

Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue

The Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue (NEACD) is a Track 1.5 forum dedicated to reducing the risk of military conflict in Northeast Asia and beyond. Founded in 1993, the forum of academics, policy experts, and military and diplomatic officials from China, Japan, North Korea, Russia, South Korea, and the United States was the precedent for the Six-Party Talks on North Korea's nuclear program that met between 2003 and 2009.

Today, NEACD is held at regular intervals to discuss regional security matters including but far beyond North Korean nuclear issues. The dialogue's founding goal of promoting dialogue that can prevent the region from being split into rival blocs is now more important than ever, as tensions between the six nations reach historic highs over the war in Ukraine, a potential military conflict over Taiwan, and technological and trade decoupling as great power competition heats up for leadership over the commanding heights of the 21st century economy.

QUICK FACTS



1993 YEAR
ESTABLISHED



37
DIALOGUES

Including three virtual sessions. U.S.-North Korea bilateral and other meetings for the Defense Information Sharing network have also been held.



6
COUNTRIES

China, Japan, North Korea, Russia, South Korea, and the United States. All but North Korea have taken part in all NEACDs. North Korea was involved in the dialogues irregularly between 2002 and 2016.

BACKGROUND



The Joint Security Area between North and South Korea. Credit: Höglund (Flickr)

Definition of Track 1.5 Dialogue

“Track 1.5 dialogues are conversations that include a mix of government officials—who participate in an unofficial capacity—and non-governmental experts, all sitting around the same table.” ([United States Institute of Peace](#), 2019)

Leadership



Founding Director

Susan L. Shirk is a research professor at the University of California (UC) San Diego School of Global Policy and Strategy, director emeritus of its 21st Century China Center, and director emeritus of the UC Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC).



Current Director

Stephan Haggard is distinguished research professor at the UC San Diego School of Global Policy and Strategy and research director for Democracy and Global Governance at IGCC.



Past Director

Vice Admiral Robert Thomas is a senior research fellow with IGCC.

Partners and Supporters

The Andrew Carnegie Foundation has been the cornerstone supporter of the NEACD, contributing over \$3 million over the past 16 years. Their generous support has been instrumental in sustaining and expanding our work. NEACD would be not possible without their commitment, along with the contributions of other funders, including:

- U.S. Department of Energy’s Nonproliferation Bureau
- National Institute for Research Advancement (Japan)
- The Stanley Foundation
- East Asia Foundation
- Ploughshares Fund

“

The people who participate really get to know one another. They’re able then to follow up informally afterwards. It became a kind of back channel that wasn’t as scripted with talking points, and you could develop a better understanding that could move the official process forward.”

—[Susan Shirk](#)

NARRATIVE

History

A number of conflicts that stem from historical mistrust and Cold War animosities have persisted in Northeast Asia. Four of the world's most powerful nations—China, Japan, Russia, and the United States—have important interests in the region, and when bilateral relations were tense, there were few opportunities for officials to engage with one another. Instability and even the risk of military conflict compelled the search for new mechanisms to reduce danger and enhance cooperation.

Although East Asia has had a number of region-wide official multilateral forums, such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Regional Forum and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum, at the close of the Cold War, no informal consultative process existed to advance security in Northeast Asia. These factors prompted the founding of the Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue (NEACD) in 1993.



In 1993, NEACD was conceived as a channel for dialogue in a region where multilateral cooperation was sorely lacking. Today, rising tensions between great powers highlight NEACD's enduring importance."

—[Stephan Haggard](#)

NEACD was founded by Susan Shirk, a globally renowned China expert, during her first term as director of the University of California (UC) Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC) between 1991-1997 (she served again between 2006-2010). Shirk first visited China in 1971, and had been teaching, studying, and engaging with China diplomatically ever since.

TIMELINE

A Year-By-Year Snapshot of NEACD in a Changing World

From a world emerging from the Cold War, to one facing pandemics, climate change, and a fundamental re-alignment of world power, NEACD has been a constant—fostering personal and durable relationships even amid global fracture.

- World events
- NEACD events
- * Denotes NEACD with North Korean participation

1993

- **March:** North Korean nuclear crisis begins with Pyongyang's announcement that it intends to withdraw from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)
- **May:** IGCC hosts "The Asia-Pacific Region: Links Between Economic and Security Relations" in La Jolla, which includes a North Korean representative
- **May:** North Korea test fires missile into the Sea of Japan, but then reaffirms commitment to NPT
- **July:** Launch of NEACD with planning meeting in La Jolla attended by all six NEACD nations, including North Korea
- **October:** NEACD 1 in La Jolla, California

Under her leadership, IGCC had organized a 1993 workshop on Asia-Pacific security with the Council on Foreign Relations, which highlighted divergent perspectives between East Coast foreign policy specialists and California-based academics on the long-term viability of the United States' "hub and spokes" model of bilateral alliances in the region, and whether larger multilateral arrangements were needed in addition to those relationships. The Clinton administration was receptive to IGCC's idea of an informal, "Track 1.5" forum between the four major powers in the region—China, Japan, Russia, and the United States—and the two Koreas to strengthen security in the region, and the U.S. Department of Energy's Nonproliferation Bureau supported the foundation of NEACD with initial funding.

"At the time," said Shirk in a 2020 [interview](#), "I was interested in the idea of a 'concert of powers' for East Asia, the idea being that the United States would work together with the other major powers in Asia, especially China and Japan and Russia, to keep the region peaceful. The idea was a way to diversify the U.S. position in the region to make it more resilient to an uncertain future."



Nuclear missiles aimed upwards. Credit: Bordovski Yauheni (Shutterstock)

The launch of NEACD coincided with the North Korean nuclear crisis of 1993-94, precipitated when North Korea refused to allow international inspectors to inspect its nuclear sites. North Korea subsequently dropped out of the forum for a decade, despite their involvement with the initial plans for the dialogue.

TIMELINE

1994

- **May:** NEACD 2 in Tokyo, Japan
- **May-June:** Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui visits the United States, causing tension between Washington and Beijing
- **July:** North Korean leader Kim Il Sung dies
- **July:** First meeting of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Regional Forum
- **October:** North Korean nuclear crisis ends with Agreed Framework between the U.S. and North Korea, which freezes nuclear weapons program in return for fuel oil and two nuclear power reactors

1995

- **March:** Foundation of Korean Energy Development Organization by Japan, South Korea, and the United States to implement the Agreed Framework
- **April:** NEACD 3 in Moscow, Russia

How NEACD works

NEACD is a Track 1.5 multilateral forum involving high-level policymakers, defense ministry officials, military officers, and scholars from China, Japan, North Korea, Russia, South Korea, and the United States. Track 1.5, or unofficial diplomacy, offers a venue for officials and academics to express their views and enhance mutual understanding in an informal atmosphere. Officials participate in their personal capacity, not as representatives for their governments, and all discussion are kept off the record. These rules permit brainstorming and frank discussion of divergent views. Ideas can be explored unofficially without being interpreted as government policies.

Says Shirk: “Track 1.5 means that there are more officials in the room than there are private people. So even though the whole process is unofficial, there are a lot of political officials there. The people who participate really get to know one another. They’re able then to follow up informally afterwards. It became a kind of back channel that wasn’t as scripted with talking points, and you could develop a better understanding that could move the official process forward.

