

in America Cooperation (FEALAC). ASEAN and ASEAN+3 with China, Japan and the ROK can be the “cohesive glue” to bring former foes together as partners to achieve common goals, reduce poverty, narrow developmental gaps and improve overall well-being.

Collective wisdom and open-minded leadership are crucial for states to overcome the challenges of history. Leaders must take bold steps as seen in the “comfort women” agreement between Japan and the ROK last December. Such determination to turn the page on history can build trust and reconciliation. We not only need strong leaders but strong cooperative leadership to overcome barriers and build a new and prosperous new order for Asia.

As it rises and becomes more assertive, China must be careful not to impinge on other states. The U.S. should also not enflame tensions in the region. The two should come together and enlarge their shared space so there is room for all. This is the Asia-Pacific century: Don’t blow it!

Enrico LETTA

The European Union allowed the region to overcome millennia of fratricidal war yet it has faced three serious problems over the last decade: 1) Financial crisis 2) Unprecedented refugee crisis 3) Home-grown terrorism. The European Union needs to rediscover its soul through cooperative leadership, a further surrendering of sovereignty and greater shared policies.

To ensure it does not fall into fragmentation and chaos, European leaders must respond by: 1) Broadening multilateralism to increase shared responsibility, discussion and exchange on the model of the G20 and the Paris Climate Change Conference 2) Increasing participation by realizing the power of the Internet and the circulation of ideas and shared experiences for a common and unified vision 3) Promoting a spirit of cooperation, understanding, openness and change to create a new ruling class to lead the project which is founded on the shared value of cooperative leadership through education.

The European Parliament in Strasbourg is in a city which changed hands numerous times during wars between Germany and France. Millions

lost their lives in European wars, yet we face a generational problem as the new generation is not completely aware of what happened 70 to 80 years ago. They take European integration and peace for granted and don’t appreciate that it is a day-to-day victory that must not be taken for granted.

Asia is the center of the world in this Asiatic Century. It must recognize this and solve domestic and international problems with a global perspective. It must also take more responsibility on the global stage in resolving global issues and finding solutions.

HAN Seung-soo

FTAs are a major source of peace in the world and we should welcome agreements such as the TPP which bring our nations closer together. Regional multilateral organizations such as ASEAN and APEC should also be more involved in drawing up such agreements.

Although Francis Fukuyama said in 1992 that we had come to the end of history, I see in Asia the beginning of history as increasing rivalry stokes tensions. We need the normalisation of relations between the U.S. and China, and the two countries should come together again for meaningful dialogue to build regional peace. If that is achieved, I think Asia’s peace will be guaranteed.

Policy Implications

- The U.S. and China should find avenues towards dialogue to diffuse tensions and a military build-up.
- Support FTAs between ASEAN and ASEAN+3 nations to promote trade and exchange.
- Territorial disputes should be tackled through negotiation and creative development policies to benefit the region.
- Pursue regional Asian dialogue towards robust business ethical principles such as the UN Global Compact to ensure businesses operate ethically.
- Shared Asian values should be promoted alongside creativity and leadership in education policies to foster the next generation of Asian leaders.
- Asian nations should seek common cause in eradicating poverty, conflict and climate change through dialogue and negotiation.

Geopolitical Tensions and Nuclear Temptations in Asia-Pacific

East Asia Foundation

Moderator	Gareth EVANS Honorary Convener, Asia Pacific Leadership Network (APLN) / Former Foreign Minister, Australia
Presenter	CHEN Dongxiao President, Shanghai Institute for International Studies, China Tatsujiro SUZUKI Director, Research Center for Nuclear Weapons Abolition (RECNA) / Professor, Nagasaki University G. John IKENBERRY Professor, International Politics, Princeton University SONG Minsoon President, University of North Korean Studies / Former Foreign Minister of the ROK
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The session began with a brief introduction of the status quo regarding geopolitical tensions from Evans. Much turbulence has been seen in recent days – Northeast Asia has been struggling with the nuclear issue of the DPRK, South-east Asia has seen tensions between Pakistan and India, and Russia and the United States of America are no longer discussing arms control. Asia as a whole is seeing increased nuclear stockpiles. Despite Obama’s visit to Hiroshima, the Cold War era thinking may be coming back to the region.

Gareth EVANS

Introduced three questions to be discussed in the session. First, are geopolitical tensions creating new nuclear temptations in Asia-Pacific region? Are there growing temptations in states with no nuclear weapons to develop them, or are they leaning toward the direction of acquiring more protection from a nuclear umbrella? Second, if those temptations are real, what are the dangers? Would it mean that Asia-Pacific is growing closer to danger or would the growing reliance on nuclear weapons lead to more stabilization? Finally, if the risks are growing, what can be done to diffuse the tensions

and get back on track to disarmament again?

