

Inventory of Meetings in 1999

I. Multilateral – Governmental / Track I Meetings

1. **Four-Party Peace Talks.** Geneva, January 19-22. Attended by China, DPRK, ROK and the US. The main theme of the meeting was reduction of tension on the Korean peninsula, and the achievement of a permanent peace arrangement. The major outcome of the talks was the creation of two working groups and the beginning of concrete discussions. Also, a common understanding was reached on operational procedures for the future. (As noted in the Northeast Asia Peace and Security Network Daily Report on January 7, 20, 28, 1999. Contact: Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainable Development, fax: 1-510-204-9298, e-mail: nautilus@nautilus.org, web site: <http://www.nautilus.org/>)
2. **ROK-US-Japan talks.** Seoul, February 9. The talks were led by Charles Kartman, US special envoy for Korean affairs, Terusuke Terada, Japan's ambassador at large, and Kwon Jon-rak, head of the US affairs division at the ROK Foreign Ministry. The theme of the meeting was cooperation against the military threat from the DPRK, with the main issue being the DPRK suspected nuclear underground site at Kumchang-ri. The three countries agreed that outside inspection of the site must be allowed. (As reported in the Associated Press on February 6, 1999)
3. **ROK-US-Japan Security Meeting.** Seoul, February 26. Attended by defense officials from Japan, the ROK, and the US. On the agenda were security issues of mutual concern, including the DPRK suspected nuclear missile development project. Participants also discussed ways to strengthen cooperation in exchanges of military intelligence among their countries. (As noted in the Northeast Asia Peace and Security Network Daily Report on February 26, 1999. Contact: Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainable Development, fax: 1-510-204-9298, e-mail: nautilus@nautilus.org, web site: <http://www.nautilus.org/>)
4. **DPRK-UNC Generals' Meeting.** Panmungom, March 9. This generals' level meeting between the DPRK and the UN Command (UNC) was called to discuss preparedness for Y2K computer problems. (As noted in the Northeast Asia Peace and Security Network Daily Report on March 9, 1999. Contact: Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainable Development, fax: 1-510-204-9298, e-mail: nautilus@nautilus.org, web site: <http://www.nautilus.org/>)
5. **ARF Peacekeeping Course: The Changing Face of Peacekeeping: Modern Peace and Security Operations.** Tokyo, March 22-26. Jointly sponsored by Canada, Japan and Malaysia. 40 Participants from Australia, Austria, Brunei, Cambodia, Canada, China, Finland, Germany, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Laos, Malaysia, Mongolia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Russia, Singapore, Thailand, United States, and Vietnam. Presentations were made on the following issues: Conceptual Framework of Modern Peacekeeping; Issues in Modern Peacekeeping; Yugoslavia Case Study; Research, Education & Training for Modern Peacekeepers; Syndicate Organization; Profiles of the New Peacekeeping Partnership; Political and Diplomatic Framework of Modern Peacekeeping; Coordination and Cooperation Mechanism of Modern Peacekeeping; Legal Framework of Modern Peacekeeping; Human Rights and Humanitarian Operations; Military and Civil Police Operations; and Contemporary Issues in Peacekeeping. Contact: International Peace Cooperation Division, Foreign Policy Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan, fax: 81-3-3506-9588.
6. **3rd ASEAN Regional Forum Inter-Sessional Meeting on Disaster Relief.** Moscow, April 11-14. Organized by Russia and Vietnam. The meeting was attended by 70 participants from Australia, Brunei, Cambodia, Canada, China, EU, India, Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Malaysia, Mongolia, Myanmar, New Zealand, Philippines, ROK, Russia, Singapore, Thailand, US, and Vietnam, as well as representatives of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the

ASEAN secretariat, the Asian Disaster Preparedness Centre, the Asian Disaster Reduction Center, and the Inter-State Council on Natural and Man-Made Disasters. The main agenda items included a Review of the Previous Meetings; Review of Possible Activities for Enhancing Regional Coordination; Conceptual Framework for ARF Activities in Disaster Management and Response; Exchanges of Experiences Among ARF Participants in Disaster Management, Preparedness and Relief; and Future Direction of ARF Activities in Disaster Preparedness and Response. Contact: Mikhail A. Konarovskiy, Deputy Director, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Russian Federation, Second Asian Department, fax: 7-095-230-2183.

7. **Multilateralism: Regional Security in the New Millennium.** Washington, D.C., April 18-23. A Professional Development Program for ASEAN Regional Forum Foreign Affairs and Defense Professionals. Co-hosted by the governments of the United States and Brunei Darussalam. Delivered by the United States Institute of Peace. Approximately twenty-five participants from defence and foreign ministries in Australia, Brunei, Cambodia, Canada, China, Germany, India, Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Malaysia, Mongolia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, ROK, Singapore, Thailand, and the United States. Presentations by US staff and security experts from Canada, Singapore, South Korea, and the United States. Agenda included panels and small group discussions on regional security and multilateralism; civilian and military roles in regional security; Cambodia as a case study of multilateralism; Case study of track two in the Middle East; case study of peacekeeping in Bougainville; future of the ARF. Also included briefings at the Organization of American States, the Pentagon, and Department of State; an exercise on consensus-building; and a crisis simulation. Contact: Pamela Aall, USIP, fax: 1-202-822-5199, e-mail: Pamela_aall@usip.org.
8. **Three Party Talks on DPRK Policy.** Hawaii, April 24. Attended by officials from Japan, ROK and the US. The meeting was called to coordinate the DPRK policies of the three countries.
9. **6th ASEAN Regional Forum Senior Officials Meeting (ARF SOM).** Singapore, May 20-22. Organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Singapore. Contact: fax: (65) 339-4330, e-mail: mfa@mfa.gov.sg website: <http://www.gov.sg/mfa>
10. **32nd ASEAN Ministerial Meeting (AMM).** Singapore, July 23-24. Hosted by the Singapore Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Attended by the foreign ministers of the ten ASEAN countries. ASEAN welcomed Cambodia's participation for the first time in an AMM, an event that symbolized the goal of including all 10 Southeast Asian nations within the grouping. The primary areas of discussion were joint ASEAN roadshows, implementation of the decisions of the 6th ASEAN Summit, economic cooperation, political and security cooperation, ASEAN functional cooperation, external relations, review of the role and functions of the ASEAN Secretariat, regional and international political issues and international economic issues. Contact: Singapore Ministry of Foreign Affairs, fax: (65) 339 4330, e-mail: mfa@mfa.gov.sg website: www.gov.sg/mfa OR ASEAN Secretariat, Jakarta, fax: (62-21) 739-8234, 724-3504, e-mail: public@asean.or.id website: <http://www.aseansec.org/> The full text of a selection of the official addresses is available at the ASEAN Secretariat website.
11. **6th Meeting of the ASEAN Regional Forum (Foreign Ministers Meeting).** Singapore, July 26. Chaired by Singaporean Minister for Foreign Affairs H.E. Professor S. Jayakumar, and attended by delegations from all 22 ARF member countries: Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia (new member of ASEAN), Canada, China, European Union, India, Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Malaysia, Mongolia (new ARF member), Myanmar, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Republic of Korea, Russia, Singapore, Thailand, United States and Vietnam. The ASEAN Secretary General was also present. The ministers discussed the contribution of confidence building to the success of the ARF and endorsed recommendations from ARF sub-bodies to deliberate upon the concept and principles of preventive diplomacy. Highlights of issues discussed also include the regional financial and economic crisis; major power relations; peaceful settlement of disputes in the South China Sea; the situation in the Korean Peninsula; progress in the nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation arenas; transboundary problems that could significantly impact regional security; and the Ottawa Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and their Destruction. Contact: Singapore Ministry of Foreign Affairs, fax: (65) 339

- 4330, e-mail: mfa@mfa.gov.sg website: www.gov.sg/mfa OR ASEAN Secretariat, Jakarta, phone: (62-21) 726-2991, 724 3372, fax: (62-21) 739-8234, 724-3504, e-mail: public@asean.or.id website: <http://www.aseansec.org/> The full text of the ARF Chairman's Statement is available at the ASEAN Secretariat website. **N.B.** Please see the "Meetings Digest" section for further information concerning this event.
12. **32nd ASEAN Ministerial Meeting Post Ministerial Conference (AMM PMC).** Singapore, July 27-28. An ASEAN+10 meeting in which the 10 ASEAN foreign ministers met with their dialogue partners from Australia, Canada, European Union, India, Japan, New Zealand, PRC, ROK, Russian Federation, and the United States. Contact: Singapore Ministry of Foreign Affairs, fax: (65) 339 4330, e-mail: mfa@mfa.gov.sg website: www.gov.sg/mfa OR ASEAN Secretariat, Jakarta, phone: (62-21) 726-2991, 724 3372, fax: (62-21) 739-8234, 724-3504, e-mail: public@asean.or.id website: <http://www.aseansec.org/> The full text of a selection of the official addresses is available at the ASEAN Secretariat website.
 13. **Four-Party Peace Talks.** Geneva, August 5-9. This sixth plenary session of the US-ROK-PRC-DPRK talks was chaired by the PRC. In attendance were US Special Envoy for Korean peace talks Charles Kartman, PRC Ambassador Qian Yongnian, ROK Ambassador Park Kun-woo and DPRK Vice Foreign Minister Kim Gye-gwan. The main meeting was held in conjunction with two committee meetings held August 6-7. While the US, ROK, and PRC generally stressed the importance of tension reduction and a permanent peace agreement on the Korean Peninsula, DPRK demands included the withdrawal of US troops from the ROK and a US-DPRK peace treaty. All parties agreed to convene the seventh plenary in the near future. (As noted in the Northeast Asia Peace and Security Network (NAPSNet) Daily Report on August 9, 10, 11. Contact: Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainable Development, fax: 1-510-204-9298, e-mail: nautilus@nautilus.org website: <http://www.nautilus.org/>)
 14. **US-Japan-ROK Talks.** Auckland, September 9. US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, Japanese Foreign Minister Masahiko Komura and ROK Foreign Minister Hong Soon-young met to make preparations for a US-Japan-ROK summit September 12. Albright briefed her counterparts on US-DPRK talks that took place September 7-12 in Berlin. (As noted in the Northeast Asia Peace and Security Network (NAPSNet) Daily Report on September 9. Contact: Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainable Development, fax: 1-510-204-9298, e-mail: nautilus@nautilus.org website: <http://www.nautilus.org/>)
 15. **US-Japan-ROK Summit.** Auckland, September 12. Leaders of the three countries met just prior to the Auckland Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit and urged the DPRK to halt its missile and nuclear programs and embrace an open-door policy in exchange for a peace proposal being offered by the US, ROK and Japan. The leaders also agreed to encourage the APEC grouping to take action concerning the unrest in East Timor. (As noted in the Northeast Asia Peace and Security Network (NAPSNet) Daily Report on September 13. Contact: Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainable Development, fax: 1-510-204-9298, e-mail: nautilus@nautilus.org website: <http://www.nautilus.org/>)
 16. **Pacific Area Senior Officer Logistics Seminar XXVIII.** Nadi, Fiji, September 20-24. Sponsored by the Commander in Chief, US Pacific Command. Co-hosted by Colonel Iowane Naivalurua, Land Force Commander of Fiji, and Brigadier General Phillip Mattix, US, Director of Logistics, Engineering and Security Assistance for the US Pacific Command. Participation by more than 100 delegates, including 29 general and flag rank officers. Representatives of the following 20 (of 23) member nations were in attendance: Australia, Bangladesh, Canada, China, Fiji, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Maldives, Mongolia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Tonga, United States and Vanuatu. Member countries not attending were Brunei, Indonesia and Kiribati. Observers attended from four additional countries: India, Madagascar, Nepal and Russia. The theme for this 28th annual meeting of the Pacific Area Senior Officer Logistics Seminar (PASOLS) was "Logistics Cooperation: Developed and Developing Countries." PASOLS is an international forum where senior logistics officers from Asia-Pacific armed forces can meet to exchange information that will strengthen military logistics ties and foster cooperation. PASOLS also provides an opportunity for the pursuit of bilateral or multilateral initiatives agreed upon between the interested parties. Keynote addresses by Fiji's Minister of Home Affairs, the Honorable Joije Uluinakauvadra and US Lieutenant General John McDuffie,

- Director for Logistics, US Joint Chiefs of Staff. Delegates were organized into groups that discussed planning for logistics aspects of disaster relief/humanitarian assistance in developed/developing (supplying and receiving) countries, logistics interoperability in multinational operations and the socio-economic benefits of military logistics for developed and developing countries. Contact: Lieutenant Commander Walter Smith, fax: 808-477-0242, e-mail: wpsmith0@hq.pacom.mil
17. **US-Japan-ROK Talks.** Washington, November 8-9. This meeting of the “Trilateral Coordination and Oversight Group (TCOG)” was attended by ROK Deputy Foreign Minister Jang Jai-ryong, US State Department Counselor Ambassador Wendy Sherman and Director General for Policy Planning at the Japanese Foreign Ministry Yukio Takeuchi. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss strategy prior to a November 15 US-DPRK conference in Berlin. Delegates discussed the situation on the Korean Peninsula and their respective interchanges with the DPRK, reaffirmed their determination to coordinate closely on DPRK policy and reconfirmed commitment to the implementation of the 1994 Agreed Framework. (As noted in the Northeast Asia Peace and Security Network Daily Report on November 10. Contact: Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainable Development, fax: 1-510-204-9298, e-mail: nautilus@nautilus.org website: <http://www.nautilus.org/>)
18. **3rd Informal ASEAN Summit.** Manila, November 27-28. Organized in conjunction with the Philippines Department of Foreign Affairs. The heads of state or government from the 10 ASEAN countries plus their Chinese, Japanese and ROK counterparts met for this ASEAN 10+3 informal summit. The meeting was chaired by H.E. President Joseph Ejercito Estrada of the Republic of the Philippines. Main areas of discussion included the current security environment; economic resurgence, financial issues and future competitiveness; social issues including social safety nets; the future direction of ASEAN and international economic issues. Contact: Philippines Department of Foreign Affairs, website: <http://www.dfa.gov.ph> OR ASEAN Secretariat, Jakarta, phone: (62-21) 726-2991, 724 3372, fax: (62-21) 739-8234, 724-3504, e-mail: public@asean.or.id website: <http://www.aseansec.org/> The full text of a number of the official addresses is available at the ASEAN Secretariat website. **N.B.** Please see the “Meetings Digest” section for a lengthier commentary on this event.
19. **ROK-PRC-Japan Talks.** Seoul, November 28. A breakfast meeting attended by ROK President Kim Dae-Jung, Japanese Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi and PRC Prime Minister Zhu Rongji. The three leaders agreed to commence a joint study for economic cooperation involving the three countries. The plan stipulates that each country designate a national or private institute to examine priority topics including trade, finance, industry, science-technology and the manner in which to maximize benefits from the PRC’s anticipated acceptance into the World Trade Organization (WTO). It was also agreed that similar trilateral meetings would be convened regularly, and that the three countries would work together at the Seattle Round of the WTO. (As noted in the Northeast Asia Peace and Security Network Daily Report on November 29. Contact: Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainable Development, fax: 1-510-204-9298, e-mail: nautilus@nautilus.org website: <http://www.nautilus.org/>)

II. Multilateral – Nongovernmental / Track II Meetings

1. **Japan’s Foreign Policy in Pacific Asia.** Tokyo, January 11-12. Organized by the Institute of Oriental Cultures, University of Tokyo. Topics discussed included The setting of Japan’s Asia policy in context; United States policy toward Pacific Asia; East Asia’s economic crisis; Japan’s policy towards Northeast Asia and Pacific Asia; The United States and Japan’s Northeast Asian regionalism; and ASEAN and Japan’s Southeast Asian regionalism. Contact: Professor Takashi Inoguchi, University of Tokyo, fax: 81-3-5841-5898.
2. **Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs: “Nuclear Proliferation and Security in the Pacific Rim: Problems and Prospects”.** Hilo, Hawaii, January 20-23. Approximately 25 non-governmental participants, including former officials from China, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, South

