G. John Ikenberry, Tom Christensen, Aaron Friedberg, and Anne-Marie Slaughter

Proposal --Five University Research Collaboration

We seek support for the establishment of a five-university research network in the area of East Asian security cooperation and regional governance, with institutional partners in Tokyo, Beijing, Seoul, and Singapore. The partnership will be organized around an annual research workshop hosted on a rotating basis by the five universities, along with graduate student visits and teleconferencing exchanges throughout the year. As such, the research collaboration will have a life-cycle of at least five years. At Princeton, a large group of faculty and students across a variety to disciplines will be engaged in this new enterprise, using the research network and annual workshop to pursue a variety of specific research collaborations. This will be the first U.S.-East Asian inter-university research network of its kind.

This research network will be the centerpiece of the Woodrow Wilson School's new Center for International Security Studies (CISS). This center will provide administrative support for the research network and, in turn the network -and the programmatic activities and graduate student involvements surrounding it --will be critical in defining the identity of the center as it comes to life. John Ikenberry, Tom Christensen, and Aaron Friedberg will be the co-directors of the research network, while Anne-Marie Slaughter will play a less active role until she returns from government service. The Woodrow Wilson School is also creating a new PhD Cluster in International Security for graduate training in this area, attracting graduate students who will no doubt be a growing constituency for and active participants in the research network.

In laying the foundation for this five-university collaboration, we have hosted two preliminary meetings, both co-hosted with the University of Tokyo’s Graduate School for Public Policy. The first was held in Tokyo in October 2007 and the second at Princeton in December 2008. Representatives from the other partnership universities attended the December 2008, and a preliminary agreement has been reached to launch this new research collaboration. If funding is secured, Princeton University will host the first meeting of the five-university partnership in December 2009.

Several aspects of this proposal can be highlighted.

- Funding is to be used for building the five-university research network, primarily by supporting the first (of five) annual meetings and graduate student-led interaction between meetings.
- Interaction among the five research partners between annual meetings will be encouraged by creating of a website, video teleconferencing, and graduate student travel to the region.
- Council funding will be highly leveraged. Each of the other four universities has agreed to generate a similar amount of funding to host one of the annual meetings.
- Collaboration among the five partners will be organized around a series of research "working groups."
- Graduate students will be integrated into the research network, working with professors on specific projects and linked to their counterparts at the other universities through semi-annual discussion forums (either conducted via teleconferencing or through small workshops).

The Rationale

The scholarly debate on security cooperation and regional governance in East Asia has quickened in recent years. This is not surprising. The region itself is undergoing extraordinary change with the rise of China, the "normalization" of Japan, and the ongoing nuclear crisis on the Korean peninsula. Rapid economic growth, rising defense budgets, unresolved territorial disputes, frayed alliance ties, growing nuclear proliferation threats, and shifting orientations of governments are together reshaping the security environment for all the states in the region. The increasing salience of newer and non-traditional security issues -such as energy security, environment, climate change, transnational crime, and terrorism -are also creating interests and constituencies urging expanded regional security cooperation. As uncertainties and insecurities have risen across Asia, so too has talk about new forms of regional security dialogue and collective action.

How East Asia manages its great transformation and grapples with security cooperation are issues of both scholarly and policy importance. Basic questions abound about the logic and character of power, order, security, hegemony, institutions, and international cooperation. Other questions include the relationship between economics and security, the role of nationalism and culture in geopolitics, and the implications of long-term shifts in power between Asia and the West. In the meantime, policy officials in all the major capitals of East Asia are debating the future of security cooperation and advancing ideas about new types of institutional arrangements.

Despite the significance of these issues, scholars across East Asia are only beginning to "find" each other and exchange ideas. Projects on East Asian regionalism -economic, political, security have been launched by think tanks and university institutes in the United States and East Asia, but there has been little direct and ongoing inter -university research collaboration. This is particularly true in regard to China. Chinese universities are just beginning to build faculties and research institutions in the area of international relations and security studies. We plan to partner with the leading center at Peking University. In Korea and Japan, a new generation of scholars are also emerging, eager to work with American specialists on basic questions of regional security and governance. Perhaps the weakest link in this emerging regional scholarly dialogue is Southeast Asia which has not been fully drawn into research and debates. Our partnership with the National University of Singapore is an attempt to build ties with scholars in this sub-region.

