

## Issues & Insights 2015

Issues & Insights is Pacific Forum's monograph series. These in-depth analyses include conference reports and research papers, and are available for free at *PacForum.org*.

### Issues & Insights Vol. 15 – No. 1

[Trilateral Cooperation in Northeast Asia: Expectations and Limitations](#) by Brad Glosserman, Julia Gardner, John Warden, and the Pacific Forum CSIS Young Leaders

At the 1<sup>st</sup> US-ROK-Japan Young Leaders Dialogue on Nov. 12-14, 2014 in Seoul, approximately 35 US, ROK, and Japanese next-generation experts and select senior advisers joined a two-day discussion of the ROK-Japan bilateral relationship and the US-ROK-Japan trilateral relationship. The conference also featured a table-top exercise that was designed by YLs who attended the 2014 senior-level US-ROK-Japan Extended Deterrence Trilateral Dialogue in Maui.

### Issues & Insights Vol. 15 – No. 2

[Institutionalizing Nonproliferation Cooperation with Myanmar](#) by David Santoro

The Pacific Forum CSIS held the 2nd Myanmar-US/UK Nonproliferation Dialogue in Yangon, Myanmar on Dec. 4-5, 2014. Approximately 55 Myanmar, US, and UK experts, officials, military officers, and observers, all in their private capacity, joined two days of off-the-record discussions on nonproliferation implementation status and prioritization, the Additional Protocol and the Modified Small Quantities Protocol, implementation of the Biological and Chemical Weapons Conventions, missile proliferation and nonproliferation, implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1540, strategic trade controls and the Proliferation Security Initiative, and implementation of United Nations sanctions resolutions.

### Issues & Insights Vol. 15 – No. 3

[The US-Japan Alliance in Transformation](#) by Jenny Lin

This report explores ways to strengthen the US-Japan alliance, with a particular emphasis on the Special Action Committee on Okinawa (SACO) recommendation to relocate the USMC Futenma Airfield to a sea-based facility, also known as the FRF (Futenma Relocation Facility). Its recommendations include a US-Japan joint research and development project on a mega-float for military use, preventive measures in Nago City so that the FRF will not experience environmental lawsuits and operational challenges as did Futenma in Ginowan City, platforms that increase healthy interactions and understanding between Okinawa residents and US soldiers, and fulfilling the 2013 Okinawa Consolidation accord.

## Issues & Insights Vol. 15 – No. 4

[Cooperation among BRICS: What Implications for Global Governance?](#) by Ralph Cossa and Virginia Marantidou

This paper critically examines the BRICS group, focusing on its ability to meaningfully introduce reforms into the global governance structure. It identifies major impediments to cooperation, including most importantly, the structural and economic imbalance between China and the rest of the group. If the group aspires to be a strong political force in the international arena, then it needs to move beyond issues that are of short-term convenience, beyond just being “anti,” and instead forge a common vision with which they can contribute to global governance.

## Issues & Insights Vol. 15 – No. 5

[A Legacy of Peace: The US-Japan Partnership after 70 years](#) by Pacific Forum CSIS Young Leaders

To mark 70 years since the end of the Pacific War, a group of young professionals and scholars met in Honolulu to discuss the state of the US-Japan partnership. With generous support from the Japan-US Friendship Commission, the discussion veered from our usual focus on security and military alliance issues and instead examined personal, cultural, educational, and professional ties between the United States and Japan. The group of 19 Japanese and US nationals (including a number of Japanese-Americans) looked ahead to future collaboration in the realms of agriculture, educational training, technology, and innovation.

## Issues & Insights Vol. 15 – No. 6

[Seeking and Forging Common Ground](#)

At the ROK-US Security Seminar on Nov. 7, 2014 in Honolulu, some 25 officials and experts, along with Pacific Forum CSIS Young Leaders, all participating in their private capacities, joined in a robust assessment of the current security environment in Northeast Asia and initiatives to promote cooperation in the region and facilitate unification on the Korean Peninsula. The open and candid discussion highlighted the close relationship between the two countries and the deep level of trust that has developed between them. Participants acknowledged that the seminar provided a prism for a better understanding of both US and ROK foreign and security policies.

## Issues & Insights Vol. 15 – No. 7

[US-China Strategic Nuclear Relations: Time to Move to Track-1 Dialogue](#) by Ralph Cossa, Brad Glosserman, and David Santoro

Some 80 Chinese and US experts, officials, military officers, and observers along with four Pacific Forum Young Leaders attended, all in their private capacity, the 9th China-US

Strategic Nuclear Dynamics Dialogue on Feb. 9-10, 2015 in Beijing. The off-the-record discussions covered comparative assessments of the strategic landscape, nuclear dimensions of the “new type of major country relationship,” nonproliferation and nuclear security cooperation, ways to address regional nuclear challenges (North Korea and Iran), strategic stability and reassurance, and crisis management and security-building measures.

