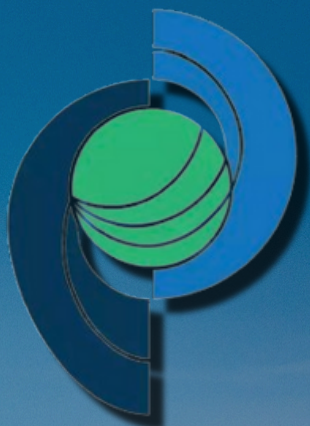


JULY 2024



ROADMAP FOR THE TRILATERAL PARTNERSHIP

A NEW ERA OF U.S.-ROK-JAPAN TRILATERAL PARTNERSHIP



JOINT REPORT BY:

THE U.S.-ROK-JAPAN TRILATERAL GLOBAL LEADERSHIP YOUTH SUMMIT

한미일 글로벌 리더십 청년 서밋 • 日米韓 3カ国グローバルリーダーシップ ユースサミット

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Roadmap for the Trilateral Partnership:

A New Era of U.S.-ROK-Japan Trilateral Partnership

From July 11 to 13, 2024, the East-West Center in Washington, in coordination with the U.S. Embassies in Seoul and Tokyo, the Korean Ministry of Education, the National Institute for International Education, and Busan Metropolitan City brought together fifty delegates representing the United States, Japan, the Republic of Korea, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific Islands to hold the inaugural U.S.-ROK-Japan Trilateral Global Leadership Youth Summit in Busan, South Korea. This Summit was announced as one of the cooperative initiatives focused on “Expanding Global Health and People-to-People Cooperation” at the 2023 Trilateral Leaders’ Summit at Camp David that inaugurated a new era of trilateral partnership.

This Roadmap for the Trilateral Partnership summarized the policy recommendations that the delegates proposed, negotiated, and agreed upon at the conclusion of the Camp David Plus Simulation Exercise and articulates how the intended outcomes contribute to further promoting the shared interests of the United States, the Republic of Korea, and Japan.

STRENGTHENING SECURITY COOPERATION

Trilateral security cooperation between the United States, the Republic of Korea, and Japan is critical to the Indo-Pacific region’s peace, stability, and freedom. Further institutionalizing the trilateral relationship and strengthening its human, technical, and procedural interoperability is essential to address growing regional instability and global security issues. The trilateral partnership must be ready to respond effectively to actions inconsistent with the rules-based international order that undermine peace, prosperity, and stability in our countries and the creation of a free and open Indo-Pacific. We reaffirmed the necessity of preserving supply chains that are resilient against economic coercion, upholding human rights and democratic principles, expanding capabilities through enhanced ballistic missile defense cooperation and multi-domain trilateral exercises, and adequately mitigating the DPRK nuclear and missile threat, as well as increasing militarization of the South China Sea.

- **Trilateral Maritime Security Cooperation Framework:** The letter of intent signed by the U.S., Korea, and Japan Coast Guards in May 2024 is a significant step towards building a practical framework for collaboration. The Trilateral Maritime Security Cooperation Framework must continue to be developed by utilizing and expanding real-time information-sharing mechanisms. Such improvements will enhance coordination and response times during maritime emergencies, maritime law enforcement, and provide necessary capacity-building efforts to ASEAN and the Pacific Islands. The bilateral commitment demonstrated during the Japan-ROK Defense Ministerial Meeting in June 2024 to ensure smooth communication by adhering to the Code for Unplanned Encounters at Sea is encouraging. We propose that the three nations should also continue establishing and expanding other joint commitments to guidelines that increase interoperability, standardize engagement frameworks, and effectively utilize information-sharing capabilities for maritime security.