We’d always have a lunch for the foreign ministry officials, and I would say: when we have an official Northeast Asia security dialogue, then NEACD can go out of business. And they would say: ‘oh no this is so much better because the formal meetings are so constrained.’ Even when we have a formal security arrangement, they’d always say they wanted to keep NEACD.”



At a time of rising tensions in the region and the world, NEACD provides an all-too-rare opportunity for a frank and open exchange of views both in the plenary sessions, and—as is one of the charms of these dialogues—outside of the meeting room.”

—[Stephen J. Del Rosso](#), Former Vice President, International Program, Andrew Carnegie Foundation

1996

- **January:** NEACD 4 in Beijing, China
- **April:** North Korea announces it will no longer abide by Korean War armistice, and sends troops to the demilitarized zone
- **September:** NEACD 5 in Seoul, South Korea

1997

Shirk assumes role of Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in the Bureau of East Asia and Pacific Affairs, with responsibility for China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Mongolia. Serves in this position until 2000.

- **April:** NEACD 6 in Harriman, New York
- **September:** Launch of Defense Information Sharing (DIS) Group in Honolulu, Hawaii
- **October:** NEACD Principles of Cooperation study group meets in Honolulu
- **December:** NEACD 7 in Tokyo, Japan

NEACD's Principles for Cooperation¹

The states of Northeast Asia share common objectives of peace, prosperity, and security in the region. To achieve these ends, they advance the following principles for cooperation:

1. The states of Northeast Asia respect each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity, and equality; and accept that other countries have different political, economic, social, and cultural systems and the right to determine their own laws and regulations as well as other domestic affairs. They also recognize that they are obliged to abide by and implement international agreements to which they are a party.
2. The states of Northeast Asia will refrain from the threat or use of force against each other; will settle disputes through peaceful means; and pledge to use consultation, negotiation, and other peaceful means to prevent conflict between and among each other.
3. The states of Northeast Asia express their commitment to the protection and promotion of human rights in accordance with the purposes and principles of the UN Charter.
4. To prevent misunderstanding and develop trust, the states of Northeast Asia will promote dialogue, information exchange, and transparency on security issues of common concern.
5. The states of Northeast Asia respect the principle of freedom of navigation based on international law.
6. The states of Northeast Asia will promote economic cooperation and the development of trade and investment in the region.
7. The states of Northeast Asia will cooperate on transnational issues of common concern, such as organized crime, drug trafficking, terrorism, and illegal immigration.
8. The states of Northeast Asia will cooperate in the provision of humanitarian assistance, such as food aid and disaster relief.

¹ These were first drafted at a Honolulu meeting between NEACD 6 and 7.

TIMELINE

1998

- **February:** South Korean President Kim Dae-jung enters office, and begins the "Reconciliation and Cooperation Policy Towards the North," starting a period of détente between the two Koreas
- **July:** Second meeting of DIS in Seoul, South Korea
- **November:** NEACD 8 in Moscow, Russia

1999

- **December:** NEACD 9 in Beijing, China

2000

- **June:** First Inter-Korean Summit between leaders of two Koreas takes place in Pyongyang. As a result, border liaison offices are reopened, and family reunions take place
- **October:** U.S.-China Relations Act of 2000 grants China permanent normal trade relations with the United States and paves the way for China to join the World Trade Organization
- **November:** NEACD 10 in Seoul, South Korea

Defense Information Sharing

Since 1997, NEACD has been accompanied by the Defense Information Sharing (DIS) meeting, a multilateral cooperative mechanism designed for military officers and non-governmental specialists. Contemporary international relations research considers lack of information one of the main causes of war and conflict.² But confidence building measures—specifically the availability of information—can help to prevent conflict. The DIS was built on the premise that, when defense transparency improves, so do the prospects for peace.

Each country typically sends one defense ministry official and one uniformed military officer to attend DIS, although some countries occasionally send more representatives. Military representation varies from colonel level to staff general-officer rank. In addition, retired military officials, scholars, and think tank experts also take part.

² Fearon, James D. "Rationalist Explanations for War." *International Organization* 49, no. 3 (1995): 379–414. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2706903>. Weisiger, Alex. *Logics of War: Explanations for Limited and Unlimited Conflicts*. Cornell University Press, 2013. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctt1xx5pk>.

Over the years, DIS dialogues have discussed force modernization, defense budgets, the military role in counterterrorism and homeland defense, the revolution in military affairs, information warfare, and an examination of the military balance on the Korean Peninsula. Visits to military facilities have also been organized to promote transparency.

The DIS group is the only forum for military-to-military dialogue among China, the Republic of Korea, Japan, Russia, and the United States. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) has occasionally sent representatives to observe the meetings.

Beginning in 2011, the DIS initiated the Northeast Asia Defense Transparency Index in order to rank countries on their level of transparency in defense and national security activities. The Index serves as an input to the Defense Information Sharing meetings and provides a framework for defining and measuring defense transparency among NEACD participants. The Index has been published periodically between 2011 and 2023 to rank the six countries and ascertain whether their military and national security systems are becoming more or less transparent.

2001

- **September:** 9/11 terror attacks on the United States
- **October:** Beginning of U.S. invasion of Afghanistan
- **October:** NEACD 11 in Honolulu, Hawaii

2002

- **January:** In State of the Union address, U.S. President George W. Bush designates North Korea as part of the "Axis of Evil"
- **April:** NEACD 12 in Tokyo, Japan
- **September:** Japanese prime minister Junichiro Koizumi makes historic visit to North Korea
- **October:** NEACD 13* in Moscow, Russia, the first with North Korean participation
- **October:** Japan, South Korea, and the United States stop oil shipments to North Korea following its admission that it has been developing uranium-based nuclear weapons
- **December:** North Korea announces it is reactivating its nuclear facilities and expels United Nations (UN) inspectors

NEACD Over the Years

The [first dialogue](#) met in La Jolla, California on **October 8-9, 1993**. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Peter Tomsen and Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Stanley Roth were the government participants from the United States. Background papers on economic and environmental issues were circulated before the meeting and published as IGCC policy papers.

North Korea did not attend the meeting, although they did send a supportive note and attended the planning meeting in July, as well as sending an official from its permanent representative to the United Nations to IGCC's conference on "The Asia-Pacific Region: Links Between Economic and Security Relations" in May 1993 in La Jolla.

In an emblem of support for the dialogue, the participants agreed to meet again six months later, in **May 1994** in Tokyo, Japan. That [spring dialogue](#), hosted by the Japan National Institute for Research Advancement, focused on maritime, nuclear, land-based and other confidence building measures; crisis prevention; and prospects for economic cooperation.

“

The core idea was that conflicts are rooted in distrust—down to the personal level—and that people-to-people contact can expand diplomatic opportunities from the bottom up.”

—[Stephan Haggard](#)

The [third session of NEACD](#) was held in Moscow, Russia on **April 26-28, 1995**. In the prior year, tensions had escalated over North Korea's nuclear program, U.S.-China relations were challenged following Taiwan president Lee Teng-hui's visit to the United States, and trade disputes were straining ties between China, Japan, South Korea, and the United States. To try to calm tensions, for the first time, military officials from participating countries joined NEACD.

