



2009 Issues & Insights Index

Aloha! It has been a busy year for the Pacific Forum CSIS. In addition to the *PacNet* newsletters and our electronic journal, *Comparative Connections*, we have also published 22 volumes in our monograph series, *Issues & Insights*. All are available on the Pacific Forum CSIS website (www.pacforum.org) and we hope you find them interesting and useful.

Issues & Insights Vol. 09 - No. 22 – December 2009

[High Seas and Rising Tides: U.S.-Japan Maritime Cooperation](#), a Young Leaders Publication

The third U.S.-Japan Seapower dialogue explored the growing importance of the maritime domain for the United States, Japan, their alliance, and other trading nations. The papers in this volume provide a next-generation perspective on key issues and concerns for the two nations as they pursue their partnership on the high seas. Young Leaders are cognizant of the tensions inherent in a policy that sees the maritime domain as a “public commons” yet envisions the U.S.-Japan alliance playing a critical role in securing that space. As these papers make clear, more attention must be devoted to the maritime domain, its significance, and its security.

Issues & Insights Vol. 09 - No. 21 – December 2009

[Dynamics of the U.S.-Japan Alliance: Next Generation Perspectives](#), a Young Leaders Publication

After a half century, the U.S.-Japan security alliance still has growing pains. The papers in this volume, written by members of the Pacific Forum CSIS Young Leaders program, provide particularly valuable insights into key issues this partnership faces. One explores obstacles to efforts to strengthen and reform the alliance; another looks at assumptions that provide the foundation for this alliance; and the third examines foreign policy visions within the Democratic Party of Japan – an especially timely analysis given the party’s victory in this summer’s elections in Japan.

Issues & Insights Vol. 09 - No. 20 – November 2009

[Triggers of Conflict: Next Generation Views on U.S.-China Relations](#), a Young Leaders Publication

Growing in parallel with the significance of the U.S.-China relationship are obstacles to mutual understanding and confidence. After attending the third U.S.-China Strategic Dialogue, Pacific Forum CSIS Young Leaders probed specific issues that inhibit the development of a better relationship. The papers in this collection identify potential triggers of conflict between the two nations, issues that could derail the relationship in the medium term, and ways to minimize those disruptions.

Issues & Insights Vol. 09 - No. 19 – November 2009

[Perceptions, Challenges, and Opportunities: Next Generation Thinking about the U.S.-Japan Alliance](#), a Young Leaders Publication

These papers reflect next-generation thinking about the issues that bedevil the U.S.-Japan relationship on the strategic level. Participants at the Second U.S.-Japan Strategic Dialogue focused on whether the alliance is at a crossroads and what that means. Is there something unique about the challenges of this moment? Or is the alliance merely going through another of its periodic rough spots? Pacific Forum CSIS Young Leaders conclude that there is a gap in threat perceptions between the two nations and, despite the important role the alliance has played, its continued existence cannot be taken for granted.

Issues & Insights Vol. 09 - No. 18 – September 2009

[A Question of Confidence: The First U.S.-ROK Strategic Dialogue](#), a conference report by Brad Glosserman (In English and Korean)

The summit between Presidents Obama and Lee Myung-Bak in June 2009 affirmed the continuing commitment and bilateral alliance between the U.S. and South Korea. Yet, there remains skepticism about the U.S. commitment of extended nuclear deterrence to Korea. The inaugural U.S.-Korea strategic dialogue convened to better understand these contradictory tendencies.

Issues & Insights Vol. 09 - No. 17 – September 2009

[Meeting New Security Challenges in a Changing Security Environment: Ninth Dialogue on Sino-U.S. Relations and Regional Security](#), a conference report by Carl Baker

The U.S.-China relationship has become more influential in shaping global issues. While different perceptions of leadership remains a hindrance, functional cooperation has built a sense of community in East Asia. A gradual shift away from ASEAN as the leader in community building is occurring as a result of growing confidence in the U.S.-China relationship and the increased interaction among China, Japan, and South Korea. However, the U.S. and the region would benefit from a more coherent Asia strategy that built on this cooperative atmosphere.

