

Reengineering Peace for Asia

아시아의 평화 재정립



JEJU FORUM 2018
FOR PEACE & PROSPERITY

Reengineering Peace for Asia

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The Jeju Forum for Peace and Prosperity discusses how multilateral cooperation in the region can promote mutual peace and prosperity on the Korean Peninsula and in East Asia. After being launched in 2001 as the Jeju peace Forum, it was renamed the Jeju Forum for Peace and Prosperity in its sixth session in 2011. Since then, the Forum has been held each May to June. The objective of the event is to contribute to world peace and international cooperation by continuing to create an opportunity for discussing regional peace and cooperation. www.jejuforum.or.kr



The Jeju Peace Institute (JPI) is a nonprofit think tank established with funding from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Jeju Special Self-Governing Province. The institute's mission is to promote peace and facilitate cooperation on the Korean Peninsula and across East Asia through creative research, education programs and a broad range of exchange activities. JPI's ultimate vision is to contribute to peace and common prosperity throughout the world. In line with this mission, it conducts policy research on peace and cooperation on the peninsula and in East Asia; theoretical research (the Jeju Process) for multilateral cooperation, peace and security; and projects to encourage the growth of the research and academic network in Korea and overseas. www.jpi.or.kr

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[Opening Remarks]

'Global Peace Platform' Based on Collective Wisdom



WON Heeryong
Chairman, Organizing Committee/
Governor, Jeju Special
Self-Governing Province

It is my great pleasure to welcome all of you to the 2018 Jeju Forum for Peace and Prosperity!

My special thanks go to Prime Minister Lee Nak-yeon of the Republic of Korea, former Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada, former Prime Minister Yasuo Fukuda of Japan, former Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon of the United Nations, Deputy Chairperson Olga Epifanova of the State Duma of the Russian Federal Assembly and Deputy Prime Minister Ulziisaikhan Enkhtuvshin of Mongolia for taking the time out of your busy schedules.

And I would like to extend a very warm welcome to all the distinguished guests from home and abroad to gather wisdom to seek and establish a new peace in the Asian region.

Distinguished guests, and ladies and gentlemen, Last winter, the Pyeongchang Winter Olympic Games sowed the seeds of peace on the Korean Peninsula, the world's only remaining "Land of the Cold War," and those seeds have germinated and are finally about to bloom as spring passes.

Not only has our long-cherished desire for an end to the Korean War, but the permanent peace beyond denuclearization on the Korean peninsula also begun to appear on the horizon.

Two rounds of the inter-Korean Summit meetings held on April 27th and May 26th were the first step on a great journey toward a nuclear-free Korean peninsula and peace.

The US-North Korea summit on June 12th, also called "the meeting of the century," concluded a comprehensive agreement on denuclearization and the establishment of a peace regime on the Korean peninsula, and reaffirmed the two Korean leaders' Panmunjom Declaration.

I am sure that the summit meetings between the two Koreas and between the US and North Korea will finally dismantle the Cold War structure around the world and become a historic breakthrough that ushers in a new global order.

There still remains a long journey of follow-up talks to implement the agreement of the summit meetings, while building mutual trust.

Now is time for all the rest of the world as well as South and North Korea, and the US and North Korea, to join the great cause of the denuclearization and establishment of a peace regime on the Korean Peninsula and to eventually advance further on the path towards peace and co-prosperity in Asia.

Distinguished guests, and ladies and gentlemen,

Jeju has a painful history; 30,000 citizens lost their lives in the chaos of the Cold War and the division of the Korean Peninsula 70 years ago. This year marks the 70th anniversary of the April 3rd Incident.

With the slogan of "Jeju April 3rd Incident is part of the history of the Republic of Korea," we have carried out a variety of initiatives and projects with the aim of spreading the noble spirit of "peace and human rights" of the April 3rd Incident to the whole nation and the world, and passing it on to the future generations.

Jeju citizens who have overcome hostility and animosity through the spirit of reconciliation and coexistence have also been making sincere efforts to promote peace around the world while striving for the complete resolution of the April 3rd Incident.

Distinguished guests, and ladies and gentlemen, The theme of the 13th Jeju Forum in 2018 is "Re-engineering Peace for Asia." We cannot afford to squander this golden opportunity for peace and prosperity that has come to us like a miracle.

Even though it seems likely that the North Korean nuclear issue will be resolved, we still have the road ahead of us which can be very long and bumpy.

I have no doubt that it is a difficult task to achieve the complete denuclearization; however, it is an unprecedented challenge to establish a new regional order for the settlement of permanent peace on the Korean Peninsula and the dismantlement of the Cold War structure.

In the meantime, other factors that threaten peace are on the rise across the world. As the expression of "revival of geopolitics" implies, previous diplomatic and goodwill relationships among countries have been overstretched due to ever-rising territorial disputes, conflicts over history, military expansionism, and competition over the sphere of influence.

From terrorism to climate change and to widespread epidemics such as ebola, there are so many challenges that require the international community to work together.

The liberal trade order that has led us to prosperity



and the liberal international order that have resulted in international exchanges and cooperation have faced challenges due to the emergence of protectionism, nationalism and populism.

I expect that this Forum under the theme of “Re-engineering Peace for Asia” becomes a venue where we can revisit the existing ideas and strategies for conflict resolution and peace and come up with good ideas and sound policies for a new international order.

I hope that the Jeju Forum can find ways to put an end to conflicts and to build peace, and then gather momentum to implement them.

Distinguished guest, Ladies and gentlemen, Never has the Jeju Forum been held amid more anticipation and more excitement for the peace and prosperity on the Korean Peninsula and in Asia than it has this year.

At a critical time when the inter-Korean and US-North Korean relationship are at the turning point for epic changes, I strongly believe that it is the right time for the Jeju Forum to play a role as a “global peace platform” in re-engineering peace for Asia anew.

In the wake of the historic summit meetings between the two Koreas and between the US and North Korea, a series of follow-up talks are sure to be held to discuss ways to completely end the Cold War on the Korean Peninsula and to promote genuine peace and cooperation in Asia.

I believe now is the time that the Korean Peninsula, the world’s only remaining “divided land,” become the epicenter for world peace, and it is Jeju that should promote and spread the peace throughout the world.

Last March, I officially requested the Government of the Republic of Korea and the relevant authorities that Jeju should be considered as a venue for the summit meeting between the US and North Korea and the trilateral summit meeting among South and North Korea, and US.

Jeju has gained the spotlight globally as an ideal place for summit meetings, as can be seen with the previous meetings between the South Korea and the Soviet Union in 1991, between the US and South Korea and between South Korea and Japan in 1996, and between South Korea and Japan in 2004.

Jeju played host to historic summit meetings described as milestones at every turning point in history. As such, I would like to propose that Jeju hold follow-up summit talks between the US and North Korea for the ultimate goal of denuclearization of North Korea.

In order for denuclearization on the Korean Peninsula and the settlement of the permanent peace in Asia, it is also necessary to hold talks with neighboring countries such as China, Japan, and Russia besides the two Koreas and the US.

I have no doubt that the experience of Jeju holding several summit meetings and the Jeju Forum, the thirteenth this year since its launching, and the symbolic significance of Jeju as the “Island of World Peace” will make Jeju the perfect place for talks to discuss the dismantlement of the Cold War structure on the Korean Peninsula and the re-engineering of peace for Asia.

Distinguished guests, Ladies and gentlemen, We are now standing at the crossroads for historic changes.

Depending on what choices and decisions we make, we may turn enemies of yesterday into friends of tomorrow and beat our swords into plowshares and our spears into scythes.

The Jeju Forum is the place of “collective intelligence” where leaders and intellectuals from around the world come together.

The 2018 Jeju Forum has a greater role to play at a critical juncture for great transition in Asia. I may say that the last 17 years since the Forum’s establishment was a period of preparation for today.

I cordially ask all of you to produce more wisdom and more creative ideas than ever before in order to make wise choices and decisions toward peace and prosperity.

Once again, I would like to express genuine appreciation and warm welcome to all of you for attending the 13th Jeju Forum.

June in Jeju is peaceful and beautiful. I hope you enjoy June of the Island of World Peace, Jeju, to the fullest.

Thank you.

[Keynote Address]

Transforming the Korean Peninsula into a Model for World Peace



LEE Nak-yeon
Prime Minister
of the Republic of Korea



Distinguished guests, I am delighted to have you here with us at the 13th Jeju Forum for Peace and Prosperity. I would like to thank former UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, along with former Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and former Japanese Prime Minister Yasuo Fukuda, for agreeing to deliver keynote addresses during the World Leaders Session. It is a pleasure to see all of our distinguished guests, including accomplished scholars and world leaders including Mongolian Deputy Prime Minister Ölziisaikhany Enkhtövshin and Russian State Duma Deputy Chairwoman Olga Yepifanova. I also want to express my appreciation to Jeju Island Governor Won Hee-ryong and everyone else who prepared for this forum and to the people of Jeju Island.

Today, I plan to summarize the developments on and around the Korean Peninsula that have defined the peninsula’s destiny for the seventy-three years since World War II. That will serve as my backdrop for explaining how things have been changing recently and what steps are being taken toward peace and prosperity. World War II was brought to an end in August 1945 with the victory of the Allies, led by the U.S., the UK, France, and the Soviet Union.

Though the alliance between the U.S., the most powerful capitalist country, and the Soviet Union, the cradle of communism, may have been necessary for victory, it was fundamentally unnatural. Even before the end of World War II, the Cold War was brewing between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. The subject of dividing conquered territories after the war was discussed during the Yalta Conference in February 1945—after Italy had surrendered and Germany was nearing defeat—and that proved to be the beginning of the Cold War, which would spread around the world.

In August 1945, Japan surrendered, concluding World War II and leading to the liberation of the Korean Peninsula after thirty-five years of Japanese colonial rule. While the peninsula was in a state of anarchy immediately after liberation, the Americans occupied the southern half and the Soviets occupied the northern half. A government was established in the south in August 1948 and in the north in September 1948. Throughout the period of Japanese colonial rule, the Korean Peninsula had been a single country, but after liberation it was split into two. It is reasonable to assume the peninsula would have remained whole if not for Japan’s colonial rule and the

American and Soviet rivalry during the Cold War. In June 1950, North Korea invaded the South and launched a war that would ravage the peninsula for three years and one month. During that war, South Korea was assisted by UN troops led by the U.S., while the North had the help of the Soviet Union and China. That war claimed the lives of 4.6 million people and separated more than 10 million people from their family members.

The Cold War entered its final stage with the Malta Conference in 1989. After that, the Cold War alignment unraveled with the fall of the Berlin Wall, the reunification of Germany in 1990, the breakup of the Soviet Union, and the collapse of one communist government after another in Eastern Europe in 1991. On the Korean Peninsula, however, the military standoff continued even after the Korean War ended in an armistice in 1953. Random military clashes continued to occur as well. When the Cold War system in Europe began to implode in 1989 as the Soviet Union collapsed and a string of communist regimes were toppled, North Korea moved in earnest to strengthen its nuclear weapon and missile capabilities. Despite the Cold War's grip on the Korean Peninsula, South and North Korea made occasional efforts to achieve peaceful coexistence. In 1972, officials from the two sides released the July 4th North-South Joint Statement, in which officials agreed for the first time on the principles of unification: namely, that it should be achieved internally, peacefully, and in a way that promoted national unity. In 1991, South and North Korea were simultaneously admitted to the UN. A year later, they adopted the Inter-Korean Basic Agreement, in which they committed themselves to reconciliation, nonaggression, and cooperation and exchange. During the first inter-Korean summit in 2000, the two sides took tentative steps toward unification and agreed to engage in economy-oriented cooperation and exchange, and to hold reunions for the families divided by the Korean War. In 2007, they held a second inter-Korean summit, at which time they arranged to launch various projects to promote peace and economic cooperation.

But such attempts at peaceful coexistence were often thwarted by the Cold War alignment that had become entrenched around the Korean Peninsula. Obsessed with defending the regime, North Korea focused on bolstering its military power, while the frequent handovers of power in South Korea prevented the government from maintaining a consistent line on North Korea. Nor were the other powers around the peninsula very enthusiastic about promoting cooperation and exchange between South and North Korea. Military tensions on the Korean Peninsula reached their nadir at the end of last year. North Korea continued enhancing its military capabilities through a series of nuclear weapons tests and missile launches until it finally announced the completion of its nuclear forces. Under the lead of the U.S., the UN raised economic and diplomatic sanctions against North Korea to their toughest level ever.

It was under these circumstances that South Korean President Moon Jae-in announced his plan for peace on the Korean Peninsula during his Berlin Declaration on July 6, 2017. Along with a warning about North Korea's military provocations, Moon proposed an inter-Korean summit. "We can place on the dialogue table all issues of interest between the South and the North, including the nuclear issue and the peace treaty, and discuss peace on the Korean Peninsula and inter-Korean cooperation," he said. Moon received a reply on January 1, 2018, when North Korean leader Kim Jong-un delivered his New Year's address. Kim said it was necessary to improve inter-Korean relations and eliminate the threat of a military clash or a larger war between the two sides. This was also the first time that Kim spoke of his desire for North Korea to participate in the PyeongChang Winter Olympics in February.

The PyeongChang Winter Olympics helped bring about the resumption of inter-Korean dialogue. It also served as an opportunity for the U.S. to verify North Korea's commitment to dialogue. Pyeongchang's winter brought spring to the Korean Peninsula. The changes since then have been faster



and greater than the world could have imagined. On April 27, the leaders of South and North Korea met at Panmunjom, on the Korean Peninsula's military demarcation line. During this meeting, Kim confirmed his commitment to complete denuclearization. The two leaders agreed to arrange a formal declaration of the end of the Korean War within the year and to try to establish a peace regime. They also shared their support for holding a North Korea-U.S. summit.

When preparations for the North Korea-U.S. summit suddenly hit a snag, Kim and Moon met again at Panmunjom on May 26 and exchanged views about how to make the summit a reality. On June 12, Kim and Trump met in Singapore's Sentosa Island to hold the first historic summit between the leaders of North Korea and the U.S.. Kim and Trump confirmed their commitment to the complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and to the U.S. providing the North with security assurances. The two countries also agreed to forge a new relationship, ending the mutual hostility that had lasted longer,

and been more intense, than between any other two countries in history.

In fact, many changes occurred during this series of summits. North Korea publicly detonated a nuclear test site and promised the U.S. that it would shut down a missile engine test site. South Korea and the U.S. agreed to suspend their joint military exercises. The propaganda broadcasts across the DMZ—in which South and North Korea had criticized each other—were halted and the loudspeakers removed. The two sides agreed to hold reunions for divided families at the end of August. In the agreement reached on Sentosa, Kim and Trump reaffirmed the Panmunjom Declaration that Kim and Moon had made on April 27. This suggests that the peace process on the Korean Peninsula will turn into a virtuous cycle between the three countries of South Korea, North Korea, and the U.S. This is a cycle in which inter-Korean agreements are confirmed, guaranteed, and executed by North Korea and the U.S. and agreements between North Korea and the

U.S. are similarly confirmed, guaranteed, and executed by South and North Korea.

South Korea is at the center of this virtuous cycle. As time goes on, the South Korean president and government will be asked to play an increasingly important role in the peace process on the Korean Peninsula, sometimes as a leader and sometimes as a mediator. South Korea is willing to play that role to the best of its ability, while securing the understanding and cooperation not only with North Korea and the U.S., but indeed of all related countries, including China, Japan, and Russia. Inter-Korean meetings have been organized in various areas to discuss the work that needs to be done after the inter-Korean summit, and those meetings have been going smoothly. The high-level talks—in which South Korea is represented by its Unification Minister and North Korea by the chair of its Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland—are discussing the full range of follow-up measures. The agenda for the military talks is reducing military tensions along the DMZ; the agenda for the sports talks is the unification basketball match in early July, joint entrance into the Asian Games in August, and the members of a unified team in a few events; the agenda for the forestry cooperation subcommittee meeting is matters related to inter-Korean forestry cooperation; and the agenda for the Red Cross talks is reunions of the divided families, with all these projects either being discussed or already underway. Meetings are also in the works for the railroad cooperation subcommittee and the cooperation and exchange subcommittee.

South and North Korea are taking different approaches to two categories of cooperation and exchange projects. The first category includes matters that only require deliberations and preparations by South and North Korea. These include, for example, forestry cooperation, sports exchanges, measures to ease military tensions along the DMZ, and the reunions of divided families. We intend to move forward with these projects as soon as inter-Korean deliberations and preparations are complete. The

second category includes projects affected by UN sanctions on North Korea. These are economic cooperation projects, such as linking roads and railways between the two sides. Since we cannot move forward with these projects until inter-Korean sanctions are lifted, we intend to start by conducting preliminary studies.

Distinguished guests, I have already mentioned that South and North Korea have made several attempts at peaceful coexistence thus far, but that those attempts have always been frustrated. In light of that, you might well ask whether things will be any different this time around. My answer is that there will no doubt be more difficulties in the future, but that things will play out differently than before. There are several reasons to think so. First, I think we can acknowledge that Kim was being sincere when he made the bold decision to adopt an “economy first” policy line and that his decision was motivated by a sense of urgency in North Korea. After first replacing his father’s “military first” policy with a “two-track” policy combining nuclear and economic development, Kim shifted once again this year to an “economy first” policy. Therefore, it would likely be very difficult for him to return to a phase of military confrontation. Our conclusion is that even North Korea understands that the full-fledged economic support and regime security it desires are linked to complete denuclearization. Second, there has been a transformation in the situation on the Korean Peninsula and its surroundings: two inter-Korean summits were held in the space of a single month, with another scheduled to be held this fall, while the first North Korea-U.S. summit in history has taken place as well. Through that process, I believe, considerable trust has been established between the leaders of South Korea, North Korea, and the U.S. Third, an agreement to trade North Korea’s nuclear program for regime security has been made by the leaders of North Korea and the United States for the first time. The Agreed Framework on the North Korean nuclear issue, which North Korea and the U.S. negotiated in Geneva in 1994, and the September 19

Joint Statement, which resulted from the six-party talks in 2005, were reached not by the leaders but by lower-level negotiators. Since this latest agreement was reached by the leaders themselves, we believe it is much more likely to be carried out.

The peace process for the Korean Peninsula is a path that we have never walked down, as much as we may have thought about it. The South Korean government will move steadily toward establishing peace on the Korean Peninsula and achieving the joint prosperity of the Korean nation with wisdom, courage, and perseverance, and without losing heart or giving up no matter what difficulties arise. We hope that governments and leaders in countries around the world will appreciate our efforts and work with us. As I have already mentioned, the division of the Korean Peninsula was not a choice made by Koreans, but rather the tragic legacy of the Japanese colonial occupation and the Cold War system. The international community needs to help us bring that tragedy to an end.

The South Korean government will steadfastly move forward with a peace process aimed at dismantling the Cold War system and overcoming division on the Korean Peninsula. We hope you will join us as we strive to free the Korean Peninsula—where the Cold War system still lingers nearly thirty years after that system collapsed in Europe—from the chains of the Cold War. We want to transform the Korean Peninsula from earth’s last vestige of the Cold War into a model for world peace. We hope you will accompany us on this journey toward peace. Thank you.

[Congratulatory Remarks]

Support for Multilateral Cooperation in Building a Unified Community



Olga YEPIFANOVA
Deputy Chairperson of the State
Duma of the Federal Assembly
of the Russian Federation

Dear friends!

On behalf of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, I would like to thank the organizers of the Jeju Forum for their invitation.

In the seventeen years since its first meeting, the Jeju Forum for Peace & Prosperity has become one of the most important and acknowledged forums held in Asia, and Jeju Special Self-Governing Province has truly become an island symbolic of universal peace. The Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation fully supports the cause of the Jeju Forum and believes that only through high-level political dialogue on a broad range of topics we can guarantee peace and prosperity for our people.

Esteemed participants of the forum,

Mankind has always looked towards the future in hope, and eminent intellectuals have always dreamed of a world of co-prosperity. And yet, the beginning of such a beautiful age is being delayed for a variety of reasons. Some problems have been solved—positive changes are underway—but humanity also faces a continuous set of serious challenges.

International relations today are going through an age of fundamental change. A new and polycentric

model of world order is forming. This process has its hardships, and as geopolitical conflicts accumulate, there is less room for constructive dialogue among nations. The problem lies in the desire of certain Western countries to maintain control of the world order by imposing pressure upon emerging powers. This results in the devaluation of international law and weakens multinational organizations, leaving military strength as the only viable option for many countries to secure their autonomy. Thus, the world has yet to become a more stable and safer place.

There are also an increasing number of threats in the world today. These threats have become so frequent that the international community feels the necessity to take emergency measures. All concerned parties must begin serious discussions to re-strategize and reinforce this faltering international security as soon as possible.

The role of meetings such as the Jeju Forum is critical to the process. The Jeju Forum's principal subject is none other than the pursuit of prosperity and peace. The subject speaks for all our countries' fundamental interests. It is also for this express purpose that the Federal Assembly of Russian Federation serves the nation.

We support constructive, predictable, and mutually beneficial cooperation. We are convinced that such cooperation is grounded on equality, respect for national interests, and adherence to the principles of non-interference in domestic affairs.

We are taking initiatives in agendas of international unification, with many countries supporting our approach. It is logical that we see the necessity to exchange ideas on key subjects to bring opposing stances closer together, to broaden common ground, and to lessen areas of disagreement. While there may remain areas of disagreement, a nation's pursuit of its interests should not result in aggressive foreign policies. Rather, they should be based on respect and take mutual benefits into consideration.

I am certain that the Jeju Forum will make a great contribution in strengthening multilateral cooperation, in constructing a unified future community, and in reaching meaningful conclusions at the fourth Oriental Economic Forum scheduled in September.

I bid all nations of the world peace and prosperity.

Thank you.



[Congratulatory Remarks]

Northeast Asia as a Hub for Peace and Prosperity



Enkhtuvshin ULZIISAIKHAN
Deputy Prime Minister
of Mongolia



His Excellency Lee Nak-yeon, Prime Minister of the Republic of Korea, Distinguished guests, Ladies and Gentlemen.

I am delighted to participate to the esteemed Forum on “Reengineering Peace for Asia” being held on the beautiful island of Jeju of the Republic of Korea. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Organizing Committee of the Jeju Forum on extending the invitation to the delegates of the Government of Mongolia to take part in this Forum.

This year’s Jeju Forum is being held during the important time of the positive changes emerging on the Korean Peninsula and forward-looking atmosphere in the up-coming and future outlook of the regional security is being formed.

His Excellency Moon Jae-in, President of the ROK and His Excellency Kim Jong Un, Chairman of the State Affairs Commission of the DPRK held two rows of successful dialogues. His Excellency Donald Trump, President of the USA and His Excellency Kim Jong Un, Chairman of the State Affairs Commission of the DPRK met recently for the first time and released a Joint Statement on commitment to build firm basis for peace and denuclearization

of the Korean Peninsula. Mongolia congratulates that these historic summit meetings are significant for bringing forward major changes in peace and security landscape of not only Korean Peninsula but of the Northeast Asia and beyond. Mongolia also would like to congratulate the Republic of Korea on playing a prominent role in the successful holding of the summit meetings. Mongolia will further support the dialogues between the related parties directed at ensuring the security, confidence-building and developing multilateral cooperation.

Mongolia consistently adhered to the policy of resolving the issues through dialogue, by peaceful means even during the times of turbulence and tension. Mongolia has been urging the countries in the region for peaceful solution of the issues and has been consistently conducting diplomatic efforts to this end. The prominent example of this is the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue Initiative. Only few days after the USA-DRPK summit, the Fifth International Conference of the “Ulaanbaatar Dialogue on Northeast Asian Security” was held, with the status of the Conference being upgraded from initial track two to track one.

Mongolia aims at developing the Comprehensive

Partnership with the Republic of Korea, based on the shared values of democracy, human rights and freedom, not only bilaterally but on the regional level. We envision the Northeast Asia and Korean Peninsula to be an important center for the development and prosperity of the Asia and the Pacific. The Republic of Korea has been putting forward initiatives on deepening regional cooperation, strengthening peace and security, and supporting economic integration. For instance, the “New Northern Policy” of the President Moon Jae-in is important to accelerate regional integration. We have potentials for developing bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the energy field, in particular, the forming of the Asia Super Grid.

I am delighted to note that the Jeju island is one of the well-known and most travelled places for Mongolians. I express my gratitude and wish all the best to the administration and people of the Jeju island for successfully holding this esteemed event.

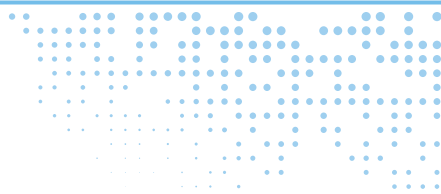
I wish success to the Jeju Forum.

Thank you for the attention.



[World Leader Session]

Reengineering Peace in Asia



Moderator

HONG Seok-hyun Chairman of JoongAng Holdings

Keynote Speaker/Discussant

BAN Ki-moon Former Secretary-General of the United Nations**Yasuo FUKUDA** Former Prime Minister of Japan**Brian MULRONEY** Former Prime Minister of Canada

• **Hong Seok-hyun** Two weeks ago, the eyes of the world were fixed on the first summit between the U.S. and DPRK in Singapore. Putting aside seven decades of confrontations, the two leaders met in an unprecedented face-to-face meeting, and agreed to improve relations. Their first bold step to achieve denuclearization and achieve lasting peace in the Korean Peninsula caused an undeniably tectonic shift in the region. The DPRK leader is at the center of this great change. After declaring last year that his country's development of nuclear weapons was complete, he pledged to focus on the economy. Since then, he has held two summits with President Moon and President Trump, and then met with President Xi. Will this break down the post-Cold War confrontation between the two Koreas, and expand to the U.S.-ROK-Japan maritime block and DPRK-China continental block? Everything depends on the DPRK's sincerity during the denuclearization process. Will there be a completely verifiable and irreversible dismantlement (CVID) for the peace agreement, and will Kim Jong-un normalize relations with the U.S. and obtain regime security while developing North Korea's economy? Let us listen to the world leaders' views on this today.

Keynote Speech | **BAN Ki-moon**

Since its inception in 2001, Jeju Forum has served as a dynamic platform for sharing vision on sustainable peace and prosperity on the Korean Peninsula and the greater Asia. And I believe its stature today perfectly encapsulates my vision at the start of my tenure as UN Secretary-General, which is to "bring Korea to the world and the world to Korea."

Our world is ever-changing, resulting in increased uncertainties, risks and concerns. New technologies, such as AI (Artificial Intelligence), biotechnology, and robotics are altering how we communicate, live, and work. Eventually, they will have far-reaching and massive implications for the future of humanity.

That means that these technological advances are shifting inter-relationships between countries and individuals.

They also change the way of international politics, which is becoming evident on various spheres. Protectionism is being advanced, and resurgent nationalism is threatening democracies and multilateral systems.

The values of global citizenship, which had been expanding through the world, is now weakening.

As every one of you are concerned, some countries in the position of global leadership who have championed universal values and global citizenship over the several decades have been stepping backward. Among them, the US has decided to withdraw from the Paris Climate Accord, JCPOA (Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action) on Iran's nuclear program, TPP(Trans-Pacific Partnership), UNESCO and most recently withdrew from the Human Rights Council of the UN.

Some of the European Union countries, which have represented inclusiveness, tolerance and humanitarian spirit, are also moving toward becoming exclusive and intolerant societies. It is frustrating to see these countries are building walls against each other and the rest of the world. Even the G7 seems to be faltering. While working at the UN, I had urged the world leaders, "please do not erect walls; instead build bridges among people."

We should learn lessons from the past. History has taught us that nationalism, intolerance and exclusiveness had brought about disastrous consequences to the people in Europe and the rest of the world during the first half of the 20th century.

Despite these disappointing developments, I firmly believe that there is still hope in changing the world for the better. And this change can start right here in this region. In this regard, theme of this Forum, "Reengineering Peace for Asia" is especially relevant and timely.

But to realize this hope, we need to work together to rebuild multilateral diplomacy, robust security cooperation and partnership, and faith in our globalized economy. We cannot deny the fact that this world is becoming increasingly more interconnected. Therefore, global challenges can only be addressed through inherently global solutions and with renewed global citizenship.

One of the important lessons I had learned while serving the UN is that not a single country or person, however powerful or resourceful may be, cannot solve problems alone. The lesson is still effective today. We must work together. We must pool all of our



resources and wisdom. And international peace and security should be more coordinated and aligned with sustainable developments and human rights. This understanding has guided me during my ten years as Secretary-General of the United Nations, to work tirelessly for the advancement of peace, development, and human rights throughout the world, including here on the Korean Peninsula.

North Korea's nuclear weapons and missile development have been causing tensions on the Korean Peninsula and deep international concern. This has resulted in new threats and challenges to our global security architecture. In the recent months, numerous sustained efforts have been taken to step up our collective actions to address this longstanding issue of grave concern. Therefore, I warmly welcome the string of diplomatic developments regarding the situation on the Korean Peninsula since the beginning of this year.

The PyeongChang Winter Olympics has helped create a much-needed opportunity to deescalate the acute tensions in 2017 and re-open inter-Korean dialogue on April 27. It also set the stage to restart US-North Korea dialogue, which was actualized at the historic leaders' summit in Singapore two weeks

ago. This demonstrates how future-oriented dialogue can facilitate an alleviation of tensions and the building of mutual trust and peace between the two Koreas, as well as between the US and North Korea.

However, we must cautiously move forward with a sober assessment of these positive yet quick-shifting developments, as well as an understanding of the multiple dynamics at-hand. In terms of inter-Korean relations, this is certainly not an easy issue. We have had inter-Korean summits in 2000 and 2007, but there was little sustainable movement forward because of DPRK's renege promises.

Therefore, we must all keep focused on our ultimate objective: the complete, verifiable, and irreversible dismantlement (CVID) of North Korean nuclear devices and programs.

We simply do not have the luxury of time to relax as Kim Jong-un makes amicable gestures. And failure is not an option. We can hope for the best, but we should always prepare for the worst. Moving forward, I would also like to reemphasize the greater need for enhanced coordination between the US and South Korea on all levels and in all spheres during this process.

Bolstering the synchronization of the US-ROK alliance is critical as both tracts develop, and we need to ensure that our diplomats and militaries are on the same page to maintain strong posture. Our alliance was established based on values of liberty, equality and human rights. The value of alliance cannot be measured in dollars and cents. Our alliance should be extended to the point that these values are shared with the people of Asia and the rest of the world. In this regard, I would caution against any sudden moves that could possibly undercut the strength of the US-ROK alliance and its central role as the bedrock of security and stability on the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia.

To ensure that we capitalize on the present moment, we must understand that a holistic solution to the peace and security situation on the Korean Peninsula cannot be achieved by just the two Koreas alone. Similarly, this cannot be solved solely through

US-North Korea talks. Indeed, pressing issues of global significance require inherently global solutions. In this regard, we need an "all hands on deck" approach in our pursuit of peace on the Korean Peninsula. This includes active cooperation and support from all directly concerned countries including the US, Japan, China, and Russia, as well as from other Asian nations, the United Nations, and the rest of the international community.

I also believe that the UN Security Council should maintain its strong international sanctions until there are concrete denuclearization measures from North Korea. Otherwise, we run the risk of repeating past mistakes and seeing them achieve their goals through deceptive negotiations.

In the history of human beings, there has been no moment of zero risks and challenges. Yet history has proven that we have overcome past adversities through collective wisdom and partnership. In the face with new challenges of high technologies and ego-centric nationalism, we need to exercise our collective wisdom and renew our commitment for global citizenship. It will also be applied to the North Korean nuclear issue. We must do all that we can to realize this vision.

Keynote Speech | **Brian MULRONEY**

I commend you for the topic: "Re-engineering Peace for Asia" is an objective that is very much at the centre of World attention these days, and for good reason.

The Singapore Summit was historic if only because it brought together the leaders of the U.S. and North Korea for the very first time. If you believe, as I do, that personalities can influence the direction of world affairs, you will undoubtedly agree that there is now hope that this beginning will create momentum for change and for reengineering peace in Korea and the Asian region. Just imagine what a lasting peace in Korea would mean for the world as a whole.

The Korean peninsula is very much back in the global spotlight these days and we can only hope that

the framework concluded at the Summit meeting in Singapore will eventually bear fruit for the good of the peninsula, this region and the world. After all, the nuclear threat to peace from North Korea is one of the most dangerous flashpoints for major conflict in the world today.