- **Panel of Experts for Sanctions Compliance:** As of April 2024, the United Nations' Panel of Experts, responsible for monitoring the enforcement of U.N. sanctions on North Korea, ceased operations due to Russia's veto of the resolution renewing its mandate. The absence of an enforcement authority seriously undermines the effectiveness of international sanctions and threatens regional security. These sanctions have been the primary means of preventing North Korea's ongoing security and political threats, including its nuclear and ballistic missile programs, arms embargo violations, and cyberattacks on cryptocurrency companies. We propose promptly establishing a new multilateral panel of experts to monitor compliance with sanctions against North Korea, with the Republic of Korea, Japan, and the United States at its center. Establishing this new panel of experts with input from other countries that seek to uphold the rule of law would effectively ensure continued adherence to sanctions and bolster regional stability.
- **Expansion of Multilateral Training and Exchange Programs:** Building upon the commitment to a multi-year trilateral framework for regular multi-domain exercises, we emphasize the need to develop further and expand international trilateral military exchange programs. Implementing new or expanding existing rotational exchange programs trilaterally will facilitate the development of human and technical interoperability by fostering mutual understanding and trust, improving our collective crisis response readiness.

BROADENING COOPERATION IN THE INDO-PACIFIC

Cooperation between the U.S., the ROK, and Japan is essential for fostering a free and open Indo-Pacific. This cooperation has taken on renewed urgency amidst growing global threats posed by climate change alongside regional competition and coercion, particularly by actors with little regard for the international rules-based order. To address these challenges, the trilateral nations must collaborate with the Pacific Islands, ASEAN, and other crucial Indo-Pacific actors, many of whom have been historically excluded from key Indo-Pacific dialogues despite being the most directly affected by the issues discussed. We propose several initiatives institutionalizing this cooperation across the Indo-Pacific, beginning with mitigating climate change and cultivating dialogue on historical issues.

- **Indo-Pacific Adaptation Fund:** We propose the creation of a pooled Indo-Pacific Adaptation Fund to support regional dialogue, action, and funding to address climate change. The Fund's steering committee would be led by the most heavily climate-impacted countries across the Indo-Pacific, such as the Pacific Islands, alongside representation from the U.S., the ROK, and Japan. The pooled fund will focus on addressing natural disasters, health security risks, and forced displacement by enabling strategic coordination in (1) climate adaptation and resilience financing; (2) alignment in advocacy within norm-setting bodies and multilateral institutions; and (3) the creation of a shared platform to elevate the voices of youths in areas most impacted by climate change. Specific sources and balances of funding can be established through further negotiation. However, we already envision immense potential for collaboration with the private sector; international aid agencies like the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Japan International

Cooperation Agency (JICA), and ODA Korea, as well as the U.N.'s globally focused Green Climate Fund.

- **Climate Change and Disaster Preparedness:** Delegates from the U.S., the ROK, Japan, ASEAN, and the Pacific Islands all emphasized action on climate change and disaster preparation as key priorities. In addition to the main proposed climate initiative of an Indo-Pacific Adaptation Fund, opportunities for cooperation were highlighted in advancing green energy sources and building resilience to climate disasters. Within clean energy, delegates noted how nuclear energy development could evolve in tandem with trilateral collaboration on emerging technologies, especially as our nations move towards sustainably tripling global nuclear energy capacity by 2050 (a goal previously endorsed at the 28th Conference of Parties to the U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change). Future efforts in both clean energy and disaster prevention could include, (a) establishing research partnerships to identify mutual best practices for managing the environmental effects of producing nuclear and other clean energies; (b) institutionalizing collaborative disaster prevention mechanisms, management measures, and research initiatives; and (c) collaborating on the safe promotion of resilient supply chains with mutually agreed-upon standards for safety, sustainability, and review.
- **Historical Issues:** Our goal is to institutionalize dialogues on pressing historical issues that have long hindered progress in relations among the trilateral nations and broader Indo-Pacific, ultimately establishing a sustainable foundation of mutual understanding. Thus, we support enhanced Track 1.5 and Track 2 dialogues for discussing historical disputes and building long-term trust. For Track 1.5, we propose the establishment of a Trilateral Historical Dialogue with historians, academics, legal experts, diplomats, and policymakers to review grievances, provide balanced narratives, and recommend reconciliation steps. For Track 2, we propose an annual trilateral dialogue for civil society members, including scholars, experts, educators, NGOs, advocacy groups, and community leaders, to examine disputed historical issues, focusing on their modern societal manifestations and impact. In addition to fostering the free and direct sharing of cross-sector trilateral perspectives, these dialogues seek to produce (1) frameworks aligning areas of mutual understanding and priority in addressing historical disputes; and (2) recommendations for actions by both the government and civil society, particularly the education sector, to advance reconciliation and the preservation of a balanced historical memory. Such institutionalized dialogues would build a stronger bedrock for Track 1 dialogues, concrete policy implementation, and a broader culture of awareness and discussion of historical issues among the trilateral nations.