As noted, the core focus of this five-university research collaboration will be East Asian security cooperation and regional governance. We can say a bit more about the core scholarly and policy issues that define the intellectual parameters of this collaboration.

The initial focus of the preliminary workshops has been the question of new regional security cooperation. This issue -broadly defined -will also be at the core of the new five university research partnership. The region is undergoing extraordinary change -and countries across the region are asking basic questions about security, order, and the reorganization of regional institutions and governance. The basic political parameters of East Asia as a "region" are up for grabs. The meaning of “security" is also changing, as old security issues associated with power balances and arms proliferation are mixing with new security issues such as energy and the environment.

At the same time, the "old order" in East Asia organized around American hegemony and bilateral alliances is giving way to a "new order" in which China and other actors are playing a more central role. But the "new order" has not yet arrived -and, indeed, there is no consensus across the region on what it will be or should be. So it is not surprising that the most basic

questions of international relations and political order -who benefits and who commands -are in play. As scholars across the region ask these questions they are also looking for new opportunities to reach out to their counterparts in other countries, to ask questions and listen to answer that are not often heard in individual countries across the region. It is in this context that the five-university collaboration finds its basic rationale.

At the outset, two basic issues drive this research collaboration. One relates to traditional questions of great powers, security cooperation, and power transitions. The great drama in East Asia revolves around the rise of China and the "normalization" of Japan. One of the most basic debates in international relations is how global and regional order navigate "power transitions" - i.e., rapid and significant shifts in power between major states. These power transition moments are universally seen by scholars as particularly dangerous periods that can produce insecurity, uncertainty, arms races, and militarized disputes that risk war. The underlying dynamic that produces these dangers and instabilities is the "security dilemma." In the context of shifting power relations, states take steps that they themselves see as prudent and defensive but that neighboring states see as provocative and threatening.

A core question for this research collaboration is: what is the character of the East Asian security dilemma and what can the countries in the region do about it? This question leads directly to questions about regional security institutions, American-led alliances, and Chinese and Japanese grand strategies. The theoretical and policy questions that flow from this issue will be a major concern for the research partnership.

At the December 2008 workshop, participants spent a lot of time talking about the state of our knowledge of “security dilemma" problems in the region. Interestingly, there is very little good empirical work that actually probes the logic and character of these dynamics. China worries about Japanese movements back to a more normal great power military status and Japan worries about a more powerful China. But there is very little good work that identifies and measures security dilemma dynamics and perceptions. One of the projects that would be supported within the network is a joint study by several of the Chinese, Japanese, and American scholars on how to track the rise and fall of security dilemma conflict in the region.

A second area concerns wider questions of regional cooperation. East Asia is transforming partly because it is coping with the world-wide drama of globalization. Globalization has come to East Asia. Globalization is manifest in new sorts of economic, political, and security challenges, not least those relating to energy and the environment. Here the core scholarly question is not about the security dilemma; it is about the limits and possibilities of collective action. Again, this is a basic question in the study of international relations, and it is implicit in all the debates about the future of East Asian regional cooperation. What sorts of institutions are needed to facilitate cooperation on "new security" issues such and energy, the environment, migration, crime, and human rights? This question draws in the traditional great powers but also the smaller and less developed states in the region. Implicit in this question are technical scholarly questions relating to institutional design. Costs, incentives, burden sharing, monitoring, enforcement, and credible commitment -these are aspects of these important technical scholarly questions relating to regional cooperation. But there are also deeply political questions about the character of regional boundaries, cultural identities, and Asian versus Western styles of governance. The theoretical and policy questions that flow from this issue will also be a major concern for the research partnership.

For example, there is a great deal of worry on the Chinese side that the United States and China are moving into an era of rising conflict over energy and the environment. In Beijing, some

scholars are urging that the Chinese government come forward with a proposal for a massive collaborative Sino-American Rand D program on clean energy and environmental protection. Meanwhile, the Japanese government is seeking to establish its leadership in precisely this area of clean energy technology and sustainable development. One of the projects that we hope to pursue is an exploration of the possibilities for wider East Asian cooperation on energy and the environment. Such proposals offer a double dividend. They presumably help attack the energy and environmental problems themselves, and they provide a basis for deeper cooperation among the leading states in the region. This project would also dovetail nicely with discussions that are certain to take place at the highest levels of the Chinese and American governments.