Issues & Insights Vol. 09 - No. 16 – August 2009

[U.S.-China Relations: A Roadmap for the Future](#), a Young Leaders Publication (In English and Chinese)

This “roadmap” is the product of a multinational group of Pacific Forum CSIS Young Leaders and provides policy recommendations on U.S.-China political, security, and trade and finance relations, several of which are coauthored by two

Young Leaders – one each from the U.S. and China. They present concrete and mutually acceptable solutions to existing bilateral tensions and identify new areas that are ripe for bilateral and multilateral collaboration and cooperation. In the second section, Young Leaders from Japan and South Korea analyze the recommendations from the perspectives of their respective countries.

Issues & Insights Vol. 09 - No. 15 – August 2009

[Obama and East Asia](#), by Gerald Curtis

There is a danger that the Obama administration effort to show continuity in its East Asia policy will shade into complacency. While there is the opportunity to build a strong relationship with the countries of East Asia on the foundation that his predecessors have left for him, the U.S. must engage with countries in the region flexibly and with imagination to make continuity work. A comprehensive and constructive East Asian policy requires presidential leadership.

Issues & Insights Vol. 09 - No. 14 – August 2009

[Japan-U.S. Security Relations: A Testing Time for the Alliance](#), a conference report by Brad Glosserman (In English and Japanese)

The 15th annual Japan-U.S. Security Seminar convened at a “testing time.” Seminar participants saw the need for two parallel paths. First, Japan and the U.S. must reach out to other security partners. Second, Japan must forge a national consensus on its place in the world, the role of the alliance in its foreign policy, and Japan’s role within the alliance. By focusing on nontraditional challenges, Japan can contribute to peace, security, and stability, while avoiding conflict with its constitutional constraints and aligning with the Obama administration’s agenda and thinking.

Issues & Insights Vol. 09 - No. 13 – July 2009

[Eastern Sea Disputes and United States Interests](#), by Pham Thuy Trang

This paper by Pacific Forum’s first Vasey Fellow from Vietnam analyzes the disputes and overlapping sovereignty claims of Vietnam, China, and other countries in the Eastern Sea. Given changes in regional security dynamics, the U.S. must update its “non-intervention” policy. Even without taking a position on any individual claim in the disputes, the U.S. should raise its voice to protect not only its allies and partners, but also its interests in the Eastern Sea.

Issues & Insights Vol. 09 - No. 12 – July 2009

[Expectations Out of Sync: The Second U.S.-Japan Strategic Dialogue](#), a conference report by Brad Glosserman (In English and Japanese)

The Pacific Forum CSIS brought together a small group of Japanese and U.S. security specialists to discuss threat perceptions, concerns about the strategic environment in East Asia, and the nature of extended deterrence. While few Japanese would call the U.S. an “unreliable” ally, most see Washington as less reliable today than four years ago, even while remaining cautiously optimistic that this trend will be

reversed with a new U.S. administration. The challenge for the U.S. and Japan is to understand each other’s expectations, provide reassurance that those concerns will be respected, and then respond when interests are threatened.

Issues & Insights Vol. 09 - No. 11 – June 2009

[China’s Challenge to the International Monetary System: Incremental Steps and Long-Term Prospects for Internationalization of the Renminbi](#), by Brendan Kelly

China has undertaken several small steps to begin the internationalization of the *renminbi*, which will depend on the development of the financial infrastructure that drives international currency use. Establishing the *renminbi* as a reserve currency will require dramatic changes to China’s growth model and trade policy that have produced China’s huge current account surpluses. If China is serious, this might actually reinforce the domestic economic and financial reforms that U.S. economists and policymakers believe are essential for sustainable U.S. and global economic growth.