DEEPENING ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL COOPERATION

In an era marked by global economic and political competition driven by innovation, the United States, the Republic of Korea, and Japan are advancing policies to address the challenges of growing their innovation systems through collaboration with leading companies and major agencies. The Camp David Summit has solidified technology cooperation among these three countries, focusing on critical and emerging technology areas, and we reaffirmed the importance of deepening this relationship in several industries. To strengthen this cooperation, an industry-led

trilateral consortium should be established to evaluate emerging technologies and coordinate economic, security, and strategic decision-making efforts. The three nations can also enhance their cooperation with respect to cybersecurity matters and adopt a unified strategy for cybersecurity defense, offensive operations, and threat-hunting.

- **Trilateral Technology Cooperation:** The Camp David Summit initiated a deepening technology cooperation among the Republic of Korea, the United States, and Japan. Delegates reaffirmed their commitment to fostering robust cooperation and in-depth dialogues in key areas of science and technology, including semiconductors, artificial intelligence, and quantum computing.
- **Industry-led Consortium for Emerging Technologies:** An industry-led consortium of the three countries should be established to support this relationship. This consortium will consist of development companies, users, and investors from each country, along with relevant ministries and agencies, including those focused on defense, commerce, and intelligence. The consortium's first task will be to align the areas of advanced science and technology identified by each country, enabling the prioritization of emerging technology fields such as artificial intelligence, quantum technology, and biotechnology for economic and security advancements across all three countries. The consortium will also identify and address opportunities and challenges within existing networks and initiatives, including funding, intellectual property rights, and infrastructure, to facilitate effective trilateral cooperation in these technology areas. Furthermore, the consortium will aim to establish a foundational dialogue between industry and policymakers, fostering mutual understanding and rationality in technology-related regulations, including export control and investment screening requirements aligned with the developments of each emerging technology sector.
- **Trilateral Cyber Cooperation:** Given the rising threat of cyber-attacks, the three countries are engaging in high-level talks to address North Korea's illegal cyber activities, which support its nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction programs. Additionally, the defense ministers of the U.S., the Republic of Korea, and Japan will conduct joint training in the cyber field. Emphasizing the importance of these efforts, we recommend further collaboration to develop a unified cybersecurity strategy. This strategy should include clear protocols for cyber defense response, offensive cyber operations, and threat hunting. The goal is to effectively develop and implement this strategy while building the capacity necessary for governments, industry, academia, and civil society experts to work together to mitigate the socioeconomic and security threats posed by cyber-attacks.

EXPANDING GLOBAL HEALTH AND PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE COOPERATION

Trilateral collaboration in global health and civic society with a focus on inclusivity not only enhances mutual understanding and engagement but strengthens the resilience of broader global health systems, promotes domestic economic development, and ensures that the benefits of successful initiatives are shared between diverse communities. As discussed further below, by empowering women, promoting cross-cultural exchange, and fostering deeper interpersonal and

institutional connections, the three nations can continue contributing to a more stable and equitable global community, aligning with our shared goals of gender equality and sustainable development.