- Korea, Switzerland, and the US. Agenda items included: Nuclear Weapons Activities in the Pacific Rim (nuclear forces deployments of US, Russia and China; Indian and Pakistani nuclear testing; Japanese and Korean attitudes on nuclear weapons; the legacy of nuclear weapons testing in the Pacific); Plutonium and Civilian Nuclear Activities (Japan's acquisition policy; civilian nuclear power and Pacatom; safeguards; shipments and law of the sea; environmental clean-up of nuclear waste); and A Nuclear Weapon-Free Policy? (Treaty of Rarotonga and nuclear weapon-free zones; North East Asia nuclear weapon free-zone; eliminating naval nuclear weapons). Contact: Claudia Vaughn, e-mail: pugwash@iol.it.
3. **The Northeast Asia Economic Conference.** Niigata, Japan, February 8-10. Organized in cooperation with the Economic Research Institute on Northeast Asia. Attended by 26 panelists from China, Japan, Mongolia, Russia, South Korea, the UN, and the US. Participants included academics, government officials, and business people. Main agenda items were the awarding of the Niigata prizes, keynote addresses on "The Prospects for Sustainable Development in Northeast Asia" and "Open Regional Cooperation in Northeast Asia", in addition to sessions on international transportation, regional development and environmental cooperation, and attracting direct investment. Political security matters were also briefly discussed. Contact: Organizers' Office, fax: 81-25-285-2787.
 4. **A Vision for Northeast Asia: International Cooperation for Regional Security and Prosperity.** Monterey, California, February 12-13. Hosted by the Center for East Asian Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies. The participant list included scholars from the United States (12), Japan (4), ROK (2), Canada (1), and Hong Kong (1), and a single governmental representative from both Mongolia and Japan. Sessions convened on the following topics: "Developing Regional Cooperation in Northeast Asia: Lessons from Europe, North America, Asia-Pacific and Southeast Asia," "US Perspectives," "Chinese Perspectives," "Prospects for Russia's 'Energy Diplomacy' in Northeast Asia," "Japan's Approach to Building Northeast Asian Economic Cooperation," "Korean Perspectives," "NGovernmental Initiatives in North Korea" and "Mongolian Perspectives." The final session took the form of concurrent group discussions regarding security, economic and social-environmental cooperation. Contact: Tsuneo Akaha, Professor of International Policy Studies and Director, Center for East Asian Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies, California, fax: (831) 647-4199, e-mail: takaha@miis.edu website: <http://www.miis.edu>
 5. **Russia and Asia-Pacific Security.** Tokyo, February 19-21. An international conference organized by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) in cooperation with the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA) and the Asahi Shimbun newspaper. The conference was funded by a grant award from the Japan Foundation and by a financial contribution from the Asahi Shimbun. The conference involved the participation of approximately 40 scholars and current and former government representatives from China, Japan, Russia, South Korea, Sweden and the US. Main conference goals were the examination of the principal political, economic and military factors affecting Russia's interactions with the countries in the Asia-Pacific region. Special attention was given to analyzing key trends arising in the evolving Asia-Pacific regional security environment and to considering their implications for regional and global security. One of the primary aims in this regard was to identify current and potential conflict issues in the region and to examine possible approaches to their resolution. The papers presented at the conference were published by SIPRI in September as conference proceedings, titled "Russia and Asia-Pacific Security." The conference was part of a two-year study on Russia's security relations with Asia funded by a grant from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. The results of the project were presented in the form of a comprehensive multi-author volume, "Russia and Asia: Emerging Security Agenda," edited by Professor Gennady Chufirin. This volume was published by Oxford University Press in December. Contact: Shannon N. Kile, Researcher, e-mail: snkile@sipri.se website: <http://www.sipri.se> Conference papers available at the following SIPRI webpage: <http://www.sipri.se/projects/Russia/index.html>
 6. **CSCAP Workshop on Preventive Diplomacy.** Bangkok, February 28-March 2. Organized by CSCAP, in cooperation with the United States Institute of Peace (USIP). The workshop was conducted under the

auspices of the CSCAP's International Working Group on Confidence and Security Building Measures. Approximately 80 participants attended, including representatives from 15 of the 18 CSCAP member/associate member committees, and 19 of the ARF's 22 members. Also attended by several government officials participating in their private capacities. Issues discussed included the ASEAN Regional Forum's development of preventive diplomacy mechanisms, including the role of NGOs as actors in Preventive Diplomacy, as well as discussions on creating a Statement of Principles of Preventive Diplomacy to better define the parameters and limits of the process in the Asia Pacific context. Case studies examining previous examples of preventive diplomacy within and beyond the region were also reviewed. Contact: Ralph Cossa, Pacific Forum/CSIS, fax: 1-808-599-8690, e-mail: rcossa@compuserve.com.

7. **U.S. Engagement Policy in a Changing Asia: A Time for Reassessment?.** Honolulu, March 1-2. Organized by the Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University. Approximately 225 participants representing over 30 countries. Main agenda items included assessing the current and projected social, economic, and leadership positions of Japan, Korea, China, the countries of South East Asia, and the South Asian region; discussing external relationships of the countries in the region; and considering the impact of these assessments on the current United States policy of engagement. Contact: James Graham, Conference Directorate, Institute for National Strategic Studies, fax: 1-202-685-3866, e-mail: grahamj@ndu.edu.
8. **ASEAN Regional Forum Intersessional Support Group on Confidence Building Measures (ISG on CBMs).** Bangkok, March 3-5. Co-chaired by Thailand and the United States. The ASEAN Secretariat reports that representatives from all 22 ARF member states attended one or both of this meeting and the previous ISG on CBMs held November 1998 in Honolulu. Most delegations at both meetings included defense officials. The overall focus of the event was the regional security situation and the ramifications of the economic crisis for regional stability. Participants reviewed progress made toward the implementation of confidence building measures agreed upon previously, and contemplated two lists of new CBMs intended for implementation in the near future and over the medium term. Discussions also included an exploration of the overlap between confidence building measures and preventive diplomacy; internal and transborder developments with the potential to impact upon the region as a whole; regional and global non-proliferation, arms control and disarmament regimes; and the positive relationship between the ARF and Track Two bodies such as the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP) and the Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue (NEACD). From the deliberations were compiled a list of 13 main recommendations for the ARF Senior Officials Meeting to be held May 20-22 in Singapore. Contact: ASEAN Secretariat, Jakarta, phone: (62-21) 726-2991, 724 3372, fax: (62-21) 739-8234, 724-3504, e-mail: public@asean.or.id website: <http://www.aseansec.org/> The full text of the "Co-Chairmen's Summary Report of the Meetings of the ARF Intersessional Support Group on Confidence Building Measures" is available at the ASEAN Secretariat website.
9. **2nd International Cadets** Conference. Japan, March 5-12. Organized by the National Defense Academy. Attended by cadets from 13 nations including Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, the Philippines, ROK, Singapore, Thailand, United Kingdom and the US. Three issues were discussed: military exchange as a confidence-building measure; science and technology and security; and nuclear proliferation. Contact: National Defense Academy, fax: 81-468-44-5921.
10. **4th International Seminar on Defense Science.** Japan, March 9 -18. Organized by the National Defense Academy. Attended by middle rank officers of service academies from 13 nations including Australia, Canada, India, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, the Philippines, ROK, Russia, Singapore, Thailand, US, and Vietnam. Topics discussed focused on the concept of the teaching of military history, and methodology of the teaching of military history. Contact: National Defense Academy, fax: 81-468-44-5921.
11. **Is An Encompassing Coalition of Major States Needed to Assure Peace and Prosperity in the New Millennium? (Wilton Park Conference 559)** Wilton Park, March 19-21. Organized by the Wilton Park Conference Centre. Some of the questions to be addressed include: has the time come to form a coalition

of the US, Europe, Canada, Japan, China and Russia? Is this achievable? What would be the implications for less developed countries? Could Russia, China and Japan be fully integrated into such a coalition?. Contact: Fiona Fung, Wilton Park Conferences, fax: 44-1903-815931, e-mail: admin@wiltonpark.org.uk.

12. **Seminar on Civil-Military Relations in Asia.** Manila, March 24-26. Jointly organized by the National Democratic Institute (NDI), the Institute for Strategic and Development Studies (ISDS) and the Partnership for Democratic Governance and Security (PDGS). The seminar brought together key political leaders, academics and retired and uniformed military officers from several countries in the region, including Bangladesh, Cambodia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Taiwan, Thailand and South Korea. Topics for discussion included: principles of democratic civilian control of the military; assessment of country-specific realities regarding the political role of the military in Asia today; best practices for establishing effective civilian leadership, management and direction of the military; specific success stories in building civilian capacity to exert leadership over the military. Dr. Harold Crouch delivered the keynote address at the opening ceremony. Contact: Malaya Ronas, Institute for Strategic and Development Studies, Philippines, fax: 632-921-1436, e-mail: idsphil@cnl.net
13. **Economic Instruments Achieve Security Objectives: Incentives, Sanctions and Non-Proliferation.** Kanagawa, Japan, March 25-27. Organized by the Center for Global Partnership and the Social Science Research Council. Approximately 25 participants, mainly Abe fellows from Japan, the US, as well as Canada and Russia. Also, in their private capacities, 2 persons from the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and one from the American Embassy in Tokyo. On the agenda were sessions on analytical and theoretical issues; case studies of North Korea, China and South Asia; and policy implications. A summary of the highlights of the conference is being produced by the CGP. Contact: Takuya Toda, Abe Fellowship Program, fax: 813-5562-3504, e-mail: taktoda@gol.com.
14. **North Korea Energy, Security and Environment Workshop.** Berkeley, April 14-16. Sponsored by the Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, University of California (San Diego), the Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainable Development and the University of California Berkeley Energy and Resources Group. 5 DPRK participants, including one government official and a member of the Red Cross Society, and 22 US scholars and businesspeople. Contact: IGCC, fax: 858-534-7655, website: <http://www-igcc.ucsd.edu>
15. **Asia Leaders' Forum.** Sydney, April 18-19. Hosted by the Asia-Australia Institute, University of New South Wales. The theme of the meeting was human security. Contact: Mr. Larry Strange, Director, or Dr. Michael Wesley, Research Fellow, Asia-Australia Institute, fax: 612-9385-9221/9220.
16. **Towards Comprehensive Security and Cooperation in the Asia Pacific.** Vladivostok, April. 24-27. Sponsored by the Far Eastern State University (Vladivostok) in cooperation with the Moscow State Institute of International Relations and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation. Approximately 40 participants and 30 observers, including academics and officials from foreign and defence ministries, in their private capacities, from Australia, Brunei, Cambodia, Canada, China, the European Union, India, Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Mongolia, Malaysia, New Zealand, Philippines, ROK, Russia, Singapore, Thailand, US and Vietnam. The conference included three plenary sessions on "New Challenges to Economic Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific: Strategic Impact"; "The Pacific Concord: Defining Guiding Principles and Norms of Cooperation and Strengthening Confidence"; and "Cooperative Security in the Asia Pacific: Balance of Power or Balance of Interests". Discussions focused on drafts prepared by the Russian delegation relating to principles guiding state-to-state relations in the Asia Pacific Region. On the agenda was also a review of the ARF's achievements over the years and an inventory of confidence building measures. The conference was a follow-up of the Seminar on Principles of Security and Stability which was held in Moscow in April 1996. Contact: Far Eastern State University, Department of International Programs, fax: 7-4232-257200, e-mail: idp@online.ru, web site: www.dvgu.ru.

17. **“Missiles, Theater Missile Defense and Regional Stability” The 2nd Annual US-China Conference on Arms Control.** Monterey, CA, April 27-29. Co-sponsored with the Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey Institute.
18. **The 27th Williamsburg Conference.** Cheju, Korea, May 7-10. Organized by Asia Society, The Sejong Institute and Korea International Trade Association. Attended by 54 academics, officials, business leaders and journalists from Australia, Canada, China, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand, and the US. Agenda items were Asia in the International Economic System; Social and Political Change; Peace and Security on the Korean Peninsula; and Reconciliation, Peace and Security in the Region. Contact: Asia Society, fax: 1-212-517-8315, e-mail: russek@asiasoc.org.
19. **5th Meeting of the CSCAP Working Group on Transnational Crime.** Bangkok, May 23-25. Organized by the Thailand Institute of Security and International Studies. 39 delegates from 13 countries, as well as an expert from Chinese Taipei and an observer from Papua New Guinea. Opening address by Ambassador Vithaya Vejajiva, former Secretary of the Thailand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Vice-Chairperson of CSCAP Thailand. Ambassador Vithaya indicated that Thailand accepts that transnational crime has a significant impact on security in the Asia-Pacific and welcomed the Working Group's involvement in the consideration of illicit firearms trafficking, synthetic drug production and trafficking, and the impact of the Asian financial crisis on crime in the region. Contact: Pacific Forum/CSIS, Washington, DC, fax: 202-775-3199, <http://www.csis.org>
20. **CSCAP Meeting on Comprehensive and Cooperative Security.** Beijing, May 25-26. Co-chaired by China and New Zealand. Attended by economists and security experts. The theme of the conference was “How to Strengthen Economic Cooperation to better Ensure Regional Security”. Topics addressed through the “traditional security” discourse included the changing role of ASEAN as the manager of regional order, the continued centrality of ASEAN and the ARF, preventing the rise of mutual suspicion within ASEAN, security challenges arising from internal stability and environmental hazards, the strategic uncertainty in southeast Asia precipitated by the financial crisis, and the increased influence of major power relations on regional equilibrium. Issues discussed through the “economic security” discourse included increasing ASEAN economic integration and cooperation, the establishment of a regional stabilization fund, the establishment of a regional surveillance mechanism and an Asian-based debt rating agency, conceptualizing an economic security index, and encouragement of existing institutions such as the IMF to consult with members of the private sector, banks, and civil society on how to address economic security issues. Contact: CSCAP China, fax: 86-10-6559-8133 or 86-10-6512-3744, e-mail: ccis@mx.cei.gov.cn.
21. **11th Meeting of the CSCAP Working Group on Confidence and Security Building Measures.** Seoul, May 25-27. 25 participants, representing 12 CSCAP member committees. The focus of discussions was to identify, define and promote regional CSBMs associated with the peaceful, safe and transparent use of nuclear energy. Participants from Canada, China, Japan and Taiwan also presented overviews of their respective nuclear energy programs. The meeting also included a review and demonstration of the prototype Asia Pacific Nuclear Energy Transparency Web Site which is currently being developed. Contact: CSCAP-ROK, fax: 82-2-393-7272, e-mail: cscaprok@bubble.yonsei.ac.kr.
22. **Stability and Security on the Korean Peninsula: Developing a Research Agenda.** San Diego, May 26-27. Organized by the Center for Applied Policy Research (CAP), Ludwig-Maximilian University, Munich; and the Korea Economic Institute of America (KEI), Washington, DC. In cooperation with the Korea-Pacific Program at the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies (IR/PS), University of California, San Diego; and the Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, University of California. 24 participants, including some government officials, from 7 countries: China, England, France, Germany, Japan, ROK and the United States. The first panel topic was “Stability and Security on the Korean Peninsula,” which was divided into sessions on “North-South Relations: Engagement or Confrontation?” and “Unification and Beyond,” with a keynote speech by Francois Godement, French Institute of International Relations, entitled “Europe's Views Toward the Asia-Pacific.” The second panel topic was

“The Regional Dimension of Stability on the Korean Peninsula,” which was divided into sessions on “Korea and Its Neighbors: Chinese and Japanese Perspectives,” and “Engaging North Korea: Implications for Transatlantic Policies,” with a keynote speech by Yu Myung-Hwan, Deputy Chief of Mission, Korean Embassy, Washington, entitled “The Path to Peace on the Korean Peninsula—Engagement policy Toward North Korea.” The German Marshall Fund of the United States and the Korea Foundation provided financial support. Contact: The Korea Economic Institute of America, Washington, DC, fax: (202) 371-0692, website: www.keia.org Selected conference papers available at the CAP webpage: www.cap.uni-muenchen.de/transatlantic/papers/korea.html or in the KEI publication “Korea Approaches the Millennium.”

23. **East Asia Regional Security Futures: First Collaborative Workshop.** Shanghai, May 29-30. Sponsored by the Nautilus Institute and the Center for American Studies, Fudan University. 16 participants from institutions in China, Japan and US. Agenda items were Perspectives on Current Events; China-Japan-US Relations; Theater Missile Defense and Arms Control; Korea and Regional Security in Northeast Asia; Proliferation, Disarmament, & the South Asian Nuclear Tests; Controlling Proliferation; Prospects for Nuclear Reductions; and Overview of Long-term Security Prospects. Issues discussed included the NATO bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade, the release of the Cox report, the promulgation of the new US-Japan guidelines for security cooperation, the Japanese decision to participate in theater missile defense research, the importance and dangers of tensions on the Korean peninsula, the strategic implications for US policy of DPRK nuclear capabilities, William Perry’s report, the South Asian nuclear tests, the nonproliferation policies of Japan and the PRC, limited nuclear weapons free zones (NFZ), and hopes and concerns about security prospects in East Asia in the next ten years. Contact: Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainable Development, fax: 1-510-204-9298, e-mail: nautilus@nautilus.org, web site: <http://www.nautilus.org/>
24. **13th Asia Pacific Roundtable: Confidence Building and Conflict Reduction.** Kuala Lumpur, May 30-June 2. Organized by ISIS Malaysia and ASEAN-ISIS. Major funding from the Canadian International Development Agency. 240 participants from Australia, Brunei, Cambodia, Canada, China, DPRK, Fiji, Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, New Zealand, Philippines, ROK, Russia, Singapore, Thailand, US, and Vietnam, as well as representatives of the World Bank, U.N., IMF, and participants from Africa, Britain, France, and Hong Kong. Also present were 11 observers. Agenda items included: Perceptions: The Five Greatest Challenges To Asia Pacific Security; Globalization: The Benefits, The Threats; Stabilising Financial Markets: What Needs To Be Done; Northeast Asia: Is There Hope for Cooperation?; The Future of Civil Society in Asia; Transnational Crime and the Asian Financial Crisis; Indonesia: Can the Centre Hold?; China: Can It Keep the Lid On?; Japan: An Internationalized Yen?; The Asian Financial Crisis and Social Change; ASEAN 10: Meeting the Challenges; Raising Military Stakes in the North Pacific: How Necessary? What Cost to Regional Security?; Women and Leadership in Asia; Joint Development in Cases of Dispute; Comprehensive Security: Concepts and Realities in Asia; Myanmar in ASEAN: Overcoming The Problems; Malaysia: What Next?; Cambodia: Peace At Last?; Environment, Development and Security: Issues and Responses; Moving from Confidence Building to Preventive Diplomacy: The Possibilities; The Korean Peninsula: New Challenges to Stability; Strengthening Maritime Cooperation in the Asia Pacific; Lessons from Kosovo; and Europe in Asia: Peripheral or Full Partner?. Contact: ISIS-Malaysia, fax: 603-293-9430.
25. **Europe and Asia: Working Towards a Partnership? (Wilton Park Conference 568)** Wilton Park, June 7-10. Organized by the Wilton Park Conference Centre. Topics to be discussed include: achievements following the 1998 ASEM, prospects for ASEM III in Seoul, prospects for Asia-Europe cooperation and dialogue, policy challenges facing Asian countries on the economic, political and human fronts, and the potential for greater intra-Asian cooperation in these areas. Contact: Fiona Fung, Wilton Park Conferences, fax: 44-1903-815931, e-mail: admin@wiltonpark.org.uk.
26. **Progress in Economic Cooperation in Northeast Asia.** Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, June 9. Hosted by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Government of Mongolia. The Northeast Asia Forum and the Economic Research Institute of Northeast Asia also assisted in the design of the conference.

