



2008 Issues & Insights Index

Aloha and happy holidays! While you recently received our *PacNet* index, you may not have recently visited our website www.pacforum.org and seen what's there. In addition to back issues of *PacNet* and our quarterly journal, *Comparative Connections*, we have published a number of studies and reports from our conferences and dialogues with other regional institutions. These monographs can be found online at www.csis.org/pacfor/issues.

Among the 25 *Issues & Insights* produced during 2008 are 16 from our Young Leaders (marked with an *). Four years ago, the Pacific Forum CSIS launched the Young Leaders program. It was born from the realization that a generational change was occurring across Asia and this group has different views that were rarely heard. Over 300 people from more than 20 countries around the world are alumni. (We encourage anyone interested in becoming a YL to check out the Pacific Forum website for information.)

Issues & Insights No. 01-08 — January 2008*

"Pacific Forum CSIS Young Leaders in Taiwan"

Essays in the volume address individual country relations with Taiwan and suggestions for how Taiwan could most effectively engage itself in world affairs. These Young Leader (YL) insights were honed during a five-day program in Taipei hosted by the Pacific Forum CSIS as part of the Asia Pacific Security Forum. The program included visits to and briefings from the Taiwan Foundation for Democracy, National Chengchi University's Institute for International Relations, the Democratic Progressive Party, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Legislative Yuan, the Mainland Affairs Council, and the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party).

Issues & Insights No. 02-08 — February 2008

"Using American Power Smartly: Advice to the Next U.S. President" by Joseph S. Nye, Jr.

In this "Lane Lecture in Diplomacy," Harvard Professor Joseph Nye and Chairman of the Pacific Forum CSIS Board of Governors, provides an assessment of the role of smart power in foreign policy and offers advice to the next U.S. president. Smart power, which he defines as the ability to combine the hard power of coercion and payment with the soft power of attraction, requires contextual intelligence and careful application of resources and is the key to a successful foreign policy strategy.

Issues & Insights No. 03-08 — March 2008

"The Emerging Architecture for Security and Cooperation in Northeast Asia" by James E. Goodby

The Six-Party Talks on North Korea's nuclear weapons program could be as important for Northeast Asia as the creation of the Organization for Security and Cooperation was in Europe if two things happen: North Korea makes a strategic decision to forego its nuclear aspirations and all the countries involved opt for transformational agreements to create a regional security framework. The future security architecture of Northeast Asia will have at its core a "peace regime" on the Korean Peninsula supported by a set of cooperative understandings mainly between South and North Korea embedded in a multilateral mechanism for promoting peace and security.

Issues & Insights No. 04-08 — March 2008

"A New U.S.-Japan Agenda" by Brad Glosserman and Katsu Furukawa

The U.S.-Japan relationship remains central to regional and global security. Cooperative policy approaches in several areas will enhance the strength of the bilateral relationship while promoting a positive image to other states. The two countries must deal with traditional security concerns, but military issues shouldn't be the single focus. This new agenda requires Japan to forge and present a vision of its appropriate role in global affairs and the U.S. must learn to listen to its ally more carefully and to better consult and coordinate policy.

Issues & Insights No. 05-08 — April 2008

"Asia: Less Continuity, More Change" 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 tour d'horizon of the changes taking place in Asia and their implications for the United States and the world.

Issues & Insights No. 06-08 — June 2008

"U.S., Japan, and China Conference on Trilateral Security Cooperation" by Carl Baker

The Pacific Forum CSIS project on "Strategic Goals in U.S., Japan, and China Relations" has sought to enhance trilateral cooperation among the three countries by focusing on their fundamental concerns and exploring ways they could work together to realize shared interests. Improving relations provide an opportunity to move bilateral relationships and trilateral relations to new levels. Politicians are sending the right signals and there is a long list of shared concerns upon which governments can act. So, it is vital that the three governments push other elements of their societies to join in and thicken the web of contacts that can insulate relations from another downturn. An emphasis on pragmatism among the leaders is a good starting point, but more work is needed.

Issues & Insights No. 07-08 — August 2008*

“U.S.-Japan Strategic Dialogue: Next Generation Views of U.S.-Japan Alliance”

In February 2008, Pacific Forum CSIS and the Advanced Systems and Concepts Office of the Defense Threat Reduction Agency (DTRA), brought a collection of young adults from the U.S. and Japan to observe the U.S.-Japan Strategic Dialogue. These YLs discussed the U.S.-Japan alliance and how both countries can enhance their security relationship. To better grasp their partner's interests and identify gaps in perceptions of the strategic environment, these up-and-coming security professionals were asked to consider the *other* country's top three security concerns. The papers in this volume reflect those discussions and perceptions regarding those concerns.

