INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

COOPERATIVE SECURITY IN EAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIA: LEARNING FROM HISTORY TO MEET FUTURE CHALLENGES "东亚与东南亚的合作安全:回顾经验 迎接挑战" 国际研讨会

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND SECURITY NETWORK (ISN)

PHP

PARALLEL HISTORY PROJECT ON COOPERATIVE SECURITY







April 17-18, 2009 Diaoyutai Hotel, Beijing, China

Organized by the Parallel History Project on Cooperative Security (PHP), jointly with China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

BACKGROUND	1 -
ORGANIZERS	1 -
FORMAT AND PREPARATION	2 -
TENTATIVE PROGRAMME	3 -
PARTICIPANTS LIST	8 -
MEMORANDUM	10 -

BACKGROUND

Drawing on new research, the conference will analyze and evaluate the accomplishments and failures of cooperative security during and after the Cold War with a view toward conclusions about the prospects of regional security in East and Southeast Asia. Historians and political scientists from the region, as well as from North America and Europe, will present their findings for a structured discussion, focused on the conclusions for current and future policy, the result of which will be subsequently published. Organized by the Parallel History Project on Cooperative Security, jointly with China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU), the two-day conference will meet in Beijing on April 17-18, 2009.

The growth of China and India as great powers has highlighted the necessity of meeting national and international security interests by means of cooperative arrangements among the states of the region. On the one hand, the forms of these arrangements inevitably have to reflect the specific needs and conditions of the region. On the other hand, the historical experience of attempts at regional security in other parts of the world during and after the Cold War offers abundant lessons in both success and failure that policymakers in East and Southeast Asia need to heed in responding effectively to their security challenges.

In the Euro-Atlantic area, NATO survives after fifty years while searching for a new identity whereas its rival, the Warsaw Pact, no longer survives but had lasted for as much as 35 years. Besides the military alliances, the Cold War produced what has become the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the European Union, with its common defense and security policy. They both reflect innovative ideas on security that have been developed during the last fifty years by political scientists and have been increasingly influential in shaping the policies of the United Nations and other international organizations. Throughout the period, the United States has continued to play prominent role in international security arrangements. Increasingly, however, other states and non-state actors have been assuming that role.

ORGANIZERS

The Parallel History Project on Cooperative Security (PHP), an international network based at the Center for Security Studies (CSS) of the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich, with partners in the U.S., Europe, and Asia, was started ten years ago to study the military dimensions of the Cold War from new archival documents and oral history testimonies by participants. The PHP has published books on topics ranging from threat perceptions and military plans to the documentary history of the Warsaw Pact, the transformation of NATO in the 1960s, and origins of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. It has organized conferences, including roundtables with NATO and Warsaw Pact generals on their respective planning as well as with Chinese and Eastern European diplomats accredited to each other's countries in the 1970-80s. More than 20,000 pages of original archival documents are available on the PHP website, www.php.isn.ethz.ch/.

China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU) in Beijing, founded in 1955, is the country's main center for the education of diplomats. It includes among its offerings courses on the history of international relations and conducts research on security issues through its

Institute of International Studies and the Department of Diplomacy. It has been cooperating with institutions including the China Maritime Studies Institute of the U.S. Naval War College, which organized in December 2007 a conference on "Defining a Maritime Security Partnership with China." The Naval War College will be represented at the conference as co-sponsor.

On the CFAU side, the main organizer is Professor Zhu Liqun, Assistant President and Vice Dean of the School of Diplomacy and International Relations, assisted by the Academic Affairs Office. On the PHP side, the main organizer is Professor Vojtech Mastny, PHP coordinator.

FORMAT AND PREPARATION

The PHP will prepare presentations based on its areas of research. The presenters will be not only scholars currently associated with the PHP network, but also other Western scholars, invited by the PHP because of their particular expertise in different subjects. They will prepare 10-12 papers on selected topics bearing on the recent experience of cooperative security in the Euro-Atlantic area in historical perspective and its relevance to South East Asia. A similar number of papers will be prepared on the Chinese side.

The purpose of the conference is to draw on the complementary expertise of Western and Chinese scholars, present their view in a discussion with diplomats and policymakers, and make the results available to the public in a book that will offer new historical perspectives for the understanding current and prospective policy issues.

To ensure the necessary coherence of what is expected to be a published in book, the presenters will follow common guidelines. They will approach their topics as historical topics while considering their relevance for the present and the future, not only for academics but also for policy makers, particularly in East and Southeast Asia. They will decide what of the historical record may be relevant to the regional setting. In analyzing and interpreting evidence, they will view events in development, focusing on the dynamic rather than the static. They will consider the particulars of the political cultures and circumstances of the time, comparing them —not necessarily directly but at least implicitly—with those of East and Southeast Asia. As appropriate, they will assess the roles of personalities, institutions, structures, and procedures. In conclusion, they will explain what may be learned from the historical experience and what wrong lessons might be avoided.

