Reassessing Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region

Report of a Conference Organized by the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS)

with the Mortara Center for International Studies
Georgetown University

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Sponsored by the Sasakawa Peace Foundation
and
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Overview

This conference was the last in a series of four conferences and workshops on "Evolving Security Approaches in the Asia-Pacific" organized by the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS), Singapore, with funding from the Sasakawa Peace Foundation and Sasakawa Peace Foundation USA. The preceding segments of the project included a conference on country-specific approaches to security, and workshops on peacekeeping and on globalization and economic security. This fourth conference was organized by IDSS with the Mortara Center for International Studies and held in Washington D.C. at Georgetown University on 20–21 November 2003. It brought together distinguished academics, policy thinkers and younger scholars from around the world to raise questions and debate issues on the theme of "Reassessing Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region". The participants were asked to assess security cooperation in the Asia-Pacific from thematic and theoretical perspectives, and to press for ways forward in thinking about regional security cooperation.

The themes and aims of the conference were outlined by **Barry Desker**, Director of IDSS, in his opening remarks. Desker mentioned some important changes in the Asia-Pacific architecture, including the establishment of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), U.N. peacekeeping and peace-building activities in Asia, the 1997 Asian economic crisis, and the September 11 terrorist attacks. As a result of these developments, he noted that the region accommodates a greater variety of approaches to security cooperation than during the Cold War, ranging from bilateral security arrangements to a growing number of multilateral efforts at cooperative security. Two important trends have been the emergence of counter-terrorism as a dominant arena for regional security cooperation and a growing recognition of the close relationship between economic and strategic security.

With these developments in mind, Desker referred to some key questions to be addressed at the conference. First was to assess the success of cooperative security efforts in the Asia-Pacific, questioning whether some cooperative channels and institutions might be more effective than others. Second was to examine why some forms of security cooperation in the region have proven more feasible than others. East Asia has historically been more receptive to cooperative security than to notions of collective security or defence as well as to bilateral rather than multilateral security arrangements. Third was to analyse whether there is competition between "security against" approaches (alliances and cooperation against terrorism) and "security with" styles (ASEAN and the ARF) to regional cooperative security. A key issue, according to Desker, was to develop a more complementary or convergent relationship between these different, and perhaps competitive, approaches.

IDSS Deputy Director **Amitav Acharya**, who

IDSS Director Barry Desker delivering the opening remarks

has conceptualized and coordinated this two-year Project on Evolving Approaches to Security in the Asia-Pacific funded by the Sasakawa Peace Foundation, Japan, and Sasakawa Peace Foundation, USA, explained what the organizers of the conference meant by "reassessing security". He stressed the need to reassess five areas of change in regional security cooperation. First, existing regional institutions are taking on a new security role since the terror attacks in the United States. ASEAN and the ARF, as well as APEC, have been accorded a new role in the campaign against terrorism. Second, the region has seen the emergence of new institutions, such as ASEAN+3 (Japan, China and South Korea) as well as of informal groupings like the Shangri-La Dialogue. Third, Acharya argued that the traditional norms of cooperation in the

region, the principles of national sovereignty and non-interference in the domestic affairs of other states, are increasingly under pressure. Fourth, new modalities are emerging in regional security institutions, particularly with reference to decision-making processes and trends in legalization. Finally, the region is experiencing areas of synergy between bilateral and multilateral security cooperation. A central question, he noted, is how this synergy can be harnessed so that these forms of security increasingly interact and promote stability in the region.

Panel One
Frameworks for Security Cooperation

The first speaker on this panel, **Victor Cha**, spoke on "The Material and Ideational Dimensions of America's Alliance Future in Asia". His paper examined how we might assess alliance resilience and sought to determine how some U.S. alliances in Asia born from the Cold War period would survive in the 21st century while others would not. The role of identity is a critical element that is overlooked by realists in their assessment of U.S. alliances. Instead, Cha claimed that alliances that stand for something more by having evolved towards a broader political-military partnership are more likely to survive. A common normative framework is thus central to alliance resilience. During the Cold War, the U.S.-Soviet confrontation transformed the ideational element into a non-issue in all alliance commitments. In contrast, in the post-Cold War world, the ideational variable influences how the United States looks at its alliances, regarding some as purely pragmatic and replaceable and others as irreplaceable.

Cha introduced several factors to measure alliance identity. A muted security dilemma between allies is a good indicator of the existence of such an identity. Moreover, when an ideational element is present between two allies, changes in capabilities tend to be examined in absolute rather than relative terms and a greater sharing of sensitive information and technology occurs. Fears of being abandoned by an ally are also minimal and domestic changes are less likely to affect an alliance. Finally, in the case of an alliance identity, the alliance relationship is more publicly portrayed. For example, the U.S.-U.K. relationship is much more referred to outside of the confines of the alliance due to the presence of common values than the U.S.-Saudi Arabia alliance. As a result of these ideational elements, some alliances can survive the disappearance of a common threat.

According to Cha, the ideational dimension is important for the U.S. and its alliances in Asia. The notion of alliance is being replaced by coalitions of the willing to address certain types of security problems. The United States has a wider spectrum of relationships with states to choose from to fight terrorism and ensure homeland security. Still, Cha argued that the U.S. would keep several central alliances at the core of this spectrum of relationships. Moreover, the resilience of U.S. alliances would depend on both material and ideational variables.

In his paper entitled "The Asia-Pacific Security Dialogue and the ASEAN Regional Forum: Reassessing Security Cooperation", **Tsutomu**

From left to right, Professors Chu Shulong, Amitav Acharya, Victor Cha, James Tang and John Ravenhill

Participants listening to the panellists

Kikuchi analysed the roles of multilateral security institutions in the Asia-Pacific by paying attention to the ARF. The latter has often been criticized for being no more than a "talk shop". In order to assess this criticism, Kikuchi examined why the institution had been created, what it has done and can still do and, finally, what it should not be expected to achieve. The ARF was established not to resolve specific issues and conflicts but rather as a multilateral dialogue process to provide mutual reassurance and implement general confidence-building measures (CBMs).

According to Kikuchi, the implementation of CBMs is relevant when inter-state relationships are either highly adversarial in nature or when states are neither allies nor enemies. The Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) introduced during the Cold War a specific type of military CBMs to address highly adversarial relations. In contrast, Kikuchi said that the ASEAN mode of security management has relied on general CBMs that apply to a security environment where relations are neither competitive nor amicable. This general form of confidence building has been extended to East Asia since the formation of the ARF. Examining the ARF record, Kikuchi pointed out some of its major achievements. The institution has succeeded in institutionalizing a region-wide dialogue and in providing socializing mechanisms. Moreover, the ARF has increased transparency through the presentation of "defence policy statements" and provided through its 1995 Concept Paper a set of basic principles to regulate inter-state relations in the region. According to Kikuchi, the ARF has also enhanced functional cooperation among its members by creating Working Groups on maritime search and rescue operations, peacekeeping and other functional activities. Finally, the ARF has linked itself with global institutions such as the U.N. and developed institutional linkages with KEDO, the informal South China Sea workshops and others. Kikuchi argued, however, that these achievements have been mirrored by a series of limitations that include the ARF's large membership and ASEAN's centrality.

Kikuchi suggested that ARF activities can be reactivated through the setting up of an ARF Secretariat and an enhanced Chair position. Yet, changes will first need to be achieved within ASEAN before a more ambitious agenda can be pushed forward in the ARF. Moreover, the ARF should introduce the principle of "coalitions of the willing" to promote some degree of like-mindedness among willing governments. While multilateral cooperation is important in the current security context, Kikuchi claimed that the feasibility of the ARF would remain questionable as long as the institution does not reform itself and introduce new security structures.