These are the intellectual moorings of the research collaboration. The specific research collaborations will almost certainly evolve through our ongoing interactions. Each university will be given the leadership role in the year leading up to its hosting of the annual workshop. So the specific focus of the workshop and the research papers that are generated in the process will take on a life of its own. As we note below, the organizational arrangements for the network will seek to encourage both coherence and creativity over the five-year period.

Organizational Design

The centerpiece of the research collaboration will be the annual workshop, hosted on a rotating basis by the five universities. The host university will set the agenda for the workshop defining topics; inviting participants, commissioning papers, etc. We anticipate that three or four faculty from each university will be regular participants, creating some continuity in the research and dialogue. But we also anticipate that other faculty will be drawn into specific annual workshops as specific topics (e.g. energy, environment, nuclear proliferation) create opportunities to include additional faculty and wider disciplinary expertise. Graduate students from each university will work with one another, conducting semi-annual discussions either via teleconferencing or in small workshops. These sessions will allow graduate students to share and collaborate in the conduct of their own research. We also expect that each hosting university will invite experts from outside its university, drawing upon its own network of scholars, institutes, and think tanks. In these various ways, we expect the network to evolve and expand to include other scholars and institutions from the region, and we expect that the research topics will also evolve and expand.

The five-university network will consist of the following universities/institutes:

Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University. Institutional home: the new Center for International Security Studies. Project leaders: G. John Ikenberry, Tom Christensen, Aaron Friedberg, and Anne-Marie Slaughter.

Graduate School of Public Policy, University of Tokyo. Project leader: Kiichi Fujiwara.

School of International Studies, Peking University. Institutional home. The Center for International and Strategic Studies. Project leaders: Professors Wang Jisi and Zhu Feng.

Korea University. Institutional home. Center for International Studies. Project leader: Kim Sung-han.

Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore. Project leaders: Kishore Mahbubani and Ann Fiorini.

Institutional Commitments:

These partner institutions are prepared to make the following commitments. (See the commitment letters and notes attached to this proposal). Each will agree to host an annual workshop over the five year period. In doing so, it will cover the travel and local costs of the

workshop. Specifically, the host institution will cover the travel costs for the other four university delegations (up to five members for each delegation). The host institution will also be encouraged to invite participants from other universities and think tanks. The host institution will set the agenda for the workshop, commissioning papers and organizing research activities in the twelve months prior to the workshop. The institutions commit to develop ongoing research ties within this annual workshop framework.

We are also requesting a small amount of annual funding (for three years) for graduate students to undertake short research trips to the other partner universities. These resources will help us make good on a commitment for semi-annual discussions by graduate students (and faculty) of their research, preparing the way for the annual workshops and fostering "thicker" network exchanges.

Working Groups, Scholarly Products, and Website:

The substantive work of the partnership will be pursued through working groups. The hosting university will take the lead in a given year for defining the specific research topics. After this, each university will bring its relevant faculty into the process and working groups will be organized around each topic. Princeton University, which will be the host of the first annual workshop, will take the lead in defining several key areas for collaboration, prompting the partner institutions to identify faculty who will take part in projects and present their work at the forthcoming workshop. We are open minded about whether and to what extent the research will be done jointly or in parallel. We anticipate it will be a mixture of both. As the five-year cycle takes place, we hope that the working relationships will result in sustained collaborations and joint research papers.

Regarding the scholarly and policy "product" of the collaboration, this will be determined as the collaboration unfolds. Undoubtedly, edited books and co-authored papers will be generated. The annual workshops will be a place for the showcasing of research and policy analysis that is produced by the university partners. One ambitious model for this collaboration is the Yale Political Science Initiative on "Rethinking Political Order." This project, led by Ian Shapiro, has generated a stream of edited books over the last five years providing surveys and focused studies on questions of democracy, conflict, and order. It is difficult to know in advance what types of edited volumes might flow out of the five-university collaboration but we anticipate a range of formats in which research will appear.

We at Princeton have agreed to create and run a website for the five-university collaboration. This website will provide a "clearing house" for writings and publications. We hope that a graduate student might be recruited to manage the site. The website will facilitate the exchange of ideas between the annual workshops.

We will also be experimenting with video teleconferencing. The idea is to find ways to facilitate communication and exchange between the annual meetings. John Ikenberry has already talked about this option with partners in Singapore.

