planning Roundtable series focuses on potential crises and how best to manage them, with recommendations published as Contingency Planning Memoranda.
- Preventive Action Workshops and High-Level Policy Dialogue Meetings address specific conflict prevention topics to facilitate more in-depth discussions between experts and policymakers.
- The CPA — IIGG United Nations Roundtable Series convenes discussions with senior UN officials on conflict prevention and peacekeeping issues.

Recent publications released by the Center for Preventive Action include Council Special reports “Enhancing U.S. Preventive Action” co-authored by Paul Stares and Micah Zenko and “Somalia: A New Approach” authored by Bronwyn Bruton as well as Contingency Planning Memoranda on “An Israeli Strike on Iran,” “Terrorism and Indo-Pakistani Escalation,” and “Renewed Conflict in Sudan.” CPA has held many meetings this year on a variety of topics including but not limited to European perspectives on early warning, the possibility of renewed Israeli — Palestinian violence, the succession crisis in Nigeria, prospects for violent domestic unrest in Iran, and operationalizing the responsibility to protect. Also, the Center has been updating its website (www.cfr.org/thinktank/cpa/) to make it more of a resource for practitioners of preventive action, including the development of a new “Conflict Prevention Resources” section which contains an Index of Watchlists and the 2010 CPA Preventive Priorities Survey.

Collectively, the Contingency Planning Memoranda produced by CPA from 2009 to 2010 have been downloaded over 10,000 times and have become well-known and respected among conflict prevention and policy planning experts. The “Enhancing U.S. Preventive Action” CSR, has been downloaded over 1,000 times since its release and has drawn very positive feedback from the government, expert, and media communities. “Somalia: A New Approach” has been downloaded more than 1,500 times in the short period since its release. Its author, Bronwyn Bruton, has since been interviewed by numerous media outlets and been invited to brief a variety of high-level government and expert audiences on U.S. policy for Somalia.

Looking forward, CPA will continue to fulfill its mandate by developing policy reports, bringing together experts and policymakers, and drawing attention to potential crises. CPA will research and publish in-depth Council Special Reports on pressing regional and thematic issues in conflict prevention with possible topics including Mexico and early warning lessons learned. It will continue to develop Contingency Planning Memoranda through its highly successful Contingency Planning Roundtable series, focusing, in the near future, on domestic unrest in Iran, a potential Coup in Nigeria, and the possibility of a third Lebanon war. The Center will also host Flashpoint Roundtables, Preventive Action Workshops, and High-Level Policy Dialogue Meetings to facilitate dialogue on major issues in conflict prevention.

Center for RimPac Strategic and International Studies, Shanghai Jiao Tong University

Brief Introduction

The Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) was founded by Shanghai University of Political Science and Law (SHUPL) in March 2010. It is affiliated to the Department of International Studies of SHUPL.

Director: Prof. Wangwei, China-Japan relations and China's foreign policy

Deputy Director: Prof. Chen Jianfeng: IR theory and strategic culture

Executive Director: Associate Prof. Guo Xuetang

Researchers and research interests:

Prof. He Qisong: space security and China's space strategy

Dr. Kong Fanhe: China's foreign policy

Prof. Su Wen: China's resources strategy

Dr. Tan Tan: China's foreign policy

Prof. Yuan Shengyu: China-Russian Studies

Dr. Yue Xiaoying: Asia Pacific Security, U.S.-Japan Relations

Dr. Zheng Fei: Regional Security and Arms control

The establishment of CSIS is to promote the international studies and teaching of international relations of SHUPL, do research on China's geopolitical changes and its strategic relations with other powers, particularly China's strategy toward its neighbouring countries, and provide policy recommendations to China's diplomacy.

Academic Achievements (2009-2010)

1. Series of TianMa Seminar on China's Foreign Strategy
 - a) "The Financial Crisis and the future of China-EU relations", (key speaker: Prof. Mehdi parvizi Amineh, EPA Programme Director, International Institute for Asian Studies, The Netherlands, Dec.9, 2008).
 - b) "The East-China Sea Disputes and the Future of China-Japan Relations" (key speaker: Prof. and Dr. Wang Wei, Director of DISPA and CSIS of SHUPL, March 31, 2009).
 - c) "the South-China Sea Disputes and the Situation of China's National Security" (key speaker: Associate Prof. Guo Xuetang, Executive Director of CSIS of SHUPL,

April 14, 2009).

- d) "The Core Values of China's Foreign Strategic Culture: Case Study of the Modern Sino-Japan Relations" (key speaker: Dr. Tan Tan, DISPA of SHUPL, April 28, 2009).
- e) "The China's International Role in the 21st Century" (key speaker: Prof. and Dr. Yuan Shengyu, Deputy Director of DISPA of SHUPL, May 12, 2009)
- f) "A Chinese Perspective on Western Academic Studies" (key speaker: Prof. Zhu Xueqin, History Department of Shanghai University, Nov.3, 2009)
- g) "The Co-existence of International System and Global System" (key speaker: Prof. Jin Yingzhong, Secretary-general of Shanghai Association for International Studies, Nov. 10, 2009)
- h) "From Administrative Party to Political Party: the Crisis of Grass-roots Party Organizations and the Reign Transformation in China"(key speaker: Associate prof. Zhu Xinshan, DISPA of SHUPL, Dec. 29, 2009)
- i) "The Dilemma of Space Security Governance"(key speaker: Prof. He Qisong, DISPA of SHUPL, March 25, 2010)
- j) "Strategic Partners or Competitors: US Policy toward China in Obama Administration" (key speaker: Associate Prof. Jean-Marc F. Blanchard, Associate Director of Center for U.S.-China Policy Studies, San Francisco State University, March 25, 2010)
- k) "The International Allocation of Ironstone Market and China's National Security" (Prof. Su Wen, Director of Institute of Resources Strategy, China University of Geoscience, May 19, 2010)

2. Conference on "China's foreign Policy and Its Theory Development in 60 Years", coorganized with the Shanghai Association for International Studies, Sept. 25-26, 2009

3. The United Nations Simulation, DISPA of SHUPL, ten of the Senior High Schools from Shanghai are invited to join the simulation, the May 9-10, 2009.

Future Research Topics of CSIS of SHUPL

Topic One: Regionalism in East Asia and China's Foreign Strategy

I. Why choose the topic?

The regionalism has been an obvious phenomenon in international relations during the postcold war era, particularly in economic field. The regional integration process of East-Asia lagged far behind the Europe in 1990s although the economic engine in China

speeded up. The trade and economic cooperation promoting and dominating bilateral and multilateral country-to-country relations has brought about regional economic integration and interdependence. However, the political will of improving regional identity was undermined by the mistrust and suspicion among the East-Asian countries because of history and territorial disputes, and the realist power struggle of national interests.

The East-Asian regionalism in the early 21st century has moved forward to a new stage since China joined WTO in 2002 since the endogenous integration forces have been growing to be more stronger, in China, Japan, South Korea and some of the ASEAN countries. The ASEAN's capability and will for regional integration remain questionable due to its internal political, economic and social problems, and its balance-of-power foreign policy. Will the APT which consists of the 10 ASEAN members plus China, Japan and South Korea be transforming to TPA (Three Plus ASEAN)? Is it possible for China, Japan and South Korea to be the core countries of the East-Asian regionalizing process? Can the North-East Asian identity be shaped through the regional security and economic cooperation and become the mainspring of East-Asian regionalism? These new variables which will definitely affect and shape the regional order and great-power relations makes China rethink its international role and its foreign strategy.

II. Why has regionalism in East Asia been stagnating?

Both endogenous and exogenous factors in terms of sovereign states are pulling down the process of regionalism.

1. The ASEAN

The regional integration in South-East Asia has been pushed forward since the late Cold War with political concerns, preventing this region from being dominated by a single power or being used by the great-power real-politics. The regional identity was built on the bases of foreign relations, not the social understanding of solving intraregional political, social and security problems by the ASEAN organization, from a constructivist perspective. The domestic social unrests in Indonesia, Laos, Myanmar, Philippines, and Thailand are impediments for strengthening the regional identity. The members cannot agree with each other on the ASEAN intervention in their internal affairs concerning their sovereignty, let alone the bilateral territorial disputes between Thailand and Cambodia.

The ASEAN has promoted itself as the kernel of East Asian community, as has been accepted by China, Japan and South Korea. However, it lacks the hard power of integrating East Asia together in terms of GDP or geographical size.

2. The outsiders

The involvement of outsiders, the United States, Russia, India, even Australia and New

Zealand, makes the regional integration full of divergences and uncertainties. The East Asia Summit (EAS), expansion of APT, has disputes over acceptance of the U.S. and Russia among the the APT members, concerning the balance of great powers and regional identity.

3. North-east Asian countries

China, Japan and South Korea have established trilateral summit meeting mechanism since 2008. The regional security problems and bilateral territory disputes between them, particularly the Korean Peninsula crisis, has hindered North-east Asian political and cultural integration although they agreed to make joint efforts to promote their all-round cooperative partnership. The North Korea nuclear crisis and the Cheonan incident have made this region unstable and the countries hard to find identity-building measures, and also provoked security involvement from outside powers.

III. The challenging dynamics of East Asian regionalism

1. The East-Asian economic relations since the global financial crisis

Obviously, the economic interdependence among East Asian countries has been accelerating since the global financial crisis. The China-ASEAN Free Trade Area, launched in 2010 and as a milestone for regional economic integration, undoubtedly will improve the capacity of the regional economies to tackle the crisis. China has been the first trade partner of South Korea and will be Japanese first trade partner of Japan in 2010. In the annual trilateral summit meeting in Jeju island of South Korea this year, Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao, Japanese Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama and South Korean President Lee Myung-bak pledged efforts to finish a joint feasibility study of trilateral free trade agreement by 2012, which was launched a year before. It seems that a new trading bloc that shares 16% of global GDP and a complementary market of 1.5 billion consumers is going to emerge in East Asia.

In the financial field, the APT has established a currency swap arrangement which provides US\$120 billion for liquidity emergencies under the Chiang Mai Initiative Multilateralization (CMIM) in which China and Japan are the "largest co-equal contributors". The leaders of APT has been also enthusiastic in establishing an East Asian Community with a common currency. The interaction among APT members are definitely helpful for the East Asian integration.

2. China-Japan-South Korea Trilateral summit meetings

In the shadow of global financial crisis and regional security conflicts, China, Japan and South Korea has vowed to strengthen tripartite cooperation and enhance mutual political trust through forging a future-oriented, comprehensive cooperative partnership. The three

leaders in the Jeju Island annual meeting agreed to set up a trilateral cooperation secretariat in South Korea in 2011 to jointly tackle natural disasters. Besides the economic and security cooperation, they also promised to further trilateral cooperation in environmental protection and cultural exchange areas. The most important factor in the trilateral relations is the willingness and enthusiasm of Beijing, Tokyo and Seoul has been getting much stronger, as will push forward the formation of North-east Asian identity and avoid this region being “too reliant on the United States”, in Hatoyama’s words.

3. The debate on an exclusive or inclusive East Asian regionalism

The hot debate on an exclusive or inclusive East Asian regionalism results from the debate on the American role in East Asia in the new century. Some specialists propose an open EAS which includes Washington as a full member although it is not an Asian country geographically. This argument is not convincible theoretically and practically. A precondition of regionalism is all participating governments regard that not all problems are either national or global in scope, they should be local problems from a geographic perspective. The solutions of these local problems require actions by only a limited number of states in the region. Generally speaking, regionalism focuses heavily on local problems and involves fewer actors. In practice, the more actors from inside and outside powers in solving a local problem, the less stability in the region. Interestingly and noticeably, Japan and Korea, two military allies have been changing views on the U.S.’s role in the public in which the sense of regional identity works. All the three power and ASEAN countries will benefit from an exclusive East Asian regionalism when they reach common sense in recent years.

IV. How does China respond to the regionalism in East Asia

Regionalism is connected with the ideas of geopolitics. Can the land powers integrate with the sea powers in an interdependent region with increasing cultural and psychological identity? If the answer is yes, the regionalism in East Asia will have a promising future.

In a longer term, the driving force of East Asian integration comes from the trilateral economic integration and political trust among China, Japan and South Korea, not from the ASEAN countries who tend to be suspicious of a single dominating in this region.

China’s strategic assessment of Japan and South Korea as regional partners in the regional integrating process permits a trilateral cooperative pattern in East Asia which might be helpful for preserving its national peaceful security environment.

Topic Two: Cultivation of East Asian Identity

I. Reasons to Choose the Topic

East Asia, one of the most dynamic and diverse regions, attracts much attention from around the world. The region is also becoming increasingly coherent by various integrative interactions of economic, political, cultural and social processes.

East Asia is the region that achieves its economic recovery in the most rapid and effective manners in the world economic recession starting up in 2008. The success originates from 1) different but collateral economic structures such as developed economies, fast developing economies, developing economies and underdeveloped economies that mutually benefit the East Asian nations; 2) similar historical experiences (most of the nations being colonized); 3) similar ways of development (export-oriented growth and state-led market economy); and 4) similar social structures and traditions.

II. Main Ideas

1. A diverse East Asia

East Asia is the home of diversity and is very different geographically, climatically and religio-politically. It consists of various geographic features (continents, subcontinents, peninsulas and islands), climates (tropical, subtropical, moderate, continental and dry), religions (Taoism, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam), political systems (socialism, capitalism and so on) and economic and social development stages.

2. A Coherent East Asia

Some may believe that there are common values and identity among the 27 EU members while there is no common identity for the East Asia since there are great differences in the Asian culture with different economic and social development stages and various political systems. On the second thought, there is much in common among the East Asian nations.

- A. East Asian nations share almost a common way of the economic and social development. Most of the nations in the region had a rebirth from the feudal or kinship society and later became independent from the colonist. Their economic growth is achieved by the means of export-oriented and state-led market economy.
- B. East Asian identity is associated with Asian’s shared understanding of the legitimate role of the government in facilitating economic and social development and stability.
- C. East Asian nations have something in common about their traditions. Asians in general share familialist ideology “that promotes the family and its values as an institution”. As respecting patriarch (an age-ranking system), they prefer hierarchically authoritative and autocratic leadership. They, therefore, value social the social cohesion, belief in duties rather than rights.

3. Cultivation of East Asian Identity is the base of Establishing East Asian Community

A nation is a cultural system and “international relations are therefore by definition also intercultural relations.” The shared economic and political systems are grounded in the homogeneous cultural and social traditions. There exists a fundamental and shared human nature in the East Asian region, nevertheless display many variations of cultural and social arrangements.

Following the constructivist approach, which advocates that interstate system is socially structured and “emphasizes the significance of analyzing how regional ‘togetherness’ can be strengthened and how this influences the formation of a regional institution”. Therefore, East Asian identity cultivation will better contribute to East Asian Community.

The successful establishment and development of ASEAN Plus Three (APT), East Asian Summit (EAS), Six-Party Talks and China-Japan-South Korea Trilateral Summit are the attempts of constructing East Asian Community.

