

**CSCAP Steering Committee, June 1, 2009, Kuala Lumpur**

**CSCAP Study Group on Multilateral Security Governance in  
Northeast Asia/North Pacific**

**REPORT**

The "Multilateral Security Governance in Northeast Asia/North Pacific" Study Group convened its first meeting in Tokyo (The Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA)) on February 24-25, 2009

**1. Attendees**

A total of 20 CSCAP representatives from Japan, South Korea, China, the US, Canada, New Zealand, Malaysia and Brunei attended. In addition, we had two experts from Taipei.

**2. Summary of SG discussions**

1) Overview and Introduction

This session featured explanations of the Study Group's purpose and concept. A paper presenter from Japan argued that the Six Party Talks address numerous issues pertaining to the peace and stability of the Korean peninsula beyond just the denuclearization of North Korea, and asserted that this would require strengthening ties between the Six Party Talks and other existing regional and global regimes. This report also suggested, rather than creating a single regional regime for Northeast Asia, that "de facto" multilateralism be advanced by bringing together a variety of regional and international regimes.

In response, one participant offered the opinion that the Six Party Talks should focus exclusively on nuclear matters until the North Korean nuclear issue is resolved. Another participant pointed out that East Asia already has a variety of regional regimes but that, because the roles of these regimes overlap, their roles would need to be systematized prior to establishing stronger bonds between these regimes. The need for a secretariat for the Six Party Talks to encourage communications between the

participating countries and to facilitate administrative coordination was also noted.

## 2) Six Party Talks, Denuclearization, and Economic Cooperation

This session was host to discussions on the prospects of the Six Party Talks. A rapporteur from China expressed the view that the Six Party Talks, though currently at a standstill, have been quite fruitful thus far and that the countries involved will need in future to pursue economic cooperation to marshal the considerable funding needed to dismantle North Korea's nuclear facilities. It was pointed out that the countries participating in the Six Party Talks must be prepared to accept that the denuclearization of North Korea will take a number of years.

Following the report, one participant expressed the concern that the US might be more interested in preventing the proliferation of nuclear technology than in completely eliminating North Korea's nuclear capabilities. Another participant urged China to exercise its influence on North Korea more.

## 3) Peace-Regime Building and Institutional Coordination

This session began with a paper presenter from South Korea declaring that the nature of the threat on the Korean peninsula is undergoing continuous change as North Korea transitions from a military power to a failed state and that approaches to building a peace regime must be modified accordingly. More specifically, the countries in the region must provide economic assistance and otherwise endeavor to ensure that North Korea does not completely collapse, and the US-South Korean alliance must be strengthened so as to be able to sufficiently counter the threat posed by North Korea.

A speaker from Japan stated that a broad review of the history of efforts to denuclearize North Korea and to build peace on the Korean peninsula reveals differing perspectives between the US and North Korea on a peace regime for the Korean peninsula. It was pointed out, for example, that the US believes that such a peace regime should be established between North and South Korea, while North Korea is intent on concluding a bilateral peace treaty with the US.

After this presentation, many participants remarked that, though creating a peace regime for the Korean peninsula is not an unrealistic aim, this would be premised in great part on the denuclearization of North Korea.

#### 4) Peace-Regime Building and Military Confidence Building Measures

This session started with a South Korean paper presenter asserting the absolute necessity of promoting military confidence building measures (CBMs) between North and South Korea in building a peace regime. It was noted that South Korea had in the past agreed to carry out military CBMs with North Korea but that North Korea had no intention of implementing such measures.

In response, one participant drew attention to the fact that military CBMs had not been pursued in Europe until after the end of the Cold War and then suggested that it would be difficult to promote CBMs between North and South Korea in view of their current antagonistic relations. Another participant added that there would be little possibility of North Korea implementing military CBMs as long as the US-South Korea alliance is maintained.

#### 5) Special Session

A nuclear expert of JAEA(Japan Atomic Energy Agency) made a presentation titled "Experience and Lesson Learned from Verification and Dismantling Activities in JAEA. JAEA has been developing and constructing a wide variety of nuclear fuel cycle facilities and has abundant experience in operating those facilities. JAEA has been supporting IAEA to establish reliable and effective safeguards including monitoring and verification measures for their facilities. JAEA also has experience in dismantling several types of facilities. The presenter argued that the experience and lessons learned from safeguards implementation and dismantling activities in JAEA would be relevant to consider adequate and effective monitoring, verification and disablement measures for nuclear facilities in DPRK..

