

Workshop:

Five-University Collaboration on East Asia Security Cooperation and Regional Governance Princeton University December 11-12, 2009

Thursday, December 10

6:30pm Informal welcome dinner
Mediterra Restaurant, Princeton

Friday, December 11 **Robertson Hall, Bowl 016 (lower level)**

9:00 – 9:15am

Welcome.

9:15 – 10:45am

Panel One: Asia, the West, and Regional/Global Governance

This panel will allow for scholars to offer “macro” perspectives on regional (and global) governance with special attention to the shifting forms of conflict and cooperation between Asia and the West. Kishore Mahbubani has been a leading public intellectual in this area – and we hope that there will be a cluster of scholars in this network who want to engage the debate at this level. There are a variety of issues that might be raised in the context of this panel (and subsequent working group). One issue concerns the differences that Asia and the United States might have over approaches to regional and global governance. Are there different governance cultures and logics that put Asian and Western countries at odds with each other over the organization of economic, political, and security cooperation? Another issue is more specifically focused on the rise of China and its strategic choices about regional/global governance. There are still other issues about inclusion and exclusion of states in regional or global groupings. What about “democracy groupings” – Leagues, Concerts, or otherwise – in Asia? There are also issues about stakeholders and leadership authority within regional institutions. Overall, this panel – and its ongoing working group – will take up “macro” issues of sovereignty, authority, and governance in the context of Asia and the West.

Chair: G. John Ikenberry

Panel: Kishore Mahbubani (National University of Singapore)
Kiichi Fujiwara (University of Tokyo)
Soh, Chang-rok (Korea University)
Aaron Friedberg (Princeton University)
Wang, Jisi (Peking University)
Peter J. Katzenstein (Cornell University)

11:00am – 12:30pm Panel Two: Nuclear Weapons and Arms Control in Asia

This panel – and an ongoing working group – will look at the full range of regional nuclear weapons issues as well as more general questions of security competition, military cooperation, and arms control across the region. One obvious question is how China, Japan, Korea, the U.S., and other countries in the region cooperate over the DPRK nuclear crisis. If security cooperation means anything in East Asia, it must speak to this issue. There are ongoing policy questions here, but there are also deeper questions that scholars care about. What are the limits and possibilities for cooperation between China, Japan, Korea, and the United States in regard to sanctions, negotiations, and outcomes. How should we think about Japanese and Korean strategic interests in a region where the DPRK permanently retains nuclear weapons? And if North Korea itself is not a permanent entity, another issue relates to the prospects for regional security cooperation “after the DPRK.” More generally, the Obama administration has announced an ambitious goal of a “nuclear weapons free world” but how realistic is this and what would this do to extended deterrence which is at the heart of the American-led security system? What happens to Japanese and Korean security if the United States were to retract its nuclear umbrella? Finally, what sorts of constraints and opportunities exist for new arms control arrangements across the region?

Beyond the nuclear crisis, this panel will also look at the wider issues of regional security competition, military-to-military dialogues, and arms control. The rise of China, Japan’s changing security posture, and America’s alliance partnership system all are in play as the region grapples with problems of power transitions, expanding military budgets, and the management of insecurity. What is the relationship between the changing distribution of power in Asia and arms control?

Chair: Aaron Friedberg

Panel: Tatsujiro Suzuki (University of Tokyo)
Lee, Dong-sun (Korea University)
Tom Christensen (Princeton University)
C. Raja Mohan (Library of Congress and Nanyang Technological University, Singapore)
Zhu Feng (Peking University)
Frank von Hippel (Princeton University)

12:30pm – 1:45pm Lunch, Bernstein Gallery, Robertson Hall Lower Level

Talk -- Ambassador Han Sung-Joo

2:00 – 3:30pm Panel Three: Regional Cooperation on Energy and the Environment

Energy has become a key issue for East Asia. Energy security, defined as reliable and affordable access to energy sources, looms large on the national security agendas of the East Asian capitals but will not be easy to achieve. Energy infrastructure is sorely lacking, and the region faces intense pressures to develop that infrastructure in the context of sharply restrictive carbon constraints. Yet energy also offers important opportunities for expanded international cooperation, and indeed for Asian leadership. Such cooperation could take the form of expanded R&D collaboration (as is already beginning to happen between China and the US), which could lead to both technological and political progress. It could also take the form of a renegotiation of the global rules that currently shape and constrain national energy choices, such as global trade rules and bilateral and regional investment agreements that to date have not encouraged clean energy or environmental protection. In addition to the highly visible US-China dialogue around energy and environment, other regional powers are likely to be attracted to greater cooperation around energy. Japan already leads the world in energy efficiency, and Korea has staked a claim to leadership on climate issues. Regional institutions such as the Asian Development Bank and the newly revitalized UN Economic and Social Council for the Asia Pacific are also key actors. Thus, energy brings together security, IPE, institutional, and environmental issues.