Ilmin International Relations Institute, Korea University

Accomplishments for the First Project Year

During the first project year, the Ilmin International Relations Institute (IIRI) built organizational foundations for effective project management. The IIRI held a planning meeting in May 2009 to set broad parameters for project implementation and to draw up a detailed plan for the first year’s activities. A selected group of seven experts engaged in a constructive discussion with IIRI research staff. After carefully considering their recommendations, the IIRI set up two key programs that constitute the backbone of our project activities:

1. Three distinct paper series were launched: (1) “working papers”— 7,000~8,000 words in-depth analyses on project themes; (2) “policy briefs”— approximately 5,000 words policy-oriented commentaries on current issues; (3) “background papers” which provide background knowledge on project-related subjects.
2. The Ilmin Forum for International Affairs and Security (IFIAS) was founded, in which research findings are presented and a selected group of experts offer feedback. The IFIAS also serves as a venue for disseminating research findings to the media, as journalists are invited to participate and encouraged to write news reports about the forum.

Through the utilization of these programs, the IIRI conducted research on current situations and possible contingencies of North Korea, as originally planned. On the publication front, the IIRI has produced four policy briefs, three working papers, and one background paper.

The following is a complete list of publications:

Type	Title	Author Name/ Affiliation	Date
Policy brief no. 1	State Failure and North Korea	Lee Seok-Soo (Professor, International Affairs Department, Korea National Defense University)	August 10, 2009
Policy brief no. 2	Initial Assessment of the Potential Effects of Financial Sanctions on North Korea	John S. Park (Senior Research Associate at the U.S. Institute of Peace)	August 17, 2009

Policy brief no. 3	Future of North Korea and South Korea-U.S. Alliance: Adjusting to Emerging Realities	Victor Cha (Senior Adviser and Korea Chair at CSIS and a professor at Georgetown University)	September 17, 2009
Policy brief no. 4	Thinking about Contingency Planning	Joel Wit (Senior Research Fellow at Columbia University)	November 12, 2009
Working paper no.1	State Failure and North Korea: A Conceptual Framework	Robert I. Rotberg (Director of the Program on Intrastate Conflict at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government)	January 10, 2010
Working paper no.2	Types of North Korean Contingencies	Ho-Yeol Yoo (Professor, Korea Studies Department, Korea University)	June 2010 (forthcoming)
Working paper no. 3	Social Consequences of North Korea's Collapse	Jae Jean Suh (Director, Korea Institute for National Unification)	June 2010 (forthcoming)
Background paper no.1	Directions for International Cooperation in North Korean Contingency: A Korean Perspective	Sung-han Kim (Director, Ilmin International Relations Institute, Korea University)	March 26, 2010

In addition, on March 19, the IIRI launched an "Ilmin Special Lecture Series" in order to help university students and members of the public understand North Korea. For the first lecture, the IIRI invited Christian Caryl, contributing editor for Foreign Policy and Newsweek. The IIRI plans to hold 3-4 such lectures each year.

On the meeting front, the IIRI held seven forums on project-related themes as listed below:

Type	Title	Speaker name/affiliation	Date	Number of participants
1 st IFIAS	State Failure and North Korea	Lee Seok-Soo (Professor, International Affairs Department, Korea National Defense University)	August 10, 2009	18
2 nd IFIAS	Initial Assessment of the Potential Effects of Financial Sanctions on North Korea	John S. Park (Senior Research Associate and Director of the Korea Working Group at the U.S. Institute of Peace)	August 17, 2009	15
3 rd IFIAS	Future of North Korea and South Korea-U.S. Alliance: Adjusting to Emerging Realities	Victor Cha (Senior Adviser and Korea Chair at CSIS and a professor at Georgetown University)	September 17, 2009	13

4 th IFIAS	Thinking about Contingency Planning	Joel Wit (Senior Research Fellow at Columbia University)	November 12, 2009	16
5 th IFIAS	State Failure and North Korea: A Conceptual Framework	Robert I. Rotberg (Director of the Program on Intrastate Conflict at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government)	January 10, 2010	14
6 th IFIAS	Types of North Korean Contingencies	Ho-Yeol Yoo (Professor, Korea Studies Department, Korea University)	January 22, 2010	16
7 th IFIAS	Social Consequences of North Korea's Collapse	Jae Jean Suh (Korea Institute for National Unification)	2010	16

Plans for the Second Project Year

With research on North Korean contingencies completed, the IIRI plans to study the possible consequences of state collapse in North Korea during the current project year.

Meetings:

The IIRI plans to convene a number of meetings on the subject during the year. As of early June, three forums are firmly scheduled as the following table shows. Also planned is a large-scale conference to be held in December. Approximately 25 to 30 experts and officials will be invited to conduct "pol-mil games" in order to explore appropriate responses to

A tentative schedule of meetings is as follows:

Type	Title	Speaker name/ affiliation	Date
8 th IFIAS	Economic Consequences of North Korea's Collapse	Deok Ryong Yoon (Korea Institute for International Economic Policy)	June 2010
9 th IFIAS	Politico-Military Consequences of North Korea's Collapse	Yong Sup Han (National Defense University)	June 2010
10 th IFIAS	Legal Consequences of North Korea's Collapse	Bum-Chul Shin (Ministry of National Defense)	June 2010
Conference	Pol-mil games		December 2010

various types of North Korean contingencies. The simulation exercise will consist of three parts: (1) setting-up various scenarios; (2) role-playing by key decision makers; and (3) assessing policy implications.

Publications:

The IIRI foresees a productive year in publication as well. Four working papers are already commissioned on social, economic, politico-military, and legal consequences of North Korea's collapse. Their prospective authors presented paper outlines and received feedback from experts in a meeting held on April 3-4, 2010. All the papers will be published by August. After the pol-mil games planned for December, IIRI research staff will prepare a report summarizing central findings and a memo offering policy prescriptions. In addition, research heads will write at least two background papers on topics to be later determined through consultations. Additional working papers also will be commissioned as opportunities arise.

A tentative publication schedule is as follows:

Type	Title	Author name/ affiliation	Date
Working paper no.4	Economic Consequences of North Korea's Collapse	Deok Ryong Yoon (Korea Institute for International Economic Policy)	June 2010
Working paper no.5	Politico-Military Consequences of North Korea's Collapse	Yong Sup Han (National Defense University)	July 2010
Working paper no.6	Legal Consequences of North Korea's Collapse	Bum-Chul Shin (Ministry of National Defense)	August 2010
Report/Memo	Key Findings of the Pol-mil games	IIRI Research Staff	December 2010

Other International Conferences:

In August 2010, the IIRI plans to hold an international conference on North Korea together with the Korea Defense and Security Forum (KODEF). Also, in September 2010, IIRI, together with the Ministry of Unification, will co-host a "Korea Global Forum," in which government officials and scholars from 11 countries including the U.S., Japan, and China will discuss issues related to the future of North Korea.

Institute for International Economics

Over the past year, principal investigator Marcus Noland assisted by Research Analyst Jennifer Lee actively pursued research and outreach activities under the MASI program. Major unanticipated events in North Korea, notably missile (February 2009) and nuclear tests (February and May 2009, respectively) and subsequent UN Security Council sanctions, and the 30 November 2009 surprise confiscatory currency reform necessitated some re-focusing of research activities from those envisioned in the original MASI grant proposal.

Under the grant, three peer-reviewed papers have been published or accepted for publication in scholarly journals:

"Economic Crime and Punishment in North Korea," with Stephan Haggard, *Political Science Quarterly*, forthcoming. This paper has also been circulated in working paper form via the East Asia Institute's MASI-supported working paper series.

"Sanctioning North Korea: The Political Economy of Denuclearization and Proliferation," with Stephan Haggard, *Asian Survey*, forthcoming, 50:3 (May/June 2010).

"Reform from Below: Behavioral and Institutional Change in North Korea," with Stephan Haggard, *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization*, February 2010, 73:2 pp.133-52.

In addition to these published papers, another paper is "in the pipeline," circulating in working paper form while undergoing peer-review:

"Political Attitudes under Repression: Evidence from North Korean Refugees," with Stephan Haggard, *East-West Center Working Papers, Politics, Governance, and Security Series*, No. 21.

The project also generated a policy brief on the currency reform which was unanticipated at the time the grant application was submitted:

"The Winter of Our Discontent: Pyongyang Attacks the Market," with Stephan Haggard, *Policy Brief*10-1, Washington: Peterson Institute.

Noland also produced numerous op-ed type pieces over this period under the grant:

"Pyongyang Tipping Point," *Wall Street Journal*, April 12, 2010

<http://www.piie.com/publications/opeds/oped.cfm?ResearchID=1543>

“North Korea Turns in a Widening Gyre,” published in *Handelsblatt* as “Gescheiterte Reform destabilisiert Nordkorea,” March 30, 2010
<http://www.piie.com/publications/opeds/oped.cfm?ResearchID=1439>

“They’re Not Brainwashed, They’re Just Miserable,” *Foreign Policy.com*, March 30, 2010
<http://www.piie.com/publications/opeds/oped.cfm?ResearchID=1540>

“North Korea’s Failed Currency Reform,” *BBC Online*, February 5, 2010
<http://www.piie.com/publications/opeds/oped.cfm?ResearchID=1487>

“Kim Jong Il’s Fake Currency Reform,” *The Wall Street Journal Asia*, December 2, 2009
<http://www.piie.com/publications/opeds/oped.cfm?ResearchID=1439>

“What To Do about North Korea: Will Sanctions Work?” (with Stephen Haggard) *The Oriental Economist*, July 3, 2009
<http://www.piie.com/publications/opeds/oped.cfm?ResearchID=1254>

“N. Korea: Economic Shifts Critical,” (with Haggard) *ISN ETH Zurich*, June 17, 2009
<http://www.isn.ethz.ch/isn/Current-Affairs/Security-Watch/Detail?ots591=4888CAA0-B3DB-1461-98B9-E20E7B9C13D4&lng=en&id=101878>

“Pyongyang Ratchets Up the Tension,” *The National*, May 27, 2009
<http://www.thenational.ae/article/20090528/FOREIGN/705279849>

In addition to these op-ed pieces, Noland conducted numerous radio, television, and podcast interviews:

“**N. Korean Refugees View Regime with Skepticism,**” Interview by Robert Siegel National Public Radio (NPR) April 1, 2010 Transcript and Podcast available at:
<http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=125468439>

“**Fox Special Report with Bret Baier,**” Fox News Network, March 26, 2010, 6:00 pm EST

“**New Signs of Unrest in North Korea?**” March 22, 2010 Transcript and podcast available at:
<http://www.piie.com/publications/interviews/interview.cfm?ResearchID=1519>

“**North Korea’s Failing Currency,**” Interview by Katy Clark The World February 4, 2010 Transcript and podcast available at:
<http://www.theworld.org/2010/02/04/north-koreas-failingcurrency/>

“**The North Korean Economy & Its Impact on South Korea,**” Interview by Tom Tucker Korea Business Central February 3, 2010 Transcript and podcast available at:
http://www.koreabusinesscentral.com/forum/topics/korea-business-central-1?xg_source=shorten_twitter

“**North Korea Moves (Further) to the Left,**” January 7, 2010 Transcript and podcast available at:
<http://www.piie.com/publications/interviews/interview.cfm?ResearchID=1464>

“**China’s Role in Squeezing North Korea,**” July 30, 2009 Transcript and podcast available at:
<http://www.piie.com/publications/interviews/interview.cfm?ResearchID=1397>

“**Escalating Tensions with North Korea,**” July 9, 2009 Transcript and podcast available at:
<http://www.piie.com/publications/interviews/interview.cfm?ResearchID=1394>

CNN, Report on North Korea-China trade, July 2, 2009, Available at:
<http://edition.cnn.com/video/?/video/business/2009/07/02/vause.china.nkorea.trade.cnn>

Interview by Patt Morrison on the Patt Morrison Show NPR affiliate KPCC June 2, 2009

Most of these papers, op-eds, and interviews have been linked to, and highlighted on, the MASI web page.

Noland also made a number of public presentations under the grant:

The North Korean Economy: Changes and Prospects, 13 April 2010
New York University, New York, NY

The Winter of Their Discontent: Marketization, Criminalization, and Nascent Dissent-Evidence from North Korean Refugees, 1 April 2010
Kennesaw State University, Atlanta, GA

The Winter of Their Discontent: Marketization, Criminalization, and Nascent Dissent-Evidence from North Korean Refugees, 18 March 2010
University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, Canada

Department of Economics seminar, 26 February 2010
University of Hawaii, Honolulu, HI

The Winter of Their Discontent: Pyongyang Attacks the Market, 27 January 2010
Korea Society, New York, NY

Repression and Punishment in North Korea: Survey Evidence of Prison Camp Experiences, November 17, 2009, United States Capitol Visitor Center, Washington, DC

North Korea: Confronting the Human and Nuclear Security Challenges, November 4, 2009
Carlson School of Management, University of Minnesota - Minneapolis, MN

World Knowledge Forum 2009, "North Korea Nuclear Issue: Is there a Solution?"
October 15, 2009, Seoul, Korea

Korea Development Institute seminar, October 15, 2009, KDI, Seoul, Korea

6th Annual International Symposium on North Korean Human Rights, October 14, 2009
Seoul Press Center - Seoul, Korea

National Graduate Institute of Policy Sciences, 2 October 2009, Tokyo, Japan

Lee was a frequent commentator on Radio Free Asia.

Apart from these interviews, Noland and Lee's MASI-supported work generated well over 100 press citations in outlets such as the New York Times, Washington Post, International Herald Tribune, Financial Times, Wall Street Journal, Newsweek, Economist, BBC, VOA, AP, Reuters, Yonhap, and AFP.

Looking toward the coming year, Noland and Lee will focus on analysis of the survey of 300 Chinese firms doing business in the DPRK, as well as a recently completed companion survey of 300 South Korean firms doing business in North Korea. A monograph, titled *Northeast Asian Economic Relationships: Contours and Strategic Implications* is tentatively scheduled for completion later this year and publication in early 2011.

Institute for International Relations, National Chengchi University

Achievements

There were four conferences held in 2009 since the IIR received the grant from MacArthur Foundations, the Huangshan Conference, China Diplomacy and Cross-Strait Relations Conference, Trilateral Meeting on East Asian Economic Integration, and Conference on China's future Development. Additionally, the Muchia Center for Security Studies (MCSS) was established in October 2009 for the purpose to serve as a platform for policy dialogue and a focal point for Taiwan security studies. Since then, a total of 23 policy papers have been published. Following are some conclusions from aforementioned events:

Huangshan conference: In the Huangshan conference, held in last August in China, was chaired by Director of MCSS, Dr. Lieu Fukuo, and Professor Chu Shu-long from Tsinghua University in Beijing, one of the participants of this conference, was also a grantee of MacArthur Foundation's "Asian Security Initiative" Scholars from both Taiwan and Mainland China mentioned that crossstrait interactions include four aspects: Economy, Diplomacy, Security, and Politics. Through this conference, there were understandings perceived by both sides as follow:

- It was agreed that a Military Confidence Building Measures is prior to a Peace Agreement, because a Peace Agreement affects both military and Political fields. The peaceful unity of crossstraits is based on the peaceful development of cross-straits. "Hu's Six- Points" has completely described the Mainland's Policy of Taiwan, and indicated that the most complicated problem of the cross-straits is politics.
- The present peaceful status of the cross-straits is not a valid representation of the intense situation. Mainland China does not at this moment admit the existence of the Republic of China in the international society. But the Mainland should not deny its existence, since this attitude only serves to trigger support for Taiwan Independence.
- The relations across the straits will not lose its importance or diminish, and the Chinese nation is going to revive in the future. The Mainland should keep an open mind for cooperation across the straits. Signing a Peace Agreement is a step in the process of the peaceful development, but not the final solution for Taiwan's status.