Issues & Insights Vol. 09 - No. 10 – June 2009

[The Guillotine: Japan’s Demographic Transformation and its Security Implications](#), by Brad Glosserman and Tomoko Tsunoda

Japan is in the midst of a demographic transformation that will have a significant impact on foreign and defense policy. By 2050, a projected 38.9 percent of the population will be over 65, making Japan the grayest nation in the world. There are several ways for Japan to reverse the demographic tide or its impact, but none have much prospect of success. This paper explores the foreign and security policy implications of this shift. It also includes specific recommendations for both Japan and the U.S. to respond to preserve a role for Japan and the alliance in regional and global affairs.

Issues & Insights Vol. 09 - No. 09 – June 2009

[Relations at Sea: The U.S.-Japan Alliance on the Oceans](#), a conference report by Brad Glosserman

U.S.-Japan maritime cooperation is a key element of U.S. national security strategies and has provided Japan with a platform for its own international ambitions. There is a need to address the new challenges at sea and to constitute the core of a “consortium of seafaring nations.” Based on this belief, the Ocean Policy Research Foundation conducted a series of dialogues with U.S. counterparts, which culminated in a public proposal –“The United States-Japan Seapower Alliance for Stability and Prosperity on the Oceans.”

Issues & Insights Vol. 09 - No. 08 – May 2009

[Tipping Point for the Six-Party Talks?](#)

This collection of papers by noted specialists on the Six-Party Talks including Ralph Cossa, Andre Lankov, Yoshihide Yoeya, Scott Snyder, Liu Ming, Koo Ban-hak, and Yoo Ho-yeol provide perspectives on the prospects for sustaining the Six-Party Talks as a viable mechanism for resolving the North Korea nuclear issue. Several points of consensus emerge. First, North Korea appears determined to keep its nuclear

weapons. Second, whatever leverage the other five nations have, it is only effective if they maintain a united front. Third, pressure on North Korea should be increased, even if its effectiveness is limited. The papers also offer an array of perspectives on North Korea's motives and the reasons why it can never be accepted as a recognized nuclear weapon state.

Issues & Insights Vol. 09 - No. 07 – May 2009

Continuity and Change in Japan-U.S. Relations,

by Shinzo Abe, Seiji Maehara

These “Lane Lectures in Diplomacy,” by Shinzo Abe, former prime minister of Japan, and Seiji Maehara, vice president of the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ), offer their visions for the U.S.-Japan alliance. Both speakers agreed that the alliance is vital for both countries and must evolve into a more effective partnership to deal effectively with emerging regional and global challenges. For Abe, the best way to accomplish this was a strengthened commitment to security of sea lanes in a partnership with other states. Maehara suggested that under the leadership of the DPJ, the focus for Japan would shift to improving stability and prosperity in war-torn regions through cooperative efforts to improve the lives of people while emphasizing the value of the U.S.-Japan alliance in dealing with threats such as North Korea missiles and Chinese military modernization.

Issues & Insights Vol. 09 - No. 06 – May 2009

Asia: Where Are We, Where Are We Going?

by Richard Armitage

In this “Lane Lecture in Diplomacy” Richard L. Armitage, president of Armitage International and a former U.S. deputy secretary of state, provides a broad review of the changes taking place in Asia. While lamenting the financial crisis, the troubled democracies in Thailand and Malaysia, and the lack of cooperation by China on big issues, Armitage calls for a reinvigoration of the U.S. alliances with the ROK and Japan, which remain the cornerstone of U.S. engagement in the Asia.

Issues & Insights Vol. 9-No. 05 – May 2009

North Korea's Latest Challenge: What is to be done?

by Evans J.R. Revere

North Korea's defiant April missile launch does not appear to be the height of its brinkmanship. Indeed, the DPRK's rhetoric suggests it has finally made the “strategic decision” long sought by the United States and others over years of negotiations. Regrettably, that decision appears to be that it will keep its nuclear weapons and seek to have the United States and the international community recognize it as a nuclear weapons state. How should the Obama administration and the world respond?