Issues & Insights No. 08-08 — August 2008*

“Making Article 6 ‘Stick’,” A Young Leaders Perspective

The Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP) WMD Study Group meeting in Ho Chi Minh City in May 2008 had a Pacific Forum Young Leader component. This volume summarizes specific strategies developed by those YLs to convince nuclear weapon states to comply with disarmament obligations articulated in the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

Issues & Insights No. 09-08 — August 2008*

“Next Generation Views on Preventive Diplomacy: The Role of the ASEAN Regional Forum”

Young Leaders participated in a CSCAP-sponsored conference on preventive diplomacy in Brunei in October 2007. This volume provides group recommendations from those YLs outlining steps the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) should take to become more relevant. In addition, individual YLs address specific regional security challenges. These papers focus on divergences between YL thinking and that of senior participants. As is evident from the essays, the next generation is increasingly frustrated with the slow progress of the ARF and seeks greater activism by the forum.

Issues & Insights No. 10-08 — August 2008*

“U.S.-China Strategic Dialogue,” A Young Leaders Perspective

Pacific Forum CSIS and the Center for Nonproliferation Studies in Monterey, with support from DTRA conducted a dialogue of analysts from the U.S. and China to discuss strategic concerns to promote better understanding of each country's perspective on security issues and challenges. In this volume, Pacific Forum CSIS Young Leaders express their understanding of each country's strategic outlook to help lay the foundation for a stable and mutually secure future. As the papers in this volume attest, this process is well underway but significant differences remain.

Issues & Insights No. 11-08 — August 2008*

“U.S.-Japan-China Relations in the Year 2020,” A Young Leaders Perspective

For over a decade, Pacific Forum CSIS, with partner institutions in Japan and China, has sponsored a trilateral U.S.-Japan-China dialogue. The papers in this volume provide group assessments on the ideal state of trilateral relations in the year 2020. In addition, individual perspectives on the future of trilateral relations are offered. If these papers are representative of thinking in the next generation in three countries, then the prospects for cooperation are truly improving.

Issues & Insights No. 12-08 — August 2008*

“Promoting the Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone,” A Young Leaders Perspective

This volume offers suggestions from the next generation on ways governments and regional institutions can support the Southeast Asian Nuclear Weapons Free Zone (SEAWFZ) Treaty and assist in the development of an action plan to implement it.

Issues & Insights No. 13-08 — September 2008

“Japan-U.S. Security Relations: Alliance under Strain,” A Conference Report

The Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA) and the Pacific Forum CSIS co-hosted the 14th annual Japan-U.S. San Francisco Security Seminar in March 2008. The U.S.-Japan security alliance has entered a transitional phase. While the foundations of the alliance remain strong, the political environment in both capitals is changing, transforming the context in which alliance-related decisions are made. Each country must develop its national strategy and better understand where the alliance fits within it.

Issues & Insights No. 14-08 — September 2008*

“America's Alliances and the Next Administration: Next Generation Thinking about U.S. Strategy toward East Asia”

This volume includes YL group assessments of U.S. relations with its allies in the region. Despite an evolving security environment, they were not prepared to abandon these longstanding relationships. While better coordination and cooperation among the alliances would be beneficial, they are skeptical about the notion of linking them in a formal network, feeling it would alienate friends and potential partners and be seen as an attempt to contain China. Finally, the YLs believe the U.S. should broaden engagement and better balance relations among military, economic, and social pillars.

Issues & Insights No. 15-08 — September 2008*

“New Power Dynamics in Southeast Asia: Next Generation Thinking about U.S. Strategy toward East Asia”

Over the last year, the Stanley Foundation has convened a series of meetings to explore changing power dynamics in Southeast Asia. The last in that set was held in Honolulu in June 2008 to develop recommendations for the next U.S. administration's policy toward Southeast Asia. Young Leaders joined those discussions, and provided their own assessment of ways to improve U.S.-Southeast Asia relations. This volume spells out those recommendations.

Issues & Insights No. 16-08 — September 2008

“Confidence and Confusion: National Identity and Security Alliances in Northeast Asia” by Brad Glosserman and Scott Snyder

Domestic political debates over national identity issues are increasingly affecting the U.S.-Japan and U.S.-ROK alliances. A new international security environment, evolving definitions and perceptions of threat, and changes in the structure of domestic politics in Japan and South Korea suggest the need for adjustments in the way the U.S. manages its alliance relationships in Northeast Asia. Using extensive surveys and interviews of foreign policy elites in Japan and South Korea, this issue offers alternative approaches based on changing identities within them. While both Japanese and Koreans seek a more equitable sharing of burdens within their alliance and each wants to be treated as a more equal partner, greater efforts are needed to build public support. Most important is the need for political leaders who put long-term national interest above short-term political gains.