TIMELINE

2003

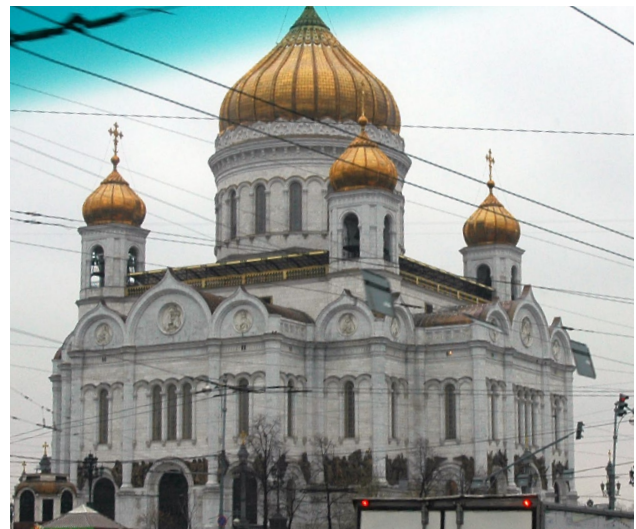
- **January:** North Korea withdraws from Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, ending Agreed Framework with the United States
- **March:** U.S. invasion of Iraq begins
- **May:** Pyongyang withdraws from 1992 agreement with Seoul to keep Korea free of nuclear weapons
- **August:** NEACD 14* in Qingdao, China
- **August-September:** 1st round of Six-Party Talks

2004

- **February:** 2nd round of Six-Party Talks
- **April:** NEACD 15* in La Jolla, California
- **April:** U.S.-DPRK bilateral in La Jolla immediately following NEACD
- **June:** 3rd round of Six-Party Talks

Establishing a tradition of examining a different area of potential economic cooperation at each meeting, at the third meeting, experts from UC Davis Department of Agricultural Economics discussed the cooperative possibilities generated by agricultural production and trade in the region. The meeting also included preliminary discussion of mutual reassurance measures and normative principles governing state-to-state relations. Participants decided to establish two study projects to examine these issues more deeply.

In a sign of commitment, the Chinese delegation invited participants to Beijing for the [next \(fourth\) session](#), which was held **January 8-10, 1996**. This fourth meeting was hosted by the China Institute of International Studies and focused on security cooperation in the region, and the strategic role of energy in any future regional economic cooperation. The meeting followed two study projects held in Tokyo and Beijing that examined mutual reassurance measures to promote trust among the governments, militaries, and societies of Northeast Asia. Participating government officials included those active in the nascent stages of cooperation in APEC and the ASEAN Regional Forum, as well as officials actively involved in negotiation with North Korea under the Framework Agreement with the Korean Energy Development Organization.



The third session of NEACD was held in Moscow in 1995.

The [next \(fifth\) NEACD](#) was held in Seoul, Republic of Korea, in **September 1996**. Concern about increasing competition for energy resources, growing out of increasing Asian economic growth, prompted a two-day workshop following NEACD to bring together NEACD participants and energy officials and scholars to explore links between energy and security. At this meeting of NEACD, an agreement was reached to convene Defense Information Sharing (DIS) meetings, the first of which would take place the following year.

2005

- **February:** North Korea announces it has manufactured a nuclear weapon
- **April:** NEACD 16 in Seoul, South Korea
- **July-September:** 4th round of Six-Party Talks (in two phases)
- **November-December:** 5th round of Six-Party Talks begins (two phases out of three)

2006

- **February:** 5th round of Six-Party Talks concludes (third phase)
- **April:** NEACD 17* in Tokyo, Japan (includes chief representatives from the Six-Party Talks)
- **July:** North Korean missile test includes a long-range missile purported to be capable of reaching the United States
- **September:** Susan Shirk leads expert trip to Pyongyang to explore Track 1.5 dialogue on North Korea economic opening
- **October:** North Korea conducts its first nuclear test underground. The UN expands sanctions. Chinese diplomacy brings Pyongyang back to the Six-Party Talks.

The [sixth NEACD](#) was held on **April 4, 1997**, in Harriman, New York, with the support of the Japan National Institute for Research Advancement. The meeting focused on the security of shipping lanes in the region. A maritime trade workshop took place, featuring academics, diplomats, and industry officials from Australia, China, Singapore, South Korea, and the United States. Following the dialogue, the [first DIS study project](#) took place in Honolulu, Hawaii from September 29-October 1, 1997, and was followed by a Principles of Cooperation study project meeting from October



Flags representing the six countries that make up NEACD. Credit: Adobe Stock

1-2 to outline a common framework for achieving the objectives of NEACD. The [seventh NEACD](#), which took place in Tokyo **December 3-4, 1997**, heard briefings from the Honolulu DIS meeting, agreed to continue the DIS project, and affirmed the principles agreed to in the Honolulu meeting. The [eighth NEACD](#) was held in Moscow **November 11-12, 1998**, where part of the second day was set aside to discuss next steps for the DIS study project after its July meeting in Seoul.

Korean peninsula nuclear issues were top of the agenda at the ninth and tenth NEACDs, as rapprochement between Seoul and Pyongyang inaugurated a wave of optimism that the two sides could achieve new diplomatic breakthroughs. At meetings in Beijing (**December 1999**) and Seoul (**November 2000**), all five parties to NEACD agreed on the urgency of sustaining Korean rapprochement, although they diverged on other security issues. There was new momentum toward trying to finally secure North Korean participation at the meetings, and an IGCC-led delegation traveled to Pyongyang to convince the country's leadership to send representatives to the next NEACD.

TIMELINE

2007

- **March-September:** 6th round of Six-Party Talks (in three phases)
- **July:** North Korea shuts down its main reactor in exchange for fuel oil
- **August:** Seoul provides \$50 million in aid following North Korean appeal for flood relief
- **October:** Second Inter-Korean summit
- **November:** NEACD 18* in Moscow, Russia

2008

- **March:** New South Korean president Lee Myung-bak promises tougher line on North Korea, inter-Korean relations dip precipitously
- **September:** Collapse of Lehman Brothers marks high point of 2008 financial crisis
- **October:** United States removes North Korea from terror blacklist, Pyongyang agrees to reopen main nuclear site to UN inspectors
- **November:** Election of Barack Obama as U.S. president
- **November:** NEACD 19* in Beijing, China
- **December:** 1st China-Japan-South Korea trilateral summit



Dennis Blair, former commander in chief of the US Pacific Command and Susan Shirk at the 11th meeting on NEACD in Honolulu, Hawaii in 2001.

The 11th NEACD met in Honolulu shortly after the terror attacks of September 11, 2001, starting the very day after the war in Afghanistan commenced, on **October 8, 2001**. Discussions were heavily influenced by events outside of Northeast Asia as the War on Terror began to redefine key aspects of the international system. Multilateralism was a prominent discussion topic, and participants wondered how Northeast Asian cooperation could help to combat terrorism. In this spirit, participants renewed their efforts to secure North Korean participation.

