

THE 49TH ANNUAL SECURITY CONFERENCE

THE RISE OF EAST ASIA

IMPLICATIONS FOR GREAT POWER RELATIONS
AND THE TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP



LEANGKOLLEN CONFERENCE CENTRE

3rd -4th of February 2014



THE NORWEGIAN ATLANTIC COMMITTEE
PROGRAMME FOR THE 49th ANNUAL SECURITY CONFERENCE 3rd-4th of FEBRUARY 2014
The Rise of East Asia: Implications for Great Power Relations and the Transatlantic Relationship

Monday, February 3rd 2014

Session I: The Rise of the East: A Shift in the Balance of Power

Opening session at the main auditorium of the Nobel Institute, Henrik Ibsens gt. 51

Chaired by: the Secretary General of the Norwegian Atlantic Committee,

Ms Kate Hansen Bundt

- 09:30-09:35 Words of welcome by the Chairman of the Norwegian Atlantic Committee,
Mr. Kjell Engebretsen
- 09:35-10:00 Opening lecture by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, **Mr. Børge Brende**
- 10:00-10:20 Keynote Lecture: "The Rise of Asia, US Foreign Policy, and the World"
(**Ms Ellen Laipson**, President and CEO of the Stimson Center)
- 10:20-10:40 Q&A
- 11:00 Bus to Leangkollen Conference Center for lunch and afternoon session
- 11.30-12.45 Lunch
- Session II: The Rise of China and Great Power Relations**
Moderator: **Prof. Janne Haaland Matlary**, Professor, The University of Oslo
- 12.45-13.15 Sino-American Relations: Rivals or Ripe for Partnership?
(**Dr. Michael D. Swaine**, Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace)
- 13.15-13.45 Sino-Russian Relations: A Russian Pivot to Asia?
(**Dr. Bobo Lo**, Associate Fellow, Royal Institute for International Affairs)
- 13.45-14.15 Sino-Japanese Relations: A Rocky Relationship?
(**Prof. Richard Samuels**, Director of the Center for International Studies, MIT)
- 14:15-14:45 Coffee
- 14:45-14:55 Comments
(**Dr. Øystein Tunsjø**, Associate Professor, The Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies)
- 14:55-15:05 Comments
(**Dr. Liselotte Odgaard**, Associate Professor, Royal Danish Defence College)
- 15:05-15:35 Panel and discussion:
• **Dr. Michael D. Swaine**, Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace,
• **Dr. Bobo Lo**, Associate Fellow, Royal Institute for International Affairs,
• **Prof. Richard Samuels**, Director of the Center for International Studies, MIT,
• **Dr. Øystein Tunsjø**, Associate Professor, The Norwegian Institute of Defence Studies
• **Dr. Liselotte Odgaard**, Associate Professor, Royal Danish Defence College
- 15:35-15:45 Short Break

Flashpoints

- 15:45-16:00 The North Korean Nuclear Conundrum and Sino-U.S. Relations
(**Mr. Henrik Stålhane Hiim**, Fellow, the Norwegian Institute of Defence Studies),
- 16:00-16:15 South China Sea, China and Vietnam
(**Prof. Stein Tønnesson**, Research Professor, Peace Research Institute Oslo),
- 16:15-16:30 Contentious Islands: the Struggle for Power and Prestige in the East China Sea
(**Mr. Bjørn Grønning**, Fellow, The Norwegian Institute of Defence Studies),
- 16:30-16:55 Panel and discussion
• **Mr. Henrik Stålhane Hiim**, Fellow, the Norwegian Institute of Defence Studies,
• **Prof. Stein Tønnesson**, Research Professor, Peace Research Institute in Oslo,
• **Mr. Bjørn Grønning**, Fellow, The Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies,
- 17:00 Departure by bus to Oslo, Fridtjof Nansen pl. 8, City Hall (Estimated arrival at 17.30 hrs)