The symbolic images from Singapore offer the promise of concrete progress but there is also reason for prudence. History compels us not to rush to judgment about the prospects because we have traveled this road several times with North Korea only to be disappointed when it failed to deliver on solemnly agreed commitments. That is why there is an absolute need for complete verification of any promises that are forthcoming. I will always remember President Reagan's premise for arms negotiations with the USSR: "Trust but verify." That principle is equally relevant today.

Simply by agreeing to meet, Kim Jong-un obtained an unprecedented degree of legitimacy, along with some relief on sanctions from his major supporter – China. With the dialogue now underway, the "maximum pressure" which made it possible will inevitably wane. That is why we need to be clear-eyed and cautious about the prospect knowing that we are dealing with one of the most repressive regimes in the world, known infamously for the callous treatment of its own people. President Trump observed, "This is a different time and this is a different president."

It may be as well that Kim Jong-un is prepared to shift his country's strategic goal away from a quest for more lethal arms – intended to ensure the security of his regime to the pursuit of a more successful economy that would benefit his people. Time will tell.

Several key elements – how to verify the pledge to denuclearization and make that agreement irreversible and when or on what basis the U.S. will lift economic sanctions are not yet clear. These are among the issues that are outstanding and that underscore the daunting challenges that lie ahead.

Another big question left in abeyance is how the interests of the biggest party not at the table – China



– will become part of the negotiating process. Mr. Trump says it will take six months or more to determine whether the effort will succeed. You might say he played his "trump" card – recognizing and legitimizing Kim Jong un – in order to build trust on the agreed principles and generate momentum at the negotiating table.

The U.S. does have massive economic leverage. That is, after all, what helped bring Kim to the bargaining table. Will the carrot of economic benefits be as convincing as the stick of sanctions? Some foreign policy analysts were quick to point to what was missing as opposed to what was included in the agreement. Bruce Klingner, Senior Research Fellow at the Heritage Foundation stated that, "Each of the four main points in the agreement were in previous documents concluded with North Korea – some in a stronger, more encompassing way." Nonetheless, I see reasons for optimism. No-one would have believed thirty years ago that the Soviet Union would implode, that Eastern Europe would be able to embrace democracy and that Germany would be unified.

It happened largely as a result of bold visionary leadership by key leaders at that time. Astute political leadership can make good things happen. When

there is a bold consensus at the top pre-conceived obstacles to progress can be overcome. But the essential ingredient is mutual trust. That is the key lesson I gained from direct involvement in those transformational changes in Europe almost three decades ago. Changes which few imagined possible at that time.

Never doubt what the oxygen of even a limited amount of freedom might do to unseal the craving of the North Korean people for relief from their hermetically sealed “Hermit Kingdom.” The yearning for peace, security and prosperity is palpable everywhere and the benefits could spread well beyond the peninsula. Freedom is the essence of our values as democratic societies. It is what stimulates innovation and enables us to improve life for our citizens. It is, too, the most precious asset of our societies and what distinguishes our style of government from totalitarian regimes.

If the framework agreed at the Singapore Summit prompts a more productive dialogue, one that delivers tangible dividends in terms of real peace, the effects will be profound and have implications for the world as a whole. In every sense, dialogue is more conducive to stability than the ever present threat of a nuclear holocaust. As Winston Churchill famously said: “Jaw, jaw is always better than war, war.”

As staunch allies, we should use every opportunity to impress upon the North Korean leadership the benefits they could achieve by becoming a more responsible member of the international community. Those advantages are apparent to anyone who can observe firsthand the dramatic differences today between North and South Korea.

Just imagine how much better the “Land of Morning Calm” could be if the hopes and aspirations inspired in Singapore were to become reality. This most noble endeavor offers the best hope for success and the best promise for a true peace since the end of the Korean war. That is why there is every reason for us to be supportive of the goal. That is also why the message from this Forum should be one of con-

fidence and encouragement, urging the key players to be steadfast in using this symbolic opening to conclude genuine, verifiable commitments that will ensure a denuclearized, more peaceful and more prosperous Korea.

Keynote Speech | Yasuo FUKUDA

Discussions to realize peace are important. While I was worried that the U.S.-DPRK summit before the Jeju Forum would dissolve and negatively impact the Forum, I was glad that in the end the summit worked out.

I could see that much preparation had gone into bringing the Singapore summit into being. Meetings between the U.S. and DPRK had failed for many occasions before it was realized. Although there is no specific content in the agreement, which had implied a negative future for some people, I believe what we have now is good. There will be new developments between the U.S. and DPRK and we have to pick up on how things will proceed in the future. Japan hopes to provide support and engage in close consultations such as dialogues, wherein the two parties will engage in deep conversation. This should be



consistently pursued, as a failure of dialogue may lead to war. All dialogue at any level, including governmental and private, should be cherished. Engaging in bilateral dialogue between governments would promote exchanges between the two sides.

The Jeju Forum gives an opportunity for people to come together at a private level, share different perspectives, and depend on mutual understandings. This is important at this junction. Through peace we can realize prosperity, our ultimate goal.

While there are many ways in which we can cooperate together for prosperity, I believe economic cooperation is especially effective in reaching and realizing a consensus. Economic cooperation is ever evolving. The combined GDP of the Republic of Korea, Japan, and China would significantly surpass that of the U.S. Given this fact, I believe that the three countries could play a very important role. Trilateral cooperation can determine the fate of the region. Without using hegemonic power, we can co-prosper and prove that to the rest of the world. This means that the three countries need to find better ways to cement their cooperation. We have different forums aimed at promoting peace through economy and power.

We also need dialogue and enhanced mutual understanding through heart to heart interactions, because only then will we be able to realize peace and prosperity. I hope that the Jeju Forum will help us set a course on this path.

Discussion

• **HONG Seok-hyun** What are the speakers’ thoughts on the Singapore summit? Mr. Mulroney, you said that it is better not to rush prospects. How would you bet on the possibility of a McDonald’s opening in Pyongyang in the next few years?

• **Brian MULRONEY** I would bet on success going forward. I remember that on the fall of 1985 in New York, President Ronald Reagan had hosted a private dinner of G7 leaders. I asked Chancellor Helmut Kohl on his prospects of the unification of two Germanys. He replied positively, and said that German

television would be the cause. Margaret Thatcher asked, what is so good about German television that it would bring about unification? Kohl replied that it was the commercials. Ninety-five percent of East Germans saw Western commercials. Through that, they would see the products and lifestyles of West Germans. They would want that for themselves and their children. Four years later, in 1989, we had a united Germany, which no one had predicted. Now, the possibility of reunification in the Korean Peninsula would have never happened if the Singapore summit had never happened. This will lead to big and good things for South Korea, North Korea, and the world.

• **HONG Seok-hyun** I have a follow-up question. You spoke of a need for mutual trust at the top and at leadership level, and then Ronald Reagan’s principle of “trust but verify.” How should Trump and Kim build mutual trust and simultaneously verify without souring the mood?

• **Brian MULRONEY** Trump has more obvious personality faults than most, but he does have some leadership qualities, which is the bold and visionary hope that he undertook in Singapore. He understands the historical implications of this, and that this could place him in the right side of history in a major way. He is not insensitive to that. He will nurture this very carefully and instruct his administration to do everything to bring Kim over for progress to continue. The progress will keep on snowballing.

• **HONG Seok-hyun** What did you think about the Singapore summit? What is the role of Japan in this issue? How do you see the evolving of relations between Japan and North Korea, if North Korea does proceed with denuclearization?

• **Yasuo FUKUDA** I saw that many people wanted an all-or-nothing outcome at the Singapore summit, and they were disappointed when they saw that CVID was not specifically mentioned. However, with bilateral relations, a perfect outcome from one side’s perspective is impossible. People should remember that the ultimate objective is denuclearization, and credit the summit for this commitment. Also, people



should track following negotiations so that they can see a timeline between the two leaders on the implementation of denuclearization. People should have confidence in talks and trust in them, and then trust in the two leaders. It is more complicated for Trump, because he has up to six and a half years more as POTUS, but it should be realized within that time. Since it takes time to realize those things, relevant countries should coordinate together for a timetable and take action for full implementation. In the current situation, I feel that we are under a strong influence from Trump's actions. Maybe there will come a time when he has to change his way of thinking.

- **HONG Seok-hyun** Mr. Ban, you were actively involved in the six-party process in the past. How would you rate the summit in terms of achieving CVID?

- **BAN Ki-moon** The positive side is that Moon and

Trump's meetings have been largely positive and encouraging—they have given positive expectations to South Korea, North Korea, and the world. Most people, especially in Northeast Asia, have been excited simply because it was the first ever US-DPRK summit in history. For South Koreans, they had more cause to be excited because of the Panmunjom Declaration. The two meetings in Panmunjom took place in very different circumstances than in the past. During Kim Dae-jung's administration, North Korea did not yet have nuclear weapons. During Roh Moo-hyun's administration, North Korea did have nuclear weapons, but the international community had not yet taken North Korea seriously. So, we should applaud Presidents Moon and Trump.

Borrowing from an old Korean saying, my criticism is that if something is too publicized, there is not much content. Most people around the world

were more disappointed than hopeful because the US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo had said, only a day before the Singapore summit, that the only option for the US is CVID, but Kim had never spoken about nuclear issues in Panmunjom and Singapore. He had only talked about reconciliation. We have only heard about his assurances from Moon and Trump. From my personal experience during the six-party negotiations, even when we spelled out in unambiguous terms that the DPRK will not produce, manufacture, possess, or use nuclear weapons, and instead commit to verification and inspection, the language alone was not sufficient when the DPRK was not committed to implementation. So rather than the language, it is more important as to whether the Republic of Korea and the US will work closely with China and Russia so that DPRK will really adhere to commitment for CVID. The current jus-

tification from the US right now is that complete denuclearization will contain all relevant items such as CVID, but it is more important to have explicit statements from the DPRK itself.

Also, the ROK-U.S. alliance is not a bargaining chip for denuclearization in the Korean Peninsula. This is a completely separate issue. If there is complete denuclearization in the Korean Peninsula, the ROK and the US should have time to discuss what they want to do with joint military exercises. But for that to happen, we need verification that there is actually complete denuclearization.

- **HONG Seok-hyun** This is a question to everyone. What is your advice to President Moon in handling current events?

- **Brian MULRONEY** He is well on the way himself. There is growing friendship with the DPRK, and close relations with the U.S.

- **Yasuo FUKUDA** I also agree. President Moon has done a great job and he can judge for himself. However, cooperation with neighboring countries to narrow the gaps should be greater if there are differences in information and opinion. I would say the same thing to President Trump as well. Japan and Russia are also interested in these issues.

- **BAN Ki-moon** It is good to have a warm heart and passion, but it is also important to keep our heads cool simultaneously.

Policy Implications

- While only mutual trust and understanding among negotiating parties can carry efforts to their full conclusion, it is also important to verify during the process.
- All relevant countries should actively support efforts to solidify and expand on the progress seen by the Singapore summit in order to avoid a derailing of the progress.
- The public should not be too hasty to look for complete and perfect results in negotiations with the DPRK because such results rarely exist in diplomacy. Instead, results in negotiations should be evaluated in the context of building steps toward denuclearization.
- However, in the meantime the DPRK should explicitly and officially declare their commitment for specific and concrete goals such as CVID.

[Special Lecture]

The Danger of a Global Trade War



Paul KRUGMAN
Distinguished Professor
of the City University of New York

Presenter Paul KRUGMAN Distinguished Professor of the City University of New York / Nobel Laureate Economist in 2008
Discussant BARK Taeho Professor Emeritus, Seoul National University / Former Minister for Trade of the Republic of Korea

Presenter Paul KRUGMAN

We are in a quite remarkable situation right now. Just a few years ago, it was common to think of more closely integrated global economy almost as a fact of nature. No one really expected any major turnaround. But right now, that is no longer the case. There is a real risk, a very serious risk of trade war that could substantially reduce the amount of global trade. What would we mean by trade war? How could it happen? What would be the effects of the trade war?

Let us talk first about the history of trade policy. It is helpful to focus on the U.S. both because the U.S. is the epicenter of the crisis now we have and also because the global trade system that is at the risk now is basically an invention of the U.S.

There is a very long history of the U.S. tariff policies. The U.S. had average tariff rates typically around 40 percent from the 1860s up till the 1930s. It fluctuated a bit because of the episodes of inflation or deflation. Then, things changed. There is a crucial moment in the history of trade. The Trade Agreement Act In 1934, that is where the U.S. Congress passed the law which allowed the U.S. president to

negotiate trade agreements with other countries, which would be then subject to an upper down vote. So, Instead of the Congress voting on 300 different tariffs, the president of the United States would make trade agreements that would then be subject to a vote at the Congress. It enabled him to make deals with one country at a time. That was very, very important for the political economy of trade policy.

As long as you set the tariffs of your own, every special interest group wants tariffs. The well-organized special interests group knows what is at stake, and they spend a lot of money. The losers from the tariffs tend to be dispersed and tend to be general public. And they do not have a voice. They do not even know the existence of a trade policy. So, in the United States, we have significant restriction on imports of sugar. So, the U.S. sugar prices are twice the world level. But, the average American does not even know the policy exists. If you make the tariff on unilateral basis, it is very much like a special interest politics.

In the 1930s, the United States began a process of negotiations on trade. And in the 1947, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, an international agreement, turned the process of trade negotiation

into a global standard. Much later on, the GATT was subsumed into the World Trade Organization that provided a more effective system to settle trade disputes. That process of trade negotiation changed the way international trade policy was made. Without this institution, this agreement, the world could cease to be a place to cooperate on trade, When we talk about trade war, what we really mean by it would be a breakdown of this process of negotiation. A trade war is a situation in which every country starts to make trade policy for itself without taking into account the rules of game.

Trade war is more like an arms race with everyone ending up wasting a lot of resources and being worse off. What we have potentially now is that kind of trade war, a trade arms race. The reason that this has become a possibility is because there is a considerable political backlash against some changes in trade, but also because the single most important player, the U.S., is led by people who do not believe any of this and who do not appreciate what we have achieved in that long period of reduction of tariffs and do not appreciate the fragility of the system.

So what we have right now is the Trump administration not only putting a whole punch of tariffs but putting them in the name of national interests in ways that are crazy. We have national security tariffs against the imports of steel from Canada. But, nobody believes the national interests threats there.

So, what would it mean if we do have that breakdown? The U.S. already imposed tariffs on all of our major trading partners. Tariffs against our North American partners in NAFTA, China and EU. All of those trading partners have imposed, or are about to impose retaliatory tariffs. All indications are that the U.S. will retaliate against that retaliation, and they will retaliate against our retaliation. It is easy to tell a story that we are in the course in relative short time, in a couple of years, of a dramatic escalation of breakdown of the whole system that took about 70 years to build. We are very much at a risk of what we would call a trade war.

How much difference would that make? History

suggests that the tariffs might go to 40 percent. As some other ways of approaching the problem, we can ask what would happen if each country tries to maximize its income by raising their export prices and driving down the prices of imports. That actually gives you about the same answer, something like 40 percent of tariff. If I try to do some back of the envelop calculation, it suggests something like a two thirds reduction in trade could happen.

Globalization does not always move forward. The world had substantially more trade in 1913 before World War I than it did in 1950. It took a long time to recover. The GATT was founded in 1947. There were many rounds of trade negotiations. It was not until 1980s the world trade was back to its level in 1913. After 1990, we had a really dramatic take-off in trade. So we talked about modern technology and said that the world has gotten smaller. That is when you started the process of what some people called hyper-globalization. And hyper-globalization mostly involves complicated international value chain.

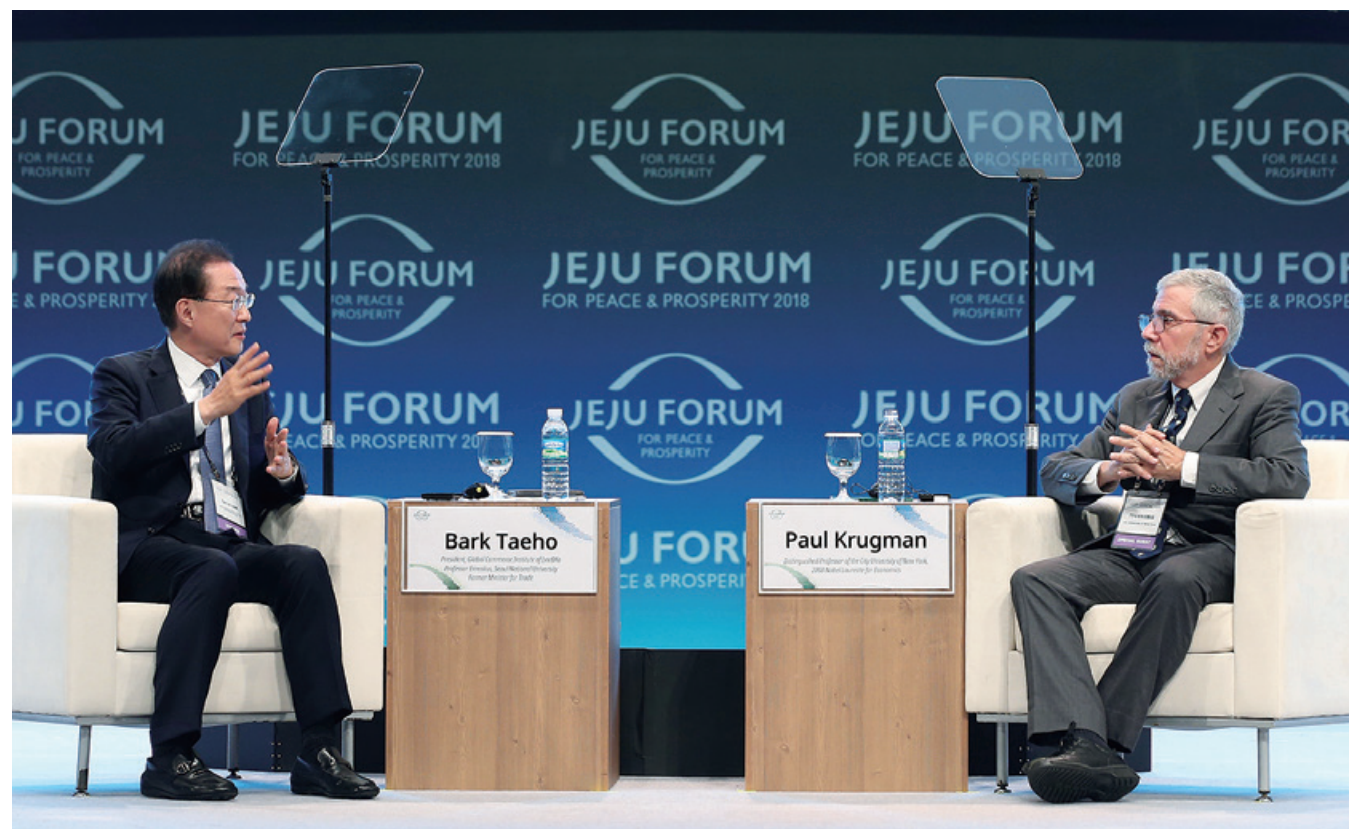
In the modern world, we have a lot of trade. We produce something which is a component into something else which is sent to somewhere else and somewhere else. So, this thing (iphone) that I carry



in my pocket is a Chinese product. The last step in its assembly is in China, but only a few dollars of the price of the phone is actually Chinese value. There is substantially larger component of South Korea in the phone, a lot of Japanese value, and the American value, as well. That is these complicated value chain. It is very important to have containerization so that you can take things on and off ships, trains and trucks very cheaply. It is also important to have modern information technology, so that the bar codes on the side of the container tell everybody what is in it. But it is also important to have very low tariffs. All of this globalization reflects this world of very open trade that we created. If it ceases to be open trade, then it goes away. If we go back to something like the 40 percent of tariff, the world trade volume will also decline by two-thirds, which will bring us back us to the 1950s level. Now, why is this even on table? Part of the answer, although I think it is only a part, is that the rapid rise in trade did cause a lot of losers. We had a very rapid expansion of trade between 1990 and 2010, which meant that some industries and people found themselves in the path of the rapid increase in trade. People in the United States talks about the China shock and the surge of the imports from China, which were actually imports from Asia in general.

The China shock, I do not believe, actually cost the United States any jobs, but it changed the jobs. The job were lost in many places. It was disruptive. There were real losers. That produced quite a lot of anger. I still think it is idiosyncratic thing that the current U.S. administration is so determined to tear down the structure. But clearly, we would be making mistake to imagine there were no real grievances. There were losers. We did not do enough to help the losers from trade.

However, the important point now is what if we try to turn back the clock, what if we do actually have a trade war? That is going to make the world poor, significantly poor in the long run. A regression back to the 1950s level of trade would make the world probably 2-3 percent poorer than it is now.



The whole structure of the global production is based on this open world economy, based on the expectation that the market will remain open. This is true of the U.S and everybody. Undo the open markets, and suddenly a lot of people will find themselves in the wrong places.

Famously, President Trump said, “Trade wars are easy to win,” but he is already finding out even on this first stage that it is not true. He is finding out that even though the U.S. runs trade deficits, it has a lot of export-related jobs. Soybean farmers are already hurting pretty badly. Just yesterday, Harley Davidson said it is moving production facilities out of the U.S. because of the European tariffs, which are being imposed in retaliation against the Trump tariffs. That is the very first beginning of a storm. The U.S has about 10 million workers who are employed by those who are producing exports.

I have changed my views on this. Until a few months ago, I thought that the prospects of all that disruption meant that things would not get too bad. I am not all sure of this.

Relationship among the major economic powers has never been worse. There is no sign of improvement. So, the possibility of a tit for tat retaliation that breaks down this whole system of low tariffs is very real. This is going to be a very big deal. World trade as we have known for decades may look completely different in five to 10 years.

I keep on trying to tell an optimistic story where we avoid the worst, but, so far, I have not found a convincing version of that optimistic story. So I would say the risks of trade war are large, and the disruptions are large. So, it is going to be a very bumpy ride in the years ahead.

Q & A

• **BARK Taeho** You already mentioned about the risk of trade war. I am a little bit alarmed after hearing your lecture. I was, too, pretty much optimistic that maybe rhetoric, not real action will come out, but it sounds like we have high probability of local trade war.

• **Paul KRUGMAN** I would have thought there is too much money at stake for this to go ahead and happen. But you can see just what happened. Basically saying, we depend on exports. If faced with the prospects of European tariffs, we are going to ship more of our productions abroad. Instead of taking this as a warning sign. The president of the United States went into rage and started calling them cowards and saying that they are surrendering. As it is not clear who has to the ability to stop this, you keep on thinking that there must be some wise men who can intervene to make things better. But those wise men seem to be hiding right now.

• **BARK Taeho** Assuming that this war really happened, are there different impacts on different countries, for example, the United States versus China, and also Korea. Is there any difference between the countries?

• **Paul KRUGMAN** Yes. Big economies are on average less vulnerable than Korea. To some extent, regional trading deals may cushion some of the smaller economies. So, one can imagine some kind of Asian agreement that would limit the damages. But if you list the countries that are extremely vulnerable to this kind of war, this would be one of them. Not only Korea, which is very much export-oriented, but export-oriented value chain is at most risk.

• **BARK Taeho** President Trump is charging against China on its violation of intellectual property rights, forced technology transfer and huge government subsidies. It seems to be very valid. Do you also see same kind of point?

• **Paul KRUGMAN** China is a bad actor in the world economy. China should be helping to sustain the system and China is, instead, still engaged in intel-

lectual property practices that dupe, or rip off the advanced country. So, there would actually have been a pretty good case for the U.S. to take a hardline measure against the Chinese violation of intellectual property, forced technology transfer and threatening sanctions that all the advanced countries suffer the same problem.

So, it is natural to have a coalition of the U.S, EU, Japan and Korea to force China to abide by the rules of games. However, what is happening, instead, is that the U.S. is picking fights with everybody at the same time. And it is not even clear what it wants from China. Famously, now we have a case of the U.S. mission whose top U.S. officials yelling at each other in front of the Chinese. So, Chinese are saying that the U.S. is not coherent, which it is. I can tell you an imaginary story about an imaginary U.S. president who would try to act upon genuine U.S. grievances against China. But, that is not the U.S. president we have, and it is not the situation we have.

- **BARK Tae-ho** What kind of role should so-called middle power countries like Korea have in the global trade governance? Do you have any suggestion?
- **Paul KRUGMAN** I have never been good at understanding how these things work. But, we have to say that the G-7 meeting was a disaster. And maybe, something like G-20 that includes a wider set of countries might help a little bit. It can somewhat dilute the extent to which the U.S. contests with Canada and China. A larger group would help. If we can get the middle sized, middle-income countries into

the system, it may help. We are going to need them, because it turns out the wealthy and advanced countries are no longer reliable partners.

Policy Implications

- The U.S. is at the heart of the trade war and tariff rates are likely to soar to 40 percent. In this case, the world trade volume may be cut by two-thirds.
- Export-driven countries such as South Korea are most vulnerable to the trade war, so they need to strengthen their trade ties with the countries in the Asian region.
- While being wary of the trade policies of the US and China, South Korea should reassess its trade partners to strengthen its trade ties with them.

[On the 20th Anniversary of Joint Declaration by Kim Dae-jung and Keizo Obuchi]

Korea-Japan Relations in the 21st Century: Toward Universal World Civilization of Reconciliation and Coexistence

Opening Remarks	KANG Chang il Chairman, Korea-Japan Parliamentarians' Union Fukushiro NUKAGA Chairman, Japan-Korea Parliamentarians' Union
Congratulatory Remarks	LEE Soohoon Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to Japan Yasumasa NAGAMINE Ambassador of Japan to the Republic of Korea KIM Hong-gul Chairman, Korean Council for Reconciliation and Cooperation
Keynote Speech	PARK Myunglim Director, Kim Dae-jung Presidential Library of Yonsei University
MC	OH Younghoon Member of Korean National Assembly
Chair	CHUNG Ku-chong Chairman, The Korea-Japan Culture Exchange Council/Professor Emeritus, Dongseo University
Discussant	Members of Korea-Japan/Japan-Korea Parliamentarians' Union

Opening Remarks | **KANG Chang il**

The reconciliatory and peaceful mood on the Korean peninsula is heralding a grand scale of change in the Northeast Asian order. The peninsula, the last remaining Cold War zone, has taken a great step to end the Cold War. A mature relationship between

Korean and Japan is desperately needed for peace and prosperity in Northeast Asia. Twenty years ago, South Korean President Kim Dae-jung and Japanese Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi announced the “Joint Declaration on a New Korea-Japan Partnership in the 21st Century” in their wish for an improvement in bilateral relations ahead of the 21st century. In this



session of the Jeju Forum, which is being held on the 20th anniversary of the joint declaration by Kim Dae-jung and Keizo Obuchi, we will discuss ways to promote friendship and cooperation between Korea and Japan while carefully reviewing the spirit and principle contained in the summit declaration. I hope that it will provide a chance to resolve the historical problems stemming from imperialism and the Cold War and to move toward a future-oriented partnership. In the journey toward a mature, future-oriented partnership, both Korean and Japanese parliamentarians have played a major role in sustaining exchanges, based on long-established trust and friendship. I would like to express my gratitude to all the members of the Japan-Korea Parliamentarians' Union, including Fukushima NUKAGA, who attended this meeting.

Korea and Japan are geographically closer to each other than any other country. They have developed and cultivated democracy and the market economy in Asia. President Kim Dae-jung said when he visited Japan's parliament 20 years ago that the two countries have shared a history of exchanges for 2,000 years. If so, to achieve development based on peace, friendship and cooperation between them cannot be something but fate for them. When the two countries share their valuable experiences and capabilities, they can contribute to the prosperity of Asia as well as the world. This is one of the principles of the Kim Dae-jung-Obuchi Declaration.

The people of the Republic of Korea and Japan wish for peace and co-prosperity in Northeast Asia more than any others. However, this wish rests on peace on the Korean peninsula. Complete denuclearization of the Korean peninsula is a must. Fortunately, at the inter-Korean summit held twice in April and May, North Korea declared its commitment to complete denuclearization. By implementing the Panmunjeom Declaration earlier, we can hasten building a peace regime on the peninsula. At the U.S.-North Korean summit held on June 12, the two leaders pledged to make efforts to build a sustainable and stable peace regime on the peninsula. North

Korea reaffirmed the Panmunjeom Declaration and promised again its efforts to achieve complete denuclearization of the peninsula. The Korean peninsula now meets the conditions to build peace. Japan rose up from the ashes of war and built the world's greatest economic power while being faithful to the principle of denuclearization and pacifism. The Republic of Korea has achieved rapid economic development and democratization at the same time by overcoming the pain of division and fratricide. We look forward to Japan's active cooperation in efforts to achieve lasting peace on the Korean peninsula.

Of course, there are also issues to be addressed to build mature bilateral relations and to cooperate continuously. As President Kim Dae-jung mentioned, the 2,000-year-long history of exchanges should not become meaningless due to an unfortunate period of history of less than 50 years. The key to resolving the issue of historical perception can be found in the true courage of facing the past squarely as then prime minister Obuchi did 20 years ago. By learning lessons from historical facts and seeking a better future, Korea and Japan can have a mature, future-oriented partnership. We should go back to basics when faced with difficulties. If we respect the spirit of the joint declaration of Kim Dae-jung-Obuchi, there will be no problems that cannot be solved. I hope the two countries can make a fresh history based on the spirit of the Joint Declaration.

The Declaration said in Point 4, "They also shared the view that it was extremely important to advance the partnership between the two countries, not only in the bilateral dimension but also for the peace and prosperity of the Asia-Pacific region and the international community as a whole, and in exploring in various ways to achieve a society in which individual human rights are better respected, and a more comfortable global environment." Now, we have to open up a new future. We need a new joint statement in the spirit of the declaration 20 years ago to open new future for Northeast Asia. We should seek to establish a new cooperation system in Northeast Asia, based on an advanced peace regime on the Korean

peninsula. The European Union development process is a good example for us. We should pursue an economic community based on peace in Northeast Asia. Korea-Japan/Japan-Korea Parliamentarians' Union will take the initiative to announce a new joint declaration. "A New Future for Northeast Asia" shall be pursued in cooperation between Korea and Japan. I hope that we can share valuable views on our future partnership in this session.

Opening Remarks | Fukushima NUKAGA

Summit-level talks were recently under way in Northeast Asia, such as the inter-Koreas summit, the U.S.-North Korean summit and North Korea-Chinese summit. They are a movement to explore a new future for Northeast Asia. I think we are now free from the tensions raised by the six nuclear tests and scores of ballistic missile launches by North Korea over the past two years. We welcome this opportunity for dialogue. I think it is important for the heads of state to ensure concrete steps be taken toward denuclearization. We will do our best to build peace in this region while supporting and confirming the denuclearization measures. As Japan has to settle the Japanese abduction issue with the North, we will



also seek cooperation with neighboring countries, including Korea.

Former Prime Minister Kim Jong-pil was a key figure behind the agreement on the Korea-Japan Basic Treaty and normalizing diplomatic relations. He was a distinguished politician whose passion and strategic thinking made a great contribution to the improvement of Korea-Japan relations. In the spring of 2015, I made a courtesy visit to Kim. At that time, the bilateral relationship was in bad shape, due to the comfort women issue that had resurfaced under the government of Park Geun-hye. I wondered what Kim thought about this, but Kim unexpectedly asked me about the reason for these soured ties. I replied that it was because of the lack of mutual trust and the failure of indecisive politicians of both countries to persuade their people. Upon my answer, Kim said, that was not the case. He said that the act of sheer obstinacy from both sides was the problem. He said that both sides should make concessions in consideration of the interests of the two countries and the people, the development of the region, the long history of cooperation between the two countries, and their future. I cannot forget these words of the seasoned politician.

Diplomacy is not a matter of win or lose. Rather, it is important to create an environment in which both sides can say that they have won. That benefits each other. Diplomacy cannot win the full 100-point score. Therefore, I believe that we should be clearly oriented toward the future. The model for this is the Joint Declaration of Kim Dae-jung and Keizo Obuchi, I think. At that time, I was serving as defense minister and chief cabinet minister in the Obuchi Cabinet, and President Kim Dae-jung gave a speech at the Diet. What was most impressive about his speech was his remark that the time had come to open a new era for Korea and Japan. Kim said to the effect that he hoped Japan would see the colonial rule of Korea, World War II, and past history squarely, reflect on these, and engage in politics accordingly, and that he would like to see future-oriented politics.