After the conference, the authors will revise their papers by taking into account the discussion. Once ready in publishable form, the papers will be copy-edited and printed as a book in English as well as in Chinese.





TENTATIVE PROGRAMME

THURSDAY APRIL 16

14:00-18:30 Registration

Venue: Diaoyutai Hotel, Beijing

Address: Diaoyutai Hotel, 49, Sanlihe Road, Haidian District, Beijing,

100045, P.R.China (北京市海淀区三里河路 49 号钓鱼台大酒店)

Tel.: 86-10-585911 Fax: 86-10-58592999

18:30-20:30 Welcome Dinner

Venue: To Be Decided

FRIDAY APRIL 17

08:45-9:00 Coffee / Tea

Venue: Diaoyutai Hotel

09:00-9:20 Opening Remarks

PROF. QIN YAQING

EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT OF CHINA FOREIGN AFFAIRS UNIVERSITY

PROF. VOJTECH MASTNY

PHP GENERAL COORDINATOR, WASHINGTON

09:30-10:50 Session I: Security Ideas and Perceptions: Lessons and Experiences

CHAIR: TO BE DECIDED

SPEAKERS:

VOJTECH MASTNY, PHP, WASHINGTON,

Applying Lessons of History: the Relevance of Recent Experiences in Cooperative Security

to Security Issues in East Asia

沃伊泰克·马斯特尼:"近年来合作安全经验对东亚安全问题的启示" /华盛顿合作安全项目

SHI YINHONG, RENMIN UNIVERSITY

Perceptions of Inherited Histories and Requirements for East Asian Cooperative Security 时殷弘: "从传承历史的角度观察东亚合作安全及其时代要求"/中国人民大学

NICHOLAS WHEELER, ABERYSTWYTH UNIVERSITY

Logics and Practices of Security: Lessons from the Western Experience for Cooperation

and Trust in East Asia

尼古拉斯·维勒:"安全理念与实践:西方国家东亚合作与互信实践中的经验与教训"

/威尔士阿伯斯威大学

ZHU LIQUN, CFAU

China's New Ideas on Security: Sources and Impact)

朱立群:"中国的新安全观:渊源与影响"/外交学院

10:30-11:00 Free Discussion

11:00-11:15 Coffee / Tea

11:15-11:45 Session II: The United Nations (UN) and Collective Security

CHAIR: Prof. Vojtech Mastny, PHP, Washington

SPEAKERS:

ZHENG QIRONG, CFAU

The United Nations and Maintaining International Peace and Security

郑启荣:"联合国与国际和平安全维护"/外交学院

WILLIAM KEYLOR, BOSTON UNIVERSITY

The United Nations: The Successes and Failures of Cooperative Security since 1945

威廉·基勒:"联合国:1945 年以来合作安全的成就与不足" /美国波士顿大学

11:45-12:15 Free Discussion

12:30-14:00 **Buffet Lunch**

Venue: Diaoyutai Hotel

14:00-14:45 Session III: NATO, WARSAW PACT AND MILITARY ALLIANCE

CHAIR: TO BE DECIDED

SPEAKERS:

MALCOLM BYRNE, NATIONAL SECURITY ARCHIVE, WASHINGTON

The Warsaw Pact: From the Creation of A Hegemonic Alliance to Its Disintegration

马尔科姆·伯恩:"华约:从霸权联盟的创立到解体"/美国华盛顿国家安全档案局

SHEN ZHIHUA, EAST CHINA NORMAL UNIVERSITY, SHANGHAI

The Distrustful Allies: the Triangular Relationship among China, the Soviet

Union, and North Korea during the Early Period of the Korean War

沈志华:"缺乏信任的联盟:朝鲜战争初期的中苏朝三角关系"

/上海华东师范大学

GUSTAV SCHMIDT, RUHR UNIVERSITY, BOCHUM

NATO: From a Traditional Military Alliance to Transnational Political

Integration

伯恩·莱姆基:"公共环境中的国家利益:冷战期间的北约危机管理机制"

/波茨坦军事历史学院

14:45-15:15 Free Discussion

15:15-15:30 Coffee / Tea

15:30-16:30 Session IV: The United States and the East Asian Security

CHAIR: TO BE DECIDED

SPEAKERS: XIONG ZHYIONG, CFAU

China's Policy toward the U.S. and American Public Opinion during the Cold War

熊志勇:"冷战期间中国对美政策和美国公共舆论"/外交学院

TO BE DECIDED

The United States: Between Bilateralism and Alliance-Building

"美国:双边与结盟关系之间"/美国威斯康辛大学麦迪逊分校

WANG FAN, CFAU

The Adjustment of American Security Strategy in the Asia-Pacific Region and

U.S. Alliance Policy after the Cold War

王帆:"冷战后美国亚太安全战略的调整及其联盟政策"/外交学院

KRISTER WAHLBÄCK, MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, STOCKHOLM How to Handle Big Powers: Sweden between Moscow and Washington, 1945-2008