In this incisive analysis, Evans Revere, president of the Korea Society, argues the U.S. should maintain its calm and its determination, and avoid a rush to return to the bargaining table. The next move is Pyongyang's. He suggests that the DPRK dispatch a high-level representative of its own to Washington to shake President Obama's outstretched hand – and urges North Korean leader Kim Jong-il to reassess the value of the advice he has been getting from his foreign policy team.

Issues & Insights Vol. 9-No. 04 – April 2009

Searching for Consensus in Cross-Strait Relations: Building Bridges among the Next Generation,

by Shiuan-Ju Chen

This paper by Pacific Forum CSIS 2008 Vasey Fellow Shiuan-ju Chen examines the views of the next generation in Taiwan and China toward national identity and each other. She concludes that compared with the older generation, young people from Taiwan and China share a lifestyle and value system. They are both confident and optimistic about their future. Peace, stability, and economic well-being are common goals in the cross-Strait relationship. However, rising Taiwanese identity and Chinese nationalism create a high risk of confrontation. History has a greater impact on Chinese youth and promotes nationalism. To reduce misperceptions and their potentially troubling effects, she provides specific recommendations to build trust and strengthen communications.

Issues & Insights Vol. 9-No. 03 – April 2009

Smart Power, the U.S., and the World, by Joseph S. Nye, Jr.

In this Ambassador L.W. ‘Bill’ and Jean Lane Lecture in Diplomacy, delivered at the Pacific Forum CSIS Board of Governors dinner on Feb. 24, 2009, Pacific Forum Board Chairman Joseph Nye Jr. explains the meaning of “power” in today's world and how the U.S. can best use and exploit the extraordinary assets it has. While the short-term consequences of the current economic downturn will be severe. Dr. Nye is confident that, over the long-term, the U.S. can overcome these deep problems and emerge even stronger than before.

To do that, the U.S. needs to embrace “smart power” – finding and using the most appropriate tool in its diplomatic tool kit for each situation and context. Dr. Nye is encouraged by recent developments. The Obama administration seems to understand the need for a more sophisticated strategy and is already embracing this approach.

Issues & Insights Vol. 9-No. 02 – April 2009

Next Generation Thinking about America's East Asia Strategy, a Young Leaders Publication

As part of the effort to craft a U.S. strategy for the Asia-Pacific Region, the Pacific Forum CSIS brought members of its Young Leaders program to those discussions to provide a different perspective on, and further insight into, thoughts of their successors. This report highlights areas of convergence and divergence between Young and Senior leaders, examines generational differences that might explain these differences, and assesses their significance.

The Young Leaders found considerable overlap between the two generations, but important differences remain. Most significantly, this generation has a greater sense of “connection,” and feels a need for a broader understanding of human security in the 21st century. A shifting focus to nontraditional security threats springs from the largely peaceful world in which they have come of age. This generation seeks an international order based on multilateral institutions and economic interdependence while discouraging “us” vs. “them” mentalities.

The United States and the Asia-Pacific Region: Security Strategy for the Obama Administration, by Ralph A. Cossa, Brad Glosserman, Michael A. McDevitt, Nirav Patel, James Przystup, Brad Roberts

In anticipation of the 2008 U.S. presidential election, the Pacific Forum CSIS and four other think tanks -- the Center for Naval Analysis (CNA), the Center for a New American Security (CNAS), the Institute for Defense Analysis (IDA), and the Institute for National Security Studies at the National Defense University (NDU/INSS) – attempted to fill a gap in U.S. thinking about Asia by producing a U.S. strategy report for the next administration.

Modeled after the East Asia Strategy Reports of the 1990s, this analysis examined the strategic landscape of the Asia-Pacific region, identified U.S interests in this vital region, crafted a strategy to further those interests and achieve our national objectives, and explained U.S. expectations toward its allies and partners in the region. The report urges the Obama administration to take a proactive and strategic approach to the region. A useful first step would be writing an Asia Pacific strategy report of its own.

