Workshop on Defense Transparency in Northeast Asia

Agenda and Issues to be Addressed

University of California Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation
University of California San Diego, La Jolla
April 28-29, 2011

The University of California Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC) will host a Workshop on Defense Transparency in Northeast Asia at the University of California, San Diego, in La Jolla on April 28-29, 2011. This workshop, which is part of a research project developed from the Defense Information Sharing forum of the Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue (NEACD), will bring together defense ministry officials and academic specialists with expertise in defense transparency issues from China, South Korea, Russia, Japan, and the U.S. to discuss how states in Northeast Asia think about and promote defense transparency and discuss ways to develop common international approaches, norms, and methodologies in assessing defense transparency and how this can be used to improve regional trust and confidence-building.

Key questions to be addressed at the workshop include:

1. How do countries and defense establishments in Northeast Asia and the U.S. think about the importance and role of defense transparency for both domestic (general public, legislatures, media) and external audiences? Are there competing schools of thinking on this issue? How has thinking towards defense transparency developed in these countries over the past decade?

2. What do countries and defense establishments in Northeast Asia consider as the essential elements of defense transparency? How is transparency balanced with the need for confidentiality? What are the minimum levels of transparency and disclosure required in areas such as defense white papers, budgets, and international activities?

3. What are the most important and effective channels for defense transparency? Is it through official channels such as official websites, official press briefings, and defense white papers, or through non-official channels such as independent or quasi-independent media, legislative bodies, and the Internet?

4. How do participants rate defense transparency among neighboring and major powers in Northeast Asia? Using IGCC’s 7 categories of defense transparency (defense white paper, official defense ministry website, budget, legislative oversight, U.N. reporting, media reporting, and international activity), how would you grade the following countries: Japan, South Korea, China, Russia, and the U.S.? How would you compare defense transparency in Northeast Asia with other regions of the world, such as Europe and Southeast Asia?

Each speaker will have 15 minutes for their presentation in order to provide sufficient time for discussion.
Agenda

Thursday, April 28
Location: The Garden Suite, Estancia Hotel

1830: Welcome Reception and Dinner

Friday, April 29
Location: The Village at Torrey Pines, Room 15-C

0830-0845: Welcome
Tai Ming Cheung (IGCC)


Definitional and Conceptual Challenges in Defense Transparency
Jon Lindsay & Jeffery Kwong (IGCC)

Constructing a Regional Defense Transparency Index
Tai Ming Cheung (IGCC)

The European Experience of Defense Transparency
Christian Le-Miere (International Institute for Strategic Studies)

Military Spending in Northeast Asia: What We Know and What We Don't
Sam Perlo-Freeman (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute)

1045-1100: Break

1100-1215: Session Two: U.S. Perspectives

Department of Defense Perspectives on Defense Transparency
David Helvey (Principal Director, East Asia, US Defense Department, Office of the Secretary of Defense Policy, Asia-Pacific/East Asia)

Assessing Asia-Pacific Defense White Papers: How Should Transparency be Measured?
Phillip Saunders (National Defense University)

1215-1400: Lunch

1400-1515: Session Three: Japanese Perspectives
Japanese Perspectives on Defense Transparency: The View from the Ministry of Defense
Sugio Takahashi (Ministry of Defense, Japan)

Japanese Perspectives
Ken Jimbo (Keio University)

1515-1530:  Break

1530-1630:  **Session Three: Chinese Perspectives**

*Some Reflections on China's 2010 Defense White Paper*
Yu Tiejun (Peking University)

1630-1645:  Break

1645-1800:  **Session Four: South Korean Perspectives**

*A Governmental Perspective on Defense Transparency: the More the Better*
Shin Beomchul (Korean Institute for Defense Analyses)

*A Civilian Perspective on Defense Transparency: the More, the Better*
Kang Choi (Institute for Foreign Affairs and National Security)

1800-1815:  Wrap-Up
Tai Ming Cheung (IGCC)

1900:  Dinner, *Location: The Pearl*
Participant Bios

**Dr. Tai Ming CHEUNG** is senior research fellow at the UC Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC). Cheung manages IGCC's Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue (NEACD), a Track Two program that brings together senior foreign ministry and defense officials as well as academics from the United States, China, Japan, South Korea, North Korea, and Russia for informed discussions on regional security issues. He also oversees the "The Future of Multilateral Security Cooperation in Northeast Asia: Exploring Regional Security Architecture and the Economics-Security Nexus," a research project in collaboration with the University of Tokyo and Yonsei University funded by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation as well as the Institute's Project on the Study of Innovation and Technology in China (SITC). Cheung serves as an associate adjunct professor at the School of International Relations and Pacific Studies at UC San Diego and is a long-time analyst of Chinese and East Asian defense and national security affairs. Cheung was based in Asia from the mid-1980s to 2002 covering political, economic and strategic developments in greater China. He was also a journalist and political and business risk consultant in northeast Asia. Cheung received his Ph.D. from the War Studies Department at King's College, London University in 2006. His latest book, *Fortifying China: The Struggle to Build a Modern Defense Economy*, was published by Cornell University Press in 2009.

