

Issues & Insights 2016

Issues & Insights is Pacific Forum's monograph series. These in-depth analyses include conference reports and research papers, and are available for free [here](#).

Issues & Insights Vol. 16 – No. 1

[Development Cooperation with North Korea: Expanding the Debate Beyond the Political Horizon](#) by Benjamin Katzeff Silberstein

Policymakers in the US, South Korea, China, and other countries continuously craft plans for a potential scenario when North Korea becomes more open, either by collapse or through a gradual process. This paper seeks to spark a similar discussion about development cooperation with North Korea. It draws on lessons from success stories and pitfalls of the development of post-communist transitions in countries like Mongolia and Vietnam, and regions such as Eastern Europe.

Issues & Insights Vol. 16 – No. 2

[Next Steps for Nuclear Security Governance in the Asia Pacific](#) by Carl Baker and David Santoro

The Pacific Forum CSIS, in partnership with the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) and with the support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, held a Nuclear Energy Experts Group (NEEG) meeting in Singapore, Singapore on Oct.. 15-16, 2015. It brought together 34 specialists from 15 countries in the Asia-Pacific and beyond, all attending in their private capacity, for a day and a half of not-for-attribution discussions on the Nuclear Security Summit process, nuclear governance after 2016, radioactive source management, and nuclear accident/incident response. Participants also explored a hypothetical scenario of a nuclear accident at a nuclear power plant in Vietnam.

Issues & Insights Vol. 16 – No. 3

[The Future of Nonproliferation Cooperation with Myanmar after the 2015 General Election](#) by David Santoro

The Pacific Forum CSIS, with support from the US Department of Energy's National Nuclear Security Administration (DOE/NNSA) and the UK's Foreign and Commonwealth Office's Strategic Programme Fund (FCO/SPF), held the third US/UK-Myanmar Nonproliferation Dialogue in Yangon, Myanmar on Dec. 9-10, 2015. Some 35 US, UK, and Myanmar experts, officials, military officers, and observers attended, all in

their private capacity, along with 18 Pacific Forum CSIS Young Leaders. The off-the-record discussions focused on the future of nonproliferation implementation after the Myanmar election; the Additional Protocol (AP), the modified Small Quantities Protocol (SQP), and radioactive source management; the Biological and Chemical Weapons Conventions (BWC and CWC); strategic trade controls; and the Hague Code of Conduct against Ballistic Missile Proliferation (HCOG).

Issues & Insights Vol. 16 – No. 4

[Implementing Strategic Trade Controls in Asia Pacific](#) by David Santoro

The Pacific Forum CSIS, National Chengchi University's Institute for International Relations, and the Prospect Foundation, with support from the US State Department's Export Control and Related Border Security (EXBS) Program and the Taiwan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, held an Asia-Pacific dialogue on strategic trade controls (STC) in Taipei, Taiwan on Nov. 5-6, 2015. Some 32 experts, officials, and observers from throughout the Asia Pacific and beyond attended, all in their private capacity. Discussions covered STC developments; control lists and trade management of strategic goods; free trade zones (FTZ); transit, transshipment, and brokering; intangible transfers of technology (ITT); the interface between licensing and detection; and regional cooperation on STC issues. This report represents the view of its authors, and is not a consensus document.

Issues & Insights Vol. 16 – No. 5

[16,000 problems: recommendations for the new Myanmar](#) by Erik French, Tyler Hill, Joseph Lin, Maile Plan, Crystal Pryor, Aiko Shamizu, and Kyaw San Wai

This collection of articles originates from the Pacific Forum CSIS/Myanmar Institute of Strategic and International Studies US-UK-Myanmar Nonproliferation Dialogue in Yangon in December 2015 and addresses several of these challenges. Throughout all runs the thorny issue of civil-military relations in Myanmar. After more than half a century of military rule, the majority of Myanmar citizens has never experienced democracy. As they struggle to redefine their political system, there are many ways the international community can bolster reform efforts and prevent the kind of backsliding that occurred in the mid-1990s.