The third speaker of the panel, **Chu Shulong**, presented a paper on "The ASEAN+3 and East Asian Security Cooperation". He argued that while ASEAN+3 is still a young institution that has so far limited its activities to economic cooperation, it already has the potential of becoming the most comprehensive organization in East Asia covering both economic and security issues. ASEAN+3 has made some substantial progress since its formation in 1997. Some of its achievements have included the annual informal summit meetings, its gatherings of finance, economics and foreign affairs ministers and its health meeting on SARS held in Beijing in June 2003.

Chu claimed that ASEAN+3 has rapidly gained in importance when compared to APEC and the ARF. The institution covers all of East Asia and has the possibility of extending its membership to include India and other Asian countries. It therefore has the potential of becoming the only Asian multilateral process. APEC and the ARF already have very large memberships, covering the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and other non-Asian members. Reaching a consensus, which governs decision-making, is difficult in such circumstances. ASEAN, on the other hand, is only a sub-regional organization and therefore too small in its geographical scope. According to Chu, Asia, just like Europe, requires its own regional institution, and ASEAN+3 is, in that sense, the realization of Malaysia's Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir Mohamad's proposal in 1991 to create an East Asian Economic Caucus (EAEC).

Chu also discussed some difficulties and limitations faced by ASEAN+3, which hamper its efforts to become a workable and comprehensive regional mechanism. First, it is still primarily an economic institution, and while its agenda has been extended in recent years, it needs to develop its political-security approach. Second, no consensus exists among ASEAN+3 participants on where the institution should go. ASEAN has not been ready to push the institution further. According to Chu, this inaction is a result of some of its members still recovering from the financial crisis, ASEAN's lack of power to lead the multilateral process, and its fear that China or Japan may gradually take control of ASEAN+3. Among all the members, Japan seems most reluctant to promote economic multilateralism partly due to domestic politics and its close relations with the United States. In contrast, China has changed its position on multilateral cooperation and become one of the most active players pushing for further developments. Chu concluded by arguing that ASEAN+3 has the brightest future in comparison to other regional institutions. APEC is simply too large to achieve substantial results either in terms of economic cooperation or counter-terrorism; and while the ARF is more focused, concentrating only on security issues, its membership has continued to increase and less attention has recently been given to its ministerial meetings in comparison to the ASEAN+3 summits.

Professor Chu Shulong delivering his paper; to his right is Professor Tsutomu Kikuchi

John Ravenhill, in his paper, "Mission Creep or Mission Impossible? APEC and Security", claimed that APEC has since its creation included a security dimension. One of its central objectives has been to enhance stability and peaceful relations among states in the Asia-Pacific by encouraging regional economic cooperation and fostering complex interdependence. Rather than confronting traditional security issues directly, Ravenhill argued that APEC was intended to improve security through confidence building and the achievement of economic objectives. Moreover, APEC was not expected to address human security questions, as the trickle-down effect of economic development would provide a solution to economic insecurity. Yet, APEC's ineffective response to the Asian financial crisis called into question its commitment to comprehensive and human security. Ravenhill noted that APEC has referred to human security after 9/11 but has limited its definition to the threat of terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

According to Ravenhill, it would be a mistake to deny that APEC played a security role before the terrorist attacks in the United States. Australia's Prime Minister, Paul Keating, believed that APEC leaders' meetings would be used to discuss ongoing issues, including security matters. Indeed, APEC Summits offer a unique forum for diplomatic exchange at

the highest level. Ravenhill discussed three circumstances when security issues have been part of APEC discussions. First, security questions appearing on the official agenda and included in the annual declarations. An example of this category has been energy security and the establishment of APEC's Energy Working Group. Second, issues that are discussed by APEC leaders without appearing on the agenda, for instance the Auckland APEC meeting that discussed in 1999 the East Timor crisis. Finally, and most significant in terms of its contribution to security before 9/11, matters that do not appear on the agenda but which are still discussed by two or more leaders informally. Ravenhill noted that Chinese and American leaders at APEC meetings have been especially important in this regard.

Ravenhill explained that the APEC agenda has changed since the terror attacks in the U.S., as already indicated by the "supplementary statement" on counter-terrorism adopted at the 2001 Leaders' Meeting. The shifting agenda has resulted from several realizations, including the costs of terrorism for economic growth. The counter-terrorism question has revitalized APEC at a time when economic discussions were stagnant and has papered over differences between the United States, China and Malaysia. The Energy Working Group has also expanded its activities by focusing on sea-lane security and a Counter-Terrorism Task Force has been created. Other dimensions of security have also been mentioned through the 2002 statement on North Korea and the 2003 "Leaders Statement on Health Security". Ravenhill argued that while APEC has revitalized its activities after years of sporadic attention and lack of implementation, it is too soon to assess whether it will be successful in its counter-terrorism agenda. Moreover, although coherence and common interests seem to exist among members, the depth of the consensus on terrorism is easily exaggerated. Ravenhill concluded that it is still uncertain how APEC will evolve and what the division of labour will be with the ARF and the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP).

James Tang, the session discussant, noted that the four papers dealt with a wide range of issues related to regional changes and the emergence of the anti-terrorism campaign. He questioned, however, whether counter-terrorism can become a long-term structure promoting cooperation in the Asia-Pacific and if we have witnessed a fundamental shift in how regional countries perceive their interests and identity. With reference to U.S. alliances, Tang argued that they are part of the old strategic architecture and he questioned their relevance in addressing the new security agenda. Moreover, he wondered about the kind of alliance system that may emerge in the region and the directions that it might take. Tang asked Cha to speculate on whether an alternative security structure is available to tackle new security concerns. On the ARF, the discussant mentioned a shift in terms of security attention from Southeast to Northeast Asia, dictated by the traditional security agenda and the influence of the great powers. Tang argued that the establishment of a security dialogue in Northeast Asia could make the ARF redundant.

With regards to ASEAN+3, Tang doubted that the institution could effectively address the security agenda, as it does not have the scope to cover security questions from a region-wide perspective. He also wondered whether China's economic growth could transform its national identity and thus change its process of engagement within multilateral institutions. Finally, Tang asked Ravenhill if he could foresee the emergence of a dialogue between APEC and ASEAN+3. The discussant believed that such a dialogue could be fruitful for APEC, which is too large as an institution and may benefit from close links with an Asian grouping. Tang concluded his remarks by alluding to the potential of identity change within the United States and how this might influence its approach to regional security.

Discussion

Alan Dupont commented that while regionalism had grown in the Asia-Pacific until 1997 before slowing down, the current situation seems to be one of competing institutions, particularly ASEAN+3 and APEC. China wants to see the former move forward partly because it excludes the U.S. while Washington has accorded a role to APEC in its campaign against terrorism. Dupont therefore wondered whether the great powers are in fact slowing down regionalism by pushing for their own institutions. Ravenhill responded that the central question is whether the region

wants an institution that includes or excludes non-Asian states and agreed that the U.S. and others have increased their interest in APEC partly in response to the rise of ASEAN+3.

Dirk Nabers indicated that overlaps exist between the ARF and ASEAN+3, and suggested that the former could be responsible for the traditional security agenda while the latter could focus on non-traditional security issues. He further indicated that a problem for regional security is that no central institution is emerging. Kikuchi responded that the problem is not so much that existing institutions are competing but rather how to find a way for them to complement each other to avoid the problem of overlapping activities. Cha argued further that redundancies and overlaps are not automatically a problem and that having multiple institutions promotes dialogue and cooperation.

Ralph Cossa asked whether interactions within the +3 element are by themselves an important component of the ASEAN+3 process. In response to Cossa's query, Chu stated that the +3 process is an important sub-product of ASEAN+3 and that one should expect, sooner or later, to see the emergence of a multilateral cooperative arrangement in Northeast Asia. He also remarked that Northeast Asia is the only sub-region of Asia not to have such a process and that the Six Party Talks could lead to a more permanent institution.