The main theme of the conference was economic cooperation in Northeast Asia and the Tumen Region. Contact: Dr. David Husband, Tumen Secretariat, fax: 86-10-6532-6465, e-mail: tumen@public.un.org.cn.

27. **Pacific Island States' Perspectives on Security.** Honolulu, June 22-24. Organized by the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies (APCSS). More than 40 official and non-official representatives from Pacific Island countries, leaders of regional institutions and NGOs, senior level government officials and policymakers from Washington, and scholars. Featured presentations by participants from Australia, the Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, Japan, New Caledonia, New Zealand, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Tonga and the US. The conference was organized into four sections: "Pacific Island Perspectives of Security," "Regional Resilience and Regional Cooperation," "The Pacific Islands and the Major Powers," and "The United States and the Pacific Islands." Key issues that emerged included: (1) the greatest external threat to Pacific Island states' security stems from globalization, (2) collective voice is critical for the 21st century, (3) globalization exacerbates Pacific Island capacity-building problems, (4) potential exists for "strategic neglect" by the major powers, and (5) US rhetoric does not match resources. Funded by the US Department of Defense. Contact: APCSS, Honolulu, fax: 808-971-8999, e-mail: pao@apcss.org website: <http://www.apcss.org> Conference report available at APCSS webpage: http://www.apcss.org/Report_Island_State_Security.html
28. **The Greater Mekong Subregion: Political and Security Implications for ASEAN.** Phnom Penh, July 1999. Sponsored by the Cambodian Institution of Cooperation and Peace (CICP) as part of its Program on the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS). In addition to Cambodian participants, the conference attracted participants from China, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand and Vietnam, as well as scholars from Korea, Malaysia and Singapore. The Program on the GMS focuses on the role of Cambodia in the GMS, as well as the challenges confronting this subregional framework. The conference addressed issues of political and security dimensions in terms of the implications they have on the countries of the GMS in particular, and in relation to ASEAN countries as a whole. In this respect, problems of illegal trade and other cross border trade, illegal migration, environmental pollution and the threat to health with respect to the spread of AIDS/HIV were discussed in terms of the political and security implications they present for the GMS. Keynote addresses were made by Mr. Kazu Sakai of the Asian Development Bank, Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen and ASEAN Secretary General H.E. Rodolfo Severino. Contact: CICP, fax: 855-23-362-520, 855-23-722-759, e-mail: cicp@camnet.com.kh website: <http://www.cicp.org>
29. **Second Intellectual Dialogue on Building Asia's Tomorrow.** Singapore, July 12-13. Organized by the Japan Center for International Exchange (JCIE) and the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), Singapore. Approximately 50 intellectuals from ASEAN countries, China, ROK and the US discussed the theme "Promoting Sustainable Development and Human Security." A lecture was given by Professor Amartya Sen. The conference had the goal of generating practical policy recommendations. Participants (1) assessed key issues in the emerging debate on sustainable development and human security in Asia and (2) focused on the role possibly played by global/regional institutions and civil society. Discussions centered on the following topics: "Good Governance—Is There an Asian Model?", "Social Safety Nets—How Desirable, How Feasible?", "Human Resource Development—Where to Invest in the Future?", "Protecting the Environment—How to Balance Economic Needs?", "The Role of Global Institutions," "The Role of Regional Institutions," "The Role of Civil Society," and "Defining an Intellectual Agenda for the Future." Contact: Makito Noda, JCIE, fax: (03) 3443-7580, e-mail: makinoda@jcie.or.jp website: <http://www.jcie.or.jp> Conference report published fall 1999.
30. **ASEAN-ISIS ASEAN 2020 Conference.** Singapore, July 20-22. Organized by the Singapore Institute of International Affairs on behalf of ASEAN-ISIS. Sponsored by the Canadian International Development Agency, Hans Seidel Foundation and the Singapore Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The theme of the conference was "ASEAN: Vision, Crisis and Change." Scholars, commentators and government officials (in their private capacities) came together to discuss the ASEAN 2020 vision in the context of a need for change. Discussions were structured around six main sessions: "Economic Measures: How Bold, How Measured?", "Driving the ARF: Engine or Autopilot?", "A Community of Caring Peoples: Human Development and Human Rights," "The Lessons of Enlargement," "How We Engage or Cooperate" and

“Institutionalizing ASEAN and the Asia-Pacific.” Contact: Singapore Institute of International Affairs, fax: 65-733-6217, e-mail: siaa@pacific.net.sg

31. **ASEAN Conference on ASEAN 2020: Vision, Crisis and Change.** Singapore, July 21-22. Organized by the Singapore Institute for International Affairs. Major funding from the Canadian International Development Agency. Attended by scholars, policy makers and non-governmental organizations. Countries represented included Cambodia, Canada, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam. Agenda items were: Economic Measures: How Bold, How Measured?; Driving the ARF: Engine or Autopilot?; A Community of Caring Peoples: Human Development, Human Rights; The Lessons of Enlargement; How We Change or Cooperate; Institutionalizing ASEAN and the Asia-Pacific; and Turning the Vision into Action. Contact: Betty Chin, SIIA, fax: 65-733-6217, e-mail: siaa@pacific.net.sg.

32. **4th Meeting of the Tokyo Forum for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament.** Tokyo, July 23-25. Jointly organized by the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA) and the Hiroshima Peace Institute. 18 participants from Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, Egypt, France, Germany, Japan, Malaysia, Pakistan, Russia, Sweden, UK, Ukraine and the US. This was the fourth and final meeting of the grouping’s one-year examination of ways to maintain and strengthen the nuclear non-proliferation regime and to promote global nuclear disarmament. The event was co-chaired by Nobuo Matsunaga, Vice Chairman of the JIIA, and Yasushi Akashi, former President of the Hiroshima Peace Institute. Results of the Forum were presented in person to both Japanese Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi and UN Secretary - General Kofi Annan. Contact: JIIA, e-mail: info@jiaa.or.jp The report is also available through the JIIA webpage: <http://www.ijinet.or.jp/JIIA/conference/tokyo-forum.html> **Related Publication: Facing Nuclear Dangers: An Action Plan for the 21st Century.** The Report of the Tokyo Forum for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament. Edited by the Japan Institute of International Affairs and the Hiroshima Peace Institute. December 1999 / 68pp. / paper / 182x257mm This is a text of the report presented to Japanese Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi and UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan at the end of the Tokyo Forum’s year-long deliberations. Contact: JIIA, e-mail: info@jiaa.or.jp

33. **International Forum on Peace and Security in the Taiwan Strait.** Taipei, July 26-28. Hosted by the 21st Century Foundation (Taipei) and co-sponsored by the American Enterprise Institute (Washington, DC). Approximately 62 Taiwanese scholars, businesspeople and government officials participated. Approximately 44 other scholars, journalists and current or former government officials attended, from Canada, United Kingdom, Japan, Philippines, ROK, Russia, Singapore and the United States. The main purpose of the forum was to undertake a comprehensive examination of the problems and dangers of the security situation in the Taiwan Strait and to map out viable strategies and measures that can facilitate the process of building peace and security in the region. Four key areas provided the focus: the origin, nature and structure of the security threat in the Taiwan Strait; regional involvements, concerns and approaches to the issue; future trends and scenarios of security development in the Strait; and competing strategies for shaping the security architecture of the region. Forum highlights included keynote addresses by Paul D. Wolfowitz, Dean, School for Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University; Robert Livingston, President, The Livingston Group; and Hisahiko Okazaki, President, The Okazaki Institute. The first two days of the proceedings were devoted to the key note addresses, as well as the presentation of 26 papers by leading security scholars and specialists from the Asia Pacific region. On the third day, overseas participants met with prominent Taiwanese political leaders (including President Lee Teng-hui) for informal dialogues. President Lee drew the attention of the group with comments on Taiwan and a “two states” theory. Contact: Ms. Jane Su, Forum Secretariat, 21st Century Foundation, Taipei, fax: 886-2-2723-5705, e-mail: t21cf@tpts4.seed.net.tw Papers presented at the forum, along with keynote speeches and commentaries, will be compiled, edited and published as a conference volume after the event.

34. **United Nation Regional Disarmament Meeting. Asia and the Pacific.** Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, August 3-5. Participants include Canada, China, Japan, Mongolia, Nepal, Pakistan, ROK, Russia, Thailand, US. The main subject of the meeting was “Security Concepts in the Changing World”. The main agenda items were: Security Concept in Asia and the Pacific; Security Environment in the Asia and Pacific Region; Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zones: Promoting Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament; and Mongolia’s

International Security and Nuclear-Weapon-Free Status. The issues to be discussed include: Security Concepts (including military and nuclear doctrine); Security of Small States; Information Technology and National Defense; Institutionalization of Security Talks and consultation: the Kathmandu Process; Definition of Security Today; National Security vs. Regional and International Security; How to Respond to Commonly Shared Challenges; Latin America and the Caribbean (on the implementation of the Tlatelolco); South Pacific (on the implementation of the Rortonga Treaty); Southeast Asia (on the implementation of the Bangkok Treaty); Consolidation of Mongolia's Nuclear-Weapon-Free Status; and Assuring Mongolia's Independence, Economic Security and Ecological Balance. Contact: International Organization's Department, Ministry of External Relations, Mongolia, fax: 976-1-322127, e-mail: mongmer@magicnet.mn.

35. **East-West Center Senior Seminar.** Honolulu, August 14-16. Charles E. Morrison, East-West Center (EWC) president, and Muthiah Alagappa, EWC director of studies, co-convened the seminar. Other seminar participants included Lee H. Hamilton, director of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; William Perry, Institute of International Studies, Stanford University Center for International and Security Cooperation; Stephen Bosworth, US ambassador to Korea; Rodolfo C. Severino, ASEAN Secretary General; Kurt Michael Campbell, US deputy assistant secretary of defense for Asia and Pacific affairs; Hong-koo Lee, Korean ambassador to the US; Kenneth G. Lieberthal, special assistant to the President and senior director for Asia, US National Security Council; and Yukio Satoh, permanent representative of Japan to the United Nations. Also in attendance were representatives of the Pacific Forum/CSIS, the Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies, US CINCPAC, and several counsels general in Honolulu. The meeting explored three broad areas: the changing dynamics of the Asia Pacific region, issues in US-Asia Pacific policies, and elements of a US 21st century Asia Pacific policy. Highlights of topics included: US presence in the region, now and in the long term; tensions between multilateralism and unilateralism in US policy; the effects of American domestic and global interests on US regional policy; and the impact of the Kosovo experience. Contact: East-West Center, fax: (808) 944-7376, e-mail: ewcinfo@ewc.hawaii.edu website: <http://www.ewc.hawaii.edu> The EWC plans to publish a summary of the major conclusions and recommendations reached at the seminar.
36. **Asia-Pacific Security in a Time of Economic Recovery.** Honolulu, August 30-September 2. The biennial conference of the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies (APCSS). Included government officials, military officers, scholars and businesspeople from more than 30 countries. Featured presentations by delegates from Australia, Bangladesh, China, Germany, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Philippines, Switzerland, Thailand and the United States. A representative from the UNDP was also in attendance. The event was divided into two broad sessions: a day of subregional panels centered on presentations from officials representing the major countries of Asia; and a day of concurrent working group sessions that addressed themes and issues relevant to all countries in the region. With the exception of formal presentations, discussions were conducted on a non-attribution basis to encourage frank discussion. In addition to the subregion reports, main topics included arms proliferation, governance in an era of diminished expectations, Asian capitalism into the early 21st century, perspectives on the Chinese Defense White Paper, military roles in transnational security, the future of the Asia-Pacific community, demographic change in Asia and perspectives on the US-East Asia Strategy Report. Funded by the US Department of Defense. Contact: APCSS, Honolulu, fax: 808-971-8999, e-mail: pao@apcss.org website: <http://www.apcss.org> Conference report available at APCSS webpage: http://www.apcss.org/Report_Biennial_99.html
37. **“A Changing Japan?”.** (Wilton Park Conference 572) Wilton Park, September 27-October 1. Organized by the Wilton Park Conference Centre, in association with the Japan Foundation. Agenda items include Japan in the 21st Century; Prospects for the Japanese Economy: Is It Heading Into or Out of Crisis?; Assessing the Financial Sector Reforms: What More Needs to Be Done?; Japanese Business: How Is It Shaping Up for the 21st Century?; The Challenge of Globalisation: Can Foreign Investment Reinvigorate the Economy?; Science and Technology: How is This Contributing to Economic Growth?; Governing Japan: Assessing Political Reform and the Role of Politicians; Educating Japan's Future Workforce: What Changes Are Necessary?; Welfare Support: What Should Be Provided and How Will It Be Paid For?; Social Change and Its Implication; What Are the Priorities for Japan's Security Policy?; What Impact Are

- Domestic Changes Having on Japan's Foreign Policy?; and How Far Is Japan Changing?. Contact: Fiona Fung, Wilton Park Conferences, fax: 44-0-1903-815-932, e-mail: fiona.fung@wiltonpark.org.uk.
38. **Asia-Pacific Meeting of the Commandants of National Defence Colleges.** Ulan Bator, October.
39. **US-Japan Cooperation on Energy, Environment and Security in Northeast Asia.** Berkeley, California, October 2-3. A workshop organized by the Energy, Security and Environment in Northeast Asia Network (ESENANet) of the Nautilus Institute. The ESENA Project was a collaborative effort between the Nautilus Institute (US) and the Center for Global Communications (Tokyo). Funders for the Project were the US-Japan Foundation and the Japan Foundation's Center for Global Partnership. 37 participants and 10 observers from the US, Japan and China, as well as 5 representatives of multilateral organizations (ADB, UNDP-GEF, World Bank) were in attendance. The main purpose of this final, synthesis workshop of the three-year ESENA Project was to finalize a set of recommendations for US-Japan cooperation on the nexus of energy, environmental and security issues in the region. Contact: Ken Wilkening, Program Officer, e-mail: esena@nautilus.org webpage: <http://www.nautilus.org/esena> Workshop papers and the ESENA Project final report are available on the ESENA Project webpage. **Related Publication:** *Energy, Environment and Security in Northeast Asia: Defining a US-Japan Partnership for Regional Comprehensive Security*. The Energy, Security, Environment in Northeast Asia (ESENA) Project Final Report. The ESENA Project was a three-year (1996-1999) policy-oriented dialogue between US and Japanese experts on the nexus of energy, environmental and security issues in Northeast Asia. It was a collaboration between the Berkeley, California-based Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainable Development and the Tokyo-based Center for Global Communications (GLOCOM) at the International University of Japan, and was funded by the US-Japan Foundation (USJF) and The Japan Foundation Center for Global Partnership (CGP). The aims of the project were to: 1) outline an integrative policy framework to assist policymakers in thinking about the linkages between energy, environmental and security issues; and 2) generate recommendations for small-scale, joint US-Japan initiatives promoting regional energy and environmental security in Northeast Asia. In each year, commissioned researchers presented analyses at workshops attended by US, Japanese and other experts from government, academia, multilateral institutions, the private sector and NGOs. This report is the culmination of the 3-year, 6-workshop ESENA Project. January 2000 / available in PDF and HTML formats at the webpage: <http://www.nautilus.org/papers/energy/ESENAfinalreport.html> / 62 pages (HTML). Contact: Ken Wilkening, Program Officer, The Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainable Development Energy, Security and Environment in Northeast Asia Project, fax: 510-204-9298, e-mail: esena@nautilus.org website: <http://www.nautilus.org>
40. **The 11th Hokkaido Conference for North Pacific Issues.** Sapporo, Japan, October 19-20. Organized by the North Pacific Region Advanced Research Center (NORPAC) and the National Institute for Research Advancement (NIRA). Participants from research institutes from Canada, DPRK, Japan, Mongolia, PRC, ROK, Russia, Taiwan, and U.S.A. The main theme of the conference will be economic development and security concerns in the North Pacific Region. Contact: NORPAC, fax: 81-11-832-7577.
41. **Reinventing North Pacific Cooperation at the Century's End.** Hokkaido, October 19-20. The Eleventh Hokkaido Conference on North Pacific Issues. Organized by the North Pacific Advanced Research Center (NORPAC) and the National Institute for Research Advancement (NIRA). 22 participants from research institutes in Canada (Joint Centre for Asia Pacific Studies, Institute of Asian Research and Institute of International Relations/UBC); China (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences/Institute of World Economy and Politics); Japan (NIRA, NORPAC, University of Shizuoka, International Research Center for Japanese Studies); Mongolia (Institute of Administration and Management Development, Center for Foreign Policy Studies/Ministry of External Relations); South Korea (Korea Development Institute); Russia (Russian Academy of Social Sciences/IMEMO); Taiwan (Taiwan Institute of Economic Research) and the United States (Brookings, Princeton University, Social Science Research Council). North Koreans did not attend, though academics from Korea University in Tokyo presented North Korean perspectives on the issues under discussion. These focused on the current state of regional cooperation in Northeast Asia, developments on the Korean Peninsula, energy development, and next steps in regional cooperation