Observers believed the North Koreans were reluctant to take part because their entry into the dialogue could make them the center of attention. Some efforts sought to bring Canada and Mongolia into the dialogue alongside North Korea to assuage these fears. However, there was disagreement on whether this would broaden—and therefore dilute—the goals of NEACD at a time when it should instead deepen cooperation.

At the 12th NEACD in **April 2002**, the War on Terror continued to loom large over the discussions. Across the parties in Tokyo, there was broad support for the U.S. war in Afghanistan—despite some concerns over how the United States would proceed in unilateral counterterrorism efforts in the future. In particular, U.S. rhetoric of an “Axis of Evil” aroused suspicion on the part of China and Russia that the invasion of Afghanistan would be followed by attacks on members of said axis, including not just Iraq but North Korea as well. Questions about NEACD’s expansion were made more urgent not only due to tensions between Washington and Pyongyang over the latter’s connections with international terror networks, but also because of a formal request by Mongolian officials to be included in the dialogue, which was not ultimately accepted.

2009

- **January:** North Korea withdraws from all military and political deals with Seoul
- **April:** North Korea launches satellite, in suspected test of ICBM technology. UN Security Council votes to expand sanctions on North Korea, which responds by pulling out of Six-Party Talks.
- **May:** North Korea conducts second underground test of a nuclear bomb, which is internationally condemned
- **August:** Pyongyang releases two American journalists, frees South Korean fisherman

2009, continued

- **October:** 2nd China-Japan-South Korea trilateral summit
- **October:** NEACD 20* in La Jolla, California
- **November:** In Daechong incident, North and South Korean ships exchange fire as inter-Korean tensions are at a peak

The 13th NEACD, held in Moscow in **October 2002**, was the first in which North Korea sent a delegation. Organized through the country's permanent mission to the United Nations in New York, Pyongyang sent an official from the foreign ministry and three researchers from the DPRK Institute for Disarmament and Peace. A prominent theme of the discussions was globalization, both in terms of how it could promote cooperation and bridge the divides between rich and poor nations, while also contributing to a backlash expressed through international terrorism. Counterterrorism was another key topic, and was seen as a promising area of cooperation between the United States and Russia. The meeting also included a workshop on infrastructure and economic development that sought to promote regional railroad and energy infrastructure projects as a way of building trust and cooperation between the parties.

In the following years, major diplomatic developments reinvigorated NEACD as a counterpart to a formal multilateral process. After North Korea withdrew from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in 2003, the formal Six-Party Talks began to take shape in Northeast Asia to find a resolution to the nuclear crisis. North Korea took part in the 14th NEACD in Qingdao, China in **August 2003**—mere weeks before the initial round of Six-Party Talks that same month—and the 15th NEACD in La Jolla,

which took place in **April 2004**, between rounds 2 and 3 in February and June of that year. Both these NEACDs acted as less-formal complements to the official talks, and both were preceded again by DIS meetings which explored avenues for military-to-military cooperation.

Immediately after the La Jolla NEACD, a bilateral dialogue between the U.S. and North Korean delegations was held, in what appeared a promising development for North Korea's continued participation in NEACD. However, North Korea skipped the 16th meeting in **April 2005** in Seoul, after requesting that the meeting be moved to another country. Despite the North Koreans' absence, the conversations in Seoul continued to find success in charting new areas of cooperation, including through the DIS talks.



NEACD demonstrates the importance of having regular and candid exchanges of dialogue among participants from different countries to mitigate against misperception and find ways to find common ground.”

—[Tai Ming Cheung](#)

TIMELINE

2010

- **March:** North Korea sinks South Korean warship near sea border
- **May:** 3rd China-Japan-South Korea trilateral summit
- **October:** NEACD 21 in Seoul, South Korea
- **November:** Maritime border skirmish between two Koreas results in deaths of two South Korean marines

2011

- **February-May:** Chinese military vessels involved in clashes with Philippine and Vietnamese commercial ships as maritime disputes over the South China Sea begin to heighten
- **May:** 4th China-Japan-South Korea trilateral summit
- **October:** NEACD 22 in Honolulu, Hawaii launches Defense Transparency project
- **November:** Following U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's op-ed in *Foreign Affairs* describing a U.S. "pivot" to the Asia-Pacific, President Obama announces the formation of a nine-nation Trans-Pacific Partnership trade agreement at the APEC summit and announces a plan to deploy 2,500 U.S. marines to Australia
- **December:** North Korean leader Kim Jong-il dies

North Korea rejoined the 17th NEACD in Tokyo in **April 2006**—the largest and most ambitious yet of the meetings. This NEACD acted as a catalyst for intensive sideline meetings by senior diplomats of the participating countries of the Six-Party Talks. The United States and the two Koreas sent their chief representatives at the Six-Party Talks to participate directly in the NEACD meetings: U.S. assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs Christopher Hill, South Korea’s deputy foreign minister Chun Young Woo, and North Korea’s vice foreign minister Kim Kye Gwan. The agenda mirrored the anticipated program of the December 2006 round of the talks, providing an opportunity for key negotiators to engage with each other and with outside experts on topics that would be broached in a more formal setting later that year. In addition, measures for nuclear verification that could enable a resolution at the Six-Party Talks were discussed by representatives from the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, the U.S. State Department, and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

The dialogue also produced a historic first: representatives from the World Bank and International Monetary Fund took part in meetings to discuss economic issues with North Korean government officials.



The 14th meeting of NEACD in 2003, in Qingdao, China.

A new Track 1.5 dialogue was proposed to promote North Korea’s economic opening. In September 2006, NEACD founder Susan Shirk traveled to Pyongyang with a small group of specialists to initiate this program, with strong U.S. government support for these moves. It was also proposed that NEACD could form working groups to provide expert analysis and proposals on issues brought up at the Six-Party Talks.

2012

- **March:** The European Union, Japan, and the United States file a request for consultations with China at the World Trade Organization regarding its restrictions on exporting rare earth elements
- **April:** Scarborough Shoal standoff between the Philippine Navy and Chinese Coast Guard
- **April:** Failed North Korean missile test believed to be of long-range rocket
- **May:** 5th China-Japan-South Korea trilateral summit
- **September:** NEACD 23* in Dalian, China features another U.S.-North Korea bilateral meeting

2012, continued

- **September:** Japanese government’s purchase of three disputed Senkaku Islands prompts large-scale protests in China and Taiwan, who dispute ownership of the islands (which they call the Diaoyu Islands)
- **October:** North Korea claims ability to hit U.S. mainland after U.S.-South Korea deal to extend range of South Korean ballistic missiles
- **November:** Xi Jinping succeeds Hu Jintao as Chinese president
- **December:** North Korea launches rocket-mounted satellite into orbit

The 18th NEACD took place in Moscow in **November 2007**, with the objective to explore how to establish a permanent security and peace regime in Northeast Asia. The meeting sought to develop practical, consensus-based proposals to inform the deliberations of the Six-Party Talks' Working Group on the Northeast Asia Peace and Security Mechanism. Despite the high ambitions of NEACD at this time, global events were conspiring to derail some of the dialogue's momentum, as a global financial crisis began to bite and the Six-Party Talks ran



Susan Shirk and NEACD attendees in Moscow, 1995.

aground amid the provocative launch of a North Korean satellite. The 19th NEACD in Beijing in **November 2008** came weeks after the election of Barack Obama and focused on how a new administration in Washington could reinvigorate regional dialogue as the United States began to reorient from the Middle East toward the Indo-Pacific.

