

Prof. Dr. Michael Staack

International academic conference

A joint conference of the professorship of international relations (Prof. Dr. Michael Staack), Helmut-Schmidt University/University of the German Federal Armed Forces Hamburg, in cooperation with:

- the *China Foreign Affairs University*, Beijing,
- the *Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at Hamburg University*, and
- the *Walther-Schüicking-Institute of International Law at Kiel University*

Funded by *Deutsche Stiftung Friedensforschung* (DSF)

Structures of cooperative and common security: A prospect for development of East Asia?

Hamburg, Hotel "Baseler Hof", October 30-November 1, 2016

Introduction & Objective(s)

1. Introduction

China's economic and political rise amounts to one of the most significant international developments of the early 21st century. Likewise, the integration of the People's Republic of China into a multilateral order represents a major challenge of the present time. This is due to the process' impact on both the international system at large and regional order within the East Asian security complex.

At the same time, this process is accompanied by a number of conflicts involving severe power struggles and shifting spheres of influences. Nevertheless, an increasingly cooperative framework would appear possible because - at least in principle - such setting is in line with the interests of the major actors involved. Against this background, enhanced integration of China into a reformed international order seems realistic. On the one hand, China has benefitted from this order thus far and is calling for enhanced contribution to the latter, but not for structural changes. On the other hand, an increasingly multipolar international system requires the integration of rising powers, if it shall remain viable.

In comparison, matters are far less favorable with regard to the East Asian security complex: (1) This region lacks an extensive, deeply-institutionalized structure of cooperation of its system of states. While economic ties and cooperation are far advanced, cooperative structures in the field of security policy remain largely absent. (2) The region is witnessing a number of unresolved security problems with a high risk of escalation, such as territorial

disputes, the North-Korea issue and the question of Taiwan's future. (3) U.S. and Chinese interests are directly clashing with one another regarding East Asia. While Washington seeks to defend its regional hegemon status by means of its Asia-Pacific strategy which was proclaimed in 2011, Beijing intends to gradually drive the U.S. out of the region.

That said, security challenges within the most important - in political and economic terms in any case - global region have further reinforced throughout previous years. China is constantly modernizing its military potential and increasing its military projection capacities, yet without being able to compete with the technologically leading U.S., let alone attempting to do so. However, China is anxious to deny the U.S., which have been dominating the region Asia-Pacific (right until the Chinese coast) so far, military options or rendering them unduly costly. Likewise, the U.S. (as well as its regional allies Japan, South Korea and the Philippines) are engaging in military upgrading efforts and reactivating their bilateral alliances; Washington, in addition, actively works on advancing the project of a free trade area project (TPP) which is designed to exclude the People's Republic of China. China's unprecedented rise results in an increase in misperceptions, instabilities, fears and defense reactions throughout the entire region.

Moreover, as a consequence of North Korea's spoiler policy, the already fragile East Asian security complex proves to be even more tense. Conflicts of recent years (e.g. on claims to sovereignty in the South China sea, on Chinese export restriction of rare earths or territorial disputes between China, Taiwan and Japan on the *Diaoyou/Senkaku* islands) have intensified the desire by the majority of China's East and Southeast Asian neighbors of a reinsuring and balancing role to be performed by the U.S.. At the same time, these very same states seek deepened economic cooperation with China. They want both, cooperation with the People's Republic and the U.S. . Hence, a vital prerequisite for cooperative security is met.

In a nutshell: East Asia is witnessing a security dilemma which has not been (successfully) addressed yet and which obviously cannot be effectively reduced solely by an increase in economic dependencies (Asian Paradox). Therefore, it seems reasonable and necessary to explore cooperative solutions to present security policy related challenges.

2. Objective(s), Implementation, Publication

In this light, the question arises as **to what extent and how European and particularly German experiences with strategies of dialogue, détente, confidence-building and arms control may be utilized as potential solutions to the East Asian security dilemma**. Two international conferences in Hamburg (October 30-November 1, 2016) and Beijing (2017) shall address this research question respectively (working language: English).