Sheldon Simon inquired whether APEC suffers from the same problems as the ARF in relation to a lack of implementation and follow up, and if this could be an indication that the two institutions are failing to promote a common identity in the Asia-Pacific. Ravenhill explained that APEC's greatest weakness is in terms of the follow-through of decisions, which depends on domestic actors pushing for the implementation of joint decisions. Yet, he argued that APEC is getting more involved in counter-terrorism and that this process has already led to some activities. **Brian Job** noted, however, that APEC has addressed terrorism as a transnational threat, failing so far to consider its intra-state and domestic causes. Finally, Ravenhill agreed that APEC has not played a role in identity building in the Asia-Pacific. Instead, its failure to respond to the financial crisis contributed to the creation of ASEAN+3 and indirectly therefore to the emergence of a new identity in East Asia.

Rosemary Foot asked Victor Cha to comment on the scope and durability of alliances. In particular, she wondered which values and norms matter the most in military alliances. Cha argued that you could start to measure the scope of an alliance's identity when it moves into the later stages of ideational development. The presence of fewer threats and weaker security challenges also represent a test to its identity. A more benign situation makes it possible to notice other benefits provided by an alliance and the depth of the cooperation that exists in relation to other issues like terrorism or human rights.

Panel Two

Strategic and Military Issues in Security Cooperation

The first speaker on this second panel, **Sheldon Simon**, spoke on "Security Regionalism and the War on Terror in East Asia". Until the Asian financial crisis, ASEAN was regarded as the most successful political institution in the developing world. Its record was, however, deeply affected in the late 1990s by a series of crises including the financial crisis, the haze and East Timor. Simon also said that ASEAN has failed to resolve persistent sub-regional tensions including Thai-Burmese confrontations over drug-trafficking activities, discord between Malaysia and Indonesia over illegal immigration and the Spratly Island territorial dispute. Consequently, a weakened ASEAN has had to cope with the post-September 11 world. According to Simon, the Southeast Asian response has gone through different stages of shock and sympathy, anger over the U.S. war in Afghanistan, the discovery of a major bomb plot in Singapore and the signing of a U.S.-ASEAN anti-terrorism agreement. The threat of terrorism in Southeast Asia can provide ASEAN with an opportunity to recreate some form of consensus comparable to the cohesion achieved in the 1980s over the Cambodian question. Yet, in light of the bilateral tensions and ASEAN's limited ability to address regional security challenges, Simon questioned whether we are indeed witnessing security regionalism in Southeast Asia.

Southeast Asian security is undermined by non-state groups, which operate on a transnational level and hide in neighbouring countries. According to Simon, intra-ASEAN differences over the norm of non-interference are difficult to overcome even when the members face a common threat. The Association has adopted joint declarations against terrorism and transnational crime but its members have been slow in ratifying anti-terrorism conventions, passing new laws against money laundering and training immigration officers. Simon noted that maritime policing is another weak area among the ASEAN states that has contributed to weapons smuggling, sea piracy and other problems. The number of sea piracy attacks is rising in Southeast Asia and the fear of maritime terrorism is growing. Different legal systems make judicial cooperation difficult to achieve.

According to Simon, the ARF is not in a position to tackle a variety of security issues and threats, as most of its structures adopt pre-crisis approaches and measures. The members also vary in their desire for ARF institutionalization. While Singapore, the Philippines and Thailand support greater institutionalization, most other Southeast Asian countries do not. The ARF adopted in July 2002 a declaration to block terrorist finances but its measures are non-mandatory and no enforcement mechanism has been established. Moreover, Simon observed that the need for consensus is a significant limitation that could be overcome through a "consensus minus X" formula. The most interesting development in anti-terrorism has come from Indonesia with its proposal to form an ASEAN Security Community by 2020. The initiative indicates a change of domestic priorities in Indonesia after the Bali bombings and an attempt by Jakarta to regain its leadership role in ASEAN. Simon concluded by noting that the United States has not regarded the ARF's weakness as a significant problem. Washington has continued to focus on bilateral relations with regional friends and allies. At the multilateral level, ASEAN and the ARF have not accomplished much because they have not been willing to address core security concerns like inter-state tensions, disputes over sovereignty, refugee flows and others.

Jingdong Yuan, in his paper on "Arms Control Regimes in the Asia-Pacific: Managing Armament and WMD Proliferation", argued that security institutions in the Asia-Pacific remain at their developmental stage and are too weak to confront the hard security issues in the region. The latter faces challenges that include the Indian/Pakistan rivalry, Taiwan, the Korean peninsula, the South China Sea dispute and the acquisition of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). In contrast to Europe where reduction trends have been sustained, Yuan noted that armament budgets in the Asia-Pacific have either been maintained or increased since the end of the Cold War. This can be explained by cyclical weapons modernization programmes and growing

Professor Sheldon Simon speaking on security regionalism; to his left are Professor Rosemary Foot and Mr. Ralph Cossa

regional prosperity but is also due to a shift in focus from domestic insurgencies to maritime and territorial security. China and Taiwan made major arms acquisitions in the 1990s while Japan maintained a stable expenditure, further strengthening its naval capabilities. According to Yuan, the most significant development has been the acquisition of WMDs. India and Pakistan conducted nuclear tests in May 1998, which posed a serious challenge to the nuclear non-proliferation regime. The Iranian and North Korean nuclear programmes have recently been revealed. All these developments have threatened peace and stability in Asia, especially when arms acquisitions have been linked to territorial disputes.

According to Yuan, arms control arrangements in Asia remain largely bilateral and tend to be confidence-building measures that are limited in scope and rarely implemented. A variety of bilateral armament controls exist in the world. Yuan explained that the arms reduction treaties signed by the United States and Russia, such as the Treaties on Strategic Offensive Reduction (START I & II), are the most developed. China also signed some armament-reduction and confidence-building agreements with Russia, the three Central Asian states and India in the 1990s. The two Koreas have been engaged in arms control processes since the early 1990s. In October 1994, the U.S. and the DPRK signed an Agreed Framework that committed the U.S. to the delivery of water reactors and fuel oil in exchange for the freezing of Pyongyang's nuclear programme. In contrast to the U.S.-Russia treaties and European arms control, agreements in Asia are limited in focus. Moreover, Yuan argued that they are at an early stage of development and lack implementation and verification provisions. CBM-type agreements are attractive to regional policymakers, as they are non-binding, non-constraining and not dependent on the resolution of a dispute.

The Asia-Pacific has not yet developed a region-wide arms control agreement due to the complexity of the issues involved and the lack of political will. In Europe, the agreements either derived from the U.S.-Russia treaties or were imposed through NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The Asian security challenges require more tailored-made agreements. Yuan suggested that the U.S. can play a crucial role in promoting and designing regional arms control agreements but the Bush administration has so far supported a unilateral/bilateral approach over binding multilateral treaties.

In her paper entitled "Modes of Regional Conflict Management: Comparing the Korean Peninsula, Taiwan and the South China Sea", **Rosemary Foot** focused on the three flashpoints that could undermine security in the Asia-Pacific. Foot sought to explain why war has not yet erupted in the three "hot-spots" and how these potential conflicts have been managed. Her paper adopted a comparative approach stressing China's increasing role in the flashpoints, which reflects its rising power and status in the region. According to Foot, the three conflicts also involve sovereignty questions and matters of identity as well as states that depend on high economic growth to guarantee domestic political legitimacy. Differences among the three cases include domestic factors, especially the fact that the parties involved are either authoritarian or fragile and consolidated democracies. Moreover, the Korean conflict is land-based while the two others have a maritime nature, which influences the required force projection capabilities and leads to different time-lines for the use of force. Finally, Foot noted that different rules and norms apply in the management of each of these conflicts.