**Dr. CHOI Kang** is a professor and Director-General for American Studies at the Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. From 1992 to 1998, and from 2002 to 2005, Professor CHOI worked in the Korea Institute for Defense Analyses (KIDA). When at KIDA, Professor CHOI assumed various positions such as Chief Executive Officer, Task Force for Current Defense Issues, Director of International Arms Control Studies, and one of the editors of Korean Journal of Defense Analysis (KJDA). He has done researches on arms control, crisis/consequence management, North Korean military affairs, multilateral security cooperation, and the ROK-US security alliance. From 1998 to 2002, he served in National Security Council Secretariat as Senior Director for Policy Planning and Coordination. He was one of South Korean delegates to the Four-Party Talks.

Professor CHOI has published many articles including “An Approach toward a Common Form of Defense White Paper,” “International Arms Control and Inter-Korean Arms Control,” “Inter-Korean Arms Control and Implications for the USFK,” “Future ROK-US Security Alliance,” “North Korea’s Intensions and Strategies on Nuclear Games., and “A Prospect for US-North Korean Relations: beyond the BDA issue.”

Professor CHOI holds several advisory board membership including Committee on Foreign Affairs, Trade, and Unification of National Assembly, Ministry of National Defense, Ministry of Unification, and the National Unification Advisory Council.
Mr. David HELVEY is the Principal Director for East Asia in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Asian and Pacific Security Affairs, East Asia (APSA/EA). Prior assignments in the Office of the Secretary of Defense include Country Director for China, and Director for China, Taiwan, and Mongolia, and Senior Advisor for China Policy and Integration.

From August 1998 to October 2004, Mr. Helvey was assigned to the Defense Intelligence Agency as a China military-political affairs analyst in the China Strategic Issues Division, Office of China and East Asia. From June 2003 to October 2004, Mr. Helvey served as DIA’s Senior Intelligence Analyst for China military-political affairs. While assigned to DIA, Mr. Helvey performed tours in OSD/ISA and the Joint Staff J2 (Intelligence). From September 1996 to August 1998, Mr. Helvey was employed as a Policy Analyst with ANSER, Inc’s Congressional Analysis Team. His duties included research and analytic support to the Office of the Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (Acquisition) Power Projection Division. From February 1998 to August 1998, Mr. Helvey was assigned to the Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (Acquisition) Staff Group. Mr. Helvey graduated from The American University with an MA in U.S. Foreign Policy in 1996, and from West Virginia University with a BA in Political Science in 1994.

Ken JIMBO is an Associate Professor at the Faculty of Policy Management, Keio University. He is concurrently a Research Fellow at the Tokyo Foundation and a Senior Research Fellow at the Canon Institute of Global Studies. Prior to joining Keio University, he was a Director of Research at the Japan Forum on International Relations Inc. (JFIR) in 2003-2004, and a Research Fellow at the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA) in 1999-2003. He obtained his Ph.D. from the Graduate School of Media and Governance at Keio University in March 2005. His research fields are: Japan-US Security Relations, Japanese Foreign and Defense Policy, Multilateral Security in Asia-Pacific, and Regionalism in East Asia. He has been a member of various governmental / non-governmental research groups including a Member of the Globalization Working Group of the 21st Century Vision (Council on Economic and Fiscal Policy, Cabinet Secretariat) and the Working Group on Defense and Diplomacy (Ministry of Defense), Special Advisory Committee on “Japan in the World” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Special Committee on Protecting Critical Infrastructure (Cabinet Secretariat).

Jeffrey KWONG is a PhD student at University of California, San Diego studying security and international relations with focuses in defense information, cyber attacks, and China. Under Dr. TaiMing Cheung's direction, Jeffrey is also a graduate researcher at IGCC on IGCC's Defense Transparency Project and has researched China's cyber infrastructure and the emergence of cyber incidents. He is a graduate of Harvard College in government with minors in Korean and history education.

Christian LE-MIERE is Research Fellow for Naval Forces and Maritime Security at the International Institute for Strategic Studies. Before joining the institute, Christian Le Mière was from June 2006 the editor of Jane’s Intelligence Review and Jane’s Intelligence Weekly, while simultaneously
managing a team of security analysts. During this period, he launched *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, pioneered the use of satellite imagery intelligence within open source magazines and developed a quantitative global security risk system. His research focus was on East Asian security and maritime developments, reflecting his earlier position at *Jane’s* as an Asia analyst from August 2004. In other professional positions, Christian has acted as a managing editor at risk analysis firm Business Monitor International and Southeast Asia editor at Europa Publications. He undertook undergraduate studies in PPE at Oxford, and he holds an MA in War Studies from King’s College London.

