



HOSTED BY THE  
**PACIFIC FORUM CSIS**  
AND SPONSORED BY THE  
**US DEFENSE THREAT REDUCTION AGENCY**

FIFTH US-ROK-JAPAN TRILATERAL DIALOGUE  
Royal Lahaina Resort ♦ Maui  
Feb. 3-8, 2013

## YOUNG LEADERS AGENDA

### Sunday, February 3, 2013

Young Leaders arrive

6:30 Opening reception for the US-ROK Strategic Dialogue

7:00 **Opening dinner on the Lahaina Kai Lawn**

### Monday, February 4, 2013

*Venue: Hale Piilani Room*

8:00 **Young Leaders Introductory Session over Continental Breakfast**

Brad Glosserman, Pacific Forum Executive Director, and Nicole Forrester, Director – Young Leaders Program, will provide introductory remarks and outline YL meeting objectives.

9:00 Welcome remarks

9:15 **Session 1: Security Policy after the Elections**

This session looks at the impacts of the US and ROK elections on regional perspectives. Is the region more or less stable than the last time we met? What factors are driving regional security policy? What impact did regional developments have on the elections? What has been the impact of the US and ROK elections in the region? Have they (or will they) alter security policy and priorities? How does each government see the US “rebalance” and its impact? What are the key concerns for each government? What are their priorities and do they align? (Discussion of China and Japan apart from their role in above-mentioned issues should be withheld until sessions 2 and 6, respectively); Korean Peninsula issues will be taken up in Sessions 3 and 4.)

10:45 Coffee break



Monday, February 4, 2013 (cont.)

**11:00 Session 2: China's Role in Northeast Asia**

This session will examine views of China's role in Northeast Asia. How do participants characterize Chinese foreign policy and its role in the region during this leadership transition period? How does China impact regional stability? Does either government anticipate a shift in policy toward China? If so why? What are the implications for nuclear policies and postures? What is the role of the United States in this equation? What are the constraints? How does your country see the other's relations with China and what impact does that have on your relationship with your ally? How are other countries responding to the rise of China and its new role in the region?

12:30 Lunch

**13:45 Session 3: Views of North Korea**

Here we will explore perceptions of North Korea and their impact on the ROK and the alliance with the United States. How does your government characterize the new North Korean government? After a year, is the Pyongyang leadership different from its predecessor? How? What are Seoul's and Washington's expectations for one another when it comes to North Korea? Will the new ROK government change its approach to the North? How? What is the status of the Six-Party Talks? What are the implications of the low-level talks in Beijing between North Korea and Japan? Do Seoul and Washington agree on how to assess the North's nuclear program and how to proceed? What is China's proper role when dealing with North Korea?

15:15 Coffee break

**15:30 Session 4: Extended Deterrence**

This session explores thinking in each country about how extended deterrence (ED) works. How has thinking about ED evolved, in particular when compared to extended nuclear deterrence (END)? Does ED/END need to be strengthened vis-à-vis North Korea? If so how? Is ED/END applicable in the South China Sea? The East China Sea? How should it be applied/used in each case? What lessons can we draw from these different cases? What should the United States do to make its ED/END more credible in these different contexts? What can allies do to increase ED/END credibility in these contexts?

17:00 Session adjourns

**18:30 Dinner on the Lahaina Kai Lawn**



Tuesday, February 5, 2013

7:30 **Young Leaders Breakfast Meeting**

*Venue: Showroom Lanai*

9:00 **Session 5: The Alliance after the Elections**

*Venue: Hale Piilani*

This session looks at the impact of the US and ROK elections on the alliance. Will either government change its policy toward the alliance? Why? What does each government expect its partner to do and to prioritize during the next term? What does the US “rebalance” mean specifically for the US-ROK alliance and relationship?

