Panel Session IV
Issues of Common Concern to be Addressed through Regional Cooperation

Crossing the Traditional Security Rubicon: Non-traditional Security (NTS) as a Platform for Broader Regionalism in East Asia[1]

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In the post WW II period, traditional security (TS) concerns in Northeast Asia such as nuclear proliferation, territorial disputes, the partition of states and competition for resources remain major impediments to broader cooperation in not only the security sphere but also in the realms of economic, political and social cooperation. Compounding these challenges, states in East Asia are also highly concerned with maintaining their sovereignty and abiding by non-interference principles when it comes to internal matters resulting in a region of the world with a relative paucity of regional institutions that could act as a platform for regional dialogue and diffusing disputes in the region. (suggestion: talking about Northeast Asia or East Asia? East Asia, especially in Southeast Asia, has quite a number of such institutions)

Where TS concerns may continue to be strong barriers to broader cooperation in the area, non-traditional security (NTS) issues that are transnational in scope and not entirely prevented from crossing national borders such as the spread of infectious diseases, financial crises, natural and manmade disasters and environmental damage are strong candidates for developing broader cooperation in East Asia. The NTS events such as the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis, the 2003 SARS Outbreak, the 2005

Tsunami in Indonesia and the March 11, 2011 natural and nuclear disaster in the Northeastern area of Japan are the most recent and very concrete examples of transnational events that must be dealt with collectively as they are not problems that can be contained within any one state's national boundaries.

Employing human security concepts, this paper argues that although TS issues will continue to hamper regional integration, NTS cooperation in East Asia already has an existing track record that can be leveraged to encourage broader integration in the region and mitigate some of the challenges associated with the spread of infectious diseases, financial crises, natural and manmade disasters and environmental damage.

I. Introduction

The March 11 2011 triple disaster in Northeastern Japan highlights how natural disasters can affect non-traditional security areas such as environmental security and human security of citizens in the region. It did this domestically by displacing hundreds of thousands of Japanese citizens, disrupting logistics for domestic/ international trade and destroying many small and medium sized manufacturing businesses that export their products to production networks in Japan and abroad. In the areas which took the brunt of the tsunami, it will take at least five years to be rebuilt. Those in the vicinity of the Fukushima nuclear power plant are even less unfortunate, with little chance of returning to their homes over the next 20-30 years. Internationally, concerns over radiation resulted in runs on salt in China, the banning of Japanese food products and concerns over the possible exposure to dangerous levels of radiation. Economically, the damage associated with the earthquake contributed to a downturn in the global economy as a result of the disruption of domestic and regional production networks supplying electronic firms, automobile manufactures and other industry connected to the global supply chain.

This incidents illustrate the shared nature of non-traditional security threats and the shared interests in terms of preparing and responding to these unpredictable events that can have domestic, regional and global

impact. Recognizing that regional geo-political relations, different levels of development, historical and territorial issues still hamper broader cooperation in the region, this paper will attempt to argue that shared interests in Northeast Asia in the areas NTS such as environmental and human security can be a platform for cooperation based on constructivist interpretations of international relations.

This paper will be divided into several sections. In the first section, the author will touch upon the barriers to broader cooperation in the region. Second, the author will introduce the theoretical framework for this paper by distinguishing between traditional and non-traditional security in the context of international relations theories on security. This discussion will include a brief overview of the meaning of human and environmental security and how that is related to NTS. The third section of this paper will provide several empirical examples supporting this paper's argument that that states in the region of Northeast Asia, in particular Japan, Republic of Korea and China have strong incentive to cooperate in the area of non-traditional security and in particular the areas of environmental and human security to mitigate, prevent and manage environmental threats.

Policy papers, interviews and other documents were gathered in the summer and fall of 2011 in which the author interviewed officials at the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in charge of Human security. Furthermore, the author gathered Japanese language and English language primary source material through participation in symposium and workshops on human security in Sendai and Kyoto in September 2011. Interviews were conducted in both Japanese and English, recorded and transcribed for accuracy. Policy papers from Korea and Japan were downloaded through each respective Ministry of Foreign Affairs homepage. Documents not in English or Japanese were translated in to English. This paper acknowledges that cooperation in non-traditional security areas comes second to traditional security imperatives but offers non-traditional security cooperation as a litmus test for initial institutional cooperation that can be expanded into other areas of cooperation. The author also acknowledges that NE Asia as a region consists of many

countries/ regions not addressed in this paper including Russia, Taiwan and Mongolia. These will nevertheless need to be considered in the future research related to the topic.

II. Challenges to cooperation

The challenges to cooperation and deeper regionalization have been thoroughly discussed by scholars. For instance, Frost (2007) argues that deeper cooperation is hampered by different interpretations of history, continued territory disputes, differences in types of government, economic systems and ideological inclinations. [2] Others such as Calder and Ye (2010) and Rozman (2004) focus on the lack of cooperation and institutionalization in the region being reflective of the lack of overtly shared norms and mutually agreed upon regimes. [3] Acharya (2007) on the other hand stresses the opposition that exists in the region towards broader cooperation is attributed to the Asian emphasis of national (and regime) security, state sovereignty, and non-interference. [4] In this sense, traditional security remain relevant in NE Asia, especially when we consider so-called rogue states such as North Korea or the numerous territorial disputes that can easily flare up into regional disputes as we saw in the autumn of 2010 with the Senkaku Islands incident between China and Japan.

With states in the region being on opposite ends of the spectrum in so many different areas, cooperation, whether it be bilaterally or multilaterally, may seem to be unimaginable. The real question is where

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[2] Ellen L. Frost, *Asia's New Regionalism* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 2008), 217-231.

[3] Calder, Kent E., and Min Ye. *The Making of Northeast Asia*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2010.p. 27; Rozman, Gilbert. *Northeast Asia's Stunted Regionalism: Bilateral Distrust in the Shadow of Globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. P.1-20.

[4] Amitav, Acharya. "Human Security and Asian Regionalism: A Strategy of Localization." In *Reassessing Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific: Competition, Congruence, and Transformation*, edited by Amitav Acharya and Evelyn Goh, 237-252. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2007.

these states can work together in? In line with the central thesis of this paper, I argue that non-traditional security (NTS hereafter), in particular in the areas of human security and environmental security are strong candidates for regional cooperation.