Conference of China's diplomacy and cross strait relations: the Conference of China's diplomacy and cross strait relations, which was held in last October in Taipei, was attended by a delegation from China Foreign Affairs University, led by Vice Dean Dr. Qin Yaqing. China's rising and cross-straits issues were the main points discussed in this conference. Following are the perspectives expressed by both sides:

- Recently, China has adopted a moderate diplomacy, and is actively engaged in negotiations in the international arena. In the past 30 years China has made a return to its traditional diplomacy in some aspects, albeit not without more creativity and innovation. The basic principle of China's Strategy is to pursue the goal of peace and development and create a favorable environment, as well as secure a sphere of unimpeded public opinion.
- Taking into account the external and internal situations it is facing, China intends to negotiate on multi-lateral and bi-lateral levels to reach solutions which will be advantageous to all parties.
- China does not follow the previous models of great power but tries to improve itself with its own development strategy. The priority of China is its internal affairs, which doesn't fail to create challenges to its leader's wisdom.
- China is gradually more involved in the multi-lateral system. China's real power is less than its potential and/or anticipated power. China's rise does not only point towards China itself, but implies a rise for the entire East Asia. ASEAN is significant in the process of China's development, and the development strategies wouldn't be successfully implemented without the peaceful environment of the East Asian region.
- China's strategic goal is not to become a hegemon but to maintain a peaceful international order. Most of the time, China takes the role of negotiator, and tries to stabilize the surrounding environment.

It is worthy to mention that through this conference, all the scholars share the same view on the importance of cross strait relations, and agree on the following points:

- The Mainland scholars have sensed the importance of doing research on the politics and society in Taiwan. Taiwan scholars should also see the importance of being more involved in the internal issues of the Mainland, comparing reality and the media in case of inconsistencies. Both sides should learn how to use current advantages to go further.
- Both sides should think about setting the framework of a peace agreement and trying to improve relations is the responsibility of both Taiwan and the Mainland.

Trilateral Meeting on East Asian Economic Integration: The Trilateral Meeting on East Asian Economic Integration was held on December 17 last year in Taipei. The Conference was participated by scholars coming from ASEAN, China and Taiwan. And the ECFA was the main issue discussed in this conference. The perspectives expressed by each side are as following:

- on the ECFA agreement will create a positive political influence in China as well as in Taiwan.
- China is equating the ECFA framework to the CEPA framework signed with Hong Kong, indicating that nothing will move forward until the conclusion of ECFA.
- Taiwan expressed the difficulties it faces without any regional FTAs, and is concerned with being marginalized in the region.
- There is a strong sentiment from ASEAN members that ASEAN is serving as a hub to the rest of the Asian Pacific region and that China should contribute to the hub framework as well as all other countries.
- One outstanding FTA is ASEAN-Japan FTA. FTA is an apolitical process which often has economic reasons as opposed to political ones.
- One suggestion was that the promotion of Taiwan was more important than signing a FTA, as in Singapore's case where three ministers traveled worldwide to promote trade. It was also suggested that cash incentives such as contributing several million in scholarship to, for example, Australia can help the image of Taiwan thus effecting its participation and diplomatic moves. Taiwan currently is importing 4 times of its surplus to China, and signing the ECFA will benefit Taiwan a great deal when looked at China's exports. ASEAN members also believe that Taiwan signing the ECFA will have more benefits than signing a FTA with ASEAN and that Taiwan should look at the long term benefits rather than the minor issues.

Conference on China's Future Development: The Conference on China's Future Development was also held in December last year. Academics from Taiwan, New Zealand, US and India gathered in Taipei to discuss China's place in a wide context including issues ranging from its foreign policy strategies to the Copenhagen Climate Change Summit. Below are main points of argument which became distinctive during the course of discussions.

- Asia is emerging as an economic power base in the global stage and China has a central role in the progress of Asian development.

- China plays a key role in providing a market for its Asian neighbors, acting as a financial powerhouse in the financial tsunami, undertaking the positions of a production base and a center of supply chain.
- In the future, this role will not only stimulate China into dominating the East Asia region by setting the agenda, but will also spur China into taking up a more active role in the global level, as can be seen at the present from China's participation in many international dialogues and acceptance into many international communities. A reservation was added to this observation by expressing the need for China to comply with the regulations it has signed.
- IMF, World Bank and many countries, as well as China itself, have long claimed China to be a developing country. The Copenhagen Climate Change Summit will be an important turning point in determining whether China can still be considered a developing country, thus setting the attitude of other countries toward China.
- Noting the massive economic growth in China for the past 30 years, the uneven distribution of wealth was also mentioned, forming huge pockets of poverty and huge gaps of development between certain regions.
- China's economic development isn't progressing in a parallel line with its political development as elections are only permitted in the grass roots level but not in upper-central political level.
- The Clinton administration took a liberal stand and while pressing China about its human rights records, as well as other political problems, they chose to engage China instead of isolating it. The Clinton administration adopted the idea that so long as China was respected and socialized with international communities, it would not pose a threat to US but become more benign.
- The Bush administration, in contrast, regarded China as a rising threat and thought of China in Cold War terms, perhaps as a more dangerous Soviet Union due to its size of prosperity. They were initially inclined to carry a containment policy towards China but 9/11 changed the direction of their policies from containment to accommodation. They needed China's cooperation in issues of urgency to their administration, like the global war on terror, but didn't see China as a partner.
- Although resembling the Clinton administration in some ways, the Obama administration is more realism-oriented in its approach to China, which may be called realist liberalism. China and the U.S. have many overlapping interests, the Obama administration expects to cooperate with China in a broader sense on the topics of common interests, unlike the narrow area of cooperation set by the Bush administration.

- The common understanding of the Clinton and Obama administrations is that China will eventually gravitate towards democracy and liberalization owing to its growing economy. But as long as there are legal institutions and laws providing security to entrepreneurs in their businesses, this may not be the case at all.
- China's development process is a great inspiration to India in the sense of economic development, and although two countries have different political systems, India may still learn from China's model.
- Constructing a confidence building mechanism and settling the dispute proves to be a difficult challenge, partly owing to the lack of effective communication. Both countries observe one another through the lens of the western world. Joint groups between Chinese and Indian scholars are quite scarce. There is also the fact that India is a federal system with a smooth running democracy where a coalition government is heading the congress, which requires more time to organize and build a consensus for any important step.
- The ambiguous policy of Chinese leadership and contradicting attitude towards India also contributes to damaging the already feeble trust between the two countries. An example is China's claim of encouraging India to play a larger role on world stage, but ending up by not supporting a permanent seat in UN Security Council for India.
- There is concern about the pressure Chinese government is putting on the current administration in Taiwan. In its relations with China, Taiwan is aiming to gratify its short-term interests (which it has greatly benefitted from), while China is determined to carry out its plan of peaceful reunification. Whether there is still a chance of independency for Taiwan or whether it will comply with the reunification plan, cannot be truly answered by any politician at the moment.
- Taiwan's economy and industry is closely entwined with China. China's procurement from Taiwan, given under the pressure of the global economic crisis last year, underlined this dependency.
- Under the facade of close economic relationship between China and Taiwan there still lies security concerns. Even though the changing attitude of China is helping its image in the eyes of Taiwanese people, the time still seems not ripe enough to bring up politically sensitive issues.
- China is a big power, positioned right at the doorstep of Taiwan, and cannot be avoided. Working toward a mutual trust and convincing China to accommodate each other is the best policy Taiwan can follow. Relationships with China should be redefined, and instead of considering China an enemy as of past, Taiwan could start considering it more as a competitor.

Way Ahead

Policy Dialogue: MCSS has established a forum early this year to serve as a platform to discuss Taiwan's security policy. Government official will be invited often to this forum, and giving speech on government policy administrative issues. Analysts of MCSS will then share their research findings to those officials in the Q&A session. The first speaker of this forum, held March this year, was Deputy Minister of National Defense, Andrew Yang, who was talking about government's progress on implementing all volunteer force, and defense transformation. In the following months officials from Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Mainland Affairs Council will also invited.

Defense Forum: MCSS took the opportunity of the 10th anniversary of the Taiwan Defense Law and Defense Organization Law to review how the progress was on implementing these 2 laws, especially in the areas of civilian control of military, joint operation, and defense industry. A series of forum has therefore been held in last 2 months. And the MCSS is looking at a final one to wrap up all the recommendations that accumulated in last 2 months, which will be submitted to the government for their reference.

Cross-Strait Future Leaders' Dialogue: A one week dialogue, participated by Ph.D. students of both sides of Taiwan Strait, will be held in MCSS in the last week of July. It is believed that the more understanding between both sides the more stable the situation in this region. The participants of this dialogue have been recommended and carefully selected and seen as future leaders of both sides of Taiwan Strait. MCSS is to stimulate all participants, through one week discussion, to come up with policy recommendations and potential action items to establish a long lasting peace mechanism for the cross strait exchange.

International Conference: There are another 2 dialogues will be arranged and held before the end of this fiscal year. A security dialogue between MCSS and JIIA in Japan is under staffing. Also, an East Asia Security Conference is under planning now, the MCSS will invited scholars from Japan, South Korea, China, ASEAN, India and Australia to Taipei to discuss issues concerning the regional security. All the findings of the two conferences will be submitted to government for the policy reference.

Cross-Strait CBM Dialogue: MCSS considers establishing a track-two dialogue on cross-strait CBM the most important contribution that this institution can devote to the cross strait peace and stability. Hence, MCSS is planning to set up a platform to invite authorized

personnel from both Beijing and Taipei to kick off a pre-formal dialogue. Though it is understandable there are challenges ahead, but in the regard of long lasting peace and security in the region, all efforts would be eventually beneficial.

Institute of International Studies, Tsinghua University

Highlights of Major Achievements

The Chinese Journal of International Politics Transited to Quarterly Publication

The Chinese Journal of International Politics was founded in 2005 by the Institute of International Studies at Tsinghua University. Published by Oxford University Press, the journal's first full volume (4 issues) appeared between 2006 and 2007. The CJIP has since its inception received generous support from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. A biannual publication from 2006 to 2009, in 2010 the CJIP has been published quarterly. Its first and second issues of the quarterly publication were printed in March and May, 2010 respectively.

The CJIP from the start established itself as one of China's pioneering, first-rate English language peer-reviewed journals. Readers have remarked on the wealth of information and insightful analysis of contemporary issues from both international and Chinese perspectives that the journal presents. CJIP research articles present theoretically-informed, date-rich arguments. The high standard of research that produces CJIP articles has drawn article submissions from IR scholars at prestigious universities and institutions in China and around the world.

In the journal's quarterly publication format, the CJIP will focus on publishing submissions in three main areas of research. The first is that which maintains the CJIP emphasis on cutting-edge theoretical contributions to debates within international relations, comparative politics, political economy, and where they overlap. The journal is especially interested in applying theoretical arguments to concrete global political issues. We hence welcome submissions that combine theoretically and empirically rigorous arguments with analyses of both historical and contemporary global political phenomena.

The second area of interest is that of the theoretical, policy, and the analytical implications of China's rise. The CJIP wants articles that deal with all aspects of China's rise, including its security, economic, regional and foreign policy dimensions, in particular the country's evolving political and economic interactions with various regions of the world — from Asia, to Africa, to the Americas. Our editors want research on a broad range of issues that have impact on the historical, contemporary and future role of China as a part of these evolving regional groupings. It could include efforts to create regional security, trade or other multilateral cooperative institutions. Research that explores comparative issues of China's economic and political development as they relate to countries in both the developing and developed world is also appropriate.

Chinese ideas, historical and contemporary, about international relations and foreign policy constitute the third area of interest. We are looking for research that explores the

relevance today of China's rich history of thought on international relations and China's world role, or that focuses on more contemporary trends in Chinese IR and foreign policy thinking and debate. The CJIP, therefore, welcomes submissions on China's ancient, modern and contemporary IR and foreign policy thought.

Amid rising global interest in China's foreign policy and overall role in global affairs, CJIP expects to stand out as a platform for scholarship and ideas that present an original perspective. Although a number of international affairs journals both outside and inside of China publish articles on various aspects of China's international relations, including policy dimensions, the CJIP is unique in its commitment to publishing top-notch academic research and ideas. In particular, the journal is committed to publishing insightful academic analyses of China's role in global and regional affairs, with emphasis on China's own historical and contemporary IR and foreign policy thought.

To access to the latest articles in the CJIP, you can visit the website of the journal at www.cjip.oxfordjournals.org.

The IIS Launched Tsinghua International Security Forum

Tsinghua International Security Forum was launched in March, 2010. The Forum is scheduled to publish 3-4 research reports each year on significant and emerging international/regional security issues. We fully believe that the Forum can become an ever more vital platform to present Chinese thoughts and analyses on international security affairs. The first report on the proliferation of nuclear weapons was released on April 5, 2010. The main arguments of the report are as follows:

The international community has set itself the lofty goal of building a nuclear-free world. Many difficulties exist, however, in realizing this goal in the short term. Nuclear states will not eliminate their weapons, and many other state and non-state actors are still trying to acquire weapons illicitly.

Since the end of WWII, the non-use of nuclear weapons has become an informal international norm that has had, and still does have, a constraining effect on the external behavior of nuclear states. A more realistic goal of the international community would be to legalize the non-use norm and build a world of non-use of nuclear weapons as an intermediate step towards a world free of nuclear weapons. The report proposes that the United Nations establish a Convention on Non-use of Nuclear Weapons. The Convention should include the following six key elements:

All nuclear state parties commit to no first-use of nuclear weapons against one another, and shall not use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear state parties to the Convention; All nuclear state parties undertake to cease developing and deploying new combat-based tactical nuclear weapons, including

low-yield nuclear warheads, and to destroy all tactical nuclear weapons within a specified period; All nuclear state parties undertake not to transfer nuclear technology for military or civil use to non-governmental organizations; All nuclear state parties refrain from military action that could result in another nuclear state party mistaking a conventional weapon for a nuclear weapon; All non-nuclear state parties undertake not to use or threaten to use chemical or biological weapons against nuclear state parties; All state parties undertake to oppose any implied nuclear threat by nuclear state parties in official statements or documents, and are obligated to expose and denounce any intentions of nuclear state parties to use nuclear weapons.