Tuesday, February 4th 2014

- 08.00 Bus to Leangkollen. Departure from Fridtjof Nansen pl.8
- 08.30-09.00 Coffee and registration
- Session III: NATO, the EU, and the Rise of East Asia**
Moderator: Mr. Leiv Lunde, Director of the Fridtjof Nansen Institute
- 09:00-09:30 Opening Lecture by the Minister of Defence, **Ms. Ine Eriksen Søreide**
- 09:30-09:50 Asia in the Arctic
(**Mr. Arild Moe**, Senior Research Fellow, Deputy Director of the Fridtjof Nansens Institute)
- 09:50-10:10 EU-China Relations: A Relationship for the 21st Century?
(**Dr. Jonathan Holslag**, Postdoctoral Fellow, Brussels Institute of Contemporary China Studies)
- 10:10-10:30 NATO's Relations with Countries in the Asia-Pacific Region.
(**Mr. Gilles Vander Ghinst**, Head of Global Partners/Contact Countries Office, Political Affairs and Security Policy Division, NATO HQ)
- 10:30-11:00 Coffee
- 11:00-11:30 Panel and discussion:
• **Mr. Arild Moe**, Senior Research Fellow, Deputy Director of Fridtjof Nansens Institute,
• **Dr. Jonathan Holslag**, Postdoctoral Fellow, Brussels Institute of Contemporary China Studies
• **Mr. Gilles Vander Ghinst**, Head of Global Partners/Contact Countries Office, NATO HQ
- 11:30-12:00 Summary: The Rise of the East, Geopolitics, and Norway
(**Mr. Jo Inge Bekkevold**, Head of the Centre for Asian Security Studies, the Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies)
- 12:00-12:20 Q&A
- 12.25-12.35 Closing remarks by the Secretary General, **Ms Kate Hansen Bundt**,
- 12:45-13:45 Lunch
- 14:00 Departure by bus to Oslo, Fridtjof Nansen pl. 8, City Hall

The Norwegian Atlantic Committee's 49th Annual Leangkollen Conference 2014

Monday, the 3rd of February

Session 1: Opening session



Kate Hansen Bundt is the Secretary General of the Norwegian Atlantic Committee. She holds a Cand. Polit degree from the University of Oslo and has further studies from the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. She has formerly worked at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI), and she was Director of Research at the European Programme, a Norwegian research foundation from 1993-2006. Bundt was a member of the Parliament's Commission in the European Economic Area (EEA) which published its final report in January 2012, and is also a former member of the Parliament's Commission on security policy, disarmament, and international challenges on Norwegian security.



Kjell Engebretsen is the chair of the Norwegian Atlantic Committee. He is a Norwegian politician for the Labor Party, and was elected to the Norwegian Parliament from Akershus in 1993, and was re-elected on two occasions. Mr. Engebretsen has been a member of the Parliament's Standing Committee on Finance and Economic Affairs, the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defense, and the Standing Committee on Scrutiny and Constitutional Affairs. He has also been a delegate to the UN and a member of the parliamentary assembly to the OSCE.



Børge Brende is the Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs since October 16, 2013, representing the Conservative Party (Høyre). He served as Minister of Trade and Industry from Minister of the Environment from 2004 to 2005, and as Minister of the Environment from 2001 to 2004. He was first elected as a Member of the Norwegian Parliament in 1997, and was re-elected on two occasions. In 2008-2009 and 2011-2013 he was managing director of World Economic Forum in Geneva, and from 2009 to 2011 he was Secretary General of the Norwegian Red Cross. Mr. Brende was a member of the China Council for International Cooperation on Environment and Development from 2005 to 2013.



Ellen Laipson is president and chief executive officer of the Stimson Center. She is also the director of Stimson's Middle East/Southwest Asia program. Ms Laipson joined the Stimson Center in 2002 after 25 years of government service. She served as vice chair of the National Intelligence Council from 1997 to 2002, where she co-managed the interdisciplinary study "Global Trends 2015," and directed the National Intelligence Council's outreach to think tanks and research organizations on a wide range of national security topics. She also served as special assistant to the U.S. permanent representative to the United Nation from 1995 to 1997. She served on president Obama's intelligence advisory board 2009-2013 and has served on the Secretary of State's Foreign affairs Policy Board since 2011.