III. Traditional (TS) and Non-traditional security (NTS): Human Security and Environmental Security

Traditional (TS) and Non-traditional security (NTS)

Nation state security has been traditionally conceived through the lens of traditional and more recently to non-traditional security (TS and NTS). The former most often refers to realist notions of security with the security calculus primary based on the rationale that a citizen security is directly linked to state security. (Baipai, 2000) [5] Within this state-centric worldview, states are deemed rational actors, with behavior being driven by national interests who revolved around the desire for absolute power.[6] (Owen 2004) In this context, traditional security is founded on military and political securities, the existence of a clearly defined enemy as well as threats to state survival that may be direct or indirect. This includes the preservation of core values of states by wars if necessary.[7]

Anxieties over a possible global conflict involving nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) that endangered traditional security dissipated in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union and subsequent end of the Cold War. What has become clear is that non-traditional security discussions have grown hand-in-hand with globalization and

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[5] Bajpai, K. 2000, Human Security: Concept and Measurement, University of Notre Dame, Kroc Institute Occasional Paper no. 19 Accessed 29/04/06 at: www.nd.edu/~krocinst/ocpapers/op_19_1.PDF

[6] Owen, T. (2004), Challenges and opportunities for defining and measuring human security', Human Rights, Human Security and Disarmament, Disarmament Forum. 3, 15-24

[7] Swanström, Niklas. "Traditional and Non-Traditional Security Threats in Central Asia: Connecting the New and the Old." *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly*, 8 (2). (2010), 35-51: 38

increasing interdependence which has opened the window for increases in the voice of non-state actors.[8] This does not mean that traditional security issues such as regional conflicts and tensions exist in many parts of the world including the Taiwanese Straits, the Korean Peninsula, and the Middle East are not there. Rather, it has revealed that the global security imperatives of a bipolar world have given way to coexistence of regional traditional security threats and non-traditional security threats, for instance, crisis' that are transnational in nature such as transnational infectious diseases such as SARS, Avian influenza, etc., environmental degradation and destruction, financial and natural calamities etc. These so-called softer issues, which include threats such as the environment, trade, transnational crime, human security which was not previously considered as threats at all have now taken center place in some for some states. [9]

Uniformity in how non-traditional security is perceived has not come to fruition as of 2012. For instance, non-traditional security is used by China and the ASEAN states for cooperation in meeting non-military threats, which includes natural threats like epidemics and disasters, and trans-boundary issues like smuggling, human trafficking and anti-terrorism, and cyber threats.[10]

This is purposeful, as their political survival is in part threatened more by non-traditional security threats that traditional military threats (wars, coups).[11] One could easily argue that this may make cooperation more palatable to countries in the region. In this sense, as non-traditional security issues are domestic in origin but have a clear regional or transnational impact, cooperation for collective action does not infringe national sovereignty.[12] This transnational nature of non-traditional security

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[8] Ibid, 39

[9] Ibid

[10] Arase, David. "Non-Traditional Security in China-ASEAN Cooperation: The Institutionalization of Regional Security Cooperation and the Evolution of East Asian Regionalism." *Asian Survey.* 50(4). (2010), 808-833: 809

[11] Ibid, 809 and 827

[12] Acharya, Amitav. "Human Security: East versus West." *Institute of Defense and Strategic Studies Singapore* Working Paper No.17, (2001), 1-18: 16-17

explains why it is increasingly used as many environmental issues are intrinsically global and international in nature. [13] Moreover, the transnational character of these non-traditional security issues means that they threaten the human security of citizens of states in a way that states cannot manage using tradition security strategies.

Hand-in-hand with the increase in the number of transnational, non-traditional security threats since the end of the Cold War, in 1994 the UNDP recognized that states could no longer guarantee the protection of their citizens. With that understanding, a division arose in which national security was delinked from individual security. This created ideational space to advocate Human Security (HS) so that the security of individuals could be protected from civil war, poor governance or the presence of pernicious dictators that placed their continued rule over the safety and prosperity of their people. [14]

Initial HS thinkers bifurcated their ideas about HS into two broad categories, "freedom from want" and "freedom from fear". The former interpretation stressed economic and social security in which an individual can be free of sudden changes in their quotidian lives that would disrupt their ability to provide for themselves and their families. The latter in the other hand understood human security as individual security in which an individual is safe from violence perpetrated by the state. This security included security related to being able to be self sufficient and expect stable economic condition. This has been expanded as new transnational problems have surfaced.

In a more contemporary work on human security, Mack and Nielsen (2005) in the *Human Security Report 2005: War and Peace in the 21st Century* outlined stressed that HS "is the protection of individuals. ...Proponents of the 'narrow' concept of human security focus on violent threats to individuals or, as UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan articulated, 'the protection of communities and individuals from internal

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[13] Heywood, Andrew. *Politics*. 3rd ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. 475
[14] UNDP, *Human Development Report 1994*, (New York: Oxford University Press 1994) pp.22-23

violence'. Proponents of the 'broad' concept of human security argue that the threat agenda should include hunger, disease and natural disasters because these kill far more people than war, genocide and terrorism combined. Human security policy, they argue, should seek to protect people from these threats as well as from violence. In its broadest formulations the human security agenda also encompasses economic insecurity and 'threats to human dignity'...For both pragmatic and methodological reasons, however, the Human Security Report uses the narrow concept.(p.VIII)" [15]

Whereas Mack and Nielson highlight the human security report's narrow definition of HS, Kleinschmidt (2006) argues that much security theory from the 1950s to the 1980s dealt with military and foreign policy in the context of the East-West controversy….(something missing here?) Against this background, human security thinking has cast into terms the demand that security should be sought and provided for not mainly by institutions and organizations which appear to be capable of maintaining the political, social, economic and physical environment in a sustainable equilibrium. While some theorists concerned with new security thinking take the view that this demand can be fulfilled only through the cooperation of state and regional institutions within international organizations, others, including the Commission on Human Security, are convinced that human security emerges primarily from concerns over environmental, economic, political, social and cultural matters over which control cannot be accomplished merely by governments of sovereign states even if they cooperate. (p. 75-77)[16]