- including the possibility of creating a consortium of research institutes interested in policy-related matters. Four papers were presented and are being circulated by the organizers. In an informal survey the participants were asked to identify ten individuals who had the greatest impact on international cooperation in the North Pacific in the past century. The name mentioned most frequently was Deng Xiaoping, followed by Mikhail Gorbachev, Kim Dae Jung, Richard Nixon, Akio Morita, Saburo Okita and Robert Scalapino. Financial support for the conference provided by NIRA and private organizations and government in Hokkaido Prefecture. Contact: Akio Matsue, NORPAC, fax: 81-11-832-7577, e-mail: takada@tyhr.hokkai-s-u.ac.jp The conference was followed on October 21 by a half -day “North Pacific International Forum” open to the public and attended by about 300 people.
42. **The State of Sino-American Relations.** Paris, October 21-22. A closed seminar organized by the French Institute of International Affairs (IFRI). Participants included 2 scholars from China, 2 scholars from the US, 10 French scholars and official representatives. Main topics discussed were the interplay of domestic and economic factors in the Sino-American relationship; strategic issues in the Sino-American relationship; and US, China, Europe: is there a triangle? Titles of papers presented: “Strategic Issues in Sino-American Relations (American View),” “Security Issues Between China and the United States (Chinese View),” “The Politics of US Trade Relations with China (American View)” and “The New Crisis and its Aftermath: Sino-US Relations Since the 1997-1998 Summits (Chinese View).” Funded by IFRI and the Delegation for Strategic Issues (French Ministry of Defense). Contact: François Godement, Senior Research Associate, and Régine Serra, Research Assistant, IFRI, fax: 33 1 40 61 60 60, e-mail: serra@ifri.org website: <http://www.ifri.org> IFRI plans to publish a seminar summary.
43. **China-US-Japan-Russian Relations in a Changing World.** Beijing, October 22-23. An international conference organized by the Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies in cooperation with the Institute of American Studies, the Institute of Japanese Studies and the Center for Russian Studies in the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. Approximately 25 participants from Chinese universities and research centres, plus 19 foreign participants from universities and institutes in Australia, Canada, Japan, Russia, South Korea and the United States. Session topics included: new challenges in international relations; China-US-Japan-Russian relations in the Asia-Pacific region; China-US, partners or competitors?; China-Russia, a reliable partnership?; China-Japan-US, breaking the security dilemma; and US-Japan-Russia, major issues. Papers are being revised and published in a volume edited by Zhang Yunling. Principal funding provided by the Ford Foundation. Contact: Guo Weihong, Conference Committee Secretary, Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, fax: 8610-6406-3041.
44. **International Conference on China-US-Japan-Russian Relationship Towards the 21st Century.** Beijing, October 22-23. Organized by the Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, in cooperation with the Institute of American Studies, the Institute of Japanese Studies, and the Center for Russian Study , of the Chinese Academy of Social Science. Topics to be discussed include New trends of international relations since the end of the Cold War; The formation and features of “partner relationships” among big powers; China -US: constructive strategic partnership; China-Russia: strategic coordinating partnership; China-Japan: Friendly cooperative partnership; US-Japan: alliance under “new guidelines”; US-Russia: matured strategic partnership; Japan-Russia: Creative partnership; China-US-Japan-Russia in world affairs; China-US-Japan-Russia in Asia-pacific regional cooperation; China-US-Japan-Russia in Northeast Asia, China-US-Japan-Russia in Southeast Asia; and China-US-Japan-Russia in South Asia. Contact: Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, fax: 8610-64063041, e-mail: aprccass@public3.bta.net.cn.
45. **Development and Security in Southeast Asia (DSSEA) Project 6th Echo Seminar.** North York, Canada, October 25, 1999. Hosted by the Centre for International and Security Studies at York University. Project funded by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). This was the first Echo Seminar to be held outside of Southeast Asia. Attended by 53 participants, predominantly representatives of Canadian NGOs, Canadian academics and graduate students, as well as officials from the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) and CIDA. There were also participants from Australia, Indonesia and the Philippines. Leaders of the three DSSEA task forces (environment, human resources and globalization) provided an overview of the project’s substantive results, and 12 new papers were presented

and discussed across the three main areas. Contact: Heather Chestnutt, Research Officer, Centre for International and Security Studies, York University (North York), fax: 416-736-5752, e-mail: yciss@yorku.ca

46. **9th ASEAN Young Leaders' Forum.** Hanoi, October 28-30. Hosted by the Institute for International Relations, Vietnam Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Supported by the Canadian International Development Agency and ASEAN-ISIS. The theme of the forum was "ASEAN and the Asia-Pacific: Young Generation's Perspectives." Participants included governmental, private sector and academic representatives from all the ASEAN countries: Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand (4 from each), Brunei (2), Myanmar (2) and Vietnamese hosts. Sessions focused on ASEAN problems and challenges, environmental challenges in Southeast Asia, the regional economic crisis and ASEAN in the Asia-Pacific. The session on ASEAN problems and challenges in particular examined main political and security issues in the evolving ASEAN context. Contact: Institute for International Relations, Vietnam Ministry of Foreign Affairs, fax: 84-4-834-3543 website: <http://www.mofa.gov.vn/english/index.html>
47. **Nuclear Arms Control: Australian and Regional Perspectives Towards 2000.** Brisbane, Australia, October 29-30. Organized by the Department of Government, University of Queensland. Sponsored by the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the Australian Institute of International Affairs and the University of Queensland. The conference was attended by academics and strategic analysts in arms control and international security, members of the diplomatic community, senior national security officials, students of regional security and international affairs and members of peace and disarmament NGOs. Three main themes were covered: (1) current problems in the nuclear non-proliferation regime, (2) diplomatic issues facing the 2000 NPT review conference and (3) new approaches to arms control and disarmament. Contact: Marianne Hanson, Department of Government, University of Queensland, fax: +61 7 3365 1388, e-mail: m.hanson@mailbox.uq.edu.au website: <http://www.uq.oz.au/govt/conference/armscontrol.htm> Keynote speech by the Honorable Alexander Downer MP, Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs, available at the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade webpage: http://www.dfat.gov.au/media/speeches/foreign/991029_npt.html
48. **Peace and Security in Asia in the 21st Century (Asia-Pacific Journalists Meeting).** Tokyo, November 10. The fifth such annual meeting hosted by the Foreign Press Center Japan in cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Japan Foundation. Eight journalists from the Asia Pacific region participated, including the Tokyo bureau chiefs of the New York Times, South Korea's Hankook Ilbo and the China Youth Daily; senior editors from the Jakarta Post, Thailand's The Nation and Malaysia's new Straits Times; and two Japanese journalists. The main topics were the future of China and the meaning of globalization to Asia. Contact: Foreign Press Center Japan, fax: (03) 3501-3622, e-mail: cp@fpcjpn.or.jp website: <http://www.nttls.co.jp/fpc> Conference transcript available at the Foreign Press Center Japan webpage: www.nttls.co.jp/fpc/e/gyouji/asia.html
49. **International Consultation on Security in the South Asia and Asia-Pacific Regions.** Port Dickson, Malaysia, November 15-18. Organized by the Oxford Research Group (UK) in cooperation with Ron McCoy, Malaysian Co-President of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. 35 participants, including political leaders, senior government officials and academic experts, from 15 countries in the region. The meeting analyzed the consequences of India and Pakistan's recent nuclear testing for the security of the South Asia and Asia-Pacific regions. It focused on issues of proliferation, as well as aspects of non-military security such as economic factors, shortage of energy supplies, environmental problems and religious and ethnic questions. The outcome of the consultation was the production of a set of recommendations for governments on security arrangements for the region in the 21st century, and mechanisms for their implementation. Contact: Oxford Research Group, UK, fax: +44 1865 794652, e-mail: org@oxfrg.demon.co.uk website: <http://www.oxfrg.demon.co.uk> A summary of papers and recommendations will be published as "A Current Decisions Report" in March 2000.

50. **5th Asia-Pacific Conference on Education and Culture.** Hong Kong, November 22-24. Organized by the University of Asia and the Pacific, Manila. The conference will be attended by educators from various APEC countries. Contact: Dr. Bett Ramirez or Mrs. Tippy Benitez, University of Asia Pacific, fax: 632 - 635-3140, e-mail: beth@uap.edu.ph.
51. **First ASEAN-EU Think Tanks Meeting.** Manila, November 27-28. Organized by the Institute for Strategic and Development Studies (ISDS) and the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung. The conference theme was "Asia-Europe: Redefining the Partnership in the Next Millennium." In attendance were 11 European and thirty ASEAN participants. Some of the think tanks that participated were: the European Institute for Asian Studies, Asia-Europe Foundation, Stiftung für Wissenschaft und Politik, Centre for Strategic and International Studies (Jakarta), Cambodian Institute for Cooperation and Peace, Institute of Foreign Affairs (Laos), Institute of Strategic and International Studies (Kuala Lumpur), Institute of Security and International Studies (Thailand), Philippine Center for Policy Studies, Institute of Defense and Strategic Studies, Singapore Institute of International Affairs and the Institute of International Relations (Vietnam). The conference is the first in a series that seeks to bring together think tank organizations in Southeast Asia and Europe to discuss issues that affect ASEAN and EU relations and the role that think tanks play in this context. It also aims to make policy recommendations that will enhance ASEAN-Europe relations. The meeting discussed four main themes: Asia and Europe: Redefining the Partnership; How ASEAN Weighs in Europe; Addressing Stumbling Blocks to ASEAN-Europe Relations; and The Role of Think Tanks in ASEAN-Europe Relations. Contact: Malaya Ronas, Institute for Strategic and Development Studies, Philippines, fax: 632-921-1436, e-mail: isdsphil@cnl.net
52. **12th Council on Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific Steering Committee Meeting.** Seoul, December 2-3. Contact: CSCAP Korea, fax: 82 2 393 7272, e-mail: cscaprok@bubble.yonsei.ac.kr
53. **China and the Global Community.** Salzburg, Austria, December 4-11, 1999. Salzburg Seminar Session 373. Attended by 59 guests, including 41 academics, 11 government officials, 6 business people and 1 NGO representative. The largest contingents were from China (11) and the US (7) with participants from Argentina, Austria, Bangladesh, Germany, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Japan, Kazakhstan, Korea, Netherlands, Pakistan, Philippines, Romania, Russia, Singapore, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Taiwan, Thailand, Uzbekistan, US and Vietnam also in attendance. The first of what is intended to be a series of sessions focusing on issues of interest to East and Southeast Asia. Each session will bring together 55 -60 mid-career emerging leaders from 30-40 countries to work with a faculty comprised of senior practitioners of the subject under discussion. The Asian series of sessions will consist of an annual event between 1999-2004 focusing on a specific subject: security, environment/sustainable energy, corporate governance, the NGO sector/civil society and technology. This session explored the sustained process of modernization and reform in China during the past two decades and examined how these changes have dramatically altered the domestic landscape and consequently China's role in the region and the world. In the sessions focusing on security, a plenary session examined factors of cooperation and conflict between China and Japan, a working group analyzed the strategic relationship between China and her neighbors, and an informal session addressed the broad topic of security issues in Asia. Contact: Scott Atherton, Deputy Director, Asian Affairs, Salzburg Seminar, fax: 43-662-83-9-837, e-mail: satherton@salzburgseminar.org website: <http://salzburgseminar.org>
54. **10th Workshop on Managing Potential Conflicts in the South China Sea.** Bogor, West Java, Indonesia, December 5-8, 1999. The meeting was hosted by the Research and Development Agency of the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, assisted by the Pusat Studi Kawasan Asia Tenggara (Jakarta), and the South China Sea Informal Working Group at the University of British Columbia (Vancouver), with support from the Asia-Pacific Ocean Cooperation Programme of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). Seventy-eight participants and observers from around the South China Sea attended the meeting, assisted by resource persons from Canada, China, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam and the United Nations Environment Programme. The meeting was conducted on an informal basis whereby participants took part in their personal capacities. Meeting decisions were reached by way of consensus. The meeting was convened to discuss the work of the

Workshop Process in 1999, and to set priorities for activities in 2000. Contact: Robert Adamson, South China Sea Informal Working Group, University of British Columbia (Vancouver), e-mail: robertadamson@attglobal.net website: <http://faculty.law.ubc.ca/scs> **Related Publication:** *Compilation of Meeting Statements from the Informal Working Groups on Managing Potential Conflicts in the South China Sea*. Prepared for the 10th Workshop on Managing Potential Conflicts in the South China Sea, Bogor, Indonesia, December 5-8, 1999. Report on a series of workshops held under the auspices of the Research and Development Agency within the Indonesian Department of Foreign Affairs and the South China Sea Informal Working Group (SCSIWG) at the University of British Columbia, Canada. Primary funding for the project provided by the Canadian International Development Agency. The workshops are non-governmental meetings attended by government and military officials in their private capacities as well as by academics from the region. They have been convened to explore ways to engender cooperation among the nations bordering on the South China Sea. This is a preliminary format serving as a precursor to a final, hardbound edition. 125pp. including glossary / paper / ring-bound. Contact: SCSIWG, e-mail: drnevin@unixg.ubc.ca

55. **Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue IX.** Beijing, December 8-9, 1999. Hosted by the Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC), University of California (LaJolla, US). A list of 35 academics and officials (in their private capacities) attended from Japan, PRC, ROK, Russia and the US. Discussions centered around the following topics: 1) "National and Military Perspectives on Northeast Asian Security;" 2) "Perspectives on US-China Relations;" 3) "Russian National Perception of Northeast Asian Security with an Emphasis on Recent Korean Developments;" 4) "Russian Military Perception of Northeast Asian Security;" and 5) "ROK Proposal for 'Northeast Asia Security Dialogue.'" Contact: IGCC, fax: 858-534-7655, e-mail: ph13@sdcc12.ucsd.edu website: <http://www-igcc.ucsd.edu>
56. **In Quest of Human Security.** Tokyo, December 11-12. The Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA) 40th Anniversary Symposium. Co-sponsored by the JIIA and the United Nations University. A total of fifteen guests from countries including Indonesia, Japan, Philippines, UK and the US met to discuss human security. Admission to the symposium was open to the public. The event opened with keynote addresses by Japanese Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi and former UN Secretary-General Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali who each spoke on issues facing the post-Cold War international community from the perspective of placing greater importance on individuals. Sessions included: "Measures for Conflict Prevention," "Promotion of Sustainable Development," "Enhancement of Human Dignity" and "A Strategy for Consolidating Human Security." Contact: JIIA, e-mail: info@jia.or.jp
57. **Second Symposium on Korea and the Search for Peace in Northeast Asia.** Kyoto, December 14-17. Chaired by Dr. Yasushi Akashi. Approximately 35 participants including academics, journalists and former officials from Australia, Canada, China, Japan, South Korea, United Kingdom and the United States; and officials from Russia, Sweden and the United Nations. The purpose of the second symposium, as with the first which was held in December 1998, was to discuss problems which hinder a reduction of tension in the Korean Peninsula; and to assess the roles that could be played by confidence-building measures, humanitarian activities and other forms of international action in support of efforts by the two Koreas and major regional powers to facilitate a peaceful evolution in the situation and thus to strengthen regional security. The symposium involved a combination of plenary and working group discussions. Papers presented: Robert Scalapino, "The Korean Peninsula—Prospects and Policies;" Hajime Izumi, "Recent Development in North Korea and the Perry Initiative;" Arnold Kanter, "Strengthening Security and Stability in Northeast Asia: Prospects, Problems and Opportunities;" and Rashid Khalikov, "Korea and the Search for Peace in Northeast Asia: Relevant Humanitarian Issues."

The Chairman's statement distributed after the symposium made the following key points. Though there are new dangers and concerns on the peninsula, limited progress has unmistakably been made in dealing with North Korea. Examples of this progress include the Perry Report, the Berlin agreement on suspending North Korean missile tests, Kim Dae Jung's policy of engagement of North Korea, the visit of a multi-party Japanese delegation to Pyongyang, the easing of the famine in the North, and the generally successful implementation of the Agreed Framework. At the same time there are new dangers and concerns, including the ongoing fragility of the North Korean economy, domestic political factors arising

from upcoming elections in South Korea and the United States, and the emergence of potentially divisive issues including theatre missile defense and North Korea's pursuit of chemical and biological weapons.

Recommendations put forward during the discussion included (1) lend support for enhanced policy coordination involving the United States, Japan and South Korea; policy consultation with China; and expanded consultations with Russia and the EU; (2) lend support for the efforts of the Kim Dae Jung government to engage North Korea in a wide range of economic and cultural activities, with the hope that these would reactivate North-South dialogue; (3) insulate, as far as possible, consultation efforts focusing on the peninsula from the ups and downs of bilateral relations between the great powers, and reaffirm the value of the 1994 Agreed Framework as an essential foundation for dealing with nuclear concerns; (4) encourage expanded North Korean participation in regional consultations and dialogues such as the ARF and APEC, and multilateral financial institutions such as the ADB, World Bank and IMF; and (5) lend support for UN-led humanitarian and technical assistance programs in North Korea, with additional support for other initiatives, especially those led by "middle powers," to expand academic and technical exchanges with North Korea.

There are no plans to publish the papers. The full Chairman's statement is available on request. Contact: fax: 81-75-465-8160, e-mail: ritsconf@yahoo.com

58. **The Dynamics of Asia-Pacific Security: A Fin-de-Siècle Assessment (The 1999 Asia-Pacific Security Forum Conference).** Taipei, December 17-18. Organized by the Institute for National Policy Research (Taiwan) and co-sponsored by the Pacific Forum/CSIS (US), the Institute for Strategic and Development Studies (Philippines), and the Institut Français des Relations Internationales (France). The third meeting in an annual series. Approximately 100 participants and observers from Taiwan, including serving and former government officials, academics, journalists, parliamentarians and NGO representatives. Also, approximately 25 academics, institute directors and retired officials from Australia, Canada, Germany, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, South Africa and the United States. The conference included panels on "Changing Power Relations in the Asia-Pacific," "Missile Proliferation and Missile Defense," "Information Technology and Regional Security," "Multilateralism, Bilateralism and Minilateralism," "Domestic Sources of Regional Stability and Instability" and "Sino-US Relations and Regional Security." Tang Fei, Minister of National Defense; Raymond Burghardt, Director, American Institute in Taiwan; and Chi Su, Chairman, Mainland Affairs Council; offered luncheon and dinner remarks. Several of the foreign participants attended a special session with President Lee Teng-hui. A decision has not yet been made regarding whether or not a volume will be published including some or all of the 18 conference papers. Contact: Bo Tedards, Institute for National Policy Research, fax: 886-2-2696-2766, e-mail: inprpd@ms8.hinet.net The complete official transcript of the speech by Raymond Burghardt, entitled "The US Role in Asia-Pacific Security," is available at the Nautilus Institute website Global Peace and Security Special Reports section under "US-Taiwan relations": <http://www.nautilus.org/napsnet/sr/index.html> Conference papers available from Institute for National Policy Research website: <http://www.inprnet.org.tw>

Other Meetings of Interest

I. Governmental / Track I Meetings

N.B. The Northeast Asia peace and Security Network (NAPSNet) group at the Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainable Development, Berkeley, California, provides comprehensive and timely coverage of bilateral Track I events in the Asia Pacific, particularly in Northeast Asia. Interested parties can subscribe to a daily NAPSNet e-mail report of regional events or access the report at the NAPSNet webpage. Contact: Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainable Development, fax: 1-510-204-9298, e-mail: nautilus@nautilus.org website: <http://www.nautilus.org/> The following is an abbreviated list of bilateral, security-related Track One events in the Asia Pacific in 1999. Details are available from NAPSNet.