The 20th NEACD in La Jolla in **October 2009** was the first after the collapse of the Six-Party Talks. Despite this fraught backdrop, North Korea sent a delegation to La Jolla which included its director-general for North American affairs. Talks included national perspectives on security and the fallout of the global economic crisis on Northeast Asia. The 21st meeting of NEACD returned to Seoul in **October 2010**.

The North Koreans did not join the meeting in South Korea, nor the 22nd in Honolulu in **October 2011**. But the imminent succession in Pyongyang was a hot topic at both, as Supreme Leader Kim Jong-il withdrew from public appearances and news of his ailing health spread. Two months after the Hawaii meeting, news of the North Korean leader's passing was confirmed.

TIMELINE

2013

- **February:** North Korea stages its third nuclear test
- **April:** North Korea says it will restart main nuclear facility, withdraws workers from South Korea-funded joint industrial park
- **June:** Obama-Xi summit in California promises a "new model" of great power relations
- **July:** Panama seizes North Korean ship carrying jet fighters through canal
- **November:** China sets up East China Sea Air Defense Identification Zone, which includes disputed Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands

2014

- **March:** Russia annexes Crimea
- **March:** North Korea test fires two medium-range missiles for first time since 2009, hours after U.S.-South Korea-Japan meeting in the Netherlands. South Korea discovers North Korean drones in country
- **April:** The 24th meeting of NEACD is set to take place in Vladivostok, Russia, but is postponed and moved to the United States following sanctions on Russia for the annexation of Crimea
- **September:** NEACD 24 in La Jolla, California
- **November:** At APEC, Obama and Xi issue joint statement pledging to reduce carbon emissions, setting the stage for negotiations at the 2015 UN climate conference (COP21) in Paris



An unfortunate consequence of overlapping strategic and global health crises has been a significant reduction in candid communications among policy communities around the world, which has the potential of sowing misunderstandings. As a forum that straddles the official and unofficial worlds, NEACD is a vital mode of communication during these strained times.”

—[Tai Ming Cheung](#)

The 23rd NEACD was held in **September 2012** in Dalian, China, and followed a meeting to discuss cooperation on maritime safety and a DIS workshop. The North Koreans returned to the NEACD in China, sending their ambassador to the United Nations, and the delegation engaged in a bilateral meeting with U.S. officials on the sidelines of the dialogue. This was otherwise a tense NEACD, defined by North Korean officials claiming that they were merely trying to defend their country in pursuing a ballistic missile program and that the U.S. policy of hostility toward Pyongyang was

based on outdated Cold War ideology. Meanwhile, U.S. officials shot back that the North Korean’s pursuit of nuclear weapons, rather than U.S. pressure, was leading the country toward isolation, poverty, and insecurity. While not always harmonious, NEACD was proving its worth in allowing opposing sides in the region to air their differences in an informal venue, in addition to conversations on the sidelines and held over meals and receptions throughout the course of the multiday meetings.

The 24th NEACD was set to take place in Vladivostok, Russia in April 2014, but was put on hold following the diplomatic fallout from Russia’s annexation of Crimea in March. Instead, the dialogue took place in La Jolla in **September 2014**. Although the North Koreans planned to participate in Vladivostok, they did not travel to La Jolla. While peninsular nuclear issues had dedicated time on the agenda even in the North Koreans’ absence, U.S.-China relations, maritime issues, and the prospects of military cooperation took a prominent role amid growing tension in the regions, highlighted by simmering territorial disputes over the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands and in the South China Sea. A [new edition](#) of the Northeast Asia Defense Transparency Index was presented at the DIS meeting.

2015

- **May:** NEACD 25 in Tokyo, Japan
- **May:** At Shangri-La Dialogue, U.S. Defense Secretary Ash Carter warns China that it should halt militarization of the South China Sea, after U.S. naval intelligence alleges that China is placing military equipment on artificial islands
- **August:** North Korea fires at loudspeakers across the demilitarized zone (DMZ) during annual U.S.-South Korea military exercises
- **September:** North Korea confirms it has put nuclear plant back into operation
- **December:** New U.S. sanctions on North Korea over weapons proliferation
- **December:** Paris climate accords agreed at COP21

2016

- **January:** North Korea announces hydrogen bomb test, which experts are skeptical of
- **June:** NEACD 26* in Beijing, China (the last featuring North Korean participation)
- **November:** New UN sanctions aim to cut North Korea’s key export, coal, by 60 percent

The 25th NEACD took place in May 2015 in Tokyo, again without the North Koreans. The conversations remained focused on maritime issues in the Indo-Pacific region, especially in the South China Sea. The dialogue also examined the trilateral meetings taking place between China, Japan, and South Korea, which met for a sixth summit in November 2015. The shape of multilateral engagement, and particularly the United States' vision of a "hub and spokes" model—where a network of bilateral and "minilateral" ties shape the security architecture of the region—featured prominently in the discussions. At this time, tensions continued to build between the United States and a rising China as both vied for influence in the Indo-Pacific.

The 26th NEACD in Beijing in **June 2016** was the final meeting in which North Korea participated. Relations between the United States and China, the prospects of an arms race in East Asia, and the China-Japan-South Korea trilateral were prominent on the agenda. The 27th NEACD was the first to take place outside of the six participating nations, hosted in Singapore in **July 2017**. The meeting broached the topic of whether the new Trump administration would initiate change or continuity in U.S. policy in the Indo-Pacific, as the U.S. "pivot to Asia" seemed to be moving toward an openly hostile U.S.-China relationship on economic and security issues.

The 28th NEACD took place in La Jolla in **March 2018**, and examined the implications of North Korea's nuclear capabilities for regional security, how the state of deterrence and the security dilemma in the Indo-Pacific was changing amid an arms buildup, and political developments as Xi Jinping took on a second term as paramount leader of China. The 29th NEACD was held in **June 2019** in Hong Kong amid political unrest spurred by changes in the political relationship between the city and mainland China. Discussants grappled with what seemed to be a long-term decline in U.S.-China relations, which participants at NEACD agreed seem to transcend current governments and would likely persist through changes in leadership. Another presentation of the Northeast Asia [Defense Transparency Index](#) found that, amid heightened tensions, a significant decline in transparency across the six parties had occurred since the previous index in 2015-16.

Amid the COVID-19 pandemic's disruption to international travel, three interim meetings of NEACD took place virtually. The first, in **July 2020**, focused on U.S.-China relations, which participants agreed had reached a nadir amid the pandemic, decoupling of supply chains, a new phase of confrontational diplomacy, and growing competition over strategic technologies. While the global public health situation

TIMELINE

2017

- **January:** North Korean leader Kim Jong-un says Pyongyang is in final stages of developing long-range guided missiles capable of delivering nuclear warhead
- **January:** Donald Trump inaugurated as U.S. president
- **April:** Trump-Xi summit at Mar-a-Lago leads to ten-part agreement to expand U.S.-China trade
- **July:** North Korea test fires a missile in the Sea of Japan that experts believe could reach Alaska

2017, continued

- **July:** NEACD 27 in Singapore
- **August:** War of words between Trump and Kim escalates with North Korean threat to fire ballistic missiles near U.S. territory of Guam
- **August:** China bans imports of North Korean coal, minerals, and seafood, per UN sanctions



Russia's war in Ukraine has exacerbated tensions globally, while Sino-U.S. relations remain at a nadir. Confidence building measures and rebuilding trust are essential. That is exactly what NEACD is designed to generate."