10:45 Coffee break

11:00 **Session 6: Potential and Limits of Trilateralism**

This session examines the opportunities and challenges for trilateral coordination and cooperation among the United States, the ROK, and Japan on strategic issues following elections in all three countries. What are the participants' views of such a dialogue? What do they see as the main opportunities, for each country, and to improve the regional security environment? How have ROK-Japan relations influenced the prospect for trilateral cooperation? Have leadership changes in both countries improved or complicated the prospects of closer cooperation? What are the obstacles? How can these obstacles be overcome? What would be the role of nuclear policies, including diplomacy, extended deterrence, and energy, in such a trilateral arrangement?

12:30 Lunch

13:45 **Session 7: The future of the US-ROK alliance**

This session invites specific recommendations on what the two countries' new leaderships can do to promote regional security and stability, specifically within the context of ED/END, and how these policies can strengthen the alliance. How can the United States and ROK strengthen their alliance and better cope with future strategic challenges? What role do nuclear weapons play in that equation? What issues deserve more attention?

15:15 Meeting adjourns

18:15 **Dinner Luau – Young Leaders meet in Hotel Lobby**



Wednesday, February 6, 2013

Breakfast Buffet ~ at your leisure ~ *Royal Ocean Terrace*

9:00 **Introduction to the Young Leaders US-ROK-Japan Trilateral Meeting**

*Speaker: Brad Glosserman*

*Venue: Hale Piilani Room*

*Coordinating rapporteurs: Adam LIFF and Cristin SHIFFER*

9:15 **Session 1: Extended Deterrence in Northeast Asia today**

What is extended deterrence (ED) policy trying to deter in North-east Asia? And by whom? How does ED work in practice? Is ED effective and when can we claim success? Are we bad at deterrence? What does a failure of ED look like? What alignments in ED policy between the US, the ROK and Japan are required to improve outcomes?

*Discussants: Jiun BANG, Kei KOGA and Nathan PINKUS*

*Session rapporteur: Takashi KAWAMOTO*

10:30 Coffee break

11:00 **Session 2: Building Trilateral Alternatives to Extended Deterrence**

The DPRK leadership is aware that the extended deterrence promised by the US will be activated only by actual use of nuclear weapons, not by threatening rhetoric. If extended deterrence deters only the DPRK's use of nuclear weapons, should we be looking to develop an alternative approach to ED? What other forms of trilateral cooperation are needed to deter DPRK provocations? How might they work? What role is there for other US allies and regional partners in developing these alternatives?

*Discussants: Linnea DUVALL, Dong Joon PARK and Ryo HINATA-YAMAGUCHI*

*Session rapporteur: Seongho HONG*

12:30 Lunch

13:30 **Session 3: The unknown unknowns**

There are known knowns; the things we know we know. There are known unknowns; we know there are some things we do not know. But there are also unknown unknowns -- the things we don't know we don't know. Next generation thinking can provide an insight for senior policy makers by looking over the horizon. Time to get creative! Using an "unknown unknowns" lens, small groups (each facilitated by a resident fellow) will brainstorm future US-ROK-Japan trilateral challenges and cooperation and discussants will report back to the larger group.

*Discussants: Naoko AOKI, Seukhoon Paul CHOI and Greer MIESELS*

*Session rapporteur: Stephanie KANG*



Wednesday, February 6, 2013 (cont.)

15:30 **Session 4: Wrap up**

Young Leaders will discuss next steps for the conference project and determine the topic, structure and mechanism for the resulting conference publication/product.

*Session rapporteur: Jenny LIN*

16:30 Meeting concludes

18:30 Opening reception and dinner for the US-Japan Strategic Dialogue

19:00 **Opening dinner on the Lahaina Kai Lawn**

Thursday, February 7, 2013

7:30 **Young Leaders Breakfast Meeting**

*Venue: Showroom Lanai*

9:00 **Welcome remarks**

9:15 **Session 1: Perceptions of the 'Rebalance'**

This session looks at security developments since we last met, focusing on perceptions of the US rebalance to Asia. How do both countries characterize the rebalancing? What impact has it had on shaping both countries' perspectives on security developments? What does it mean for the US-Japan alliance and relationship? What are the implications of rebalancing for nuclear policies and postures? Save discussion of what the alliance must do to adjust to the rebalance until session 5.