- **Women Empowerment and Gender Inclusivity:** Despite distinct cultural and historical contexts, the United States, the Republic of Korea, and Japan face analogous challenges in promoting gender equality, including significant disparities in the workplace such as wage gaps, underrepresentation in leadership positions and much higher levels of job insecurity compared to male workers. All three countries are also grappling with issues of sexual harassment and gender-based violence despite ongoing legislative efforts to address such problems. To tackle such systemic barriers, we recommend establishing (1) a regional economic empowerment fund for women entrepreneurs like the U.S. Small Business Administration's Women-Owned Small Business Federal Contract program, and (2) a Women in STEM scholarship through agencies such as the National Science Foundation, the Korea Foundation for the Advancement of Science and Creativity, and Japan Science and Technology Agency, which would build on smaller scale projects that domestic agencies and civil society organizations have previously managed. Further work can be done in sharing information on designing, launching, and operating (a) mentorship and training programs for women in government, business, academia, and technology sectors; (b) initiatives to combat gender-based violence and support survivors; and (c) monitoring programs that evaluate existing initiatives in women's empowerment and welfare based on international standards to ensure accountability and the production of tangible results.
- **Cross-Cultural Exchange:** Additionally, we propose an ongoing academic and research exchange program involving experts in partnership with students, recent graduates, and young professionals focused on gender, intersectionality, and peacebuilding, which all shape people-to-people relationships both domestically in all three countries and transnationally. This would entail inviting a certain number of leading academics or practitioners, each of whom would be assigned to lead a workshop series focusing on an annual theme such as labor rights, human trafficking, Indigenous rights, environmental justice, or history and memorialization. Each expert will be grouped with three to five students, graduates, or early-career professionals to meet on a regular basis before traveling together to attend a formal expert conference. The hope is that this initiative will facilitate difficult yet productive conversations about issues that sometimes serve as a wedge between our nations. Trilateral art funds and co-production arrangements can supplement the academic exchange for thematically related film festivals, designs and shows, and exhibitions that allow artists and creative leaders from each country to directly collaborate with one another and have their work reach wider audiences internationally.
- **Public Health Collaboration:** Cancer and mental health research are two fields particularly ripe for trilateral collaboration, given the impact of both issues on people's welfare in all three countries across all demographics. First, shared clinical trials, data exchange, and joint development programs among the U.S. National Cancer Institute, Korea's National Cancer Center, and Japan's National Cancer Center will allow for accelerated R&D for innovative treatments that leverage the collective expertise and resources of the three countries' national cancer institutes. Similarly, by having national agencies tasked with addressing the rising prevalence of mental health challenges

collaborate in the form of trilateral conferences and joint research projects, we can share best practices in getting mental health resources to youth and vulnerable populations. Like the World Health Organization's Mental Health Gap Action Programme, the outcomes from the conferences and projects can train successive generations of mental health professionals and inform the development of community-based interventions that create a more supportive environment for those in need and combat the social stigma that persists with respect to seeking help.

The trilateral relationship between the United States, the Republic of Korea, and Japan is essential for ensuring the freedom, stability, and prosperity of the broader Indo-Pacific region. Through close collaboration in various strategic areas—including security, science and technology, human resources, and social issues such as climate change—these three nations strengthen their relationship beyond the focus on North Korea. The over 60 stakeholder meetings held since this year's Camp David Summit exemplify this commitment. The success of the U.S.-ROK-Japan Trilateral Global Leadership Youth Summit in Busan is also a testament to the potential of this partnership. The roadmap set forth during this summit will guide future cooperative activities by strengthening security cooperation, broadening collaboration in the Indo-Pacific, deepening economic and technological ties, and expanding global health and people-to-people exchanges.

As we progress, it is imperative to maintain this momentum and continue building on the progress achieved. The three countries will deepen their collaboration across various policy domains, aiming to maximize their policy decisions' speed, consistency, and effectiveness. The path ahead promises to develop the Indo-Pacific region characterized by freedom, stability, and prosperity, benefiting its member countries and the international community as a whole.