For the detailed report on the Forum, you visit <http://rwxxy.tsinghua.edu.cn/xisuo/institute/news/2010/2010-4-3.htm>.

School of Public Policy & Management, Tsinghua University

Academic Proposal and Dialogue for Managing Taiwan Issue

With the valuable support from the MacArthur Foundation Asian Security Initiative, the Institute of International Strategic and Development Studies (IISDS) at the School of Public Policy and Management of Tsinghua University in Beijing, China, has conducted the policy research on cross-Taiwan Strait relations between the two sides, the Mainland China and Taiwan on the two sides of the straits, and the Taiwan issue between the United States and China, the most controversial issue in the China-U.S. relations.

The Activities

The year of 2009 was the first year of the project. And since March 2009 till recently (April 2010), the project had gone well as planned in the proposal of the project. As the title of the project suggested, this project is the “academic dialogue and proposals” for managing the most controversial issue —the Taiwan issue—cross the two sides of the Taiwan Straits, and the two sides of the United States and China. What the project wants to do and did in the first year, is to engage dialogue between the two sides cross the Taiwan straits, on major issues; and the policies, positions, situations, problems of Taiwan issue between the U.S. and China.

The major activities in the year are as the following:

- Two small size Chinese meetings on cross-Taiwan Strait relations and between the U.S. and China in Beijing in April, and Ningbo, Zhejiang province in later July. Participants are the Chinese scholars on cross-Taiwan Strait relations and the Sino-U.S relations, and Chinese governmental officials, military scholars, business men involving cross strait relations and the Sino-U.S. relations. The central topic of the discussions are the Taiwan political and economic situation, Taiwan’s governmental and opposition party’s positions on major issues of cross Taiwan Strait relations; political and economic situations in the United States, the new American administration’s foreign policy, China policy and Taiwan policy; the Mainland Chinese understanding on Taiwan and the United States, especially on cross-Taiwan strait issues, and the Mainland position, policy, and action on the key issues in the area.
- A conference on Taiwan issues in New York in early July 2009, sponsored by the National Committee on American Foreign Policy and the IISDS of Tsinghua University. Close to thirty participants from the United States, Mainland China, and Taiwan participated the day and half meeting on Taiwan issues. Participants

included scholars from the three sides, officials at their private capacity, and formal governmental officials. The meeting focused on the situations in the three parts, new developments and policy directions in Taiwan, Mainland China, the United States; major issues in the cross-strait relations and Taiwan issue in the U.S.-China relations, agendas and positions of the three parties on the related issues.

- The workshop on current situations and policies cross-Taiwan Strait, cosponsored by the IISDS and Center for International Relations Studies at Taiwan National Zhengzhi University, in Huang Shan, Anhui province in Mainland China in later August in 2009. Twenty participants from Taiwan and Mainland China, 10 of each side, participated the two-day workshop. Include scholars, officials on cross-strait relations, formal officials, businessmen doing business cross the straits, and graduate students from both sides cross the strait. The meeting focused on the assessments on current domestic situations in Taiwan and Mainland China, the progress of the cross-strait relations since Mr. Ma Yingjiu took office in May 2008, the opposition party's position on the relationship, agendas of current talks and negotiation, future agendas and positions of the two sides, especially on the ECFA (Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement) and political, security, international space issues.
- Visit and the conference in Taiwan in later February 2010. Organized by the IISDS, seven Mainland scholars, governmental officials, and businessmen visited Taiwan and had a conference in Yilan, Taiwan in later 2010, hosted by the Center for International Relations Studies of the National Zhengzhi University of Taiwan. A dozen of Taiwanese scholars, officials, formal governmental officials, and businessmen participated the conference. The conference focused on ECFA issues, problems and difficulties, concerns on ECFA from different groups in Taiwan, possible impact of ECFA on Taiwan and cross-strait relations in the future, and the cross-strait relations after ECFA.

During the one-week visit, the Mainland group also visited Taiwan's governmental organizations and officials involved in cross-strait relations and Taiwan's international relations, think tanks on cross-strait relations, international relations and security issues, news medias, political parties, and business community. Dr. Chu Shulong from the Mainland group also was interviewed on cross-strait relations issues by the Taiwan news media during the visit.

Major Achievements

The project achieved its goal in the first years' efforts:

- Promoting better and mutual understanding on cross-Taiwan strait relations among the three parties of Mainland China, Taiwan and the United States. Through the above and others efforts, including the meetings and discussions, the project has helped the three parties, including their governments, academic societies, news media, business, students and societies to have a better understanding on the situations, problems, positions, directions of the issues of the cross-strait relations the Taiwan issue between the U.S. and China.
- Promoting better communication on cross-Taiwan Strait relations. With those meeting, engagements, and other public activities, the project has helped to bring together governmental officials, scholars, business, news media, and students to directly talk with each other on the major issues concerning them, to hear from others' opinion and concerns and positions.
- Educating general public. During the first year of the project, IISDS director of the project, Prof. Chu Shulong, engaged more than 100 public lectures/speeches, interviews, publications, and most of them on the cross-strait relations and Taiwan issues, or having the issues as a major part, to central and local governmental officials, parliaments, militaries, business, students and other general publics in Mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and in Asia, the U.S., Australia, Europe, and African countries. The most recent ones are Dr. Chu's invited presentation on cross-Taiwan strait relation issues at East-West Center's Asian news media conference on April 28 in Hong Kong, with around 100 news media people from Asia and the U.S., and the invited speech on the U.S.-China relations, with the heavy focus on recent U.S. arms sale to Taiwan and Taiwan issue in the relations, to about 200 faculty and students at Harvard University on April 22.

The Future Plan

As planned by the proposal, the project will conduct the following major activities during the second year, 2010, of the project:

- An internal meeting and discussion on Taiwan issues between the two sides across the strait, and the Taiwan issue in China's foreign policy and relations, especially with the United States. This has been already done in early May, with a dozen governmental officials, scholars of Mainland China, in the two-day workshop on the governmental policies on those issues.
- Two conferences on cross-strait relations and Taiwan issues in the U.S.-China relations in Washington, D.C. and New York City, in early July 2010, hosted by the Brookings Institution and the National Committee on American Foreign Policy. Around thirty participants from Mainland China, Taiwan, and the U.S.

will participate in the discussions.

- Student exchanges between Mainland and Taiwan universities in middle July and early September 2010 in Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai in Mainland China, and Taipei and other places in Taiwan. Ten graduate students from five universities from the Mainland will go to Taiwan in middle July, and ten Taiwanese graduate students will come to Mainland in early September, to meet and talk with large group of their counterparts, and meet with officials, scholars, news media people of the two sides.
- A workshop on cross-Taiwan strait relations, agendas, issues, problems, and positions after ECFA in Mainland China in later August 2010. About twenty scholars, officials and former governmental officials, and business people will participate the meeting.
- A visit by the Mainland group and a conference in on cross-strait relation in Spring 2011 in Taiwan.

Seoul National University

Since its launch in February 2009, the SNU-MASI project on “Sino-Korean Conflicts and the Role of the United States” has focused on the research and exchanges regarding the six themes of Korea-China relations: (1) economic/trade disputes; (2) historical controversies; (3) territorial disputes; (4) debates on norms and values; (5) the North Korean contingencies; and (6) issues related to the Korean-American alliance.

As part of the three-year grant program, SNU-MASI’s first year witnessed the research and exchanges largely among Korean experts in efforts to delineate the positions and bottom lines of South Korea regarding the six intricate issues. The main activities of SNU-MASI consist of the MacArthur seminars (jointly with Seoul National University’s Institute for China Studies), expert roundtables and discussion meetings, and conferences. With these meeting and exchange tracks in operation, the SNU-MASI program has built a constructive network of academic research and policy-related exchanges. The SNU-MASI project has outsourced policy papers and policy briefs to experts on the themes in Korea (1st year), China (2nd year) and the United States (3rd year).

The main activities and programs of the SNU-MASI for 2009-2010 include the following:

The MacArthur Seminar

Since its launch, the MacArthur Seminar series sponsored 10 events in total. Both Korean and international scholars were invited to share their knowledge and insight regarding the six issues on Sino-Korean relations. These monthly seminars were open to the public, and the average number of participants was about 30. Most of the SNU-MASI seminars were recorded in digitalized format and were posted on the project website (<http://masi.snu.ac.kr>) along with their summaries. The ten events are as follow:

The Inaugural MacArthur Seminar (May 20, 2009)

At the inaugural MacArthur Seminar, Professor Jae Ho Chung (Seoul National University), the project manager of SNU-MASI, provided descriptions of the SNU-MASI project and delivered a talk on “Locating China in South Korea’s Security Matrix.”

The 2nd MacArthur Seminar (May 26, 2009)

Professor Jianwei Wang of the University of Wisconsin delivered a talk on “Korea — China Strategic Partnership: A Myth or Reality?”

The 3rd MacArthur Seminar (June 3, 2009)

Professor Brantly Womack of the University of Virginia spoke on “Asymmetric Relations between China and Vietnam: Implications for Sino-South Korean Relations”

The 4th MacArthur Seminar (September 18, 2009)

Ms. Bonnie Glaser of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) delivered a talk on “US-China Cooperation on the North Korean Question.”

The 5th MacArthur Seminar (September 28, 2009)

Professor Si-joong Kim of Sogang University delivered a talk on “Identifying Potential Areas of Conflict in South Korea-China Relations: The Economic/Trade Dimension.”

The 6th MacArthur Seminar (October 21, 2009)

Professor Young Nam Cho of Seoul National University made a presentation on “Norms, Standards, and Values: A New Area for Korea-China Conflicts?”

The 7th MacArthur Seminar (April 1, 2010)

Professor Heungkyu Kim of the Institute for Foreign Affairs and National Security (IFANS) delivered a talk on “China’s Korea Policy and the Development of Strategic Cooperative Partnership.”

The 8th MacArthur Seminar (May 18, 2010)

Dr. Mansoo Jee (KIEP) made a presentation on “Looking Back and Forward on the Korea-China Free Trade Agreement (FTA).”

The 9th MacArthur Seminar (May 25, 2010)

Jung-Seung Shin (former Korean ambassador to China) delivered a talk on “Looking Back at the ‘Garlic Incident’: Lessons and Implications for Korea-China Relations.”

The 10th MacArthur Seminar (June 9, 2010)

Professor Jongho Jeong of Seoul National University spoke “Cultural Similarities between China and Korea: A Critical Assessment.”

Roundtables

Team Korea-China (TKC) Roundtables

These roundtable discussions were carried out on a bi-monthly basis and the participation

in these meetings was by invitation only. Participants of these roundtable discussions consisted of academics, former and incumbent government officials, journalists, and others.

Themes and presenters of TKC meetings include the following:

- “China’s Traditional World Order and Korea-China Relations” (Professor Jae Ho Chung, Seoul National University)
- “Policy-Making and Implementation in Sino-Korean Relations” (Ambassador Sun-Jin Lee)
- “Is China’s Economic Threat to South Korea Real?” (Dr. Mansoo Jee, KIEP)
- “China-South Korea Trade Disputes: Cases and Alternatives” (Professor Jang-hwan Joo, Hanshin University)
- “Sino-South Korean History Disputes” (Mr. Kyungjin Shin, Joong-Ang Daily)
- “Territorial Disputes as a Source of Sino-South Korean Conflict” (Professor Aekyung Kim, Myungji College)
- “North Korea as a Source of Disagreement in South Korea-China Relations” (Professor Sang-jin Shin, Kwang-un University).
- “The Korean-American Alliance as a Source of China-Korea Conflicts” (Dr. Jaeho Hwang, KIDA)
- “The North Korean Contingency and Korea-China Relations” (Professor Jaewoo Choo, Kyunghee University)

International Roundtables

Roundtables were also convened to hear from foreign experts on Korea-China relations. On November 18, 2009, SNU-MASI had its first international roundtable where Professor Wang Yizhou of Peking University (School of International Studies) shared the findings of his research project on “Sixty Years of Chinese Foreign Policy: Implications for Korea.”

Conferences

The SNU-MASI project convened a conference entitled “The Korea-China Strategic Cooperative Partnership: Assessments and Prospects” on June 10, 2009. This conference, consisting of paper presentations as well as roundtable discussions, assessed the Korea-China strategic cooperative partnership established in May 2008 and discussed obstacles to its future developments. These can also be downloaded from the project website (<http://masi.snu.ac.kr>).

Solicited Policy Reports

SNU-MASI has outsourced the writing of policy papers and policy briefs to more than a dozen scholars in its first year. As the final products are coming in, they are posted on the project website. The list of the writers and their themes is as follows:

- CHO, Young Nam (Seoul National University):
“Norms and Values as a Source of Conflict between Korea and China”
- CHOI, Myung-hae (IFANS):
“North Korea-China Relations as a Variable for South Korea-China Relations”
- CHOO, Jaewoo (Kyunghee University):
“North Korea as a Key Source of Conflict between Korea and China”
- CHEONG, Youngrok (Seoul National University):
“Korea-China Economic and Trade Relations as a Source of Conflict between Korea and China”
- CHUNG, Jae Ho (Seoul National University):
“China’s Place in South Korea’s Security Matrix”
- HWANG, Jaeho (KIDA):
“The Korean-American Alliance as a Source of Conflict between Korea and China”
- JEONG, Jongho (Seoul National University):
“Assessing Cultural Similarities between Korea and China”
- JOO, Jang-hwan (Hanshin University):
“Korea-China Economic and Trade Relations as a Source of Conflict between Korea and China”
- KIM, Aekyung (Myungji College):
“Territorial Disputes as a Source of Sino-Korean Conflict”
- KIM, Kook-Hun (Ret. General):
“China Viewed from the Korean Military”
- KIM, Si-joong (Sogang University):

“Korea-China Economic and Trade Relations as a Source of Conflict between Korea and China”

- LEE, Keun (Seoul National University):
“Korea-China Economic and Trade Relations as a Source of Conflict between Korea and China”
- PARK, Byung-Kwang (National Institute for Strategic Studies):
“Sino-Indian and Sino-Pakistan Strategic Cooperative Partnerships: Implications for Sino-Korean Relations”
- PARK, Chulhee (Seoul National University):
“Sino-Korean Relations as Viewed from Japan”
- PARK, Jongchul (Kyungsang University):
“Sino-North Korean Relations in the 1950s: Implications for the 21st Century”
- SHEEN, Seong-ho (Seoul National University):
“Sino-Korean Relations as Viewed from the U.S.”
- SHIN, Beom-Shik (Seoul National University):
“Sino-Russian Strategic Partnership: Its Nature and Implications”
- SHIN, Kyungjin (Joong-Ang Daily):
“Historical Controversy as a Source of Conflict between Korea and China”
- SHIN, Sang-jin (Kwang-un University):
“North Korea as a Source of Conflict between Korea and China”

Further Plans

In the second year of the grant (2010-11), the project has expanded its scope by engaging with Chinese experts. In efforts to delineate Chinese positions and bottom lines regarding the six issue areas, five policy reports have thus far been outsourced to Chinese scholars from CIIS, SIIS, CASS and Fudan University (and the search continues). In the final year of the grant (2011-12), American scholars and experts will be included, and a conference will be convened to sum up and report on the project’s findings and recommendations.