Foot examined the systemic and domestic factors that have changed the three conflicts, particularly the evolution and ending of the Cold War, the changes in government, and legal and normative modifications. The end of the Cold War has shifted relations between China, Taiwan and the United States and transformed North Korea's security environment by further isolating the country. The democratization of South Korea and Taiwan has also been an important factor, leading their governments to be more sensitive to public opinion. Finally, Foot said that the third United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) has magnified the territorial maritime disputes by permitting claimant states to extend their sovereignty claims in the South China Sea.

Attention was also given to the major crises of the mid-1990s and why they did not lead to open conflict. According to Foot, the first reason is the importance of deterrence both in terms of the one provided by the United States and in terms of mutual deterrence. A second reason is the pursuit of policy goals that would be affected by the outbreak of war. According to

Foot, the United States is now concerned with its anti-terrorism campaign and its commitment in Iraq while China is actively involved in domestic economic reforms. A third factor has been China's desire to change its image and to be regarded as a responsible regional and global power. This has changed Beijing's approach to the three conflicts, as seen in the signing of the "Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea" with ASEAN. China is also actively engaged in ASEAN+3 and the Six Party Talks. Foot argued that China is more aware of its size and conscious that its past behaviour has been a source of regional concern. Beijing wants to adopt a more reassuring and cooperative approach. Yet, Foot stressed that the jury is still out on whether China has really shifted its position. She concluded by arguing that the three regional flashpoints are managed by a complex mix of deterrence, domestic goals and economic processes, and wishes by the U.S. and China to be recognized respectively as a credible strategic partner and as a responsible power. Yet, the three conflicts are still dominated by an uncertain balance and a level of instability.

Ralph Cossa, the panel discussant, noted that while the three papers had covered most of the security issues in the Asia-Pacific, they had not touched on the non-traditional security concerns or on the debate within multilateralism between promoting ad hoc approaches versus more institutionalized arrangements. Moreover, the discussant argued that the papers had not dealt with the question of how to address the Taiwan question and the fact that Taiwan is not part of any of the possible solutions, having being excluded from the ARF, ASEAN+3 and the declaration on the South China Sea.

With regards to Simon's paper, Cossa asked whether the understanding of national sovereignty is changing in Southeast Asia. This seemed to have been the case in June 2003 when the ASEAN foreign ministers openly criticized Burma. Yet, the heads of state and government ignored this issue when they met in Bali in October, which led Cossa to wonder whether the initial position had derived from peer pressure at the ARF, particularly from the U.S. or even China. China has become more active in multilateral institutions. Cossa questioned if this is an indication that Beijing is more comfortable with such processes or whether it has realized that its former positions undermined its interests. He also asked why East Asian countries have so far opposed some international norms. Finally, in terms of the regional flashpoints, he argued that the broader question is whether China is moving from being part of the problem to being part of the solution. Beijing has adopted the declaration on the South China Sea and Taiwan rather than China has become the catalyst for problems in cross-straits relations. Finally, Cossa was intrigued by the impact of the new leadership in China on its foreign-policy making.

The paper writers were given the opportunity to respond. Foot argued that China has become a significant part of the solution on the Korean peninsula while the situation is less clear in the South China Sea because ASEAN itself has not been assertive or unified on this issue. In the case of Taiwan, China has emphasized economic ties and integration, although cross-straits relations have remained volatile. Yuan stressed that many of the international norms rejected by the East Asian countries are linked to trade and economic agreements and viewed in the region as discriminatory. He further argued that China has gained in confidence and learned to promote its interests through a more active participation in multilateral institutions. Yuan noted that China and Taiwan have developed a policy of common interests and build on long-term stability but the fundamental principles and positions have not changed. Finally, Simon explained that the Philippines, Thailand and Singapore are the ASEAN countries pushing for a rethinking of the non-interference principle post 9/11. Regional cooperation against terrorism has taken place at a transnational level. Still, Simon believed that not enough has occurred within ASEAN to refer to a major change. He also explained that China has also become more active towards ASEAN by offering free trade agreements and holding security dialogues with Southeast Asian countries.

Discussion

Job questioned how deterrence could bring a solution to the three regional flashpoints. Foot pointed out that her paper focuses on the management rather than the resolution of conflicts and she argued that deterrence could create an environment where other approaches to conflict management can operate.

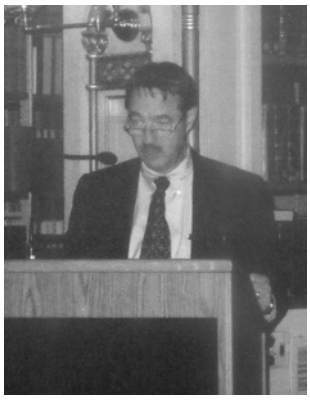
Dupont stressed that it is essential to start examining domestic issues, for instance the activities of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) in the southern Philippines, and how they influence broader regional security concerns. He also argued that China is playing a more active role in regional flashpoints in response to U.S. pressure. Yuan reacted to this second point by arguing that domestic concerns and national interests also explain China's growing role in these conflicts. Following this exchange, a participant asked Yuan how China would respond to the collapse of the North Korean regime. Yuan noted that this is exactly what Beijing wants to avoid and has therefore provided help to North Korea. Yet, in case it does happen, China would want financial assistance to cope with the flow of refugees and it would be most concerned to see an extension of the U.S. military influence to its own border.

John McFarlane explained that while terrorism was regarded as a non-traditional security issue prior to 9/11, this has changed since the terror attacks forcing us to re-evaluate the language of security. Moreover, he questioned the dichotomy that still exists in academic and policy circles between traditional and non-traditional security issues, arguing that it tends to devaluate the importance given to the latter. In response, Simon claimed that there is an important separation, as national security is

Keynote address

Mr. Matthew Daley, Acting Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and the Pacific, USA, Representing Mr. James Kelley, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and the Pacific

In his keynote speech, Mr. Daley discussed the U.S. foreign policy towards Asia and reviewed its key objectives and priorities. He offered a frank and off-the-record account of the subject and touched on numerous issues including the war on terrorism, the Korean peninsula, the rise of China and the political situation in Burma. Mr. Daley also discussed the central importance of the U.S. bilateral alliances in the region and the American involvement in multilateral institutions. The talk was followed by a very useful and lively off-the-record question-and-answer session that greatly contributed to the overall conference.



Acting Assistant Secretary Daley delivering the keynote address to conference participants in the Riggs Library of Georgetown University

about external military threats to security while non-traditional security covers all other forms of non-military threats that originate both within and outside a state and which have a domestic impact.

Acharya asked Foot whether China is proactive in an attempt to reduce its threat image or whether it is part of an effort to promote a hegemonic order and implement its own regional Monroe Doctrine. In the case of the former, it would be an indication that multilateral institutions have succeeded in engaging China. Acharya also noted that ASEAN would experience a major credibility crisis in 2006 if the situation in Burma is not resolved and the country chairs the Standing Committee. He anticipated that Western states would then decide not to come to the ASEAN meetings. In response to Acharya's first query, Foot argued that it does not have to be one or the other and that China may want to be heard on the international scene while keeping some issues off the agenda. According to Foot, there are indicators that Beijing perceives the U.S. regional role to be beneficial as well as negative depending on the issues involved. She also explained that a globalized world order would require some form of coexistence between China and the United States.

Shaun Narine asked Simon whether sticking to the non-interference principle is, rather than a choice, a necessity as ASEAN might otherwise fall apart. He also noted that China seems more willing to accept a multipolar world than the United States. In response, Simon discussed the origins of the ASEAN norms and wondered whether the conditions of the time still prevail. In the late 1960s, its member states were facing insurgencies and border disputes. Simon argued that these conditions have changed, as most of the ASEAN countries have become relatively strong states with sufficient control over their populations.