克利斯特·瓦伯克:"如何与大国较量:1945-2008 年间的瑞典对苏、美外交"

/瑞典王国外交部

16:30-17:00 Free Discussion

18:00-19:30 Dinner:

Venue: To BE DECIDED

SATURDAY APRIL 18

(Venue: Conference Room, Diaoyutai Hotel)

08:45-09:00 Coffee/Tea

09:00-09:50 Session V: From Cooperative Security to Security Community Building

CHAIR: TO BE DECIDED

SPEAKERS:

Andreas Wenger and Daniel Möckli, Center for Security Studies, ETH, Zurich

Managing Diversity: Cooperative Security Based on the CSCE Model

安德烈亚斯·温格、丹尼尔·莫克利:"治理多元化:基于欧洲安全与合作会议模式

的合作安全"/瑞士苏黎士联邦科技学院

ZHANG XIAOMING, PEKING UNIVERSITY

Cold War and China's Relations with Her Neighboring Countries

张小明: "冷战和中国与邻国关系"/北京大学

MAX GUDERZO, UNIVERSITY OF FLORENCE

The European Community: From Economic Integration to Common Security Policy

麦克斯·古德若:"欧共体:从经济一体化到共同安全政策"

/意大利弗洛伦萨大学

09:50-10:20 Free Discussion

10:20-10:30 Coffee / Tea

10:30-11:30 Session VI: China and Stability of the East Asia

CHAIR: TO BE DECIDED

SPEAKERS:

NIU JUN, PEKING UNIVERSITY

Security and Crisis: Re-Exploration of Bombing Jinmen in 1958 牛军:"安全和危机:重审 1958 年炮击金门事件"/北京大学

LORENZ LÜTHI, McGILL UNIVERSITY, MONTREAL

Security Cooperation in the Sino-Soviet Alliance, 1950-1966

洛仑茨·鲁西(吕德量):"1950-1966 年期间中苏联盟的安全合作" /加拿大蒙特利尔麦吉

尔大学

Su Hao, CFAU

Breakthrough to the Containing Chain: China's Good Neighboring Policy in 1950s

苏浩: "突破遏制锁链: 20 世纪 50 年代中国的睦邻友好政策"

/外交学院

SUN XUEFENG, TSINGHUA UNIVERSITY

China's Grand Strategy and the Regional Stability in the East Asia

孙学峰: "中国的战略选择与东亚地区稳定" /清华大学

11:30-12:00 Free Discussion

12:00-12:30 Concluding Remarks

PROF. VOJTECH MASTNY

PHP GENERAL COORDINATOR, WASHINGTON

Prof. Zhu Liqun

ASSISTANT PRESIDENT OF CHINA FOREIGN AFFAIRS UNIVERSITY

12:30-14:00 Buffet Lunch

Venue: Diaoyutai Hotel

14:30-16:30 SMALL GROUP ROUNDTABLE

18:00-19:30 <u>Dinner</u>

VENUE: TO BE DECIDED

PARTICIPANTS LIST

参会人员名单

ADDRESSES 姓名称谓	AFFILIATIONS AND TITLES 工作单位及职务职称	CONTACT 联系方式	
FOREIGN PARTICIPANTS 外方参会人员			
Prof. Vojtech MASTNY 沃伊泰克·马斯特尼	Coordinator of The Parallel History Project on Cooperative Security (PHP), Washington 合作安全平行历史项目协调人、教授	mst3696@aol.com	
Prof. Malcolm BYRNE 马尔科姆·伯恩	The National Security Archive at George Washington University 美国乔治·华盛顿大学国家安全档案馆教授		
Prof. Lorenz LUTHI 洛仑茨·鲁西(吕德量)	Professor, McGill University, Montreal 加拿大麦吉尔大学教授		
Prof. Andreas WENGER 安德烈亚斯·温格	Director, Center for Security Studies, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (ETH), Zurich 瑞士苏黎世联邦理工学院安全研究中心教授		
Prof. Daniel MOCKLI 丹尼尔·莫克利	Professor, Center for Security Studies, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology(ETH), Zurich 瑞士苏黎世联邦理工学院安全研究中心教授		
Prof. Max GUDERZO 麦克斯·古德若	Professor, University of Florence 意大利佛罗伦达大学教授		
Prof. Jeremi SURI 杰里米·苏里	Professor, University of Wisconsin-Madison 美国威斯康辛大学麦迪逊分校教授		