Cluster 3: Internal Challenges

S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University (Core Institution)

Introduction & Overview

As the core institution of MacArthur ASI Cluster 3 — Internal Challenges, the RSIS Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies embarked on its three-year project on *Responding to Internal Crises and their Cross Border Effects* by moving forward simultaneously on all three thematic areas of research i) internal and cross border conflict, ii) climate change and environmental security and iii) energy and human security.

The project aims to foster creative and innovative analysis of multi-level governance of crossborder challenges from the global to the national and the local, strengthen social science research with scientific and empirically based findings, broaden the community of individuals and institutions involved in the shaping of the security architecture and provide a platform to connect researchers, policy analysts, civil society organizations, practitioners, and corporate actors.

We are pleased to report that all planned activities are underway. This 6-page brief provides a snapshot of our key achievements followed by a brief discussion of the activities convened thus far.

- 1) Convening a number of workshops and study groups under the 3 ASI research programmes — Internal and Cross-Border Conflict Programme, Climate Change, Environmental Security and Natural Disasters Research Programme, and Energy and Human Security Programme
- 2) Creation of the ASI Cluster 3 website, blog and resource database as vehicles for knowledge exchange and dissemination of research products
- 3) Research publications such as the ASI Policy Series, Working Papers; conference reports, short articles and op-eds
- 4) ASI Visiting Fellowship

Internal and Cross-Border Conflict Programme

Protection of Civilians in Asia Policy Roundtable, 9 February 2010

The RSIS Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies hosted a one-day, closed-door, policy roundtable discussion comprising legal experts and regional civil society organisations working on civilian protection. With the recent creation of the Association of

Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights, a space for dialogue has been created to discuss the definition and implementation of civilian protection. The policy roundtable provided a platform for the presentation of viewpoints and recommendations for discussion and debate on the issue of the protection of civilians within Southeast Asia and explored opportunities on how this can be promoted and achieved within the ASEAN region. A full report of the workshop is available at asicluster3.com.

Responsibility to Protect Study Group, 23 October 2009 and 7 April 2010

The study group was convened with the specific focus to 1) examining the thinking and perspectives of Asian governments and societies on RtoP, particularly in Southeast Asia; 2) assess current mechanisms and initiatives in Southeast Asia that can be potential platforms for furthering/promoting RtoP principles in the region such as the ASEAN Political and Security Community and the ASEAN Human Rights Body; 3) assess the role of major powers China and Japan in the advancement of RtoP in Asia; and 4) examine the role of civil society organisations and social movements in internal conflicts, and how they can contribute to operationalising the RtoP in Asia. A total of nine papers are envisaged from the study group:

1. RtoP in Asia: Issues and Challenges (Mely Caballero-Anthony)
2. RtoP and the Regional Order: Ideational vs Material Factors (David Capie)
3. The ASEAN Security Community and RtoP (Rizal Sukma)
4. ASEAN Human Rights Commission and the RtoP (Herman Kraft)
5. Japan and the RtoP (Jun Honna)
6. China and the RtoP (Liu Tiewa)
7. Thailand and the RtoP (Keokam Kraisoraphong)
8. Malaysia and the RtoP (Elina Noor)
9. Indonesian civil society and the RtoP (Lina Alexandra)

Regional Consultation on the Responsibility to Protect, 8-9 April 2010

A gathering of policy experts and analysts from leading civil society organisations and think-tanks in the Asia-Pacific held the consensus that the doctrine of RtoP should be implemented in the region particularly in Southeast Asia. However, the greater concern amongst them is in addressing the impediments surrounding the implementation of the RtoP doctrine in the region. Three issues repeatedly emerged as core concerns on the feasibility of implementing RtoP. First, is whether Southeast Asian states could actually choose to adopt either one of the three RtoP pillars or if they should embrace the doctrine in its entirety; highlighting the need to raise awareness surrounding the RtoP pillars.

Second, is how these states could be persuaded into institutionalising RtoP norms and finally, how the RtoP doctrine could be institutionalised within the larger regional framework. A full report of the Regional Consultation is available at asicluster3.com.

Project on Security Sector Governance and Conflict Management in Southeast Asia (in collaboration with the Institute for Strategic and Development Studies, the Philippines)

Security Sector Governance (SSG) is important to Asia given the challenges posed by political transitions and democratisation in the region. One can argue that while some states in Asia, particularly Southeast Asia have already been through political transitions from authoritarian, military-led regimes, state and human security remains fragile. A comparative study on SSG in Southeast Asia is timely given the goals of the states in the region to establish a security community. Instituting SSG, understanding its limitations, and the problems of implementation will be critical to ASEAN if it were to succeed in its goals to promote peace and security in the region. This two-year project looks at case studies of security sector governance in Southeast Asia and examines how this has affected conditions of intra-state conflict. A total of five papers are envisaged from the project:

1. Security Governance and Conflict Management in Southeast Asia: The Case of Aceh in Indonesia (Rizal Sukma)
2. Security Challenge for Thailand's Security Sector Reform (Keokam Kraisoraphong)
3. Security Governance and Conflict Management in Southeast Asia: The Case of the Philippines (Maria Anna Rowena Layador)
4. Security Governance and Conflict Management in Vietnam (Pham Quoc Tru)
5. Security Sector Governance in Malaysia (Tang Siew Mun)

Project on the Dynamics for Resolving Internal Conflicts in Southeast Asia (in collaboration with the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Indonesia)

Within Southeast Asia, the occurrence of internal conflicts has been a persistent problem that poses a serious challenge not only to sovereignty and territorial integrity of states but also to regional stability. Most internal conflicts in the region have taken the form of armed struggle between ethnic nationalist groups against the central government in a protracted battle for either autonomy or independence. The two-year project will investigate the dynamics of resolving intrastate conflicts in the Southeast Asian region. More specifically, the project will investigate the circumstances that resulted in the relapse, deadlock or success in resolving internal conflicts in four case studies, namely Indonesia, the Philippines, Myanmar and Thailand. Questions of interest include the following: Why did

the peace agreements in Aceh, Moro Philippines, and Myanmar collapse and lead to a relapse? Why the conflict in southern Thailand has never achieved a peace agreement and attempts at peace-making have continued to stagnate? Why has the Aceh conflict finally come to a close and what had sustained the peace-process thus far? A total of five papers are envisaged from this project:

1. Moro National Liberation Front in the Philippines: A Case of Relapse (Amado M. Mendoza, Jr.)
2. The Moro Islamic Liberation Front — Government of the Republic of the Philippines Peace Process (Herman Kraft)
3. Thailand's Malay-Muslim Insurgency (Thitinan Pongsudhirak)
4. Explaining the Rise and Fall of the Aceh Peace Process (Evan Laksmiana)
5. Ethnic Minorities in Myanmar/Burma (Tin Maung Maung Than)

Climate Change, Environmental Security and Natural Disasters Research Programme Conference on Climate Insecurities, Human Security and Social Resilience

To kick-start the programme, the RSIS Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies organised a conference on Climate Insecurities, Human Security and Social Resilience in Singapore from 27 to 28 August 2009. The conference aimed to come to a better understanding of the implications of climate change for Southeast Asia and Northeast Asia so that specific 'climate security' measures could be formulated. The objectives of this conference were to (1) introduce the project to an academic and policy audience; and (2) identify and explore the key themes that 'set the scene' for work to come, over the duration of the project. Bringing together reputable security and political analysts, economists and environmentalists, it examined climate change from a human security perspective at both national and regional levels.

A full report of concept papers and slide presentations presented at, as well as video interviews conducted during the conference, can be found at asicluster3.com. As a follow-up to the conference, Associate Professor Lorraine Elliott published an RSIS commentary titled 'Human Security: A Response to the Climate Security Debates'.

Edited book with the proposed title of 'Human security and climate change in Southeast Asia: managing risk and resilience'

This book brings both an empirical and conceptual dimension to the objective of expanding our understanding of climate change, adaptation, human security and social resilience in Southeast Asia. The chapters present a range of empirical case studies, exploring urban, forest, rural, coastal and river basin communities and ecosystems across the region. Strategies for climate adaptation and social resilience

are multi-level as well as multilateral, involving not just governments, but also regional institutions, local communities and non-governmental actors. The case studies therefore also include cross-border regions and regional institutions. The chapters contribute analyses of how key concepts such as risk and resilience should be defined and understood and shed light on key issues and complexities associated with governance and implementation. This edited book brings together authors with local, national and regional expertise in Southeast Asia and is co-edited by Associate Professors Mely Caballero-Anthony and Lorraine Elliott. It is expected to be published by the final quarter of 2010.

Conference on Climate Change and Food Security: Securing Asia Pacific's Food Futures

Activities in the second year are focused on the issue of climate change and food security. Climate change is projected to aggravate existing pressure on food security in the Asia-Pacific. The agriculture sector is central to food security in the region and the negative consequences of climate change on agricultural production will in turn affect the availability, access, stability and utilisation of food, all of which are critical elements of food security. The food crises in 2007 and 2008 have shown that the security dimensions of food crises are complex, multi-scale and interconnected, and that they range across human security, economic security and national security. This complexity of security concerns has generated demands for strategic policy responses in agricultural productivity, disaster management, social protection and community-based development.

Moreover, because these are no longer simply local problems, food security requires effective policy responses that are supported and facilitated by regional cooperation. While there has been growth in regional activity under ASEAN, ASEAN Plus Three, and international bodies such as the UN Food and Agricultural Organization, there has been little systematic assessment of the coherence or fragmentation of regional responses, best practices, policy gaps, and their contribution to the human and national security dimensions of food scarcity. This conference aims to evaluate regional food security frameworks in the Asia-Pacific by taking an interdisciplinary and multilateral approach and bringing together regional experts from within academe, the policy community and civil society organisations. This conference is scheduled to be held within the third quarter of 2010 in Canberra, Australia.

Edited book on climate change and food security

An edited book will be published in addition to conference proceedings as a followup to the abovementioned conference. The chapters in this book will cover key issues on both best practices and policy gaps in regional governance strategies for food security in relation to climate change, and provide appropriate and relevant

recommendations for strengthening and enhancing cooperative arrangements. This book will be co-edited by Associate Professors Mely Caballero-Anthony and Lorraine Elliott and is expected to be published by the final quarter of 2011.

Energy and Human Security

Project on Nuclear Energy and Human Security: Critical Debates

In the face of climate change and a projected increase in power consumption, nuclear energy has become a focal point of interest among policymakers across Asia. As such, there has been significant research focusing on the potential of nuclear energy expansion in the region. However, the road to nuclear energy development in the region is not entirely smooth-sailing. Pertinent issues related to environmental, economic and security risks continue to dominate the nuclear debate. As such, the project titled Nuclear Energy and Human Security: Critical Debates was initiated in September 2009 in an attempt to explore these issues.

As part of this project, a workshop on Nuclear Energy and Human Security was convened on 23 April 2010, at Traders Hotel in Singapore. It brought together a total of about 60 participants, mostly from the Singapore Government, to engage in a day's discussion on the merits and drawbacks of nuclear energy in the context of the environment, economics, security. In addition, the role of CSOs in nuclear energy policymaking was also discussed. A report of the workshop is available online at asicluster3.com

Project on Dealing with Energy Vulnerabilities: Case Studies of Cooperation and Collaboration in East Asia

Going beyond the themes of competition and conflict, this project endeavours to 1) examine cooperation and collaboration against the backdrop of continuing geopolitical uncertainties and tension as a central focus of inquiry, 2) fill a research and knowledge gap attributed to the general tendency to relate energy security to power politics while undervaluing the extent of interdependence in the chain of energy trade and product trade among nation-states in East Asia and the wider Asia-Pacific, and 3) examine how transnational projects of energy cooperation and collaboration have taken place in East Asia, despite the emphasis on geopolitics in determining policy. It is hoped that findings obtained from this project can stimulate debates about energy policymaking and institutionalisation in the region. An energy study group inception meeting is to be held on 4 June 2010, gathering interested energy-related scholars to discuss this issue and thereafter, commissioning research on selected topics.

Vehicles for knowledge dissemination

As knowledge exchange and wide dissemination of research is integral in achieving the overall objectives of the ASI project, the Centre for NTS Studies launched the [ASI CLUSTER 3 website](#), resource database and Cluster 3 blog in the third-quarter of 2009 to



provide a platform for partner institutes to disseminate their research products and facilitate knowledge exchange within the Cluster and among the online community.

Through the website, Cluster 3 institutes, the broader ASI network and other interested parties can easily access information on the projects of individual institutes, the expertise of the researchers involved, as well as keep abreast with the Cluster's progress through publications such as conference reports and policy briefs. In this regard, the Centre has published 3 working papers under the ASI Policy Series, 4 conference reports based on key activities that have been held, and several short articles and opinion pieces.

In addition, the website promotes the sharing of knowledge and research material through a resource database that houses more than 1,000 publications on non-traditional security studies and updated on a weekly basis. In doing so, the Centre aims to broaden the non-traditional security discourse beyond the academic audience to policymakers, the private sector and members of civil society. In relation to this objective, the Centre has produced a number of multimedia products to draw the attention of a visual-oriented audience. [The In-Conversation series](#) features interviews with experts on various non-traditional security topics, ranging from climate change to energy security, and are



available as podcasts on the website.

The Cluster 3 blog draws comment on significant research areas from various positions of interest and expertise. Under the umbrella of 'Internal Challenges', pertinent issues that are covered include, but are not limited to, Climate Change, Human Security, Natural Disasters, Conflict, and Health. The objective behind the blog is to create a serious and lively intellectual space for opinions,

shared knowledge, commentary and an exchange of ideas, which will also serve as an opportunity for individuals from various relevant backgrounds to engage on issues.

ASI Visiting Fellowship

2009

- [Professor Zha Daojiong, Visiting Senior Fellow, Peking University, Beijing](#)
Zha Daojiong is Professor of International Political Economy in the School of International Studies, Peking University. He specialises in issues such as energy, food and water, with particular focus on how these pertain to China, as well as political-economic relations between China and its neighbours. As a Lead Researchers of the Energy and Human Security Programme, he has published a working paper under the ASI Policy Series titled *Oiling the Wheels of Foreign Policy? Energy Security and China's International Relations*.
- [Associate Professor Lorraine Elliott, Visiting Senior Fellow, Australian National University, Canberra](#)
Lorraine Elliott is Associate Professor and Senior Fellow in International Relations at the Australian National University. She also holds a Visiting Senior Fellowship at the Centre for NonTraditional Security (NTS) Studies, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, where she is a lead researcher on the MacArthur Asia Security Initiative project on climate security. She is a member of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP), the governance board of the ANU Climate Change Institute, and the International Human Dimensions Programme (IHDP) Advisory Group on Global Environmental Change and Human Health. Dr Elliott has published a working paper under the ASI Policy Series titled 'Human Securitisising' the Climate Security Debate.