Panel Three

Non-traditional Issues in Security Cooperation

The first speaker on this panel, **John McFarlane**, spoke on "Cooperation on Countering Transnational Criminal Networks in the Asia-Pacific: Cautious Optimism for the Future?". The paper explored regional cooperation in countering criminal networks in the Asia-Pacific, focusing particularly on the areas of policing, intelligence and finance. McFarlane noted that there is an increasing level of cooperation addressing the threat of transnational crime. How to deal with the dark side of globalization has been a serious challenge for police forces all over the world and the development of multilateral jurisdictional responses to crime has been slow. In this respect, the slow institutional reaction in the Asia-Pacific has not been unique. McFarlane said that some of the barriers to multilateral cooperation against transnational crime are corruption, economic considerations, nationalism, sharing of technology, sovereignty and state complicity in crime.

McFarlane discussed the nature of criminal networks in the Asia-Pacific, concentrating on their transnational characteristics. Organized groups are less hierarchical and structured than the Italian mafia and more network-orientated and entrepreneurial in their activities. What matters most to these organizations is to generate the highest profit while facing the lowest risk of detection. These networks are supported by a range of professionals ranging from lawyers, accountants and bankers to protect their activities and reinvest profits in legitimate businesses.

Global cooperation against transnational crime has been achieved through the U.N. and its various protocols and conventions. Regional cooperation has also improved, partly as a spin-off of the war on terrorism. McFarlane noted, however, the difference that exists between gathering information against terrorist networks and producing more classical evidence to build up a legal case. At the regional level, McFarlane explained that useful initiatives have been taken by ASEAN and the ARF, including an Indonesian proposal to form an ASEAN Security Community that will address new threats to regional security. At its 2003 summit meeting, APEC also agreed on specific measures both against terrorism and crime and endorsed a document on transparency and corruption. McFarlane noted that Indonesia and Australia have also been co-chairing a ministerial conference on people smuggling and trafficking. Finally, bilateral arrangements against transnational crime have been established, as they are

easier to manage and can still develop into multilateral cooperation. McFarlane referred to the excellent cooperation between the Indonesian and Australian police forces during the Bali bombings investigation. He concluded by stressing the increasing level of multilateral cooperation in the Asia-Pacific against transnational crime. Responding to the pessimistic perception in relation to regional efforts against crime, he argued that the record shows that cooperation has been effective and that it has led to tangible results. McFarlane pointed out, however, that this momentum has to be maintained and that more has to be achieved in the future.

Shaun Narine, in his paper on "Approaches to Economic Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific: Unilateralism, Bilateralism and Multilateralism in the Economics/Security Nexus", examined whether regional policies to facilitate economic integration have had spill-over effects in the realm of security. The regional pursuit of economic security can lessen traditional security concerns in the Asia-Pacific. Yet, Narine argued that regional regimes engaged in building a security community are weaker than in other regions, especially Europe, due to the complexity of the traditional security concerns in the Asia-Pacific.

Narine discussed the concept of economic security, noting that economic growth is essential to many East Asian states to maintain domestic political stability. He therefore referred to the idea of "performance legitimacy", as illustrated by the financial crisis and its effects on the Suharto government in Indonesia. According to Narine, the crisis has been the main factor leading to the subsequent growth in regional economic initiatives. The Chiang Mai Initiative, launched by ASEAN+3, was started to prevent future regional crises and assist states in need of financial help. The ASEAN Surveillance Process was set up at the height of the crisis to provide surveillance, consultation and monitoring and has operated through peer pressure. Narine said that economic interaction has also been accelerated through the negotiation of free trade agreements (FTAs), particularly the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) and the ASEAN-China FTA. The former has been successful in lowering tariffs and is a step towards economic integration in Southeast Asia. The ASEAN-China FTA is expected to expand trade between China and the Southeast Asian countries and help them benefit from China's economic growth. The ASEAN states are concerned, however, that regional economies may not be sufficiently complementary. According to Narine, the ASEAN-China FTA is also a political instrument to engage China. Finally, the speaker discussed Singapore's pursuit of bilateral FTAs with states from within and outside the region.

Narine argued that the economic initiatives in the Asia-Pacific are at a nascent stage of development. While they are based on a desire to protect and increase prosperity, it is too soon to evaluate how effective they will be in contributing to the creation of a security community. Narine offered a brief comparison between the European Union and Asian-Pacific regionalism, noting the difference in terms of state development. The Western European states were fully developed and aligned with one another when integration started while many East Asian states are still in the stage of building their national identities. Finally, Narine noted that economic integration should provide greater security but that it should also be expected to have negative consequences on stability by enhancing competition between the great powers.

Amitav Acharya, in his paper on "Regional Cooperation in Human Security Issues in the Asia-Pacific", focused on two major determinants of human security cooperation in Asia: the contested meaning of the term human security and the ongoing salience of the national security paradigm. Acharya noted that it is difficult to define the political domain of human security in terms of multilateral cooperation, partly due to the "fuzziness" of the concept. The notion of human security has attracted, however, significant interest as a result of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) report and the role played by countries like Japan, Canada and Norway in endorsing the concept. Nonetheless, according to Acharya, cooperation for human security has remained very limited due to the two determinants mentioned above.

Acharya explained that three conceptions of human security exist. The first refers to freedom from fear and stresses the importance of protecting the people and their individual rights. In this sense, human security cooperation focuses on multilateral mechanisms for the protection of human rights and is dominated

by human rights advocates. The second definition, pushed forward by the Canadian government, refers to freedom from cruelty and suffering in times of conflict and applies to a more specific dimension of cooperation. Finally, the third refers to freedom from want and has been encouraged by some Asian countries. Acharya noted that it focuses on unemployment, poverty and other forms of economic insecurity. According to Acharya, the national security paradigm, measured in terms of defence spending, is still strong in Asia, leading on average to larger budgets being attributed to military expenditure than to public health or education. States are concerned with protecting their national sovereignty and territorial integrity. Moreover, Acharya argued that the salience of national security in Asia results from the presence of hard and soft authoritarian regimes. Democratic transition in some Asian countries is, however, providing new space for human security approaches.

According to Acharya, a new problem is how to separate cooperation on human security from economic cooperation and development. Indeed, most of the attention on human security has been given to capacity building and empowerment. Yet, Acharya noted that more attention is now being given to groups involved in violent conflicts, although little cooperation has so far been achieved in this area. APEC is moving the furthest through its human capacity building initiatives while ASEAN has been involved in food programmes. Acharya argued that what is required is for Asian governments to securitize an area in human rather than national security terms. He argued that SARS has been perceived as a human security issue and that multilateral cooperation was achieved at the time of the crisis. Much more has been accomplished in human security cooperation by non-governmental organizations (NGOs), which have addressed human security both in terms of freedom from want and fear. Acharya concluded by focusing on the question of terrorism and the kind of anti-terrorist measures that have been adopted. He stressed that while terrorism has a human security dimension, it has been addressed as a national security issue. Acharya feared that the U.S. war on terror and its military intervention in Iraq, justified at first as a response to the risk of WMDs and later as a humanitarian intervention, have undermined the human security agenda.

Alan Dupont, the panel discussant, started by commenting on Acharya's paper as it offered a conceptual basis. Dupont argued that while human security is an attractive concept, it is still too fuzzy and difficult to operationalize. According to Dupont, there is also no need to separate human and national security, particularly in democratic societies. On the contrary, it would be more fruitful to discuss security concerns both as threats to state and individual security. State and human security do not have to be viewed as mutually exclusive. According to Dupont, the problem

Conference participants continuing active discussions during coffee break

arises, however, in the case of repressive and weak states where minority groups are often excluded and threatened by the state. Dupont disagreed on the dominance of the national security agenda and argued that non-traditional security is increasingly moving at the centre of the political agenda leading to a broader and deeper understanding of national security. Finally, he questioned whether military budgets are an appropriate measurement to determine the salience of national security, noting that Western countries spend much more on armaments than the Southeast Asian states.

