

its nuclear development. According to Prof. Scott Sagan, the nuclear states often develop the weapon with three motives: national security, domestic politics and international status. In the case of North Korea, national security and political reasons are the two major motives. Then, pressure alone can hardly solve the issue. We have to bring a change in the motives of the North.

A. HAN Yong-sup I attended the first round of the South-North Korean negotiations on the nuclear issue for two years. Others thought at that time that Korea was denuclearized with the declaration of nuclear disarmament, but I voiced a minority opinion, after watching the behavior of North Korean participants in the negotiations for two years, that they would violate the accord and continue to develop nuclear weapons. Eventually, the North did so for the survival of the Kim dynasty. But, after possessing the nuclear arms, the purpose of the possession changed. It is an achievement for the North Korean regime that it succeeded in developing nuclear arms, braving the opposition of the U.S. and international society, and made it known all over the world. The North is expected to keep developing nuclear weapons and ICBMs until it has a showdown with the U.S., and if the U.S. ditches its alliance with the South and leaves the Korean Peninsula, it would be seen as the victory for the North. The problem is that the North regards the South as a powerless state that cannot do anything without the support of the U.S. Trump is said to be a genius or master of the art of negotiations, but Kim Jong-Un is no less than him. The North Korean people at the negotiation table do exactly what Kim Jong-Un has told them to do. The U.S., however, sends the State Secretary and Under Secretary to the negotiation table. They are different from Trump and might be taken advantage of by the North at possible talks between the U.S. and North Korea.

There are many reasons for the failure of the Six-Party Talks but the most notable one is the differences among South Korea, the U.S. China, Japan and Russia in their objectives, priorities and

approaches. Not to repeat the failure of the Six-Party Talks, I suggest eight-party talks joined by the five permanent members of the Security Council(P-5). South Korea, Japan and the P-5 should hold talks with the North with a firm resolution to safeguard the NPT system and denuclearize the North. As the nuclear issue is hard to solve immediately, experts both from the conservative and progressive camps should gather their wisdom.

● ● ● Policy Implications

- A nuclear freeze as a short-term measure and a strategic roadmap towards denuclearization as a long-term measure are desperately needed to prevent further aggravation of the North Korea nuclear issue. A mini-package deal is suggested as a short-term measure to build mutual trust in the talks on denuclearization. To that end, it is necessary to restore, by utilizing economic incentives to the North, the 2.29 Agreement between the U.S. and North Korea that stipulated the nuclear freeze. As a dialogue channel, they might choose a meeting of high level officials from the South and North, the U.S.-North Korea talks and even an unofficial chief delegates' meeting at the Six-Party Talks, if necessary.
- Talks on a nuclear freeze or peace treaty might resume at any time, considering the more sophisticated North Korean nuclear arsenal and unpredictable negotiation tactics of the Trump administration. During the talks, the South is likely to exercise less influence, due to its weaker power vis-a-vis its neighboring states and the widening gap between its own perception about the North Korean threats and that of its neighbors. The South is required to actively engage in diplomacy with neighboring powers to forge an international alliance to correct North Korean behavior as well as seeking, based on its alliance with the U.S., a change to the North Korea policy of China.
- There is an argument that the South should prepare for more escalated tension and uncertainties on the Korean Peninsula. As instability is expected to prevail on the peninsula for three-to-four more years due to the brinkmanship of the U.S. and the North, security and North Korea policies should be readjusted in consideration of this. South Korea should examine and brace for the worst case scenario.
- In spite of radical changes in the security environment turning for the worse, there are few changes in the diplomatic and security organizations of the South Korean government, and its competence. To respond to the explosive growth of the need to independently address pending diplomatic and security issues, there should be measures to strengthen diplomatic and security organizations by bolstering the strategic role of the National Security Office and establishing a committee to assess the national security situation.

Rethinking Asia: A Need for Adaptive Leadership amid Global Changes



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Heungsoo Samuel KIM Currently the world is undergoing a political crisis, and issues like unemployment and polarization in income and Information Technology(IT) are emerging as the biggest challenges. Under these circumstances, we need a process under which the definition of leadership is drastically changed. Leadership in the past, unsuitable for the present and insufficient in many ways, needs to undergo new challenges and change itself. In this session today, how leadership is changing and how it should change will be discussed.

PARK Jin Anyone can be a leader. But leadership requires more than will, and ability. The most important thing is how to cultivate and develop this willingness and ability. Full of the youngest participants, will talk with four gentlemen armed with progressive ideas and future-oriented attitudes, which can be represented by the word “youth.”

Ami VALDEMORO I am a Filipino-American. I was born and raised in the U.S. After I grew up, I moved to live in the Philippines and I worked for a company named Three Point Ventures. The company focuses on improvement of leadership that is required in the

Philippines. Working there, I thought a lot about leadership and could define it. In a community, whether it is a small gathering, or a family, or a big society or a nation, problems at any scale will happen at any time. There should be a proper leadership to redress problems and guide one's own community.