The **China Foreign Affairs University**, the university of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, will be the Chinese project partner. Likewise, the **Helmut Schmidt University**, is affiliated to the German Ministry of National Defence as is the **Korean National Defense University**. Moreover, the **Walther-Schücking-Institute** ranks among the most renowned institutions dealing with public international law in Germany and the **Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy** is nationally and internationally respected for its expertise. That said, all speakers are representing either the discipline

international relations or international law. By means of the selection of partners and speakers, all of whom have extensive experience in scientific policy advice, due care shall be given to the academic and political relevance of the topic at hand and a transfer of the conference findings right into political practice shall be facilitated.

The **first conference in Hamburg** (funded by DSF) aims at facilitating an exchange of views between Chinese and German representatives and participants by taking into consideration the South Korean perspective as well. The **second conference in Beijing** (funding to be provided by the CFAU) shall broaden the range of issues discussed and delve deeper into the most fundamental ones. A third conference may involve an exchange of views with scholars from the U.S. In all cases it is fully possible to resort to existing academic networks of the applicant and his cooperation partners.

The proposed project is based on previous research by Prof. Dr. Michael Staack on German and international *Ostpolitik* and détente policy, in particular on the concept of a pan-European peace order and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). In addition, his research on the changing role of the People's Republic of China in Asia in particular and in global politics in general serves as another solid point of departure. In tangible terms, this research (2013/2014) examined the question as to what extent leading Chinese universities and think tanks, which are affiliated with and subordinated to the Chinese government, consider it reasonable to utilize German and European experiences with cooperative security (measures) in order to establish such structures in East Asia as well.

A publication of the lectures and presentations is envisaged.

Program (final draft)

October 30th, 2016

Arrival of the participants – Welcome dinner

October 31st, 2016

Panel 1

“Perceptions of the Security constellation in East Asia: The case of China and Japan”

Prof. Dr. Su Hao, *China Foreign Affairs University*

Prof. Dr. Sebastian Harnisch, *Universität Heidelberg*

Chair: Prof. Dr. Yong-Sup Han, *Korea National Defense University*; President, *Korea Nuclear Policy Society*

Panel 2

"German and European experiences regarding Common and Cooperative security: A role model for East Asia?"

Prof. Dr. Michael Staack, *Helmut-Schmidt-University*

"Regional Integration in East Asia: A Chinese point of view"

Prof.in Dr. Fan Ying, *China Foreign Affairs University*

Chair: Prof. Dr. Gao Fei, *China Foreign Affairs University*

Panel 3

"North East Asian multilateral security structures"

Prof. Dr. Yong-Sup Han, *Korea National Defense University*; President, *Korea Nuclear Policy Society*

Prof. Dr. Su Hao, *China Foreign Affairs University*

Chair: Prof. Dr. Xiong Wei, *China Foreign Affairs University*

November 1, 2016

Panel 4

"How may public international law contribute to the settlement of territorial conflicts in the South China Sea?"

Prof.in Dr. Nele Matz-Lück, *Walther-Schuecking-Institute*

Prof. Dr. Gao Fei, *China Foreign Affairs University*

Chair: Prof. Dr. Andreas von Arnould, *Walther-Schücking-Institute*

Panel 5

"Arms control as a possible way to overcome arms races in East Asia"

Prof. Dr. Götz Neuneck, *Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy Hamburg*

Prof. Dr. Xiong Wei, *China Foreign Affairs University*

Chair: Prof. Dr. Michael Staack, *Helmut-Schmidt-University*

Preliminary Results: Roundtable Discussion

Prof. Dr. Fan Ying, Prof. Dr. Gao Fei, Prof.in Dr. Nele Matz-Lück, Prof. Dr. Michael Staack,
Prof. Dr. Yong-Sup Han

This conference will be complemented by a one-day study trip to Berlin - including background talks at the Federal Chancellery, the Federal Foreign Office, and the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) respectively.