With regard to Narine's paper, Dupont agreed that economic cooperation is being strengthened in the Asia-Pacific and claimed that recent history shows that states that are economically interdependent do not go to war with each other. Referring to the problem of growing populations, the discussant wondered whether the Asian states would succeed in cooperating to share scarce resources. He feared that scarcity in water, fish and other vital resources could lead to war in the 21st century. Dupont asked Narine to pay more attention on how the ASEAN-China FTA could change the political environment as well as assess the performance of the new economic institutions and speculate on how they may evolve in the future. In response to McFarlane, the discussant agreed that transnational crime represents one of the success stories of regional cooperation. Within a period of a few years, a regional dialogue, which covers drug trafficking, money laundering and other issues, has been developed as part of the cooperative process. ASEAN and the ARF have discussed transnational crime at their highest diplomatic levels. The discussant called for a broader and holistic understanding of security that would include the domestic and international as well as traditional and non-traditional security questions. According to Dupont, the linkages between these two sets of security concerns have to be studied more closely.

Discussion

In response to Acharya's point on the impact of the war in Iraq on human security, Simon suggested that such kinds of interventions have always been political and strategically driven and therefore they have been misnamed. Foot remarked that the United States had also changed its rhetoric in Afghanistan from one of revenge to the need to remove the Taliban regime for humanitarian purposes. Acharya responded by claiming that Bush's change in discourse with regards to his motives to attack Iraq has undermined the concept of humanitarian intervention and the human security agenda. Indeed, it will lead public opinions to be more sceptical next time similar humanitarian arguments are made to wage war. In response to Simon, Dupont argued that we have moved from a situation where borders were sacred to one where they are regarded differently depending on the type of state and how it treats its own population.

Foot noted the divergent positions adopted by Simon and McFarlane on multilateral cooperation against crime. She agreed that numerous declarations have been adopted in response to the Bali bombings but wondered whether cooperation will remain high in times of non-crisis. Moreover, she asked whether there are commonalities in how different crises like the financial crisis, East Timor and the Bali bombings have been discussed, and the kind of action plans that have been developed in response. McFarlane acknowledged that he was more optimistic than Simon and argued that the current process is about building trust, cooperation and better communication. He also indicated that closer collaboration has been achieved between Australia and other regional states through liaison officers, the development of peer relations and the provision of capacity building. Foot then questioned the difference between freedom from fear and freedom from want, arguing that this separation often represents a false dichotomy. Acharya agreed that it might be better to look at human dignity rather than the difference between freedom from fear and want.

Ravenhill argued against the notion that states linked by high economic interdependence do not to go to war with each other. Dupont remarked that he still believed that economic interdependence reduces risks of conflict if you look at the last 30 to 40 years. Acharya added that although interdependence does not create peace, it does increase the chances of building institutions. The latter can play a role in managing economic interdependence and promoting

peace. In response to Narine's paper, Ravenhill discussed the Chinese economic challenge by noting several points. He indicated that the Chinese and Southeast Asian economies do not automatically have to be either competitive or complementary, and that the amount of foreign direct investments (FDI) going to China may not be a correct indicator to assess whether China is an economic threat to the region. China may in fact receive a fair share of FDIs in light of its size and population. Ravenhill also wondered how many of the economic agreements would be implemented. Finally, he questioned whether a process of economic integration should only be brought down to states' actions, as their role is rather limited in comparison to the private sector. On the last point, Narine responded that one often sees political intrusion into economic sectors, like Malaysia protecting its car industry.

With regard to the traditional and non-traditional security divide, Desker noted that an important limitation of the debate is that it is based on an a-historical perspective. Indeed, transnational crime in Southeast Asia is an historical security concern that goes back to the 19th century. Desker thus wondered how crime could be regarded as an emerging non-traditional security concern. McFarlane agreed with this comment and suggested that transnational crime is a major concern that needs to be examined both as a traditional and non-traditional security issue. Dupont remarked that the current scope and scale of the problem makes organized crime a different security issue from the one faced in the 19th century. In response to Narine's paper, Desker argued that in addition to regional conditions, economic integration is equally influenced by external factors as well as by global institutions, mostly the role of the World Trade Organization (WTO).

Muthiah Alagappa remarked that a commonly accepted definition of security has still not been found despite 10 years of academic debate. He argued that it is best not to spend too much time deciding on whether a specific issue falls within the realm of security or whether national security or human security are rising or declining in zero sum terms. Finally, in response to Narine's paper, Alagappa questioned why we should expect economic integration to prevent wars while the balance of power has failed to achieve this objective.

Participants at the conference

Luncheon Address

Ambassador Kishore Mahbubani, Singapore's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, New York

Ambassador Mahbubani speaking on Asia and the United Nations

Ambassador Kishore Mahbubani, in his luncheon address, examined the relationship between the United Nations and Asia. He focused on why the links between the two have so far been thin and he discussed the future prospects of a denser and deeper relationship. Mahbubani gave various reasons to explain the limited interaction between Asia and the U.N., including the fact that the region still faces strategic issues that the U.N. is not equipped or willing to address. The U.N. Security Council also deals more effectively with questions that are less strategically important for the great powers, including ongoing conflicts on the African continent. In Africa, Mahbubani explained that the U.N. identifies and seeks to eradicate "cancer cells" before they grow any further. This has been the U.N. objective in its operations in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Sierra Leone. According to Mahbubani, the thin relationship between Asia and the U.N. is an indication that such "cancer cells" have mostly disappeared on the Asian continent, with the exception of possibly North Korea and parts of Western Asia. Ambassador Mahbubani said that East Timor was hopefully the last issue in East Asia to require a major U.N. operation and he hoped that the country would eventually become a success story. Finally, the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council have traditionally set the agenda. A security issue is only discussed in the Security Council if the five permanent members agree on its importance. Mahbubani noted that Asia is currently not a priority. China does not want the North Korean question to be discussed in the U.N. Similarly, India has extended its influence at the U.N. and it strongly oppose the internationalization of the Kashmir issue.

According to Ambassador Mahbubani, the relationship between Asia and the U.N. will eventually become denser, particularly because Asians are under-represented in the world body in terms of political representation, ideas and institutional frameworks. Mahbubani argued that this situation will change, once Asian countries start playing a more active role on the international scene. He also noted that the next U.N. Secretary-General should be Asian and that it was time for Asians to think about whom they would want as their candidate. A denser relationship is also anticipated to derive from the changes the U.N. is going through. The organization's structure is increasingly viewed as an antique based on a post-World War II order. The pressure for reforms is rapidly growing. According to Mahbubani, the difficulty of attaining reforms results from the unwillingness of any of the permanent five to make fundamental changes, the difficulty of selecting new permanent

members and the unipolarity of the international system. Nonetheless, the call for change has become too strong and it will eventually raise the Asian role, particularly that of India and Japan.

Ambassador Mahbubani noted that the automatic legitimacy of the U.N. is also under attack, particularly in Islamic societies where it is no longer viewed as a neutral party but as an institution protecting Western interests. Mahbubani explained that the terrorist attack on the U.N. headquarters in Baghdad came as a terrible shock to the U.N. staff as it demonstrated that the U.N. staff could and would increasingly be attacked during blue helmet operations. Yet, through his professionalism, calm and phone diplomacy, Secretary-General Kofi Annan has brought a lot of respect and credibility to the U.N. both in the United States and the rest of the world. This makes the question of his succession even more important and difficult. Moreover, Mahbubani argued that the future of Iraq represents another great challenge for the U.N. When the United States decides to withdraw its troops from Iraq, it will need to leave behind a viable alternative. Mahbubani pointed out that Washington would soon realize that a U.N. involvement represented the only viable alternative to the US military presence in Iraq.