- Dr. Alistair D. B Cook, Postdoctoral Fellow, RSIS, Singapore

Alistair D. B. Cook is a Post-Doctoral Fellow at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies and Programme Lead for the Internal and Cross Border Conflict Programme in the RSIS Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies. He also holds an honorary fellowship at the School of Social and Political Sciences at The University of Melbourne, Australia. His research and publications focus on issues of conflict management and resolution, governance, and nontraditional security such as human security particularly in Southeast Asia. He is the editor of *Culture, Identity and Religion in Southeast Asia* (Cambridge Scholars Press, 2007) and has a forthcoming article in *International Politics* titled, *Positions of Responsibility: A Comparison of ASEAN and EU Approaches to Myanmar*. Dr Cook has published a working paper under the ASI Policy Series titled *Operationalising Regimes and Recognising Actors: Responding to Crises in Southeast Asia*.

2010

- Dr. Meenakshi Gopinath, Founder & Honorary Director, Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace (WISCOMP) and Principal, Lady Shri Ram College for Women, New Delhi
- Professor Shaun Breslin, Warwick University, Coventry, UK
- Evan Laksmana, Researcher, Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Indonesia
- Sadhavi Sharma, Visiting Researcher, PhD Candidate, RSIS, Singapore

Quick Glance at Future Plans

Internal and Cross-Border Conflict Programme

- Regional Workshop on the Protection of Civilians, 15-6 July 2010
(in collaboration with the International Committee of the Red Cross)
- Follow-up Meeting on the Dynamics for Resolving Internal Conflicts in Southeast Asia, January 2011
(in collaboration with the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Indonesia)
- Follow-up Meeting on the Security Sector Governance and Conflict Management in Southeast Asia, 9 March 2011
(in collaboration with the Institute for Strategic and Development Studies, the Philippines)

Climate Change, Environmental Security and Natural Disasters Research Programme

Food First: Ensuring Food and Nutrition for Urbanites

- Symposium and Expert Group Meeting (in collaboration with the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council), 3-4 August 2010
- International Conference, February 2011

Securing Food Futures in the Asia Pacific: Evaluating Regional Frameworks for Food Security

(in collaboration with the Australian National University)

- Public Forum and Focus Group Workshop, 6-8 October 2010

Energy and Human Security Programme

Dealing with Energy Vulnerabilities: Case Studies of Cooperation and Collaboration in East Asia

- Inception Meeting, 4 June 2010
- Regional Workshop, December 2010

Bangladesh Institute of Peace and Security Studies

Bangladesh Institute of Peace and Security Studies (BIPSS) is a leading institute in Bangladesh for informed analysis on all aspects of peace and security studies in the region and beyond. It is a nonparty, non-profit organization and independent think tank devoted to studying peace and security issues related South, Southeast Asia and beyond. The institute provides significant platform for the leading strategic thinkers, academicians, former members of the Civil Services, Foreign Services, Armed Forces and media persons to chalk out a comprehensive framework for peace and security studies.

BIPSS within a short span of time has been able to establish itself as a premier think tank working on the broad spectrum of security issues. In addition to conducting policy oriented research on a number of traditional and non-traditional security issues, BIPSS has been an active player on the regional dialogue scene and agenda as well.

BIPSS has established Bangladesh Centre for China Studies (BCCS), a specialised centre within the BIPSS framework. The principal objective of this new centre is to understand and study Chinese Foreign Policy, to analyse Chinese Security and also study Chinese economic advancement with a view to advocate greater economic and development cooperation between Bangladesh and China as well as China and the greater South Asian region.

BIPSS has also established a specialized centre named “Bangladesh Centre for Terrorism Research” (BCTR). This centre is the first centre of its kind in Bangladesh dedicated to the study and research on terrorism related issues.

BIPSS in collaboration with United Service Institution of India (USI) is holding track 1.5 level dialogue on yearly basis. Track 2 level Bangladesh Singapore dialogue is going on and with Yunnan Development Research Centre (YDRC)

BIPSS has completed two successful workshops under the auspices of its specialised centre Bangladesh Centre for Terrorism Research (BCTR) on Counter Terrorism Capacity Building (CTCB) supported by the British High Commission, Dhaka which brought together participants from a multitude of organisations in the counter-terrorism response community. The workshop offered rigorous training packages aimed at bolstering the capacity of stakeholders at various levels engaged in the countering terrorism in Bangladesh. The third of this series, a five-day long international workshop will be held from 28 June - 04 July 2010 for relevant government, civil society organisations and the media.

BIPSS organized a number of roundtables on ‘Understanding Aviation Security’ highlighting all aspects of “Aviation Security”, “Media-Military Relations in the Media Era”, “Critical Infrastructure Protection and Security”, International Workshop on Himalayan Sub-regional Cooperation for Water Security named “Water Security of

Bangladesh” and “Climate Change and Conflict in Bangladesh”.

BIPSS has been working partnership with a number of international centres named Centre for Economic and Technical Studies; Institute of Policy Studies, Islamabad; International Centre for Terrorism Research and Conflict Studies (ICTRCS) Srilanka; Philippine Institute for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (PIPVTR); Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS) Malaysia, Argentine Council for International Relations, School Of Oriental Studies, Universidad del Salvador, Real Instituto Elcano, Madrid, Spain, National Defence University, Pakistan, Institute of International Relations La Plata, Argentina, Institute of Regional Studies (IRS), Islamabad, Pakistan, Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies, Pakistan, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies, China, and United Service Institution of India, India.

As the concept of security is being broadened considerably and continuously by integrating military, political, economic, societal and environmental dimensions, a project named “Bangladesh: Security and Strategic Perspectives” is going on to explore more space and trust for supporting and widening human security framework against non-traditional security challenges of Bangladesh. Another ongoing British Government supported project is on “Diaspora and Radicalization”.

BIPSS has already completed British Government supported project for launching “South Asian Regional Research Forum (SARRF)”, a platform of leading Think Tanks of South Asian countries to curb terrorism; AUSAID supported project on “eGovernance Capacity Building for Bangladesh Government”; Countering Finance of Terrorism (CFT) which was jointly organized by BIPSS, ICPVTR and World Check for Banker, Law enforcement Agencies and Intelligence; German Government supported program on “The Changing Strategic Landscape: New Challenges and realities”; and ICRC supported program on “International Humanitarian Law”.

BIPSS continues its endeavor to bridge the prevailing gap between the practitioners, academics and activists at all level. BIPSS contends that peace and security can be achieved through the sharing of knowledge, ideas and values among the committed stakeholders. In the following arena, further enlarged engagement will be continued:

- Diaspora Study in Singapore
- Management of Complex emergency, ICRC, Geneva
- Peace consolidation and sustenance in CHT
- Security sector reform in Bangladesh
- Security dimension of climate change
- Kunming-BD sub regional Co-operation
- Peace Support and Stability Operation, the Bangladesh Experiences, Lesson Learns and Good Practices

- South Asia Security Dialogue
- Australia-Bangladesh Relations: Way Forward
- Establishment of Youth forum
- Formation of Climate security network (SANSAC)
- Collaborative work on water security

Center for Security Analysis

The *Centre for Security Analysis (CSA)*, since its inception in 2002, has promoted a multidimensional approach to security with a focus on South and Southeast Asia. It has generated interest, created awareness and introduced new thinking in the public and policy circles on security. It has established strong linkages with similar organizations in India, Sri Lanka, Singapore and other Southeast Asian states. CSA has successfully completed projects on *Maritime Security in the Indian Ocean Region*, *Public Perceptions of Security*, *Conflict over Fisheries in the Palk Bay Region* and *Socio-Economic Security of Peninsular India*.

A total of 31 seminars and project studies have been conducted in addition to a number of public lectures and roundtables. The discourse and deliberations have been made available to a larger audience. The proceedings of important seminars and project studies have been published as edited volumes. Twenty books and 24 bulletins have been published so far. Summaries of public lectures, roundtable discussions and intercollegiate debates have been made available as bulletins. CSA publications have been well received in and outside India. Members of the policy establishments both at political and bureaucratic levels at the States and Central Governments have been appreciative of CSA's output and acknowledged its contribution to policy formulation. The print media has regularly covered CSA's activities.

CSA has been a pioneer in bringing to notice and examining significant security issues. The Seminar on *Proliferation Security Initiative* organized at Chennai in August 2004 was the first of its kind in India to study its legal, political and strategic implications. Participation of experts from India and Sri Lanka on conflict resolution and peace building have led to innovative policy related proposals, which were well received by policy makers in India and Sri Lanka. Strategic issues relevant to India and the Southeast Asian region have also been taken up for analysis. The Workshop on *Nuclear Disarmament & Deterrence* conducted on February 2, 2009 was a benchmark event in building awareness on the subject in southern part of India. The Centre's output in creating public awareness and outlining policy parameters can be viewed on its website www.csa-chennai.org.

CSA has collaborated with United Service Institution of India (USI), Institute for Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), Singapore, Sri Lanka Foundation Institute (SLFI), Colombo and Bandaranaike Centre for International Studies (BCIS), Colombo, Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS), Colombo, International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), Delhi Policy Group and Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies, National Defense University, Washington. CSA has organised collaborative events with Rotary International, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce & Industry, South Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry and Universities of Madras, Madurai and

Pondicherry. Many think tanks have evinced interest in working with CSA and have shared their publications with CSA. Likewise, CSA's proceedings and publications are made available to other think tanks.

Ford Foundation gave a liberal start up grant to set up CSA and supported it in its formative years. Hanns Seidel Foundation and other organisations have supported CSA in many of its projects and programmes. Currently, the CSA has undertaken a three-year project funded by MacArthur Foundation on *Internal Conflicts in South Asia and Trans-National Consequences*. This project covers three internal conflicts within India, viz, Naxalism, the conflict in Northeastern India and the conflict in the state of Jammu & Kashmir, as well as internal conflicts in Myanmar, Nepal and Sri Lanka. What makes this project unique is the emphasis is to research and analyse the internal and external effects of the intra-state conflicts which include demography, social structures, economy, armed forces, governance and political institutions. The effects have cross border implications and have affected bilateral and international relations thus having an impact on international as well as foreign policies of the countries involved. Much has been done to analyse the causes of these conflicts by various researchers. Therefore, emphasise in this project is not much on historical facts/reasons but on the impacts and how these consequences in turn have changed the dynamics of the conflicts. Over 50 researchers are engaged in studying these aspects.

Another important aspect of this study is that the four countries under study have different forms of government. One is ruled by military junta, another till recently had a constitutional monarchy and now struggling with democratic governance and the third is a presidential form of government while India has west-minster model of democracy. The study looks at as to how such different types of governments address the consequences and fallout of the intra-state conflicts and will throw up many useful indicators for developing policy options.

The researchers studying the consequences of intra-state conflicts in Myanmar and Nepal have already presented their research papers in two separate conferences organised for this purpose. After detailed discussions, their research findings will be finalised. This process will continue to cover the other four conflicts also. These research papers, duly reviewed will be published as edited volumes. In subsequent phases of the project, the commonalities and differences in addressing the conflicts by different governments and their effectiveness will be studied which will result in publication of a set of policy papers.

Apart from publishing research work in the form of edited volumes, the CSA's website and the blog specifically created for this project will cover salient aspects of researchers for the benefit of larger audience and specifically the stakeholders in the affected countries and student researchers. It is also planned to conduct outreach programmes in colleges and universities to create greater awareness of internal conflicts and their effects.

Countries in South and Southeast Asia, because of their varied problems like internal conflicts, displacement and physical migration, income disparities and environmental degradation and socio-economic problems throw up a number of areas to be studied which include peace & conflict resolution, human security, socio-economic security, role of civil society and governance. The CSA in the years to come proposes to develop expertise and address these issues for the larger benefit of the societies and governments in this region.

Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue

Overview of HD Centre

The HD Centre is an independent Swiss foundation dedicated to helping improve the global response to armed conflict. It attempts to achieve this by mediating between warring parties and providing support to the broader mediation community. The HD Centre is driven by humanitarian values and its ultimate goal to reduce the humanitarian consequences of conflict, increase security, and ultimately contribute to the peaceful resolution of conflict. To this end it promotes and facilitates dialogue between belligerents. The HD Centre is neutral and impartial, supporting only those solutions that offer the best prospect of a just and lasting peace, consistent with international law. We believe that dialogue based on humanitarian principles can assist in achieving political settlements, and that the informal initiatives of a private institution can usefully complement formal diplomacy. We pursue our objectives with a commitment to new approaches, learning, and collaboration, working with people across borders, beliefs and professions.

Our objectives include:

- To undertake and promote action to resolve armed conflicts, in particular through tailor-made support to peace processes where our intervention adds value; and,
- To contribute to the improvement of the practice of mediation and the strengthening of capacity within the HD Centre and the wider community of practitioners.

The HD Centre began operations in August 1999 and has since become one of the world's leading conflict mediation organizations. Based in Geneva, and with offices in New York and Nairobi, the HD Centre has a longstanding regional involvement in the Asia Pacific through its regional headquarters in Singapore and project-specific presence in Bangkok, Manila and previously, Dili.

Project Achievements

A range of achievements have been recorded in 2009 with regards to the MacArthur Foundation sponsored project, 'Comparatives Perspectives on Conflict Management in Asia'. Primary research activities have been undertaken across Indonesia, Philippines and India in conjunction with our local partners in the three countries, including interviews, focus groups, and workshops, to elicit views, facts and perceptions of conflict management and peacemaking. The outcome of the primary research has significantly contributed to

the drafting of the three case studies. Comprehensive annotated literature reviews on India, the Philippines and Indonesia have also been completed and uploaded on HD Centre's website in early 2010. The documents can be accessed at <http://www.hdcentre.org/projects/peacemaking-research>. In addition, we ensure that information on the project can be easily accessed by a range of people and organisation through regular updates on our website as well as that of our local partners.

The Indonesia and Philippines reports are currently undergoing the final phase of drafting and will shortly be undergoing a peer review process. The India report is still in the drafting process.

Through primary research and country visits to the three countries concerned, HD Centre has been able to strengthen its project implementation and relations with local partners and other stakeholders and subsequently raised its profile. Additionally, findings from the research process have contributed to better understanding of situations in the three countries among its staff and informed HD Centre's operational projects in Indonesia and the Philippines.

Gender

Ensuring a holistic analysis of both men and women's roles and contributions to peacemaking is a high priority for the HD Centre. The crucial importance of applying a gender 'lens' to the research process and final outputs — the country studies in 2010 — has been continuously emphasised by the HD Centre across various project activities. Given men's domination of war and peacemaking, exploring women's under-recognised and under-used contributions to peace is critical.