In response to the speech, Prime Minister Obuchi made an official apology for the suffering and pain of the Korean people during World War II and documented it, as the first Japanese prime minister to do so. This historical perception, shared by the two leaders, led to their joint declaration of the partnership for the 21st century. Korea opened its door to Japanese culture. I think the Kim Dae-jung-Obuchi declaration also led to the joint hosting of the Korea-Japan World Cup. I think the two countries enjoyed the best relationship during that period. We also want to build a new relationship with Korea based on that experience. In the meantime, Asia was suffering from a currency crisis, and I thought that the three countries of Korea, China and Japan should join hands to address the financial issue. So, I proposed a summit of the three countries, but China would not accept it. I sought the support of the then South Korean president Kim Dae-jung for the summit and he managed to persuade China to join it, finally launching the 1st summit of the three countries in Manila in 1999. I think almost everything is possible in Northeast Asia when Korea and Japan cooperate with each other. It is important for the two countries to hold hands. As regards North Korea, too, the U.S., Korea and Japan, the countries which uphold the values of freedom, democracy and human rights, should join hands. Let us go forward together.

Congratulatory Remarks | **LEE Soohoon**

A historic peace process is under way on the Korean peninsula, the only remaining Cold War legacy, lasting seven decades, in the world. The Jeju Forum, which is held under the theme of “Re-engineering Peace for Asia” is very timely and meaningful, I think.

The Moon Jae-in government of South Korea seeks to develop bilateral ties into a future-oriented, mature partnership with its conviction that Korea and Japan are cooperative partners for peace and common prosperity on the Korean peninsula and the whole region of Northeast Asia. To this end, the



two governments are working together. Shuttle diplomacy between the two countries was restored by the visit of Prime Minister Abe to the PyeongChang Winter Olympics in February this year, and President Moon Jae-in’s participation in the Korea-China-Japan summit in Japan in May. As high-level exchanges continue in various fields, bilateral relations are seeing positive developments.

Eying this sign of an improvement in their ties, the governments of both countries are endeavoring to make the 20th anniversary of the Joint Declaration of Kim Dae-jung and Keizo Obuchi a starting point to make a new leap forward. To this end, the Korean and Japanese diplomatic authorities are currently in close consultation to prepare a blueprint for a new bilateral relationship.

Earlier this year, the Korean peninsula made a dramatic shift from the phase of confrontation and conflict, on the verge of a war, to dialogue and reconciliation. Following the adoption of the Panmunjeom Declaration at the historic inter-Korean summit on April 27, the North Korea-U.S. summit was also successfully held on June 12. These were a good start for the long journey toward denuclearization of the Korean peninsula and a permanent peace regime. However, there is still a long way to go, and

the path will never be smooth. There is no reason to be optimistic, or pessimistic. The international community, including the concerned countries, should cooperate and go forward step-by-step in a calm and cool-headed manner. The bilateral relations of North Korea with South Korea, Japan and the U.S., might be one of two wheels on a wagon headed for denuclearization. I hope that Japan will stop hesitating and join the endeavor toward peace and prosperity on the peninsula.

Since Korea and Japan are closest neighbors, it is inevitable that they will undergo many conflicts, and ups and downs. Sometimes preoccupied with a pending issue, they would see their relations break down. What is important is the belief that they can tide over whatever hardship there is if they join hands in mutual recognition of the values and strategic importance of each other.

The two countries must seek solutions to sensitive and intractable issues by separating them from ordinary ones, while pursuing cooperation for future-oriented ties on another track. Above all, it is important to enhance mutual understanding by expanding civic exchanges. We are about to see the “exchange of 10 million people.” We firmly believe that bilateral ties will develop in a more positive direction through mutual understanding, trust and vigorous exchanges. To make joint efforts for bilateral cooperation, and peace and prosperity on the Korean peninsula and in Northeast Asia are the very means to make a new “Korea-Japan partnership for the 21st century” in the spirit of the Joint Declaration of Kim Dae-jung and Obuchi. This will ultimately lead to the “re-establishment of peace in Asia.” Today, we hope to share views on the status quo on the peninsula, while looking forward to many insightful ideas to help the two countries join hands to seek peace and prosperity on the peninsula and in Northeast Asia.

Congratulatory Remarks | **Yasumasa NAGAMINE**

The Joint Declaration of the Korea-Japan Partner-



ship has served as a guideline for bilateral ties in the 21st century. Twenty years later on, the spirit still does not lack its luster, suggesting many visions to us.

First, the declaration was aimed at developing future-oriented ties. The future-oriented spirit calling for joint efforts to develop their ties while carefully managing thorny issues is the foundation of the bilateral relationship now. This is repeatedly confirmed by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and President Moon Jae-in. On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the declaration, the diplomatic authorities are holding discussions about this. Second, the declaration calls for more discussions and dialogue between the two countries to elevate their ties to a higher level. Along this line, Moon Jae-in agreed to resume shuttle diplomacy with Japan right after taking office last year. Under the agreement, Prime Minister Abe visited the PyeongChang Olympic Games, and President Moon Jae-in paid a visit to Japan. So far, the two leaders have held four summits and had 12 phone conversations. Japanese Foreign Minister Kono Taro has also visited Korea twice since April this year. Third, the declaration contained measures to promote exchanges in a wide range of fields from politics, security and the economy to cultural exchanges. Concrete action plans

were also set up. The opening of the Korean market to Japanese culture facilitated their exchanges and mutual understanding. Many other achievements have been made. Diplomatic officials are discussing ways to build more on top of the past achievements of their predecessors. The results of a joint poll by Genron NPO and the East Asian Institute of Korea were released last week. The ratio of those who said they have good impression on each others' countries was still below 30 percent in both countries. However, I think we should note the growing exchanges in various fields and dimensions when the number of visits between the two countries almost reaches 10 million per year. As reasons that they have a good impression of their counterparts, Japanese cited their interest in Korean dramas and music, while Koreans pointed to kindness and the sincere attitude of Japanese people in the poll. This is proof that mutual understanding has been enhanced at the national and civic levels. I think this is one of the great achievements of the Joint Declaration. Today's forum is a good opportunity to look back on the spirit of the declaration, renew our resolve to reaffirm the efforts and achievements of our predecessors, and seek the future-oriented development of bilateral ties. I wish for fruitful results of our exchanges and promise to continue my best efforts to that end as Japanese ambassador to Korea.

Congratulatory Remarks **KIM Hong-gul**

I am pleased to join this meaningful session to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the Kim Dae-jung-Obuchi Declaration and to discuss how to seek a new joint statement. This year has seen phenomenal changes in Northeast Asia, starting with the Panmunjeom Declaration on April 27 and the inter-Korean summit on May 26, through the North Korea-U.S. summit on June 12. About 30 years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the "Cold War Wall" is finally breaking down on the Korean Peninsula. I was once again convinced that a new era of peace is coming to the peninsula, upon the news about the return of the



remains of U.S. soldiers, killed during the Korean War in 1950, to the U.S. I think this repatriation of the remains proves the firm faith North Korea and the U.S. have in each other.

Following the Joint Declaration, the two countries have made efforts to overcome their tragic past and to develop future-looking ties, based on reconciliation and friendship. The "Sunshine Policy" that former president Kim Dae-jung upheld throughout his life was not about North Korea, alone. It was meant to maintain friendly ties with neighboring countries such as Japan, which has been an intimate but sometimes estranged neighbor, and to pursue peace and stability of the entire Northeast Asia region.

Now, we must build stronger ties than ever before in order to complete peace-building in Asia. Both South and North Korea, as well as Japan and China, will have to settle their history issues and move toward the future. Re-engineering peace in Asia is aimed at settling thorny issues through the process of communication, healing and integration. Overcoming the unfortunate past and opening a new future are the missions given to our generation and the beginning of the endeavor to re-engineer peace in Asia.

The Korean Council for Reconciliation and Coop-

eration will make more efforts to reestablish peace in Asia and Korea. To correct the unfortunate history and to establish a new value system, South and North Korea should jointly seek the repatriation of the remains of Korean forced laborers in Japan.

Keynote Speech **PARK Myunglim**

In an academic conference to mark the 50th Anniversary of the Jeju April 3 Incident, "truth and justice," "forgiveness and healing," "reconciliation and co-prosperity" and "life and peace" were suggested 20 years ago as the essence of a future-looking spirit with regard to the incident. This future spirit has today become the Jeju spirit. I suggest that this spirit of Jeju be upheld as the principle governing the world beyond Northeast Asia as well as the Korea-Japan relationship, the subject of today's session.

If Korea and Japan, whose relations have been elusive, pursue "forgiveness and cure," based on "truth and justice," and finally achieve "reconciliation and coexistence with others" amid the abundance of life and peace, we can achieve it anywhere else in the world.

This year, we mark the 20th anniversary of the Kim Dae-jung and Keizo Obuchi Declaration, which brought a turning point in historical perceptions and opened a new chapter in the Korea-Japan relationship. I would like to remember and share with you the deeper meaning, vision and insights of the declaration against the background of the recent changes on the Korean peninsula and in Northeast Asia.

With the Kim Dae-jung-Obuchi Declaration, the postwar Japan-Korea relationship was able to achieve a third major historical transformation. The first one was the "48-year relationship." It can also be called "Syngman Rhee-Yoshida Shigeru relationship" that established the post-war foundation of the two countries. Because of aggression, colonization and liberation, and the national sovereignty restoration movements during World War II and the Cold War, the work to mend bilateral ties was never easy. The second was the "65-year relationship." As a rela-



tionship between Park Chung-hee and Sato Eisaku, who achieved normalization of diplomatic ties, it was characterized as a cooperative relationship for post-war modernization and economic development. The 65-year relationship can be said to have liquidated part of the legacies of colonial rule and partly restored bilateral ties. The third was the "98-year relationship." As a relationship between Kim Dae-jung and Keizo Obuchi, it opened a new era with Japan's apology for colonialism, Korea's recognition of Japan's willingness to contribute to world peace and prosperity, common perceptions about the history of cooperation between Korea and Japan, the mutual acceptance of each other's cultures, the initiation of defense exchanges, and cooperation on global issues. The two countries should now open a fourth new bilateral ties toward peace in Northeast Asia and the world. We should make a fourth leap toward universalization to achieve universal human rights, universal reconciliation, universal peace and universal civilization.

World history teaches us that the unfortunate history of modern Korea and Japan was never a universal one. When compared with the general history of the world, their relationship for thousands of years was more peaceful than those of any other

neighboring countries. It was peaceful except for the seven-year-war of East Asia in 1592-1598, the forced Japanese occupation of Korea for 35 years during 1910-1945, and two other aggressions by Japan. To my surprise, the great Korean admiral, Yi Sun-sin, spoke of the “200 years of a reign of peace” before the war, and Sin Chae-ho talked about the “300-years of post-war peace.” Now, we should look at bilateral ties in light of a new universalism.

The real problem then lies elsewhere. Even countries that have suffered from long wars and confrontation have restored relations in the spirit of reconciliation, coexistence, abundant peace and common prosperity, but Korea and Japan, which have a shorter history of confrontation and hostility, still fail to do so. There exists a wide gap between their economic cooperation and cultural exchanges versus their views on history, human rights and reconciliation. They should leap over this gap.

Now, Korea is no longer a small and weak country. It is a middle power whose economy is one of the world's top 10, with a strong military power, huge trade volume and advanced technologies. Outgrowing the victim's mentality and the sense of inferiority as a peripheral country, Korea has made great developments, enough to perform its due role in the civilization of universalism. It is time for us to have a mature universalism and global citizenship, accordingly. Both Korea and Japan must now go one step further, past the technological, economic and materialistic achievements of the 20th century. I hope that they will become decent countries by transcending materialism and technology, and propagating and sharing such intrinsic values as human rights, peace, reconciliation, coexistence, morality, ethics, culture and civilization.

Beyond economic cooperation and cultural exchanges, I hope that the two countries will establish the most exemplary relationship in the world by presenting a model case of making an apology for the past, forgiving and reconciling with each other, promoting human rights and pursuing peace. I sincerely hope that they will aspire to the most advanced

universalism of hospitality, friendship, human rights and peace in the world. I also urge them to sincerely reflect on their failure to respect human rights and reconcile with each other. It is my earnest desire that Korea and Japan will become a model universal civilization for the world. This is the future of Korea and Japan that we owe our descendants. We should pass to the next generation the achievements of our ancestors who have overcome the poverty and pain of war, and built today's Japan and Korea.

The future belongs to future generations. In addition to national citizenship education in Korea and Japan, I hope to see the future generations of both countries learn East Asian citizenship and global citizenship, and become most exemplary global citizens. Global citizens can become national citizens, but national citizens find it difficult to become global citizens. The future generations of Korea and Japan should grow into East Asian citizens and global citizens. We must lay a firm foundation for the Korea-Japan relationship so that the future generations can achieve permanent reconciliation and permanent peace in Northeast Asia and the world. We must open a new future by carrying on the spirit of the Kim Dae Jung-Obuchi Declaration.

Discussion

• **Kiyohiko TOYAMA** There are many things we can learn from the European experience. Both Korea and Japan should build friendship and peaceful ties with North Korea and China, which has become the second largest economic power. President Kim Dae-jung gave a remarkable speech at the Japanese parliament in October, 20 years ago. His most impressive remark was “a miracle is not miraculous.” What seems to be a miraculous phenomenon has been achieved not only by politicians but also by the sweat, blood and efforts of all the people. As Nukaga Fukushiro, chairman of the Japan-Korea Parliamentarians' Union, said, Korea-Japan relations should be based on the principle of looking forward to the future while looking squarely into the past. That was



the spirit of the joint declaration of Kim Dae-jung and Obuchi. We are at the historical point of denuclearization of the Korean peninsula, and a declaration of the end of the Korean War. What we have to do is to improve bilateral ties and cooperate with each other. I think we should make joint efforts to create a new Korea-Japan Joint Declaration.

• **PARK Byung-suk** The joint declaration of Kim Dae-jung-Obuchi can be summarized by the principle of overcoming an unfortunate history and establishing future-oriented relations. We need to examine once again whether we have truly respected this principle. Germany established the Remembrance, Responsibility and Future Foundation to deal with postwar problems. It is a truly meaningful name. It is now time to ask ourselves, “Has Japan been truly faithful to its apology?” and “Have we been faithful to a future-oriented relationship?” I hope that Japan will join in efforts to build peace on the Korean peninsula. Koreans tend to think that Japan is responsible for the division of Korea. The Korean peninsula now faces a world-historical change. Judging by what Japan has done so far, I doubt that Korea and

the international community would give consent to Japan's active role in settling peace on the Korean peninsula, I would like to point out to the Japanese side that the current changes on the peninsula are definitely different from the past. The inter-Korean summit and the North Korea-U.S. summit were definitely different from the past because they dealt with denuclearization and international issues at the same time. If the former consensus was the one agreed upon at the working level, what we now see is the process of the heads of state actually implementing what they agreed to in the early days of their terms. I hope Japan will recognize this difference.

• **Akira KASAI** I want to point out three points. First, North Korea and the U.S. held its first summit on June 12th. I sincerely support the joint declaration that they will cooperate for the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula and the establishment of a peace regime. The peace process truly has historical significance. Second, a war should never happen. Koreans and Japanese strongly desire a peaceful solution through dialogue. I sincerely support the inter-Korean Panmunjeom Declaration. The agree-

ment opened a door for all countries, including North Korea and the U.S., to escape the threat of nuclear war. Third, in that light, the 1998 Korea-Japan Joint Declaration can serve as a cornerstone of the peace process. If the peace process proves successful, it will be a turning point to make the threat of war no more threatening. I will strongly demand that Japan and North Korea hold a summit with the grand vision of peace-building in Northeast Asia.

- **YU Seung-heui** The talks between Moon Jae-in and Kim Jung-un at Panmunjeom paved the way toward denuclearization, peace on the Korean peninsula, the end of the Korean War, and peace and prosperity in Northeast Asia, to say nothing of the improvement in inter-Korean relations. It might be called a sea change. The Singapore summit also brought a historical transformation in the North Korea-U.S. relationship. These changes in inter-Korean and North Korea-U.S. relations can provide momentum to bring change to the Korea-Japan relationship. Given these changes, we face the task of developing bilateral ties to new dimensions. The Joint Declaration of the Korea-Japan Partnership is a guideline for this. We should look toward the future. Furthermore, we should move toward a relationship based on universalism, peaceful coexistence and reconciliation. We also have difficulties - the difference in perceptions about history. There is also a difference in our perception about North Korea. In a survey among Koreans and Japanese, only 30 percent of respondents said that they have good impressions of each other. We should make a new start in recognition of the fact that human exchange between the two countries is reaching the 10 million mark. The improvement and development of ties are important, but what counts more is not to repeat mistakes. What matters is the question of how to look for a common denominator in their strategic values, aside from pragmatism and a future-oriented approach. As for past history, it is important to broaden mutual understanding based on future-looking universalism.

- **Hiranao HONDA** Unfortunately, there are some issues raising concern in Japanese society. Recent-

ly, a growing number of netizens obsessed with nationalism has raised objections to the bid to form friendly relations with neighboring countries. I think that it is the role of the politician to check the spread of this kind of sentiment. Once, there was a tremendous sense of crisis that a war might break out in Northeast Asia, but President Moon Jae-in has eased the high charged tensions in Northeast Asia and the world with his outstanding diplomacy and leadership. I would like to express my deep respect to President Moon for his leadership. I also thank the Korean politicians who supported it.

- **NOH Woong-Rae** Strictly speaking based on objective evaluation, bilateral ties have rather deteriorated than improved in the 20 years since the joint declaration. If the spirit of the declaration of Kim Dae-jung and Obuchi had been respected, relations would have been more forward-looking. It seems that the two countries have retreated from the zeitgeist and history. Now we have to practice the spirit. In the forced labor camp in Nagasaki that is listed as one of the World Heritage Sites, we should establish an information center as promised. I am opposed to the suggestion that a small memorial be installed in Tokyo, just as a formality. There are many Korean-Japanese in Japan. We should also make efforts to improve their status in Japan. A wind of peace is blowing on the Korean peninsula and in Northeast Asia. If Korea-Japan relations deteriorate compared to 20 years ago, it is against the run of time.

Policy Implications

- Korea and Japan should now instigate a fourth new transformation for peace in Northeast Asia and the world. We should make our fourth leap toward universalism for universal human rights, universal reconciliation, universal peace and universal civilization. Their relationship must be based on the principle of squarely looking into the past and toward the future. This is the spirit of the joint declaration of Kim Dae Jung and Obuchi. If we respect their spirit, the relationship between Korea and Japan will become more future-oriented.

[Special Dialogue]

Creating a Peace Regime on the Korean Peninsula

Talk **MOON Chung-in** Special Advisor for Unification, Diplomacy and National Security Affairs for South Korean President Moon Jae-in
Philip D. ZELIKOW White Burkett Miller Professor, University of Virginia/Former Counselor of the United States Department of State
NING Fukui Deputy Special Representative for Korean Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, PRC

- **Phillip D. ZELIKOW** I am not an expert on the Korean peninsula, but I can contribute to providing some insights on how to solve diplomatic problems. We are standing at an important moment in which the risk of war once seemed highly intensified with a number of nuclear missile tests and military provocations, yet the U.S. and North Korea sat together to discuss peace. To figure out how to organize this moment more properly, we have to look at 2005-06, when it was pretty much decided that narrowing down diplomatic strategies would not work. And in fact, this is so true right now, as CVID is not the kind of issue that can be solved at one try. It should be a step-by-step process, because negotiations are not likely to work before figuring out a way to give and deal with what North Korea wants. The negotiations are not easy to deal with right now, as we are not paying North Korea what they want.

Two things are important, when it comes to the issue of the Korean Peninsula. One of the most important points to be reckoned with for a successful peace treaty to take place is that Korea should be at the centre of the discourse. This is often referred to as a peace process diplomatic strategy or the strategy of 2+2, where North and South Korea stand at the

center, whereas China and the U.S. just support their handling of the security issue. This way, it is more likely for both parties to build peace. For example, if there exist seven major issues, North and South Korea can work together on two to three issues, whereas four to five issues can be something the U.S. and China can join in with to help out with the negotiations. Another point is that security issues should be combined with other issues such as human rights to be negotiated more broadly and in the form of issue packages. And if the issue of the Korean Peninsula becomes emotionally, politically and culturally reconstructed, both the North and South Korean people can empathize with, and will be more willing to negotiate with, one another.

- **NING Fukui** Two words are important in discussing building peace on the Korean Peninsula: “化” from the last word of CVID in Chinese, and “和” from the Chinese word for peace. Both words sound the same, “hua” in Chinese, but they mean two opposite things. To put it in a simple way, the Korean Peninsula issue is an issue of nuclear weapons and security, but at the same time, it is a matter of peace. In other words, CVID and building a peaceful system on the Korean Peninsula are two opposite things, but are closely



interrelated with each other. Only when the nuclear weapons are completely dismantled can a peaceful system be built upon in Korea. And we think that China should, and is willing, to take a crucial role in this matter. China supports four-party talks, and we have three ways to approach this issue. First, we should follow three principles to tackle the issue: One, no conflict with anyone aiming for the same goal, namely peace; two, trust between different countries is key as China is also willing to encourage talks between the U.S. and North Korea; and three, the peace system should be strengthened as it is important to bring about stability. Second, the problem should be dealt with as a matter of maintaining security in East Asia. In this regard, six-party talks are the most effective way to approach the North Korean issue. Third, security and development should be considered together, as development can be a base for guaranteeing security. It is important to point out that North Korea is willing to give up some of its weapons and military advantages for the sake of

economic development. This shows that mutual economic cooperation can lead in the end to solving the security issue. It is unclear whether this process can be smoothly progressed with, yet China definitely wants to protect peace on the Korean Peninsula.

China has played an important role in the issue of building peace in Korea for the last two decades. It is not important whether it is four-party talks or something else, but the critical thing here is that the different parties should trust each other to find a way to build peace on the Korean Peninsula.

- **MOON Chung-in** The Bush administration seemed to be interested in ending the war in Korea, but why was the discussion of ending the war not very successful during the APEC meeting at Hanoi?

- **Phillip D. ZELIKOW** As for the reason why a discussion for ending war on the Korean peninsula did not take place in 2006, I think the idea was not fully developed back then, and Hu Jintao did not support the idea so much. Also, the U.S. itself did not have many people supporting the plan back then. Because

North Korea did not have a nuclear weapon in 2006, it would have been easier to discuss the issue then. However, now, if I have to suggest the best way to tackle the issue, it would be the 2+2 strategy, as I mentioned earlier. Put simply, China and the U.S. should support the two Koreas moving to end the war on the peninsula.

- **MOON Chung-in** It was the APEC meeting in Sydney where President Roh Moo Hyun and Bush discussed a peace treaty that Hu Jintao did not actually take a clear position on, by saying we should have three or four party talks. What was and is China's position in a clearer term?

- **NING Fukui** Whether it is four-party talks or any other form of discussion, China should be involved in the process, as it has played a unique role with the issue of the Korean Peninsula for the last two decades. As I understand it, trust was not well built between the two Koreas back then, although China did put a huge effort into promoting and increasing trust between them. I think a formal agreement ending

war does not necessarily help in building peace. The more important thing here is North Korea's denuclearization.

- **MOON Chung-in** The three aspects about Kim's regime security are: 1) political assurance; 2) military assurance; and 3) economic assurance. Basically speaking, what North Korea wants right now is its economic assurance, or in other words, North Korea wishes to be recognized as an economically sovereign state and a normal country. We have to bear this in mind when we discuss peace building on the Korean Peninsula in general.

To sum up our discussion, first of all, the issue of North Korea should be dealt with, with the security matter at center; secondly, we have to be more flexible in peace talks by opening up more agendas; thirdly, China is willing to contribute to peace building in Korea; and lastly, diplomacy is the key here, so a more effective way of handling the matter through clear communication is required to solve the issue.

[Special Dialogue]

UNESCO's Role in Peace and Prosperity: Multilateral Cooperation through Education, Culture, and Science



Audrey AZOULAY
Director-General of UNESCO

Keynote Speech/Discussant **Audrey AZOULAY** Director-General of UNESCO

Discussant **BAK Sangmee** Dean of Graduate School of International, and Area Studies, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies

WON Heeryong Governor of Jeju Special Self-Governing Province

Presenter **Audrey AZOULAY**

I am very pleased to be with you today to participate in the Jeju Forum for Peace and Prosperity.

The challenges of our world, whether they be demographic, due to climate change, deadly extremism or the preservation of diversity are challenges that no State can resolve alone and which cannot find a lasting response without education, sciences and culture. We, therefore carry a great responsibility to implement this mandate in a spirit of cooperation and dialogue.

We must once again find the path of strong multilateralism. And I wish to reiterate here today that multilateralism is not the sum of individual interests, the addition of bilateral relationships. It is instead a dialogue with several voices, a collective intelligence in action, in which the voice of each Member state is equal to that of another, in which each voice should be heard and respected.

At this moment in time, abandoning or weakening what we have built through the UN system would be a dangerous regression. This is why we must defend institutions like UNESCO and not weaken them. Our collective responsibility it to reawaken the spirit

of dialogue through a global conversation and to renew our commitment to cooperation so that we can find collective solutions for the challenges we face.

Too often these past few years, UNESCO has suffered from divisions between Member states, which have weakened our credibility and slowed our actions at a time in which they have never been more necessary.

We are, therefore, working towards strengthening Member states consensus through dialogue and by facilitating mediation if the parties concerned wish. Whether it be questions regarding memory of conflicts - as this continent has known - or the smouldering questions of the Middle East, we believe that it is our responsibility, as an institution, to facilitate this dialogue, when the parties concerned agree to it.

This is what has allowed us to negotiate, for example, consensual texts on the difficult issue of Middle East, at our last executive board and two days ago, on Jerusalem, during the World Heritage Committee. I believe that this shows a willingness of the majority of our members to get back to a spirit of consensus, who also know the impact of the past divisions on UNESCO. I particularly wish to thank the Korean President of UNESCO's Executive Board - who

began his mandate at the same time as I began mine, last November - and who strongly contributes to restoring this spirit.

This means that we can concentrate our efforts on UNESCO's core mandate. In order to be relevant, we do not need to reinvent UNESCO's mandate but instead better serve it. We must address today's battles. And carrying UNESCO's mandate today means sowing all the necessary seeds to build a more human world. Building the human dimension of globalization: this is the core of UNESCO's mandate. And I would like to highlight a few essential features, if we are to speak of our contemporary time.

One is the growing interconnectivity of our societies. To ignore it would be delusional, to vilify it dangerous. Public opinion is correct to recognise this phenomenon. Young people in particular think at a global level and are committed to tackling the challenges, such as climate change because they know the limits of solely national action.

This interconnection produces shared challenges.

Firstly, the technological challenge, in a new era in which a fusion of technologies - including artificial intelligence - will blur the lines between physical, digital and biological spheres. This technology changes the way in which we live, work, communicate, learn and even think. Some specialists have even said that artificial intelligence is more important to humanity than the invention of fire or electricity.

Big Data and algorithms will help shape new public policy, but will also raise questions about our values, moral choices and ethical questions related to our private lives, individual freedoms, transparency and responsibility.

These ethical questions should be at the heart of our reflections. UNESCO will play its part in this reflection - which must be global - on the ethics of artificial intelligence, and attempt to define an essential ethical framework that could - if our Member States agree - lead towards the definition of common ethical principles. What other universal and intergovernmental forum is better placed to do so?

As far as applying ethics to science is concerned, UNESCO has longstanding experience. It has addressed, in the past, ethical issues related to the human genome and genetic data.

The second challenge is climate change and the way in which we will adapt to this ecological transition resulting in drought, rising sea levels and extreme phenomenon.

The Paris Agreement of 2015 is a major - if rather late - step, which signals a political willingness but its consequences for public policy are huge and much remains to be done.

This will change the way in which we live. Highly populated coastal zones will need to be designed in a more sustainable way and we will need new methods for managing natural resources. We will, therefore, need to cooperate to develop new competencies based on creativity and intelligence.

The third challenge is demographic. The global population will reach 9 billion by 2050, having increased three-fold in just one century. This population will be increasingly urban, with 6 out of ten people living in towns.

Demographics, coupled with climate change, will continue to prompt migration within and between countries.

These technological, climatic and demographic challenges threaten to increase the tensions that lead to violent extremism.

This version of globalization could prompt retreats into nationalistic sentiment and create deep divisions. To tackle these challenges, we must reinforce partnerships between governments, regional institutions and the private sector, as these challenges call for a collective engagement.

We must build a better multilateral system in order to avoid the worst, and I would like to outline some of UNESCO's concrete proposals here.

Firstly, one of the essential pillars of our mission is education. Building appropriate, modern education systems for our time means lifelong learning that reaches the whole population. Women have been left behind, particularly in Africa, yet education is

essential to tackle the challenges of our time in a sustainable way. It is necessary because the migration routes every day show that nobody can simply retreat behind their borders.

It is also through education that we can begin to find a long-term solution to climate change.

We also need to adapt education systems for the skills of the future. The pace of the technological revolution is so fast that it is impossible to predict precisely the evolution of jobs. Some will disappear, other will be created but all of them will be impacted.

It is why lifelong learning is crucial, and it also means that not only technical skills are required, but also creativity and the humanities, to learn how to learn and think is evolving environments.

Too often we only put emphasis on technical skills to provide solutions, and put humanities in another silo. But as Fabiola Gianotti -- Director of the CERN project, which UNESCO helped create -- points out, sciences and humanities, on the contrary to being diametrically opposed, both represent the highest expression of curiosity and creativity of humanity.

This is why the teaching of humanities is crucial – to foster creativity, critical thinking, learning to learn, learning to live together in peace. Education is not only about skills – it is also about passing on shared values, becoming global citizens.

UNESCO, as lead agency in the United Nations for education works to share best practices, to support public policies in the field to measure and track data to guide our path towards the Agenda 2030. We particularly prioritise education to support women and Africa.

The international community is not yet on track to invest sufficient funds to reach to goals of the agenda it has committed to.

Our latest figures show that after a worrying decline, international public aid to education is increasing but there is a shortfall of 39 billion dollars a year. We call on all donors to consider contributing to this essential area, as education is the key to the success of the whole of the 2030 Agenda. Across the globe where children are deprived of an education

- particularly young girls - economic development, peace, the fight against terrorism and fanaticism are at stake.

We see education not only as a set of skills but also as a set of values that foster citizens and not only members of the work force. This citizenship should encompass global issues of sustainable development and peace.

As we speak, 263 million children, adolescents and youth are out of school, unable to reach their full potential. But even those in school are not necessarily gaining basic skills.

The shift to the green economy and the opportunities of the new Industrial Revolution call for a sharper focus on science, technology, engineering and mathematics – especially for girls who are too often dissuaded from pursuing careers in these fields.

I am speaking to you today in a country which has shown the world the power of education. The Republic of Korea understands the weight of history and knows how fragile peace is. Korea has managed a unique turnaround and has become a model of development and innovation in just a few decades.

The path that you have forged since the 1950s through massive investment in education was supported by the international community, through UNESCO. The Organisation responded to the call of the United Nations to help to the civilian population after the war in the 1950's. This aid was primarily for schools and universities. Since then, the Republic of Korea has become one of the most advanced countries in terms of education.

In turn, Korea now supports UNESCO in its mission, particularly in education. Today, the country finances several education programmes coordinated by UNESCO, not only in Asia but throughout the world. For example, Korea has just signed an agreement, which will allow it to reinforce its aid to education for girls in the Punjab and Gilgit-Baltistan regions of Pakistan. Korea also supports professional training through the Better Education for Africa Rise project in Ethiopia, Kenya, and Uganda as well as for Syrian refugees in Jordan.

I call on others, State and private companies, to follow the Korean example and contribute to support UNESCO in its missions.

I would also like to underline the role of cultural heritage in building peace. Cultural heritage is a wealth which is the legacy of centuries and which must be known and understood. Our heritage is part of our identity and it is essential that each of us can appropriate this heritage and see ourselves in our history, locations, arts and traditions. Knowing this identity is being able to discover that of another. Being deprived of our past is to be vulnerable to false narratives and sometimes deadly extremism.

Heritage evolves, adapts, and reinvents itself. Young generations must be involved with it. Earlier this week, I opened the 42nd session of the world heritage committee in the Kingdom of Bahrain. We organized in parallel a young professional forum and I cannot resist the pleasure of sharing with you the conclusion of their forum. They insisted on two key messages: first, the importance to consider the multiplicity of stories inherent in our heritage. They refuse over-simplification and the artificial opposition that is created by hate speech. Secondly, the necessity to protect natural heritage sites and to inscribe them on the UNESCO World Heritage list.