CHEN Dongxiao

Explained that nuclear development issues are interrelated to strategic tensions in a cycle of mutual feedback. However, it would be clearer to state that nuclear temptations are making the situation worse. For example, while the DPRK is making nuclear weapons to improve its regime’s security and management, the development has instead increased uncertainty.

Chancellor Evans followed up with another question: How could China control this nuclear temptation when other neighboring countries are wary of its own assertive rise? President Chen answered that China has always had a consistent nuclear strategy to maintain missile capability at a minimum deterrent level. China can play two roles to mitigate tensions. First, it can continue to assume a role of bridge-builder among conflicted interests among the DPRK, and the U.S. and the ROK. China is always open to multilateral dialogue. Second, it can be a facilitator of peace and stability in the region as a whole by creating more favorable conditions for



Gareth EVANS

CHEN Dongxiao

Tatsujiro SUZUKI

G. John IKENBERRY

SONG Minsoon

more general reconciliation. For example, China's implementation of UNSC Resolutions is strictly carried out to the letter. However, President Chen was concerned that there was too much emphasis on sanctions over the process of moving back to dialogue.

G. John IKENBERRY

Emphasized the necessity of solving the nuclear issue through a broader security dilemma perspective. Nuclear weapons have not been the root factor of instability, but rather a complicating factor between the U.S. and China. The cause of instability is rather the centralized power politics in the bilateral relations. The balance of power has become unstable due to the rise of China and growing insecurity about the U.S.'s position in East Asia with the coming presidential election. There is a competition for modernization of various capabilities including military, and both countries see the other as the source of their problems. As such, one way to avert the dilemma could be bilateral nuclear talks as a Track I dialogue is a cornerstone of bilateral relations. The potential agenda for that dialogue may include transparency, establishment of restraints and reciprocal constraints, and mutual recognition of strategic interest.

Gareth EVANS

Questioned the appropriateness of the topic for a Track I high level dialogue. Professor Ikenberry replied that there had already been 10~15 years of Track II dialogue. Also, the entry barrier for strategic dialogue would be small – the dialogue would only clarify the other's position and share knowledge. An expanded use of that dialogue could be

containment of the DPRK.

Tatsujiro SUZUKI

Discussed possible contributions from Japan for a safer nuclear environment in East Asia. Currently, there is little chance for Japan to take the nuclear option despite growing concern among Japanese policymakers – the public do not want the option. The professor believed that the government should in fact establish new policies not depending on nuclear deterrence. RECNA has been going further to direct the situation towards a nuclear free zone. Professor Suzuki's proposal is a Northeast Asia nuclear weapon-free zone - Japan, the ROK, and the DPRK should not possess nuclear weapons, and the U.S., Russia, and China will provide nuclear protection. Japan and the DPRK should work together for mutual assurance that nuclear weapons are unnecessary and seek to reduce the nuclear umbrella. Second, Japan should introduce a more flexible nuclear recycling policy and reduce its surplus plutonium stockpiles. Third, there should be a multilateral verification system for civilian nuclear programs in Northeast Asia.

SONG Minsoon

Stated that the ROK is concerned in regards to two levels: upper tier and lower tier. The upper tier is strategic balance between the U.S. and China. However, geopolitical tensions between them are giving more burdens to the ROK. The Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) is a good example of the ROK being pushed to stand at the frontline of a strategic divide. At a lower tier, the inability to stop the DPRK's nuclear program has had such great effect that public opinion is now more



open towards the idea of the ROK taking care of its own security. The ROK is concerned that there is no serious engagement in regards to the nuclear development of the DPRK. There is a popular perception that the latter's nuclear weapons target the ROK. President Song believed that the lack of synchronization of actions taken by the DPRK, ROK and Japan led to bad implementation to what otherwise would have been good agreements throughout history. Russia, China and the U.S. should all combine their efforts to enforce the DPRK to follow up on its promises.

Finally, there was a debate regarding a more comprehensive solution for the nuclear diffusion in the DPRK. President Chen stated that China is all on board with the UNSC Resolution, but other countries should recognize that sanctions are not the main goal and the DPRK should ultimately come back to the table for dialogue. As such, other countries should also not give up on diplomacy. Howev-

er, President Song said that China should negotiate for dialogue between the U.S. and the DPRK, and in the meantime suspend the latter's nuclear program to fully guarantee compliance. Otherwise, the U.S. will not believe that any talks with the DPRK will succeed. President Chen, however, argued that the DPRK is an independent sovereign state with its own decision-making process. Also, external factors such as the tension between the U.S. and the DPRK during the Bush administration have worsened its views towards the former. For China to succeed in a role as bridge-builder, others will have to help.

Professor Ikenberry argued that more sanctions should be implemented as the DPRK has not yet suffered high level sanctions in comparison to Iran. However, President Song said that the situation in the DPRK and Iran is different as the former has never been exposed to the international society.