Issues & Insights Vol. 16 – No. 6

[US Missile Defense in the Age of Everything: From BMDs to IAMD](#) by Stefan Soesanto

The study assesses ballistic missile defense (BMD) in the Asia Pacific and how it fits into plans for integrated air and missile defense (IAMD). Chapter one sets the context by synthesizing the BMD capabilities of Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and Australia, with a specific focus on the tactical objectives of forward-based US BMD elements. Chapter two assesses the strategic goals of the US BMDS in the Asia-Pacific, in relation to: (1) alliance reassurance, (2) strategic and regional stability, (3) deterrence, and (4) left- and right-of-launch missile defense options. Chapter three shifts to the concept of IAMD by focusing on defensive counter-air operations that are not part of the BMD threat portfolio, such as cruise missile defense (CMD), counter-unmanned aerial systems (CUAS), and counter-rockets, artillery, and mortar (C-RAM). The study concludes with final thoughts on how to reconcile the two systems.

Issues & Insights Vol. 16 – No. 7

[The Juche factor: North Korea's political ideology and human rights reform](#) by Angelica M. Stephens

At the United Nations' 25th session in February 2014, the commission of inquiry on human rights in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (issued two reports that documented its findings on human rights abuses in North Korea and presented recommendations to address these atrocities. The Commission stated that crimes against humanity committed within the state are the direct result of official government policies. Subsequent proposals following this claim stem from the Commission's belief that these offenses will cease upon the implementation of Western democratic governance that will improve the quality of life for the North Korean people. Despite the Commission's well-intended guidance, their appeals fall short as they underestimate the state's ideology, Juche Sasang.

Issues & Insights Vol. 16 – No. 8

[The Japanese-European security relationship during the second Abe administration](#) by Jonathan A. Meza

During the second administration of Abe Shinzo, Japan has shifted from its traditional policies of limited international engagement and maintenance of a strictly defensive military posture. This new course has opened the door to strategic partnerships beyond the US-Japan alliance, principally with European governments and supranational institutions. The Abe administration has worked with European leadership at the national and supranational levels to present a transregional united

front opposing coercive revision of the status quo. Tokyo and these Western partners continue to enhance counterterrorism cooperation in the face of the complicated international political challenges and the enduring security threat posed to both Japanese and European interests and citizenry by non-state actors.

Issues & Insights Vol. 16 – No. 9

[Myanmar-DPRK relations: disarmament and nuclear nonproliferation dimension](#) by Aung Ko Min

With world attention focused on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's nuclear ambitions, tests, and threats, there are questions about the foreign policy of Myanmar's new NLD-led government toward Pyongyang. It is critical that the NLD administration cooperate and coordinate with military elites because the military's role in political leadership cannot be neglected. An official statement condemning DPRK's January nuclear test was issued for the first time by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs under the former regime. This paper examines whether this indicates a changing relationship with the DPRK. It discusses challenges facing Myanmar in implementing United Nations Security Council Resolution 1540 (2004) and concludes that allegations about Myanmar's nuclear program are groundless.

Issues & Insights Vol. 16 – No. 10

[China's "New Silk Road" and US-Japan Alliance Geostrategy: Challenges and Opportunities](#) by Peter G. Cornett

This project analyzes China's New Silk Road policy and the geostrategic challenges and opportunities it poses for the US-Japan alliance. After examining and contextualizing the policy through the lens of classical geopolitics, it shows that China's westward focus necessitates a global alliance geostrategy aimed at ensuring the Eurasian balance of power. To offset China's strategy, that alliance geostrategy must actively seek to maintain the division of Eurasian great powers and the maintenance of Central Asia as an open and competitive economic zone. A Russia-China or China-EU security partnership – fostered by economic cooperation through the New Silk Road initiative – would present a threat to both the Eurasian balance of power and the US-led liberal world order that both the US and Japan seek to uphold.