Another scholars such as Nishikawa (2007) provide specific categories and barometers that can be measured as human security litmus

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[15] Full text of the report: http://www.hsrgroup.org/human-security-reports/2005/text.aspx

[16] "Chapter Three: Migration, Regional Integration and Human Security: An Overview of Research Developments" in Harald Kleinschmidt (ed.) Migration, regional integration and human security: the formation and maintenance of transnational spaces. Aldershot, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate (p. 61-102)

tests including: (1) economic security (e.g., freedom from poverty), (2) food security (e.g. access to food), (3) health security (e.g., access to healthcare and protection from diseases), (4) environmental security (e.g., protection from environmental dangers such as pollution and depletion), (5) personal security (e.g., physical safety from such acts as torture, war, criminal attacks, domestic violence, and drug abuse), (6) community security (e.g., freedom to hold cultural and ethnic values as well as physical security of these groups) and (7) political security (e.g., freedom from political oppression and enjoyment of civil and political rights) (p.154)[17]

Thakur and Newman (2004) stress that the definition for human security used by the United Nations University is concerned with the protection of people from critical and life threatening dangers, regardless of whether the threats are rooted in anthropogenic activities or natural events, whether they lie within or outside states, and whether they are direct or structural. It is "human-centered" in that its principal focus is on people both as individuals and as communal groups. It is "security oriented" in that the focus is on freedom from fear, danger and threat. (p.4)[18]

Furthermore, Thakkur and Newman's interpretation of HS highlights that while national security is about protection of the state (its sovereignty and territorial integrity), human security is about protecting people. The national security framework stress threats emanating from the outside although for weak states, it is also a matter of keeping the nation-state in one piece in the face of internal challenges. Human security encompasses a broader view of the sources of threats, including military, political,

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[17] "A Need for a Human Security Approach? Understanding and Resolving Conflicts in Southeast Asia" in d.M.Nault (ed.) *Human Security in Asia: Emerging Issues and Challenges*. Global Studies Press, Osaka, Japan. pp.153-171.

[18] "Introduction: Non-traditional security in Asia" in Ramesh Thakur and Edward Newman (eds) *Broadening Asia's security discourse and agenda: Political, social, and environmental perspectives.* Tokyo, New York, Paris: United Nations University Press

economic, health, and environmental spheres of domestic and international relations. (239)[19]

The diverse and broad views of HS found in the ideas of the above aforementioned authors demonstrate that HS is still nebulous in terms where security for human beings begins and where it ends. The ambiguity in the interpretations of HS allows HS frameworks to be applied to a variety of problems and situations. Conversely, the same vagueness presents hurdles when designing policy based on HS as its broadness makes designing targeted policy more difficult.

Ambiguity aside, by examining the above HS ideas we can generally conceive human security in four ways, a policy specific approach with particular areas of security that must be protected (Nishikawa 2007), as a novel way to included NTS threats into the policy making instruments of states (Acharya 2007), as a framework or rubric to describe and subsequently respond to a specific kind of threat, namely, violence by the state on its citizens and other forms of transnational threats (Mack and Nielson, 2005; Krause, 2004;). Others, in particular Feigenblatt (2007) highlight that different countries put different degrees of focus on the "freedom from want" vs "freedom from fear" agenda.[20] For, Feigenblatt, Japan typifies countries that stress the former. For example, when questioned about HS in the summer of 2011 the MOFA official in charge or HS stressed:

"I think the earthquake and tsunami in March this year is a critical example that even a well-developed society like Japan can be hit by unexpected disaster, and state security, or traditional security is obviously not enough. In most cases, most of the Japanese governments and local

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[19]   Amitav, Acharya. "Human Security and Asian Regionalism: A Strategy of Localization." In *Reassessing Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific: Competition, Congruence, and Transformation,* edited by Amitav Acharya and Evelyn Goh, 237-252. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2007.p.239

[20]   Feigenblatt, Otto von, *Japan and Human Security: 21st Century Official Development Assistance Policy Apologetics and Discursive Co-optation*, 2nd ed. Delray Beach, FL: Academic Research International, 2007.

governments are proud to take care of all people's security needs. But in such a short timing, we have to rely on others' help. And I think that can happen to any society in today's world. So, if we have HS as our guiding principle to navigate, I think there is certain help." (MOFA official, July 20th, 2011)

Clearly, this official understands that non-traditional security threats such as the unprecedented earthquake, tsunami and nuclear incident that befell Japan on March 11, 20011 was a very contemporary example how traditional security strategies and approaches cannot deal with unexpected non-traditional security crisis'. He is also fully aware that HS and NTS policy do not stand alone in terms of mitigating traditional security threats.

"Traditional security or hardcore security was the central security in the past, but in today's world this centre of security is not enough. We need to have layers for security. From centre to periphery, the notion of security is becoming more non-traditional. Even if there are some quarrels occurring in traditional security, if the layer of non-traditional is thick enough, it is easier for various parties to avoid traditional security issues." (MOFA official, July 20th, 2011)

Notions of security: Realism, Neo-realism & Constructivism

Notions of security can be interpreted through not only the NTS and TS perspectives but also by how one views the relationship and motivating factors behind state-to-state relations. For instance, when examining state-to-state relations from the realist point of view we find that state security is most commonly associated with factors such as power and self interest. These factors are said to determining politics and where moral and normative considerations are disregarded.[21] In this realist centered world, states are viewed as the central actors in the international system, a system which is characterized as being without rules or anarchic.[22]

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[21] Heywood, 2007., 457

[22] Baylis, John, and Steve Smith. *The globalization of world politics: an introduction to international relations*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005., Chapter 5: 92-103: 102

In a realist world view, states vie for their survival by competing with other states in the system. With no overarching institution or mechanism to govern behavior, states cannot mediate conflict in international forums nor can this expect international law to protect them in a conflict. To better understand international relations, realists study international conflicts from bottom-up, analyzing particular states' domestic actors and relations with neighboring states etc. For realists, small states which were formed by self-determination principles between the two World Wars was against the trend since 19th century capitalism and communication means development called for integration into dominant large political units,[23] weak states are subjected to be militarily occupied by larger states if they did not form alliance with the large ones.[24]