1. **ROK-Japan Defense Talks.** Seoul, December 30, 1998-January 1, 1999. Attended by Japanese Defense Minister Hosei Norota and ROK Defense Minister Chun Yong-Taek. Discussion centered on cooperation against the DPRK military threat, with topics including the DPRK rocket launch last August. (As noted in the Northeast Asia Peace and Security Network Daily Report on January 6, 1999. Contact: Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainable Development, fax: 1-510-204-9298, e-mail: nautilus@nautilus.org, web site: <http://www.nautilus.org/>)
2. **DPRK-US Talks.** New York, February 27-March 15. Attended by US and DPRK officials. Ambassador Charles Kartman, US Special Envoy for the Korean Peace Talks led the US delegation, and Vice Foreign Minister Kim Kye-gwan led the DPRK delegation. On the agenda was the Kumchang-ri underground construction site. The two countries reached an agreement on allowing US inspectors to make several visits to the suspected underground site, in return for US aid to the DPRK in increasing potato yields and improvement of political and economic ties between the two countries. (As noted in the Northeast Asia Peace and Security Network Daily Report on February 26, March 16, 1999. Contact: Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainable Development, fax: 1-510-204-9298, e-mail: nautilus@nautilus.org, web site: <http://www.nautilus.org/>)
3. **Japan-DPRK Talks.** Singapore, March. The informal talks were attended by senior officials at the Japanese Foreign Ministry and the DPRK's Asia-Pacific Peace Committee. According to a senior Japanese official, the meeting focused on ways to resume negotiations between the two countries on normalization of diplomatic ties, as well as issues related to the DPRK's missile development program. (As noted in the Northeast Asia Peace and Security Network Daily Report on March 11, 1999. Contact: Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainable Development, fax: 1-510-204-9298, e-mail: nautilus@nautilus.org, web site: <http://www.nautilus.org/>)
4. **Indo-Chinese Joint Working Group Meeting.** April 26-28. The confidence building talks between India and the PRC are an effort to facilitate better ties between the two nations.
5. **Japan-US Summit meeting.** Washington, May 3. Attended by Japanese Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi and US President Bill Clinton. The 2 leaders discussed a number of issues, including defense cooperation, reviving the Japanese economy, policy towards the DPRK, and the admittance of the PRC into the WTO. (As noted in the Northeast Asia Peace and Security Network Daily Report on May 3, 4, 7, 1999. Contact: Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainable Development, fax: 1-510-204-9298, e-mail: nautilus@nautilus.org, web site: <http://www.nautilus.org/>)
6. **Russia-PRC Talks.** Beijing, May 10. Attended by Russian special presidential representative Viktor Chernomyrdin, PRC President Jiang Zemin and PRC State Council Chairman Zhu Rongji. The two sides discussed the situation in Kosovo, with Russia seeking PRC support for the Russian position on Yugoslavia. The parties concluded that the US is using NATO in order to subjugate the European Bodies and the UN, and agreed to hold a Russia-PRC summit, possibly in October. (As noted in the Northeast Asia Peace and Security Network Daily Report on May 18, 1999. Contact: Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainable Development, fax: 1-510-204-9298, e-mail: nautilus@nautilus.org, web site: <http://www.nautilus.org/>)
7. **ROK-PRC Talks.** Beijing, August 23. PRC Defense Minister Chi Haotian and ROK Defense Minister Cho Seong-tae.
8. **DPRK-UNC Talks.** Panmunjom, September 1. Lieutenant General Ri Chan-bok of the DPRK People's Army and Major General Michael Dunn from US Forces in the ROK (United Nations Command).
9. **Japan-ROK Talks.** Tokyo, September 2. Japanese Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi and ROK Prime

Minister Kim Jong-pil.

10. **PRC-US Summit.** Auckland, September 11.
11. **PRC-ROK Summit.** Auckland, September 11.
12. **US-PRC Talks.** Beijing, October 28. US Under Secretary of State Thomas Pickering and PRC Vice Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi.
13. **US-DPRK Talks.** Berlin, November 15. Delegations led by US Special Envoy for the Korean Peace Talks, Ambassador Charles Kartman, and DPRK Vice Foreign Minister Kim Gye Gwan.
14. **US-ROK Talks.** Washington, November 22. US Defense Secretary William Cohen and ROK Defense Minister Cho Seong-tae.
15. **DPRK-Japan Talks.** Beijing, December 21-22. Delegates included Koreshige Anami, head of the Japanese Foreign Ministry Asian Affairs Bureau, and DPRK counterpart O Ul-rok, in charge of Japanese Affairs.

II. Nongovernmental / Track II Meetings

1. **Europe and Asia: Working Towards a Partnership? (568th Wilton Park Conference).** West Sussex, England, June 7-9. Including presentations by scholars, NGO members and government officials from Bangkok, Japan, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Singapore and the UK. The primary focus of the conference was an examination of what Europe and Asia can do effectively together, asking the question, “What can the regional linkage established via ASEM contribute to the already strong bilateral links?” Participants also considered opportunities for increased interaction between Asia and Europe. The conference included a session on “Promoting Security and Political Cooperation” led by Daljit Singh, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of South-East Asian Studies, Singapore; and Michael Leifer, Professor, Department of International Relations, London School of Economics and Political Science. Contact: Wilton Park Conferences, fax: +44(0) 1903 897647, e-mail: admin@wiltonpark.org.uk website: <http://www.wiltonpark.org.uk>
2. **US-Korea Cooperation: The Perry Report and Beyond.** Washington, July 15. Organized and hosted by the Brookings Center for Northeast Asian Policy Studies (CNAPS), The Brookings Institution. Co-sponsored by the Institute for Foreign Affairs and National Security (IFANS) of the South Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Drew together 60 American and South Korean regional experts to discuss Korean Peninsula security issues. The gathering featured keynote speaker Joel Wit, who is the State Department Agreed Framework Coordinator, and who led the recent US inspection visit to the suspect North Korean nuclear site at Kumchangri. Kurt Campbell, US Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Asian and Pacific Affairs, delivered concluding remarks. Panels convened on future prospects for North Korea, inter-Korean relations, regional actors and security issues, and US-Korea security cooperation: bilateralism and multilateralism. Contact: CNAPS, fax: (202) 797-6003, e-mail: skordel@brook.edu website: <http://www.brook.edu> Conference report published in Korean and English by IFANS.
3. **7th Summer Workshop on Defence, Technology and Co-operative Security in South Asia.** Ahungalla, Sri Lanka, September 13-20. Sponsored by the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS), Colombo. Thirty young professionals from Bangladesh, China, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka participated in the workshop. The faculty consisted of 20 experts from the countries of South Asia, China,

Switzerland, US, Belgium and France. Professor Stephen P. Cohen of the Brookings Institution delivered the keynote address, "Changing Concepts of Security in the Modern World." Main topics focused on South Asia issues, included foreign policy and security perceptions, nuclear and disarmament issues, US-China-Southern Asia relations, confidence building measures, human rights, cooperative security, trade and economic cooperation opportunities and Kashmir. This year the project was funded with support from the W. Alton Jones Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Merck Fund and the Ploughshares Fund. Contact: Program Officer, RCSS, Colombo, fax: (941)-599993, e-mail: rcss@sri.lanka.net website: <http://www.rcss.org> Keynote address full text available at RCSS website.

4. **US-China Relations on the Eve of the 21st Century.** Washington, September 14. Hosted by the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). An invitation-only conference featuring leading figures from a cross-section of Administration, Congressional, business, academic, journalism and non-governmental organizations. Opening and closing comments were made by Gerrit Gong, Freeman Chair and Director, CSIS Asia Program; Ambassador Richard Fairbanks, President and CEO, CSIS; and George Fisher, Chairman and CEO, Eastman Kodak Company. The first presentation was titled "Sino-US Relations on the Eve of the 21st Century," presented by Susan Shirk, Deputy Assistant Secretary, East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Department of State; and H.E. Li Zhaoxing, Ambassador, Embassy of the PRC. The second presentation, "Future US-China Economic and Commercial Relations," was given by the Honorable David Dreier, US House of Representatives; the Honorable Max Baucus, US Senate; R. Fenton-May, Director, Operations Development, The Coca-Cola Company; and Thomas Friedman, Foreign Affairs Columnist, The New York Times. Following that, Ambassador Winston Lord; Thomas Palley, Assistant Public Policy Director, AFL-CIO; Kurt Campbell, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Asian and Pacific Affairs, Department of Defense; and the Honorable Curt Weldon, US House of Representatives; discussed "Future US-China Political/Security Relations." Next, Jonathan Spence, Sterling Professor of History and Director of Graduate Studies Council on East Asian Studies, Yale University, presented "China's Buried Past: Message for the Future." The Honorable Zbigniew Brzezinski, Counselor, CSIS; and the Honorable Henry Kissinger, Counselor, CSIS; also spoke. Contact: CSIS, fax: (202)-331-7048, website: <http://www.csis.org> Full conference transcripts available at the conference webpage: <http://www.csis.org/asia/events/990914agenda.html>
5. **A Changing Japan? (572nd Wilton Park Conference).** West Sussex, England, September 27-October 1. Included presentations by scholars, businesspeople and government officials from China, Japan, Switzerland and the UK. The conference posed the following main questions: how will Japan develop as it enters the new century?, what are its political and economic prospects in the face of continuing pressure for change?, and are economic reforms adequate? Included a session on "What are the Priorities for Japan's Security Policy?" led by Paul Stares, Director of Studies, Japan Centre for International Exchange, Tokyo. Also included a session focused on Japanese foreign policy. Contact: Wilton Park Conferences, fax: +44(0) 1903 897647, e-mail: admin@wiltonpark.org.uk website: <http://www.wiltonpark.org.uk>
6. **2nd Meeting of the French Institute of International Affairs and the China Reform Forum.** Paris, October 7-8. Organized by the French Institute of International Affairs (IFRI) and the China Reform Forum. 12 Chinese participants from the academic and political realms and 35 French participants from the academic, political, administrative and business realms. Agenda items included stability and security (human security and economic development; socio-economic transition and stability); the Asian financial crisis and its consequences (the challenges of monetary stability and the Euro; solutions and prospects after the financial crisis; new social problem issues); and an overview on international regional security issues (American policy in the Asia Pacific and the Sino-American relationship; regional security and proliferation issues; evolution on the Korean Peninsula; evolution of the Taiwan issue; prospects for European defense). Funded by IFRI and the French Policy Planning Staff. Contact: François Godement, Senior Research Associate, and Régine Serra, Research Assistant, IFRI, fax: 33 1 40 61 60 60, e-mail: serra@ifri.org website: <http://www.ifri.org> or Chen Shuxun, China Reform Forum, e-mail: chenshuxun@crf.org.cn

7. **South Korean Delegation: The Current Political, Economic and Military Situation in North Korea.** Washington, October 19. Part of the regular Northeast Asia Roundtable series organized by the Brookings Institution Center for Northeast Asian Policy Studies (CNAPS), designed to enhance policy development and understanding of the pressing political, economic and security issues facing Northeast Asia, as well as understanding of US foreign policy toward the region. An invitation-only event attended by 4 South Korean governmental officials, 13 Brookings Institution scholars and 4 additional American participants. South Korean officials offered their views and solicited feedback on such topics as North Korea's relationship with China and Russia; the near-, middle-, and longer-term threat scenarios posed by the North Korean regime; and prospects for regime change and reform in North Korea. Contact: CNAPS, fax: (202) 797-6003, e-mail: skordel@brook.edu website: <http://www.brook.edu> Conference report published in Korean and English by IFANS.
8. **Emerging Southeast Asian Identities in an Era of Volatile Globalization.** Vancouver, October 22-24. The joint international conference of the Canadian Council for Southeast Asian Studies (CCSEAS) and the Northwest Regional Consortium for Southeast Asian Studies (NWRCSSEAS), held in conjunction with the Centre for Southeast Asia Research (CSEAR), Institute of Asian Research, University of British Columbia (UBC), Vancouver, Canada. Partial funding provided by the Ford Foundation and the UBC Hampton Fund. Approximately 133 participants, including 70 Canadians, 33 Americans, and attendees from Australia, Indonesia, Malaysia, New Zealand, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, United Kingdom and ROK. Participants included primarily academics and a selection of former Canadian ambassadors. Two dozen panels and close to 100 presentations broached a wide variety of topics—globalization; the Asian crisis; national, regional and localized impacts and responses (economic, political, social, environmental); as well as historical and cultural antecedents and concomitants. An important conference sub-theme was “Surviving the Asian Crisis: Impacts, Responses and Coping Strategies at Regional, National and Local Levels in Southeast Asia.” A series of four conference panels examining the connections between development and security issues in Southeast Asia was organized by the Development and Security in Southeast Asia (DSSEA) Project, which is a collaborative venture of the York Centre for International and Security Studies (Canada), the Institute for Strategic and Development Studies (Philippines) and the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (Indonesia). Conference keynote address by Professor Gillian Hart, Geography, University of California at Berkeley, entitled “Disabling Discourses of Globalization: Reflections on Recent Changes in Southeast Asia.” Contact: Geoff Hainsworth, Director, CSEAR, fax: (604) 822-5207 e-mail: gbh@interchange.ubc.ca website: <http://www.iar.ubc.ca> Organizers plan to publish four or five volumes of proceedings in a new series of CSEAR Research Monographs.
9. **10th ROK-US Defense Analysis Seminar.** Seoul, October 25-28. Co-hosted by the Korea Institute for Defense Analyses (KIDA) and the US Office of the Deputy Under Secretary of the Army. Co-sponsored by ROK Army, Navy and Air Force Headquarters. The theme of the seminar was “Decision-Making in the Information Age.” A gathering of more than 60 Korean and American defense experts from more than 20 defense institutes and organizations. There were a total of 64 presentations given throughout 6 different sessions: joint force development, acquisition analysis, defense resource management, manpower policy, C4I and information warfare and security policy and arms control. Highlights included a keynote speech by Stephen Bosworth, US Ambassador to the ROK, and the “Special Report on North Korea Policy” by Vice Minister Yang Young-Shik of the ROK Ministry of National Unification. Funding provided by ROK Ministry of National Defense and US Department of Defense. Contact: KIDA, Seoul, fax: 82 2 965 3295.
10. **China Beyond Fifty (583rd Wilton Park Conference).** West Sussex, England, November 8-12. Including presentations by scholars, current and former government officials, businesspeople and journalists from Australia, Belgium, China, Hong Kong, the UK and the United States. An examination of China's domestic and foreign policy and its future place in the world. Key political, social, economic and strategic issues were examined from both Chinese and non-Chinese perspectives with a view to identifying the major global challenges of tomorrow. The conference included a session on “Current PRC and US National and Strategic Interests: How Will they Affect Sino-International Relationships?” led by Robert Broadfoot, Managing Director, Political and Economic Risk Consultancy Limited, Hong Kong SAR; Su Ge, Professor

of International Relations and Assistant President of Foreign Affairs College, Beijing; and Douglas Paal, President, Asia-Pacific Policy Center, Washington DC. Contact: Wilton Park Conferences, fax: +44(0) 1903 897647, e-mail: admin@wiltonpark.org.uk website: <http://www.wiltonpark.org.uk>

11. **Asia-Pacific Regional Maritime Security Workshop.** Halifax, December 1-3. A component of the Maritime Security and Oceans Policy Program of the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Canada. The third in a series of interdisciplinary workshops on regional maritime security. Eighteen presentations or commentaries were given by specialists from Canada and the United States. Approximately 70 people participated in all or part of the workshop from a variety of backgrounds including defence and foreign affairs policy-makers, university scholars, serving and retired naval and military officers, students, strategic consultants, politicians and United States foreign service officers. Workshop themes included regional political security and the naval balance in the East Asia-Pacific region, sustainable maritime resource development and the environment, regional economy and its relationship with seaborne trade and shipping, and the maritime dimension of human security in the region. Contact: Rear-Admiral Fred Crickard (Retd.), Senior Research Fellow, Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, fax: (902)-494-3825, e-mail: centre@is.dal.ca website: <http://www.dal.ca/~centre> Workshop proceedings will be published in a monograph in April 2000.

Recent Publications

Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influences. Edited by Muthiah Alagappa, East-West Center, Honolulu. Country by country study of 16 Asian states' conception of security. Security experts from the region investigate each country's security concerns, and the behaviour of its central decision makers. The book is divided into 3 parts: a review on the debate over defining security and a historical overview of international politics in Asia; a description of security in each country as noted above; and a comparison of these countries' various approaches in an attempt to identify key characteristics of Asian security practice. Stanford University Press, 1998.