What these young people are saying is that culture is more than buildings, documents and traditions – it is how we see ourselves, see the world, present ourselves to the world and how we learn about ourselves and about each other.

It is the only long-term solution to fight extremism. When extremists seek to divide humanity between “us” and “them”, we need to highlight everything that unites us as a single community, through universal values.

That is why we believe that an efficient way to prevent violent extremism is through our mandate, be it education, culture, sciences, freedom of expression. To name a few examples, we publish manuals to help teachers and policy-makers prevent violent extremism. We work with youth at the regional level to promote their participation in policy-making. We

launched at the beginning of the month a manual on the role of education to prevent anti-Semitism.

Last February, as part of the United Nations initiative to support the rebuilding of Iraq, UNESCO started a long-term project for Mosul, to revive the spirit of the Old City, to reanimate, through culture and education the unique spirit of diversity and education that made Mosul throb with life before the war.

The Republic of Korea not only supports UNESCO on these issues, helping education and culture. We are in Jeju Island, an island that wonderfully symbolizes our message. Since 2007, it has been inscribed on the World Heritage List as an island of exceptional geological value, its lava tunnels and volcanic formations are unique in the world. This is why it has also been inscribed as a UNESCO Geopark and a Biosphere Reserve. A site whose volcanic, island environment has shaped the lives of its inhabitants, the island has developed as a habitat, with crafts and customs.

It has also been recognized for its contribution to the intangible heritage of humanity, with the inscription on the world list of the age-old tradition of the Haenyeo, the female divers who dedicate their lives to underwater fishing. Jeju Island is a wonderful example of sustainable development based on heritage.

To conclude, I would like to look from Jeju island at the entire peninsula. It will be the task of an entire generation to renew the links that have been severed between the north and the south, if the out-stretched hand of President Moon is accepted. UNESCO will also have a role to play in building strong links through education, culture and the sciences, which are so essential for lasting peace. Both Koreas are UNESCO Member States, and we hope to further deepen the relationship of trust that has been going from strength to strength since the 1950s.

Building a more human world through education, culture, science and freedom of expression: this should be our common goal. This is UNESCO's purpose.

Discussion

- **BAK Sangmee** You said that the Korean Peninsula has created a momentum for peace. What measures do you think could expedite inter-Korean exchange?
- **Audrey AZOULAY** UNESCO will devise a plan to bring the two Koreas together as UNESCO partners. Mutual trust in peace is not only built through government-level exchanges but also through private-level personal interchanges. In fact, personal interchanges are often more effective. Cultural and scientific exchanges would also be possible through UNESCO. UNESCO already has active projects in North Korea, in the areas of geology, cultural heritage preservation, and archaeology. However, the projects remain largely symbolic, so if South Korea could aid in the preservation of North Korean cultural heritages, this would be beneficial for the entire Korean Peninsula. The Koreans would be able to preserve their intangible cultural assets more effectively. Joint teams could be formed in areas of music, traditional martial arts, and ssireum, which is traditional Korean wrestling, to pursue joint values. Educational exchanges will also be very important. UNESCO is actively working in that area.
- **BAK Sangmee** Jeju Island is widely known as an “island of world peace.” How do you think Jeju’s role in world peace relates to the goals of UNESCO?
- **WON Heeryong** Jeju Island and UNESCO are both committed to achieving the same goal of world peace. I also think we are on a similar path. Speaking for Jeju, the Korean government designated the island as an “island of world peace” in 2005 for the following reason. The government planned for Jeju to become a conference venue for Northeast Asian discussions of peace, and to serve as a buffer zone in times of international conflict. Regarding the original intent, Jeju, as an “island of world peace,” must continue to promote and contribute to not only peace on Jeju Island and the Korean Peninsula, but also to the common prosperity of Northeast Asia and the world. I think that there are many possible ways of achieving peace, because the concept of peace itself

implies many different things in individual, social, national, and international contexts. An absence of war and violence could be defined as peace, but the resolution of poverty and inequality could also be a route to peace. Protecting human rights and abolishing sexism could also be acts of peace. Jeju’s “carbonless island” campaign for “energy peace” could also be another path towards world peace. I also believe that resolving the scars of the Jeju April 3rd Incident through reconciliation would be an act of making peace with human history. Since education is closely connected to peace, UNESCO and Jeju will have many things to do together. I am proud of Jeju Island’s designation as a UNESCO Natural and Intangible Cultural Heritage, and plan to join in the responsibility of cultural heritage preservation.

- **BAK Sangmee** What kinds of efforts is UNESCO making in the promotion of sustainable tourism?
- **Audrey AZOULAY** There are many cases in which the conservation of nature and regional development are poorly balanced, or where there is a lack of effort to balance the two. UNESCO’s goal is to manage development and the development sites. Spain’s Andalusia region is both attracting a large number of tourists and limiting the numbers of visitors to its cultural heritage sites to ensure sustainable tourism. In the long run, each country will have to make specific efforts. Development is important, but sustainability is also important.
- **BAK Sangmee** Among Jeju’s uniquely beautiful natural environments, three sites known collectively as Jeju Volcanic Island and Lava Tubes were listed as a UNESCO World Natural Heritage in 2007. Registration at UNESCO is a promise to the international community that the natural environment will be well-preserved. But preservation efforts face ever-increasing obstacles due to globalization and as people around the world show an increased interest in Jeju, rapidly increasing the number of arriving tourists. What plans do you have for sustaining Jeju’s natural heritage?
- **WON Heeryong** Designation as a UNESCO World Natural Heritage signifies a clear obligation to pre-



serve these sites. Jeju is trying to benchmark other regions by extensively studying these international experiences. The Geomun Oreum volcanic cone is currently using a reservation system to limit the number of visitors and reduce any negative impact on the ecosystem. We will continue to apply reservation systems, restrict the number of visitors, and establish entrance fees in an effort to preserve these heritage sites and make tourism sustainable. Jeju Island is obliged to engage in four types of conservation. We are the only province in Korea with all four. Many regions with preservation obligations face complaints from residents who think their neighborhoods are relatively underdeveloped. We are striving to encourage the participation of residents in the preservation process and are planning to build a preservation education and training center.

- **Audrey AZOULAY** I believe Governor Won’s sense of accountability for cultural heritage preservation is logical. Once registered, there has to be follow-up measures, and they have to be drawn on a regular basis—every two years. One region that was registered as a cultural heritage for its coral reef had let that same reef be damaged. Only after restoring the condition of the reef were they able to be re-registered. Various efforts need to follow.
- **BAK Sangmee** The Jeju haenyeo culture, the female diver community that has been adapting to sustain the natural environment, was listed as a UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2016. How can the culture of Jeju haenyeo be preserved and maintained as a key cultural identity as Korean and Jeju societies change rapidly? What policies do you have to protect and promote the culture?

• **WON Heeryong** I am very proud that the culture of Jeju haenyeo is listed as a UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage. I believe that the UNESCO designation is a big first step in its preservation. We have taken many measures to protect the culture since the designation. First, we created a haenyeo society. We offer support in the pricing of their top shell catches to guarantee profits for the divers, and we subsidize the elderly divers who have difficulty sustaining a regular income. For the haenyeo culture to be preserved, first the ocean has to be preserved, but the island's seas are rapidly becoming contaminated. The prerequisite for the preservation of the haenyeo is the protection of our marine resources. To that end, Jeju Island plans to invest more funds to protect said marine life. In addition to setting up a taskforce, we are working on a five-year plan.

• **Audrey AZOULAY** I think the culture of the Jeju haenyeo is a beautiful tradition, and it is a good example of an interaction between humans and nature. People should never be separated from nature. This great tradition should be handed down to the next generation, and for that to be possible, I agree that the ocean must be kept clean. UNESCO holds a scientific duty and we also have programs for cleaner waters. We have such projects set for the Decade of Ocean Science for Sustainable Development (2021–2030). Jeju will also have to be more involved in the fields of ecology and oceanography, but the island is an excellent example among UNESCO listed sites. Jeju Island is a role model for the international community.

• **BAK Sangmee** How do you think Korea could contribute in terms of education?

• **Audrey AZOULAY** Wide-ranging and life-long education is key. Social and technological evolution are ambitious agendas. Korea's investment in education is remarkable and can be seen as the engine for the nation's successes. Research conducted by UNESCO has shown that health and education are the most important factors in economic growth. Former UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon often mentioned in his speeches that he had learned English as a child

using UNESCO published books. This shows how important educational support is. Success comes with responsibility. Korea's responsibility would be to support countries that are under-established in terms of education. Support is crucial for the education of girls. Korea should devote itself to supporting girls' education projects in Asia. They need constant investment and attention. Private enterprises, in particular, should expand their investments in education.

• **BAK Sangmee** How do you plan to meet UNESCO's long-term goals, such as sustainable growth in tourism?

• **WON Heeryong** Jeju is acutely aware of its duty to preserve our UNESCO heritage sites and will make various efforts in the areas of peace, ecology, and education.

[Special Dialogue]

Overcoming Legacies of the Past, Promoting Reconciliation and Peace in Northeast Asia



Jose RAMOS-HORTA
Former president of East Timor/
Nobel prize laureate in 1996

Moderator

PARK Jin president of the Asia Future Institute

Presenter & Discussant

Jose RAMOS-HORTA Former president of East Timor/ Nobel prize laureate in 1996

Presenter | Jose RAMOS-HORTA

I am pleased to be again in Korea and in such hopeful times. The Republic of Korea is one of the world's most vibrant democracies, with an independent and inquisitive media, an informed and vigilant civil society, and an uncompromising judiciary.

While you live in peace and prosperity, at the same time almost anywhere, any day of the week, you can read about violence and death, the immense suffering of the innocent, of children and youngsters, and of countries imploding violently along ethnic and religious lines. Over many thousands of years, human beings waged wars, sometimes to satisfy the basic needs of survival to find food, water and land to cultivate the food. However, most wars have been waged with the ambition of expanding influence and securing even greater gains, to the detriment of others whom have been defined as adversaries and enemies.

This vast region of Northeast Asia, home to 1.5 billion people – Korean, Chinese and Japanese – with an extraordinarily rich history and culture, has been known for the many destructive wars that killed tens of millions of people. The region boasts

the world's largest combined standing armies, facing off against each other, with a powerful foreign force that ostensibly provides on your soil, in the ROK and Japan a security umbrella. Arguably, this is a credible deterrence that has kept the peace in the region since the Korean War.

But, North and South Korea, and virtually every country in the Asian region also know firsthand the tragic consequences of wars, enduring immense suffering caused by centuries of conflict unleashed by tyrants and demagogues.

Timor-Leste, a country of a little more than 1 million people, shares a history of war, occupation and resistance, with Koreans. We survived and prevailed through centuries of colonial rule, occupation by the Japanese Imperial Army, re-colonization by Portugal and occupation by Indonesia, during which close to one third of our population perished. However, in 2002, we celebrated our freedom, when we became a nation with the first new democracy of the millennium. We honored our martyrs and heroes, and began the process of looking after the veterans, widows, orphans and those mutilated by war. We reconciled with our domestic adversaries, those who did not think and believe like us; we forgave our ene-

mies without waiting for an apology. For the sake of healing, we rejected an international tribunal to try those who committed war crimes and crimes against humanity. Slowly, we are building a peaceful, inclusive, democratic, pluralistic and fair country for all.

I believe that Korea, China and Japan have an infinite potential that can be unleashed to further peace and prosperity, but this can only be when a truth finding process is undertaken. There is no denying that Japan was the culprit in this tragic catalogue of wars and occupation. Japanese leaders must do more to teach the full truth to today's and future generations about Japanese aggression against Korea and China and other countries in Asia. I am sure the Chinese and Korean peoples would then be able to finally reconcile with Japan.

From the moment President Moon Jae-in took office in May 2017, following a highly competitive, free and democratic election, he sought dialogue with the North Korean regime to realize the elusive dream of lasting peace, reconciliation, denuclearization and reunification. He courageously reached out to the dictator in the North; even as tensions were at boiling point caused by the destabilizing acrimonious exchanges between the North Korean dictator and the U.S. president. President Moon's overtures to the North were widely ridiculed and opposed by domestic and American critics. Deeply religious and committed to peace, President Moon was not discouraged by the hostility of the Trump administration and misgivings conveyed from Tokyo in regards to the entreaties between ROK and DPRK.

The mood has changed dramatically, from fear of an imminent war fed by incendiary tweets threatening the nuclear annihilation of North Korea by the most powerful country in the world, to one of celebration as a result of the historic summit in Singapore that ended with a statement of intention to denuclearize the Korean peninsula.

President Moon is absolutely correct in doing everything in his power to pursue the much-cherished dream of denuclearization of the Korean peninsula, which will bring peace and reunification. This prom-

ises to be a long and tortuous process, but the seeds of peace that President Moon and his two predecessors, Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun have planted will bear fruit if Koreans stand fully behind this peace process, keep the hope and faith, and refuse to give up in the face of the many obstacles ahead. The peoples of the Korean peninsula and of the wider region deserve and expect no less from their leaders, who are duty-bound to pursue patient dialogue and should explore avenues of possible and desirable cooperation.

As President Moon negotiates with his North Korean counterpart, I am sure that he has not forgotten the people of the DPRK who for decades have languished under a tyrannical communist dynasty. Hence, fundamental human rights and freedom for all people on the Korean peninsula must be part of the peace process. Kim Jong-un could send a further message of good faith if he was to decree the end of arbitrary detention, the closure of labor camps, the end of torture and summary executions, and the release of all political prisoners. If it is true that Kim Jong-un loves his people as stated by President Trump, then surely, he should take steps toward opening up North Korea and to allow his people more freedom. He has ample time to initiate and manage a process of incremental change, and can go down in history as an architect of gradual evolution from tyranny to a more humane and compassionate political and social regime.

As I stand here, I bow to the memory of all Koreans who lost their lives in the fight for independence against foreign rulers, for democracy, and for freedom against dictatorship. I bow to the memory of the late President Kim Dae-Jung, a man of vision, principles and conviction, a fighter for human rights and democracy, and a bridge builder with the North. He was a personal friend of my country. In September 1999, working closely with President Bill Clinton and UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, he dispatched a Korean peace-keeping battalion to my country, contributing to an end to the violence there. I commend the Korean armed forces for their pro-

fessionalism and bravery in the service of the UN in my country. I was, and still am proud to have nominated Kim for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1999. He was awarded the 2000 Nobel Peace Prize.

In a speech in Berlin's Old City Hall in July 2017, President Moon mentioned that easing security on and adjusting the economy of the North is vital. The Korean War, the U.S. military presence at its borders, and the NATO's orchestration of regime change in Iraq and Libya after the Gadhafi regime gave up its nuclear weapons program, are all roots of the North Korean regime's obsession with nuclear weapons capability, its sense of vulnerability and fears, and its desire to be taken seriously as a regional military power.

There are no short cuts to peace. The road might be fraught with man-made obstacles, stemming from individual or collective experiences, perceptions and fears that have been exacerbated by personal ambition and egos of those at the center. We all can be assured that there will be no straight line in the pursuit of a durable peace on the Korean peninsula and beyond. Nevertheless, some first major steps have been taken toward denuclearization and the elimination of the threat of war. As President Moon rightly stated, "A step-by-step and comprehensive approach is required." Let us hope that all sides deliver on their pledges. The prevention of conflict and war through dialogue and mediation to settle disputes must always be our preferred options. And when these are actively, creatively and patiently exercised in a timely fashion, they may produce results.

I dream of the time when the three great countries China, Korea and Japan meet on the golden bridge of peace.

Discussant

- **PARK Jin** You have visited Korea many times. What aspects of Korea interest you the most?
- **Jose RAMOS-HORTA** One thing that has impressed me almost every time I have visited Korea is

"change." Korea used to lead very indigent life. They don't even have natural resources. They only have brains and hands. When the economic crisis hit Asia, Koreans were proud of what they had at that time. It was a mind full of patriotism. Almost all Koreans gave property and gold to the bank to pay back money to IMF; their eagerness to change enabled them to become a big country in the present day. We can feel the dignity of the people here. Another interesting thing that came to me is how Koreans were unforgiving about corruption. They were very intolerant toward abuse of power, even on a minimal scale. This is why Korea is extraordinary and we must keep an eye on this country. All of these things impressed me obviously.

• **PARK Jin** A security crisis on the Korean peninsula was escalated by the nuclear threats from North Korea. However, this became a chance to build peace. From the Panmunjom Declaration to the Singapore summit, what is your view of the changing situation in Korea and how do you see the role of South Korea in this?

• **Jose RAMOS-HORTA** At the U.S. level, many more dramatic peace moves were initiated by the Republican administration, minimizing all Democratic Party presents. In the case of Korea, interestingly, while the U.S. boldly moved forward led by Republicans, Korea's peace initiative to the North Korea was from liberal leaders: President Kim Dae-Jung and President Roh Moo-Hyun. In reality, the fate of this peninsula was determined by these two leaders. They moved forward by accommodating the interest of the U.S., China, and Japan since we are in a global world. Following his predecessors, I am very impressed by the ability of President Moon. Any further dynamic processes will depend on President Moon.

• **PARK Jin** Do you think this effort will bring a successful outcome, such as the denuclearization of North Korea?

• **Jose RAMOS-HORTA** It is very difficult to read North Korea, which is a communist regime. We do not know the dynamics; we cannot predict since we do not fully understand the dangers, risks and divisions



within North Korea. The whole world should fully support the North. The issue of nuclear weapons is just one scenario. But as to the overall situation in North Korea: How about the people there? Of course, I agree with President Moon, that he must deal with the nuclear issue first. After that, North Korean leader Kim must expose other values to liberalize the country's political system. At least he can end torture, end poverty and end discrimination. I hope that the military and ruling party in North Korea continue to support him. Advocating human rights is important.

- **PARK Jin** What other requirements for this region - North Korea, South Korea, Japan and China - are needed to create a community having common values?

- **Jose RAMOS-HORTA** Three countries still have the legacy of WWII - the invasion by the Japanese; but please allow me to say that Japan paid enormously more than any country in the history of Asia. Japan

is the only country that suffered from the impact of atomic bombs. Japanese leaders were put on trial. The Japanese people accepted the punishment in silence.

It is an undeniable truth that Japan has infected the peace, and should acknowledge their fault. Timor-Leste was also invaded by Japan. We also had sex slaves and I have also met them. Why I am addressing this issue is that they have to look at this from a longer perspective. How these three countries can come together to lift Asia into the 21st century. To transform Asia and the world, how can they work together despite their history? It is a challenge for the leaders of these regions at this time.

- **PARK Jin** What do you think about the role of the UN in this region specifically on the Korean peninsula in this process?

- **Jose RAMOS-HORTA** The UN has never faced such an extraordinary complex multilateral challenge before. There are issues of funding, peace keeping

and building. The newly appointed secretary will possibly serve for 10 years and have to deal with refugees with wisdom and sacrifice to build peace. However, in many current complex situations, such as in Palestine, the UN has a marginal role. There are some situations in some countries that have disputes in which the UN cannot participate. The UN does not have to be in every conflict if the countries in the region are able to work their problems out.

Policy Implications

- Korea and China should forgive Japan to build and boost cooperation in East Asia region.
- Denuclearization and the elimination of the threat of war from North Korea should be pursued via a step-by-step dialogue.
- Measures to guarantee fundamental human rights and freedom for all the people on the Korean peninsula must be a part of the peace process.

Chapter **ONE**

아시아의 평화 재정립
Reengineering Peace for Asia **PEACE**

Reengineering Peace for Asia through the Ocean



Moderator	KIM Seong Jin Former Minister of Oceans and Fisheries
Keynote Speaker	PARK Yong-ahn Chairman, the United Nations Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf
Presenter	KIM Youngjoon Research Fellow, Institute for National Security Strategy LEE Ji-yong Professor, Keimyung University
Discussant	KIM Hyun-soo Professor, Inha University CHUNG Jae-hung Research Fellow, The Sejong Institute
Rapporteur	JU Min-uk Reserch Director, Society of Ieodo Research

- **PARK Yong-ahn** As disputes over legal continental shelves around the Korean peninsula are renewed, it is imperative to use discretion in resolving them. Above all, it is important to have a better understanding of Article 76 of the third UNCLOS concerning the continental shelf. According to Article 76 of UNCLOS and Section 4 of the same article, a continental shelf refers to a legal continental shelf extending 200 nautical miles from the baselines of a coastal state. We should make an effort to gain a clear understanding of the delimitation of the legal continental shelf of islands pursuant to this definition. That is, understanding the legal definition of the continental shelf is required to resolve the disputes over territorial waters around the Korean peninsula. In turn, this will lead to a better comprehension of the issue of maritime border demarcation around the waters of the Ieodo Islets and the Chinese part of the islets in the East China Sea.

- **KIM Youngjoon** Using computer modeling, I analyze several cases of maritime territorial disputes over Senkaku/Diaoyudao and Dokdo/Takeshima.

In the Senkaku/Diaoyudao dispute, Japan is likely to adhere to its island control policy. China wants to have negotiations on this matter, but Japan seems steadfast in its tepid attitude. This will likely result in a more perilous polarization with no negotiated solution in sight. If the two countries should come into conflict over the Senkaku/Diaoyudao question, the U.S. would side with Japan. Regarding the Dokdo/Takeshima dispute between Korea and Japan, Korea is unlikely to change its current position. The disagreements between the two countries will continue to make it difficult to find a solution on this matter. If the previous Park Geun-hye administration had taken a more accommodating stance, it could have presented a reasonable solution, but it would also have created domestic political backlash. Above all else, the crux of the matter is how Korea should set its strategic role at a time when the U.S.-China rivalry is growing in the waters around Southeast Asia. In addition, the stances of three Northeast Asian countries, namely South Korea, China, and Japan, sharply diverge from one another, while the

U.S. shows keen interest in the sea waters off the coast of Southeast Asia. China's aggressive behavior regarding the waters of the Ieodo Islets and its Ocean Research Station will likely increase.

- **LEE Ji-yong** We are noticing a sweeping change in China's seaward expansionism and its policy on the South China Sea issue. Rising tensions among the countries in the South China Sea region are matter of grave concern and a result of precipitating militarization within the area. Currently, 61 percent of global sea traffic transits through these waters and this area, one of the crucial sea routes for oil tankers. As China resorts to seaward expansionism, tension is not only building up in the South China Sea but also spreading across adjacent seas, as far as to the East China Sea and even to the Indian Ocean. China is obsessed with expanding its maritime sphere of influence around its territory, with a view to occupying trade routes and securing natural resources. As part of its attempts to build military bases and fortifications in the region, China is currently creating seven artificial islands, upon which it is building fortresses including missile bases as well as a runway for long-range bombers. The U.S. strongly opposes these moves, based on the principle of the freedom of navigation. Vietnam and the Philippines have been embroiled in prolonged conflict with China over the South China Sea issues and are now raising voices of discontent towards China's gambit. Amid the hegemonic competition in the South China Sea, the maritime strategies of the U.S. and China as well as the countries in the region lead to an arms race, contributing to other negative impacts. Military strength of the countries in the region are growing overall and those trying to resist China's growing power are increasingly leaning towards the policy of balancing military power. Obviously, this is affecting the national security of China and its neighboring countries. If China adheres to its maritime expansionist policy, tension and competition between China and its neighboring countries will continue. In recognition of the limits of the current liberal solutions, some advocate for multilateral negotiations among

the parties concerned. They would have to discuss regional peace, though it may not be easy, within the waters through multilateral negotiations among the countries involved in the disputes.

Discussion

- China's grave resentment towards Japan over the Senkaku/Diaoyudao issue suggests nationalistic impulse in China. This indicates that it will be difficult to find a solution to the dispute. As a consequence, it will also have a negative impact on the peace of the East Asian region. As for China's seaward expansionism, South Korea should be keenly aware of the limits of its strength and avoid getting entangled in the U.S.-China rivalry. Instead, it should pursue longterm efforts in employing various strategies such as dialogue and negotiation.
- Since the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party, President Xi Jinping of China is veering away from conventional collective leadership towards one-man leadership. Also, China is putting its blueprint for a stronger naval force into practice, above all by building six new aircraft carriers. So, the concerns over naval expansion under the leadership of President Xi are becoming more realistic. We should take heed of China's aspiration to become a sea power with the buildup of its naval force as well as its One Belt One Road Initiative. China is now striving to dominate sea routes across the globe. It is also strengthening its influence by expanding its control on sea routes. This naturally entails stronger military strength. China will continue to pursue its goal of becoming a strong sea power while single-mindedly reinforcing its navy.
- This development poses a grave risk of a potential conflict between the U.S. and China. The U.S. is predicted to collide with China over time to deter China's rise. The clash between China's expansionist move and the U.S. rollback is taken as a fact. A question arises over what position South Korea should assume in this predicament. One answer is to engage in multilateral negotiations while exercis-

ing prudence on other fronts. Even though China is unlikely to accept a multilateral deal concerning the South China Sea issue, we should convince China of the merits of multilateral negotiations over the issue. Meanwhile, the U.S. is likely to adhere to maintaining the status quo in East Asia. In case Korea should come into conflict with China, the U.S. will stand with Korea. Still, we should keep in mind that Korea-China relations are as important an element as the Korea-U.S. alliance, when it comes to maintaining regional peace and cooperation. All parties concerned should make efforts to sustain the balance of power in all the waters in dispute with China.

Policy Implications

- China places top priority on maritime hegemonic competition to pursue its One Belt One Road Initiative. It will add to its current effort to expand its influence and have a firmer grip on sea routes. The U.S., in turn, will exert greater efforts to deter China's seaward expansion.
- In this context, South Korea should consciously follow the development of the maritime hegemonic rivalry unfolding in the South China Sea and make timely and prudent responses to Chinese maneuvers in the East China Sea.
- Regarding the maritime border demarcation issues, including the waters around the leodo Islets where the interests of Korea and China are sharply at odds, we should have a solid understanding not only of the exclusive economic zone (EEZ) but also of the delimitation of the continental shelf stated in UNCLOS as well as EEZ.
- We should continue to pay attention to the maritime disputes similar to those in the East China Sea, such as the Senkaku/Diaoyudao and the Dokdo issues.
- Although it may not be easy, the countries involved in these maritime disputes should discuss regional peace within the waters through multilateral negotiations.
- We should make an effort to reach a consensus on the need for China to accept multilateral negotiations concerning the questions over the East China Sea.
- We should remind ourselves that Korea-China relations are as important an element as the Korea-US alliance when it comes to maintaining regional peace and cooperation.

Peace Cities Network: Building Cooperative Network among Peace Cities to Expand World Peace



Chair/Moderator **KANG Kun-Hyung** Professor, Jeju National University

Keynote Speaker **WON Heeryong** Governor, Jeju Special Self-Governing Province

Thomas SCHNEIDER Director, Erich Maria Remarque Peace Center

Akitoshi NAKAMURA Director, Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum

Enrique LAHMANN Global Director, IUCN

Rapporteur **KANG Byeong Cheol** Professor for Special Affairs, Jeju International University

• **Won Hee-ryong Establishment of a Peace Vision for Northeast Asia Through the Alliance of Peace Cities:** Jeju Island has made strenuous efforts beyond the regional and national levels to build peace in Northeast Asia. Local governments and nongovernmental organizations can contribute to peace as much as states do. The International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) has succeeded in making the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) adopted by the UN last year and was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize last year for its role in the adoption of the long-pending TPNW. Given this civil society coalition, the city which has a potential role in building peace can be as powerful and important an actor as the central government. If exchanges between cities and among citizens are promoted, it can ease the conflicts between states and improve their relations. By strengthening solidarity and cooperation with peace cities around the world through urban diplomacy, the city can revitalize its infinite potential and will open the door to unprecedented peace. Jeju aims to build a “World Peace Cities Solidarity” with other peace cities through its municipal diplomacy as well

as spreading the peace culture more vigorously with peace cities around the world. Municipal diplomacy can contribute to peace in a more effective way. Friendly cooperation between cities can improve the relationship between countries. Jeju will strengthen its solidarity with other cities aspiring for peace.

As the consecutive summit meetings between the two Koreas and the U.S. and North Korea eased the preceding 70 years of tension on the Korean peninsula, Jeju will actively pursue municipal diplomacy to settle peace here at this opportune moment. Jeju will also strengthen solidarity and cooperation with North Korean cities to promote peace. North Korean cities are important partners and collaborators in the municipal diplomacy to promote peace. As Jeju has maintained amicable ties and built trust with the North through the inter-Korean exchange project that donated mandarin oranges to the North for 12 years starting with an initial campaign in 1999, it will help Jeju to take joint action with North Korean cities for peace.

For peace on Earth, the cities should strive to safeguard peace together by solidifying the intercity

alliance. To practice peace with the alliance, it is necessary to overcome various differences in nationality, culture and tradition, and share awareness through uninterrupted dialogue. Jeju will spare no effort to continue dialogue and cooperation in the long journey towards peace.

• **Thomas SCHNEIDER** *Peace Culture of Tolerance and Dialogue*: It is said that they opened the new era of peace culture of tolerance and dialogue when the Westphalian Peace Treaty, which ended the religious war in 1648, was concluded in the West Osnabrück city of West Germany. During the Second World War, 80 percent of the city of Osnabrück was destroyed, and more than 15,000 British soldiers and their families have lived there for 40 years since 1945. These historical experiences have promoted dialogue between past enemies and understanding of each other. Like many other cities in Europe, the city of Osnabrück has a “twin city” relationship with other cities of France, England and the Netherlands. These twin cities appoint ambassadors who serve as main actors in the citizenry-led exchanges and dialogues. Osnabrück has sought to establish its image as “a city of peace” since the early 1980s, and in 1998, it celebrated the 350th anniversary of the Westphalian Peace Treaty on a grand scale. These activities are taking place in a bottom-up rather than top-down manner. The city of Osnabrück is populated by a people of more than 160 nationalities and is home to various religions. They believe that the real politics cannot bring global peace. But the people are preparing blueprints for another type of communities. They focus on interreligious dialogue on an international and a national level. In recognition of Germany’s historical responsibility, they make effort to put an end to the prejudices especially against Muslims and Islamic culture through dialogue and education. The German writer Erich Maria Remarque is cited as one of the pillars of the peace spirit of Osnabrück for his activities committed to peace. Remarque resisted adamantly to the oppressive political and cultural attempts to diminish civil rights and the value of freedom and civilization, and to other barbaric practices. Remarque pointed

out in his works that individuals are responsible for their action and its consequences. He insisted that the responsibility cannot be shifted to other organizations such as churches and political parties, or movements or ideologies. In this vein, Remarque’s thoughts have become a blueprint after which individuals should perform their roles in war, crisis and immigration, as well as establish the value of humanism. The city of Osnabrück, where Remarque grew up, has a long tradition of religious tolerance and dialogue, and his conviction and assertions can serve as an ideal basis upon which public and private organizations promote peace.

The city of Osnabrück has broadened the scope of its twin city activities around the world by tapping into Remarque’s concept of peace. A small city with a small budget and a population of only 160,000 will not be an important agent in global politics. However, the city was content with its public image as a city of peace and has delivered trustworthy and respectable messages to the world. These messages address the conflicts of the contemporary world, which have no precedent in the historical events in Germany or Europe and remain beyond the scope of the Westphalian Peace Treaty. As a city of peace, Osnabrück is promoting the value of independence, tolerance and humor as well as engaging in activities for peace.

• **Akitoshi NAKAMURA** *The Peace Vision of Nagasaki City*: An atomic bomb was dropped on Nagasaki at 11:02 am on Aug. 9, 1945. In a flash, the city became heaps of ashes, 74,000 people died, and 75,000 people were wounded. Based on this experience, Nagasaki City aims to achieve six goals of peace building. The first is to let the actual risks of nuclear weapons be known around the world. Testimonies of atomic bomb victims are available at the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum. The second is to discuss peace in terms of human security. It is important to visit the site where the atomic bomb was dropped and see what happened to people under the mushroom cloud, and it is necessary to discuss peace in terms of human security aspects. The third is to suggest a move forward for

nuclear disarmament. For the advancement of disarmament, we support the “Nuclear Free Zone in Northeast Asia.” The fourth is to expand the peace network jointly with the Mayors for Peace, the National Council of Local Authorities and the Nagasaki Peace Correspondent. The fifth is to manifest the goals of peace building. The Nagasaki Peace Declaration is read to the public on the anniversary of the atomic bombing on Aug. 9 every year. The sixth is to produce human resources to build peace. To encourage youths to join the movement to abolish nuclear weapons, the city launched the Nagasaki Youth Delegation. The 2017 Nobel Peace Prize was given to the non-governmental organization, ICAN, which voiced the following quote: “Our individual voices for peace, though weak they might be, can bring about worldwide changes, if we make concerted efforts in firm resolution.”