Session II: The Rise of China and Great Power Relations



Michael D. Swaine is a Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and one of the most prominent American analysts in Chinese security studies. Formerly a senior policy analyst at the RAND corporation, Swaine is a specialist in Chinese defense and foreign policy, U.S. – China relations, and East Asian international relations. He has authored and edited more than a dozen books and monographs and many journal articles and book chapters in these areas, directs several security-related projects with Chinese partners, and advises the U.S. government on Asian security issues. He received his Ph.D. in government from Harvard University.



Richard Samuels is Ford International Professor of Political Science and director of the Center for International Studies at MIT. He has been head of the MIT Political Science Department, Vice-Chair of the Committee on Japan of the National Research Council, and chair of the Japan-US Friendship Commission. He has also been elected to the American Academy of Arts & Sciences and was awarded an imperial decoration, the Order of the Rising Sun, Gold and Silver Star by the Emperor of Japan and the Japanese Prime Minister. His latest book is *3.11: Disaster and Change in Japan* (Cornell University Press, 2013) which discusses the impact of the March 11 earthquake and tsunami on Japan's government and society.



Bobo Lo was the Director of the Russia and China Programs at the Centre for European Reform from March 2008. He was previously Head of the Russia and Eurasia Program at Chatham House and a Visiting Scholar at the Carnegie Moscow Center. Between 1995 and 1999, he served as First Secretary and then Deputy Head of Mission at the Australian Embassy in Moscow. Dr. Lo has written and commented extensively on Russian domestic and foreign policy, and is the author of *Axis of Convenience: Moscow, Beijing, and the New Geopolitics* (2008) and *Russia and the New World Disorder* (Upcoming) .



Liselotte Odgaard is an Associate Professor at the Royal Danish Defence College. She has published numerous articles and three monographs on Asia-Pacific security, China's rising power and strategic theory. Her most recently published monograph is *China and Coexistence: Beijings National Security Strategy for the 21st Century* (Woodrow Wilson Center Press/Johns Hopkins University Press 2012). Her most recently published article is "Peaceful Coexistence Strategy and China's Diplomatic Power", *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, Vol. 6, 2013, pp. 233-272. Liselotte Odgaard has been selected as a contributor to the 2014 Nobel Symposium with the theme "Does the rise and fall of great powers lead to conflict and war?".



Øystein Tunsjø is an Associate Professor at the Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies. He is author of *Security and Profits in China's Energy Policy: Hedging Against Risk* (Columbia University Press, 2013) and *US Taiwan Policy: Constructing the Triangle* (London: Routledge, 2008). Tunsjø is co-editor with Robert Ross and Zhang Tuosheng of *US-China-EU Relations: Managing a New World Order* (London: Routledge, 2010, translated to Chinese, *Zhong Mei Ou Guanxi: Goujian Xin de Shijie Zhixu* by the World Affairs Press, 2012) and co-editor with Robert S. Ross and Peter Dutton of *Twenty First Century Seapower: Cooperation and Conflict at Sea* (London: Routledge, 2012, forthcoming in Chinese).

Flashpoints



Henrik Stålhane Hiim is a researcher at the Centre for Asian Security Studies, the Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies. He is currently writing his doctoral thesis on Chinese nuclear diplomacy and non-proliferation policy. He has a background from the University of Oslo, and studied mandarin at Huazhong Normal University and mandarin and international relations at Renmin University. In addition, Hiim holds a Bachelor degree in journalism from the University College of Oslo.



Stein Tønnesson is Research Professor at the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) and Adjunct Professor at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, where he leads a six-year research program 2011-16 on the East Asian Peace. He is associate editor for Asia in the *Journal of Peace Research* and member of the Editorial Board of *Global Asia*. He has done research on decolonization, revolution, war and nation building in Southeast Asia, and the disputes in the South China Sea. His most recent publication is (with Song Yann-huei, 2013), 'The Impact of the Law of the Sea Convention on Conflict and Conflict Management in the South China Sea,' *Ocean Development & International Law*, 44:3 (2013).