—[Robert Thomas](#)

precluded the possibility of participants meeting in person, NEACD chair [Vice Admiral Robert Thomas](#) [noted](#) that “it is clear that the dialogue is more important than ever at this critical juncture.” Participants also noted the souring of Japan-South Korea relations, the dim prospects for new arms control agreements, and the strengthening personal ties between Chinese and Russian leaders Xi Jinping and Vladimir Putin.

A second virtual meeting of NEACD occurred in [February 2021](#) as the newly inaugurated Biden administration took the reins of U.S. policy in the Indo-Pacific. The meeting examined how the administration’s strategy to strengthen U.S. alliances would take shape in the region. Participants asked whether the United

States was still a credible partner, particularly as some of the “spokes” emanating from the U.S. hub—notably Japan and South Korea—navigated serious bilateral complications among themselves. Despite signals of policy change in Washington, participants were pessimistic about any improvement in the U.S.-China relationship, notwithstanding some modestly encouraging signs of increased military-to-military cooperation. While North Korea was becoming a smaller and smaller topic of conversation in the dialogues, the meeting did note how the pandemic was contributing to the country’s increased isolation and reliance on China and Russia.

A third virtual meeting in [December 2021](#) was similarly gloomy. “Relations seem frozen,” remarked NEACD founder [Susan Shirk](#) on participants’ view of the United States and China, “and we don’t see a way to get them moving in a more positive direction.” The conversations touched on growing concerns over the possibility of a military confrontation over Taiwan and an arms race in the region fueled by the collapse of the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty. Nevertheless, IGCC director [Tai Ming Cheung](#) noted that “NEACD demonstrates the importance of having regular and candid exchanges of dialogue among participants from different countries to mitigate against misperception and find ways to find common ground.”

2018

- **January:** First inter-Korean talks in two years take place ahead of Winter Olympics in the South. North agrees to send Olympians to the games.
- **March:** NEACD 28 in La Jolla, California
- **March:** Trade war begins as Trump administration announces \$50 billion in tariffs on Chinese imports, alleging theft of U.S. technology and intellectual property. China retaliates

2019

- **February:** United States announces it will withdraw from Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty. Russia does the same the next day
- **February:** Trump and Kim meet again in Hanoi, Vietnam. Meeting breaks down as North Korea refuses to disarm in exchange for lifting of sanctions
- **March:** Umbrella movement protests begin in Hong Kong over China extradition bill
- **April:** Kim makes first visit to Russia, receives security guarantees ahead of nuclear disarmament meeting in Vladivostok

The 30th NEACD took place in Seoul in **September 2022**, the first in-person gathering since the pandemic. The dialogue sought pathways to de-escalate potential conflict and build confidence and trust among regional players in a world order commentators described as approaching a “[new Cold War](#).” The Defense Information Sharing meeting in Seoul included an updated [Defense Transparency Index](#), which, in a bright spot in the conversation, found modest improvements



IGCC director Tai Ming Cheung at the 22nd meeting of NEACD in Honolulu, Hawaii, 2011.

in transparency. Nevertheless, political developments focused not only on the growing risks of war in Taiwan, but also the growing ties between Moscow and Beijing as both found themselves increasingly estranged from the West and more willing to cooperate with each other to circumvent sanctions and technological controls.

The [31st NEACD](#) in La Jolla in **July 2023** continued these conversations as the prospects of the six parties being cemented into rival blocs—what NEACD was founded to prevent—appeared more and more likely. The then-18-month-long war in Ukraine was bringing China, North Korea, and Russia closer together in defiance of the West, while the fear of Chinese aggression was bringing Japan and South Korea closer to the United States.

“The challenge for NEACD,” [noted Stephan Haggard](#), IGCC research director, “was to consider diplomatic exit ramps that could solve common problems and at least manage ongoing conflicts.” Participants noted the hardening of a bipartisan consensus against China in U.S. public opinion, but argued over whether the transition from the Trump to Biden administrations demonstrated continuity or change in U.S. policy toward the region. The 32nd and most recent NEACD took

TIMELINE

2019, continued

- **June:** NEACD 29 in Hong Kong
- **July:** Protestors storm Hong Kong’s legislature after months of protests
- **November:** U.S. Congress passes Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act
- **December:** 8th China-Japan-South Korea trilateral summit

2020

- **January:** United States and China sign “Phase One” trade deal, the beginning of a truce in their two-year trade war
- **January:** Trump administration bars all non-U.S. citizens who were recently in mainland China from entering the United States due to the outbreak of a novel coronavirus
- **February-April:** COVID-19 lockdowns begin across much of the world
- **July:** 1st virtual NEACD

place in Tokyo in [May 2024](#). With 65 participants across four days of conversations, this NEACD was the best attended in the dialogue's three decades. Despite some participants describing the region as being in a "[pre-war environment](#)," there was a recognition that all sides were interested in pursuing dialogue, as exemplified by a successful APEC summit in San Francisco in fall 2023.

"A dominant concern was that misperception not give rise to inadvertent conflict," [noted NEACD chair Stephan Haggard](#). That said, discussions were dominated by developments in military capabilities and alliances, from Japan's security policy revamp to the trilateral security deal between Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States (AUKUS), and the prospects of greater cooperation between Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, and other "spokes" of military cooperation under the "hub" of the United States. In addition to conversations on how ongoing conflicts in Ukraine and Gaza were impacting relations in Northeast Asia and what lessons they may offer in avoiding a military contingency over Taiwan, economic and technology issues were a hot topic as trade wars and export controls become a key flashpoint for U.S.-China relations.

As always, NEACD served as a catalyst for discussions away from the main plenary hall. High-level engagement from key officials enabled meaningful bilateral discussions, notably a meeting between Dr. Jung Pak, Senior Official for the DPRK and Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Bureau of East Asian Affairs at the U.S. Department of State, and Ambassador Liu Xiaoming, Special Representative on Korean Peninsula Affairs in China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Dr. Pak expressed concerns over the deepening military cooperation between the DPRK and Russia, particularly regarding illegal arms transfers. She also addressed Russia's veto of a U.N. Security Council resolution to extend the mandate of the 1718 DPRK Sanctions Committee's Panel of Experts, warning that it undermines global efforts to enforce existing U.N. Security Council resolutions. Dr. Pak reiterated the U.S. commitment to dialogue and diplomacy as the only viable path to achieving lasting peace on the Korean Peninsula and urged China to honor its non-refoulement obligations by halting the forced repatriation of North Korean asylum seekers.