Center for International Security Studies

The five-university network will be one of the key projects in the soon-to-be-created Center for International Security Studies (CISS). This new center, to be co-directed by Aaron Friedberg and John Ikenberry, will have its formal roll out on April 30-May 1. The center will provide administrative support for the research network and, in turn, the network will be a centerpiece of the new center, drawing in graduate students and an array of associated faculty.

The CISS will support research, teaching, and outreach in the area of international security, broadly defined. It will initially take the shape of an umbrella under which faculty and students from across the university can pursue various sorts of collaborative projects. In future years, the Center will also support several post-docs who will be selected in terms of their fit with faculty interests and ongoing projects. The Center will start off with a relatively small budget -and so the Council grant for the five-university network is critical for both defining the identity of the new center and making the center come to life.

The Woodrow Wilson School is also preparing this spring to create a new PhD cluster in the area of international security. (Chris Chyba is leading this effort and Aaron Friedberg will be the cluster coordinator). Although not formally tied to the CISS, this cluster will also help create a critical mass off acuity and graduate students in support of the five-university network. As an indication of this, two of the three applicants who have been admitted to the WWS PhD program this year (under the old cluster arrangements) want to work in the area of East Asian politics, economic, and security.

So the five-university project fits in an exciting way at the intersection offal the "moving parts" - center, cluster, faculty, graduate students -in this area.

Faculty, Students, and Expanding Networks:

As the Princeton leaders in this collaboration, we will endeavor to involve a wide range of faculty and students in its activities. As noted earlier, when specific topics emerge within the partnership, we will invite Princeton faculty experts to get involved. This might entail inviting an economist, historian, environmental biologist, or science and technology expert to join a specific working group.

As noted, Princeton has agreed to host the first meeting in December 2009. The five university partners have also agreed that these annual workshops will always be scheduled for mid-December, fixing this date so as to facilitate long-term planning and avoid scheduling conflicts. This inaugural meeting of the five-university network will be an important "overture" in the establishment of the new CISS.

At Princeton, we anticipate drawing a wide range of students and faculty colleagues into the network. The two preliminary workshops are indicative. The Princeton faculty that have participated in these Tokyo (October 2007) and Princeton (December 2008) workshops include: Robert Keohane, Gilbert Rozman, Tom Christensen, Aaron Friedberg, Andrew Moravcsik, Gary Bass, and David Leheny. We have also reached out to scholars at other universities and think tanks, including the University of California at San Diego, Columbia, and Brookings. Equally important, graduate students have been involved in both the preparation for the conference and the conference itself. In preparation for the December 2008 workshop, a group of graduate students from the Woodrow Wilson School and Politics Department worked with the organizers to create inventories of existing scholarship on issues related to the workshop topic.

One of the key advantages of this network is each university partner's ability to engage students and faculty to map the state of knowledge in a particular area in that partner country. Thus, for instance, Korea University can canvass the policy and academic literature in Korea for ideas and opinions about a regional security issue; just as the Graduate School of Policy Studies can for Japan; Peking University can for China; LKY can for Singapore; and WWS can for the U.S. In the process, each partner can help determine which think tanks or academic centers from their country should be brought into a particular research project, thereby building broader

regional networks. This process will also give us the opportunity to create networks of students working on these surveys, networks that we can facilitate virtually and actually by sending students to each other institutions for various periods of time as the occasion arises. 1

Finally, by letting other members of each of our academic communities know about our partnership, we may be able to provide a point of contact for others who seek to develop relationships with scholars in our respective countries. For example, if development scholar in the Woodrow Wilson School would like to do some work in Korea and does not have contacts of his or her own, we could at a minimum use our channels of communication to make the necessary introductions. One way to enhance this capacity would also be to develop an on-line directory of the various scholars and students who participate in our exchanges each year.

1 The involvement of graduate students is critical to the success of the five-university network. In the preparation for the December 2008 meeting, Anne-Marie Slaughter and John Ikenberry asked several graduate students to join in the preparations. Thomas Hale, Joshua Walker, Ian Chong, and David Hsu --all PhD students in either the Politics Department or Woodrow Wilson School-prepared background memos, reaching out to scholars in Korea, China, and Japan. Building on this, we plan to draw graduate students even more directly into the agenda setting and operation of the network. We have already identified a group of six or seven graduate students who might form the core of this student constituency.