

**Shanghai Institutes for International Studies
Pacific Forum CSIS
Center for Naval Analyses
Institute for Defense Analyses**

China-ROK-Japan-U.S. Quadrilateral Dialogue
“Security, Interests, and Identity in the 21st Century”

**Hong Qiao State Guesthouse Hotel * Shanghai, China
May 10-12, 2009**

AGENDA

May 10 - Sunday

18:30 **Welcome Reception/Dinner**
(East Lake Chinese Restaurant, 1st Floor, Building No.6)

May 11 – Monday

Venue: (Summer Palace (2nd Floor, Building No. 6)

9:00 **Opening Remarks**
Speakers: Yang Jiemian
 Ralph Cossa

9:15 **Session 1: Security Perceptions in Northeast Asia**
Moderator: Ralph Cossa
Presenters: China: Wang Fan
 Japan: Masashi Nishihara
 South Korea: Koo Bon-hak
 US: Mike McDevitt

This session will focus on current security perceptions in Northeast Asia. What are the major threats to the national security of the four countries? Have security considerations constrained or encouraged cooperation in the region? How have the perceptions regarding security cooperation changed over the past 20 years? Is the institutional framework in the region compatible and consistent with the current threat perceptions? How have security perceptions influenced national and regional identity? The discussion should focus on convergences and divergences in perceptions.

11:00 **Break**

11:15 **Session 2: Review of South Korea and Japan Identity Surveys**
Moderator: Rhee Sang-woo
Presenters: Brad Glosserman and Scott Snyder

This session will summarize the results of the national identity surveys that were conducted in Japan and South Korea.

12:00 **Lunch** (Palm Island Café 1st Floor, Building No.6)

13:15 **Session 3: Chinese National Identity Survey Findings**
Moderator: Yu Bin
Presenters: Brad Glosserman and Scott Snyder
Discussant: Wu Chunsi

This session presents preliminary findings from research regarding conceptions of national identity in China and its impact on security. Are conceptions of national identity in China changing? Is national identity becoming more prominent in China? How is national identity influencing perceptions of security? How have these perceptions affected domestic politics? What is the impact on relations with other countries in the region?

14:30 **Session 4: Political Change, National Identity, and Foreign Policy**
Moderator: Masashi Nishihara
Presenters: Korea: Han Suk-hee
 Japan: Masaru Tamamoto
 US: Balbina Hwang
 China: Yang Yi

The session will address recent foreign policy shifts in the U.S., South Korea and Japan and China. How are domestic politics in the four countries influencing policies toward the U.S. alliances? To what extent are these influenced by national identity politics? How have foreign policy shifts influenced historical reconciliation issues? How has the economic crisis influenced foreign policies? Have the changes created opportunities for increased security cooperation in the region?

15:30 **Break**

15:45 **Session 4 (cont'd.): Political Change and Foreign Policy**

17:30 **Adjourn**

18:30 **Dinner** (Liu Fu Palace, 2nd Floor, Building No. 6)

May 12 – Tuesday

9:00 Session 5: Six-Party Talks and Regional Security Relations

Moderator: Ralph Cossa
Presenter: China: Liu Ming
Discussants: Japan: Yasuyo Sakata
Korea: Koo Ban-hak

This session will focus on developments in the Six-Party Talks. What are the prospects for resolving the North Korean dismantlement issue? What are the alternative paths to move the denuclearization process forward? Can progress be made in other Working Groups without resolving the denuclearization issue?

10:30 Break

10:45 Session 6: Alliance Adaptation and Regional Security Relations

Moderator: Rhee Sang-woo
Presenter: Jitsuo Tsuchiyama
Discussants: China: Liu Zun
US: Phillip Saunders

What adjustments are being made in the U.S.-ROK and U.S.-Japan alliances? What is driving these changes? What are the perceptions by others regarding these changes? What impact have the changes had on relations between the other three countries? How transparent has the adjustment process been?

12:15 Lunch (Palm Island Café (1st Floor, Building No.6)

13:30 Session 7: Regional Security Architecture

Moderator: Yu Bin
Presenter: Chikako Kawakatsu Ueki
Discussant: Hwang Jaeho
Ni Xiayun

This session focuses on the organizational aspects of security relations in Northeast Asia. What is the scope of possible cooperation in the region? Is the existing security architecture in the region adequate for dealing with transnational security issues? How do changes in national identity in each country impact the prospects for development of a permanent security mechanism? Can the Six-Party Talks serve as a basis for the development of a permanent security mechanism in the region? Or, is a permanent security mechanism desirable? What impact do various trilateral arrangements have on the absent fourth party? Are the existing bilateral alliances compatible with the development of a multilateral security mechanism?

15:00 **Session 8: Wrap Up and Next Steps**
 Moderator: Ralph Cossa

This session will draw conclusions and offer policy recommendations based on the discussions. What is the relationship between the articulation of political identity and the formation and maintenance of security institutions? What are the prospects for further institutionalization of security relations among the four countries? What issues present opportunities for security cooperation among the four countries? What can be done to take advantage of those opportunities? What issues represent obstacles to additional security cooperation among the four countries? What can be done to address those obstacles?

16:00 **Adjourn**

18:30 **Dinner**