Research Project - The US-Japan and US-Korea Security Alliances in a Changing Northeast Asia. Asia/Pacific Research Center, Stanford University. Three-year research project. 19 discussion papers have been produced over the first two years. Papers written by scholars from Japan, Korea, PRC, US, and elsewhere. The papers examined America's security alliances with Japan and Korea with respect to: their historical origins and legacies; the changing economic and political circumstances of East Asia; the treaties in the domestic politics of each of the treaty parties; and the external environment of East Asia, notably the possibility of reunification of the Korean peninsula and China's rise as both a regional and world power. Additional papers will be published over the coming year, and the entire series will be published in a two-book set. These papers are also expected to be incorporated into a teaching module for secondary school use. Website: <http://www-leland.stanford.edu/group/APARC/research/alliances.html>.

A Report from the Third Meeting of the North Pacific Working Group (NPWG), Council for Security Cooperation in Asia Pacific (CSCAP). Published by CSCAP-Canada and CSCAP-Japan. The report covers the third meeting of the NPWG which took place December 14-16, 1997 in Makuhari. CSCAP member committees represented were from Australia, Canada, China, DPRK, Indonesia, Japan, Mongolia, New Zealand, Philippines, ROK, Russia, Thailand, US. Europe and specialists from KEDO and Taipei were also present. Agenda items were Recent Developments in Northeast Asia; Border CBMs in Northeast Asia; Economic Cooperation and Institutions in Northeast Asia; The Role of the ASEAN Regional Forum in Northeast Asia; and Future Directions of the NPWG. The papers included in the report are: "Recent Developments in Northeast Asia: An American View" by James A. Kelly; "Northeast Asia in 1997: forward from bilateralism?" by James Cotton; "Border CBM in Asia" by Shi Chunlai; "Mongolia: A Lost Country?" by Toinkhuu Bayarmagnai; "Border CBMs in Northeast Asia: Russian Perspective" by Victor Samoilenko; "Economic Cooperation and Institution building in Northeast Asia" Hyun-Seog Yu; "On the Development of the Tuman River Area" by Choe Han Chun; "Current and Prospective Cooperation and Institutions in Northeast Asia" by Ralph A. Cossa; "On the Cooperation and Present and Future Systematic Mechanism in the

Region of Northeast Asia” by Pak Hyon Jae; “Institutionalization of Multilateral Security Dialogues in Northeast Asia: A Japanese Perspective” by Hideya Kurata; “What Role for the ARF in Northeast Asia and the North Pacific?” by Paul M. Evans; and “Some Notes on the Role of the ARF” by A. Hasnan Habib. Contact CSCAP-Japan, fax: 813-3505-7186.

Keeping Proliferation at Bay. By the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta, in cooperation with the Peach Research Centre, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, the Australian National University. Edited by Ramesh Thakur. A compilation of eight papers presented at the seminar on Non-Proliferation which was held in Jakarta on December 6-7, 1996. The seminar focused on the examination of weapons of mass destruction proliferation as a significant new element of the ARF’s consideration of regional security issues. The papers included in this publication deal with global instruments and disarmament initiatives; the question of the adequacy of existing instruments and regimes for non-proliferation; and ways and means by which the barriers to non-proliferation could be strengthened. Contact: CSIS, Jakarta, fax: 62-21-384-7517 or 62-21-380-9641.

Conference Report

Report on the Fourth Meeting of the CSCAP

North Pacific Working Group

8-10 November 1998
Jing Lun Hotel, Beijing, China

Co-Chairs
Brian L. Job, (CSCAP Canada)
Yoshinobu Yamamoto, (CSCAP Japan)

Fourth NPWG meeting in Beijing, 8-10 November 1998

The fourth meeting of the North Pacific Working Group was held in Beijing, November 8-10. This was the first time that the NPWG has met outside the home countries of the co-chairs, previous meetings having been held in Tokyo (1995), Vancouver (January, 1997), and Makuhari (December, 1997). CSCAP China served as the host for this fourth meeting.

The NPWG continues to be a “full house” dialogue engaging all parties in the North Pacific. The meetings were attended by representatives from the following CSCAP Member Committees: Australia, Canada, China, Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, Europe, Japan, Republic of Korea, Mongolia, New Zealand, United States, and Vietnam. Also participating were two “other participants” and one expert invited by the co-chairs. The Member Committees of Russia and the Philippines sent observers to the meeting. Officials from various local embassies and institutions in Beijing attended sessions as well. In all, approximately 40 individuals were present during the Working Group sessions. (A list of participants is provided in Annex A. Copies of papers delivered, as listed in Annex B, may be obtained from the Co-Chairs.)

Advance consultation with Member Committees by the Co-Chairs resulted in agreement to focus four topics at the Beijing meeting:

- the security implications of the regional economic crisis, particularly for North Pacific states,
- the significance of recent increased bilateral, trilateral, and multilateral relations among the major powers of Northeast Asia,

- the evolving circumstances on the Korean Peninsula, in South and North Korea and concerning other parties, and
- concern over the proliferation of weapons and the effectiveness of nonproliferation regimes regarding Northeast Asia.

In light of the significant developments that had occurred since the last WG meeting, there was a general sense among participants that this meeting was taking place at a critical moment for security cooperation at regional and global levels. In their opening remarks, the Co-Chairs drew attention to the positive and potentially negative implications of certain events and trends in Northeast Asia. They pointed to the challenge to the NPWG to formulate an agenda that advanced multilateral security cooperation in Northeast Asia along two avenues: first, in the general area of confidence-building and dialogue; and second, in more focused efforts to identify and jointly study issues of concern to the actors of the North Pacific.

Security Implications of the Asian Economic Crisis

This was the first opportunity for the WG systematically to consider the economic crisis and its potential impact upon security matters. The papers presented and subsequent discussions were far-ranging, considering the impact of the crisis on domestic conditions, (including civil-military relations and military acquisitions), on the systemic security environment, and on regional economic/security cooperation activities in Northeast Asia and in the Asia Pacific region.

There was unanimous agreement that the crisis had brought great economic turbulence to the region and had reversed the results of decades of economic growth and prosperity for vast numbers of people. There was little debate about the causes of the crisis, which were seen to be a combination of internal factors (lack of regulation and transparency, irregular business practices, etc.) and external forces (global capital markets, initially misguided responses from IFIs, etc.). There was, however, less consensus among participants concerning the security implications of the crisis. In part this depended upon whether one took a short vs. long term perspective or focused upon Northeast Asia as opposed to Southeast Asia.

Several participants suggested that the graver security implications of the crisis were exaggerated. While domestic instability was a serious concern in Southeast Asia, it was not in Northeast Asia. Because the overall economic and security fundamentals were sound, in several years the region would be on the rebound. The most optimistic suggested that the “economic crisis has promoted subregional cooperation □ among the regional economies in Northeast Asia.” “Asia may turn a misfortune into a blessing.” Others noted the dampening of arms acquisitions and defence budgets in Southeast Asia (but not in Northeast Asia, except for south Korea.) There was some discussion about the observation that countries that had recently undergone political reform, i.e., South Korea and Thailand appeared to be better equipped to weather the crisis.

Others cautioned that the WG was paying “not enough attention to what might happen”, as the crisis was not over yet and would not be for several years at best. Furthermore, the crisis needed to be appreciated, not simply as a series of economic downturns, but as a phenomenon that undermined the psychological, social, political, and security fundamentals of the post-Cold War Asia Pacific community. >From this perspective, the following issues were highlighted:

- The capacities of several key countries, particularly Indonesia and Russia, to reform their economies and to sustain social and political order were cause for serious concern.
- All governments in the region will, of necessity, be more preoccupied with internal affairs and have less attention and resources (both human and fiscal) to devote to regional matters.
- The crisis has brought home the realization that the economic and larger human dimensions of “security” can not be ignored in the formulation of national security and domestic policies. Without the establishment of minimal social safety nets, the populations of Asian states can not be regarded as “secure”. One paper, in particular, drew attention to threats to human security posed by the economic crisis, including intrastate ethnic conflict, involuntary migration, environmental degradation, and transnational criminal activities.

- For Northeast Asia, the impact of the crisis may be felt on the Korean Peninsula as causing “broadened support for a slower process” of South-North economic interaction.
- The issue of leadership was debated concerning especially the US and China. The former was criticized for not having done enough soon enough and is now feeling the effects of some “backlash”. The latter was regarded as having positioned itself very advantageously and as continuing to play an important role in ensuring regional economic stability. Some participants referred to a long term “fundamental shift in the regional balance of power” with regard to China’s role. Others were more cautious, noting the major challenges that face Chinese leaders in their domestic economy and noting that the US, with its healthy economy, is in fact in a more dominant regional position than before.
- A general concern was expressed regarding the capacity of regional economic and security institutions—ASEAN, the ARF, and APEC. With ASEAN countries preoccupied with internal and economic problems and with increasing signs of dysfunctional tensions among them on various matters, they would appear to have little capacity to sustain the momentum they have provided to security regionalism. The “weakening of ASEAN undermines the ARF” was the view of many. Some participants were optimistic that ASEAN could and would regroup in several years. As far as Northeast Asia was concerned, there was a feeling that “the momentum may have shifted from Southeast Asia to Northeast Asia,” thus providing the opportunity, indeed the necessity, for players in the subregion to energize on Track 1 and Track 2 levels.

Korean Peninsula

The unfolding situation on the Korean Peninsula remains at the core of the Northeast Asian security complex and thus is a central focus of each NPWG meeting. A series of recent, important political and economic developments in both the North and the South were noted by participants in this fourth meeting. These included the consolidation of Kim Jong Il’s leadership in the DPRK and the election of Kim Dae Jung in South Korea. The economic difficulties being experienced in both countries were reviewed. Progress (or the lack thereof) on Four-Party Talks and on KEDO’s operations were discussed. In general terms, while most agreed that there have been certain positive movements, an overall, “apparent intractability” prevails regarding the Peninsula. This continues both because of the impasse between North and South and, in the words of one participant, because the “major powers thus far have failed □ to build a habit of formal sub-regional security cooperation or to implement other practical cooperative measures that might more strongly facilitate inter-Korean reconciliation efforts.”

It was agreed that progress towards settlement on the Korean Peninsula must necessarily involve resolution of bilateral issues between North and South and at the same time establishment of an international regime, or regimes, that satisfies the interests of the major powers *and* engages their commitment over the long term. Thus, inter-Korean and international issues are inextricably intertwined, but how to manage and effectively implement a workable “division of labor” (a term that some objected to) among interested parties remains an illusive goal. There was agreement, however, that there are notable contradictions and discontinuities in current policies that could and should be resolved. (Indeed, participants suggested that this would be a useful avenue for further work by the NPWG.)

There was substantial discussion on several specific issues:

- Progress on KEDO: All participants regarded it as essential that the agenda of KEDO be sustained. It was hoped that US congressional pressures would not further hinder deliveries of HFO. Recent Japanese and South Korean reassurances concerning their financial contributions to KEDO were noted, suggesting that construction of the LW reactors, while delayed, would proceed. The DPRK places great emphasis on KEDO and the importance of maintaining the schedule of fuel deliveries and construction set out in negotiated agreements. On the other hand, whereas a number of participants suggested that KEDO could serve as “a model” for structuring other cooperative efforts, doubts were expressed as to whether the DPRK regarded KEDO in this fashion.
- US-DPRK relations: Both the process and substance of aspects of this key bilateral relationship were explored. Movement towards normalization of relations was highlighted as an important concern of the DPRK. Disagreements regarding the role of US troops on the Peninsula were aired, as were disagreements about whether or not a peace treaty between the US and DPRK should precede an inter-Korean treaty. It

was also evident that different perceptions prevail regarding the purpose and functioning of the Agreed Framework.

- ROK-DPRK relations: The so-called “sunshine policy” undertaken by the new South Korean leadership was seen as a positive development by almost all participants. Discussion of the modalities of North-South unification revealed general agreement that the economic crises had slowed momentum and enthusiasm in the South, whereas the deep suspicion in the North of any possibility of absorption or replacement of its political system remains. In the course of a remarkably open and frank discussion, the WG was reminded that talk of “instructing” parties on the Peninsula and advocating activities that threatened the “way of life” advocated by each party were not welcome. The prospects for a “confederal” solution, as well as specific elements of a one country-two systems arrangement, were explored briefly.
- Multilateral Initiatives: The need for the creation of multilateral regimes as a framework for resolution on the Peninsula was accepted by all sides. However, the form and participants of such initiatives was not. Thus, while the Four Party talks were regarded as important, there was doubt about their ability to move forward, even through the recently announced subcommittee processes. The respective merits, as seen by various sides, of enlargement beyond four parties were debated, i.e., 4+2, 6, 6+1 schemes. Notice was given to the recent calls from Seoul, Tokyo, and Moscow for establishment of a 6 party, subregional security dialogue, but the general sense of participants was that it was premature to move quickly towards a Track 1 dialogue.

Proliferation

Northeast Asia remains among the most militarized regions of the world. Defence budgets are not declining appreciably. Acquisition of high tech, conventional weaponry proceeds apace, (unlike in Southeast Asia where the economic crisis has stalled such purchases). Developments over the past year to do with proliferation of weapons and Northeast Asia have not only heightened concerns about regional stability, but also raised major questions regarding the efficacy of the traditional strategies associated with nonproliferation regimes. In what was the first session that the NPWG has devoted to proliferation matters, attention was focused on the consequences of three sets of events: the nuclear tests of India and Pakistan, the satellite launch/missile test by the DPRK, and the sale of missile and missile technology by regional states into other regions.

- Nuclear tests by Indian and Pakistan: The nuclearization of South Asia has had reverberations at subregional, regional, and global levels. Given the hostility and ongoing disputes that characterize India-Pakistan relations, many feared the prospects of setting off an escalation to a war (that would inevitably embroil China, the US, and maybe other states) or the sparking of a nuclear arms race. Regional stability, already upset given that India announced that Chinese nuclear weapons were the rationale for their acquisition, would be severely affected in such conditions. Finally, Indian and Pakistani actions strike a blow to existing proliferation regimes. Not only do they appear unenforceable, but the logic of sanctions and controls that they mandate appears to be misdirected. In addition, their actions and the ineffective responses of the international community signal to other potential developer states that possessing nuclear weapons does bring status and attention from the rest of the world.
- Satellite launch/missile test by the DPRK: Taken by surprise in August, regional states, especially Japan, had reacted sharply to the August event. These concerns were noted by WG participants, as was the continued assertion by the DPRK that this was a peaceful action, namely the launching of a satellite. Paradoxically, the result of the DPRK actions has been to accelerate Japanese-US collaboration on the introduction of theatre missile defence systems into the region, thus, as noted below, igniting a potentially serious dispute in US-China and China-Japan relations.
- Missile sales and transfer of technology: Sales of missiles by Northeast Asian states, particularly to Middle Eastern states and to Pakistan, have escalated in recent years, constituting both a threat to regional stability and to global supplier regimes designed to thwart the spread of such weaponry. Participants noted that development, deployment, and selling of weapons can be regarded as a sovereign right by a state. Also, governments may promote weapons transfers to attain much-needed revenue. It was pointed out in the WG session that the major powers themselves bear much responsibility for expanding the arsenals of Northeast Asian states and for having assisted, directly or indirectly, the development of nuclear

capabilities in South Asia. Mention was made of US, Russian, Chinese, and European weapons transfers to Taiwan, to Japan, South Korea, Pakistan, and China (notably by Russia).

NWPG participants wrestled with how best to come to terms with weapons proliferation issues. The consensus view was that the most effective strategy is to promote the acceptance of global nonproliferation regimes that are universal and non-discriminatory. It was admitted, however, that current regimes such as the NPT do not meet such criteria in the view of certain states. Furthermore, the strategies of denial and sanctions mandated by these regimes and by individual states in their efforts to enforce the regimes were seen to have been ineffective. Addressing the root causes of proliferation, namely the structural forces of supply-push and demand-pull—the latter arising from continued perceptions of threats to national security—remains the most difficult challenge.

Certain initiatives at the regional level were noted: the 1992 intra-Korean agreements, the 1994 agreement between the US and the DPRK, and the 1994 communique of the US and PRC concerning the MTCR.

However, the issue on which most attention was focused was the introduction of theatre missile defence (TMD) systems into Northeast Asia. The prospect of initiatives by the US with Japan, and possibly Taiwan, on development and deployment of TMD systems is viewed with great concern, most directly by the PRC. WG participants briefly touched on the arguments being advanced pro and con regarding TMD by the parties involved. There remained a general concern that introduction of such systems may set off further destabilizing actions by states attempting to compensate for their perceived loss of security.

Bilateralism, Multilateralism in Northeast Asia

The status of relations among the major powers of Northeast Asia is a determining factor of regional stability and thus the subject of continued attention at NPWG meetings. This was particularly true of the meetings in Beijing.

The consensus of participants was that recent steps taken by the major powers have created a network of bilateral relationships with significant, largely positive, results both for the states concerned and for regional security as a whole. In addition to the US-PRC, (which participants viewed as the determining dyadic relationship of the Asia Pacific region), US-Russia, US-Japan, China-Japan, China-Russia, and Japan-Russia bilateral ties were reviewed. The net effect, in the words of one participant, has been to create a “regime of summits”. In the terminology of another, a process of “concerted bilateralism” has been established, effectively replicating certain aspects of a concert of powers.