Inasmuch as realists view international relations through the lens of power and self-interest, neo-realists stress that the behavior of states in the international systems is directly related if not bound by the structural constraints of the international system.[25]

Neo-realists still understand the international system as being anarchic but instead of stressing power and motivation of states in the system, proponents of neo-realism assert that the structure of the international system, that is the existing polarity is what determines how states behave. The structure, whether the system is bipolar or multipolar is what determines a state's behavior and conduct in the international system. In accordance with their international system view, neo-realists like realists have a preference for self-help over cooperative behavior as they are not certain as to the intentions of other states.[26] Here, Waltz (1978)

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[23] Carr, E. H.. *The twenty years' crisis, 1919-1939: an introduction to the study of international relations*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001. Chapter 14, 211-212

[24] Molloy, Seán. "Dialectics and Transformation: Exploring the International Theory of E. H. Carr." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 17(2)., (2003), 279-306:288

[25] Heywood, 454

[26] Baylis, John, and Steve Smith. *The globalization of world politics: an introduction to international relations*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005., Chapter 7:

proposes balance of power, or more precisely balance of threat is the fundamental law of international relations, states form alliance to balance each other.[27]

Waltz's work *Theory of International Politics* and *Man, the State and War* argues that the structure of the international system, and in particular the anarchic nature of the system in which there is no overarching authority to mitigate and control the behavior of states leads to states being equal and sovereign over their own territory.[28] This logic holds true for traditional security threats as mentioned above but what about non-traditional security threats such as transnational infectious diseases, financial crisis', natural disaster and environmental disasters? Recent examples include the 2005 SARS infection, the yearly air pollution problems that plague SE Asian countries as Indonesia continues to burn forests, air pollution quality problems in Hong Kong associated with large scale manufacturing in Southern China and the most recent radiation woes in the wake of the 3/11 triple disaster in Japan.

Whereas realist and neorealist views of power security and cooperation are attached to barometers of power or the structural of the international system, constructivist theories conceptualize international relations using a different yardstick that is more appropriate for non-traditional security based cooperation. By way of example, Baylis and Smith (2005) stress that states are constraint by what they call the logic of appropriateness in which state behavior is constrained by societal norms.[29] Essentially, these authors are arguing that a state's international behavior is linked to how a society believes collectively how it should behave in certain circumstances.

126-138 130-131

[27] Vasquez, John A. "The Realist Paradigm and Degenerative versus Progressive Research Programs: An Appraisal of Neotraditional Research on Waltz's Balancing Proposition." *The American Political Science Review*, 91(4)., (1997), 899-912

[28] Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (McGraw-Hill Higher Education, 1979)

[29] Baylis, John, and Steve Smith. *The globalization of world politics: an introduction to international relations*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005., Chapter 9

This domestically-oriented viewpoint stresses the influence of domestic norms as indicators of international behavior. It does not stress what Finnemore and Sikkink (1998) call the "international distribution of ideas" which included shared ideas, expectations and beliefs are considered as the appropriate behavior.[30] This difference is important as they take into account the ideational landscape of the international system and which ideas, norms and behaviors are the most influential in shaping state-to-state or state-to-states behavioral relations. In this case, norms are not static and they can change, growth be replaced and or disappear. What is salient about these ideas is that the distribution of shared ideas, expectations and beliefs can have a critical mass that give in momentum to persuade other states to adopt similar views that and become internalized by socialization and institutionalization. When this happens, states can and often do cooperate in ways where their collective interest surpasses individual interest.

Scholars such as Palan (2000), recognize that currently existing social institutions and structures found in the international system are by virtue of being manmade based on the normative views manifested in the ideational distribution of ideas and as a consequence the ideas which are prominently found in the international system. [31] In effect, Palan is arguing that the behavior of states in the current international system is reflective of dominant ideas in the system and not necessarily ideas grounded in empirical data.

While neorealist proponents of international relations assert that international relations, in particular relations in the sphere of traditional security are subject to the structural nature of the international system, their views do not seem able to inculcate non-traditional security threats into their international relations paradigm. Here, constructivists and

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[30] Finnemore, M. and Sikkink, K. 1998. "International norms dynamics and political change." *International Organization* 52 (4), 887- 917:894.

[31] Palan, Ronen. "A World of Their Making: An Evaluation of the Constructivist Critique in International Relations." *Review of International Studies*, 26 (4)., (2000), 575-598:576-577

proponents of constructivist approach to international relations have an important contribution to make towards creating regional institutions. Constructivists move the focuses of international relations discourse away from neo-realism structural arguments to international relations based on shared interests, capacity to cooperate and when possible, highlighting a previous track record related to regional cooperation that can be leveraged to develop one-dimensional or multi-dimensional institutions that foster cooperation and stability based on shared norms.

Human security and environmental security as non-traditional security platforms for cooperation in Northeast Asia are pragmatic choices when developing opportunities to cooperate amongst states with many traditional security divisions and hurdles to engage in broader institutionalization. They are all shared to one degree or another with states in the region and as such may have ideational momentum that can and should lead to socialization and institutionalization of these norms at the domestic level. Moreover, if we borrow Baylis and Smith's idea of constructivism at a broader level, an expansion of shared ideas in the region can lead to regional institutionalization that includes a process which national power is transferred to a regional institution,[32] or as Hurrell (2010) differentiates regional integration into five different sub-concepts (See Table 1), and regional institution building is fittest to his definition of "regional interstate" cooperation.[33]

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[32] Haas, Ernst B. "The Study of Regional Integration: Reflections on the Joy and Anguish of Pretheorizing." *International Organization*, 24.4 (1970), 607-46

[33] Hurrell, Andrew, "Regionalism in Theoretical Perspective." In *Regionalism in World Politics: Regional Organization and International Order*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. 37-45..

Table 1.1 Andrew Hurrell's five categories of regionalism

Regionalization	Refers to the growth of societal integration within a region and to the often undirected processes of social and economic interaction
Regional awareness and identity	Shared perception of belonging to a particular community
Regional interstate cooperation	Negotiation and construction of interstate or intergovernmental agreements or regimes
State-promoted regional integration	A subcategory of regional cooperation: Regional economic integration
Regional cohesion	Possibility that, at some point, a combination of these first four processes might lead to the emergence of a cohesive and consolidate regional unit

Source: Author's elaboration of Andrew Hurrell, "Regionalism in Theoretical Perspective," in Louise Fawcett and Andrew Hurrell (eds.), *Regionalism in World Politics. Regional Organization and International Order*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, pp. 39–45.

