



Aloha! The Pacific Forum CSIS has published three new monographs in our Issues & Insights series; all our available on our website ([www.csis.org/pacfor/](http://www.csis.org/pacfor/)). We invite your thoughts and comments.

*Issues & Insights No. 5 - 05 — May, 2005* [Japan-U.S. Security Relations: A New Era](#) (Available in English and Japanese)

More than 30 current and former government officials, analysts, and academic scholars of the alliance met in San Francisco in March 2005 for the 11<sup>th</sup> round of the annual Japan-U.S. Security Seminar. While they all agreed that the outlook for the alliance was positive, it was also plain that there is no room for complacency. The group surveyed developments in Northeast Asia, highlighting the threats posed by China's rise and the challenges to the regional security order and the global nonproliferation order posed by North Korea's apparent determination to build a nuclear weapon.

The meeting spent considerable time assessing the evolution in Japanese national security thinking, and its impact on the alliance, the region, and the world. A genuinely national security debate is taking place in Japan for perhaps the first time in postwar history. While many old constraints remain, an increasing number of Japanese are now asking "what should Japan do?" rather than merely "what can Japan do?"

Change is also occurring in the U.S. as it modernizes forces, doctrine, and deployments to better match capabilities and threats and to respond to a changing security environment. In so doing, consultation and coordination with Japan are a must. The challenge is for both governments to respond to domestic political imperatives while meeting alliance and national security responsibilities. Our participants were optimistic that Tokyo and Washington would succeed.

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*Issues & Insights No. 6 - 05 — June, 2005* [The Future of U.S.-ROK Relations and Four-Way Cooperation with Japan and China](#)

In April 2005, experts and officials from the Republic of Korea, the United States, Japan and China met in Honolulu to discuss common concerns and interests. This meeting was the ninth in an annual series of U.S.-ROK conferences that examines key issues for that bilateral relationship.

There is agreement in the U.S. and South Korea that the ROK should assume more responsibility for its national defense. While a majority in both countries favors continuation of the alliance with some modernization of roles, missions, and responsibilities, finding the right balance will be difficult. While remaining cognizant of the North Korean threat, both governments should explore a more

comprehensive notion of security, one that relies on a wider range of instruments and diminishes reliance on the military.

Most South Koreans agree that the U.S.-ROK alliance remains indispensable to their country's security, but they also believe that their country needs to play a new role within the region, and this requires a new relationship with the U.S. But there is no understanding of what this role is and the rhetoric that has been used – for Seoul to assume the role of "balancer" in Northeast Asia – obscures more than it reveals.

Assessments of the future of the Six-Party Talks were pessimistic; finding a common ground for compromise among the key participants will be difficult. Rising integration in East Asia is another concern for the U.S. Washington cannot be seen as blocking this process but it must ensure that it is not excluded from any community that might eventually emerge.

This integration process – like all cooperation among the four nations – must overcome the mutual suspicions found throughout Northeast Asia. These nations will be able to work together only when they understand their national interests and objectives. Until South Koreans – and Japanese and Chinese – can explain to themselves and to their neighbors their vision of their nation and the role it will play in Northeast Asia, there is little hope for sustained and sustainable cooperation among them. Similarly, as long as the ROK remains unsettled, its alliance with the U.S. will remain unbalanced. Both countries should assess their alliance, and, if it is worth keeping, restructure it to better meet the needs of both partners.

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*Issues & Insights No. 7 - 05 — July, 2005* [New Security Challenges and Opportunities in East Asia: Views from the Next Generation](#)

This is the second volume of papers by participants in the Pacific Forum CSIS Young Leaders fellowship program, which was founded in 2004 with the support of grants from the Freeman Foundation and the Hawaii-based Strong Foundation, and in-kind support from the CNA Corporation's Center for Strategic Studies. This program was prompted by the realization that generational change is sweeping East Asia and that the views of this younger generation need to be better incorporated into policy discussions. The papers in this volume were written for participation in the April 2005 U.S.-ROK conference and the May 2005 meeting of the Study Group on Countering the Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction in the Asia Pacific, part of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP).

When discussing Northeast Asia, our Young Leaders spent considerable time debating history. But rather than focusing on grievances, they were determined to identify ways to overcome the lingering hurt. As one Chinese explained, the problem is not history per se, but individuals' attitudes toward

history. Discussion focused on getting participants in the national debates over history to look forward, not back. The papers highlight areas of possible cooperation. The response to the Dec. 26, 2004 tsunami that claimed hundreds of thousands of lives in Southeast Asia, South Asia, and Africa was used to demonstrate one way to cooperate. East Asia is hit too frequently by such disasters and the governments of Northeast Asia and the U.S. are best able to respond in a timely and efficient manner.

Participants at the CSCAP meeting agreed on the seriousness of the threat posed by weapons of mass destruction, and echoed concerns that North Korea's nuclear programs could undermine regional peace and security. The Young Leaders looked at the gamut of WMD issues: from Southeast Asia's threat perceptions to the U.S. failure to follow up on its obligations under Article VI of the NPT to take steps toward nuclear disarmament.

Reminder: The July issue of *Comparative Connections*, covering developments from April-June 2005, is online at [www.csis.org/pacfor/ccejournal.html](http://www.csis.org/pacfor/ccejournal.html), featuring the following chapters:

[Regional Overview: Mixed Signals, Mixed Results](#)

By Ralph Cossa

[U.S.-Japan Relations: Tokyo's Trials](#)

By Brad Glosserman

[U.S.-China Relations: Disharmony Signals End to Post-Sept. 11 Honeymoon](#)

By Bonnie S. Glaser and Jane Skanderup

[U.S.-Korea Relations: Good News Summit Kicks Disputes Down the Road](#)

By Donald G. Gross

[U.S.-Russia Relations: Further Strategic Disconnect](#)

By Joseph Ferguson

[U.S.-Southeast Asia Relations: Summitry Hints of a More Activist Approach](#)

By Catherine Dalpino

[China-Southeast Asia Relations: Dancing with China](#)

By Ronald Montaperto

[China-Taiwan Relations: Opposition Leaders Visit China](#)

By David G. Brown

[North Korea-South Korea Relations: Who's Singing Whose Song?](#)

By Aidan Foster-Carter

[China-Korea Relations: Pursuing Super Economic Cooperation](#)

By Scott Snyder

[Japan-China Relations: No End to History](#)

By James J. Przystup

[Japan-Korea Relations: Little Progress on North Korea or History Disputes](#)

By David C. Kang and Ji-Young Lee

[China-Russia Relations: Politics of Anniversaries and Beyond](#)

By Yu Bin