10:45 **Coffee break**

11:00 **Session 2: Japanese Politics and the Alliance**

This session looks at the impact of the US and Japanese elections on the alliance. Will the recent elections in each country influence perceptions of the alliance? Will either government change its policy toward the alliance? Why? What are the priorities for each government for the alliance relationship? What impact will budget politics in the US have on the alliance? What are the prospects for progress on the Okinawa issue?

12:30 **Lunch**



Thursday, February 7, 2013 (cont.)

13:45 **Session 3: China after the New Leadership**

Here we explore views of China's role in Northeast Asia. What changes, if any, do you anticipate in Chinese foreign policy over the next year? Does either government anticipate a shift in policy toward China? What are the implications for nuclear policies and postures? How does your country see the other's relations with China and what impact does that have on the alliance relationship? How are other countries responding to the rise of China and its new role in the region? Discussion of the specifics of the dispute over the Senkakus/Daiyutai islands should be put off till the next session.

15:15 **Coffee break**

15:30 **Session 4: Extended Deterrence**

This session explores thinking about what is required to make extended deterrence (ED) work. How has thinking about ED evolved in both countries? How does ED relate to extended nuclear deterrence (END)? How is ED/END applicable to the East China Sea? The South China Sea? On the Korean Peninsula? How should it be applied/used in each case? What are the differences between each case? What lessons can we draw from these different cases? What should the United States do to make its ED/END more credible in these different contexts? What can allies do to increase ED/END credibility in these contexts?

17:00 **Session adjourns**

18:30 **Dinner on the Lahaina Kai Lawn**

Friday, February 8, 2013

8:30 Continental Breakfast  
*Hale Piilani*

9:00 **Session 5: Modernizing the Alliance: Goals, Rhetoric, Visions, Implementation**

This session explores thinking in each country about what is required to modernize the alliance through the review of the guidelines for Japan-US Defense Cooperation. Has the current strategic context changed the central purpose of Japan-US defense cooperation? What should the shared vision be? What are the main similarities and differences between national perspectives on the shared vision? How does the "rebalance" affect the alliance? How should the roles, missions, and capabilities of the alliance evolve? What is the place of nuclear weapons in that equation?

10:45 **Coffee break**



Friday, February 8, 2013 (cont.)

**11:00 Session 6: Alliance Networks: New Partnerships, Linkages (Australia, ROK)**

This session explores the potential and limits for the US-Japan alliance to develop new partnerships and linkages with other regional actors on strategic issues. What is the participants' assessment of the US-Japan-Australia dialogue? How can this process be strengthened to better address strategic concerns? Can the US-Japan alliance build upon this model to develop a similar dialogue with the ROK? What do the participants see as the main opportunities, for each country, and to improve the regional security environment? How have Japan-ROK relations influenced the prospect for trilateral cooperation? Have leadership changes in both countries improved or complicated the prospects of closer cooperation? What are the obstacles? How can these obstacles be overcome? What would be the role of nuclear policies, including diplomacy, extended deterrence, and energy, in such a trilateral arrangement? Are there opportunities for using the US-Japan alliance to develop a stronger partnership with Southeast Asian countries? With India?

**12:30 Lunch**

**13:45 Session 7: The Future of the US-Japan Alliance**

This session invites specific recommendations on what the two countries can do to promote regional security and stability, specifically within the context of ED/END, and how these policies can strengthen the alliance. How can the United States and Japan tighten their alliance and better cope with future strategic challenges? What role do nuclear weapons play in that equation? As the nuclear dimension of ED is downplayed, what opportunities are opened for a greater Japanese contribution to ED? What more can/should Japan do? What other issues deserve more attention? The Pacific Forum CSIS will hold a mini-trilateral meeting in Northeast Asia later in the year: what should that focus on?

**15:15 Meeting adjourns**

Young Leaders free to depart