#### **Issues & Insights Vol. 15 – No. 8**

##### **[Making an Island in the South China Sea: Sansha and Chinese Foreign Policy](#)** by Guanpei Ming

The South China Sea has moved to the center of debates about China’s foreign policy. Most policy analyses of the situation have focused on either the implications for international law or China’s proposed military plans to create a South China Sea version of the “East China Sea Air Defense Identification Zone” (ADIZ). While there has been much excellent work analyzing China’s influence on global politics, little has been done to understand the role China’s domestic administrative institutions play in managing these disputed territories.

#### **Issues & Insights Vol. 15 – No. 9**

##### **[Maritime Fulcrum: A New U.S. Opportunity to Engage Indonesia](#)** by Sean Quirk and John Bradford

Following decades of US under-engagement with Indonesia, President Joko Widodo’s Global Maritime Fulcrum Doctrine provides Washington with a new opportunity to prioritize its strategic relationship with Jakarta. Markets and geopolitics will revolve around the maritime domain, and Indonesia is uniquely positioned to play a leading role in the Indo-Asia-Pacific Rim. The Indonesian archipelago’s maritime trade routes and its position near the volatile South China Sea ensure Jakarta will be center stage for any geopolitical challenge in Southeast Asia. As the US rebalances to the Indo-Asia-Pacific, Washington should devote resources to account for Indonesia’s rising importance.

#### **Issues & Insights Vol. 15 – No. 10**

##### **[Politicization of the Liancourt Rocks Dispute: Its Effect on the Japan-South Korea Relationship](#)** by M. Erika Pollmann

This case study first analyzes the ultimate and proximate causes of the politicization of the Liancourt Rocks dispute, then outlines the consequences of politicization on the bilateral relationship. It concludes by suggesting that politicians should manage the dispute by reducing the salience of the Liancourt Rocks among citizens of both countries so that actions of individual extremists will no longer be rewarded.

#### **Issues & Insights Vol. 15 – No. 11**

##### **[Nonproliferation and Nuclear Security Cooperation in Northeast Asia](#)** by Carl Baker and David Santoro

At the quadrilateral US-ROK-Japan-China nonproliferation and nuclear security cooperation dialogue in Seoul on Aug. 5-7, 2015, 28 US, ROK, Japanese, and Chinese experts, officials, military officers, and observers discussed, all in their private capacity, the four countries’ perspectives and priorities on nonproliferation and nuclear security, the Nuclear Security Summit process, the nuclear security centers of excellence, the

prevention and management of a nuclear accident or incident, strategic trade controls, and onward proliferation from North Korea.

#### **Issues & Insights Vol. 15 – No. 12**

##### **[Implementing Strategic Trade Controls in Continental Southeast Asia](#)** by Carl Baker and David Santoro

Some 40 Cambodian, Laotian, Myanmar, Thai, and Vietnamese experts, officials, military officers, and observers, all in their private capacity, along with 15 individuals from the broader Asia-Pacific and the United States and Europe, attended the workshop on strategic trade controls in continental Southeast Asia in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, on Sept. 24-25, 2015. The off-the-record discussions focused on international trade and strategic goods, the core components of an effective system of strategic trade controls, the role of national legislation, control lists and licensing procedures, detection and enforcement, interagency coordination and industry outreach, and capacity-building and assistance.

#### **Issues & Insights Vol. 15 – No. 13**

##### **[Struggling with the Gray Zone: Trilateral Cooperation to Strengthen Deterrence in Northeast](#)** by Brad Glosserman

The Pacific Forum CSIS, with the Asan Institute for Policy Studies and with support from the Project on Advanced Systems and Concepts for Countering WMD (PASCC) and the Defense Threat Reduction Agency (DTRA), held a US-ROK-Japan Extended Deterrence Trilateral Dialogue on July 19-21, 2015. This track 1.5 discussion involved 41 US, ROK, and Japanese experts, officials, military officers, and observers, along with 19 Pacific Forum Young Leaders, all attending in their private capacities, who examined the capacity of the three countries to sustain and strengthen their deterrent in the face of new and enduring challenges.

#### **Issues & Insights Vol. 15 – No. 14**

##### **[The Abe Restoration: Pushing Past Japan’s Wartime Legacy and Restoring a Responsible Use of Force](#)** by Marta McLellan Ross

December 2015 marks the three-year anniversary of Prime Minister Abe Shinzo’s return to office. During his tenure, Japan has redefined its national security strategy through a series of legal and political reforms, reshaping the postwar system of pacifism. These changes have occurred concurrently with updating the US-Japan alliance through revisions of the US-Japan Security Cooperation Guidelines. This analysis examines what has been accomplished, why, the costs and benefits, and the important reforms Japan must consider next.