

Feasibility of Regional Security Framework in North East Asia

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1. Two most important variables
2. Key actors' perception and interests toward multilateral security regime
3. Who Takes the Lead
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Two most important variables; 'Destined for war' and 'Unnecessary war'

- Destined for war(Allison, 2017); Either to lead to a grand clash or to integrate into U.S. led unipolar global liberal order
 - U.S. leading victories in wars against two times of world wars and a Cold War for ideology and hegemony will go tough as long as they fear the rise of China.
 - turbulence is inevitable during power struggle in the region
- Unnecessary war(Mearsheimer & Walt, 2003)
 - Internal and external forces are converging on the Peninsular

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Key actors' perception and interests toward multilateral security regime

✓ U.S. :

- prefer bilateral alliance
- need to make a coordinated approach to resolve regional issues including North Korea's nuclear in multilateral framework as a complementary mechanism
- actively engaged in Indo-Pacific Strategy
- tool for engagement policy
- have China and Russia abide by the international sanction against North Korea

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✓ China

- concerned about platform for China-Bashing
- reduce regional suspicion over China's hegemony
- deter Japan's military build up
- alleviate U.S.'s military deployment and possible intervention in the region
- contribute to sustainable China's economic growth
- a forum for enhancing China's defense strategy
- better room to join North Korea denuclearization process as a stakeholder

✓ Japan

- concerned about the possible harm to U.S.-Japan alliance

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- dilute negative perception to strengthen its security role in the region
 - contain China's emergence as a military superpower
 - contribute to non proliferation of WMD
 - increase security role in the region
- ✓Russia
- strongest advocate
 - create favorable environment for the economy especially
 - useful tool for actualize the Putin's foreign policy toward East Asia

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- help reduce defense expenditure
 - interested in being free from Japanese threat
 - influence North Korea denuclearization process
- ✓South Korea
- consistent preference for multilateral security regime on the basis of KOR-U.S. alliance
 - utilize geo-strategic importance to reduce tension on the Peninsula
 - form a favorable environment to turn the armistice to peace regime
 - induce North Korea to become a regional responsible member
 - contribute to the unification of Korea

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- ✓ North Korea
- force to seek security cooperation
- prevent isolation by collective pressures
- leeway to survive international sanction
- contribute to resolving economic hardship
- help maintain the regime
- a buffer zone and better win-set to make a good deal with U.S.
- seek security assurance, sanction relief and diplomatic recognition

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Who Takes the Lead

❖ Two Koreas

- Panmunjom Declaration(April 27, 2018)
- Kim Jong Un's 2019 New Year Address

❖ 3 parties consisting of two Koreas and U.S. or 4 parties comprised of two Koreas and principal allies during the war, U.S. and China

- U.S.-D.P.R.K. Joint Communique(October 12, 2000)
- Panmunjom Declaration(April 27, 2018)
- Joint Statement of Donald Trump and Kim Jong Un at Singapore Summit(June 12, 2018)

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❖ **U.S.-ROK Co-leadership**

- Clinton and Kim Young Sam proposed Four Party talks(April, 1996)

❖ **ROK-U.S.-Japan's trilateral military cooperation approach**

❖ **ROK-China-Japan's trilateral summit talk approach**

❖ **ROK-U.S.-China's strategic dialogue approach**

❖ **Six party talks approach**

- Joint Statement of Six-Party Talks(September 19, 2005)
- North Korea and Russia summit talk(April 25, 2019)

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A Proposal for Northeast Asia security regime

- ✓ starting conversation early to have a common understanding and a consensus in advance of formal discussion be helpful to reach a sustainable outcome.
- ✓ Once identifying a multilateral security cooperation arrangement needs to be institutionalized, should focus on reconciliation, peace, stability and co-prosperity
- ✓ Gradual implementation:
 - creating a favorable environment, enlarging realistic cooperation, accomplishing institutionalization.
 - holding summit talk first to discuss security issues and establish annual summit talks to provide a guidance and policy. (the end)

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