Issues & Insights Vol. 16 – No. 11

[Beyond Bilateralism: Exercising a Maritime Security Network in Southeast Asia](#) by Commander John F. Bradford, USN and Commander Greg R Adams, USN

This Issues & Insights, written by two serving US Navy officers, analyzes bilateral maritime training conducted in Southeast Asia and introduces ideas for multilateral

maritime training within the region. The US 7th Fleet seeks to build upon its relationships in Southeast Asia to increase and develop multilateral crisis training. The goal is multilateral maritime training focused on the development of sophisticated skills beyond simple confidence building. The 7th Fleet and its regional partners are increasing the efficiency and effectiveness of training by selectively introducing multilateral elements into previously bilateral training events.

Issues & Insights Vol. 16 – No. 12

[Dialogue on Nonproliferation and Nuclear Security Cooperation in Southeast Asia: A Conference Report](#) by Carl Baker, David Santoro, and Federica Dall'Arche

Nuclear security is one of the most fertile areas for cooperation between the US and its regional partners, but progress is uncertain as this Pacific Forum CSIS conference report reveals. First, there is a need for high-level political leadership, which is not guaranteed. Focusing efforts on nuclear safety is essential, given growing interest in nuclear power development in Southeast Asia. At the same time, many Southeast Asian countries still lack strategic trade controls, which are necessary to combat proliferation. Among the many findings in this report is that the US, China, and the UN will assist states in building and implementing nuclear security and strategic trade control programs, although they differ in areas of specific emphasis.

Issues & Insights Vol. 16 – No. 13

[The US-Japan Partnership as a Regional Problem-Solving Mechanism: Next Generation Perspectives](#) by Brad Glosserman, Julia Gardner, and Sarah Henriot

Both Prime Minister Abe Shinzo and President Barack Obama have spoken publicly about the strength of the US-Japan relationship. The alliance has been and will continue to be strong but it cannot be taken for granted. While young people in the US remain enthusiastic about engagement with Japan, young people in Japan are becoming less interested in Japan's foreign policy and look increasingly inward. With the generous support of the Japan-US Friendship Commission and others, Pacific Forum CSIS Young Leaders participated in international meetings that addressed the challenges facing the US and Japan; their ideas for strengthening the US-Japan partnership are included in this report.

Issues & Insights Vol. 16 – No. 14

[The 2015 Northeast Asia Regional Young Leaders Security Seminar](#) by Brad Glosserman and Julia Gardner

In November 2015, Young Leaders from the US, Japan, ROK, and China met at the Northeast Asia Regional

Young Leaders Security Seminar in Seoul. Participants joined moderated discussions and participated in a quadrilateral table-top exercise that probed their thinking about topics such as cyber security, conventional threats from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, regional cooperation and improving HA/DR capability in Northeast Asia, Northeast Asia Regional Security Architecture, nuclear safety and security, and China's role in Northeast Asia. The first half of this volume is a conference summary. The second half explores the six discussion topics and includes suggestions for further research and reading on the subjects.

Issues & Insights Vol. 16 – No. 15

[The US-Japan Alliance as a Regional Problem Solving Mechanism: A Conference Report](#) by Brad Glosserman

Despite a rich overlay of structures that address a spectrum of security concerns, no single institution or organization has the membership or the capacity to address urgent Asian security challenges. One of the core elements of Asia's current and future security system is the US alliance network and the US-Japan alliance enjoys pride of place within it. Close examination reveals that the US, Japan, South Korea, and China share interests and security concerns in Asia. This conference, which was supported by the US embassy in Japan, examined ways those four countries could use the US-Japan alliance to advance regional cooperation. While this is an ambitious idea, it is possible – with sensitivity to all the needs of regional nations.

Issues & Insights Vol. 16 – No. 16

[History, Politics, and Security in Northeast Asia: Implications for Peace and Conflict](#) by Brad Glosserman

The problems triggered by divergent interpretations of history are not unique to Northeast Asia, but they have a special intensity and resonance in that part of the world. The past is increasingly present in Northeast Asia and its impact – both positive and negative – is growing. Cognizant of that trend, the ROK Northeast Asia History Foundation and the Pacific Forum CSIS, with support from the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Korea, convened in September 2016 a small group of historians, foreign policy specialists, and former government officials to explore the relationship between history and national security in Northeast Asia.