• **Enrique LAHMANN** *Peace and Nature Preservation Should Go Hand in Hand*: Costa Rica, known as a country of peace, abolished the death penalty in the 19th century and decided not to have an army in 1948. Costa Rica established the UN Peace University 40 years ago and a peace park to conserve tropical nature 10 years ago. The Peace Cities have the following characteristics in common. They are the municipalities that have the experience of ending wars with peace treaties; research institutes which have made outstanding research achievements for peacekeeping; and recipients of the Nobel Peace Prizes. There are also war-ruined cities striving for peace and those with historical figures who advocated peace. Cities with an important peace institute are known as peace cities for their international conferences on peace or famous research institutes and peace training institutions. Also, there are cities that have become peace cities by realizing peace in a multi-polarized society with various religions and by preserving important peace-related documents.

I want to add another dimension here. It is peace with nature. In this context, I would like to ask you to take note of the World Environmental Hub, launched jointly by Jeju Island and the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources

(IUCN) under the leadership of Governor Won Hee-ryong and with the technical support of IUCN. The World Environmental Hub initiative will play a crucial role in protecting the ecosystem and promoting sustainable development of cities and local governments. As measures to address the problems of urbanization, the initiative suggests nature-based solutions and investments in nature, demonstrating to the local governments that such measures promote economic prosperity, social welfare and peace. Nature-based solutions enable sustainable development. IUCN is well aware that many decisions affecting biodiversity are being made at the local-government level. It supports and encourages the efforts of the municipalities to restore what Earth’s environment provides. To restore and preserve the global environment, government, private businesses and the scientific community must work together. Our goal is to make the usefulness of this solution known around the world.

Policy Implications

- It is difficult for central governments to cooperate with one another, but it is easy to forge cooperative ties between local governments and among civil societies. So, the cooperation between peace cities and civil societies will contribute to world peace.
- Central governments are central actors in international relations, but diverse other actors emerge on the global stage with local governments assuming greater roles. Given this, the alliance of peace cities will serve as a foundation for cooperation between Northeast Asian countries.
- The German writer Erich Maria Remarque’s thoughts on peace are cited as one of the peace spirits of Osnabrück. Jeju Island is advised to refine its peace spirit.
- To encourage youths to join the peace movement, Nagasaki City instituted the Nagasaki Youth Delegation. Jeju Island should consider the introduction of a similar system to let youths participate in the Island of World Peace activities.
- It is necessary to expand human exchanges among local governments with less political import and among peace cities, in particular, to spread peace culture through international exchanges.
- Peace cities should protect bio-diversity by coupling the efforts to conserve the environment with their peace initiative.
- Local governments, business enterprises and academic circles should make concerted efforts to solve urbanization problems in an environmentally friendly manner.

Changing Aspects of Cyber Threats and the Relevant Responses

국제사이버법연구회



Chair **PARK Nohyoung** Director, Cyber Law Centre at Korea University
 Moderator **IM Han Taek** Adjunct Professor, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies/Counsel, Center for International Law, KNDA
 Presenter **John MALLERY** Professor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
 Discussant **Fergus HANSON** Head, The International Cyber Policy Centre
CAI Cuihong Professor, Fudan University
YOO Joonkoo Professor, Sungkyunkwan University
CHUNG Myunghyun Research Professor, Korea University
 Rapporteur **PARK Joohee** Research Professor, Cyber Law Centre at Korea University

- **IM Han Taek** Cyber security is now a major, universal concern. It is not an abstract issue, but a reality affecting our daily lives. North and South Korea vowed to end hostilities in accordance with the Panmunjom Declaration, and it is of the utmost importance that we think about cyber security in the context of this declaration. South Korea has been under the threat of cyberattack and has so far managed to thwart it. However, we need to cope with new cyber security threats. These issues will be discussed in this session.

- **John MALLERY** Let me talk about cyber risks and the order of the world. As cyber risks keep evolving, there are a number of issues that we have to address. First, cyber risks are evolving. Every year, billions of dollars are lost due to the theft of intellectual properties. In fact, the damages since the 1980s are reported to amount to US \$300 billion. Second, the threats of cyber conflicts are multidimensional. The sources of cyber threats are various, including states and terrorists, and the volume of cybercrimes is increasing. Third, we need to classify the capacities of cyber

attackers by the standard of 2013. They are divided into those who attack vulnerable points, those who target new vulnerable points and those who create vulnerabilities. And lastly, the dilemma of cyber security. Cyber risks force each nation to strengthen its security system, but it leads to a race. Eventually, all countries become vulnerable. In conclusion, every country must discuss how to handle the cyber security of dilemma and cooperate to adopt a uniform norm. In this regard, international laws can be a reference for it. We need to establish a regulation for governing cyberspace and take traditional steps to rebuild trust.

- **Fergus HANSON** Australia introduced an act on data protection last February and it tries to keep up with technological advancements. I would like to talk about four main points. First, with the lessons learned from the Wannacry cyberattack, we need to introduce a flexible system. We should formulate a measure to facilitate communication between public and private sectors, better respond to the attacks and make efficient use of limited technological resour-

es. Second, Australia has difficulties in updating the documents related to cyber security, at the center of which is the issue of how the government and private sector share the information. To address this problem, the Australian government has set up a cyber office for the government and private sector to share their information. Third, citizens and small- and medium-sized enterprises usually have more difficulties in defending themselves from cyberattacks. Faced with the task to gain citizens' confidence on this issue, the government strives to provide small- and medium-sized enterprises with the adequate solutions. Fourth, collaboration between nations is required. Our center (International Cyber Policy Center) publishes reports on cyber maturity. According to the report, the range of cyberattacks is expanding as the number of internet users increases. Criminal attacks and other malicious acts are also increasing. However, countries worldwide are willing to respond to this challenge, enhancing their capacity to cooperate with one another.

- **CAI Cuihong** Recently, China's growth has been quite remarkable; the internet distribution rate and the number of netizens have been on a steady rise. It is not an exaggeration to say that China has emerged as a cyber superpower. However, it still has a long way to go before being called an "informationization" leader. In 2017, China was ranked second after the U.S. in the Global Internet Development Index, with South Korea ranked third.

I would like to highlight three important Chinese policies concerning cyber security. First, the Cybersecurity Law. This law clearly defines cyber security, and prescribes the roles of global firms, the government and infrastructure management agencies. Second, China's national cybersecurity strategy. This strategy dictates five goals: peace, security, openness, cooperation and order. One of the keywords of the strategy is respect for cyber sovereignty. China also has nine strategic tasks that include protection of information infrastructure; promoting cyber culture; response to cyber terrorism and crimes; and strengthening international cooperation. The third

is the international cyberspace cooperation strategy pertaining to new opportunities, challenging tasks, strategic goals and action plans.

Let me also explain the Chinese perspective on cyberspace and its security. China has approached cyber security from the perspective of information security. Moreover, it has handled the issues of sovereign rights to the network and cyber security from the position of national security. Third, we make efforts to maintain the balance between informationization and cyber security.

- **YOO Joonkoo** I will talk about several important points about cyber security threats South Korea has suffered. First, South Korea is under the highest level of cyber security threats. Second, the origin of the threats lies not only in proxy websites in East Asia but in other sources on a global scale. Third, there is no regional network that will counteract the cyber threats.

Let me discuss the issue of South Korea's cyber security strategy. In May 2017, the Presidential Office of Cheong Wa Dae established its cyber security control tower in preparation of a national cyber security strategy. The main goals are: (1) upgrading the infrastructure, (2) enhancing its defense system against cyber threats and (3) international cooperation based on mutual trust.

Next, I will outline the direction of South Korea's cyber security development. First, the challenges of attribution of malicious cyber operations should be solved with confidence and capacity building. Second, the sectors of economy, national security and human rights, which require multidimensional governance, should be combined to take collective action against cyber threats. Third, there is no multilateral platform for international cooperation on the regional level. There is no network to build the CBM(Confidence Building Mechanism). I hope we can resolve these issues in five years while building a concrete and efficient platform.

- **CHUNG Myunghyun** I will summarize North Korea's cyberattacks against South Korea. The first type of cyberattacks caused social chaos and phys-

ical damages such as the DDoS attack on Cheong Wa Dae on July 7, 2009; another DDoS attack on Cheong Wa Dae and financial institutions in March 2011; and two others on March 20 and June 25, 2013. The second type encompasses the cyberattacks that steal information for intelligence services on specific targets. For example, it collects information from computer systems when users click on infected emails. Social disorder occurred when the Interpark online shopping mall site was hacked and private data was stolen. Also, a hacking of the Ministry of National Defense site damaged the PCs of the ministry. The third type regards the cyberattacks that defraud foreign currency. Last March saw the hacking of ATM servers and the virtual money exchange markets. Cyberattacks aim not only to cause physical damages but to steal money.

- **PARK Nohyoung** I will discuss the development of international norms on cyber security. First, I will explain the discussion procedures at the UN Group of Governmental Experts (UNGGE). The 3rd UNGGE has reached a consensus that international laws and the UN charter apply to cyber space. In the 4th UNGGE, 11 norms for responsible acts of states were adopted. In the 5th UNGGE, unfortunately, no reports could be adopted due to the conflicts, similar to those of the Cold War era, among the member countries over how to apply the international laws to each nation. However, the international agreement on the application of international laws, including the UN Charters, to cyberspace, was one of the successful outcomes of the UNGGE talks.

Let me move on to global norms on digital trade. Since the US withdrawal from the TPP (Trans-Pacific Partnership), the TPP was renamed as the CPTPP (Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans Pacific Partnership), which includes data trade in its e-commerce section. Supporting the protection of private data, it stipulated free transfer of data, including private information. The Chinese code on national cyber security has a regulation on digital trade or cross-border data flow. Such regulations have been criticized by the WTO on the grounds

that they restrict international trade. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China has adopted a regulation on trade in cyberspace as part of its global strategy of cooperation in cyberspace. This highlights the Chinese desire for leadership in regulating digital trade.

In conclusion, we need an integrated approach to this issue. With regards to cyber security and cyberattacks, which are tantamount to the use of forces or military attack in terms of UN norms, there is a confrontation between the U.S.-EU stance and China-Russia stance. But, when it comes to digital trade, they speak with one voice for it. The countries should make more efforts to establish international norms on the cyber issues.

Policy Implications

- Cybercrimes and malicious cyber acts are on the rise, and they should be checked through multinational collaboration.
- The cyber jurisprudence issue should be resolved through the countries efforts to build trust in cyberspace and cyber capacities.
- An integrated approach that considers both of cyber security and digital trade is required to establish international norms.

Strategy for Denuclearization and Peace Regime on the Korean Peninsula



Moderator	PARK Jong Chul Senior Research Fellow, Korea Institute for National Unification
Presenter	KIM Sang Ki Director of Unification Policy Research Division, Korea Institute for National Unification HAN Xiandong Professor, China University of Political Science and Law
Discussant	KOO Kab-Woo Professor, University of North Korean Studies LEE Heajeong Professor, Chung-Ang University LEE Hee Ok Professor, Sungkyunkwan University HONG Min Research Fellow, Korea Institute for National Unification
Rapporteur	LEE Eun Jung Research Associate, Korea Institute for National Unification

- **KIM Sang Ki** The North Korea-U.S. summit on June 12 was unimaginable only several months ago. There were several key factors that turned the situation around: 1) The PyeongChang Winter Olympics improved relations between the two Koreas, which gave an impetus for the North Korea-U.S. summit. South Korea's role was important here. 2) There were changes in North Korea's strategy, and 3) changes in U.S. policy on North Korea.

Background of the North Korea-U.S. Summit on June 12

It is important to remember that even as the conflict between North Korea and the international community intensified, South Korea was unwavering in its support for North Korea's participation, in the light of a "Peace Olympics." In June of 2017, immediately following his inauguration, President Moon Jae-in made a formal request for North Korea to participate in the PyeongChang Olympics, join South Korea in forming unified teams, enter together at the opening ceremony, and send a cheering squad. Moon's message was consistent throughout

the last year, through his Berlin Declaration in July, his Liberation Day celebration speech in August, and his speech at the UN General Assembly in September, stressing that North Korea's participation in the PyeongChang Olympics would blaze an important path for a divided Korea to move toward peace. Such persistence was key in realizing the "Peace Olympics."

In an interview with the U.S. television network NBC on December 19 of last year, President Moon revealed that he had formally proposed to the United States that ROK-U.S. joint military exercises be postponed until after the PyeongChang Winter Olympics. This was a proactive measure to ease tensions on the Korean Peninsula. Considering North Korea's sensitive responses to ROK-U.S. joint military exercises in the past, this was an imperative measure to stop North Korea's "provocative" actions and induce its participation in the Olympics.

South Korea's policies aimed at the realization of a "Peace Olympics" were met with a positive response by North Korea. In his New Year's speech,

Chairman Kim revealed his willingness to dispatch a delegation to the PyeongChang Olympics, which he called “a great event for our people.”

The realization of the Peace Olympics thawed inter-Korean relations, which in turn facilitated improvement of North Korea-U.S. relations and generated a momentum toward denuclearization and peace on the Korean Peninsula.

Attention must be paid to the “new strategic line” revealed in the decisions released after the Workers’ Party plenum on April 20. North Korea declared victory in its “two-track” course, building the country’s economy and nuclear arsenal simultaneously, and stated its intention to focus all its efforts on the nation’s economic development. Having secured nuclear capabilities serves North Korea as an important backdrop to the new strategic line, terminating the two-track course and concentrating on economic development. Denuclearization is not mentioned at all in the decisions released after the April 20 Workers’ Party plenum, but the strategic shift to economic development connotes North Korea’s intention to exchange denuclearization for the guarantee of its regime in negotiations with the U.S. While the completion of a nuclear force was the basis of the new track focusing on economic development, it is also a means of guaranteeing the safety of the regime. The goals of the new track will be difficult to achieve should North Korea insist on possessing nuclear weapons. As revealed in the decisions from the Workers’ Party plenum, North Korea is aiming for economic prosperity that will “radically improve the lives of the people,” and the realization of that goal will be made possible by “actively seeking close connections and communication with surrounding nations and the international community” in order to create the necessary “international conditions.” It can be said that North Korea’s economic development target is driving its willingness to denuclearize, should the regime’s security be guaranteed. The goal of North Korea is the insuring of its regime’s security (which will enable its economic development) and normalization of relations with the U.S.

Trump’s understanding of North Korea policy—the so-called Trump factor—is quite different from that of traditional U.S. foreign policy elites. Whether Republican or Democrat, traditional bureaucrats and experts have perceived the North Korean nuclear issue as a complex one, involving U.S. regional hegemony, U.S.-China strategic competition, and trilateral security among South Korea, the U.S., and Japan. Ideologically, they deny the North Korean regime legitimacy, and refuse to recognize the North Korean leader as a conversation partner. President Trump is different. His Americentrism seeks visible gains in bilateral relations over the establishment of regional hegemonic order, and North Korea’s nuclear program, which poses a direct security threat to the United States, is a priority of Trump’s foreign policy. Trump’s security policy regarding China is also focused on resolving the issue of North Korea’s nuclear program, in other words, denuclearization. This is in stark contrast to the Obama administration, which considered North Korea’s nuclear program to be a pretext for keeping China in check. Trump suggested a “hamburger summit” with Kim Jong-un during his presidential campaign, and on a number of occasions after taking office, he did not hesitate to express respect for Kim, acknowledging him as conversation partner. To Trump, ideologies and values are not an important criteria of North Korea policy. The only importance lies in “practical gains,” in other words, increased U.S. security through the elimination of North Korea’s nuclear threat.

Along with policies prioritizing North Korea’s nuclear program, which stems from Americentrism, and a non-ideological approach to North Korea, Trump’s legacy-building explains his intentions and serves as the backdrop of the North Korea-U.S. summit. Trump has repeatedly criticized previous administrations for their failures to handle the North Korean nuclear issue, proclaiming that he would be the one to resolve the issue. Achieving visible outcomes regarding the North Korean nuclear issue, which all previous administrations have failed, was an important motivation for Trump to attend the

summit. His contributions could sway the November mid-term elections and reinforce his political position, ultimately increasing his chances of reelection in 2020. Trump’s timeline for the disarmament of North Korea will be centered on 2020.

Assessment of the North Korea-U.S. Summit

Article 1 of the joint statement from the North Korea-U.S. summit specifies the commitment of the two nations to establishing new U.S.-DPRK relations. The fact that in the joint statement, this article precedes an article on building a peace regime, and one on denuclearization, shows that this meeting prioritized generating bilateral trust and improving relations. While a comprehensive agreement on building a lasting peace regime and complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, as stated in Articles 2 and 3 of the joint statement, is significant, a more momentous accomplishment is that the two leaders reached a mutual understanding that the most fundamental goal is to build bilateral trust and improve relations, and the first step was taken toward that goal. Recovering the remains of POWs/MIAs, specified in Article 4 of the joint statement, not only signifies a cleansing of the two nations’ history of confrontation, but also it could contribute to improving relations, expediting exchanges of human resources and goods, and trust-building.

The absence of complete, verifiable, and irreversible dismantlement (CVID) is no real reason to disparage the results of the of the meeting overall, or to argue that the meeting was more favorable to North Korea. In fact, CVID is a concept that may imply an unrestricted scope and forceful methods in the verification of denuclearization. In that case, it is questionable whether CVID is realistic without infringing on sovereignty. With the same logic, an “irreversible” guarantee of the security of the North Korean regime may not be feasible. Omission of the arguably unrealistic concept of CVID may even be desirable for the sake of productive results in follow-up negotiations. As Trump stated, the “complete denuclearization” intended by Kim Jong Un could

be satisfactory. In addition, concerns about completeness of verification and irreversibility could be relieved in the process of implementing the joint statement (virtually fulfilling CVID).

The comprehensive agreement between the two leaders could provide an impetus for follow-up negotiations on detailed measures. First and foremost, through this meeting, the two leaders have laid a foundation for building mutual trust and improving relations. This is arguably more meaningful than an explicit agreement on concrete measures and timelines. As Trump revealed during the post-summit press conference, the two leaders had an in-depth conversation on details of denuclearization and the security of the North Korean regime that have not been included in the joint statement. Presumably, they reached a verbal agreement. Reportedly, North Korea is willing to dismantle a missile engine test site, and the U.S. is open to declaring the end of the Korean War, pushing ahead with a peace treaty. In particular, concrete actions by North Korea toward denuclearization are expected to be answered promptly with the suspension of ROK-U.S. joint military exercises. Although the joint statement did not specify concrete measures or a timeline, the bilateral summit will be recorded as a meaningful achievement toward establishing peace on the Korean Peninsula.

Prospects and Challenges

The two leaders agreed to implement the stipulations in the joint statement “fully and expediently,” and high-level follow-up negotiations will soon begin. We may be cautiously optimistic about the outlook. Since the meeting, the governments of the two countries have expressed great satisfaction and are showing mutual respect and strong determination to improve relations.

Kim Jong Un and Donald Trump have clear motivations to implement the agreement successfully. Kim understands clearly that without denuclearizing, normalizing foreign relations will be difficult, and an all-out focus on economic development is

unlikely to succeed. Trump surely sees that implementing measures to guarantee the security of North Korea's regime and improve relations, while facilitating denuclearization, is a key accomplishment that would solidify his political footing for the November mid-term elections, and further, allow him to take an advantageous position in the 2020 presidential election.

While the outlook of follow-up negotiations between the U.S. and North Korea may be positive, it includes an element of uncertainty, with potential obstacles at every turn. A base of bilateral trust has begun to form, but it is weak at best. It is difficult to rule out the possibility that negotiations will experience setbacks as additional requests are made, amplifying mistrust and causing misunderstandings. Going forward, South Korea must assume an active role in mediating and facilitating follow-up negotiations, eliciting agreement between the U.S. and North Korea on concrete measures to denuclearize the Korean Peninsula and establish a peace regime, and assisting implementation.

If by 2020, denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and normalization of North Korea-U.S. relations are realized, the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia will be a very different place. In addition to the normalization of North Korea-U.S. relations, North Korea will begin to gradually open up its borders, and a new economic map will be drawn of the Korean Peninsula based on vibrant inter-Korean economic cooperation. Economic cooperation between North Korea and the U.S. is certain to happen, and countries around the globe will line up to cooperate with North Korea. The changes on the Korean Peninsula will establish a new order in Northeast Asia in terms of security.

We must prepare for possible changes in both Koreas and Northeast Asia in 2020, and must proactively design our future. The central goal is "sustainable" peace and prosperity on the Korean Peninsula. To this end, in addition to imagining new inter-Korean relations, we must establish diplomatic strategies in line with the new era, set a new direction for interna-

tional relations that takes into account changes in the ROK-U.S. alliance, and build a foundation for peace and cooperation in Northeast Asia.

• **HAN Xiandong** During the Cold War, China's position shifted slightly on the issue of establishing a peace regime on the Korean Peninsula. Prior to the 1970s, China did not offer a distinct position. From the early 1970s, with the improvement of China-U.S. and inter-Korean relations, China began to assert its stance. In October 1975, 43 countries, including China, submitted a resolution to the UN General Assembly on the issue of the Korean Peninsula. It read, "...it is necessary to dissolve the 'United Nations Command' and withdraw all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations; [the General Assembly] calls upon the real parties to the Armistice Agreement to replace the Korean Military Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement..." In the 1980s, considering the unfeasibility of beginning negotiations between the "real parties," North Korea called strongly for replacing the Armistice Agreement with a peace treaty between North Korea and the U.S., a plan that China supported. In July 1980, the China National People's Congress sent a telegram to the Supreme People's Assembly, which read, "North Korea demands the withdrawal of the U.S. Forces from South Korea, and the realization of democracy in South Korea. On behalf of the people of China, the Standing Committee of the China National People's Assembly hereby confirms once again that the proposal to replace the Armistice Agreement with a peace treaty between the U.S. and North Korea is accurate and reasonable, and solemnly affirms its support."

A Peace Regime on the Korean Peninsula and China's Position

China presented a relatively specific proposal in a four-party talk. On January 4, 1999, at the fourth working-level consultation for the four-party talks, China presented five principles and four basic conditions regarding two specific issues that must be discussed in the consultative group.

On the issue of easing tension on the Korean Peninsula, China suggested the following five principles: First, the involved nations must increase trust in all areas, using wide-ranging trust-building measures, exchanges, and cooperation in politics, diplomacy, military, economy, and society. Second, China supports the improvement of relations among involved nations, and welcomes the gradual normalization of relations between North Korea and the United States and other countries. Third, involved nations should initiate multi-level, diverse military confidence-building cooperation. Fourth, each party shall take practical and feasible measures to improve conditions on the Korean Peninsula and prevent military collisions. Fifth, no party shall intentionally take provocative military action.

On the issue of establishing a Korean peace regime, China asserted that the peace treaty should rightly include the following basic items:

1. Involved nations should end disputes, improve relations, and coexist peacefully, allowing Korea to finally achieve self-driven, peaceful unification.
2. Each party should resolve conflicts through peaceful means, without the use of military force or military threats.
3. Based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit, involved nations should promote exchange and cooperation in the areas of economy and trade, science and technology, and culture and sports.
4. Involved nations should implement military confidence-building measures on the Korean Peninsula and carry out phased armaments reduction.

Recently, as tension on the Korean Peninsula has eased, the idea of establishing a peace regime has been garnering attention once again. On May 23 of this year, Chinese State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wang Yi stopped in Washington after his visit to Afghanistan and had a meeting with U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo. At the press conference following the meeting, Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi and Hua Chunying, Deputy Director of the Foreign Ministry Information Department, revealed China's position on the Korean Armistice

Agreement and the issue of establishing a peace regime in Korea. Early on, the Chinese government utilized two means of conveying its message. First, in 1975, China used the expression "real parties to the Korean Armistice Agreement." In 1980, in a letter from the China National People's Congress to the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, China expressed support for "North Korea and the United States establishing a bilateral peace agreement." Later, in the September 19 joint statement from the fourth six-party talk, the term "directly related parties" was used. China recognized its singular role in the Korean peace process as a signing party of the Korean Armistice Agreement. The meaning of "must include" is based on the juridical status and roles of the signing parties of the Korean Armistice Agreement. On the subject of building a Korean peace regime, the four basic preconditions of the peace treaty submitted during the four-party talk in January 1999 is the most comprehensive proposal by China, which has never offered a detailed interpretation of a peace regime. On the process of establishing a Korean peace regime, China is merely describing general principles, and has given few detailed positions or arguments on how a peace regime would be established.

I will discuss the establishment of a Korean peace regime as a scholar researching Korea issues. From a fundamental point of view, establishing regional peace is an issue of international politics, and consideration of national profit, and the gains and losses of the concerned parties, is a major factor that determines policies and positions on the issue. However, from the perspective of appropriateness and procedures, establishment of regional peace is an issue of international law, and the establishment of a Korean peace regime is legally linked to the issue of ending the Korean War. Furthermore, current inter-Korean relations involve numerous specific international laws.

The first principle that must be clarified before establishing a Korean peace regime is that the armistice regime is the starting point of a Korean peace

regime. Accepted by each constituent and supported by international law, the Armistice Agreement is a legally valid international agreement. Its legal status must be respected. It is because of the Armistice Agreement that we can discuss a peace treaty today. Therefore, the Korean peace regime must be based on the armistice regime.

In order to establish a Korean peace regime, consideration of three elements must first take place: specific acting bodies, procedure, and content. First, as for acting bodies, a Korean peace regime must be clearly defined as a regional regime, considering the history and current state of Korea. This characteristic determines the regionality of the participating bodies of the peace regime. Both Koreas must be central participants. Second, the issue of procedure is related to the issue of acting bodies. Considering the existing armistice regime in Korea, the procedure boils down to two processes (steps) based on the principles of international law: abolishing the armistice regime and establishing a peace regime. The first step is abolishing the armistice regime. Following the principles of international law, this involves representatives of the UN forces, North Korea, and China declaring the abolishment of the armistice agreement and declaring the end of the war, or issuing a statement announcing the end of the war. To this end, the United Nations would retrieve the UN flag that has been used by the UN Command, dismantle the UN Command, and delegate the management of the military armistice demarcation line and the demilitarized zone to an international supervisory organization, the formation of which would be led by the UN Security Council. Here, the two Koreas could play an important role. Moving on to the second process, as involved actors the two Koreas would sign a peace treaty. These two processes could fit into the framework of one meeting. Third, as for the content, under one overarching structure, each involved party could sign a separate bilateral peace treaty or agreement with the others in order to establish a peace regime in Korea. Considering that legal processes on ratification and effectuation of

treaties differ by country, establishing preliminary peace agreements could reduce hindrances.

Since its launch, the Moon Jae-in administration has centered its North Korea policy on establishing peace, which has caused rapid changes to the state of affairs on the Korean Peninsula. Korea's policy goal of establishing peace and China's long-held goal of maintaining peace and security on the Korean Peninsula fit together well, and China and South Korea are forming a basis for cooperation on this issue. Regarding the issue of a Korean peace regime, South Korea and China must increase communication and cooperation, and prevent misunderstandings. China is not willing to lead the process of establishing a peace regime on the Korean Peninsula. It hopes only for the process to unfold stably, creating a lasting regional peace on the Korean Peninsula.

- **KOO Kab-Woo** In September 2017, South Korea and the U.S. held considerably different views. On the same day that President Trump threatened to “totally destroy” North Korea during his speech at the UN General Assembly, President Moon Jae-in submitted a resolution of truce for the duration of the PyeongChang Winter Olympics. The truce resolution was adopted at the UN General assembly in December. On December 19, President Moon urged the U.S. to postpone joint military drills. Until that point, inter-Korean relations were a constant tug-of-war between the South's request for North Korea to stop nuclear and missile tests, and the North's request for the South to halt ROK-U.S. joint military exercises. It is important to stress that South Korea yielding without reciprocation from North Korea was a crucial factor in initiating dialogue.

On January 1, in his New Year's address, the North Korean leader hinted at approval of President Moon's suggestion to postpone joint military drills. On December 23, North Korea designated the Gangnam district in Pyongyang an economic development zone. In a way, North Korea gave a roundabout response to President Moon's move on December 19. It is necessary to provide an interpretation of the Third Plenary Meeting of the Seventh

Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea on April 20. In a broad interpretation, the Third Plenary Meeting of the Seventh Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea on April 20 was the North Korean version of a declaration of “reform and opening up.” It is widely known that China declared economic reform in December 1978 during the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, but in fact, documents from the meeting refer to the modernization of socialism, and the term “reform and opening up” is absent. China established diplomatic relations with the U.S. in January 1979, and joined the IMF and the World Bank in April of 1980. It is important to examine in more depth whether North Korea was drawing a similar roadmap before the Panmunjom Declaration.

With regard to the U.S., along with President Trump's personal political gain, a small country gaining enough power to threaten the mainland U.S. for the first time in history is a key reason that the Trump administration came to the negotiating table. At present, the Trump administration accepts, to a small extent, North Korea's demand for denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. Trump seems to be agreeing with North Korea on the region of denuclearization. Furthermore, changes in the ROK-U.S. alliance caused by Trump should be considered.

On June 11, the day before the North Korea-U.S. summit in Singapore, U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo said that CVID was the only acceptable result. Interestingly, one report on June 11 read that Chairman Kim left Singapore and showed that the Joint Statement between the U.S. and North Korea had been prepared in advance. North Korea had anticipated new DPRK-U.S. relations, establishment of a peace regime, and denuclearization resulting from the summit. I am curious why the Secretary of State Pompeo said the previous day that CVID was the only acceptable result, when in fact the joint statement had already been prepared. Denuclearization seems to be at the same time a technical issue and an issue of political declaration. The extent of denucle-

arization that South Korea expects, the extent China expects, and where North Korea will stand as a potential nuclear power are all worthy of consideration.

It has been said that a peace regime will change the nature of the ROK-U.S. alliance. If a peace regime is a state wherein the two Koreas do not consider each other enemies, and if the ROK-U.S. alliance continues to exist regardless of the peace regime, one can assume that its purpose would be to keep China in check. Then what is China's position regarding this? In Professor Han Xiandong's presentation was a controversial statement that the declaration of the end of the war should involve representatives of the UN Forces, North Korea, and China. This format of abrogating the Armistice Agreement excludes South Korea, which is quite controversial. In the end, China's involvement is a disputable issue in South Korea. We must discuss the absence of a South Korea-China summit from the four-party talks. The three North Korea-China summits that took place recently seem to suggest a virtual restoration of the North Korea-China alliance. I would like to hear the opinions of the two presenters.

- **LEE Heajeong** South Korea, North Korea, and the U.S. have never worked together on the issue of peace. North Korea has wished to work with the U.S. to sign a peace treaty or settle the nuclear issue. Generally, South Korea has been on the opposing side. In response to improving inter-Korean relations, the U.S. has worried that South Korea is leaving the framework of the ROK-U.S. alliance. This is the first development that altogether satisfied inter-Korean relations, DPRK-U.S. relations, and the ROK-U.S. alliance.

Structurally, the strategic patience toward North Korea that existed up until the Obama administration ran its course after the threat of war in Korea. Regarding the threat to the U.S. mainland, Trump proposed two solutions during the 2016 presidential election campaign. One solution involved the military starting a preemptive war, and the other was engaging in direct negotiations. Preemptive war is not a real option. The Moon Jae-in administration

has been clear that it cannot accept a war in Korea. This was emphasized in the ROK-China summit in December 2017, leaving negotiations as the only option. The question remains, why did the negotiations omit CVID, which the U.S. sought? Having already surpassed Libya, Iraq, and Iran in its nuclear capabilities, North Korea demanded that the U.S. withdraw hostile policies. The U.S. demanded that North Korea abolish its nuclear capabilities completely. This is an extremely unbalanced trade, requiring North Korea to give up its capabilities, and requiring the U.S. to merely change its will and policies. The irony is that because North Korea has enhanced its capabilities so far that North Korean assistance would be needed in order to abolish all of North Korea's nuclear facilities and materials, without North Korea's willingness, unless North Korea volunteers to help, there is no means of dismantling North Korea's nuclear arsenal. North Korea's demand was recognition of its regime. In my opinion, historically and structurally, it was the necessity of this trade that led to the Singapore summit.

The Panmunjom Declaration can be read in two ways: considering the Korean War as either a civil war or an international war. It is a declaration of the end of a civil war that promises to cease a hostile relationship. It conveys that South Korea has no intention of annexing North Korea. The most prominent aspect of the Korean War that makes it an international war is the involvement of China, and the U.S. in the form of UN troops. From a historical perspective, ending hostilities between North Korea and the U.S. is interpreted as eliminating the element of international war from the Korean War.