KIM Duyeon Security is the most important issue in the U.S. The same goes to South Korea, where concerns and uncertainties over security prevail for geopolitical reasons. The liberal order after the end of the World War II in 1945 has been exposed fissures since the inauguration of the Trump administration in the U.S. The administration puts more priority on military power and financial lobbying than diplomacy or communication. In accordance with this, the Chinese government is jumping into the armament race. Amid the missing leadership of Trump, and competition with China for military buildups, South Korea is faced with a growing sense of insecurity and uncertainties.

Adam MALATY-UHR Today's trend is “change and revolution.” The millennial generation is at the center of change and revolution. All conflicts arise

from generational gaps and differences. Millennials want to cultivate themselves, but the environment discourages them, and this hinders a new leadership from appearing. The older generation says young people do not understand the society they belong to. But in most cases, it is rather the older generation that fails to properly understand a changing society. What is most important is leadership and teamwork that can join change and revolution.

— **Umar SHAVUROV** In my opinion, “incessant conflicts” are the main trend. Conflicts do not only belong to the past. Countries and histories have evolved through conflicts. The conflicts thought to appear only in the past are occurring now and will arise in the future. Those who call themselves “leaders” are only interested in passing responsibility on to others. When leaders have a positive influence on other societies beyond their own, and when they realize this and have a sense of responsibility about it, true leadership will be exercised. Conflicts can work as an energy that promote the progress.

The definition of leadership keeps changing and evolving as society does. A paradox pops up naturally in this process. The past leaderships were not wrong, but a leadership suitable for the present and the future is more important. Horizontal relationships and non-authoritative attitudes should be the basis. Leaders also need to have a participatory attitude. Various studies are underway on the practice of leadership and plans for this. To lead community members who have different religious, ethnic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds, different forms of leadership should be planned and practiced. Leaders should ask questions incessantly of themselves and members of their communities. Only through questions and doubts, will we arrive at the “goal.”

— **Adam MALATY-UHR** Practicing leadership can be defined in various ways. Empowering and motivating community members can be seen as proper leadership. Increasing burdens in the name of empowerment does not work. “Support” and “help” are necessary. Although there are some “questions” humans cannot answer, leaders should not be afraid

of answering questions. “Challenge” and “participation” are the strongest weapons to overcome fear and difficulty, and this is the only way to newness.

— **KIM Duyeon** Leadership is invisible. But this does not necessarily mean it does not exist. Making change and exercising influence is what leadership is about. Leaders of a community should motivate its members with support, and encourage them to make full use of and develop their ideas. Influence always changes. Leaders should think of this change all the time. Not stopping at “thinking,” they need a step leading to “practice” through communication and dialogue. It is the role of leaders to make this step.

— **Ami VALDEMORO** Leadership needs training. Leaders should train their minds and strengthen their will. They should continue mind training and learn new frameworks. Too many things stop at the stage of “the potential.” Ceaseless pressure and challenge will follow young people who make efforts to realize their new ideas but they should never stop trying. This will be challenging in countries with big regulations but the youth should continue to try and learn to accept these challenges. When they go through the challenges, they will find people who will support them, as they have found before.

— **Adam MALATY-UHR** When I was a student, I had so many difficulties. I was always anxious and lacked confidence. Before I was twenty, my father passed away and the hard times went on. And then I met some people who helped me with pleasure. I wanted to become an influential person to pay back what they gave me. Now I look back on what influences I have had upon my community members before taking actions.

— **Umar SHAVUROV** The collapse of the former Soviet Union had a great impact on me when I was a child. The state-centric society broke down in an instant, and the people of that society, including my family, were not capable of coping with the uncertain future. Most of them had no strength to overcome the difficulties and began to give up on their lives. My father was one of them. The incident became a big motivation for me.

Asian Soft Power: Facing the Fourth Industrial Revolution



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— **PARK Enna** The world economy has reached a level at which technological development does not guarantee a proportionate increase in profit. To tide over this limitation, a new, unconventional approach to the industry is necessary. The ability to find connectivity between different things and creative thinking are cited as the competences required for the Fourth Industrial Revolution. Finding connectivity requires imaginative thinking and new concepts about things, which create many new fields of business. Newfangled electronics goods linked with computer technologies and customized shopping malls catering to the individual needs of drivers are representative examples of them. Many new businesses are created out of creativity. Taxi and lodging businesses were operated by the owners of cabs and lodging facilities previously, but it is possible now to operate such businesses without such assets, as seen in the case of Air BnB and Uber taxi. However, Asian soft power is deemed to be inferior to the Western model. Western countries have various

content, including the services above and Google’s auto-driving cars. Asian countries are said to have many technologies, but lack the ability to utilize them.

— **SUN Seung-hye** Asian countries are trying to find new direction of diplomacy based on information technologies. They have to explore a new future through in-depth discussions on cooperative projects within integrated networks. The cultural diplomacy of Asia should come up with an initiative to organize a virtual community based on e-culture. A joint project will help Asian countries better understand each other. Using and mixing various mediums, in addition to letters, to describe cultural heritages will produce various effects. The project will provide information about cultural heritage sites and culture. In addition to Internet education for the next generation, the project also offers inspiration for artists to create visual information and new images through the e-platform. With these attempts, the e-platform will expand its basis and the database on Asian arts.