**Jon LINDSAY** is a postdoctoral scholar with the University of California Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC). He received his Ph.D. in political science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, M.S. in computer science and B.S. in cognitive science from Stanford University, and has served as an intelligence officer in the U.S. Navy. His research focuses broadly on the problems of knowledge in complex systems, with particular emphasis on the role of information technology in international security. Specific research topics include the strategic problems posed by emerging cyberwarfare capabilities, the capacity for "user innovation" as a component of military power, and the operational challenges of irregular warfare under conditions of high technology and complexity. His dissertation, "Information Friction: Information Technology and Military Performance," draws on fieldwork with a U.S. special operations unit in Iraq and historical casework to explain the social conditions under which uncertainty-reducing technologies can themselves generate additional uncertainty. He is presently working to broaden the information friction framework in order to understand how emerging information technologies affect Chinese military power.

**Dr. Samuel PERLO-FREEMAN** is head of the SIPRI Military Expenditure project, with overall responsibility for the SIPRI Military Expenditure Database. Before joining SIPRI in 2007 he was a Senior Lecturer in Economics at the University of the West of England, specializing in Defence & Peace Economics. His recent publications include “The demand for military expenditure in developing countries: hostility vs capability”, (Defence & Peace Economics, 2008), and a chapter on the UK arms industry in The Global Arms Trade: a Handbook (Routledge, 2009), as well as chapters in the SIPRI Yearbook on military expenditure and arms production.

**Dr. Phillip C. SAUNDERS** is Director of Studies and Distinguished Research Fellow at the Center for Strategic Research, part of National Defense University’s Institute for National Strategic Studies. He also serves as Director of the Center for the Study of Chinese Military Affairs. Dr. Saunders has worked on China and Asian security issues at National Defense University since January 2004. He previously worked at the Monterey Institute of International Studies, where he served as Director of the East Asia Nonproliferation Program from 1999-2003 and taught courses on Chinese politics, Chinese foreign policy, and East Asian security. Dr. Saunders has conducted research and consulted on East Asian security issues for Princeton
University and the Council on Foreign Relations and previously worked on Asia policy issues as an officer in the United States Air Force. Dr. Saunders has published numerous articles and book chapters on China and Asian security issues; his recent publications include “Bridge over Troubled Water? Envisioning a China-Taiwan Peace Agreement” in *International Security*, the INSS Strategic Forum “Managing Strategic Competition with China,” and two monographs *Assessing Chinese Military Transparency* and *Civil-Military Relations in China: Assessing the PLA’s Role in Elite Politics*. Dr. Saunders attended Harvard College and received his MPA and Ph.D. in International Relations from the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton University.

**Dr. Beomchul SHIN** is currently a Director of the Division of North Korean Military Studies at the Korea Institute for Defense Analyses (KIDA). He joined the KIDA in 1995, served as the Director of the Division of Defense Policy Studies, the Chief of the Defense Issue Task Force. He was on leave of absence from the KIDA for his governmental service at the Ministry of National Defense as a Senior Policy Advisor to Defense Minister from June 2009 to October 2010. Dr. SHIN holds various advisory posts, including Advisory board of Committee on Foreign Affairs, Trade, and Unification to National Assembly. He has published books and articles on international law and conflicts, ROK-U.S. alliance, and North Korean Issues. He holds a Doctor of Judicial Science (S.J.D.) from the Georgetown University Law Center majoring international law and the use of force. He also studied at the Graduate School of Law of the Seoul National University. He received his B.A. from the Chung-nam National University in 1993.

**Sugio TAKAHASHI** is senior fellow of the National Institute for Defense Studies and currently with Deputy Director of the Office of Strategic Planning of Ministry of Defense in Tokyo, Japan. He received MA and BA from the Waseda University and MA from George Washington University. Mr. Takahashi has published extensively in the areas of nuclear strategy, the Japan-U.S. alliance, and East Asian regional security such as “Toward Japan-ROK Security Cooperation beyond Northeast Asia,” *The Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, Vol.XIX, No.3 (Fall 2007).

**Col. ZHOU Piqi** is a professor at the Institute for Strategic Studies, National Defense University of PLA, China where he teaches courses such as “New Military Doctrine of the PLA” and “The History of Sino-US Relations.” He has also served as visiting scholar at Nanyang Technological University in Singapore. Col. Zhou received his PhD in 2000 from the School of International Studies at Peking University. His recent publications include, *The Legitimacy and Grand Strategy: America’s Hegemonic Maintenance in NATO System*, Beijing: Peking University Press, 2005 and *The Analysis of Grand Strategy*, Shanghai: Shanghai People’s Press, 2009.
YU Tiejun is an associate professor in the School of International Studies and general secretary for the Center for International and Strategic Studies at Peking University. Previously, he served as visiting fellow at the Center for International Security and Cooperation at Stanford University in 2005, and also as visiting scholar at the Fairbank Center for East Asian Research at Harvard University in 2005-06. Dr. Yu has published a variety of articles focused on international relations theory and military alliances in East Asia. He is also the Chinese translator of *Myths of Empire* by Jack Snyder (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2007) and *Discord and Collaboration: Essays on International Politics* by Arnold Wolfers (Beijing: World Affairs Press, 2006), among other works. His research interests include IR theory, East Asian Security, China-Japan-US trilateral relations, and national security policy. Dr. Yu received a Ph.D., M.A. and B.A. from the School of International Studies at Peking University.