IV. Past, present and future cooperation

Constructivist views on international relations and cooperation based on shared interests, ideas and norms resonates well with non-traditional security needs, in particular human security and environmental security. To illustrate, the national imperatives of states in the region and their respective domestic norms of non-interference and economic development in which the state has a strong role. Norms that emphasize the non-traditional security areas of human and environmental security norms, stress broad economic development and stability in an environment that is predictable and as much as possible buffered against sudden change. Ideological sensitive issues such as human rights are still important pillars in the HS umbrella however they do not take a cardinal position when advocating HS. This decentralization of human rights advocacy as a precursor to HS cooperation is consequential in that the principles of sovereignty and non-interference are secured but the approach also buttress the strength of Japan's human security agenda in

the region. [34]

Initiating cooperation in a region that places non-interference and sovereignty at the core of security policy is a challenging one. Nonetheless, when examined more carefully Northeast Asian states in the region most shares similar domestic views regarding non-interference and sovereignty to lay the groundwork for further cooperation according to constructivists. In this case, we can leverage the experience of ASEAN who have constructed a comprehensive security strategy to be centered on economic insecurities rather than political oriented right based norms. [35] The non-binding nature of their consensus-making decision making process although not always effective has allowed them to establish a track record of cooperation that makes non-interventionist based human and environmental security based norms both attractive as they focus on development and in each states respective interest in not infringing on sovereignty. It also allows for outlying states such as Myanmar breathing room to integrate freedom from want based human and environmental security without threat to their political stability. [36]

Other approach includes leveraging pre-existing patterns of international relations in the region. Seikei Bunri approaches (separation of economics and politics) have been particularly effective at maintaining regional relations between China, Japan and Korea despite the occasional row over territory, historical issues or the misbehavior of politicians. Cooperation has deepened continuously since the 1970s in the areas of environmental problems, health problems, disaster relief as well as other areas such as business expansion opportunities, the transfer of technology, cultural exchanges, environmental training and education (see Kita-

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[34] Kim, Sung Won, ''Human Security with an Asian Face?'' *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, vol. 17, Issue 1 (2010): 83-103.

[35] Amitav Acharya. Human Security: East versus West. International Journal, Vol. 56, No. 3 (Summer, 2001), pp. 442-460

[36] Feigenblatt, Otto von, *Japan and Human Security: 21st Century Official Development Assistance Policy Apologetics and Discursive Co-optation*, 2nd ed. Delray Beach, FL: Academic Research International, 2007.p. 130

Kyushu), sister-city relations and more. (See Table 2)

As we can see from Table 2, cooperation has taken many forms including various kinds of Overseas Development Aid (ODA) from Korea and Japan. In this sense, the three states have unofficial established share regional ideational behavior towards each other by continuing international collaboration in a "when they can" basis. In the case of Japan, her continued dispersion of ODA to states such as Myanmar and China, with governments and recent policies that may not be congruent with Japan's political inclinations but in congruence with her human and environmental security views stressing "freedom from want" demonstrates an ability to cooperate and as such shared interests. [37]

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[37] Ibid. Pp.130.