2020, continued

- **July:** United States closes Chinese consulate in Houston over alleged espionage and intellectual property theft. China closes U.S. consulate in Chengdu in retaliation
- **November-December:** Outgoing Trump administration adds dozens of Chinese companies to Department of Commerce trade blacklist and bans investment into companies with ties to the People's Liberation Army

2021

- **January:** Joe Biden inaugurated as U.S. president
- **February:** 2nd virtual NEACD
- **March:** U.S. and Chinese officials meet in Anchorage, Alaska. Meeting ends without joint statement. Biden administration decides to maintain Trump-era tariffs, blacklists, and sanctions on China
- **June:** At U.S. request, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) communique labels China a "security challenge"
- **December:** 3rd virtual NEACD

In a separate trilateral meeting, Dr. Pak convened with Namazu Hiroyuki, Director General for Asian and Oceanian Affairs from Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Lee Jun-il, Director General for North Korean Nuclear Affairs at South Korea's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The three officials reaffirmed their shared commitment to addressing the security threats posed by the DPRK's nuclear and missile programs and its expanding military ties with Russia. They emphasized the importance of sustained trilateral coordination to promote stability, restart diplomatic engagement with the DPRK, and confront ongoing human rights challenges. The discussions also highlighted the need to protect North Korean asylum seekers and to resolve pressing humanitarian issues, including abductions, detainees, and the status of unrepatriated prisoners of war.

The 33rd NEACD took place in Singapore in **September 2025**. The timing the meeting was far from auspicious. As welcoming remarks were made, PLA troops were marching through Tiananmen Square to celebrate the 80th anniversary of China's victory over Japan with ample new military hardware on display. The Trump administration's trade war was generating uncertainty among adversaries and allies alike; Russia's war in Ukraine continued to drag on; and North Korea continued to advance its nuclear and missile programs.

The 34th NEACD takes place in **July 2026** in Seoul. Among other issues, the dialogue will focus on the global implications of the Iran war; the future of the U.S.-China relationship; whether economic relations and alliances will be sources of stability or risk; and, on the Korean peninsula, what the fundamental policy shift in North Korea toward the South—now viewed as a hostile country—means for political and security dynamics on the Korean peninsula.

Do Track 1.5 Dialogues Work?

During its 33 years in existence, NEACD has been an institutional mechanism for dialogue and communication, helping to minimize tensions and build cooperation in Northeast Asia. The governments and academics from the six NEACD countries have enthusiastically participated in its annual meetings. Significant accomplishments include laying the groundwork for an eventual permanent multilateral security organization in Northeast Asia; dialogue between military representatives to reduce defense opaqueness; and—critically—strengthening China's commitment to multilateral regional cooperation. And yet, conflict persists and in some sense, has grown worse in recent years, especially between great powers, begging the question: do Track 1.5 dialogues work?

TIMELINE

2022

- **February:** Winter Olympics in Beijing are boycotted by U.S. diplomats
- **February:** Russia launches full-scale invasion of Ukraine
- **March:** Russia requests military assistance from China, the United States threatens “consequences” should Beijing provide support
- **August:** Speaker of the U.S. House Representatives Nancy Pelosi visits Taiwan, igniting a diplomatic row with Beijing

2022, continued

- **September:** NEACD 30 in Seoul, South Korea
- **October:** The U.S. Department of Commerce introduces sweeping restrictions on advanced chips to China
- **November:** First in-person Biden-Xi meeting takes place in Indonesia

From 1993 to today, the efforts of the NEACD community have seen moments of great hope and momentum—of energy and possibility—and moments of worsening crisis, setbacks, and shattered expectations. Has NEACD, and other Track 1.5 dialogues, prevented all-out war? Have these efforts made the bad times less bad than they might have been? It is not possible to know for certain.

But having witnessed NEACD convene in both the good times and the hard times, it is clear to us that dialogue, personal relationships, and predictable gatherings among officials and experts who come together with a common mission, remain vital. In a world where peace is difficult, and where leaders hold ever more powerful weapons and tools at their fingertips, we have a responsibility to do all we can to avert the wars and economic conflicts that cause untold suffering. By gathering together for face-to-face conversations, both in the plenary hall and more informally over meals and at receptions, NEACD enables decisionmakers to develop a better, more nuanced understanding of their counterparts' concerns and intentions.

The people-to-people—rather than government-to-government—convenings that NEACD has fostered over the years is certainly not enough to avoid the repeated downward cycles in regional relations. But we believe that this unofficial diplomatic channel can help avoid the worst outcomes by allowing the parties to air their differences and seek commonalities in a setting free from the expectations and pressures that come with formal diplomacy.

Ultimately, the NEACD format promotes the human connections that are essential to realizing peace in what is today the world's most hotly contested region. As tensions grow in the Indo-Pacific and socio-economic decoupling threatens to separate people across the dividing lines of geopolitics having a forum like NEACD that promote contacts away from the arena of power politics is invaluable to ensuring that the animosities and misunderstandings that could lead to conflict are avoided.

2023

- **February:** U.S. Air Force shoots down suspected Chinese spy balloon off U.S. southeast coast
- **July:** NEACD 31 in La Jolla, California
- **November:** Biden and Xi meet in San Francisco during APEC summit, agreeing to restart military-to-military communication and work together to combat illicit drugs

2024

- **May:** NEACD 32 in Tokyo, Japan
- **May:** 9th China-Japan-South Korea trilateral summit

2025

- **January:** Donald Trump inaugurated for second time as U.S. president
- **February-March:** United States implements new tariffs on China
- **September:** NEACD 33 in Singapore

2026

- **July:** NEACD 34 in Seoul, South Korea

List of Meetings

1993 – La Jolla, CA

Host Entity: IGCC
IGCC Director: Susan Shirk

1994 – Tokyo, Japan

Host Entity: National Institute for Research
Advancement; IGCC
IGCC Director: Susan Shirk

1995 – Podmoskovie, Russia

Host Entity: Center for Japanese Studies;
Russian Academy of Sciences
IGCC Director: Susan Shirk

1996 – Beijing, China

Host Entity: China Institute of International
Studies; China Institute of Contemporary International
Relations
IGCC Director: Susan Shirk

1996 – Seoul, Korea

Host Entity: Institute of Foreign Affairs
and National Security
IGCC Director: Susan Shirk

1997 – Harriman, New York

Host Entity: IGCC
IGCC Director: Susan Shirk

1997 – Tokyo, Japan

Host Entity: Institute for International Policy Studies
IGCC Director: Stephan Haggard

1998 – Moscow, Russia

Host Entity: Institute of Far Eastern Studies,
Russian Academy of Sciences
IGCC Director: Stephan Haggard

1999 – Beijing, China

Host Entity: China Institute of Contemporary
International Relations
IGCC Director: Stephan Haggard

2000 – Seoul, Korea

Host Entity: The Institute of Foreign Affairs
and National Security
IGCC Director: Peter Cowhey

2001 – Honolulu, Hawaii

Host Entity: IGCC
IGCC Director: Peter Cowhey

2002 – Tokyo, Japan

Host Entity: The Japan Institute of International Affairs
IGCC Director: Peter Cowhey

2002 – Moscow, Russia

Host Entity: The Institute of Far Eastern Studies,
Russian Academy of Sciences
IGCC Director: Peter Cowhey