#### 6) The Six Party Talks and a Multilateral Mechanism for Northeast Asia

This session started with a presentation by a expert from South Korea insisting that the maintenance of bilateral alliances centered on the US is essential to continued peace in Northeast Asia but that development of a "peace and security mechanism for Northeast

Asia" is also needed. To this end, (1) the US' interest in Asia must be heightened, (2) China's image as an advocate of regionalism in East Asia must be improved, and (3) Japan's image as a promoter of "human security" must be boosted. It was also recommended that China accept US participation in the East Asia Summit and that both Japan and South Korea pursue cooperation on "human security."

A participant from Japan commented that the Six Party Talks have been quite productive thus far but that they still have many weaknesses as a regime. The Six Party Talks have no common norms or rules, for instance, and thus they function as no more than a forum for negotiations in which all participating countries pursue their own national interests to the greatest extent possible. Agreements reached by the parties have no legally binding force, and thus many go unimplemented. The construction of a security regime in Northeast Asia based on the Six Party Talks has been proposed, but this would be difficult to put into practice. Perhaps the most one can expect of the Six Party Talks is for it to serve as an umbrella regime covering a variety of issues.

#### 7) Next meeting

The next meeting is scheduled to be held in Seoul sometime in or after October 2009.

**(Program of the First Meeting)**

**First Meeting of the CSCAP Study Group on  
Multilateral Security Governance in Northeast Asia/ North Pacific  
The Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA) Conference Room  
Tokyo, Japan, Feb. 24-25, 2009**

**February 23, Monday**

Participants Arrival

**February 24, Tuesday**

Venue: Conference Room of the Japan Institute of International Affairs (11<sup>th</sup> Floor of the Kasumigaseki-Building, Tokyo, Japan)

**9:15-9:30 Registration**

**9:30-9:45 Opening Remarks**

Amb. Katsunari Suzuki (CSCAP Japan Chair)

Mr. Zhou Xingbao (Vice Chairman and Secretary General of CSCAP China)

Prof. Seo-hang Lee (Co-Chair of CSCAP Korea)

**9:45-10:45 First Session:**

Brief Introduction and Overview: Institutions-Building and Institutional Coordination under the umbrella of the Six Party Talks and (possible) multilateral security mechanism in Northeast Asia

Chair; Prof. Seo-hang Lee

Speaker: Mr. Zhou Xingbao

Speaker: Prof. Tsutomu Kikuchi, "An Institutional Design for Multilateral Security Cooperation in Northeast Asia: The Case of the Six Party Talks"

(This session will introduce an overall research framework of the study group. The agreements of the Six Party Talks demonstrate that the Six Party Talks must address almost all the issues relating to peace and stability in the Korean Peninsula. As a result, a variety of institutions must be developed to address these respective issues. In addition, these institutions have to be mobilized to resolve the nuclear crisis. Institutional coordination is critical in this regard).

**10:45-11:00 Coffee Break**

**11:00-12:00 Second Session:**

Six Party Talks, Denuclearization, and Economic Cooperation

Chair: Professor Yoshinobu Yamamoto

Speaker: Mr. Yang Xiyu

(Denuclearization processes will be accompanied by a variety of economic cooperation bilaterally and multilaterally. Economic cooperation must serve as an incentive for denuclearization and economic reforms. What types of economic cooperation are desirable and effective? How should we coordinate bilateral and multilateral cooperative activities? What roles can other countries(non-Six Parties) play in the process? The roles of regional and global financial institutions (such as Asian Development Bank, World Bank and International Monetary Fund) and regional economic arrangements (such as bilateral and subregional FTAs) must be addressed in the context of institutional coordination.)

**12:00-13:30 Lunch**

**13:30-15:15 Third Session:**

Peace-Regime Building and Institutional Coordination:

Chair: CSCAP-China

Speakers: Prof. Guen Lee "An Alternative Approach to a Peace System on the Korean Peninsula and Multilateral Security Framework in Northeast Asia"  
Prof. Hideya Kurata "Peace-Building Issue after the February Agreement;Old Claims in the New Context"  
Mr. James L. Schoff

(What is the "peace regime" in Korea? What constitute the peace regime? How such a peace regime relates to North-South Relations, US-DPRK Relations, Japan-DPRK relations, Four Party Talks and Six Party Talks, and UN? What should be done at an "appropriate forum by the directly-related parties." How can we organize the four party talks? Will the four party talks be divided into some working groups (such as four party discussions to replace the armistice agreement, North-South for bilateral reconciliation, US-DPRK for normalization, North-South-DPRK for military CBMs)? How can we "revitalize" the 1991 North-South Basic Agreement in the process of a peace-regime building? How will other parties be involved in the processes of peace-regime building? Any roles for them? If so, what roles?)