Table 2 Examples of Japanese and Chinese international cooperation

		Track Record	Capacity	Shared interests
Environmental problem	Information and Manpower	**1.** Sino-Japanese Friendship Environmental Protection Center (1990-95, 2002) **2.** Environmental Protection Network Development Plan (1999, 2001-03) **3.** Dalian Energy Conservation Education Center (1992, 1996)		
	Atmospheric	**1.** Climate change, CDM-related policy between Japan and China study (2006) **2.** Japan and China Meteorological Disaster Research Center (2005) **3.** Acid Rain Monitoring Network in East Asia (2001) **4.** Sand and acid rain monitoring network project (2006)	2. Japan provides experts in different meteorological areas 4. Strengthen China's ability to analyze precisely the situation of acid rain, the level of pollutants in the atmosphere and the past trend and warning system of sandstorm	2. To monitor better the regional meteorological disaster situation 4. Japan considers sandstorm and acid rain are transboundary problems
	Greening in City Area	**1.** Japan-China Environmental City Initiative (2002) 2. Environmental Improvement Project (Dalian, Chongqing, Guiyang, 2000-2001 / Xi'an, Anshan, Taiyuan, Chongqing, Beijing, 2002 / Yining, 2005 / Guizhou, Jilin, 2006; Nanyang, Xinjiang, 2007) 3. Air quality improvement program (Liuzhou, 1993, 1996, 1997, 1998/ Anhui, Henan, Guiyang 2003 / Baotou, 2005 / Hohhot, 2006 / Lanzhou, 2007) 4. Solid waste management plan (Xi'an, 1989, 2003, Anhui, 2007) 5. Sewage control projects (1989, Zhejiang, Tianjin, Guiyang, 2005) 6. Water supply development project (Guizhou, 1990 / Guangxi, Jiangxi, Hunan, Hubei, Jiangxi, Kunming, Chengdu, Chongqing, 2000 / Dalian, Changsha, Yinkou, Tangshan, 2001 / Changshu, 2004) **7.** Training of personnel engaged in the sewage treatment business (2006)	2. Improve sewage, waste treatment water and heat supplies facilities to improve water, air and land pollutions 3a. Lanzhou: Construct centralized heat supply facilities and restrict pollution from coal burning to reduce air pollution 3b. Beijing, Henan, Baotou: Create facilities to switch from coal to natural gas as major power supply 4. Xi'an: Improve the waste treatment technology in China, particularly the efficiency of collecting waste and adequate waste treatment system	
	Industries	**1.** Promote environmental financial cooperation (2002) **2.** Improve environmental technology insteel industry (2002)		
	Energy	**1.** Geothermal power development plan (Inner Mongolia, 2001) **2.** Hydroelectric power development plan survey (Ou River, 1981, Jin'anqiao, 1998) 3. Hydroelectric power development plan (Wujiangxi 1991 / Tianshenqiao, 1992 / 1998 / Hubei, Gansu, 2001) 4. Pumping power plant construction (Ming Tombs 1990-1991 / Xiangxi, Shanxi, 2002) **5.** Large-scale dam construction design survey (Dafing River, 1996)	1. Japan experts are sent to China to evaluate the feasibility of utilizing geothermal power to secure enough power supply for the growing population	2,3: Supporting Hydroelectric power plants development in China helps to reduce the emission of greenhouse gases, thus relieves global warming
	Water	**1.** Fluvial environmental monitoring survey (Min River, 1996 / Pearl River, 2000) **2.** Fluvial environment Recovery plan (Lake Tai, 1996, 2001 / Xiang River, 1996-98 / Huai River, 1997-98 / Liao River, Songhua River, 1998 / Poyang Lake, 2001) 3. Urban fluvial Environment Improvement Program (Xi'an, Chongqing, 2002 / Yichang, Nanning, Suzhou 2003 / Hohhot, 2004 / Shaanxi, 2005, Kunming, Yulin, 2006) **4.** Groundwater resources development survey (Togtoh County, 1997, Turpan Depression, 2004) **5.** Copper mine copper mine wastewater handling survey (1996) **6.** Yangtze River embankment strengthen plan (1997) **7.** Water pollution and waste water recycling research center (1992) **8.** Japan-China Friendship water factory equipment improvement (1986, 1987, 1990, 2002)	2, 3. Improve sewage treatment and water facilities to improve the water quality	
	Forestry	**1.** Yellow River watershed forest protection (2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2005, 2006) 2. Afforestation program (Sichuan Province Anning River (Survey) 2001 / Ningxia, 2002 / Gansu, Inner Mongolia, 2003 / Jiangxi, 2004 / Hubei, 1995, 2004 / Henan, 2006) **3.** Plantation Wood Research Program (1999) **4.** Fujian Forestry Science and Technology Development Plan (1991) **5.** Regional ecological monitoring program (2001) **6.** Japan-China Forest planting science and technology cooperation centre (2001) **7.** Japan-China Forestry ecological training centre (2004) **8.** Restore forest on hills technical training (1999-2003 / Loess Plateau, 1999, 2001) **9.** Shanxi Yanmenguan regional ecological recovery (2006) 10. Ecological environment in comprehensive development plan (the upper reaches of the Yangtze River, Sichuan / Qinghai, 2007)	1a. Japan has given grants to plant around in poor areas in Shanxi (2003, 05-06, 2960 hectares) and (Ningxia, 2004, 1100 hectares) of plants so far 1b. Teach the locals farmers/ herdsmen the technology of afforestation 2.Loans to plant trees to reduce the likeliness of landslide and increase the size of forests 10. Loans to build windbreak around Lake Qinghai	Afforestation in China is considered as the solution of sandstorm which affects regionally
	Animals	**1.** Panda protection equipment (1984) **2.** Weather observing equipment for the China Southern Tropical Crops Research Institute (1984) **3.** Survey (birds, Tibetan sheep, 2001)		

Table 2 Examples of Japanese and Chinese international cooperation

		Track Record	Capacity	Shared interests
Health problem	Epidemics	**1. Tuberculosis Control Programme (1994, 2001-2004)** **2. Infectious diseases prevention and promotion program (Western seven provinces and autonomous regions, 2001)** **3. HIV / AIDS Prevention Project (Gansu, 2006)** **4. Avian influenza control measures seminar (2006)**	Provide money and medical equipment for tuberculosis treatment in poor villages in nine Western provinces / autonomous regions	
	Vaccination	1. Vaccination programs (1994, 1997, 2000, 2002, 2006) 2. Establish polio eradication program (1995) 3. Pathogen detection equipment maintenance plan (1997) 4. Prostate cancer early detection and early diagnosis (1999)		
	Hospital Equipment donation	**1. Sino-Japanese Friendship Hospital building program (1980-1984, 1986, 1989, 1996)** 2. Basic sanitation facilities improvement program (Heilongjiang, Jilin, Liaoning, Hebei, Henan, Hubei, Hunan, Jiangxi, Anhui, Shanxi, 2004) **3. Maternal and child health medical equipment improvement program (Nanjing, 1996 / Chongqing, 2001, 2004, Midwest 2006)** 4. Medical equipment improvement (Shanghai, 1985 / Urumqi, spa, 1987 / Sichuan, 1988 / Shanghai, Ningxia, 1989 / Bethune International Peace Hospital, Beijing, 1990 / Inner Mongolia, Dalian, Hubei, Sichuan, 1997 / poorest counties, 1998 / Shaanxi, 2000 / Xinjiang, 2004) 5. Hospital infection countermeasures (Guangzhou, 2005)	1. Enhance the level of medical equipment in Chinese hospitals 2. Provide medical equipment, facilities and training for basic sanitation 3. Maternal and child health medical equipment: Electronic endoscope, neonatal monitor	3. There are 30 Japanese company in Chongqing which there are 150 permanent residents --> Donation also helps the Japanese there
	Medical Research Centre	1. Rehabilitation Research Center of the disabled people (1985, 1986) 2. Sino-Japanese Medical Education Center (1989, 1992) **3. Japan-China Friendship Medicine Safety Evaluation and Management Centre (2000)** 4. Inland emergency medical center equipment improvement (2002)	Fund to increase the number of ambulances and emergency medicine in city areas	
	Training	1. Vaccination programs (1994, 1997, 2000, 2002, 2006) 2. Establish polio eradication program (1995) 3. Pathogen detection equipment maintenance plan (1997) 4. Prostate cancer early detection and early diagnosis (1999)		
	Preparedness	1. Flood disaster training (2004) 2. Flood forecasting and warning equipment improvement (the Han River 1990, 2002/ Fujian, 1993) 3. Water supply and flood control facilities development projects (Yantai, 1998) 4. National Emergency Training (1999)	1. Modernize the flood warning system technology in China	
Disaster relief	Assistance: Natural disaster	**1. Disaster emergency assistance (Flood, 1980, 1989, 1991* 2, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998* 3 / Earthquake Disaster, 1988, 1995, 1997, 1998, 2002, Sichuan, 2008* 3 / Drought, 1980 / Forest disasters, 1987 / Mudslide, 1988, Gansu, 2010/ Torrential rain, 1988 / Dam failure, 1993 / Greening cooperation projects, 1999, Snowstorm, 2008)**	1. Sichuan: Japanese searching teams are dispatched to the area, with supply of medicines, water filters, tents, blankets, tanks) Experts are sent in the aftermath to Sichuan for sharing their recovery plan after past earthquakes 2. Gansu mudslide in 2010: Provide food and basic necessities, hemodialysis machines, blood filtration machines, simple flush toilets, solar shower 3. Snow storm (Southern China) in 2008: Blankets, generators	
	Assistance: Disease outbreak	**1. Disaster emergency assistance (SARS, 2003)** **2. Special medical equipment (SARS) (2003)** **3. Skeletal fluorosis outbreak (Guizhou, 1999)**	1. SARS: Provide medical equipment (Air sterilization, X-ray, Ventilators, Blood transfusion pump), send experts in stopping the spread of the SARS, and donate 20000 protective suits for Beijing 2. Skeletal fluorosis: Provide medical checking and treatment equipment, improve the stove to reduce excess fluorine content in the water	
	Recovery	**1. Forest fires Redevelopment Plan (Greater Khingan Mountains, 1987)** **2. Comprehensive Sediment Disaster and environmental restoration survey (Dongchuan River Basin, 2004)** 3. Beijing sandstorm/forest recovery survey (2006) 4. Environment grassland desertification prevention and control (2004)		
Others		**1. Food aid (1983, 1984, 1985, 1988, 1989)** **2. China Meat Research Centre (1984)** **3. Child Welfare Education Center Construction Project (Hetian, 1988)** 4. Rural communities pension insurance system survey (2006) 5. Poverty relief plan (Guangxi, 2002)	1. Poverty Relief Improve water and power supplies in the area	