WG participants pursued these matters at some length, focusing particular attention on the following issues:

- The character of bilateral relationships. Although the sharp rhetorical tone of the debate within Northeast Asia over the appropriate form and function of bilateral relationships has diminished, WG discussions revealed that it still exists. In conceptual terms, the issue centres on the perceived attitude of bilateral partners towards third parties, one position being that so-called “strategic partnerships” which focus solely on advancing mutual interests better promote regional security than “defence alliances”, which their critics regard as implicitly, if not directly, threatening to third parties. In practical terms, the argument remains centred on the role of the US-Japan alliance and concerns of the PRC regarding its purpose and scope.
- Strategic triangles”. A number of informal, triangular dialogues have been initiated among Northeast Asian powers, e.g., US-China-Japan and US-China-Russia. These were regarded as generally positive developments by most WG participants, in effect as another type of building block for regional security. However, certain caveats were raised: First was the concern that triangles are inherently unstable entities, with the actions of two parties always “reinforcing suspicions” of the third that it was being balanced against. Second was the view that trilateral arrangements were appropriately maintained at the Track 2 rather than the Track 1 level.
- Multilateral initiatives in Northeast Asia. In the past several years a number of multilateral groupings have been formed or proposed for Northeast Asia. Most all of these have arisen in the context of the Korean Peninsula—the Four-Party Talks, and the various formulations calling for up to six parties in various configurations. Most recently, there have been calls from Moscow, Tokyo, and Seoul for establishment of

6 or 6+1 (Mongolia) party, Track 1, dialogue mechanism for Northeast Asia. While WG participants were generally in favor of such developments, some doubts were raised about whether the subregion was “ready” for a Track 1 level process at this stage. Others indicated that no such initiative should proceed unless it were included all states. Several participants, from both larger and smaller states, expressed concern that such mechanisms had to guarantee that the interests of small/middle powers were not over ridden and that principles of non-interference and consensus had to be respected. There was also discussion, in passing, of the prospects for multilateral, functional cooperation to facilitate projects (KEDO), economic development (Tumen River), and natural resource management (fisheries and energy development/transportation). There was quite unanimous agreement among participants that such functional institutions would be increasingly necessary to manage the complex transnational economic and environmental problems of the subregion. (Previous Working Group meetings have had full sessions devoted to this topic.) Multilateralism vs. multipolarity. Participants were reminded of the need to think about the differences between processes oriented towards multilateralism and those oriented towards multipolarity. As carefully argued by one paper writer, the latter (including concert-type mechanisms) have a tendency towards regional, power balancing behavior by the major powers. On the other hand, implementation of multilateralism entails greater requirements—such as reciprocity, inclusivity, and strategic reassurance—and (for many participants) greater potential. It was acknowledged that progress towards multilateralism depends upon the major powers and that, in this regard, there had been noticeable favourable changes in attitude by China and the US.

Northeast Asia and Asia Pacific security regionalism. Two related questions were consistently on WG participants’ minds: (a) the status of progress of security cooperation in Northeast Asia/North Pacific, and (b) the role for Northeast Asian actors and subregional issues within the context of Asia Pacific security cooperation processes and institutions. On the first issue, i.e., the subregional level, there was general optimism that matters were moving forward in the ways noted above. On the second issue, however, there was substantial concern. In the words of one participant, reflecting the views of many worried about the “health” of ASEAN, the ARF, and the APEC forum, “multilateralist principles and structures, especially at the regional level, [are challenged] to retain relevance and credibility.” For some, the present situation was regarded as as a temporary lull in ASEAN’s (“essential”) leadership in regional security. Others, more or less willing to accept this view, were concerned that Northeast Asian players needed to take a more proactive attitude, at both Track 1 and Track 2 levels. “Northeast Asia is at a historical crossroads.” and “the momentum has shifted from Southeast Asia to Northeast Asia” were sentiments accepted by many.

Next Steps for the North Pacific Working Group

There was a consensus that this Fourth Working Group meeting had been successful. There has been a notable trend towards fuller and franker discussion of issues at WG meetings. Certainly, all involved appreciate the importance of sustaining the NPWG’s confidence-building role as the only “full house” security dialogue for the subregion.

Regarding the agenda for the Working Group as it looks forward to its next meeting (tentatively scheduled for Japan in late summer/early fall of 1999): Given the specific regional focus of the Working Group, its meeting agenda will always include sessions on (a) recent developments in Northeast Asia, (b) major power relations, and (c) the situation on the Korean Peninsula. There were a number of suggestions of additional topics to be considered at the next meeting, a specific agenda to be negotiated through the usual process of consultation by the Co-Chairs. These suggestions included: the security implications of the economic crisis as it continues to evolve; issues of human security, e.g., food security; the potential impact of the introduction of new weapons systems into the subregion, particularly TMD; review of the potential frameworks for reconciliation of North and South on the Korean Peninsula; and analysis of the integration of bilateral and multilateral processes among Northeast Asian/North Pacific actors.

The Co-Chairs were asked to investigate the feasibility of having preparatory work done on certain topics, facilitating consultation among Member Committees prior to the meetings, and allowing an agenda with more time for discussion during the meetings themselves.

Concerns were raised regarding Russia, both as a subject of discussion concerning regional security and as an active participant in the NPWG and other Track 2 processes. The Co-Chairs were encouraged to explore this matter with an eye to greater substantive consideration to Russia and to ensuring CSCAP Russia representative participation.

The Co-Chairs indicated that the collection of papers from past Working Group meetings would soon be made available in a hard-copy compendium. Papers from this meeting would be placed upon an internet website in the near future, with all CSCAP participants to be informed of the location and details.

Acknowledgement:

All participants at the meetings in Beijing, and particularly the Co-Chairs of the NPWG, wish to acknowledge with thanks the generous hospitality and excellent logistical arrangements for the meetings provided by their host, CSCAP China, and the most competent staff of the Chinese Center International Studies.

Research Project Monitor

Project Title

Development and Security in South East Asia (DSSEA)

Project Directors

Professor David B. Dewitt, Director
 Centre for International and Security Studies and Professor of Political Science
 York University
 Toronto, Canada

Professor Carolina G. Hernandez, President
 Institute for Strategic and Development Studies and Professor of Political Science
 University of the Philippines
 Manila, Philippines

Funding Sources

Pilot Project (1995-1996): Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) Management for Change Program, Ottawa; and the International Research and Development Centre (IRDC), Ottawa

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| Funding I | IDRC \$30,000 for research expenses during pilot phase, 1995-96 |
| | CIDA \$80,000 for two meetings during pilot phase, 1995-96 |

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| Funding II | CIDA \$1.49 million over three years (1997-8, 1998-9, 1999-2000) to cover institutional support, research costs, stipend, meetings, echo seminars, and publications in three countries |
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| DSSEA (1997-2000): | CIDA |
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Participants

The DSSEA Program aims to foster original research on the intersection between development and security, to create cooperative networks of expertise between Canadians and Southeast Asians and across disciplines, to engage both professional researchers and experts from the non-governmental and policy making communities within Southeast Asia, and to ensure a broad dissemination of findings. DSSEA has focussed on bringing together a mix of senior, more established scholars with younger colleagues. At least two-thirds of all DSSEA researchers would be junior, untenured faculty or advanced graduate students.

The core research program was organized around three multi-national Task Forces (see below) each responsible for a principal research theme. The sponsored core research activities have involved the following individuals.

Wiku Adisamito, Indonesia
Pia C. Bennagen, Philippines
Jennifer Clapp, Canada
Elisio M. Cubol, Philippines
Peter Dauvergne, Canada (resident in Australia)
Francisco A. Magno, Philippines
Agus P. Sari, Indonesia
Mary Young, Canada
Amitav Acharya, Canada
Lenora C. Angeles, Canada
Kusnanto Anggoro, Indonesia
Maria Socorro Gochoco-Bautista, Philippines
Herman Joseph S. Kraft, Philippines (resident in Canada)
Pierre P. Lizée, Canada
Amado M. Mendoza, Jr., Philippines
Rizal Sukma, Indonesia
Jacques Bertrand, Canada
Tubagus Feridhanusetyawan, Indonesia
Ruth R. Lusterio, Philippines
Muhammad A. S. Hikam, Indonesia
Jorge V. Tigno, Philippines
Gisèle Yasmeen, Canada
Hadi Soesastro, Indonesia
Carolina Hernandez, Philippines
David Dewitt, Canada.

Several other experts from Southeast Asia and Canada have attended project meetings.

Objectives

DSSEA has as its core the question of the relationship between government and civil society in their efforts to define and to pursue security, broadly defined. It sets up a tension between how government and its instruments understand and pursue security and how people and the communities which they comprise understand and pursue their security interests. It is based on the premise that the process of development is, essentially, a partnership between official agencies, the private sector, and people, and that the diffuse issue of security is intimately entwined with the challenges posed by the dynamics of (mis-) managing development. Governance, whether in terms of an explicit “social contract” or implicitly as the control, management, and allocation of public resources (including goods and services) and, in some cases, intruding into and distorting the relationship between the public and the private, is at the heart of the overarching challenges linking development with security in Southeast Asia. A subset of this focus is the underlying realization of the importance of human resource development, and hence the concept of social capital runs throughout all the specific projects being pursued within this research program.

At the outset, the DSSEA researchers set out to evaluate the state of the art, identify other researchers and networks, conceptualize the linkages sought by the project, and identify and propose specific sets of research projects, building on the work that had been undertaken in our earlier pilot project jointly supported by CIDA and IDRC. Three sets of questions were introduced to guide this process: (i) how do development and security interface in the issue area? (ii) what makes the issue area and its relation to security unique and what is its contribution to development? (iii) how do structures of governance operate to promote development and security around the issue.

The DSSEA project is concerned with the attainment of three goals: (1) identifying and understanding the linkages between security and development through conducting case studies across levels of state-society relations, as well as comparatively within the region; (2) developing enhanced theoretical and conceptual understanding of these complex linkages both to further our knowledge and to improve our abilities to develop practical instruments in support of improved human well-being; and (3) using the acquired knowledge and information for empowerment and change.

Topics for Commissioned Research

DSSEA is organized into three Task Forces or research teams: environment, development and security; globalization, development and security; and human resources, development and security. Each research project was determined through extensive consultations, initially during the pilot project phase and then once the individual researchers were identified and invited to join the program. The majority of invited researchers are young, promising scholars, identified and recommended through consultations between the three “country coordinators” (Dewitt, Hernandez, and Soesastro) and with senior colleagues across the three principal countries. The following titles are indicative of the commissioned research currently underway:

- “Environmental and Security Considerations of Trade Liberalisation: A Case of the Textile Industry in Indonesia”
- “Women, Community Development, and Security: A Case Study of the Coal-Fired Thermal Power Plant in Sual, Pangasinan, Philippines”
- “Hazardous Waste and Human Security: Global-Local Linkages in Southeast Asia”
- “Development and Security and Industrial Pollution in the Philippines”
- “Environmental Insecurity, Forest Management, and State Responses in Southeast Asia”
- “Environment and Security: The Philippine Mining Sector”
- “Mitigating Climate Change while Strengthening Security”
- “Recent Changes in Indonesia Agro-Food Development and the Implications for Human Security”
- “Globalisation, Interdependence and Regional Stability in the Asia Pacific”
- “Development and Security Linkages in the Globalization of Export Manufacturing in Southeast Asia: The case of the Garments and Semi-conductor Industries in the Philippines and Indonesia”
- “Globalization and the Military in Indonesia”
- “The Security Implications of the Liberalization and Globalization of Financial Market”
- “Human Rights in Southeast Asia: A Nexus for Security and Development”
- “Globalization, Conflict Resolution, and Human Security in Southeast Asia: Issues and Challenges for a Regional Agenda on Peacekeeping and Peace-building”
- “Globalization, Economic Liberalization and Industrialization: Impact on and Responses of the Rural and Farming Sectors in the Philippines”
- “Security Problematique of Security and Development: The Case of Indonesia”
- “Globalization, Identity and Norm Change in ASEAN”
- “Between Money and the Family: Development and Security Issues in the International Migration of Filipino Women”
- “Internal Migration, Economic Inequality and Conflict in Indonesia and the Philippines”
- “Labour Market Transformation and Security of Indonesian Workers”
- “Perceptions on Development and Security of Women Migrant Workers from the Philippines”
- “Exploring the Impacts and Implications of Clandestine Migrant Labor in Southeast Asia”
- “Urbanization and Gendered Self-Employment Patterns: A Case-Study of Indonesia and the Philippines”
- “Industrialization and Workers' Security in Indonesia: A Political Perspective”

Meetings

Following a one-year pilot investigation (1995-6) in which meetings were convened in Toronto and Manila, the DSSEA program was launched in April 1997 with an opening conference in Indonesia for all the core researchers along with a number of expert advisors. This was followed by full research meetings in Cebu (December 1997) and Manila (December 1998).

A unique aspect of the DSSEA are “echo seminars” designed to bring together members of our research teams with experts from the national and local policy communities, local universities and other research institutions, and members of relevant non-governmental organizations. These informal seminars are designed for us to exchange and to share information concerning our research activities, to invited these participants to comment, to critique, and to engage our work as well as to join where feasible, and to consider how this work might contribute to policy development and to the actions of civil society. Initial “echo seminars” were convened in Jakarta and Manila in June 1997, each with approximately 75 non-DSSEA participants joining members of the DSSEA research teams. Since then, six more have occurred in regional cities in Indonesia and the Philippines, with at least two more planned for summer 1999. In the fall of 1999, two “echo seminars” will take place in Canada, one in Vancouver and the other in Toronto. These are intended to inform a larger Canadian audience and to facilitate opportunities for continuing this type of work.

Outreach

Echo Seminars, an essential part of the DSSEA program, bring together experts from the research community, the policy community across levels of government, and civil society. Our intent is not merely to share our work but also to stimulate opportunities for interested and capable individuals from these three communities to find ways to cooperate and collaborate on issues of common concern as these may relate to development and security, broadly defined. This type of outreach is meant not only to build on each other’s knowledge but also to assist in the creation of local networks of experts and other interested citizens within the two Southeast Asian countries currently involved so that follow-on work can continue beyond the initial three-year span of the DSSEA program.

The DSSEA program also is committed to extending our knowledge beyond a relatively small group of researchers and local actors. We therefore initiated *The DSSEA Update*, published by ISDS Manila as part of their DSSEA activities, and circulated throughout Southeast Asia, in Canada, and elsewhere. Our distribution is now over four thousand, based initially on mailing lists provided by the three participating centres — YCISS in Toronto, ISDS in Manila, and CSIS in Jakarta. *The DSSEA Update* offers overviews of recent meetings, summaries of ongoing research, brief policy discussions, and information on DSSEA activities and personnel.

Publications

In addition to internal research drafts and to the publicly available *DSSEA Update*, the completed research papers will be published in the year 2000. Due to the large number of papers, we have not reached a final determination concerning the feasibility of one omnibus volume rather than a multi-volume set organized around the three principal themes.

Lessons learned

It would be inappropriate to offer a definitive “lessons learned” statement at the two-thirds point of this program. However, there are a set of issues which are core aspects of our program design which will need to be addressed and outcomes assessed as this phase of the program comes to an end. Here are some initial thoughts concerning a few of the more important concerns:

- a. our decision to select a mix of research personnel, including a minority of senior, established scholars with a majority of younger scholars ranging from those completing graduate studies to those holding untenured faculty appointments —

To date the evidence is very promising. New ties have been forged between researchers from within the three principal countries and across national boundaries. A number of these are spawning new collaborative research projects. Many have indicated that their involvement in the DSSEA program has opened new areas for research, new opportunities, and certainly new knowledge. On the other hand, quality control in both shaping individual projects and in the principal deliverables is more uncertain. Moreover, for those who were brought in as a means to further completion of their graduate degree research it remains too soon to determine whether this involvement has hindered or facilitated their dissertation or thesis completion. There is no doubt that it has provided them with the institutional in-country support and the financial resources to undertake original field work, and in most cases the type of work which would have been beyond their capacity otherwise.

- b. our decision to select expertise across relevant disciplines (economics, political science, sociology, anthropology, and geography) with a broad range of sub-specializations —

As one might have anticipated, this has had mixed results. The language used to articulate research projects, the methodologies employed, and the underlying assumptions are sufficiently varied that while everyone benefits from such exposure to other disciplines, the challenge of retaining project coherence is made more difficult.

- c. our approach to funding was to offer contracts to each researcher which covered a set amount for research expenses and a set amount for stipend, with the upper limit of the stipend set but with the capacity of each individual to shift from the stipend account to the research account but not the obverse —

We continue to think that this has been a very creative approach to funding promising scholarship in a somewhat risky and uncertain environment. It recognized the need to provide each researcher with a basic research budget, and to provide a stipend for each sufficient to secure release time from other duties or to ensure that this commitment would be fulfilled. Simultaneously by recognizing that each individual has her/his own financial and institutional situation, it provide some the opportunity to move some or all of the stipend account into the research account and hence offered some unique flexibility in the support of research opportunities. The underlying assumption with this approach, and probably with most other approaches, to funding commissioned research, is that one must rely on the integrity of each individual scholar.

- d. our requirement for original research to be undertaken in Southeast Asia —

Due to the unanticipated financial crisis which occurred throughout Eastern Asia, the social, political, and economic climate introduced some exceptionally difficult field research challenges, forcing some to alter their research projects significantly. It also introduced substantial pressures on our two in-region supporting institutions (ISDS Manila and CSIS Jakarta) in their efforts to assist individual researchers. At the same time, we recognized that these events offered unique research opportunities for some of our scholars but it also heightened the problem of personal security as well as the overall challenge of staying within our research program schedule.

- e. in addition to regular DSSEA program meetings in the region for all researchers, a series of “Echo Seminars” which brought DSSEA personnel together with relevant experts from the policy communities across the three levels of government (local, national, regional) and non-governmental organizations in the two principal Southeast Asian countries under study —

Echo seminars have evolved into a significant component of the DSSEA program. They have allowed us to reach out to expertise based within the local scholarly community, as well as the NGO, private sector, and government policy communities. At relatively low cost, we have been able to broaden our base of involved experts in the hope that not only is our work likely to be more relevant but that it will form the foundation for ongoing collaborative efforts within and between relevant groups and across local as well as national boundaries. It is particularly important to the civil society, social capital, and empowerment components of the DSSEA program. Based on this initial experience, we would encourage this to become

a more formally integrated core component of research programs. Where possible, echo seminars also should be employed in the early stages of research articulation and should become an integral methodology of social science scholarship concerned with questions similar to those that we have been exploring.

f. in support of our commitment to information dissemination, the regular publication of the *DSSEA Update*, distributing this to over 4000 individuals and institutions within Southeast Asia, Northeast Asia, and North America

Publishing the *DSSEA Update* has been an effective way of disseminating information about the program and establishing the credibility of both the program and the participants outside the academic world. However, it is not yet clear how helpful it has been in capturing the interest of the larger NGO and policy communities. That can be determined once effort has been made to define projects that will extend beyond the life of the initial DSSEA program.

