

[Ambassadors Roundtable]

Asia's New Order and Cooperative Leadership

Jeju Peace Institute

Chair

JU Chul-ki Former Senior Secretary to the President for Foreign Affairs and National Security

Presenter & Discussant

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Eric WALSH Ambassador of Canada to the ROK

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OH Joon Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the ROK to the UN

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Rapporteur

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JU Chul-ki

The biggest problem on the Korean Peninsula is the North Korean nuclear program. The second is growing tension between existing supreme powers such as the US and China. The third is the economic challenges of TPP, APEC and other free trade initiatives and the dichotomy between global trade and regional issues. The fourth is the lack of a multilateral, sub-regional structure for dialogue. The region has been a historical hotspot of conflict so we need to find a structure to enable the region to avoid such situations in the future.

It is time for Asia to take up the responsibility for its growing role in the world. We must seek to resolve the North Korea nuclear problem alongside large powers such as ASEAN and the EU and seek paths toward peaceful unification.

We should explore the possibility of a Northeast Asia peace initiative as proposed by President Park to formalize security dialogue mechanisms in the region to resolve the nuclear problem in North Korea.

Rolf MAFÄEL

Francis Fukuyama wrote in 1992 that we had reached the end of history, but that looks completely wrong today. On the one hand we have seen positive globalisation in terms of trade, an information society, education and science, but we have the challenges of global threats to security and health such as the 911 terrorist attacks and the Ebola Outbreak.

We must also deal with the security ramifications of non-state actors on security, terrorism and destabilisation. The consequences of failing states are global challenges being exacerbated by climate change and water shortages.

We must realise our increasing interdependence and increase bilateral and global cooperation in the international order to increase its legitimacy and effectiveness particularly in facing new challenges such as climate and cyber threats.

In this framework we see Korea's role as increasingly important. Secretary-General of the United Nations Ban Ki-moon said this morning to bring Korea to the world, and bring the world to Korea. It



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SHA Zukang

is notable that the country has taken on many high profile positions within international organizations showing it has taken more responsibility and expectations are rising.

Korea is one of our strongest partners in security, trade and much else. Germany has strong links in also having been a divided country and we have offered advice to the Korean government. We have been supportive of the trust politics policy of Park Geun-hye with regards to North Korea and we hope the UN Security Council measures are implemented by all member states to send a strong message. A united Korea would be the strongest contribution to peace in East Asia and the globe.

Eric WALSH

The role of middle powers such as Canada is to formulate new and creative ideas that are then picked up when the time is right by the big powers. We have to be constructive and creative to work behind the scenes to and come up with ideas for the future.

From a peace and security point of view, Asia is where many future issues will be resolved. Asia is the center of the world and Canada's FTA with South Korea was a big deal in Canada as it remains our only FTA with an Asian Pacific country. Canada has signed the TPP but we have not yet ratified it. So this is "Canada's game in Asia".

Nuclear proliferation is a central concern for us and controlled engagement is our official policy to try and bring North Korea back to the table by making it clear there are no rewards for their behaviour.

Canada and Korea are both orphans in that we don't really have a regional network to work with. We have only the US. Korea is in a similar position

– you have China and Japan and Russia, but no natural group of countries. Koreans and Canadians can work well together as we have similar views about key issues such as shipping, climate change and free trade. We are natural partners in multilateral contexts.

We are very interested to see trilateral cooperation on the Arctic Council as energy and the environment are non-controversial that can lead to further efforts towards more trilateral cooperation.

John Aristianto PRASETIO

The theme of this Forum is Asia's new order and cooperative leadership. When I was invited the first question I asked myself was why do we need to have a new order and architecture. The simplistic answer is we face a number of new dynamics and we must respond to them.

These Include:

- The so-called assertive posture and territorial claims of China
- The election in the U.S. and the new president's position on engagement in the region
- The aggressive regime in North Korea
- Increasing military spending in the region such as by Japan, Indonesia and Australia
- The growth rate of China is currently leveled at 6 percent, which has decreased from double digits.

Despite the slower "new normal" growth in China, Asia will still outperform the rest of the world economically and continue the shift east. By 2050 Asia's share will be 50 percent of the global economy.

With regards to dialogue with North Korea, the prerequisite is geopolitical cooperation. The prog-

ress seen between the U.S. and Iran, and the U.S. and Cuba, shows that agreements can be reached. The key is it must not be major powers alone but a multilateral effort. The middle powers must take the charge such as through ASEAN and ASEAN+3.