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In Japan's case, her non-traditional security approach centered on human security and environmental security has been an important development for several reasons. Firstly, as a less value laden foreign policy piece especially with regards to the promotion of democracy and human rights, Japan's approach and leadership, whether it be overtly or behind the scenes causes less friction and resistance in neighboring countries with harbor distrust and hostilities towards Japan. This is especially true as human security and environmental security enhance development strategies of states in the region through financial contributions.[38] This is visible when we examine the manner in which Japan gives out financial aid through ODA dispensation organizations, the Japanese International Cooperation Agency and the Trust Fund for Human Security (TFHS).[39] Although arms of MOFA, both organizations retain a sense of independence that legitimize human and environmental security as a development tool rather than foreign policy that is premised on neo-realist or realist views.

China-Japan cooperation has not been overshadowed by Japan's extensive and longstanding international cooperation activities with members of ASEAN. On the contrary, we have seen environmental cooperation with China, cooperation that has taken place at requests by the Chinese government.[40] For example, Japan and China have been involved in several cooperative ventures to deal with atmospheric related environmental problems such as the Climate change, CDM-related policy between Japan and China study (2006), Japan and China Meteorological Disaster Research Center (2005), Acid Rain Monitoring Network in East

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[38] Tan, Hsien-Li. "Not Just Global Rhetoric: Japan's Substantive Actualization of its Human Security Foreign Policy." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, vol. 10, Issue 1 (2010): 159-187.

[39] Ibid. pp. 160

[40] Hirano, Ryokichi. "Japan's Environmental Cooperation with China During the Last Two Decades." in *China's International Relations in Asia vol. 2*, edited by Li Mingjiang, 321-333. London; New York: Routledge, 2010. Pp. 321.

Asia (2001) and the Sand and acid rain monitoring network project (2006).[41]

These kind of cooperative projects are demonstrative of the breadth and scope of cooperative activities that Japan and China are involved in. It's also illustrative of the different capacities that each state has in terms of dealing with NTS issues such as atmospheric related environmental problems. In the above cases, Japan provides experts in different meteorological areas to strengthen China's ability to analyze precisely the situation of acid rain, the level of pollutants in the atmosphere and the past trend and warning system of sandstorm.

In other areas of cooperation such as disaster relief we have also seen Japan and China cooperate. Recent examples include disaster emergency assistance for floods in 1980 through 1998, earthquake relief in 1988, 1995, 1997, 1998, 2002 and after the Sichuan earthquake of 2008.[42]

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[41] "日中気象災害協力研究センタープロジェクト案件概要表（和）." JICA .
http://gwweb.jica.go.jp/km/ProjectView.nsf/VWAJPrint/98FF266C273A83C1492575D100356212 (accessed February 11, 2012).
"外務省: [ODA] 国別地域別政策 情報 国別プロジェクト概要 中国 無償資金協力." Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (MOFA).
http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/gaiko/oda/data/gaiyou/odaproject/asia/china/contents_01.html (accessed February 11, 2012).

[42] "中国四川省における大地震に対する緊急援助について." Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (MOFA).
http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/press/release/h20/5/1180110_907.html (accessed February 11, 2012). (Resources); "中国四川省における大地震に対する我が国復興支援策について." Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (MOFA).
http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/press/release/h20/7/1181505_912.html (accessed February 11, 2012). (Experts); "中国甘粛省における土石流被害等に対する緊急無償資金協力." Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (MOFA).
http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/press/release/22/8/0814_01.html (accessed February 11, 2012); "中国青海省における地震被害に対する第一便援助物資の引渡し." JICS.
http://www.jics.or.jp/jigyou/musho/kinkyu/china_201006.html (accessed February 11, 2012); "中国南部における大雪被害に対する緊急援助について." Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (MOFA).
http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/press/release/h20/2/1177591_902.html (accessed

In these above cases, Japan's capacity to provide aid to China included Japanese searching teams are dispatched Sichuan with supply of medicines, water filters, tents, blankets, tanks, and the dispatch of experts are sent in the aftermath to Sichuan for sharing their recovery plan after past earthquakes. The Japanese also provided food and basic necessities, hemodialysis machines, blood filtration machines, simple flush toilets and solar showers.