Issues & Insights No. 17-08 — October 2008*

“Young Leaders in Tokyo”

At the 12th trilateral U.S.-China-Japan meeting, Pacific Forum Young Leaders from the three countries, as well as South Korea, the Philippines, and Thailand provided specific group recommendations on improving trilateral problem-solving. The volume also includes individual papers on various aspects of relations among the three countries. The trilateral meeting was followed by a special one-day Young Leader program on human security as a complement to state security. A summary of the presentations and individual papers on human security are included in this volume.

Issues & Insights No. 18-08 — October 2008*

“East Asia Strategy: How to Deal with a Rising China,” A Young Leaders Perspective

A small group of Young Leaders participated in a meeting sponsored by the Pacific Forum CSIS, CNA Corporation, the Institute for Defense Analyses, the Institute for National and Strategic Studies of the National Defense University, and the Center for a New American Security to produce an Asia Pacific Strategy Report for the next U.S. administration. Young Leaders offer their assessment of the senior discussion and identify the top five opportunities for improving the U.S.-China relationship and top five challenges facing it.

Issues & Insights No. 19-08 — October 2008*

“14th Annual Japan-U.S. Security Seminar: Next Generation Perceptions of U.S.-Japan Relations”

A select group of U.S. and Japanese Young Leaders has attended the last several annual meetings of the Japan-U.S. security seminar that explores the issues and outlook for this relationship. In this volume, YLs probe the differences in the two nations’ perspectives. Although the two countries have a long history of interaction and the two security communities are deeply interwoven, they have different national interests, which lead to different priorities.

Issues & Insights No. 20-08 — October 2008*

“Three Crises for Northeast Asia: The Next Generation Explores National Identity and its Implications for U.S. Alliances”

In May 2008, Pacific Forum CSIS Young Leaders participated in a series of U.S.-ROK bilateral and US-ROK-Japan trilateral talks to discuss emerging issues of security, identity, and change in Northeast Asia. In this volume, YLs develop three scenarios that would pose challenges for alliance managers. They include a succession crisis in North Korea, a threat of reunification by force between Taiwan and China, and a North Korean missile launch that “accidentally” hits Japan. The scenarios anticipate how Northeast Asia nations might react and hopefully make the crises a little less “unexpected” if they should occur.

Issues & Insights No. 21-08 — October 2008

“Responding to a Changing Security Environment,” by Carl Baker

The eighth dialogue on Sino-U.S. relations and regional security was held in Honolulu in August 2008. Both Americans and Chinese agreed that the bilateral relationship has become the key to virtually all aspects of security in Asia and the world. Common interests and concerns are readily acknowledged, yet the two countries struggle to deal with traditional security issues that have hampered more extensive cooperation. With the emergence of new challenges such as energy security and climate change, the need for cooperation has become more apparent, if not more urgent. Cross-Strait relations, the Korean Peninsula, rapid social change in China and the change in administration in Washington remain important factors in shaping the future of the relationship.

Issues & Insights No. 22-08 — November 2008*

Asia-Pacific Security Forum “Asian Elections 2007-2008: Regional Security Implications,” A Young Leaders Perspective

For over a decade, the Asia Pacific Security Forum has provided a unique opportunity for scholars and policy experts from Taiwan, the United States, Southeast Asia, and Europe to discuss regional security issues. This year’s meeting focused on the impact of elections on regional developments. This volume offers YL perspectives on the idea of putting democracy at the forefront of the U.S. foreign policy agenda in the form of policy memos to the next U.S. president.

Issues & Insights No. 23-08 — November 2008*

“Moving Forward: Sino-U.S. Relations and Regional Security,” A Young Leaders Perspective

The U.S.-China Dialogue series on security relations has been an especially rich and productive discussion. Given the centrality of the two countries to the future of the region, it has been particularly valuable to bring the next generation of scholars and security experts into the room to hear their seniors and provide their own assessment of the bilateral relationship. The Young Leader essays in this volume provide perspectives on the group discussions as well as individual

memos to the next president on how participants think the U.S.-China relationship should proceed.

Issues & Insights No. 24-08 — November 2008*

“Asian Issues with Regional and Global Impact,” A Young Leaders Perspective

This volume tackles “other security issues” that require attention from the Obama administration. Three of the four issues identified here – economic policy, energy security, climate change and environmental policy – fall outside traditional security discussions. The fourth – regional security architecture – addresses those traditional concerns from a nontraditional perspective.