Some people have observed that the joint statement does not include all of the progress made during working level negotiations between North Korea and President Trump suspending ROK-U.S. military drills after the summit gives us reason to expect more positive outcomes. I am curious what the speakers expect. Also, I would like to hear your opinions on how to overcome opposition to the suspension of ROK-U.S. military drills, and how the

ROK-U.S. alliance must be readjusted in order to overcome this obstacle. I am curious about China's position on the extent of the readjustment of the ROK-U.S. alliance, and China's long-term vision of the ROK-U.S. alliance.

- **LEE Hee Ok** There are no interpretations of the Korean government on the issues in China. The most important method of research is to read the many documents published in China, wherein significant answers are found. On June 19, President Xi Jinping met Chairman Kim Jong-un and listed three things that will never change: 1) The position of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese government that they will endeavor to build a lasting relationship with North Korea; 2) The cordial friendship of the people of China with the people of North Korea; 3) China's support for socialist North Korea. This position likely stems from China's confidence in its regime's ideology, which it has recently emphasized. In a recent speech at the Foreign Affairs Committee meeting, Xi emphasized three perspectives. It would be meaningful to examine China's role in Korea, focusing on an historical perspective, a broad perspective, and role theory.

The key to the momentum of DPRK-China relations is that North Korea is changing strategically rather than tactically. We must focus on two facts. First, China recognizes the meaning of North Korea initiating eager, independent, proactive changes. The bottom lines of the first, second, and third summits between North Korean and Chinese leaders were the result of North Korea's clear and repeated emphasis on its willingness to denuclearize. Second, the ideas that Kim Jong Un frequently emphasizes are different from those emphasized by his father. Whereas the Kim Jong Il regime was centered on carrying out the dying instructions of the former leader, and ruling with the legitimacy of ideological governance, Kim Jong Un's ruling regime is unfolding a whole new era, attempting to gain legitimacy through accomplishments. To use a North Korean-style expression, they intend to move the hearts of the people. On March 17, when Xi Jinping was re-elected to

office, North Korea sent a congratulatory message signed by Kim Jong Un. Analyzing congratulatory messages that North Korea sent to China from 2003 through 2018 showed that two terms disappeared in 2018: "goodwill cooperation" and "traditional." After the first DPRK-China summit on March 25, the greatest emphasis was on the terms "strategic trust" and "strategic communication." We can assume that China has accepted North Korea's intention to lead a bold reform, open up, and legitimize its accomplishments. The key here is that North Korea's goals, namely economic cooperation and the easing of sanctions, could put political pressure on China.

Professor Han Xiandong's presentation mentioned the issue of a declaration to the end of the Korean War. The use of the terms "armistice regime," "declaration to the end of war," "peace regime," and "peace treaty" are rather confusing. There must be great distinctions among the terms used by the South Korean government: declaration of the end of the war, dissolution of the armistice regime, establishing a peace regime, and establishing a peace treaty. Ending an armistice regime and establishing a peace regime are two sides of the same coin. Professor Han mentioned that the acting bodies of the armistice agreement are the UN Command, North Korea, and China. It is of grave importance to clarify whether this is the official position of the Chinese government, mainstream opinion among academic circles, or Professor Han's personal opinion. The Chinese government has not specified this until now, and has only indicated that it would fulfill its responsibilities and obligations in establishing a peace regime in Korea.

Also, the current level of cooperation and restrictions are determined by the sanctions placed on North Korea. I would like to ask Professor Han Xiandong this: When this situation changes, what form would the initial economic cooperation measures between China and North Korea take?

- **HONG Min** I can understand the feasibility of denuclearization by 2020, but how irreversibility would be achieved within the political timeline is an issue that must be explained by experts. 2020 has no signif-

icance other than being a political deadline. Denuclearization is a political issue, and a term for a technical endeavor. A framework is necessary to explain how irreversibility will be secured within the political timeline, and to determine the point at which critical irreversibility will be reached. As a matter of fact, we do not know where 100 percent is. I suspect that 100 percent is a point that is impossible to reach.

Even if North Korea's idea of denuclearization is not wholly acceptable, we still must understand what their idea is. North Korea's demands include a significant level of autonomy. Kim Jong Un's framework for denuclearization involves securing equality among the directly involved parties and integrating denuclearization with an economic development model. CVID is rather forceful and focuses greatly on external factors. Introducing concepts such as external factors, forcefulness, specificity, and completeness approaches fantasy or fiction, and a more realistic approach is wanted. Looking at it from the perspective of North Korea's motivation, it is possible that denuclearization will unfold in an order that is starkly different from the procedures and technical processes discussed so far. For example, from North Korea's perspective, shutting down radar command posts is one method of showing irreversibility. It could also reorganize or eliminate Hwasong artillery units or the Strategic Rocket Forces. Denuclearization grounded in North Korea's motivation must be an option. North Korean methods should be considered, at least with regard to the technical process of denuclearization. Relating to the declaration of the end of the war, Professor Han Xiandong said that North Korea, UN representatives, and China would be involved in the dissolution of the Armistice Agreement, and excluded South Korea. In fact, this notion is likely to face resistance in South Korea. I would like to hear your opinion on this matter.

- **KIM Sang Ki** Until the day before the summit on June 12, U.S. Secretary of State Pompeo insisted on CVID. There is a high likelihood that the joint statement was written before that time. I am curious as to the reason behind Pompeo's statement. In fact,

CVID is a vague concept without clear boundaries. Boundaries are difficult to regulate and are open to interpretation. It is not a practical or specific goal, but a rather ambiguous and unrealistic concept. The fact that it is uttered repeatedly leads one to suspect that it has become a kind of political slogan.

I understand that the approval ratings are high for South Korea's recent polices on foreign affairs and national security. I agree that South Korea has recently achieved great diplomatic progress related to the North Korean nuclear issue, denuclearization, and establishment of a peace regime. North Korea has also made diplomatic accomplishments. One major accomplishment is the recovery of DPRK-China relations. Although its relations with the U.S. are short of being normalized, North Korea is laying a foundation for normalization of relations with the U.S. Both North and South Korea are doing well. They are now reaping the fruits of their efforts.

The ROK-U.S. alliance has always been, and continues to be, a sensitive topic. In the process of denuclearization and establishing a peace regime, readjustment of the ROK-U.S. alliance is naturally expected. North Korea has been the major threat faced by the ROK-U.S. alliance. This threat will weaken substantially or disappear as a result of denuclearization and the establishment of a peace

regime. Therefore, discussions on the alliance could reach beyond readjustment. Some people have been critical of readjustment or concerned about security, but these attitudes have changed significantly since last year. We must respond actively to those voices.

- **HAN Xiandong** My presentation reflects my personal view. A declaration of the end of the war is not equal to establishing a peace regime, but only a step in establishing a peace regime. Regarding the readjustment of the ROK-U.S. alliance, consensus within South Korea is more important than China's position. I would only like to add that the past route of reinforcing the ROK-U.S. alliance would not be ideal going forward, because it would not be helpful to promoting stability and peace in Korea.

Policy Implications

- The June 12 DPRK-U.S. summit laid a foundation for building trust and normalizing relations between two countries that have maintained a hostile relationship for over 70 years.
- As the driver of peace on the Korean Peninsula, South Korea's role is expanded as mediator and facilitator of the success of follow-up negotiations between the United States and North Korea.
- South Korea must prepare and lead the planning process of a peace regime that may begin as early as 2020, and a new Northeast Asian order originating on the Korean Peninsula.
- The main goal of establishing a Korean peace regime is to maintain a lasting peace in Korea. South Korea and China should let their guard down toward each other, and increase communication with an eye on long-term goals, thereby facilitating the process of establishing a Korean peace regime.

Vision and Strategy of Public Diplomacy for Peace and Prosperity in Northeast Asia



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- **PARK Enna** As you know, we are living in the era of public diplomacy. Most countries are very kin about their national image. They would like to create favorable international opinion on their national policy. Northeast Asia is no exception. Korea, Japan and China are all active in conducting public diplomacy. Japan is known as a country with beautiful culture and tradition. Most people love Japanese food, tea culture etc. Japan is the leading country in our region, and China is a relatively latecomer in terms of public diplomacy. The Confucius Institute is very active in promoting Chinese national image. While, Korea is also a latecomer in the field for public diplomacy. We are trying very active to win the hearts and minds of foreign publics. I am the ambassador of public diplomacy. This position was created just 2 years ago. So we are somewhat late in conducting public diplomacy but we are serious about it.

With respect to Northeast Asia region's public diplomacy, we are facing two challenges. The first challenge is the trend of rising nationalism. Northeast

Asian countries are witnessing nationalistic trend. With the narrower term of nationalism prevailing, public diplomacy becomes national branding focusing on differences rather than common vision for the regional community. Public diplomacy with such trend might not be able to play a positive role in winning solidarity, peace, and harmony in this region. The second challenge is the current situation of the Korean Peninsula. There has been a positive development in recent months; we had the South-North Summit, followed by the DPRK and US Summit in Singapore. We are at the critical juncture of creating peace, overcoming 70 years of hostility and conflicts, by solving the North Korean missile problem through diplomatic way. The issue is critical not only for Korea but also for the international community. Public diplomacy can create favorable condition to mobilize international support and keep peace initiative in the Peninsula. Everyone believes that Korea should live peacefully, living in a peaceful world free of nuclear threats. We wonder what role public diplomacy can

play to contribute to achieving this ultimate goal – peace on the Peninsula.

- **Rui MATSUKAWA** Japan has been conducting a steady cultural diplomacy. The origin of Japan’s public diplomacy started after the war to give the image of peaceful nation and to nurture friendly relations with neighbor countries.

The beginning of Japan’s public diplomacy

Japanese culture such as tea ceremony, floral arrangements, kabuki, and sumo were introduced to let foreign citizens understand Japanese culture. Japan has for a long time been practicing cultural diplomacy, to let foreign citizens perceive of Japan as a peaceful country, technologically advance and with deep traditions.

Shift in emphasis: Rising importance of foreign public

The diplomacy targets not just from diplomats to diplomats but to everyone. With social media, this has no meaning. There also are non-state actors in public diplomacy. It is important for the Japanese government to reach foreign citizens directly making them to understand Japan’s foreign Policy.

Japanese government’s strategy: Promotion of popular culture

Soft power is critical in public diplomacy and for diplomacy itself. The purpose of public diplomacy is first to disseminate government’s policy and, second to create a positive image amongst foreign citizens. What the Japanese government is doing is to utilize Japanese popular culture. Japanese manga and animation are very popular abroad and I believe this has a fresh image of Japanese culture. In this light, public diplomacy by nature is a continuous collaboration of what you have. Korea has many assets such as popular culture – K pop and Korean dramas. Japan has a lot to learn from Korea. For Japan, we are making Manga awards and cosplay awards. We appreciate those foreign Manga creators, those who do not only copy but create. We are also doing ordinary traditional country to country memorial. This year

is the 20th anniversary of Kim Dae Jung and Keizo Obuchi partnership. Realizing the 21st anniversary to nurture friendship and public diplomacy can certainly play a role. Japan recently created ‘Japan House’ to disseminate Japanese culture, food, and information.

Goal in the region: Denuclearization

Kim Jung Un successfully changed the image of North Korea as a cruel dictatorship, who murdered his own brother. It turned the image of North Korea as a country wishing for economic development. Now we are in the process of denuclearization. This should not be forgotten, although friendly atmosphere is very important. If NK becomes peaceful, what happens next? People can move directly through the land. Nobody should fear. These are the reasons why peace is important in the Peninsula. I believe that peace does not just arise from friendly atmosphere. Denuclearization should be the foundation. For Japan, as a sovereign nation, we have to solve this issue. Japanese people do welcome peaceful relation between South and North Korea but we also want our peace. Japanese diplomacy needs to recognize the importance of this relation to the world as well, so that we can work together. Denuclearization is the common goal for both Japan and Korea.

- **Jay WANG** What I will share now are my observations on some of the trends in this field of public diplomacy, implications for this region as well as challenges the region is facing.

Introduction: Public Diplomacy

Public diplomacy is what nations undertake to reach the international community’s public opinion in the world. An official from the US Secretary of Defense once said that America has got two fundamental power tools – intimation and inspiration. Soft power stems from inspirations. Joseph Nye said, in today’s global information age, victory depends on whose story wins not whose army wins. Public diplomacy matters in both global security and local security, through the building and maintaining of

friendly relationships.

Changing public diplomacy

Given the recent changes in geopolitics and advances in technology, we are now seeing public diplomacy being disrupted by some of these social forces. To begin with democratic shifts are reshaping current patterns. Globally and regionally, Asian populations especially from developing countries are witnessing urbanization. Ethnic mapping is also changing with migration. This means our audience is changing, and therefore that our public diplomacy strategy should change. Changes will continue to occur. The platforms and tools we use for public diplomacy should evolve accordingly.

There also is a great deal of geopolitical uncertainty: how are we going to see the new order? Concerns are being raised in domestic discourses in how countries should engage internationally. Then there is the emergence of non-state actors such as individuals and companies. For example, there is the State of California. It is the 5th largest economy. States and cities in California are actively engaged in issues that were traditionally resolved by federal government – such as climate change, domestic policy issues such as immigration and refugee.

Another geopolitical force is about what is under the sustainable development umbrella. Many of these issues have transnational nature. Public diplomacy needs to deal with issues that have transnational scope. How do we work with these issues that were traditionally dealt on a national level? Climate change is the most significant threat that the world now faces. Countries around the world are not realizing how severe the problem is.

So in a nutshell, the framework for public diplomacy is encountering all types of changes generated by external sources concerning its audience, platforms and actors.

Responses

There is a need to make public diplomacy more strategic rather than giving out tactical solutions. A

deeper understanding in human behavior in a digital environment is also needed. Questions include: how do we build trust in such environment? How do we combat counter-forces?

As we try to reach our target audience of public diplomacy, it is important to know what the audience information channel is. Is it face-to-face or digital? Information map need to be constructed clearly. This is a very big challenge as we do not know the information map. The following quote used in advertising can in this case apply to public diplomacy as well: “Half of the money is wasted but we do not know where the waste comes from.”

We may need to hint how to operate: We need operation model for public diplomacy. There are very similar foreign ministries and a department in charge of public diplomacy in each country. Do we need to rethink how we should operate public diplomacy? Communication platforms are changing and operating more directly. There are also emerging non-state actors and third parties. Do we need to consider these changes to rethink how we operate public diplomacy? There also is a need to give more importance to key functional areas such as technology.

Thoughts on Northeast Asia

This is the moment that we are trying to figure out the 21st world order. Northeast Asia is shaped by both ancient culture and dynamic contemporary societies. How should East Asia contribute to the development of new world order? My observation comes from an American perspective. But we do not have perspectives from other regions on what public diplomacy ought to be in the future. This is underdeveloped area.

- **PARK Enna** Mr. Wang raised so many questions. We are undergoing speed changing world order in terms of technology and issues. The world we are living in is very different from decades ago. Changes will happen faster now. Northeast Asia could be an experimental area of public diplomacy. We need a deep understanding from the three countries of Korea, Japan, and China. We have to make a new

culture to collaborate not only for this region but for the new world order mentioned earlier.

- **Nancy SNOW** The origin of the term public diplomacy comes from an American diplomat Edward Guillion. He was trying to come up with the term that would describe the actions of diplomats at that time that tried to reach foreign publics.

After I finished my PhD, I engaged in public diplomacy inside from government and worked at the USIA. We did not even think in terms of digital at that time. The power of cultural diplomacy. We had a tough narrative regarding relationship. USIA created a film told different narratives.

Public diplomacy should be discussed in terms of Advocacy, persuasion, social influence, and storytelling. USIA was an independent organization but became insider of the government, meaning practices became side by side policy. We need an independent storytelling agency.

Public diplomacy as a process

Just like with a peace process, you have to view public diplomacy as a process. It is a dynamic. It is ongoing. It is never ending. And it is often very exhaustive work because it is very much about person-to-person engagement. So we have the interpersonal level, we have the regional level, and we have the international level.

Different status of public diplomacy in China, Japan, and Korea

I have taught public diplomacy in Tsinghua University. China has a certain advantage in that the global communications continue in forms much broader there. There is no problem of using the word propaganda. There is no problem with complexity. They are often used interchangeably in public diplomacy. I really take my hat to Korea, because, with the agreement with Matsukawa here - Japan is playing catch up. Japan has sort of got into this more organized effort in public diplomacy rather late because Japan had certain prior benefits in terms of being a cultural superpower. There is no doubt about

it. And a lot of emphasis has been put into cultural diplomacy. The 'Cool Japan' and Jpop - Korea has Kpop too. I think here in Korea, you are more advanced in terms of the infrastructure of public diplomacy. What I also see is the larger engagement. For instance, the entire layout of this room with all these cameras. This does not happen when I talk about public diplomacy in Japan! As far as I know, I am the only professor of Public diplomacy in Japan. And my title is 'world peace professor of public diplomacy.'

Emphasis on Exchange Programs

I left California, I retired early as a professor because I could see what was happening here, in this part of the world. And I think there is an enormous opportunity to come together and have more collaborative, sharing of information. Particularly, what I love the most are exchange programs.

For instance, we are doing work now with KF looking at the government sponsored exchanges here. The Japanese government has very similar exchange programs that bring foreign students to Japan. Just like we have in Korea, just like they have in China. Where we have not looked into is the public diplomacy roles of this students, because what they are doing is serving as cultural mediators. They are returning to their home countries, they are acting as interpreters, and sympathize with the cultures that they experienced.

One thing we noted in our recent survey from the KF is that students with multicultural networks have friendships not only in this case with Korean friends, but they also have foreign friends in Korea, are much more likely to acknowledge happier time in their studying abroad. But they also predict that they will be more successful going forward. I found out the same information 25 years ago in my doctoral dissertation looking at Fulbright scholarship.

I value the multicultural outlook, which is what I have discovered going out all the way to the Middle East and back here in Jeju today. And I think that the value in public diplomacy now is more critical than ever. Sadly, when I worked in USIA, our budget was

billion dollars. That may seem like a lot, but compared to other organizations, it was very limited. That was always the challenge in public diplomacy. Maybe less so in China. My Chinese scholar friends are very envious of both Japan and Korea because they see that you get much greater return. You get a very positive return. And Japan has probably invested the least. There is envy there that Japan has got this marvelous image.

Conclusion

To conclude, there are many critical issues. I really want young people in this room to get involved in public diplomacy. Everybody in this room is a public diplomat. That is something we need to remember. It is not just scholarship, it is not just practitioner's world or training. It is very much about developing that outlook of curiosity and mutual understanding that is critical to our world.

- **PARK Enna** You emphasized the power of storytelling which is actually a process and dynamic. I was little surprised that Chinese colleagues envy Japan and Korea, we actually envy China because there is no limit in budget for Chinese officials.

- **CHOI Jungwha** The main purpose of public diplomacy is to make a country attractive - to make the country that other people want to go and live. In that sense, I think Japan did a very good job. What gives a good image to a country? I think the very important thing is to care for others and to respect others. For that purpose, Japan is doing very well. As you all know, the image of one country or a person depends both on the contents and the efficient way of communication. I think Japan is continuously improving their contents, and they are also a very good efficient communicator. Sometimes both Japan and Korea are spontaneous and diplomatic, but sometimes we are too direct. For that, I think Japan takes very prudent and elegant way of approach, and way of communicating information. Do you think Korea for its public diplomacy, is reaching the balance between the improvement of contents and efficiency in communication?

- **Rui MATSUKAWA** I think the question touches upon the difference between propaganda and public diplomacy. Public diplomacy is not telling lies. It should reflect reality. For example, my concentration is Osaka. Osaka is now enjoying huge Korean tourists. It is both ways. People to people exchange is very important. Tourists who came to Japan and enjoyed Japan will like Japan and bring good image of Japan back to their home. Tourists become public diplomats. But on the contents side, if those who come to Japan and get disappointed, the outcome would be different. In this sense, the contents are very important. Korea already has contents. Korea is good at promoting itself. Korea is amazing at selling stories and images. For me, Korea is doing great. What really is necessary is to have a little more edge around each content. Something that holds different contents together. There is no common ground that binds these different contents. There is a room for improvement.

- **CHOI Jungwha** You said building trust is very important, I think that that is one of the most fundamental thing in public diplomacy. These days, a lot of focus is on the NK and US summit. Do you think through that summit the two countries can successfully build trust for their relation?

- **Jay WANG** We are only making first step in trust building between US and NK. It is an important step but it really is just a first step. There are two points. One is why is trust so important in this particular case but also broadly in public diplomacy. Because trust is always a function of risk perception, which means that when we see something we see higher risk, that we need more trust. And because of uncertainty geopolitically, the risk perception has heightened. There is a need for more trust. In this case, for NK for the longest time, people do not know about the country. What are the key factors that drive the trust? Doing something with good intention, not to harm. In this case at least they scored one. The media in the publics in USA - at least they came to the talks with good intention. That is the first thing. You need to have some level of transparency. It was a public

diplomacy event, and it was visible to everyone. There is another point: Can I rely on you? It depends on not on a single performance but repetition. In this case, we do not know because it is just really a first step. Everything else needs to be measured against the goal of denuclearization.

- **CHOI Jungwha** You said that USIA was now incorporated in State Department in 1999. Korea used to have Government Information Agency in the past. But now it disappeared. So, my question is, when a country reaches a certain condition or level for the public diplomacy, there is no need to have an independent institution. What do you think about it?

- **Nancy SNOW** You were asking about the need for an official public diplomacy agency. Let us think about the most critical issue before us, which is climate change. There are so many issues related to global commons. And I believe there were always the needs for official story created by governments. And having worked inside the government, I have seen the value of that. You need a more traditional, formal infrastructure. At the same time, though, as I said earlier, public diplomacy, just like climate change, is everybody's business and concern. So increasingly in public diplomacy, we are seeing the rise of non-state actors. In terms of trust, that may be a greater opportunity to build trust over time. And this is my experience as I travel internationally and talk about public diplomacy, it is often to find differences by nation to nation. But what we have in common is we have a need to get along better with each other. We have need to reduce violence, not only to the planet but from human to human. And so if we can use public diplomacy, and if perhaps if I can persuade you of the value of having public diplomacy outlook and everything we do, then you will be more aware of what you do in your behavior and how it impacts, informs, and engages, with all the people you come in contact with. That is why I highlighted earlier the need for experiencing a multicultural environment, and the need to say the World Cup in Osaka also benefits foreign visitor numbers in Korea and China as well. These are very positive win-

win measures. So I do not think the official will ever go away, and I am little bit nostalgic for my days at USIA. At the same time though, I think I am finding that, the Edelman Trust Barometer, is now in its 18th year. And what they found this year is the decline in trust across all measures. But trust opportunity is best outside of institutions. Trust can be built officially inside of an agency, but also widely outside in our unofficial contacts with each other.

- **Kadir AYHAN** Both Wang and Nancy emphasized the importance of telling stories. This is also referred to as competitive aspect of public diplomacy. But there is also another respect of collaborative public diplomacy. And I think the 2002 World Cup is a perfect example of collaborate public diplomacy for both countries of Korea and Japan. Doing public diplomacy is also about managing relationship, improving mutual understanding, and creating confidence and trust between countries. It is mentioned in our recent studies: many students learn about Korea more after coming here, but we also see that they learn about Korea through others. We could see the importance of mutual understanding.

And I remember 10 years ago, I went to Japan, representing Korea. We had this Korea, China, and Japan media workshop. It was hosted by Korean-Japanese and Korean studies, and I was in the Korea team. At the end of the workshop, there was a senior official from Japan Foundation. He told us that regardless of the topic of the workshop, the point that the students from all three countries have gathered here itself is amazing. He said it was unimaginable when he was young. But we still have a secluded country in this region – North Korea. Reconciliation will open up more possibilities in this exchange. In terms of public diplomacy, you need communication and exchanges. In the last 10 years in Korea, these exchanges were shut down. We see Pyeongchang Olympics and increasing emphasis on the people-to-people exchanges. Recently for example, SNU students applied for having an exchange with their counterpart in Pyeongyang. If this happens, it would be the first exchange student program

between the two countries. Mutual understanding can only happen when we have exchanges in diverse fields - between scientists, artists, students, religious people, etc. Do you think there is potential for more people to people exchange and whether this would have qualitative aspect of public diplomacy on SK and NK and NK and USA?

- **Jay WANG** All we can do is trying to help individuals to enlarge and enhance our capacity for empathy. I am using the theory to explain, its an Western idea. I am not sure whether this theory can be applied to this context. It is a theory that says that individuals, we are moral individuals in a sense that we can sometimes think of someone else's interests and there are times we may even sacrifice our own interests to help others get their interests. But in terms of groups, as a group, as a social organization, we are immoral. That is why throughout the history, social organizations have always had conflicts. public diplomacy is a collaborative action. In the so-called 21st century world order, because of globalization, we are more independent and there is more cooperation. Can that lead to more collaborative effort transcending individual-nation state and global commons problem? For that I do not know. But history so far tells us that individuals are moral, and the societies are immoral, in a sense that we have less capacity for empathy as a social organization.

- **Nancy SNOW** Of course, I am a great advocate of collaboration and exchanges. In 2012, what brought me back to Japan was Fulbright Sophia. I want to share the concern that I have. Yes, globalization is bringing us together. But it also threatens people. (fear and insecurity). When I was in Israel, I taught at the first Jewish university there. If we do not have exchanges, you cannot guarantee success. But if you do not do exchanges, we will continue to live in these pockets of places and this will prevent us from getting to know each other to begin with. This leads us to miss opportunity. What you will find is that you have so much things in common. Yet, enemy image persists. This happens in East Asia as well. Peace and security and freedom, trust building measure

really matter, and exchange programs really help because it builds over time.

- **Robert KELLY** For those living in another regions, North Korea and South Korea can sometimes be confusing. Even Donald Trump got confused about South and North couple of weeks ago. When I say I live in Korea, people always ask me "which one?" Also, North Korea, especially in western media, have been displayed as a cliched villain. All the time in movies and news. This is sort of an issue. There is an image of North Korea as an unbelievably powerful state. When lots of people talk about Korea out there they are talking about North Korea. The popular image of Korea out there is North Korea. For South Korea, South Korea gets to be perceived as a normal country; part of OECD, part of globalization. So it actually is not a bad thing for the image, but in terms of profile issue, this could be a problem.

The North Korea-US Summit: so much emphasis on media and creating image and broadcasting. The part of the reason why there was so much emphasis on TV and media is heavily related to the creation of image, and the topic of this session. Treating North Korea as a normal country is part of their effort for the normalizations. Ultimate goal of denuclearization should not be forgotten against this process. Challenge for Moon government is genuine concession for NK.

- **KIM Taehwan** I am greatly inspired by the presentations and comments. I would like to make 3 observations. 1 – My concern about the status of public diplomacy. My perspective on public diplomacy is that it is at a critical juncture in this century. What we are witnessing in this century is the rise of nationalism and return of geopolitics. Meaning the confrontation between nation-states. The rise of populist nationalism. All those phenomena – I personally conceptualize these phenomena as exclusionary identity politics. It is about asserting your identity at the expense of others. That is the problem. Identity politics per se does not have a problem but exclusionary identity politics does. If you look at Northeast Asia, we all know that we all have seen for a long time the

so-called clash of national identity between the two Koreas, Japan, and China. The painful collective memory of past history has been deeply engraved in the essential elements of national identities of these countries. The past has influenced heavily in this region's present, even the future.

My real concern in this region is: "what is the role of public diplomacy?" Unfortunately, I see public diplomacy falling in as another toolkit for geopolitical competition. Obviously, the basic function of public diplomacy is solving foreign policy. The problem is public diplomacy and soft power, for that matter, are becoming another toolkit for geopolitical competition and confrontation. So also lately, we see the emergence of 'sharp power' as opposed to soft power. Sharp power means the capacity to obtain a desired outcome not through attraction as in the case of soft power but through distraction. The problem is that it is very difficult to distinguish between hard and soft power. And often, many countries are adopting both soft power and sharp power together. They are commingled.

If that is the case, although I am exaggerating the dark side of the public diplomacy, what is to be done? That is my second point. Many panelists here emphasized the importance of storytelling. But ISIS' ego-centric storytelling was successful in recruiting. But functionally, I really doubt. When we think of national identity, it is composed of two elements – (1) essentialist elements (ethnicity, shared history, culture, food, custom); public diplomacy so far has heavily emphasized on the essentialist elements of public diplomacy. This is about demonstrating 'what I am'. I call it 'common band' of public diplomacy. There are good and bad sides, but the problem is that too severe competition in ego-centric elements here could be problematic. (2) Constitutive element of national identity refer to values, ideas, and roles. As opposed to demonstrating what I am and who I am, (2) is more focused on showing and representing what I stand for in this international society, or what kind of role I can play in the international society. So the diplomats, when we turn ego-centric elements

into constitutive elements, public diplomacy could be different. 'Inclusionary role-identity'.

For the months, in Northeast Asia, we have witnessed certain roles being played here representing peace. What if the countries in the region create a common role establishing peace regime? Establishing common security program of Asia at large? Inclusionary role. We can radically expand the boundary of self by incorporating Japanese, Chinese, and North Koreans. I think that is a shift of thoughts. When we think of public diplomacy and national identity, public diplomacy does not have to be only about essentialist elements.

My last point is that future direction of public diplomacy in general, not only in Korea, I propose 2 things: (1) public diplomacy has evolved from monologist communication (i.e. Voice of America) towards at the end of the century thanks to the IT innovation, developed to dialogic communication. What if we move towards one step further as Kadir mentioned, towards collaborative mode of public diplomacy? SK does not do it alone, but we do it together collaboratively with neighbor countries. That is collaborative public diplomacy. Another one is the (2) "themed public diplomacy". Getting out of the black box of common band, we can move towards inclusionary role of identity. For that identity to be sustainable, I think that we better conduct a themed public diplomacy, reflecting neutral value-based theme. It could be climate change, peacebuilding, or peaceful coexistence. I think probably this there is a very positive direction that public diplomacy could be heading for in this era of gloomy exclusionary environment.

• **Nancy SNOW** I would say something about identity. Prof. Kim raised a lot of critical elements here which is how ready are we to have collaborative approaches. We are not going to have anytime soon respective governments of the countries would have a collaborative public diplomacy agency. But that does not stop what we can do outside of the official agency. There is nothing to stop entrepreneurs in the three countries to start something like this. Maybe

the onus is more on Korea because what I see with this inter-Korean summits and Korean peace process, I see that Korea takes a very prominent role here, sometimes very quietly but nevertheless very powerful. I hope that might happen here. I do think that we need to open up of dialogue in this region. Talk about some of our grievances and put things out on the table. Because we know depending on where you went to school for years, we may have different narrative sort of competing in terms of history. We may have competitive sense of history from one nation to another. In terms of myologic to dialogic, I always think about President Obama talking in Hiroshima. Monologist skills really matter because immediately his speech was translated and published as a book and it became a best seller. It was about the power of speech. I am glad that Prof. Kim brought about the idea of identity. Identity is very much there. But they are very much like the notion of Iceberg model of culture. Many of the cultural elements are beneath the surface of water and cannot be seen. Therefore, we have to start with trust building measures.

• **Rui MATSUKAWA** I would also like to touch upon the national identity and competition. I think that public diplomacy is essentially not an independent policy. It is a tool for supporting diplomacy to support your own policy. For improving relation through public diplomacy - there should be a will of the government to improve relation first. If public diplomacy works in a way to provide competition in national identity, that is not successful consequence among especially in Northeast Asian countries with difficult history. We cannot change history, it already happened. You should have a national identity of your own, not depending on other country's history or what others think. Focusing on not on the past, but on the future and present. What kind of future can we, the country, create? This region is much more important in creating national identity from the past. And that is we - the countries in this region - must do in this region. Third point is that I think it is important to have the vision of the region. Not only

about security. Security is the most difficult, I have to say. Many changes are happening here. I think now that Northeast Asian countries including Korea, Japan and China and US as well – what would be the regional collaborative system? Vision should come first amid public diplomacy can enhance it. But public diplomacy is not what we need to start with. I think the governments first need to have the will to improve the relationship.

• **PARK Enna** As Senator Matsukawa mentioned government's will comes first and public diplomacy follows. For most of the cases, that is the pattern. But our perspective is that public diplomacy can influence our decisionmaking process. We can make input.

We started our session with two challenges. One is how to deal with nationalist trend in this region and what kind of role public diplomacy can play to build solidarity. The second question was how to support peace process in the region in the field of public diplomacy.