The above examples are important for NTS cooperation in NE Asia in many ways. First, the above empirical samples as well as the ones found in Table 2 are detailed instances of the NTS areas that the two countries can cooperate in. Second, the aforementioned table also outlines that these to states have many shared interests that can be leveraged to encourage cooperation. Third, the Table 2 examples demonstrates that Japan has the technological, educational, training etc. oriented capacity to help deal with many of the problems that surface following a natural disaster or in the case of helping solve atmospheric environmental problems. Fourth, Japan's approach to dealing with NTS issues, especially its human and environmental security focused foreign policy resonates with China's agenda in dealing with climate change and environment security.[43]

Post-March 11, 2011 cooperation between Korean, Japan and China (not to mention Taiwan, the US and members of ASEAN) provides us another contemporary set of instances where states with TS problems cooperated in NTS areas based on shared environmental and human security interests.

To illustrate, within days following the March 11th earthquake and tsunami, China, Korea and Taiwan all demonstrated their financial and resource (human and technical) support for Japan. China immediately offered 20,000 tons of fuel and supplies as well as expertise advice.

February 11, 2012).

[43] Lewis, Joanna I. "China's Strategic Priorities in International Climate Change Negotiations." in *China's International Relations in Asia vol. 2*, edited by Li Mingjiang, 282-299. London; New York: Routledge, 2010.

Taiwan on the other hand was the largest donor of financial aid to Japan surpassing 250 Million US$ as of May 31st, 2011, [44] the Taiwanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs at the behest of the government of President Ma Ying Jeou expedited the 3.3 million US $ for aid purposes,[45] and 35 civilian experts were dispatched to the Sendai area as rescue and support teams. [46] South Korea was another important partner in the post disaster recovery. As with China and Taiwan, arriving March 12th, Korea sent rescuers, equipment and rescue dogs to assist in the immediate relief efforts and saving as many lives as possible. [47] By March 14th, another 102 rescuers arrived to help. [48] The South Korea government also put an additional 1000 rescuers on standby to be dispatched at the request of the Japanese government. [49] Importantly, Korea also acted as a vital source of the substance called boric acid that could be used to weaken the nuclear reactions taking place at the height of the crisis. [50]

The unprecedented aid to Japan came less than six months after the autumn territorial dispute between China and Japan that brought diplomatic relations to a standstill. Post disaster cooperation is illustrative of the will, capacity and crucial ability to cooperate despite tensions in other aspects of their relationship. The financial commitment by all levels of government and citizenry is evidence of a strong sense friendship and commitment from the public sector to private sector. In each case above, China, Taiwan and Korea provided tangible instances of how states with serious TS issues can cooperate on NTS and in particular the areas of

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[44] Japan omits largest donor Taiwan from thank-you note *FocusTaiwan* (FocusTaiwan News). April 16, 2011. Retrieved March 19, 2011.

[45] Central News Agency, March 13, 2011.

[46] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China (Taiwan). 12 March 2011. Retrieved 12 March 2011.

[47] 대구소방본부 구조대원 日지진 현장서 구조활동"]. Chosun. 2011-03-16. Retrieved 2011-03-16.

[48] Ibid.

[49] "일본 "붕소 지원해달라"…한국 "재고 모자라도 주겠다"". Chosun. 2011-03-16. Retrieved 2011-03-16.

[50] Ibid.

human security and environmental security.

Constructionists viewing the post-disaster cooperation between Japan, Korea and China would conclude that each state in the region in the area of NTS demonstrated shared interest, capacity and ability to collectively work together to provide relief to the disaster stricken parts of Northeastern Japan. It can be argued that part of these efforts was humanitarian in nature as the breadth of the calamity instantly captured and reported by the media to countries in the region and around the world.

Nonetheless, it can also be argued that the cooperation between these states in particular demonstrates shared ideas and commitment to human security, especially views that echo Japan's human security approach stressing "freedom from want". It can also be argued that states in the region were cognizant of the level of economic integration with the Japan and how the destruction and or disruption of the Japanese economy would negatively affect their economies. This is especially true if we consider the role of the Japanese economy within the region, both as a supplier of ODA and FDI, a consumer of products made in the region and the economy which is qualitatively at the apex of the economies in the region and globally. This economic position dictates that an event such as the disaster on March 11 that affects the livelihoods and economic welfare, that is affects their human security can and will affect the human security of citizens in other states, directly or indirectly. Based on that rationale, economic integration within the region has led to an interdependency that requires actors within the region to consider human and environmental security issues. In this sense, a NTS event like March 11, 2011 illustrates the shared interests and interdependency of states in the region.

Based on realist or neo-realist views of both TS and NTS in conjunction with the Fall 2010 territorial disputes between China and Japan, one could not have been very optimistic about regional cooperation between Korea, Japan and China. That being said, cooperation at the state, local government and grass root level did occur and is occurring today. Employing realist or neo-realist thinking, we would have expected countries in the region with TS issues to take advantage of an

economically weakened Japan to maximize their geo-political and domestic imperatives in the region. In contrast, states within the region appear to have taken a different approach to responding to the event. In the context of this paper, it is argued that states in the region cooperated politically, economically, logistically and in terms of providing resources, include technical, material and human to assistant Japan deal with the wake of the disaster. This in part was humanitarian assistance but also a clear recognition of each state's shared interest in working together in NTS areas that had the potential to spread transnationally. This was especially acute when we consider the possible spread of radiation emanating from the Fukushima power plant, a possible economic tsunami stemming from the disruption of the Japanese economy, disruptions in logistic pathways for the transport of goods to be assembled in other parts of Asia as well as others. Simply put, the disaster was not a localized event and true to the understanding of NTS, it had transnational effects that could only be dealt with by cooperating with other states.

In the constructivist sense, cooperation in the aftermath of the March 11, 2011 disaster demonstrated that preexisting realist and neo-realist assumptions and paradigms of TS relations in the region were trumped by immediate and long term NTS interests that prioritized regional stability. By gauging regional relations on how states behave and the development (or recognition) of shared interests, this paper argues that at the NTS level in Northeast Asia we have seen a construction of a shared identity and a subsequent crossing the traditional security Rubicon with non-traditional security cooperation as a platform for broader regionalism in East Asia.

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i   The information for this table comes from the following sources:
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     D100356212 (accessed February 11, 2012)."外務省: [ODA] 国別地域別政策 情報
     国別プロジェクト概要 中国　無償資金協力." Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan
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