D C M.H. D	T	T		
Prof. William R. KEYLOR	Professor, Boston University			
威廉·基勒	美国波士顿大学教授			
	Director Devid Device Managiral Leatitude of			
Prof. Nicholas J.	Director, David Davies Memorial Institute of			
WHEELER	International Studies (DDMI), Aberystwyth			
尼古拉斯·维勒	University 英国威尔士阿伯斯威大学			
70 H 3274 12	纪念戴维·戴维斯国际关系学院教授			
Ambassador (ret.) Krister	Professor Emeritus, Ambassador (ret.),			
WAHLBACK	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Stockholm			
克利斯特·瓦伯克	瑞典王国外交部退休大使			
Prof. Bernd LEMKE	Professor, Institute of Military History, Potsdam			
伯恩·莱姆基				
	(本語)			
CHINESE PARTICIPANTS				
	中方参会人员			
D. C. CHENIZI'I	Centre for Cold War International History			
Prof. SHEN Zhihua	Studies, East China Normal University	shenzhihua1950@gmail.		
沈志华	华东师范大学国际冷战史研究中心教授	<u>com</u>		
D C CHI V' 1	Director of American Studies Center,			
Prof. SHI Yinhong	Renmin University of China	y.shi@263.net		
时殷弘	中国人民大学美国研究中心主任、教授	<u>,,,, ,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,</u>		
	Deputy Director, Center for International &			
	Strategic Studies PKU and Professor, School			
Prof. NIU Jun	of International Studies (SIS), Peking			
牛 军	University	niujunpku@gmail.com		
	北京大学国际战略研究中心副主任、北京大学			
	国际关系学院教授			
	Deputy Director of Institute of International			
Prof. ZHANG Xiaoming	Relations, School of International Studies			
张小明	(SIS), Peking University	xmzhang@pku.edu.cn		
11111111111111111111111111111111111111	北京大学国际关系学院			
	北京大学国际关系研究所副所长			
Prof. SUN Xuefeng	Professor, Institute of International Studies,	cunvuofona@teinahue ad		
孙学峰	Tsinghua University	sunxuefeng@tsinghua.ed u.cn		
	清华大学国际关系研究所教授	<u>u.cn</u>		
Prof. ZHENG Qirong 郑启荣	Vice president, CFAU 外交学院副院长、教授	qrzheng@cfau.edu.cn		
	Vice Dean, School of Diplomacy and			
Prof. ZHU Liqun	International Relations, Assistant President,			
朱立群	CFAU, Secretary General, China National	zhuliqun@cfau.edu.cn		
ハエπ	Association for International Studies (CNAIS)			
	外交学院院长助理、外交与国际关系学院副院			

	长、中国国际关系学会秘书长、教授			
Prof. XIONG Zhiyong 熊志勇	Professor, Department of Diplomacy, Director, American Studies Center, CFAU 外交学院外交学系教授、美国研究中心主任	xzyong@263.net		
Prof. SU Hao 苏 浩	Professor, Department of Diplomacy, Director, Strategy and Conflict Management Research Center, CFAU 外交学院外交学系教授、 战略与冲突管理研究中心主任	suhao@cfau.edu.cn		
Prof. WANG Fan 王 帆	Professor and Director, Institute of International Relations, International Security Studies Center, CFAU 外交学院国际关系研究所所长、 国际安全研究中心主任、教授	wangfan@cfau.edu.cn		
WORKING STAFF				
会议工作人员				
会议同传				
秘书处工作人员	高飞 郦莉 李敏	kyc@cfau.edu.cn		
其他人员	国际交流中心联系人			

MEMORANDUM

1. Administrative Information

(1) Travel Arrangements: arriving, checking, registration and departure Diaoyutai Hotel Address:

Diaoyutai Hotel, 49, Sanlihe Road, Haidian District, Beijing, 100045, P.R.China 北京市海淀区三里河路 49 号钓鱼台大酒店

Tel: 86-10-585911 Fax: 86-10-58592999 Website: http://www.dythotel.com



- (2) Board and Lodging: meals, local transportation, addresses, phones, etc.
- (3) Other information: attire, weather, etc.

2. Financial Information

- Room charge and meals during conference has been covered by us;
- Room charge includes breakfast;
- Other individual expenses, including phone/fax calls, beverages at the mini bar, should be settled by yourselves while checking out.

3. Conference Secretariat

Mr. GAO Fei(高飞), Director, Academic Affairs Office, Professor, Department of Diplomacy, CFAU

Tel.: 86-10-68323114 Mobile: 13693580546

E-mail: fgao@cfau.edu.cn

Ms. LI Li (郦 莉), Assistant Researcher, Academic Affairs Office, CFAU

Tel.: 86-10-68323122 Mobile: 13521983061

E-mail: lilian8006@cfau.edu.cn

Mr. Li Min (李敏), Assistant Researcher, Academic Affairs Office, CFAU

Tel.: 86-10-68323122 Mobile: 13683619305

E-mail: limin@cfau.edu.cn