**15:15-15:30 Coffee Break**

**15:30-16:45 Fourth Session:**

Peace-Regime Building and Military-Confidence Building Measures

Chair: Professor Tsutomu Kikuchi

Speakers: Prof. Seo-hang Lee

Dr. Fu-Kuo Liu

\* Mr. Scott Snyder's paper will be circulated as a background information

(Introducing effective CBMs is a pre-condition for peace-regime building on the Peninsula. There are many useful agreements on CBM between North and South Korea (such as the 1991 Basic Agreement). However, most of them have not yet been implemented. How can we overcome the obstacles for implementing the agreements? Can the involvement of other parties and institutions help implement the agreements? If so, how? What institutional structures should be designed to enhance the prospect of implementing CBMs?)

**16:45-17:45 Fifth and Special Session:**

Chair: Professor Sung-han Kim

Speaker: Mr. Masato Hori, "Experience and Lesson Learned from Verification and Dismantling Activities in JAEA(Japan Atomic Energy Agency)"

(On February 13, 2007, the third session of the fifth round of the Six-Party Talks in Beijing agreed initial actions that included that "DPRK will shut down and seal for the purpose of eventual abandonment the Yongbyon nuclear facility, including the reprocessing facility" and that the DPRK "will invite back IAEA personnel to conduct all necessary monitoring and verifications as agreed between IAEA and the DPRK." The agreed action also include, "provision by the DPRK of a complete declaration of all nuclear programs and disablement of all existing nuclear facilities, including graphite-moderated reactors and reprocessing plant" as the next action phase.

JAEA has been developing and constructing a wide variety of nuclear fuel cycle facilities and has abundant experience in operating those facilities. Since Japan is a member of NPT as non-nuclear weapon state, all nuclear facilities are under IAEA full-scope safeguards. JAEA has been supporting IAEA to establish reliable and effective safeguards including monitoring and verification measures for their facilities. JAEA also has experience in dismantling several types of facilities. For instance, Japan

Research Reactor No.1 (JRR-1), JPDR and old JRR-3 have been decommissioned. In addition, JRR-2, VHTRC, DCA, Mutsu and the Reprocessing Test Facility (JRTF) are under decommissioning, and Fugen ATR prototype reactor and Ningyo-toge Enrichment Plants are to be dismantled.

The experience and lessons learned from safeguards implementation and dismantling activities in JAEA would be relevant to consider adequate and effective monitoring, verification and disablement measures for nuclear facilities in DPRK.)

**18:15 Welcoming Dinner (hosted by CSCAP-Japan)**

Venue: 33<sup>rd</sup> Floor in Kasumigaseki-Building

**February 25, Wednesday**

**9:30-11:00 Sixth Session:**

The Six Party Talks and Multilateral Security Mechanism/Framework in Northeast Asia

Chair: CSCAP-China

Speakers: Prof. Sung-han Kim "Building a Multilateral Security Mechanism in Northeast Asia"

Prof. Yoshinobu Yamamoto, "Major power security relations in North East Asia and the Role of the Six Party Talks"

(What types of security multilateralism can be envisaged from the past experiences of the Six Party Talks? How such security multilateral institutions contribute to enhancing the denuclearization processes and absorbing negative impacts of changing power-relations among the countries in the region on regional peace and stability? What will be the institutional structure of security multilateralism in Northeast Asia? What insights can we obtain from the experiences from other regions? (Helsinki process, CSCE, OAS, ASEAN, Shanghai Cooperation Organization, etc). How can the existing alliances be embedded into regional security multilateralism? What roles of non-Six parties are envisaged? A few scenarios and their institutional designs should be presented in this session.)

**11:00- 11:45 Wrap-up session**

(Structure of the project, publication. CSCAP memorandum. Timing and Venue of the second meeting etc)

**12:00-12:15 Closing Remarks**

**12:15 13:15 Lunch**

Venue: French Restaurant KEYAKI, 33<sup>rd</sup> floor in Kasumigaki-Building