Issues & Insights Vol. 16 – No. 17

[Responding to China's Strategic Use of Combined Effects](#) by Thomas A. Drohan

China is wielding superior strategies that envelop opponents with expedient instruments of national power. Drawing from a rich tradition of comprehensive and indirect stratagems, Chinese leaders use a variety of

methods notably absent in US strategy. The core of Chinese strategy consists of combining preventative and causative effects, such as defend and coerce, deter and compel, dissuade and persuade, secure and induce. By combining these different effects, China forces others into disadvantageous outcomes. This paper reveals Chinese strategy as complex forms of confrontation and cooperation, and recommends a countervailing US strategy of combined effects.

Issues & Insights Vol. 16 – No. 18

[A New Era for Cooperation: Next Generation Views of the US-Japan Alliance](#) edited by Brad Glosserman, Julia Gardner, and Shelley Brandt

Japan's passage of new security legislation and reinterpretation of the right of collective self-defense have created opportunities for greater cooperation and partnership on security affairs between the United States and Japan. Believing that the sustainability and growth of the US-Japan alliance demands an engaged next generation, the Pacific Forum CSIS Young Leaders Program and the US Embassy Tokyo called on Young Leaders to think of bold and innovative ways the two countries can work together on current and future challenges. The four pieces in this volume represent next generation attempts to look over the horizon at challenges and opportunities for the alliance.

Issues & Insights Vol. 16 – No. 19

[Nuclear Governance in Asia after the Nuclear Security Summit Process](#) by Carl Baker and Federica Dall'Arche

The Nuclear Security Summit (NSS) process raised awareness and urged countries to move forward on issues such as the adoption of relevant treaties on nuclear security and improving accountability of fissile material. The entry into force of the amendment of the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Materials (CPPNM), acceptance of the Joint Statement on Strengthening Nuclear Security Implementation (INFCIRC 869) by several states, and the removal of highly enriched uranium (HEU) from several countries were important results of the process. Pacific Forum CSIS, in partnership with the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), and with support from the Carnegie Corporation, convened some 40 experts from Asia and beyond on September 19-20, 2016, to assess the value of the NSS process and next steps.

Issues & Insights Vol. 16 – No. 20

[Reaching an Inflection Point? The Tenth China-US Dialogue on Strategic Nuclear Dynamics](#) by Ralph A. Cossa, Brad Glosserman, and David Santoro

The Pacific Forum CSIS, with the China Foundation for International and Strategic Studies (CFISS), and with support from NPS/PASCC and the Defense Threat

Reduction Agency, held the 10th China-US Strategic Nuclear Dynamics Dialogue in Beijing on June 13-14, 2016. More than 70 Chinese and US experts, officials, military officers, and observers met in their private capacities to discuss US-China strategic relations with an emphasis on its nuclear dimension. Discussions covered comparative assessments of military developments in the Asia-Pacific region and their implications for US-China strategic relations, the relationship of nuclear weapons and cyber and outer space, each country's relations with Russia and their effect on nuclear dynamics (in particular arms control), regional nuclear challenges, the role of nuclear and strategic capabilities in military alliances, and strategic stability and reassurance.

Issues & Insights Vol. 16 – No. 21

[Strategic Trade Controls in the Asia Pacific: Emerging Challenges](#) by Carl Baker and Hyuk Kim

Pacific Forum CSIS, in partnership with Chengchi University's Institute for International Relations, and with support from the US Department of State's Export Control and Related Border Security (EXBS) program and the Prospect Foundation, held a workshop on strategic trade controls in Taipei, Taiwan, on Nov. 2-3, 2016, with approximately 40 participants representing relevant government agencies and nongovernment organizations, all attending in their private capacity. Robust discussions following all presentations: key findings are summarized below. Intangible technology transfer (ITT) is a growing concern for controlling strategic goods and technologies. Controlling the output of laboratories and university-based research is an ITT challenge, especially in countries that host large numbers of foreign researchers. Greater involvement by the private sector in STC detection and enforcement efforts is vital for accurate trade verification. Different understandings of the terms transit, transshipment, and re-export among stakeholders involved in managing transient trade have created confusion and could lead to gaps in controlling strategic goods.