

INTRODUCTION

Benjamin Self and Yuki Tatsumi

The Henry L. Stimson Center has been working on CBMS in East Asia since the mid-1990s. In 1997 the Center published *Chinese Perspective on Confidence-Building Measures*, a collection of essays by Chinese specialists on arms control and regional security issues. Another collection of essays, *Investigating Confidence-Building Measures in the Asia–Pacific Region*, followed in May 1999. It discussed and analyzed the role of CBMS in significant regional security issues and their use by key regional players. Essays in that report investigated the use of CBMS by China and Japan, and explored the potential relevance of CBMS to major regional security issues in the Asia–Pacific region such as the South China Sea and the military relations across the Taiwan Strait.

The present collection of essays continues the tradition of cogent analysis and coherent policy-oriented recommendations. Each author brings a distinctive point of view, examining CBMS in terms of function, level of implementation, role in a particular bilateral relationship, or role in national security strategy. By highlighting the range of ways that CBMS can contribute to an improved security environment in Northeast Asia, this collection hopes not only to offer lessons for that sub-region, but also to demonstrate the utility of CBMS more broadly.

Mark J. Valencia’s essay, “Northeast Asia: Navigating Neptune’s Neighborhood,” indicates the need for regional cooperation on maritime issues at every level—bilateral and multilateral, governmental and private, military and civilian—to manage divergent interests and prevent them from provoking conflict. Valencia then identifies the specific obstacles the countries in the region face in developing a cooperative maritime regime, and offers prescriptions for overcoming them. His solutions draw on the experience of maritime regionalism elsewhere, on established global maritime regimes, and on the record of regional confidence building. Finally, Valencia suggests how broad regional cooperation on maritime issues such as ocean management can enhance naval CBMS, transforming the current web of bilateral navy-to-navy contacts into a framework for multilateral naval CBMS. This essay has important implications for the theory of CBMS as well. A functional perspective provides maximum opportunity for the development of a transnational epistemic community based on shared expertise and professionalism. Issues such as ensuring safety at sea and protecting the

marine environment can, by linking specialists, complement the naval tradition of mutual respect.

Akiko Fukushima's essay "Multilateral Confidence-Building Measures in Northeast Asia: Receding or Emerging?" reviews multilateral security dialogues in Northeast Asia, placing them in political, historical, and the broader Asia-Pacific regional contexts. Noting the factors that have prevented the development of official multilateral security structures for Northeast Asia, she reviews the emergence of various track two efforts and the existing official processes. On the track two level, the North Pacific Cooperative Security Dialogue (NPCSD), Northeast Asia Cooperative Dialogue (NEACD) and North Pacific Working Group of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP) have helped regularize the habit of dialogue and have laid the groundwork for some form of official Northeast Asian Security Organization. These are supported by the experience of cooperative work in bodies with official, but not comprehensive, representation, such as the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO) and the Four-Party Talks among China, the United States, and the two Koreas. She argues that Japan, in particular, has moved beyond its skepticism about Northeast Asian multilateral security cooperation.

A cooperative relationship between China and Japan, the two major powers in Northeast Asia, is imperative for the stability of the region. Yet historical legacies and mutual distrust often prevent the two countries from developing amicable relations. In his essay "CBMs and China-Japan Relations," Jianwei Wang explores the state of political and security ties between China and Japan, including the problems they confront in building cooperative relations. He then reviews the progress they have made in establishing bilateral CBMs, as well as their participation in multilateral CBMs such as the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). Wang argues that China and Japan must take a broad approach, expanding the cultural and economic CBMs in place as well as moving toward more military CBMs. Stressing that the two have substantial common interests in regional stability and prosperity, he condemns the tactical maneuvering for advantage that keeps China from accepting Japan as a security partner and leads Japan to provoke China on sensitive issues like Taiwan. Given that both sides can cooperate for mutual long-term interest in many areas, security should be one of them.

Benjamin Self's essay, "CBMs and the Three Pillars of Japanese Security Strategy," explores the connections among Japan's self-defense efforts, maintenance of the U.S.-Japan Alliance, and promotion of multilateral cooperation. Self argues all three pillars are intended to support a strategy for stabilizing the region while gradually transforming the security

environment to allow for a cooperative security regime, but that the grand vision has been lost in the implementation of policy within each of the three areas. Due to history, Japan's domestic national security policy making structure, accidents of timing, and competing world views, the separate pillars have come into conflict, seeming like alternative strategies rather than components of a single whole. Self recommends strengthening CBMS to stabilize the structure of Japan's strategy, in particular by reconfiguring them to include the Alliance more explicitly.

This report follows its predecessors' footsteps and is intended to encourage more analytical work in the theory and practice of confidence building. We hope this report will help improve understanding, generate reaction, and promote the designing of pragmatic steps toward the goal of an East Asia free of tension and conflict.

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