The India and Indonesia reports will include a 'women and peacemaking' section. The Philippines report will have a detailed focus on masculinity and violence as the report focuses on militias in Mindanao. The research process has also highlighted the contributions of women-actual and potential-to the field of peacemaking, and possibilities and approaches to increasing women's role in conflict resolution. This usefully informs and complements another HD Centre project, 'Women at the Asian Peace Table'. (See <http://www.hdcentre.org/projects/gender-amp-mediation/issues/women-peace-table---asia-pacific>)

Future Plans

HD Centre is aiming to launch the Indonesia, Philippines and India reports in October-November 2010. The Indonesia report will be made available in Bahasa Indonesia and English to ensure wide uptake of the research output by the international and local audience. The Philippines report will be available in English and Tausug. The HD Centre

will produce op-eds, blog posts and email alerts to disseminate and publicise the research output. Finally, the HD Centre will identify next steps for consolidating the findings and outcomes of the project across the three countries. Efforts will also be made to incorporate the findings of the project into other HD Centre projects.

Centre for International Security Studies, University of Sydney

ABOUT THE CENTRE

The Michael Hintze Chair of International Security was established in 2006 at the initiative of the then Vice Chancellor, following a substantial endowment to the University by distinguished alumnus Michael Hintze. Identifying a strategic opportunity, the University created the Centre for International Security Studies (CISS) in order to build the University's profile in a field of critical political, strategic and economic significance. The inaugural Michael Hintze Chair, Professor Alan Dupont, was appointed as Director of the Centre in July 2006.

In establishing the Centre, the University recognised that the demand for academic expertise on international security issues had grown dramatically in the post-Cold War era, especially since the terrorist strike on the United States in September 2001. There was a concomitant need for graduates equipped with the requisite academic, country and language skills necessary to interpret and provide solutions to the international challenges confronting Australia and the region. A Centre with the right mix of academic and communication skills would be well placed to make an important contribution to public policy by helping to shape and lead important national and international debates on defence and security.

VISION

CISS aims to become the pre-eminent centre for the study of international security in Australia and to gain a global reputation for excellence in research and teaching that will place it among the leading institutes of its kind in Asia and the Pacific by 2015.

The Centre is explicitly multidisciplinary in its approach and seeks to build on existing resources and expertise within the Faculty and University while developing new programs on emerging and traditional challenges to the security and stability of Australia's Asia-Pacific neighbourhood. In its relatively short existence, CISS has established an international reputation for high quality, policy-relevant research, teaching and outreach and a substantial track record of collaboration with academics and institutions across the fields of defence, international relations, foreign policy, business, economics, law, medicine and public health.

The three principal missions of the Centre are:

- To produce cutting-edge academic research by encouraging integrated, multidisciplinary approaches to traditional and emerging challenges to security,

particularly in the Asia- Pacific region;

- To develop the next generation of academics and practitioners by providing high quality postgraduate education in international security;
- To broaden and deepen public understanding of the nexus between interstate conflict, transnational forces and human insecurity.

STRATEGY

The key elements of the strategy adopted by the Centre to achieve these objectives are:

- Recruiting a team of highly motivated, well credentialed academics and support staff able to work collegially and across disciplines to build world class teaching and research programs in both the traditional and new security domains. The initial goal is to move from the start up phase to a fully functioning centre, with critical teaching and research mass, by the end of year five (July 2011);
- Developing a considered business plan that identifies clear objectives, performance benchmarks and a viable financial strategy for growing the Centre by attracting diverse revenue streams and sustainable funding;
- Designing and introducing a suite of innovative postgraduate units, as part of a new Master of International Security, using best practice teaching methodologies to educate a new generation of analysts, policymakers and practitioners equipped with the knowledge and skills to evaluate and address the security challenges of the 21st century;
- Developing interconnected research nodes that provide a coherent framework for the Centre's teaching and research agendas some of which will evolve, over time, into fully funded, multi-year programs able to produce sustained, quality research in the Centre's primary areas of expertise;
- Ensuring a robust outreach capability in fulfillment of the University's injunction to "maintain a high public profile" so that the Centre is well placed to provide media commentary, policy relevant research and engage in the security debates of the day, both nationally and internationally. There will need to be a matching preparedness to engage in professional development and executive education, drawing on the Centre's research and teaching strengths, and the establishment of a robust internship and visiting scholars program;
- Concentrating research and teaching on Asia and the Pacific as the region of primary strategic interest to Australia, an area where the Centre enjoys a natural comparative advantage over European and North American competitors. This ought not to preclude building expertise in other regions of the world, such as the Middle East and West Asia, which are increasingly shaping events and thinking in

Asia and the Pacific;

- Identifying like-minded partners in other disciplines within the University, as well as more widely, and working with them to enrich the Centre's research and increase funding opportunities by leverage their institutional and research strengths.

ACHIEVEMENTS

Postgraduate Education

The Centre has established a Postgraduate Coursework program in International Security that has grown from 19 students to well over 60 in only 2.5 years. Our graduates have gone on to roles such as analysts in government agencies, risk analysts in international corporations and further research studies. The Centre also currently has 9 postgraduate research students in areas such as the strategic implications of climate change, the issue of food security in South East Asia; civil military relations in Kosovo and Sino-Saudi relations.

In 2009 the Centre successfully ran Australia's first Executive Education course for mid to senior level national security specialists. The course sought to give participants a deeper understanding of key issues, policies and processes in the national security sphere; improve their ability to provide timely and informed policy advice to government; sharpen their strategic and analytical thinking; learn interdisciplinary and interagency approaches; and strengthen their leadership, problem solving and crisis management skills. Departments /agencies represented included Prime Minister and Cabinet, Defence, Foreign Affairs and Trade, Attorney General, AusAID, the Australian Federal Police and the NSW Police. In 2010 the Centre was engaged by the Commonwealth Attorney General's Department to deliver a similar course for their graduate program.

Research

The Centre has established a number of key research nodes that are attracting research funding, developing multidisciplinary collaborations across the University and building linkages with partners in industry and academia. These include:

- The University of Sydney Biosecurity Program, bringing together more than 35 academics from the Faculties of Health Sciences, Medicine, Science, Veterinary Science, Agriculture, Economics and Business, and Westmead Hospital. In 2008, CISS Dr Christian Enemark and his NCB colleague Dr Michael Selgelid of ANU were awarded an ARC Discovery grant for the project Infectious Diseases, Security and Ethics which commenced in February 2009.
- The Energy Security Program, led by Professor Dupont and Dr. Leanne Piggott,

to evaluate the foreign policy and strategic implications of energy insecurity with a particular focus on Australia's Asian neighbourhood. Under this program, CISS is working closely with the Lowy Institute for International Policy in Sydney to undertake joint research on energy questions, beginning with a scoping workshop convened in June 2009, and attended by six Commonwealth government departments and agencies.

- The Food Security Program; the first of its kind in the Asia Pacific. The Program examines how political, economic, demographic and environmental pressures will impact food supply and demand in the region over the next 20-30 years and assess the consequences for regional stability. In February 2010 the Centre secured a large international grant for a range of food security initiatives including policy workshops, a Postdoctoral Fellow and a PhD scholarship.

The Michael Hintze Lecture in International Security

Named after the University of Sydney alumnus and donor, the Michael Hintze Lecture in International Security is the Centre's feature annual event. Delivered by a prominent scholar or practitioner in the field, the Hintze Lecture addresses security challenges of particular contemporary relevance, including both established and emerging issues. The event brings together University students, staff and alumni, along with members of Australia's academic and policy communities in Sydney and beyond. The three Hintze Lectures held to date have generated significant media coverage, helping the Centre reach a wider audience and build its public profile:

2007

Ambassador Barry Desker, Dean of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies and Director of the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies at Nanyang Technological University, delivered the lecture entitled '*New Security Dimensions in the Asia Pacific*'. Desker argued that Australia's leadership is vital to Asia's future, particularly in shaping emerging changes in the region's security architecture and minimising the potential for conflict between the US and China.

2008

US analyst and scholar Dr Jonathan Pollack delivered the lecture titled '*America Faces the 21st Century: Implications for Asia and the Pacific*', outlining the future of US engagement in the region and the influence of the US elections on the trajectory of broad strategic trends in the region. In conjunction with the lecture, DFAT held a launch of its new book, '*From Great White Fleet to Coral Sea: Naval Strategy and the Development of Australia-US Relations, 1900-1945*'.

2009

Dr. Ligia Noronha of The Energy and Resources Institute, a prominent think tank based in New Delhi and with offices worldwide delivered a lecture entitled '*India's Search for Energy Security*'. Dr. Noronha discussed how India's growing energy needs are increasingly shaping their foreign, security and trade policies and the consequences of a rising India for Australia and the world.

2010

In 2010 the Centre is pleased to have secured Professor John Mearsheimer to deliver the Fourth annual Hintze Lecture, entitled '*A Gathering Storm: China's Challenge to US Power in Asia*.' Professor John Mearsheimer, from the University of Chicago, is America's boldest and perhaps most controversial thinker in the field of international relations and an authority on US foreign policy and national security. His book, '*The Israeli Lobby and US Foreign Policy*', which he coauthored with Stephen Walt of Harvard University aroused furious debate, and has been translated into 17 languages. This will be Professor Mearsheimer's first visit to Australia.

Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore

About the Centre on Asia and Globalisation:

The Centre on Asia and Globalisation (CAG) is a leading international research centre based at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore. It partners with preeminent institutions to produce policy relevant knowledge on the impact of globalisation on Asia and Asia's role in governing an integrated world. It studies governance and decision making processes in four major areas: Global Governance; Energy and Climate; Poverty and Development; and Public roles of the Private Sector.

The Centre's research pertaining to the MacArthur Foundation Asia Security Initiative (MASI) draws on our expertise in global governance and energy and climate studies. The project is divided into two main components: research on improving energy governance at the global and regional levels, and the creation of an Energy Security Index to facilitate comparison of Asian national performances in achieving energy security. Staff involved in this work include: Professor Ann Florini, Assistant Professor Benjamin K Sovacool, Dr Teresita Cruz-del Rosario and Ms Malavika Jain Bambawale.

Achievements over the past year:

In the past year the CAG has strengthened its research capacity, particularly in the field of energy and climate studies. It has hired 2 new staff as a result of the additional \$580,400 in additional grants the Centre has been awarded in this area due to the research on energy security funded by the MacArthur foundation.

Among the highlights of the first year's activities were:

- A Study Group on Global Energy Governance was created and more than a dozen papers were commissioned from leading analysts in Asia, Europe, and North America. The group met in a workshop in October 2009, with papers revised over the subsequent months and were reviewed collectively at a workshop in May of this year.
- Extensive field research was carried out in Laos and Thailand by core staff and commissioned researchers on cases of regional energy governance, with an initial case study presented at a workshop in January 2010.
- The Energy Security Index completed extensive field research, held the planned international workshop, and is ahead of schedule in surveying international experts and beginning to formulate the Index.

- The CAG co-organized with fellow MacArthur grantee CSIS and with APEC a major regional workshop on regional governance of climate change and disaster management in May 2010.

Energy Governance:

Drawing on its S.T. Lee Project on global governance, CAG developed an international Study Group on Global Energy Governance (GEG hereafter), comprised of scholars from Asia, Europe and North America including co-chairs of the group, Ann Florini, Director of CAG and Navroz K. Dubash, Senior Fellow at the Centre for Policy Research in India. CAG has been successful in meeting the group's key objectives: to create an epistemic community of scholars in the emergent field of energy governance, to lead research examining what roles Asia can and should play in emergent global energy governance, and to effectively engage policymakers and other actors, leading to real and constructive advances in the development of a coherent global energy governance regime.

Under Dr Florini's leadership, the GEG group commissioned 17 research papers across a range of issues, including national energy governance in China, Indonesia, India, Philippines and the U.S.; existing inter-governmental organisations in the energy field and global governance arrangements that exert significant influence on energy policy.

CAG senior research fellow, Dr Tess Cruz-del Rosario, conducted significant research into regional energy governance initiatives, specifically through conducting case studies relating to governance of the Mekong River for hydropower development in the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS). The GMS comprises the six riparian countries in Southeast Asia, namely, southwestern China, Myanmar, Laos, Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia.

This research comprised a number of field visits and on-site interviews, looking particularly governance innovations at 2 hydropower projects in Laos: the Nam Theun 2 Hydropower Project, an ADB-funded project and the proposed Xekatom Hydropower Project potentially funded by the Japanese Kansai Electric Company. Dr Tess Cruz-del Rosario also participated in a number of multi-stakeholder dialogues relevant to the Mekong river governance. These included:

- The Mekong River Commission (MRC) Multi-stakeholder Forum in Chiang Rai, Thailand, 13-19 October 2009. The Multi-stakeholder Forum continues to solicit views and opinions as an input into the Basin Development Plan of the MRC.
- NGO Mekong Forum in Chiang Mai, Thailand, 12-15 December 2009. The central issue at the forum was the exploitation of hydropower resources of the Mekong River particularly by Myanmar and China but it also tackled the broader issue of media representation and the various avenues for communicating regional issues and challenges to various stakeholders throughout the region.
- Workshop on Consensus-Building in Asia (CBIA) on 28-29 January 2010, where

Dr del Rosario presented a case study on the Xekatom Hydropower Project.

Energy Security:

As part of research to create an Energy security index, Dr. Benjamin Sovacool conducted 64 semistructured research interviews over the course of February 2009 and November 2009, including visits to the International Energy, U.S. Department of Energy, United Nations Environment Program, Energy Information Administration, World Bank Group, Nuclear Energy Agency, and International Atomic Energy Agency in order to learn about energy security data quality and collection techniques.

Dr. Sovacool hosted the “International Workshop on Energy Security Concepts and Indicators for Asia” at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy November 14-16, 2009. The workshop brought 39 participants from 16 countries together to discuss the different dimensions of energy security, appropriate metrics, and the countries that have done the best at improving their energy security relative to others. The workshop is dedicated towards answering three questions:

1. Which dimensions of energy security are most important for Asian countries?
2. What metrics best capture these dimensions?
3. How might these metrics be used to create a common index or scorecard to measure national performance on energy security?

Ahead of schedule, Dr. Sovacool also conducted an energy security survey among 70 experts in the field.

Goals for the future

Energy governance

Dr Florini will compile the commissioned papers for the GEG study group for publication into an edited volume. The papers will also be further developed into a series of journal articles for both academic and policy audiences. The group is still considering a range of other ways it can optimize research impact. These include considering forming a website for the epistemic community to exchange views relating to energy governance, hosting an event alongside a major global conference at which policy makers and civil society will be briefed on research and production of parliamentary briefs and training materials to assist building in-country energy governance capacity.

In relation to regional governance initiatives, Dr Tess Cruz-del Rosario will explore and complete further case studies. This includes a case study on the Mekong River Commission and two potential case studies looking at energy governance innovations through electrical cooperatives in rural areas in the Philippines.