Bjørn Grønning is a Research Fellow at the Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies, Center for Asian Security Studies. He has a background from the University of Oslo and the Norwegian Embassy in Tokyo. His primary research interests are Japan's security policy and defense strategy, Japan-U.S./China/Russia relations, ballistic missile defense, and East Asian security. He has appeared regularly in Norwegian media, and he is the author of the article "Japan's Shifting Military Priorities" appearing in the March 2014 issue of *Asian Security*. He is currently responsible for a research project on Japan-Russia security relations funded by the Norwegian Ministry of Defence.

Session III: NATO, the EU, and the Rise of East Asia



Leiv Lunde is director of the Fridtjof Nansen Institute (www.fni.no) since early 2012. Lunde directs 30+ researchers engaging in policy research on international resource management in areas such as energy, climate change, biological diversity, genetic resources, the effectiveness of sustainability governance, oceans and fisheries management and the Arctic. Lunde has spent ten years in different positions in the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He is a political scientist with background from politics, policy-making, policy analysis and consulting, and is the author of a number of books on national interest, foreign policy and global governance.



Ine Eriksen Søreide is Norwegian Minister of Defense. She represents the Conservative Party (Høyre), and is elected to parliament from the constituency of Oslo. Her parliamentary experience includes serving as Chair of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defense, as well as Chair for the Enlarged Foreign Affairs Committee. She also served as Head of the Delegation for Relations with the European Parliament, and Head of the European Consultative Committee. She holds a Cand. Jur. degree from the University of Tromsø



Arild Moe is Deputy Director and Senior Research Fellow at the Fridtjof Nansen Institute. He has a Cand. Polit. degree from the University of Oslo with political science, Russian language and public law. Most of his research has been devoted to Russia and his research interests include – among others - the Russian energy sector, in particular the oil and gas industry. He has also been engaged in studies of broader Arctic policy issues as well as Norwegian policy in the High North. He was a member of the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs' panel studying consequences for Norway of increased Arctic shipping activities, and has been researching what increased Asian interest in the Arctic means for Russia.



Jonathan Holslag is a postdoctoral fellow at the Brussels Institute of Contemporary China Studies (BICCS) and teaches history of international politics at the Free University Brussel. His work focuses on political economy regional security in Asia. His two latest books, *China and India: Prospects for Peace* (Columbia University Press, 2010) and *Trapped Giant* (IISS and Routledge, 2011), were widely reviewed and discussed. Jonathan's papers were published in journals like *International Spectator*, *The Washington Quarterly*, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, etc. He is a frequently solicited referee for various international publishers and research commissions. Jonathan Holslag studied political science at the Vrije Universiteit Brussels (VUB) and completed additional programs on geopolitics and international security.



Gilles Vander Ghinst is currently the Head of the Global Partners and Contact Countries Section in the Political Affairs and Security Policy Division at NATO HQ in Brussels. Mr. Vander Ghinst joined NATO in 2001 and has contributed to the development of the various partnership frameworks beyond the Euro-Atlantic area. Since 2007, Mr. Vander Ghinst has been dealing with NATO's "new" relationships, notably with partners across the globe (e.g. Japan, the Republic of Korea Pakistan and Australia) as well as other emerging powers such as China and India. Mr Vander Ghinst was educated at Brussels University where he graduated with a BA in Contemporary History and a MBA in International relations.



Jo Inge Bekkevold is the Head of Centre for Asian Security Studies at the Norwegian Institute for Defense Studies. Bekkevold is a former career diplomat with several postings to Asia for the Norwegian foreign service. His main fields of interest are great power relations in Asia, Chinese foreign policy and China's political and economic development. He is currently engaged in projects on China's New Leadership, China-Russia relations, Asia in the Arctic, Military Change in Asia and Europe, and International Order at Sea.