Having heard presentations and comments, we have got some answers to those challenges. In my view, the answer to the first question is collaborative public diplomacy as many panelists emphasized. What we have to do in these countries is not just to promote our own national interests, but we have to conduct public diplomacy in order to contribute to the regional and global public goods. As Prof. Kim said, we can develop some program, neutral value-based programs, by all three countries. This is the new paradigm and direction of public diplomacy. There actually is a good development in that direction. With Japan – Kim Dae Jung and Keizo Obuchi statement 20th anniversary. We also have a trilateral cooperation mechanism: Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat. They are quite active. These institutes are very well collaborative organizations. We also have trilateral public diplomacy forums, in this year, there will be the 2nd forum. We hope that all three countries can create concrete program to promote people-to-people exchange and communication.

Public diplomacy in Northeast Asia – I think we can do more. We can facilitate public discussion on the discourse of regional order. Prof. Wang mentioned how to cope with a changing world and how to formulate new world order. Northeast Asia can be a very interesting place to see how we come together putting harmony and collaboration ahead of conflicts. Also, public diplomacy in this region can have more collaborative forms of public diplomacy - people-to-people collaboration especially among young people. We can create a sense of Northeast citizenship in addition to each national identity. I believe public diplomacy can create a regional identity.

Respect to the second challenge – peace initiative in the region. We talked about the issue of trust. SK and NK Summit is the just beginning, the first step. There is a long way to go for us. It will not be an easy journey especially considering low trust is at the moment. It will be a very lucky one, especially as we do not have trust in each other. Foundation for communication is needed when you have less trust. Through communication, we can understand each other better. And when we have better understanding, we will be in better position to make a deal to achieve peace initiative on the Peninsula.

Policy Implications

- Against the backdrop of the changing environment for public diplomacy, there is a need for collaborative public diplomacy in the Northeast Asian region. What the countries in this region should do for settling peace in the region is not to emphasize on promoting their national interests only, but to conduct public diplomacy to contribute to the regional and global public goods. Arrangement of neutral value-based programs that all countries in the region participate would be a good example to start. Through public diplomacy, countries could collaborate to create the sense of Northeast Asian citizenship which could not only be reflective of the new world order but also signify the symbol of peace and harmony, putting collaboration ahead of conflict.
- People-to-people exchange is critical especially in building trust. Trust cannot be built unless exchange is conducted repetitively with a clear intention of collaboration. People-to-people exchange can play a role as a foundation for communication which will help us understand each other.

My last point is that public diplomacy is everybody's business. It is not monopolized by government or formal institutions. Young people are actually the real public diplomats. So multicultural outlook is the key for the success of our future. I will conclude our session by saying that despite difference in our profession we all are in genuine sense public diplomats.

The Summits and Beyond: Continuity and Change of North Korea



Moderator	JEONG Se Hyun Chairman, Korea Peace Forum/Formal Minister of Unification of the R.O.K
Speaker	JIN Jingyi Professor Emeritus, Peking University Masao OKONOGI Professor Emeritus, Keio University John MERRILL Visiting Scholar, Johns Hopkins University LEE Jong Seok Senior Research Fellow, The Sejong Institute/Formal Minister of Unification of the R.O.K
Rapporteur	CHO Sookyung Asia-Pacific Leadership Network

Dr. Jeong Se-hyun, Chairman of the Korea Peace Forum and former Minister of Unification of the R.O.K, began the session with a series of questions regarding North Korea's recent foreign policies. Did the North Koreans come back to the negotiation table to avoid harsh sanctions, especially from the U.S., or did they genuinely change their focus to developing their economy? If the speakers believe there has been a change, would the factors be owed to internal pressure or the international environment?

Professor Emeritus Jin Jingyi from Peking University stated that he belonged to the latter camp. Drawing from his own country's experiences, he believed that only a country that is truly desperate for reform and international engagement can achieve change. China did so in the 1980s and wanted North Korea to follow its reforms, but North Korea did not share those sentiments then as its economy was at its peak. Now the North is experiencing that desperation after three decades of nuclear development, he said.

Prof. Jin identified another driving factor behind North Korean Chairman Kim Jong-un's genuine desire for reform and engagement — he is eager to improve the lives of his people. For the six years of

Kim's reign, he has probably used the word 'In-min (people)' more than any other word, Prof. Jin said. Prof. Jin finally remarked that the North's shift in attitude could be attributed to a strategy of seeking stability through examining the larger picture. However, Prof. Jin cautioned that this change in national policy did not solely depend on internal factors. North Korea needs to cooperate with other countries to bring about results from its change in priorities from nuclear development to economic development.

Professor Emeritus Masao Okonogi from Keio University answered that there has been a policy change but the shift occurred sooner than the North Koreans had expected. Prof. Okonogi remarked that North Korea had been developing nuclear weapons as a deterrent and leverage for negotiations with the US. It was because its program was nearly completed that the US had answered the request for negotiations, and North Korea had factored this into its plans, he said. However, US President Donald Trump's harsh sanctions took the North by surprise. That pressure had been formed by the unprecedented utilization of strategic assets: freezing North Korea's assets, pushing for harsher sanctions through the UN Security

Council and even pushing China to the extent that trade benefits were used as leverage. In response, North Korea's plans for opening its economy were hastened, and that is the change that the world is seeing now, he explained. However, Prof. Okonogi again emphasized that this strategic change was already in the works to ensure a smooth transformation into the next shape of the regime, which includes not just changes in military but also political and economic reforms. Prof. Okonogi speculated that a new survival tactic of the North was to give up nuclear weapons and instead maintain conventional military forces and co-exist with the ROK. In economic terms, the North will improve exports to boost its economy, a model that is a mixture of China's model and the model of late South Korean President Park Chung-hee. Prof. Okonogi also remarked that North Korea would aim to normalize relations with Japan, albeit in the final stages of its plan. The North needs economic cooperation funds, and Japan's funds among those of other Northeast Asian countries would be reparation funds. This means the North can utilize that money for building infrastructure such as railroads and power lines.

Dr. John Merrill, Visiting Scholar of Johns Hopkins University, briefly analyzed the cause for change in North Korea's policy as a combination of external pressure and internal developments. For the latter, the North has completed and demonstrated its nuclear forces capability. It has hydrogen bombs and long-range missiles that could hit the US mainland, which boosted the North's confidence that it could deal with the US on equal terms as a nuclear state, he explained. However, Dr. Merrill added that external pressure by President Trump kept it from pressing its advantage too quickly. Provoking President Trump and tempting him to launch a preventive strike to take out the North's fledgling nuclear capability was something to avoid.

Dr. Merrill drew attention to several popular misconceptions by other experts in the field regarding North Korea. For one, North Korea is far from a country that will always take the same road as it has done in the past, he emphasized. Even its current leader, Kim Jong-un, was uniquely exposed to Swit-

zerland at an early age, which would have left deep impressions on the leader's thinking. Switzerland has one of the most advanced economies, biotechnology sectors and finances in the world. It is also a hyper-militarized state where it was once common to see soldiers in full camouflaged gear in train stations and ammunition was required to be kept under beds. Such an environment would have definitely given Kim something to think about, Dr. Merrill assured.

Second, Dr. Merrill remarked that North Korea's policy shift cannot only be credited to North Korea, but also to the external environment. President Trump is vastly different from his predecessors in that he has concluded that North Korea is a threat and he is actually doing something about it, Dr. Merrill said. He added that Trump is a result-oriented businessman who is focused on numbers. Receiving a report claiming that the North possessed 60 nukes and had the capacity to hit the US mainland was enough to shift President Trump's policy. However, Dr. Merrill cautioned that North Korea's policy direction could change according to new developments. The current policy process should be hardened against disturbances such as changes of leadership in the US, Republic of Korea and North Korea. Also, another problem to consider, especially from the ROK perspective, is what to relinquish in accordance with the North's denuclearization. The military gap between the ROK and the North is so enormous that it would take some thinking to make concessions that would mean something to the North, he remarked.

Dr. Jong Seok Lee, Senior Research Fellow at The Sejong Institute and former Minister of Unification of the R.O.K, assured that North Korean leader Kim Jong-un was genuine in his desire for change, as evidenced by the fact that he had met and persuaded President Trump, South Korea President Moon Jae-in and Chinese President Xi Jinping. Also, the cost to reconstruct and reactivate the destroyed nuclear testing sites at Punggye-ri would be so enormous that a change in strategy would be difficult, he analyzed. Chairman Kim is showing that his strategy of building nuclear weapons and sacrificing economy in their

stead is in the past. Denuclearization is inevitable along the path to economic development. Finally, Dr. Lee emphasized that if North Korea opened its economy and then changed its strategy in a way that violated the norms and treaties in the international community, its economy would be more vulnerable to sanctions than it is now. With regard to the irreversibility of the North's policy change, Dr. Lee mentioned that it is not impossible. However, it does not depend solely on North Korea. The country is already opening its figurative borders to diplomacy for denuclearization, but other countries need to interact and normalize relations with the former maverick state to complete the process, he said. In answering Dr. Jeong's questions about internal and external factors causing change, Dr. Lee said both are driving forces with economic development seen as the internal factor and international relations as the external.

Dr. Jeong then asked additional questions to each speaker. For Professor Jin, Dr. Jeong asked whether China would drop out of the declaration to end the Korean War, and if so, what would happen to North-China relations. Also, he inquired whether China would then actively participate in the peace agreement. Prof. Jin replied that it was better for China to participate, as it was one of the participating countries in the war. However, he pointed out that tensions between China and the US were a problem in solving the North Korean nuclear crisis.

Describing the issue of "Japan passing" (a term that expresses Tokyo's worries of being left out of the peace negotiation process) in solving the North Korean nuclear crisis, Dr. Jeong asked Prof. Okonogi whether the Japanese acknowledged the issue and identified the cause. Prof. Okonogi answered that many from Japan had recognized the negotiation process would not be smooth. In a few months, the coming of important dates such as the Day of the Foundation of the Republic (of North Korea) on September 9th and an annual UN general meeting in the same month will show whether Chairman Kim Jong-un will deal with the threat perception by the US, and prove his genuine desire for denucleariza-

tion. However, many in Japan do not believe this will progress smoothly, Prof. Okonogi said. Also, Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe treats the North's kidnapping of Japanese citizens as a political issue to sustain his administration's power. Like President Moon and President Xi, there have been calls for Prime Minister Abe to meet Chairman Kim face to face to solve this problem. Prime Minister Abe may also request that North Korea dispose of the missiles it fired over Japan. However, it is not clear whether Prime Minister Abe's political aims are directed towards the international or domestic stage. Depending on the ratio between the two factors, his policy may fall apart in the middle after the election of the Liberal Democratic Party representative.

Dr. Jeong then asked Dr. Merrill whether the US Congress could stop President Trump from keeping his promise, as he lacks support in politics and think tanks. Dr. Merrill said that while the think tank community believed that there were no results from the US-DPRK summit, this was an incorrect assumption as the first meeting with Chairman Kim served as an ice breaker and created a mood to establish good relations.

Finally, Dr. Jeong asked Dr. Lee whether people with power in North Korea would rebel against the dismantling of the Cold War regime they had reaped power from. Dr. Lee remarked that since the number one in power in North Korea was paradoxically leading the dismantling, the rest would have a hard time going against it.

Policy Implications

- North Korea is now genuinely prioritizing economic development over nuclear development as it has completed the latter, and U.S. President Trump has been pressuring the rogue nation through sanctions.
- However, this shift had been previously planned by North Korea. The timing of this change was only hastened with sanctions.
- North Korea's policy change is reversible, especially if the currently committed leadership, such as those of the US, North Korea and ROK, change. Other countries should actively support efforts to solidify the current trajectory.

Pacific Rim Parks Members Conference



Chair	KO Seong Joon Emeritus Professor, Jeju National University
Presenter	Stephan HAGGARD Krause Distinguished Professor, University of California San Diego
Discussant	James HUBBELL President, Pacific Rim Parks Foundation Kyle BERGMAN Co-Chair, Pacific Rim Parks Foundation David EDICK JR. Member of the Steering Committee, Pacific Rim Parks Foundation Marianne GERDES Executive Director, Ilan-Rael Foundation KIM Tae-il Professor, Jeju National University
Rapporteur	KIM Mina Assistant Administrator, Jeju Center for Inter-Korea Exchange & Cooperation

• **Stephan HAGGARD** The future of the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia looks hopeful, yet it is not without risk of uncertainties. There are lingering worries over international relations in the Pacific Rim region, some of which are attributable to reasons specific to the area, and concerns are arising in many countries in the region. Having said that, I would like to walk you through the U.S. grand strategy in Asia with a focus on key factors. I will first explain the difference between liberalism and factualism before moving to the grand strategy.

The Pacific War, the Cold War, and the Korean War led the U.S. to develop factualism-based strategies. It was the attack on Pearl Harbor that shaped the U.S. perception of the Pacific region, prompting the U.S. to expand westward and make a commitment to forging alliances with East Asia and building naval bases in Asia. This marks the beginning of the U.S. movement toward maritime strategies and U.S. control of “the global commons,” or areas of the world that fall outside national sovereign control.

As such, the U.S. established foreign policy strat-

egies in East Asia from a liberalistic perspective. Liberalism in international politics is premised on the following three points. First, democratic countries form a confederation and economically rely on each other and thereafter leverage their cooperative relations with international organizations, which is one of the most challenging tasks today. Above all, although some mistakenly argue that the U.S. first arrived Asia in the 19th century, it was the 18th century when U.S. merchants sailed to Asia. The U.S. sought to integrate Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia into the global economy, which helped Korea, Taiwan, Japan, Hong Kong, and Singapore begin economic development from the 1960s. The U.S. did not just endeavor to integrate with allies, but also engage China in the global system by opening China’s door as part of its grand strategy. The U.S. strategy indicated that the U.S. was well aware that it would stand to benefit from actively engaging China—despite being a potential threat—in the integrated global system. This is one of the critical factors that should be noted. Against this backdrop, a democrat-

ic system has an increasingly important role to play.

During the Cold War, the U.S. had a dilemma of whether to treat dictator-led countries as allies and provide support to them. The U.S. was split over extending generous aid packages to Korea. Eventually, such support brought significant political changes to Korea, Taiwan, Indonesia, China, and even Burma at the time.

Today, political uncertainties keep mounting. Some democratic countries in the region are fraught with uncertainties. Notably, after Trump’s election victory, the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China also signaled significant changes, rendering U.S. strategies irrelevant. The U.S. began to agonize over China’s future stance and changing power dynamics. The third key premise is the role of multilateral international organizations in building peace. Indeed, Asia lacks multilateral organizations such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Be it Taiwan, Japan, Australia, Thailand, or Korea, countries in the region sought to establish a U.S.-centric system, with the U.S. influence fanning out to other countries under its wing. The region did not have an equivalent of the EU, an economic multilateral organization. However, I think the roles of global multilateral organizations such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the Asia Development Bank (ADB) are underestimated. A case in point is Korea, which developed and played a key role, entering FTAs over the past decades. In Northeast Asia, Korea signed FTAs with Japan and China, respectively, launching various initiatives.

What I would like to highlight today is that liberalism, or a liberalistic approach adopted by the U.S. to Northeast Asia, to be specific, is faced with many challenges. It remains to be seen whether the integration of Northeast Asia and the Asia Pacific region through liberalistic elements or liberalism is sustainable down the road. On economic fronts, the U.S. has been embroiled in trade disputes with China, as well as its allies. Second, Northeast Asia is headed for democracy. Of course, there are well-established

democracies such as Korea, Japan, and Taiwan in the region. However, excluding these major countries, democracy seems to be in retreat in Southeast Asia.

One of the two key pillars of liberalism is a cosmopolitan world view. It is an international world view in which basically all humans are reasonable, desire freedom, and share the importance of universality. The cosmopolitan world view believes in the existence of values that are universal regardless of nationality, which is instrumental to the liberalistic perspective. However, interestingly, ideologies of the 17th century embraced religious tolerance. Liberalistic ideas and thinking recognize being different. Likewise, liberalism allows that not all people share the same view, providing a foundation for tolerance, which keeps in check conflicts and clashes resulting from differences. I would like to explain what significances and influences that aforementioned theoretical elements ultimately have for us. Dialogue and communication will have a greater role to play with the growing threat to liberalism. Isolation and stereotypes pose a threat to the cosmopolitan world view, as well as international relations, as the rise of nationalism is overshadowing liberalism.

The Pacific Rim Park (PRP) project also proceeds based on a cosmopolitan world view, encompassing tolerance and pluralistic empathy. Each PRP is designed by students in a way that reflects their personality, perspectives, and unique cultural elements. A PRP should be created in a harmonious and orderly way, not in a uniform fashion, incorporating respective regions’ various aspects and characteristics. The threat to liberalism raises the need to focus on the importance of the cosmopolitan world view. It is necessary to undertake joint projects in such areas as education, language learning, and tourism for cultural exchanges. As Governor Won Heeryong pointed out, both pragmatic and idealistic thinking is needed, which should provide a basis for pluralism.

• **James HUBBELL** What is important at this point is storytelling, which has room for improvement. It is important to present art not as an abstract concept, but as a way of telling a story. Delivering messages

through artists is very effective. We should create a world where plurality is not just embraced but also celebrated. What brings people together is not solidarity driven by fear, but the creation of a world which is fun and interesting.

- **Kyle BERGMAN** When placed in a larger context, a PRP takes place on three levels. The first is the community. A PRP mobilizes ordinary citizens through civic organizations. People with different motives get together and still join hands to achieve a common goal. Accordingly, collaboration with grass-root organizations is critical. The second is at the regional level. With the help of others, people work to create parks not just for their own communities, but also for the region. As such, PRP projects can continue and be taken to a higher level. Creating a park is a month-long project involving experts and architecture students. A PRP builds a park as well as solidarity. These trust-based relationships last a lifetime. Relationships should be developed, creating a link based on such a perspective.

- **David EDICK JR.** One quarter of the U.S. Navy is stationed in San Diego. The U.S. has a strong military presence, most of which is concentrated there. Countries around the world began to collaborate with each other from the 1980s, leaving behind the legacy of the Cold War. The atmosphere led to an idea of creating a link between San Diego in the U.S. and Vladivostok, a Russian naval base. Linking two cities gave rise to a new vision—the PRP initiative. The success of a city requires various organizations to organically function by supporting each other. Collaborating with different international organizations enables the creation of new ideas.

Usually, a one-month time frame is given to create a park. Such a time limit is challenging for both architecture students and supporting organizations, and this calls for cooperation to deliver the result. The process will allow all participants to listen to what others are saying and overcome differences to achieve what they want. Witnessing how their vision turns into a reality should be interesting. What messages to deliver is as important as creating a

park itself. A lot of thought should be given to what messages are needed to bring people together, how to achieve greater prosperity in peace, and how to create messages to this end. In this regard, communication should play a key role. Going forward, I hope more PRPs are created, and at the same time better messages come out to create a link in the Pacific Region.

- **Marianne GERDES** Both Vladivostok and San Diego have military bases, which means they can be destroyed at any time at the height of military tensions. However, the beauty of the riverside or coastal cities will not let such tragedies happen. We are committed to mobilizing young people and helping them unleash their creativity as part of efforts to make more meaningful spaces or parks in these cities. This was how the PRP started. A non-profit organization was founded, bringing together people from different cultures and backgrounds to build beautiful architectures. The project, once considered impossible, turned out to be a success. The San Diego Project has raised 40,000 dollars within a few months, with many supporters behind it. The strong support for PRP projects enabled us to conduct many projects around the world. Please remain interested in how new chapters of peace will be written.

- **KIM Tae-il** The group picture of all participants shows thirty or forty students from eight countries including China, Portugal, Japan, Korea, and the U.S. If PRP projects are not one-off events, but take place on a rolling basis across countries, Yantai (China) will be the hosting city this year. That is, the PRP project will be completed not by individual architects but by all those involved. I believe that is what PRP projects are all about. Personally, I believe peace is sharing values through a long dialogue. In this context, I believe peace is achievable when students share their values during a month-long PRP project. The PRP stands for wishes and desires for a peaceful world, and sharing such values serves the objective of the project designed to promote peace. PRP parks, which contain the messages of the students, will serve as a meaningful place that embodies the value

of peace. To this end, promoting exchanges between students and fostering their talents is the right way to expand and develop PRP parks. The values of the time are important, but it takes a new way of thinking to educate younger generations—those who are indifferent to war and the suffering of others and who take peace for granted—about peace through PRP parks, where consideration for others is the norm.

Policy Implications

- At a time when liberalism is threatened and retreating, the Pacific Rim region has a significant role to play. The PRP project can address such issues through civil society.
- Education, language learning, tourism for cultural exchanges and joint production are the key to address problems Korea is facing.
- Through consultative bodies on PRP, all countries and cities in the Pacific Rim region should be connected as if they are a single entity.
- It is essential to facilitate exchanges between students and to foster their talents.

Science Diplomacy and East-Asia Peace – Active Volcanoes on the Korean Peninsula Joint Research Example



외교부
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Korea Science Diplomacy Club

Chair	KIM Seunghwan Dean of Graduate School, POSTECH
Moderator	BAE Young Ja Professor, Konkuk University
Presenter	James HAMMOND Professor, Birkbeck, University of London
Discussant	PARK Chan-Mo Chancellor, Pyongyang University of Science & Technology KWON Seijoong Director General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs KANG Jin-Won Research Fellow, Korea Institute of Science & Technology Evaluation and Planning JUNG Woo-Sung Executive Director, Asia Pacific Center for Theoretical Physics LEE Youn-Soo Professor, POSTECH/Research Fellow, Korea Institute of Geoscience and Mineral Resources
Rapporteur	BAK Jiyong Assistant Director, Asia Pacific Center for Theoretical Physics

• **KIM Seunghwan** Korea Science Diplomacy Club has been minding the role of civil society as a platform of communication between the science, technology circle and public diplomacy community. Also, it has actively engaged in raising awareness of the importance of the capabilities of science and technology diplomacy. In this session, I expect that we can discuss a wide array of topics regarding the nature and role of science and technology in the face of a rapidly changing and challenging international political landscape. I hope particularly that the international joint research on Baekdu Mountain, a testbed for science diplomacy, can contribute to the peace and prosperity of Northeast Asia.

• **James HAMMOND** Volcanologists have a keen interest in Baekdu Mountain because it bears several risk factors. The recent case of Guatemala shows that a volcanic eruption could even affect regions distant from the volcano as well as having an influence on aviation, navigation and the climate across the globe. This is why it is so important to under-

stand these facts. Baekdu Mountain is a rare case in that it is located out of a plate boundary. Its caldera with a diameter of 5 km was created after the Millennium Eruption and the ashes were found as far as in Greenland. (Volcanoes in Japan are located on plate boundaries.) In fact, the Millennium Eruption is comparable to the eruption of Mount Tambora, reputedly the largest volcanic eruption ever in human history. The eruption resulted in hundreds of thousands of casualties and raised the global temperature by 1 degree Celsius.

Scientists only recently began to look into Baekdu Mountain with more scientific approaches. The Chinese government and scientists are observing and recording earthquakes every month and the data between 2002 and 2005 indicate that the number of earthquakes soared beneath the mountain. The observation also found terrain transformation and volcanic gas emission. All this could suggest that magma is gathering again, but one source of relief is that volcanic activity has been dormant since 2006.

Still, we need to take interest in and understand the signs and details of the volcanic activities. There are several studies under way regarding the volcano. We can set up a strategy to cope with and absorb the impact of a potential volcanic corruption by studying its location, the history, frequency, pattern and causes of eruption as well as its current state. One thing I came to discern while studying the Baekdu Mountain is the cultural character of the mountain shared by the Korean population, which deem the mountain as culturally important. As the mountain bears a symbolic significance for both Koreas, it adds to the research value. In 2011, North Korea invited a group of international researchers. One of its main purposes was to discuss the future plans for the international joint research on Baekdu Mountain. Some scientific objectives were shaped in the workshop. It includes creating a current geophysical image of the volcano, grasping the consequence of the Millennium Eruption, and assessing the potential risk of the volcano in more detail.

At that time, an institute active in Pyongyang named Pintech (Pyongyang International New Technological and Economic Information Centre) helped us talk and work together with North Korean scientists. Dialogue between governments played as pivotal a role as that among scientists. The AAAS (American Association for the Advancement of Science) of the U.S. and the Royal Society of Britain also played a significant role and we could obtain a full license following the two-year process. Yet more significant was that all parties concerned bore responsibility and could build trust among each other. Another key factor other than continued scientific research was stability for consistent and uninterrupted execution of research. In other words, we were provided with a security guarantee that the research would not be affected by geopolitical factors no matter what happened.

What makes Baekdu Mountain special is that it is not just a volcano but has a highly unique ecology. From a volcanologist's perspective, I am curious how the ecological system was revived after the complete

destruction of the forest as a result of the Millennium Eruption. Answering this question will make a huge contribution to preparing against potential volcanic eruptions in many countries.

In sum, we were able to build confidence and communicate with North Korean researchers by establishing regional and international networks that allowed us to focus purely on scientific research. This will be a key element in continuing cooperation in science in the future and the network could serve as an established base camp and a starting point. That is, we can build mutual trust and understanding through science. Science is a good channel in this regard and scientists are ready to play a part.

• **LEE Youn-Soo** There are three different types of volcanoes. 1) Those forming on the plate boundary where one plate slides beneath the other, 2) those forming where plates are created such as an oceanic rise or the Rift Valley in East Africa or Iceland, and 3) those forming at a hotspot (e.g., Hawaii, where magma erupts from deep under the mantle like a pimple). But there is a fourth, unclassified type of volcanoes, to which Baekdu Mountain belongs. The large evidence of the mountain, including the existence of magma, provides a trove of research materials for scientists. They assume that an absence of record for 30 to 40 years could be attributed to the massive explosion. An examination of carbon dating of almost intact annual growth rings indicates that three to four decades of history dating from November of 946 CE are missing. The ecological system at that time is thought to have been destroyed to the point where the region became uninhabitable for humans and under constant threat of an eruption. The research was launched to scientifically study and predict the chances of a volcanic eruption, as the volcano does pose potential disaster for the highly urbanized and populated areas around it.

Thus so far, North Korea has proposed joint research on three separate occasions (in 2007, 2011, 2015), but South Korea turned them down. In 2013, a South Korean received permission from China to visit the mountain and conducted research in 2014

and 2015. Some 30 South Korean experts from three institutes took part in the research.

We studied the signs of volcanic activity by setting up observatories near magma. Japan, China, Germany and the US as well as MPPG (Mt. Paektu Geoscientific Group) from North Korea have also joined the research now. We submitted a proposal to North Korea after consulting with the Ministry of Science and ICT and the Ministry of National Unification in late March this year. We received support from the AAAS in the process and was told by Richard Stone that 'the proposal on the civilian level was complete and consultations between government officials were pending.' Numerous issues made rapid progress with the sudden thawing of inter-Korean relations; scientific research is on the back burner as other policy items such as military, railroad, family reunion took priority. Timing is of the utmost importance when it comes to Baekdu Mountain research. It begins to snow as early as in September. If we do not begin research before then, we will have to wait another full year and we cannot be sure what the political landscape will be like come that time. We need at least two 15-day exploratory visits, meaning we need one and a half months before holding the first meeting in July. I hope the Ministry of National Unification will exert more effort on this front.

- **PARK Chan-Mo** Back in the 1990s, I met the President of the Academy of Science of North Korea and found out that the information technology of the country was rudimentary at best. I have had an interest in the subject ever since. This research project was conducted for about seven years starting in 2010 in cooperation with the information center in Pyongyang and POSTECH, with the support of the Ministry of Science and ICT, and with a view to contributing to global peace through science diplomacy. Also, I stayed in North Korea for six months every year over eight years to teach students of PUST (Pyongyang University of Science & Technology) and organized international academic conferences to globalize the institute. PUST is striving to internationalize its students and develop technological

pro prowess and the graduates play a huge role in the financial and agricultural sectors. These talents are believed to lead North Korea's globalization. Also, international conferences play a big role in this regard along with certain values such as mutual trust, patience, and perspective.

- **KWON Seijoong** The Ministry of Foreign Affairs created a bureau for climate change, energy, environment and science this year with a view to shoring up science diplomacy while participating in the Baekdu Mountain Project. A surprising fact is that there has been huge progress in the joint research of the mountain. A new era began with the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games as the South Korean government initiated North-South cooperation as well as East-West cooperation at a time when the Cold War dominated the discourse. The second phase began in the 1990s as the relationship became established. In particular, when the Kim Dae-jung administration announced the joint declaration in 1998, the two Koreas declared an agreement for reconciliation. The third phase was characterized by conflict impeding a new beginning. We are now in the fourth phase of inter-Korean relations where we have positive momentum to improve our relationship. Time is ripe for establishing perpetual peace, reaching a consensus and sharing a sense of urgency. One research paper estimated that the chance of an eruption of Baekdu Mountain stands at 68 percent in 2019 and will rise to as high as 99 percent in 2030. Based on this estimate, I would like to make three suggestions for the research project.

First, the ultimate goal of building peace should be preceded by setting short-term and long-term goals that will generate tangible outcomes. We will have to devise methods for building infrastructure for cooperation, which will serve as a platform for cooperation and participation. In Germany's case, it took 20 years after both Germanies signed the unification agreement to produce an agreement on the field of science. Korea could set another example where cooperation in science and technology initiates inter-Korean cooperation across the board. Sec-

ond, we should pursue a two-track approach. One is inter-Korean cooperation and the other, multilateral engagement including China, which also recognizes the importance of joint research on many subjects including the Baekdu Mountain. This is why we need close and continued engagement with China. Third, it is necessary to produce some visible outcome such as building disaster risk management and relief mechanism. Should Baekdu Mountain erupt, Japan will not be unaffected and naturally the country would want to join. All the six-party members including China, Russia and the US would have to join in order to complement bilateral relationships. Last but not least, a peace process takes time. The economic sanctions on North Korea have not been eased yet and all we can do for now is joint research. We should accede to a long and flexible timeline and build a resilient network because things can change any time.

- **KANG Jin-Won** Science diplomacy is still an unfamiliar notion. Previous research projects were led neither by South Korea nor the two Koreas but by foreign countries. In principle, the neutral nature of science should help solve issues in short order when problems arise among countries but inter-Korean relations seem like an exception to that. Preliminary groundwork could be possible in the case of two-track, multilateral cooperation. However, that may not be the case for inter-Korean relations and close cooperation is expected after the fact. The key part of actual cooperation will depend on how established the peace will be. A matter of urgent interest is the UN sanctions. The Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy, the Ministry of National Unification, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should tackle the sanctions part while the Ministry of Science and ICT plays its part in setting the agenda of science and technology along with the Ministry of National Unification.

North Korea already has the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of Korea and PINTECH on the civilian level. In contrast, South Korea is in want of a counterpart to the PINTECH even though civil

society has been playing its part to some extent after the substantial agreement between the two governments was reached. For the time being, public institutes are expected to play a role in this regard. The government should issue an approval or a license as well. I hope scientists will receive approval to visit North Korea before long and a liaison office established with a view to allowing higher-level cooperation.

- **JUNG Woo-Sung** Experiment equipment related to science and technology, such as computers, is classified as strategy materials and thus banned from import into North Korea. We could resolve this issue diplomatically. There were several occasions where scientists met with each other in a third country. We can also consider conducting joint research strategically by assigning a special zone in North Korea, modelled after the Kaesong Industrial Complex. Inter-Korean cooperation has so far focused only on technology transfer and learning advanced technologies, but the proposed joint research on Baekdu Mountain should begin from basic research, global issues, environment, mathematics, physics, and earth science rather than from public diplomacy. All these studies are already going on in the private sector and the government should help bring them together.

APCTP (Asia Pacific Center for Theoretical Physics) has been establishing a platform by building a network of member countries in the Asia-Pacific region for the past 20 years. Any scientific cooperation including interKorean cooperation depends heavily on the platform. International research institutes conducting this kind of diplomacy include ICTP (International Centre for Theoretical Physics), a UNESCO-accredited organization. We should actively seek ways to make use of platforms such as APCTP. APCTP is currently discussing cooperation with JINR (Joint Institute for Nuclear Research). APCTP aims to serve as a gateway for 16 Asia-Pacific countries and JINR for its own member states including North Korea. In the end, both institutes will be a bridge for each other and conduct joint research.