It is planned that the case studies will be compiled for publication into a casebook on Energy Governance Innovations in 2012, with a view to disseminating the Casebook to various audiences, and that the case studies will be converted into teaching materials. There is a pending program with the Mekong River Commission, to train their senior officials at the Commission, and also government officials in the national Mekong River Committees in each of the countries. By utilizing these materials in executive teaching programs, it is widely expected that the results of this research will translate into action plans for policy- and decision-makers to implement within their organizations.

Finally, a network of scholars is expected to continue beyond the life of the grant, through the different case writers who have been recruited into this. Plans include a more active search for case writers with promising results from the Philippines thus far.

Energy Security

The Centre now has extensive contacts with organizations at the heart of global energy policy: the International Energy Agency, U.S. Energy Information Administration, World Bank, United Nations, and International Atomic Energy Agency. This year researchers will continue to build on these relationships and use contacts at these institutions to collect further data and pursue collaborative research projects.

The Energy Security Index will be substantially developed in year two of the grant, building upon the field research, international workshop, and international survey completed in year one. Results from the survey have already been submitted for publication in the top-tier journal *Energy*, with a manuscript entitled “Exploring Expert Views of Energy Security Challenges in Asia” written by Benjamin K. Sovacool and Malavika Jain Bambawale. It is expected that these results will be published this year.

Dr. Sovacool has been asked to join Knowledge Module 5 on Energy Security as part of the prestigious “Global Energy Assessment” being conducted by the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA) in Vienna, Austria. His involvement will assist in achieving high level targeted dissemination and impact for the energy security index and survey results.

Nautilus Institute

Current Activities

The MacArthur-funded East Asia Science and Security (EASS) Network was established by Nautilus in 2004 to address urgent global insecurities in East Asia, including nuclear proliferation and potential next-use of nuclear weapons, especially in Korea, and related issues of management of nuclear spent fuel and regional energy security. The Network includes national teams from the PRC, ROK, DPRK, Russia, Japan, Taiwan, Indonesia, Vietnam, and Australia working together to evaluate the energy security implications of future national and regional energy paths. The EASS project is sustaining and deepening this region-wide network of young and senior scholars in each country who exchange data that is normally not shared, and who work together to explore common strategies and solutions to dilemmas arising from the energy-security-environment nexus.

The current project has two foci: DPRK-related engagement activities, energy sector analysis, and policy input, and the future of nuclear power and safeguards issues in the East Asia region.

Focus 1: The first focus has been on work related to reversing the DPRK's nuclear proliferation and addressing its related energy insecurity. Nautilus has continued its work on DPRK engagement activities by following up the March, 2008 DPRK Building Energy Efficiency Training (BEET) workshop in Beijing for a DPRK delegation with a follow-up visit to the Pyongyang in September 2009 by Nautilus staff and Associates. We are working with our DPRK counterparts to plan additional phases of the BEET project. Based on our ongoing DPRK energy sector analysis work, Nautilus staff has delivered policy briefings that distill and apply the overall research to very specific issues at moments of peak policy demand, drawing on the network collaborators' input and expertise. These inputs to policy have taken the form of specially prepared briefings delivered to government officials, especially in Washington, at a variety of fora; media briefings to key journalists; and special reports and policy briefs that Nautilus and others have published via NAPSNet. Briefings have been presented in scholarly contexts in 2008, 2009, and 2010 in Washington DC to State, Department of Energy (DOE), National Security Council, and other officials of the Obama Administration team, as well as to officials from the ROK and elsewhere and colleagues from NGOs around the world.

Focus 2: The second focus of our MacArthur work has been to develop and evaluate alternative pathways for the evolution of nuclear power in each of the countries of East Asia, including paths involving alternatives for management of spent fuel and provision of

nuclear fuel enrichment services. Here, we continued to build on the extensive quantitative and qualitative research and analysis done already at Nautilus to investigate the future nuclear alternative paths, and to develop realistic policy options for implementable policies to reduce the proliferation potential of nuclear power in the region (and, by extension, globally). Along with our partners in each country, we have worked to update the national energy supply-demand databases and projections that determine the need for electricity, and for nuclear power, in each country involved in the projects. The project has also continued to adapt and refine methodological tools developed by Nautilus and others to evaluate energy security costs and benefits of future policy choices in order to provide a deep and comprehensive look at nuclear fuel cycle alternatives. Working with our colleagues in the region, we developed three different nuclear energy capacity "paths" for each of nine countries in the region, then applied to those paths four different regional nuclear fuel cycle cooperation (or non-cooperation) scenarios over the period from 2000 through 2050. Physical flows and costs in each major portion of the nuclear fuel cycle was evaluated for each combination path/scenario, and the results were analyzed and compared for performance on a variety of energy security criteria. These energy security results were then further reviewed for lessons related to policy formulation. A central finding was that scenarios without nuclear fuel reprocessing cost less and scored higher for many energy security attributes than scenarios where substantial reprocessing was included.

Future Plans

Work in the coming year of the EASS Project will focus on the topic of "Climate Change and Nuclear Power: Energy Security Implications", addressing topics such as the potential contribution of nuclear energy in East Asia and the Pacific to climate change mitigation, the adaptation of nuclear power systems to changing climates, the interaction of nuclear power support and investments with other approaches to/investments in climate change mitigation, and with investments in climate change adaptation, and the exposure to climate change impacts and risks of different types (including energy security, physical, and social risks) related to power system choices. This work will involve updating and comparing climate change mitigation paths (as developed using existing national energy/environment databases prepared by Network members as starting points, together with other quantitative and qualitative tools) with and without substantial expansion in nuclear power use, evaluating — based as much as possible on existing studies — the impact that climate change adaptation measures will have on the energy systems of the countries of the region, and integrating consideration of the interaction of nuclear power systems with climate change mitigation and adaptation.

The tools, methods, and human network developed to date in the EASS project will

also be utilized and built upon in the coming two years for work on the nuclear fuel cycle-related aspects of Nautilus' Korea-Japan Nuclear Weapons Free Zone (KJNWFZ) Initiative. This work will involve refining our analysis of potential nuclear fuel cycle cooperation options to focus on the implications for and impacts of different targeted options on the ROK and Japan (and the DPRK). As such, work in the coming year will be designed to provide an assessment of what sorts of nuclear fuel cycle arrangements would be needed — between the Koreas and Japan, on a broader regional basis, or, perhaps, on an international basis — in order to effectively support a. In so doing, work will be designed to address questions such as:

- What are the key nuclear fuel cycle issues, from the technical, policy, and commercial perspectives, with which the ROK and Japan are grappling now?
- What types of agreements on nuclear fuel cycles are possible, what would those agreements mean with regard to physical flows of nuclear materials and nuclear fuel cycle costs in each country, how would such agreements affect the efficacy of a KJNWFZ?

Nautilus has a related project on legal and institutional strategies to implement UNSC Resolution 1540 obligations to control the nuclear proliferation and armament activities of non-state actors, and is also working with the US Department of Energy to analyze the DPRK energy and mineral sectors to develop policy options to engage the DPRK, and to look at the implications of these sectors on the possible collapse, stabilization, or slow eventual recovery of the DPRK economy, as well as the integration of the DPRK into regional energy networks.

Overall Accomplishments of the Nautilus Institute

The overall accomplishments of the Nautilus Institute have included the following:

- Reduced the danger of nuclear war and proliferation in Korea by engaging cooperatively the DPRK in projects such as the Unhari wind turbine system that provides villagers with light at night;
- Built trust and reinforced communication between North Korea and the outside world through the Building Energy Efficiency Training (BEET) Project which performed an energy efficient upgrade to parts of a building in Pyongyang and trained North Korean technical personnel in the use of energy efficient technology;
- Provided recommendations on negotiable energy aid options to the US Department of Energy for use in the Six Party Talks. Nautilus staff remained “on call” during meetings of the Energy Aid Working Group of the Six Party Talks on

request of the US Department of State to advise on energy aid options that might need to be addressed during the negotiations;

- Supported nuclear disarmament by examining the role of nuclear deterrence in the security policies of Japan, Australia, and South Korea and its impact on the US security relations in the Pacific;
- Developed network of energy experts from China, North Korea, South Korea, Japan, Russia, Taiwan, Vietnam, Indonesia, Australia and the U.S. working to develop cooperative solution to energy insecurity in the Asia-Pacific region;
- Reduced the potential for proliferation activities in Japan and South Korea by creating a network of scholars, activists, and scientists to monitor the proliferation potential and attitude toward nuclear weapons in each country;
- Created a multilateral, civil society network between Japan, China, and South Korea to coordinate on strategies to address climate change, urban insecurity, WMD proliferation, energy security, and nuclear proliferation;
- Informed 10,000 readers on security developments in East Asia and widened policy options by creating an on-line forum to discuss nuclear issues and security;
- Increased the transparency and accountability of American nuclear weapons plans through the use of the Freedom of Information Act;
- Convened the first-ever scientific conference on the ecological and public health impacts of trans-Pacific pollution transport from East Asia to North America;
- Provided a voice of reason for U.S. nuclear policy in Korea with the publication of *Pacific Powderkeg* and informed media and citizens in South Korea, Japan, and the United States about the risks of nuclear weapons;
- Published internationally acclaimed books and standard reference texts including *American Lake*, *Nuclear Peril in the Pacific* (1984), *Global Greenhouse Gas Regime*, *Who Pays?* (1994), and *Human Rights and the Environment: Conflicts and Norms in a Globalizing World* (2002);
- Published numerous articles in international journals including *Science*, *Energy Policy*, *Asia Perspective*, and many others, on topic ranging from energy use in the DPRK military to regional energy security, and participated and provided presentations in dozens of international conferences in East Asia and around the world.
- Informed public opinion by interviews given to CBS Evening News, Lehrer News Hour, CNN, regular commentary on National Public Radio's Morning Edition and All Things Considered and global media including BBC, Australian Broadcasting Commission and Radio Free Asia; written opeds in *Newsweek*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *Korea Times* (Seoul), *Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo); and profiles in papers such as *LA Times* and *San Jose Mercury News*

Strategic Foresight Group

Strategic Foresight Group was established in 2002 to create new forms of intellectual capital. In a short span, it has created intellectual and political assets to draw input from all continents and deliver output to decision makers anywhere in the world.

We have advised governments around the world and produced scenarios and innovative policy concepts that have been discussed in august bodies including the Indian Parliament, the European Parliament, Oxford University, UK House of Commons, World Bank, the League of Arab States, Bibliotheca Alexandrina, World Economic Forum, Swedish Defence Commission, Global Futures Forum, Geneva Security Forum and others. Our research findings and views have been covered by the world media including BBC World Television, CNN, International Herald Tribune, Financial Times, New York Times, The Straits Times, Gulf News, Khaleej Times, Asahi Shimbun and almost all major newspapers in India and Pakistan.

Strategic Foresight Group undertakes forward-looking research in geopolitical, economic, technological and societal changes. Our research examines future trends and discontinuities in spaces where geopolitics intersects with business, economy, society, religion and technology. In addition to specific client-driven research projects, SFG also publishes reports. Its publications includes reports on Global Security and Economy, 2011-2020, An Inclusive World: Where West, Islam and the Rest Have a Stake, Managing Global Challenges, and reports on the future of the Middle East, South Asia.

SFG launches initiatives for dialogue and policy change to address specific challenges. The initiatives are backed by innovative research and engage senior level policy makers who are most relevant to bring about a change. These may include cabinet ministers, members of legislature, advisers to Heads of Government, leaders of multilateral organisations, and leaders of business groups. SFG also engages in direct consultation with Heads of Government.

Since 2003, SFG has been involved in a complex initiative to address the deficit of trust between Western and Islamic countries through Track Two diplomacy. It has organised three international roundtables on *Constructing Peace, Deconstructing Terror* bringing together political leaders and decision-makers from the United States, Europe, the Middle East and South-east Asia, in cooperation with the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats in the European Parliament and the League of Arab States.

The Third International Roundtable held at the European Parliament in November 2006, recommended several proposals including an Inclusive Semi Permanent Conference for the Middle East.

Since 2004, SFG has launched several initiatives to sensitize policy-makers in conflict zones about the cost of conflicts. Strategic Foresight Group has developed a framework for

measuring future costs of a given conflict so that the concerned societies may decide if they can sustain them and carry on with the conflict or choose another policy mix. The costs are measured on a large number of different parameters including economic, military, societal, cultural, psychological, diplomatic, political and other factors. They are not merely about defence expenditure and opportunity costs of business. In fact, in certain circumstances, political and humanitarian costs far outweigh economic costs. So far SFG has produced three reports in this series: *Cost of Conflict between India and Pakistan* (2004), *Cost of Conflict in Sri Lanka* (2006), *Cost of Conflict in the Middle East* (2009).

In June 2008, SFG convened an international conference on **Responsibility to the Future: Business, Peace and Sustainability** to examine major global shifts in food and water security, energy, climate change, clean technologies, use of ICT for peace and humanitarian crisis, innovative education and responsible and ethical investments. It was inaugurated by Smt Pratibha Devisingh Patil, President of India, co-hosted by the United Nations Global Compact, and attended by 250 delegates from 25 countries.

In 2009, SFG decided to focus on preventing conflicts arising out of resource scarcity, with particular focus on water.

One initiative focuses on water security in the Middle East. SFG organized two international workshops at Montreux, Switzerland, which were attended by 60 leading policymakers, including members of Parliament, former Cabinet Ministers, senior leaders of Water Commissions and heads of research institutions from across the Middle East. In preparation for the workshops, SFG had held consultations with leaders in the Middle East, including the President of Turkey, Foreign Affairs and Irrigation Ministers of Syria, Chief of the Royal Court of Jordan, and distinguished experts from several countries in the region. Following the two workshops, SFG will undertake further consultations and participatory research in the region in order to find sustainable and collaborative solutions to water security in the Middle East.

Another initiative on water security in the Himalayan River Basins was launched with an international workshop on Water Stress and Climate Change in the Himalayan River Basins in August 2009 in Kathmandu bringing together experts and policy makers on water issues from China, Nepal, Bangladesh and India. The Second International Workshop was held in Dhaka in January 2010. It resulted in the Dhaka Declaration on Water Security. The Dhaka Declaration highlights the significance of the Rivers that flow from the Himalayas and the urgent need for cooperation between Basin countries. Due to the combined effect of melting of glaciers, extreme weather events and pollution, the rivers in the Eastern Himalayas will lose their flow from anywhere from 5 to 20 per cent by 2050. This will have most adverse impact on river flows in the lean period, undermining plans to produce hydroelectricity and promote inland water navigation in the region. The Dhaka Declaration proposes exchange of scientific data particularly in the low flow period and

joint research projects. It underscores the risk of conflicts due to water scarcity and floods leading to migration on a large scale. This project is supported by the MacArthur Foundation. A research report *The Himalayan Challenge: Water Security in Emerging Asia* is expected to be launched at the Singapore Water Week in June 2010.

SFG believes in collaborating with other organizations to reach common objectives. In the future, SFG plans to focus on resource scenarios in areas where there is an intersection between geopolitics and natural resources as well as geopolitics and technology.

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