Panel Four

Reassessments of Security Cooperation

The first speaker of the final panel, **David Kang**, spoke on "Conceptual Conflicts and Regional Perceptions: Prospects for Ameliorating the Regional Security Dilemma in the Asia-Pacific". He noted that the standard explanation for the stability of the security architecture in East Asia is the presence of U.S. power and its bilateral alliance system that together balance possible threats and reassure regional states. In contrast, Kang claimed that East Asian international relations are not characterized by balance of power politics, as regional states would otherwise balance the United States and Japan, and that the U.S. alliance system does not play the benign role of reassuring states, deterring potential threats, and ameliorating tensions. On the contrary, Kang argued that the U.S. contributes to increased tension in four central security relationships and conflicts: the Sino-Philippine dispute over the Spratly Islands; Sino-Vietnamese relations; the Korean peninsula; and Taiwan.

Kang wondered why the Philippines decided in the early 1990s to eject the U.S. military basis from its territory if the U.S. were perceived in Manila as a reassuring ally. He discussed the domestic explanation for this policy shift as well as the realist argument that the Philippines had in fact made a mistake, which it tried in 1998 to rectify by signing a visiting forces agreement with Washington. The speaker claimed instead that the Philippines is not so concerned about China and the threat of its territorial expansion in the Spratly Islands. On the Sino-Vietnamese relationship, Kang argued that Hanoi is not being reassured by the U.S. nor is it trying to develop an alliance with Washington to balance a rising China. On the Korean peninsula, it is not clear whether the American military presence has reduced or in fact increased tensions. South Korea is improving its economic and political relations with China. From a balance of power perspective, Kang noted that it would be expected to do the reverse and move even closer to the United States to balance the China threat. It is also uncertain whether the ambiguous commitment by the U.S. to Taiwan either increases or reduces tensions. Kang asserted that the conflict would disappear if the U.S. terminated its support for Taiwan. He concluded by stressing that while the United States is the most powerful state in East Asia, its

military presence does not stabilize the region or balance threats.

Dirk Nabers presented a paper written by **Hanns Maull** on "The European Security Architecture: Conceptual Lessons for Asia-Pacific Security Cooperation". The European security architecture is complex, involving security and non-security arrangements with different geographical configurations. Nabers indicated that the original objectives of this architecture were to move beyond power struggles and war, rebuild Europe and achieve prosperity, and secure Europe from Soviet expansion. These goals had mostly been achieved by the end of the Cold War. Nabers said that the functions of Europe's security arrangements will continue to be to preserve security on the continent, to project security, stability and prosperity to neighbouring regions, and to contribute to global security and order through international institutions.

According to Nabers, Europe's security architecture has gone through three distinct phases. The first period can be explained through a balance of power perspective with the creation of NATO. The second phase was characterized by institutionalism with the development of European institutions and the CSCE. Nabers explained that the latter was unique in the sense that it was pan-European in nature and its decision-making structure was not legally binding and based on political consensus. He noted that community building has dominated the third phase, as reflected in deeper integration, respect for common norms and the abandonment of hegemonic ambitions. The countries involved have succeeded in creating a distinct European community and in jointly emphasizing the rule of law, formal commitments, democratic participation and social justice.

Nabers contrasted Europe with the East Asian security structure, noting that while Europe already disposed over a well-developed collective defence arrangement in the 1950s, defence cooperation has been limited in Asia to ANZUS and the South-East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO). Moreover, Nabers argued that the two regions have faced different threat levels. While European security was dominated in the 1990s by the wars in the Balkans, Asia still faces the threat that North Korea might use WMDs to ensure its survival. Finally, East Asia's modern understanding of national sovereignty has to be contrasted with Europe's post-modern and multidimensional construction of the concept. According to Nabers, Europe has three conceptual lessons for Asian-Pacific cooperation. The first is to re-learn the concept of sovereignty, a process which has already started in Japan and South Korea. Second, the European post-war security arrangements have been dependent on a democratic model. This suggests, according to Nabers, that a solution on the Korean peninsula will only be possible once political change starts in Pyongyang. Finally, the European security architecture has been based on the connection between security, prosperity and free commerce. Nabers said that this tradition has been much shorter in East Asia, recently developed through the activities undertaken by APEC and ASEAN+3.

Brian Job delivered a paper on "Developing Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific: Institutional Disconnect, Innovation, and Challenge". He explored the extent to which multilateral security institutions have responded to the changing security environment in the Asia-Pacific. Recent forms of security cooperation, like the Six Party Talks, ASEAN's Security Community concept and APEC's mention of human security, do not correspond to standard categories of security cooperation, including collective or cooperative security. Job also referred to some emerging trends in the region. These include the engagement of the United States and China in regional security cooperation, counter-terrorism as the central form of cooperative activities and the economic-security linkages in cooperative arrangements, especially APEC. Moreover, the speaker noted attempts made by regional institutions to reinvent themselves and ongoing efforts towards the realization of an East Asian identity, particularly through ASEAN+3.

The primary security challenges facing the region were also addressed. According to Job, these consist of threats from WMDs, territorial disputes, balance of power politics, terrorism, and finally threats to human security including diseases, water scarcity, criminal trans-border activities and others. Job discussed the wide range of cooperative responses available to tackle these categories of threats. He noted that the danger of WMDs on the Korean peninsula is approached through a combination of collective defence and cooperative security. The Shanghai Cooperation Agreement also represents an

example of institutional innovation to settle territorial disputes. However, Job argued that cooperative responses towards human security concerns have so far been limited, partly because states have continued to equate security with state security. Most of the attention in this area has been given to environmental issues and transnational threats without addressing domestic problems.

According to Job, ASEAN and the ARF suffer from an institutional deficit, both in terms of their structural capabilities and norms of cooperation. Moreover, CSCAP increasingly suffers from the "Track Two dilemma" due its difficulty of remaining autonomous from national governments. Job pointed out that it has also failed to include representatives from social movements, leading therefore to a civil society deficit. Yet, a concerted form of bilateral cooperation, leading to spider-web bilateralism, has gained in importance. Job concluded by claiming that the development of an Asian-Pacific security architecture that sustains peace will need to address two challenges: to tackle the human security imperative and to realize that the provision of institutions is a public good essential to build a peaceful regional order.

Muthiah Alagappa, the discussant of this session, commented on Kang's paper by first asking how challenging the balance of power hypothesis contributes to the claim that regional security does not depend on the U.S. role. The discussant argued that the United States seeks to create a hegemonic system rather than to balance power. Hence, its alliance system should be examined as a measure to preserve U.S. dominance rather than as an illustration of balance of power politics. Secondly, the discussant questioned whether the four cases show that the U.S. alliance system contributes to increased tension in Asia. He argued that the first two cases are of dubious value. The U.S. already indicated during the Cold War that the Spratlys are not part of the U.S.-Philippines security treaty. Alagappa argued that Vietnam is not part of the U.S. alliance system and its attempt to improve bilateral relations with China is a sign that it cannot balance its neighbour. As in the case of the Philippines, it is unclear how the U.S.-Vietnam relationship has contributed to increased tension. Alagappa noted that the two other examples are more relevant. Still, while the U.S. position on North Korea may be disconcerting to some Asian countries, it is not clear whether U.S. actions are contributing to insecurity on the Korean peninsula. The same argument holds true with regards to Taiwan. The discussant concluded by saying that the U.S. is a key security player in the region but that regional stability does not depend primarily on its security role.

Alagappa referred to Nabers' description on how the European security architecture has evolved from balance of power, to institutions and finally to community building. According to the discussant, the relevance of the European experience for Asia does not lie in its historical trajectory but rather in the ideas and concepts that have continued to inform Europe's security thinking. Alagappa suggested that the paper be shortened in terms of the European institutions and the focus shifted more to the relevance of these ideas for Asia. He wondered whether Asia's modern states make Europe's experience irrelevant for Asia or whether sovereignty is in the process of being unbundled in the region. The discussant noted that the paper touched on the importance of democratic peace and prosperity within Europe as well as relations with non-member states. He wondered how relevant this dual relationship is for Asia. Alagappa also asked whether Asia could learn from the numerous challenges that Europe faces in the post-9/11 unipolar order. Finally, he noted that the notion of lessons imply that Europe is more secure and stable that Asia and questioned whether this is really true.