Contact Information

The initial point of contact should be either of the DSSEA co-directors. They can be reached as follows:

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Research Project Monitor: Training

Asia-Pacific Center College of Security Studies 12-Week Executive Course

Overview and Objectives

The Asia-Pacific Center is an academic institution that was established by the US Pacific Command for the study of regional security and preventive defense in the Asia-Pacific. It cites its mission as enhancing cooperation and building relationships through mutual understanding and study of comprehensive security issues among military and civilian representatives of the US and other Asia-Pacific nations. The APCSS provides military and civilian officials a location in which to exchange ideas, explore pressing issues and develop an improved understanding of the challenges that shape the security environment of the region. The primary focus of the APCSS is the College of Security Studies, in which military and civilian officials from the region (lieutenant colonels, commanders, colonels,

captains, brigadier generals and rear admirals as well as their civilian counterparts in security-related ministries) engage in a 12-week exploration of Asia-Pacific security. Participants focus upon past and present regional security issues, potential security problems and roles and missions of the military.

The curriculum of the Executive Course is based upon several principles. First, and of primary importance, it focuses on the non-warfighting aspects of international relations and security. Second, the course utilizes not simply a US-centred view of security interests and concerns, but rather focuses on a regional perspective. Third, security is conceived broadly, as a mixture of political, economic, social and military components. Fourth, the course emphasizes national level strategies and policies, with operational and tactical level issues as a secondary concern.

APCSS Directors

H.C. Stackpole, APCSS President
Jimmie R. Lackey, Executive Director
Colonel Steven B. Walker (USAF), Dean of Admissions
LTC Thomas Patykula, Chief of Admissions
MAJ James Wood, Registrar

APCSS Staff

The Center's staff and faculty currently number 86, but this total is anticipated to reach 122 once the organization reaches maturity. As the organization matures, the overall staff is also expected to become more broadly representative of the countries in the Asia-Pacific region. Additionally, a number of international faculty member positions, as well as a full-time international advisor position, will be filled on a rotating basis from the Asia-Pacific countries.

Funding Source

Funding for the Center is provided by the United States Department of Defense.

Participants

The third and final graduating class of 1999 was the largest to date, with a total of 53 graduates. The graduating class of December 2, 1999 was the ninth to have completed the course. Senior military and government officials from 26 countries throughout the Asia-Pacific region graduated on that day. The countries represented were as follows: Bangladesh, Brunei, Canada, Fiji, India, Japan, Laos, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mongolia, Nepal, New Zealand, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Russia, Singapore, Solomon Islands, South Korea, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Tonga, Vanuatu, Vietnam and the United States. To date, the College has hosted 348 participants from 35 countries, and the Center has hosted or co-hosted 29 conferences or seminars with more than 2000 attendees, representing 50 countries.

Course Dates 2000

The course will run three times in 2000:

January 24 - April 13
July 10 - September 15
October 2 - December 15

Senior Executive Course

The College of Security Studies also features a Senior Executive Course that will take place May 15-19 in 2000. This course is an intensive, 5-day program offered to military officers at the two and three star level and civilian equivalents from the Asia-Pacific region. The theme of the upcoming course is "Security Cooperation in a Time of Strategic Uncertainty." The curriculum emphasizes the impact of economic, political and technological change in the region on evolving military roles and capabilities. Benefitting from guest speakers, interactive workshops and

seminar game scenarios, Senior Fellows share perspectives and develop cooperative approaches to security issues of common concern.

Contact Information

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Detailed participation criteria and curriculum information available at the APCSS website: <http://www.apcss.org>

International Symposium Course on Asian-Pacific Security in the 21st Century

Dates and Venue

The course ran from October 8 - December 10, 1999 at the People's Liberation Army National Defence University (PLA NDU) Campus Number 3, 50 Shuiku Road, Changping, Beijing District, China. Campus Number 3 is the PLA NDU International Fellows Department Campus. The course spanned 70 days, including 44 academic days, 6 administration days and 20 weekend days.

Course Details

This course is the first of the sort offered by the PLA. It was on an invitation-only basis with invitations issued to military and government officials by the NDU through the Foreign Affairs Office of the Department of National Defense. The course is the first at the PLA NDU in which foreigners and PLA members have been classmates.

Course Steering Committee

Head:

Major General Pan Zhenqiang, Professor and former Director of the Institute for Strategic Studies, NDU

Members:

Senior Colonel Zhang Yining, Professor NDU

Senior Colonel Ding Bangquan, Research Professor of the Institute for Strategic Studies, NDU

Academic Secretary:

Lieutenant Colonel Xu Hui, Instructor NDU

Participants

Australia (1), Canada (1), Japan (1), New Zealand (2), Pakistan (1), Singapore (3), Thailand (2) and China (5). Note that the invitation was originally sent to 11 countries inviting from one to three officers or officials of Colonel or equivalent rank. It was originally hoped that there would be approximately 40 participants, but late issue of the official invitation (mid-August) militated against greater participation. The course director indicated that he had

hoped to be able to invite a larger Western participation, but the Kosovo situation and the bombing of the Chinese Embassy changed those plans. Major General Pan noted that he hopes a similar course can be offered annually with a larger group of participants.

Objectives

Participants note the following objectives: (1) to engage in a security dialogue forum, (2) to build confidence and trust between China and other countries and (3) to enhance knowledge of China and Chinese security perspectives. The Northeast Asia Peace and Security Network (NAPSNet) of the Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainable Development notes the following comments on course objectives from General Chi Haotian, Vice-Chairman of the Central Military Commission, State Councilor and Chinese Minister of National Defence:

...the PRC should study the new characteristics and training procedures of foreign military officials and further carry out the diplomatic principles and policies of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and President Jiang Zemin's important statements on the international strategic issues. Chi said that as the highest military learning institute in the PRC, the university has taken the lead in the training of foreign military officials, accumulated valuable experience, and a good example for the People's Liberation Army. He pointed out that under the new international situation, the training of foreign military officials should be expanded as an important way of international military cooperation and a way to improve the unity and cooperation with other countries.

(As noted in the Northeast Asia Peace and Security Network Daily Report on December 8, 1999. Contact: Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainable Development, fax: 1-510-204-9298, e-mail: nautilus@nautilus.org website: <http://www.nautilus.org/>)

Curriculum Overview

Symposium I

General Overview of the Security Situation

- world strategic situation post-Cold War;
- security situation in Asia-Pacific, major characteristics;
- economic factors in Asia-Pacific;
- regional cooperation; and
- China's new security concept.

Symposium II

- security in Northeast Asia;
- security in Southeast Asia;
- security in South Asia;
- arms development and military reforms (RMA);
- ballistic missile defense (TMD); and
- the Taiwan issue.

Symposium III

- China's national defense; and
- China's military.

Course Requirements

Each participant was required to write a 5000 word "academic" paper (in English) on a subject related to Asia Pacific security.

Publication

There is expected to be a publication of the academic papers written by course participants, but no further details are available at this time.

Funding

The source of funding was a mixture of a tuition and accommodation fee paid by the invited governments for each participant, as well as funding from the PLA NDU.

Further Information

Mailing address: NDU Campus 3, P.O. Box 1020, Beijing 102249 PRC
Fax: (0086) 010 6971 9294

Thank you to 1999 Canadian participant Colonel David Burke for supplying course information.

Further comments on the course are available in an article entitled "Military Lessons: The People's Liberation Army lifts the curtain a bit, allowing foreign officers into its classrooms," in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* November 4, 1999, page 28.

Meetings Digest

1. 6th Meeting of the ASEAN Regional Forum. Singapore, July 26.

N.B. The Northeast Asia peace and Security Network (NAPSNet) group at the Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainable Development, Berkeley, California, released a Special Report on August 3 containing a digest of international media reports on the 1999 ARF meeting. The digest was compiled by the United States Information Agency (USIA), and includes an overall summary of the event followed by summaries of the most salient aspects. Interested parties can access the report at the NAPSNet webpage. Contact: Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainable Development, fax: 1-510-204-9298, e-mail: nautilus@nautilus.org website: <http://www.nautilus.org/>

2. 3rd Informal ASEAN Summit. Manila, November 28.

The recent informal summit of the ASEAN heads of state and government marked the third time that leaders of the ASEAN member countries invited attendance by their counterparts from China, Japan and South Korea, resulting in what has come to be known as an ASEAN+3 Summit meeting. Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji, Japanese Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi and South Korean President Kim Dae-jung participated in their role as the leaders of ASEAN's three key economic partners. Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad did not attend due to the general election in Malaysia, but sent a special representative in his place. The first ASEAN+3 Summit took place in Kuala Lumpur in 1997 on the event of ASEAN's 30th Anniversary, and the second followed in Hanoi in 1998. Although there were ASEAN+3 Summits in 1997 and 1998, the 1999 meeting was the first for which a joint declaration of all thirteen leaders was issued. The joint statement made by the leaders after the summit summarized the impetus behind the concept of cooperation stretching from Southeast to Northeast Asia: "[leaders] noted the bright prospects from enhanced interaction and tighter links in East Asia and recognized the fact that this growing interaction has helped increase opportunities for cooperation and collaboration with each other, thereby strengthening ties in areas essential for the promotion of peace, stability and prosperity in the region."

Business World (Leotes Marie T. Lugo, "Scheme may drop nonintervention stand of group on internal issues: ASEAN dabbles on addressing political issues," November 29, 1999) and *The Daily Yomiuri* (Kiyohisa Yoshida, "Asian leaders seek greater cooperation," Tokyo, November 29, 1999) discussed many of the highlights of the recent gathering. According to these sources, the thirteen leaders expressed the position that cooperation in trade and economic-related areas should be intensified. More notably, the group also included the political and security arenas amongst the areas for which higher levels of integration are sought. Their moves to extend political and security cooperation beyond the ten-member ASEAN grouping to include the three Northeast Asian states are seen as a complement to ASEAN Regional Forum initiatives, and as important steps to moving the entire East Asian region toward increasing integration.

To summarize the joint statement of the ASEAN+3 leaders, the following broad areas were noted as presenting desirable opportunities for regional cooperation: economics, monetary and financial matters, social and human resource development, scientific and technical development, culture and information strategies, developmental issues, political security and transnational concerns.

Perhaps the most ambitious of the proposed steps toward political and security integration is the recommendation that an "ASEAN Troika" be formed at the ministerial level to address issues of long-term peace and stability. Suggested members of the Troika remain unnamed, but Thailand, Singapore and Vietnam are viewed as likely members. The formation of such a Troika would be a noteworthy step away from the traditional Southeast Asian noninterventionist stance. An ad hoc grouping of three ASEAN members brought together during the Cambodian crisis would serve as the model for the Troika. Acehese separatism in Indonesia would provide the most likely initial issue for examination by the grouping. It must be noted at this point, however, that summit participants made clear their view that Indonesian President Wahid should be backed in his efforts to ensure Indonesian territorial integrity.

During discussions of the competing territorial claims in the South China Sea, leaders agreed to future consultations in the interest of working toward the adoption of a draft regional code of conduct approved by ASEAN at the ministerial level. China refused to adopt the code of conduct at the present time, but expressed its intention to halt aggressions in the disputed territory while deliberations continue.

Updates were given on the progress seen in Social Safety Net Program implementation, as well as the collaboration of ASEAN fora with various governmental, nongovernmental and international organizations. The leaders asked ASEAN ministers to explore further initiatives that would increase multilateral and international support to and participation in the programs (particularly those related to the Social Safety Net Programs). ASEAN leaders also noted their continuing pursuit of the goals of science and technology cooperation with China, private sector support from South Korea and Japanese contribution to human resource development.

The Southeast and Northeast Asian leaders agreed to continue to meet regularly, and reaffirmed their positive stance toward efforts of the East Asia Vision Group to create an agenda for long-term cooperation.

Business World (Romulo T. Luib and Leotes Marie T. Lugo, "ASEAN leaders agree on early duty-free trade," November 29, 1999) and *Business Times* (Al Labita, "ASEAN's bold steps spurred by global changes: Goh," Singapore, November 29, 1999) provided comments on the more strictly economic side of the summit. It was agreed amongst ASEAN members that goods produced in member economies will be allowed duty-free entry into other member states at an earlier date than originally agreed upon. The elimination of import duties for the six founding, and currently more advanced, members of ASEAN (Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand) has been moved from 2015 to 2010. The date for Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam has been moved forward to 2015 from 2018. The original six retain the prerogative to exclude certain sectors from the agreement, but not beyond 2018. Certain ministers noted that this agreement came as a surprise, because their own deliberations regarding the ASEAN Free Trade Area concept were not as progressive.

Singaporean Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong explained that bold steps in ASEAN economic initiatives result from changes in the global economy such as China's imminent World Trade Organisation membership, information technology advancements and the growing number of free trade areas. *The Straits Times* ("Asean redux," Singapore, December 2, 1999) reports that certain ASEAN officials indicated one reason for expediting plans for an ASEAN Free Trade Area was that ASEAN leaders saw China's imminent WTO entry as a positive development, but also recognized that China's increased attractiveness to investors would pose a challenge to ASEAN.

During the summit, the ASEAN leaders endorsed an ASEAN information technology initiative (e-ASEAN) stemming from the private sector. They approved financing for the project to link all member countries electronically in the interest of promoting global competitiveness and maintaining the reviving post-crisis economic outlook. Japanese Prime Minister Obuchi revealed an "Obuchi Plan" that will contribute 500 million dollars (US) to human resource development in East Asia. More sensitive topics such as the idea of a common currency and an Asian Monetary Fund were predominantly left for discussion at future summits.

Many sources commented on the broader significance of the 1999 ASEAN+3 Summit. According to *Business World* (November 29, 1999), Philippines President Estrada summarized the logic behind ASEAN's inclusion of China, Japan, and South Korea in its summit, explaining that now that the ASEAN foundation is strong, it is important to enhance ties with important neighbors. *The South China Morning Post* (Jake van der Kamp, "ASEAN trumpets, but North counts," November 30, 1999) contends that the ASEAN countries do not have significant economic significance on their own, and therefore benefit from closer association with the northern

countries. The same observer suggests that the change in date for tariff reduction was the only substantial accomplishment of the meeting, and even this is tempered by the fact that only twenty percent of ASEAN members' trade is intra-ASEAN. The conclusion about the summit reached in the article: "It's not a big thing. But then neither is ASEAN. It's the North that counts these days." *Business World* (November 29, 1999) mentions a similar reserved perspective on the event from Philippines Foreign Affairs Secretary Domingo L. Siazon. Siazon claims that although a framework is in place in the form of the ASEAN+3 events, the activation of a meaningful new forum for the discussion of regional political and security issues will not be immediate. He says, "Remember the ASEAN way: osmosis. Non-direct decisions In ASEAN, what you do is you repeat something several times and after everyone is comfortable with it, you give it a name." *The Daily Yomiuri* (November 29, 1999) also indicates that although greater regional dialogue and the accompanying benefits for trust and mutual understanding were promoted at the summit, it is important to note that specifics concerning particularly sensitive topics such as North Korean missile tests and the South China Sea disputes were carefully avoided. As noted, a similar approach was taken concerning economic issues.

The *International Herald Tribune* (Michael Richardson, "China, Japan and South Korea Agree With ASEAN on Trade Cooperation," Neuilly-sur-Seine, France, November 29, 1999) provides a more positive spin on the topic. The publication views the moves toward a broad framework for cooperation as a mechanism to both promote economic growth and ease political tensions. Although the summit declarations may have lacked detail, they supplied a foundation for more ambitious integration over the long term. *Xinhua News Agency* ("Chinese spokesman: ASEAN meeting boosts East Asian cooperation," Beijing, November 30, 1999) and *Agence France Presse* ("China Uses Regional Summit to Bolster Role as Key Ally," November 29, 1999) express similar viewpoints. According to the former, "The meeting sent a positive signal to the international community that the East Asian countries are willing to commit themselves to solidarity and cooperation, and to join hands for the new century" The latter source remarks that "Premier Zhu Rongji used a regional summit ... to bolster China's role as a key political ally committed to market reforms despite territorial disputes with its smaller neighbors."

Business World (Solita Collas-Monsod, "Calling a Spade...; ASEAN+3 Informal Summit: Mahathir Vindicated," November 30, 1999) observes that increases in ASEAN+3 cooperation are seen in some circles as a vindication of Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir's calls at the beginning of the decade for an East Asian Economic Caucus. At the time, countries that opposed such a grouping (particularly the United States) pressured ASEAN states to avoid forming such a bloc, and the result was a "watered-down" forum: APEC. This prompted *Business World* to make the reflection this year that "... Mahathir, while physically absent [from the summit], can rejoice that the East Asian Economic Caucus is actually coming to pass, although in another name: the ASEAN+3 Informal Summit" The article continues, "We are not talking about a social type event like APEC. The commitments made in ASEAN are binding - not just a best efforts type, with no real teeth, as in the much ballyhooed APEC."

In typical ASEAN fashion, the thirteen leaders at the 1999 ASEAN+3 Informal Summit in Manila remained silent on the details of specific sensitive issues, but this does not alter the fact that this year marked the third consecutive year that the countries came together, and that all expressed a desire to increase cooperation in both the economic and political and security realms.