Chair: Tom Christensen

Panel: Ann Florini (National University of Singapore)

Lee, Jae-Seung (Korea University)

Denise Mauzeral (Princeton University)

Hideaki Shiroshima (University of Tokyo)

Zha Daojiong (Peking University)

3:45 – 5:15pm Panel Four: Economics and Security

The current financial crisis and slowdown in the world economy has reintroduced old questions about the economic-security nexus. The University of Tokyo is exploring this multifaceted issue. The focus here is on how regional economic cooperation – in the areas of trade, money, and finance – impacts security relations. To what extent do movements toward or away from cooperation in one area generate parallel moves in the other? Do economic ties follow the line of security alliances based on geopolitical interest and occur predominantly among friendly nations? Or do increasing economic linkages spin off positively to generate improved security ties? More generally, has the

increased interdependence in regional trade, money, and finance enhanced confidence between nations and reduced political tensions?

The big shifts in American and Chinese economic positions worldwide in the wake of the current financial crisis have raised the stakes of these classic issues. Has the deepening of joint dependence and vulnerability between Washington and Beijing altered the prospects for security conflict and cooperation? What would a G-2 in the management of the world economy mean for regional security affairs? These sorts of questions roll off the pages of daily newspapers but also engage the fundamental research agendas of international relations. We hope a panel and working group could take up various aspects of these fraught questions.

Chair: G. John Ikenberry

Panel: Keisuke Iida (University of Tokyo)
Michael Mastanduno (Dartmouth College)
Christina Davis (Princeton University)
Chen Kang (National University of Singapore)

6:15 pm -- Dinner, Palmer House

Keynote speech – Kurt Campbell (Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia)

Saturday, December 12
Robertson Hall, Bowl 016

9:00 – 10:45am – Panel Five: New East Asian Security Architecture

This is the topic that sparked the initial launch of this collaboration. Regional security cooperation has for decades been organized around American bilateral security pacts, anchored in the U.S.-Japan and U.S.-ROK alliances (as well as security ties that extend into Southeast Asia). But the region is changing and efforts to build multilateral regional associations are growing – including calls for the establishment of a permanent security mechanism. The Six Party Talks have mandated a working group to consider this idea. The “demand” for regional security cooperation seems to be growing with the rise of China, the “normalization” of Japan, and the ongoing nuclear crisis on the Korean peninsula. Rising defense budgets, unresolved territorial disputes, growing nuclear proliferation threats, and rising nationalist sentiments in some countries are altering the security environment in the region for all states. The increasing salience of newer and non-traditional security issues – such as energy security, environment, transnational crime, and terrorism – are also creating new interests and constituencies urging expanded regional security cooperation. So this panel will provide an opportunity for scholars to

discuss the changing “demand” and “supply” of institutions for security cooperation and architectural issues therein.

Chair: Tom Christensen

Panel: Huang Jing (National University of Singapore)
Hitoshi Tanaka (University of Toyko)
Aki Tanaka (University of Toyko)
Kim, Sung-han (Korea University)
Michael Green (Georgetown)
T.J. Pempel (University of California, Berkeley)

11:00am – 12:45pm Panel Six: History Issues: Old Grievances and the Politics of Reconciliation

This panel might be defined in very general terms to include discussions of national images, cultures, and traditions – aspects of which find themselves spilling over into regional politics and security.

Chair: Aaron Friedberg

Panel: Gil Rozman (Princeton University)
Chung-in Moon (Yonsei University)
Kiichi Fujiwara (University of Tokyo)
David Leheny (Princeton University)

1:00pm -- Lunch
Presidential Dining Room, Prospect House

Speaker – Anne-Marie Slaughter (Director, Policy Planning, U.S. Department of State)