OH Joon

Asia should be playing more of a leading role in the world. As the economic powerhouse of the world, with 30 percent of GDP and half of all people (54 percent), Asia countries only provide 15 percent of ODA assistance. In addition, the Asia-Pacific accounts for 46 percent of carbon emissions.

Asia should also play a stronger role within the UN. Unlike other regional blocs, the Asia Pacific does not have any common or substantive positions on issues. With 54 countries, more than one quarter of UN membership, they should be more organised and should be doing more as a group.

If you look at these cases in Asia, China is rising, but it still doesn't have political prowess that other regional leaders have. Japan is a traditional economic powerhouse, but it is declining in economic and other areas of competitiveness. India is rising very fast, but it is burdened with widespread poverty, so that constrains what it can do.

Right now, Asia is the only region without a regional cooperation mechanism. President Park Geun-hye has made efforts to initiate a Northeast Asia security cooperation mechanism, but this is difficult in the current circumstances. We have ASEAN, and there needs to be more work along the lines of the European example. However, that will take time.

SHA Zukang

Korea performed a miracle in its development. Why did the South succeed and not the North. You have to work hard to develop your country. There are many reasons – but blame yourself if you fail.

Although we have some problems, relatively speaking we have been enjoying peace and stability. In our part of the world we have had no wars. Korea, China and Japan have not been in any big wars or conflicts. Look at Africa, Central Asia, where they are fighting all the time and remain undeveloped. Peace and security is the key condition for any economic and social development.

We have problems with our neighbours. But we have 15 land neighbours and we have solved all of our land disputes except the one with India. We solved our border issues without the notice of the outside world. Because of this we are able to focus on development.

China is working on two dreams: one is to be a mid-level developing country by the year 2020. The other is to be a developed country like Korea by 2050. Our foreign policy is oriented to facilitate the realisation of those two dreams.

Don't exaggerate our problems with the U.S. We have a love-hate relationship with the U.S. China loves the U.S. and many Chinese think even the moon in the U.S. is smoother and brighter. As well as good relations with the U.S. we want to have good relations with our neighbours. Let's work together. We all use chopsticks. Order is relatively good after 70 years of peace.

Lastly, I agree with Ambassador Oh as I noticed jealously how when Africans have problems they come together and work for solutions. Only Asians can't agree. Yet we have proved that Asia can be the driving force for the economy. We need to improve our internal coordination. They say one mountain cannot contain two tigers. But I don't know what mountain you are talking about. We are in the same boat, like it or not.



Policy Implications

- Increased trilateral cooperation on key neutral issues such as the environment, climate, science.
- Increased Asian coordination on policies.
- More Asian global engagement in security and ODA.
- Creation of an Asian architecture for conflict resolution and dialogue.

Denuclearizing North Korea - Agenda for Action

East Asia Foundation

Moderator

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Rapporteur

Faced with continued the DPRK defiance on nuclear weapons and missile provocations, the international community seems at a loss to know what to do next. Most likely the UN Security Council condemnations and sanctions will continue to be applied, but with no appreciable impact. The six-party talks have stalled seemingly indefinitely. Is there scope for better and more directed sanctions and other pressures from neighbours? And might it be time to try again with carrots (after the disastrous failure of KEDO)? Might there be room for track-II diplomacy?

How Should We Handle the North Korean Issue?

- **Hwang** There should be a creative solution. While the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO) failed, many lessons were learned.
- **Hayes** Kim Jung-un is preparing for change in the DPRK. He outlined his vision for the next few decades based on youth power, or a generational shift, in his New Year's speech. His repeated use of the words "youth power" signals that he is going through internal change in the DPRK. It would be a turn for the worse if the DPRK strengthens

its nuclear power in the context of change. The DPRK should be presented with a viable option to lose nuclear weapons. One possibility is a nuclear weapons free zone in Northeast Asia.

- **Pan** As each country has a different threat perception, it is too difficult to find a solution that all countries could agree upon. Meanwhile, the DPRK is updating its capabilities. As such, we should try to search for a method that combines our common goal. For China, two things are important. First, as denuclearization for the DPRK is an issue concerning all surrounding countries, there is an obligation to make an environment that enables it to feel comfortable abandoning its nuclear capabilities. Second, a dual approach should be tried. Sanctions are necessary, but they should serve as a window to open up a new opportunity for peace. It should not be a tool to crash the regime. Negotiations based on mutual respect and trust will give solutions. New creative ideas for this issue are unnecessary.
- **Nyamosor** There were two failures regarding the DPRK nuclear issue. First was the failure of the DPRK to abandon nuclear weapons. The second