Mr. Ralph Cossa and Professor Chung-in Moon in informal discussion

Discussion

In response to Kang's presentation, Cossa said that the U.S.-Philippines alliance was not terminated or weakened after the U.S. withdrawal nor is the growing Vietnam-China relationship about forging an alliance. Cossa argued that the real issues are in relation to the Korean peninsula and Taiwan. On the former, he noted that even Roh Moo-hyun, who used to oppose the alliance with the United States, changed his mind once elected. Moreover, if the U.S. drops its commitment towards Taiwan, Cossa asserted that Taipei would be left with no option but to be absorbed by China. The key U.S.-Japan alliance also needs to be included in a study on whether the U.S. alliance system contributes to instability in the Asia-Pacific. Finally, Cossa asserted that the more fundamental question is whether bilateral alliances can survive the current trend towards ad hoc arrangements.

Acharya questioned whether there is evidence that the U.S. security role in Asia has contributed to tension and instability. He noted that it could be found in terms of its involvement in domestic affairs, for example, in Cambodia and Vietnam, but that it is hard to argue that U.S. actions have contributed to regional instability. Acharya agreed, however, on the importance of questioning whether Asian stability has been dependent on balance of power politics, partly because U.S. security guarantees have not always been credible. With reference to the U.S.-Philippine relationship, Simon argued that the signing of the visiting forces agreement after the Mischief Reef incident was an example of balance of power politics. **Evelyn Goh** questioned Kang's interpretation of the balance of power model, noting that various theoretical discussions have led to different redefinitions of the concept. Acharya agreed and stressed on the need to define the term either as a distribution of power or balancing behaviour.

Kang responded that he does not see the U.S. role as a problem but rather that Asia is not as unstable and dangerous as American scholars have made it to be. Moreover, he noted that U.S. power and its alliance system have not been as beneficial to regional stability as portrayed in the standard realist explanation. For example, he reiterated that the United States has not been able to reassure Vietnam against China.

Dupont referred to Job's decision not to include terrorism as a human security concern due to the fact that it has been equated in the region with state and national security. Dupont asked Job to rethink his position because of the links that exist between transnational crime and terrorism.

Conclusion

In his closing remarks, **Amitav Acharya** noted that the conference concluded a series of four conferences on "Evolving Security Approaches in the Asia-Pacific" organized by IDSS with support from the Sasakawa Peace Foundation. He pointed out that it is the only research project to have examined cooperation in Asian security in such a systematic fashion. The project has studied security multilateralism in its emergence and development and focused on country-specific approaches to security, peacekeeping, globalization and economic security, and finally on offering a reassessment of security cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region. Acharya stressed that the project has achieved its key objectives thanks to the work and support of all the participants involved in the four conferences and the scholars who came to IDSS under the Sasakawa Visiting Scholar programme. In particular, the project has succeeded in creating what could be the most exciting and important network of scholars working on regional security cooperation in the Asia-Pacific. He concluded his remarks by thanking all the participants to the Washington conference, the Mortara Center for International Studies, as well as the Sasakawa Peace Foundation and the Sasakawa Peace Foundation USA for their generous funding.

Professor Acharya

Participants at the conference on "Reassessing Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region", from left to right (back), John McFarlane, James Tang, Ralph Cossa, Brian Job, John Ravenhill, David Kang; left to right (middle), Evelyn Goh, Tsutomu Kikuchi, Ralf Emmers, Dirk Nabers, Amitav Acharya, Chu Shulong, Jingdong Yuan, Chung-in Moon; and left to right (front), Shaun Narine, Rosemary Foot, Barry Desker, Alan Dupont, Sheldon Simon, Muthiah Alagappa

Project coordinator: **Professor Amitav Acharya**
Conference coordinator: **Dr. Evelyn Goh**
Rapporteur: **Dr. Ralf Emmers**

Conference Programme

Day One
20 November 2003

0800–0930 Breakfast and Conference Registration

0930 **Opening Remarks**
Mr. Barry Desker, Director, Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, Singapore

1000–1230 **Panel One**
Frameworks for Security Cooperation

Chair:
Professor Amitav Acharya, Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies

Presenters:
Professor Victor Cha, Georgetown University
The U.S. Alliance Structure in the Asia-Pacific: Strategies and Limitations

Professor Tsutomu Kikuchi, Aoyama Gakuin University
The Asia-Pacific Security Dialogue and the ASEAN Regional Forum: Reassessing Security Cooperation

Professor Chu Shulong, Tsinghua University
The ASEAN+3 Approach to East Asian Security Cooperation

Professor John Ravenhill, University of Edinburgh
Mission Creep or Mission Impossible? APEC and Security

Discussant:
Professor James Tang, University of Hong Kong

1230–1400 Lunch

1430–1700 **Panel Two**
Strategic and Military Issues in Security Cooperation

Chair:
Professor Chung-In Moon, Yonsei University

Presenters:
Professor Sheldon Simon, Arizona State University
Security Regionalism and the War on Terror in East Asia

Dr. Jingdong Yuan, Monterey Institute of International Studies
Arms Control Regimes in the Asia-Pacific: Managing Armament and WMD Proliferation

Professor Rosemary Foot, St. Antony's College, Oxford
Modes of Regional Conflict Management: Comparing the Korean Peninsula, Taiwan, and the South China Sea

Discussant:
Mr. Ralph Cossa, Pacific Forum CSIS

1930–2130 Conference Dinner

Keynote Address
Mr. Matthew Daley, Acting Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and the Pacific, United States of America

Day Two
21 November 2003

0930–1130 **Panel Three**
Non-traditional Issues in Security Cooperation

Chair:
Dr. Evelyn Goh, Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies

Presenters:
Mr. John McFarlane, Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University
Cooperation on Countering Transnational Criminal Networks in the Asia-Pacific: Cautious Optimism for the Future?

Dr. Shaun Narine, St. Thomas' University
Approaches to Economic Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific: Unilateralism, Bilateralism and Multilateralism in the Economics/ Security Nexus

Professor Amitav Acharya, Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies
Regional Cooperation in Human Security Issues in the Asia-Pacific

Discussant:
Dr. Alan Dupont, Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University

1200–1330 Lunch

Luncheon speaker:
Ambassador Kishore Mahbubani, Singapore's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, New York

1400–1630 **Panel Four**
Reassessments of Security Cooperation

Chair and Discussant:
Dr. Muthiah Alagappa, East-West Center Washington

Presenters:
Associate Professor David Kang, Dartmouth College
Conceptual Conflicts and Regional Perceptions: Prospects for Ameliorating the Regional Security Dilemma in the Asia-Pacific

Professor Hanns Maull, University of Trier
Dr. Dirk Nabers, Institute of Asian Affairs
The European Security Architecture: Conceptual Lessons for Asia-Pacific Security Cooperation

Professor Brian Job, University of British Columbia
Ways Forward: Developing Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific

1630–1700 Tea/Coffee Break

1700–1730 **Closing Remarks**
Professor Amitav Acharya, Project Coordinator

1730–1830 Book Project Meeting for Paper Writers

List of Participants

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The Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS) was established in July 1996 as an autonomous research institute within the Nanyang Technological University. Its objectives are to:

- conduct research on security, strategic and international issues;
- provide general and graduate education in strategic studies, defence management and defence technology; and
- promote joint and exchange programs with similar regional institutions; organize seminars/conferences on topics salient to the strategic and policy communities of the Asia-Pacific.

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