2003 – Qingdao, China

Host Entity: China Institute of International Studies
IGCC Director: Peter Cowhey

2004 – La Jolla, California

Host Entity: IGCC
IGCC Director: Peter Cowhey

2005 – Seoul, Korea

Host Entity: IGCC
IGCC Director: Peter Cowhey

2006 – Tokyo, Japan

Host Entity: IGCC; Japan Center for International
Exchange
IGCC Director: Peter Cowhey

2007 – Moscow, Russia

Host Entity: IGCC
IGCC Director: Susan Shirk

2008 – Beijing, China

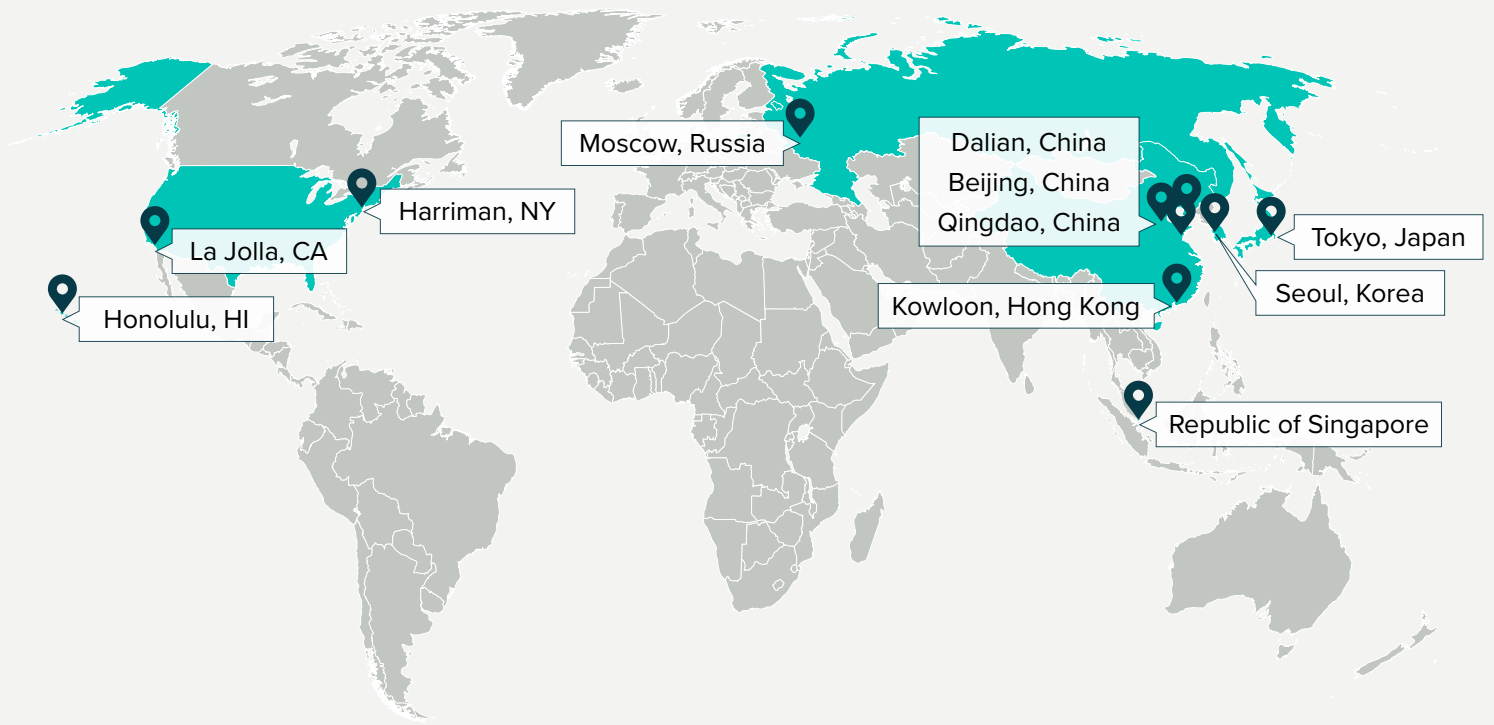
Host Entity: IGCC
IGCC Director: Susan Shirk

2009 – La Jolla, California

Host Entity: IGCC
IGCC Director: Susan Shirk

2010 – Seoul, Republic of Korea

Host Entity: IGCC; Republic of Korea Ministry
of National Defense
IGCC Director: Susan Shirk



2011 – Honolulu, Hawaii

Host Entity: IGCC
IGCC Director: Susan Shirk

2012 – Dalian, China

Host Entity: IGCC; China Institute of International Studies; Andrew Carnegie Foundation; Republic of Korea Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade
IGCC Director: Tai Ming Cheung

2014 – La Jolla, California

Host Entity: IGCC; Andrew Carnegie Foundation
IGCC Director: Tai Ming Cheung

2015 – Tokyo, Japan

Host Entity: IGCC; Andrew Carnegie Foundation; The Japan Institute of International Affairs
IGCC Director: Tai Ming Cheung

2016 – Beijing, China

Host Entity: IGCC, China Institute of International Studies; Republic of Korea Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Andrew Carnegie Foundation
IGCC Director: Tai Ming Cheung

2017 – Republic of Singapore

Host Entity: IGCC; Andrew Carnegie Foundation
IGCC Director: Tai Ming Cheung

2018 – La Jolla, California

Host Entity: IGCC; Andrew Carnegie Foundation
IGCC Director: Tai Ming Cheung

2019 – Kowloon, Hong Kong

Host Entity: IGCC; Andrew Carnegie Foundation
IGCC Director: Tai Ming Cheung

2022 – Seoul, Republic of Korea

Host Entity: IGCC; Andrew Carnegie Foundation; The Asian Institute for Policy Studies
IGCC Director: Tai Ming Cheung

2023 – La Jolla, California

Host Entity: IGCC; Andrew Carnegie Foundation
IGCC Director: Tai Ming Cheung

2024 – Tokyo, Japan

Host Entity: IGCC; Andrew Carnegie Foundation; International House of Japan; Asia Pacific Initiative
IGCC Director: Tai Ming Cheung

2025 – Republic of Singapore

Host Entity: IGCC; Andrew Carnegie Foundation
IGCC Director: Tai Ming Cheung

2026 – Seoul, Republic of Korea

Host Entity: The Asan Institute for Policy Studies
IGCC Co-Directors: Tai Ming Cheung and Neil Narang

About IGCC

The UC Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC) is a research network comprised of scholars from across the University of California and the Los Alamos and Lawrence Livermore National Laboratories who produce and use research to help build a more peaceful, prosperous world. Our focus is on challenges that have the potential to lead to wide-scale conflict, and that can benefit from global cooperation to solve.

Our portfolio includes both traditional security issues—defense innovation, strategy and deterrence, nuclear weapons policy, and security cooperation—and emerging and non-traditional challenges such as environmental threats, geoeconomics and great power competition, and threats to democracy. In each of these areas, IGCC builds diverse, multidisciplinary research teams that analyze the causes and consequences of global conflict—and help develop practical solutions.

Learn more at ucigcc.org.



IGCC research director Stephan Haggard speaks at the 2024 Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue (NEACD) in Tokyo.

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