- **JUNG Woo-Sung** In the case of research on Baekdu Mountain, we can explore cooperation on the level of international organization in addition to bilateral and multilateral cooperation. Some may argue the irrelevance of international organizations, but they certainly have symbolic power as a forum for representatives from all nations. In particular, scientific arms of the UNESCO are active in South Korea and they have engaged in activities related to the ecological system if not volcanoes. Also, APEC centers in the Asia-Pacific region will provide a good platform and it is important to work hand-in-hand with a UNESCAP regional forum. In taking a civilian-level approach, it would be possible to organize a consultative body among regional associations and government-backed research institutes in addition to cooperation with universities.

- **KWON Seijoong** In terms of inter-Korean cooperation, the joint research on Baekdu Mountain is not a priority. North Korea made a proposal three times but they all failed to follow up, not only because of its low priority but also because South Korea generally was keener on response than on prevention. Still, time is ripe for inter-Korean cooperation now that it is under way in five sectors (high-level, general-level, the Red Cross, railway, highway, and forestry). A proposal for joint research seems to follow the progress in these areas. I would like to mention that the research on the mountain will become possible only when people in the science circle, the National Assembly and those with interest continue to speak up. The three summit talks this year between Chairman Kim and President Xi suggest that China has a serious concern about the Manchu region. We will have to deal with these concerns after unification. South Korea would have to take the initiative in Northeast Asia about crisis management in terms of climate change. It will also be important to make use of UNESCAP (United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific) and APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation). It is necessary to conduct a case study of the volcanic eruptions in Hawaii. We have to strategically enlist

countries that are likely to suffer damage in case of a volcanic eruption.

- **James HAMMOND** The responsibility of the research ultimately lies with China and Korea. As Baekdu Mountain is a symbol of Korea, we needed cultural understanding of the volcanic mountain in order to join the research. However, we have only talked about the past and the Millennium Eruption so far. There must have been other minor eruptions and they are my missions. Based on my experience in North Korea, I would like to stress trustbuilding among all the participants of the research as well as the significance of the research itself. I was able to witness the will to build trust in this session.

Policy Implications

- Government support is necessary for South Korean scientists to visit North Korea and conduct joint research on Baekdu Mountain. As the research is highly time-sensitive, it is imperative for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Science and ICT, and Ministry of National Unification to coordinate and facilitate a visit to North Korea before September.
- South Korea needs a medium of inter-Korean cooperation on the civilian level, particularly a counterpart to the Pintech of North Korea. We should make the most of the existing infrastructure, network, and platforms in the field of science diplomacy.
- In conducting science diplomacy such as Baekdu Mountain research, short-term goals should be set alongside the long-term goal of building peace and both bilateral and multilateral cooperation should be pursued for the effective achievement of those goals.

Strengthening Korea-ASEAN partnership through Korea's New Southern Policy



Chair	LEE Sun-jin Research Professor, Sogang University
Welcoming Remarks	SUH Chung-ha President, Jeju Peace Institute
Keynote Speaker	YOON Soon-gu Deputy Minister for Political Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Presenter/Discussant	Dewi Fortuna ANWAR Research Professor, Center for Political Studies, Indonesian Institute of Sciences Ravi VELLOOR Associate Editor, Global Affairs at the Straits times Carolina G. HERNANDEZ Professor Emeritus, University of the Philippines Phongsavath BOUPHA Former Minister of Presidential Office of Laos Kitti PRASIRTSUK Vice Rector for International Affairs, Thammasat University, Thailand
Rapporteur	CHOI Ina Research Professor, Sogang University

- **SUH Chung-ha** The current Moon Jae-in government declared that it would double down on cooperation with ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) through its New Southern Policy. Without ASEAN countries' active participation, however, the policy will hardly be successful. In this session, I look forward to the ASEAN countries' evaluation of and advice on the policy.

- **YOON Soon-gu** Ever since President Moon Jae-In announced his New Southern Policy last year during his tour of Southeast Asian countries, the South Korean government has been working on its details. So, the Korean government needs feedback and comments from ASEAN countries about it. I hope this timely and relevant roundtable session will lead us to an in-depth discussion.

The main pillar of the New Southern Policy is to promote a virtuous cycle of cooperation between South Korea and ASEAN for mutual prosperity. To this end, South Korea seeks to strengthen South Korea-ASEAN ties through two channels: more ex-

tensive bilateral cooperation and more intensive regional cooperation. First, South Korea and ASEAN member countries are geographically close, have no hidden policy agenda, and share common features in many aspects, constituting the perfect condition for them to become allies. Thus, South Korea aims to expand trade and partnerships with ASEAN by shoring up the already strong bilateral ties with its 10 member states. Second, South Korea plans to contribute to stronger regional cooperation by actively participating in small-scale regional mechanisms, including the South Korea-Mekong Cooperation, as well as ASEAN-led multilateral mechanisms such as the ASEAN+3, EAS (East Asia Summit) and ARF (ASEAN Regional Forum). For example, we plan to promote the Korea-Mekong Cooperation mechanism to a summit level project.

By making the most of the two channels mentioned above, South Korea will enhance cooperation based on the three pillars of people, prosperity and peace, and ultimately create a community for a

common future with ASEAN. The New Southern Policy will surely contribute to the development of the ASEAN community, since its three pillars support the politico-security community, the economic community and the sociocultural community of ASEAN countries.

In particular, the New Southern Policy takes a people-oriented approach. This corresponds with the ASEAN agenda of creating a people-oriented community, focuses on improving the quality of life through cooperation, and emphasizes the importance of the capacity of human resources, deeper mutual understanding and the shared notion of community. South Korea aims to attract a total of 15 million tourists from ASEAN countries by 2020. To this end, it plans to take measures to boost bilateral personal exchanges. This includes easing visa issuance processes, promoting exchange programs through the Asia Culture Center, providing human resource development programs for the ASEAN population in both the public and private sectors, and offering scholarships to students from ASEAN countries.

South Korea has been sharing with other countries its experience of rapid economic growth from the ruins of the Korean War. South Korea and ASEAN are already economically inseparable. Last year, bilateral trade volume reached \$150 billion. ASEAN is the second largest trading bloc for South Korea and South Korea is the 5th largest trading partner of ASEAN. Through the New Southern Policy, South Korea has set its eye on increasing trade volume to \$200 billion by 2020. It is not only about the numbers, but also about making mutual efforts to accomplish the RCEP (Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership) and a freer Korea-ASEAN FTA so that the bilateral economic cooperation can be mutually beneficial. South Korea is determined to resolve trade imbalances, which have long been a source of concern for ASEAN. By enhancing cooperation between small- and medium-sized enterprises (SME) and stimulating e-commerce and digital trade in the Fourth Industrial Revolution, South Korea hopes to create a virtuous cycle in which ASEAN's economic

growth is coupled with that of South Korea. In the aftermath of the THAAD dispute, South Korea has already paid a high price for the vulnerability of its economy depending heavily on one specific country, and I believe ASEAN member states share the same concern. In this regard, South Korea is well suited to be a reliable partner for ASEAN. Also, the New Southern Policy seeks to help close the growth gap among ASEAN member states as well as expand ASEAN's portion in South Korea's development cooperation projects, which currently stands at 28 percent.

The security of Northeast and Southeast Asia are inseparable, and the connection and interdependence between the two regions are growing even more. Asian countries should join hands to effectively address supranational security threats such as terrorism, natural disasters, cyber threats, etc. ASEAN has put in much effort to tackle these security threats on the basis of intra-regional multilateral mechanisms, and South Korea hopes to join their ranks. So far, South Korea has been working hard to strengthen its regional security capacity, by actively participating in ADMM+ (ASEAN Defence Minister's Meeting Plus). In return, ASEAN has stood with South Korea concerning the North Korea nuclear issue and peace on the Korean peninsula. Recently, there has been a big change in inter-Korean relations. South Korea believes that ASEAN can make a special contribution to peace on the Korean peninsula as a reliable partner and hopes that ASEAN countries will staunchly support South Korea's efforts to denuclearize the Korean peninsula and bring peace to the peninsula.

In particular, ASEAN can play a bigger role in issues concerning the Korean peninsula. It can induce North Korea to join a regional multilateral security framework led by ASEAN and also help North Korea reform and develop itself, based on bilateral relations. ASEAN can be a reliable partner for North Korea, since they have a certain degree of compatibility and long-term diplomatic ties. Also, North Korea would want to emulate some ASEAN countries,

such as Vietnam, which successfully implemented the transition from socialism to a market economy. For this reason, the North is likely to join hands with the ASEAN countries. ASEAN has successfully pursued peace, stability and prosperity in Southeast Asia, and this has huge implications for peace on the Korean peninsula and in Northeast Asia.

As uncertainties grow with the rivalry among world powers, a potential US-China trade war would inflict irreparable damage to the recovery of the world economy. Also, a power competition surrounding the South China Sea will not only destabilize ASEAN but also Northeast Asia. Thus, the security issue involving the South China Sea is a matter of a grave concern for South Korea, as well. The resolution of the South China Sea dispute will be a barometer of peace and stability in Northeast Asia. South Korea hopes that the dispute will be resolved in a peaceful manner based on the principles of freedom of navigation, and international norms and laws. Although South Korea is not a country directly involved in the dispute, we share a strategic interest with ASEAN as a middle power, because the South China Sea is one of the world's major sea lanes. By extension, South Korea and ASEAN need to enhance cooperation with a view to reducing strategic uncertainties, strengthening multilateral mechanisms, and continuing prosperity across the region. Even though the Indo-Pacific Strategy put forth by the Trump administration has differences to some extent with the Obama administration's Pivot to Asia Strategy, they both emphasize compliance with international laws and norms, freedom of navigation, and inclusiveness. Accordingly, South Korea will do its best to observe international norms and laws. The New Southern Policy has a lot in common with the "Indo-Pacific Strategy" of the Trump administration as well as the One Belt One Road Initiative of China.

The core element of the New Southern Policy is that it is a win-win formula for both South Korea and ASEAN. ASEAN is well aware of the risks of economic dependence upon certain countries. The policy will not only benefit South Korea but also

ASEAN by diversifying economic partnerships. As the saying goes, you should not put all your eggs in one basket. This hedging strategy applies to both South Korea and ASEAN. In fact, South Korea and ASEAN have had a long record of amicable relations historically as equal partners for the past three decades, without having any hidden agenda towards each other or insisting on their own values or principles. I hope that the ASEAN countries fully comprehend the New Southern Policy for its mutual benefits.

ASEAN's Role in the Resolution of the North Korean Nuclear Issue

- **LEE Sun-jin** While we tend to focus on economic and socio-cultural issues when we talk about Korean-ASEAN relations, now is the time to explore ways to cooperate on the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. Since cooperation with ASEAN is instrumental in success in North Korea's denuclearization, I would like to ask the panellists here what kind of concrete actions or programs they think are necessary.

- **Ravi VELLOR** At this year's Shangri-La Dialogue, Northeast Asian issues, which were not given enough attention previously, emerged as a major item on the agenda. I believe that half or three quarters of what Minister Yoon mentioned have already been achieved. Many people think that ASEAN is not directly affected by the North Korean nuclear issue. However, some Southeast Asian countries are just as sensitive to the issue as Japan because they all have a large-scale presence of U.S. forces in their countries. A few days ago, Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong of Singapore said in an interview with the press that while Singapore is not directly exposed to the North Korean threat, the instability of East Asia due to the Korean peninsula conundrum would affect not only Southeast Asia, but the world as a whole. Thus, issues surrounding the Korean Peninsula have serious repercussions to ASEAN. It was not only Singapore but also ASEAN which deserves credit for having the U.S. and North Korea

pick Singapore, currently holding the ASEAN presidency, as their summit venue. Considering the disturbing circumstances over the last couple of years, I am pleased that Singapore could play a certain role in successfully holding the U.S.-North Korea summit, which could help stabilize the situation in Asia. When it comes to ASEAN's role in resolving North Korean nuclear issues, ASEAN could invite North Korea to the ASEAN Process as a sectoral dialogue partner. People often refer to the Vietnam case as a model for North Korea's reform and opening, but the Myanmar model could be another option. ASEAN has an experience of bringing Myanmar out of isolation, and the current situation of North Korea seems more similar to Myanmar than Vietnam. Thus, Myanmar's reform process has a lot of implications for North Korea.

- **LEE Sun-jin** Rumors had it that Chairman Kim Jong-un invited Singaporean business people to Pyongyang at the time of the recent summit. What was the general response of the business circle to this?
- **Ravi VELLOR** Their participation depends on the government's stance. If the two countries normalize diplomatic ties, they will be sure to show great interest in investing in North Korea. For now, business people in Singapore can visit North Korea only when economic sanctions are lifted. North Korea would have to take action for this first.
- **LEE Sun-jin** Thailand is slated to take on the ASEAN presidency next year. Could we expect some sort of quantum leap from the ARF with regard to the North Korean nuclear issue?
- **Kitti PRASIRTSUK** Thailand thinks that the sheer fact that the summit was held in Singapore means a lot to ASEAN. Singapore is the current president of ASEAN, and Thailand was said to be one of the candidates for the venue. We believe this goes to show ASEAN's image as an impartial, neutral actor. In this regard, ASEAN member states, including Thailand, could contribute to building a peace regime on the Korean Peninsula. The negotiations on denuclearization will be a lengthy and exhausting process.

Since North Korea deeply trusts ASEAN, ASEAN could take part in the denuclearization monitoring process. North Korean nuclear issues will be discussed in this year's ARF meeting, but that is not enough. In next year's ASEAN summit and the ARF meeting when Thailand assumes the presidency, we will have to continue to talk about what role ASEAN can play in resolving the North Korean nuclear issue and building peace on the Korean peninsula.

- **LEE Sun-jin** What advice can Laos offer to the socialist North Korea concerning its own experience of transitioning into a market economy?
- **Phongsavath BOUPHA** I hope an agreement to officially end the war on the Korean peninsula will be signed soon. Given the status of North Korea as yet to be recognized as a normal state, the recent U.S.-North Korea summit was a great leap forward and marks a significant milestone in the denuclearization process. As the two countries have had an amicable relationship so far, Laos will gladly share its experience with North Korea.
- **SUH Chung-ha** The denuclearization of North Korea is not an easy task. If a certain country possesses weapons of mass destruction, it means that it feels a substantial security threat. Therefore, we should assure North Korea that it can become a normal country with regime security, and coexist in peace with its neighbors. All ASEAN countries have diplomatic ties with North Korea, and Indonesia has played a mediating role between the two Koreas upon the request of the South Korean government. This suggests that ASEAN could play a certain role in solving the North Korean nuclear issue. Specifically, the ARF, the only regional forum in which North Korea is a member but has been overshadowed by the EAS, needs to be reactivated as a dialogue channel. Also, North Korean military officials should be invited to multilateral security forums such as the ADMM+, and it is necessary to begin working level dialogue soon. In addition, ASEAN can encourage North Korea to sign the TAC (Treaty of Amity and Cooperation) and SEANWFZ (Southeast Asian Nuclear-Weapon-Free-Zone Treaty) as a sectoral

dialogue partner, and ultimately to return to the NPT (Non Proliferation Treaty) again. As Indonesia was elected as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council, it could push for a dialogue with North Korea and utilize these ASEAN-led multilateral forums. It is not desirable to exclude ASEAN from the Six-Party Talks despite North Korea's ARF membership. The key to solving the North Korean nuclear issue is to make North Korea realize that it does not need weapons of mass destruction to be recognized as a member of the international community.

- **Carolina G. HERNANDEZ** I agree that North Korea should be included in the ASEAN-led forums and that the ARF should be revived. In the process, North Korea will gain confidence in itself and earn trust from the international community. I expect the forums led by ASEAN to be a good place where all parties can have dialogue with a more openminded attitude.
- **Kitti PRASIRTSUK** ASEAN countries could contribute to easing tension on the Korean peninsula and its denuclearization. First, the ARF can encourage dialogue and North Korea can be invited to the ADMM+. ASEAN could also take part in the denuclearization monitoring process, because North Korea would feel less uncomfortable being inspected by ASEAN members compared with other actors.
- **Ravi VELLOOR** Efforts by the two Koreas should come before ASEAN's assistance because uninvited intervention in another region's affairs is against the nature of ASEAN.

How the New Southern Policy Could Contribute to Promoting the Digital Economy in ASEAN Countries

- **LEE Sun-jin** The so-called digital economy is taking shape in many countries, and Singapore has suggested a pan-ASEAN digital economy. I would like to ask for ideas and insights on the status quo of each country and on the projects that Korean business leaders might be interested in.
- **Dewi Fortuna ANWAR** Indonesia thinks that the

digital economy could represent a great leap forward in overcoming physical obstacles, and believes that it will provide small- and medium-sized companies with a favourable business environment across all of Indonesia. As Indonesia has a large territory, the Internet is not evenly distributed throughout the country. However, FinTech is spreading rapidly and is expected to promote the digital economy. Currently, Singapore leads in helping some Indonesian cities promote the digital economy and build smart cities. It seems that South Korea could join forces with Singapore, as the country has strength in this sector. However, we should keep in mind that the growth of the digital economy could worsen the digital divide between the rich and the poor. Therefore, we should consider social inclusiveness while promoting the digital economy policy. South Korea and Singapore should contribute to the inclusive economic growth of ASEAN countries by supporting FinTech, financial engineering, SMEs, social inclusiveness and women's empowerment, rather than focusing solely on expanding e-commerce.

- **Ravi VELLOOR** South Korea can provide a great deal of practical assistance with its advanced ICT (information and communications technology). As regards to the potential elevation of the Korea-Mekong cooperation mechanism to the summit level, South Korea needs to increase the Korea-Mekong development cooperation fund, which is smaller than those set up by China and Japan. Also, the three countries should exhibit their willingness to work together in developing the Mekong region.
- **Phongsavath BOUPHA** Laos was once a poor country, but it could reduce the wealth gap with intensive aid from other ASEAN countries, and foreign investment played a particularly important role. Investment from overseas improved the quality of life among the Laos population. The same projects can be implemented in North Korea, and this will invigorate economic cooperation between South and North Korea.
- **LEE Sun-jin** The promotion of the digital economy is one of the goals of the New Southern Policy. What

could be new areas of cooperation in this regard?

- **Kitti PRASIRTSUK** First, South Korea should have its own flagship project. Smart cities and the creative economy are something that ASEAN countries aspire to and could learn from South Korea, which has a competitive edge in this field. Second, even though South Korea has more elements soft power, cultural exchanges between South Korea and ASEAN should be mutual instead of the one-way sales of cultural goods. Third, Korean NGOs are not very active in ASEAN countries at the moment. We expect a greater presence and more activity from Korean NGOs in ASEAN.

- **Ravi VELLOOR** While the promotion of the digital industry is a prerequisite for the success of the New Southern Policy, the logistics sector is as important. South Korea should take note that Amazon and Alibaba are building largescale logistics centers in Southeast Asia. Also, an Open Sky agreement should be made for broader personal exchanges between Korea and ASEAN, while talented people from ASEAN countries should be given the opportunity to acquire South Korea's advanced technology and contribute to the technological development of their own countries.

- **Carolina G. HERNANDEZ** I hope that South Korea and ASEAN will activate track-two exchanges so that more countries can join it. In particular, the inter-Korean summits this year could serve as a stepping-stone to more active exchanges by partners of the two Koreas.

- **Dewi Fortuna ANWAR** Indonesia maintains a critical stance towards South Korea's investment policy. This is because Korean businesses in Indonesia have a poor reputation in terms of human resources management. Labor disputes are increasingly reported at Korean companies in Indonesia. Indonesian workers have a bad impression of Korean business in general, which might turn into anti-Korean sentiment. While Assistant Minister Yoon stressed that the New Southern Policy is people-oriented, Korean businesspeople must think of business activities and cultural sensitivities as one inseparable thing.

- **Phongsavath BOUPHA** It is a welcome sign that South Korea is showing interest in the Mekong Development Project. If the Mekong project is reinvigorated, it will be sure to present good opportunities for Korean businesses. We hope South Korea will actively engage in the Mekong project as a major investor in Southeast Asia.

Policy Implications

- I North Korea has trust in ASEAN countries, as they have a long history of diplomatic ties. ASEAN will play a significant role in solving the North Korean nuclear issue by utilizing ASEAN-led multilateral security mechanisms such as the ARF, ADMM+ as tools for facilitating dialogue with the North and participating in the denuclearization monitoring process.
- I One of the key tasks of the New Southern Policy is promoting the digital economy. ASEAN countries have growing needs for the digital economy and smart cities. As South Korea has a competitive edge in this field, it could assist ASEAN's economic growth as well as closing the gap in development between ASEAN and other regions.
- I If the New Southern Policy is to become truly "people-oriented," South Korean businesses in the Southeast Asian market should take heed of cultural sensitivities while engaging in business activities.

Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and the Domestic Politics of the Neighbor Countries: focusing on the U.S., Japan, China, and Russia



Moderator **KIM Seokwoo** Professor, Department of International Relations, University of Seoul/
President, Korean Association of International Studies

Presenter **ZHAO Tong** Fellow, Carnegie-Tsinghua Center for Global Policy
Patrick McEACHERN Fellow, Asia Program, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars
YI Seong-Woo Research Fellow, Jeju Peace Institute

- **KIM Seokwoo** This session pertains to the security and prosperity of the Korean Peninsula. The topics of denuclearization, peace treaties, military treaties, economic systems, and North Korean stability will be discussed. Last year, conflict-related topics, such as war in Korea and a "bloody nose" strategy were discussed with frequency. By contrast, this year has seen a rapid shift toward peace and prosperity as a result of denuclearization efforts and high-level talks, among other factors. Both concern and hope loom simultaneously over South Korea's future. There is still potential for cooperation or conflict among nations directly concerned with Korea.

- **Patrick McEACHERN** I prepared my presentation based on public opinion polls on the Trump administration, but the results might have changed due to recent developments. Restrictions on domestic politics may come from popular opinion, opinions of special interest groups, midterm elections, or bureaucracy. Examining popular opinion, President Trump's approval rating is lower than that of all of his predecessors at this point in their terms. However, his approval rating did not change last year. What affects President Trump's approval rating is not North

Korea, but his comments on race, Russian intervention, and other issues. An approval rating is derived from indicators of national policy direction, foreign policy, and the economy. His rating was negative for the first two criteria, and positive for the final one. Little has changed from one year ago, when 60 percent of respondents disapproved of national policy direction. This year, 57 percent did not approve of national policy direction. Over half of respondents gave a negative rating for foreign policy. There was more approval than disapproval for the economy, but this is not all because of economic growth. The economy grew, but not dramatically. The stock market saw notable growth. Public opinion on North Korea shows that the American public admits the importance of foreign policy regarding North Korea, but they do not consider it more important than other issues, such as American leadership, gun control, immigration, race, and health insurance. While they recognize that North Korea poses a major threat, there are fifteen more pressing issues. 65 percent of the American public show confidence in the U.S. government's negotiations with North Korea, and this number has grown since the DPRK-U.S. sum-

mit. However, people do not have huge expectations for negotiations with North Korea. This public opinion is helpful to Trump in a way. People do not anticipate results, but they want for the President to be successful. Trump's overall approval rating changed little after the Singapore summit. Trust in Chairman Kim Jong-un's actions was evenly divided, with 40 percent in support of the negotiations and 40 percent against them. Among the supporters, however, 14 percent responded that they were unsure of the sincerity of North Korea, showing low conviction. Among those opposed, a high percentage were convinced of North Korea's insincerity. Compared to President Obama, who negotiated with Iran, Trump has received a higher approval rating for negotiating with North Korea. As for special interest groups, they do not consider North Korea to be a major concern, which is advantageous to President Trump. The midterm elections are currently of great concern in domestic politics. However, the North Korea issue is not a major issue in the elections. In conclusion, domestic politics do not have a huge impact on the Trump administration's decisions on North Korea issues. Rather, President Trump's personal character plays a bigger role.

- **ZHAO Tong** China assumes that North Korea already possesses nuclear weapons. Other nuclear testing facilities are not so significant. The U.S. refuses to acknowledge the possibility of North Korea possessing nuclear weapons, but North Korea should be taken more seriously. North Korea is currently seeking normalization of relations with the outside world while maintaining a key deterrent. China believes that North Korea is looking for opportunities beyond a meeting with President Trump. North Korea has a long-term vision and to realize it, it must form good relationships with China and the U.S. This is similar to the time when Deng Xiaoping visited the United States and revealed his intentions for economic reform. North Korea and China have many similarities. Many Chinese people do not doubt North Korea's claim that it no longer seeks to possess nuclear weapons.

North Korea and China seek mutual benefit. The two countries oppose the U.S.-led alliance framework, support a reduced presence of U.S. Forces, and hope for termination of ROK-U.S. joint military exercises. From China's perspective, North Korea's speedy denuclearization should be welcomed. First, North Korea's nuclear weapons will at some point become a threat to China. Second, nuclear weapons will cause the U.S. to deploy more military resources. Third, they stimulate the desires of the neighboring countries of Korea and Japan to possess nuclear capabilities. That said, I do not think that China will put pressure on North Korea. From China's point of view, the U.S. does not seem interested in allocating the budget to North Korea. North Korea is set to dismantle nuclear weapons, but the U.S. refuses to shoulder any cost. China does not want the burden, either. If China were to take the lead in placing sanctions on North Korea, North Korea would consider China an enemy. Chinese scholars consider North Korea's method of overcoming crisis with nuclear weapons to be a kind of affliction. As North Korea senses a greater threat to its security, the country is becoming increasingly tied to the idea.

We must change our views slightly and consider North Korea's security. In order for North Korea to feel stability, trustbuilding is imperative. This must be centered on the U.S. and North Korea, which will take some time. Many Chinese people think that North Korea has used nuclear weapons strategically to generate options. China is motivated to incorporate North Korea into the international community. Domestically, China is attempting to expand its One Belt, One Road Initiative to Northeast Asia, and North Korea could be included in the plan. This could provide an opportunity for China's growth in Northeast Asia. Considering this, China will assist North Korea in its autonomous economic development and send enthusiastic support for economic reform. China will strengthen economic cooperation with North Korea and join Russia to discuss North Korean sanctions by the UN Security Council. That said, China will not wholly denounce sanctions by

the UN Security Council to assist North Korea. In this case, voluntary cooperation from the Chinese regional government will be necessary.

The DPRK-U.S. summit was a cause for much concern for the Chinese people. It is not ideal for North Korea to come under U.S. influence, or to form close ties with Washington. In negotiations, North Korea could extend the situation and yield ever so gradually, stretching out the process for a long time. If that happened, the U.S. and China would not be able to maintain existing shared policy. The deployment of THAAD last year was not the end, but a beginning, because North Korea could gain more capabilities for building nuclear weapons. The lesson learned from the THAAD conflict is that technical aspects of the system had not been agreed upon by interested parties. In-depth, substantive technical consultation is necessary.

- **YI Seong-Woo** When I was planning this session, I did not anticipate the situation taking such a positive turn. There were two unexpected summit meetings, which is a great accomplishment. The U.S. began to take an interest in North Korea's nuclear weapons when it succeeded in building an ICBM, and U.S. territory came within attack range. Looking at this issue from within Korea, generational differences seem to be a major factor. Under 10 percent of the Korean population experienced the Korean War, and Kim Jong-un is removed from war by generations. Kim is a young leader who will govern North Korea for at least thirty more years, and it is reasonable to believe that the helm will be handed down to his son. Therefore, Kim must revive North Korea's economy. At the cost of giving up nuclear weapons, he must achieve economic growth and improve the people's lives. President Moon Jae-in's election was borne out of candlelight vigils. South Korea was weary of animosity, and when Moon offered a peaceful gesture to North Korea, South Korea welcomed it. This was backed by victories in regional elections. In the past, the people of South Korea thought of unification by annexation when they thought of North Korea. Through conversations with Kim Jong-un, Trump

might elicit political resources that can influence domestic politics.

The only criticism of the DPRK-U.S. summit joint statement by the South Korean conservative camp and the U.S. Democratic Party is that regarding complete, verifiable, and irreversible dismantlement (CVID), only "CV" is mentioned. I would like to ask the two presenters: Is CV sufficient? Does North Korea intend to give up its nuclear program? What do you think of U.S. Secretary of State Pompeo's comment that the process will be completed before the end of Trump's first presidential term? Professor Zhao Tong, if China is worried about "China passing," what contributions should China make under the current circumstances?

Trump said that at some point, the U.S. will withdraw its troops from South Korea, which was a shock to both Koreans and Americans. While North Korea has not taken any action, Trump seems to have overly high expectations. Mr. Patrick McEachern, what is the plan for U.S. Forces?

- **Patrick McEACHERN** We are in a very different situation from last year. Last year, there was intense conflict, and even a mention of a military attack on North Korea. Kim Jong-un suggested both summit meetings. Some people believe that he was driven by economic sanctions, but there is no proof. The U.S. assumed that North Korea was driven into a corner, but North Korea came to the negotiating table out of national interest. North Korea has something to gain with regard to a guarantee of security, its economy, and its military. Although only "CV" was mentioned after the Singapore meeting, the two leaders have a mutual understanding. Whether it will be completed within Trump's first term is unclear, but the important thing is continuity. Both parties will have to implement what was agreed to in order to achieve irreversibility. The issue of U.S. Forces is on the negotiating table.

- **ZHAO Tong** CVID is ideal, but for many Chinese it is a dilemma. If North Korea's denuclearization progresses to a certain point, it will be irreversible. On the other hand, the U.S. withdrawing U.S. troops and

retracting strategic weapons from Guam is reversible. The U.S. must build security. The results of the Singapore negotiations had already been decided. North Korea's denuclearization will not be comprehensive, and the U.S. must accept this. In order to lessen North Korea's obsession for nuclear weapons, DPRK-U.S. relations must change. In the long term, improved DPRK-U.S. relations will be beneficial to North Korea and China. From a technical perspective, I expect North Korea's denuclearization to take about fifteen years. Trust-building measures are crucial. There are too many unknowns regarding peace in Korea. Whether the U.S. will maintain its alliance with South Korea and whether U.S. troops will remain after reunification are important issues. For a period, China could also undergo many changes. Recently, China's leader has been emphasizing ideology, worshiping communism, and strengthening his own image. China is emphasizing a shared identity with North Korea. At this time, I am unsure how to view a unified Korea.

Q & A

Q. From beginning to end, the Chinese army was heavily involved in the Korean War. I believe that China should be included in the peace treaty. What is your opinion?

A. Zhao Tong China has no leverage in denuclearization. I would like to see this issue resolved between the U.S. and North Korea. After North Korea's denuclearization has progressed to a certain point, I believe China could play a role in the following phase. In the negotiation process, China must absolutely be included because China is one of the three countries that were involved in the Korean Armistice. A peace treaty will most likely be symbolic rather than a cause of radical change. For this reason, China's role will be more symbolic than anything else. China is unable to play a significant role in guaranteeing the security of the North Korean regime, but it could play a symbolic role.

Q. I am curious about the positions of other Chinese

scholars.

A. ZHAO Tong The Chinese people hold varying positions, and they are becoming increasingly divided. Some experts are convinced that Kim Jong-un will relinquish nuclear weapons, and others explain denuclearization from a geopolitical perspective.

A. YI Seong-Woo China stepped back during discussions on denuclearization, but it is now taking part in discussions on a peace treaty. I hope that China will discover an appropriate role, and will cooperate with South Korea, the U.S., and North Korea.

Policy Implications

- As for Trump, there are few domestic factors that limit policy on North Korean issues. Predictions of Trump's strategy are better based on remarks by cabinet members and Trump's personal character than on domestic politics.
- China still shares much with North Korea politically, and the public subscribes to this view.
- Leaders of South Korea and the U.S. have the support of domestic public opinion.
- China must participate in discussions on North Korean issues. China should participate not only in discussions on a peace treaty, but also on North Korea's denuclearization.

Global Refugee Crises: What We Need to Know



Moderator **KIM Pil Gyu** Anchor, JTBC Newsroom
 Speaker **JUNG Woo-sung** UNHCR Goodwill Ambassador/Actor
 Rapporteur **CHOI Jeeyoung** Staff, JoongAng Ilbo

• **KIM Pil Gyu** We were not really sure about the relevance of the topic of today's session, when we discussed it early this year. We were worried that it might be boring to some people, as many were not interested in it. However, the topic has become a controversial issue over the last few weeks. Some might take the refugee issue very sensitively, and others might have some misunderstanding about it. I guess you all came here, thinking to yourselves, "I am ready to open my mind and learn about the refugee issue." Some might still think otherwise. Anyway, I hope this session will be an occasion where every participant will freely discuss it with an open mind. Today, actor JUNG Woo-sung is here with us as a presenter. He is a goodwill ambassador for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, who has become central to the controversy since Yemeni refugees on Jeju surfaced as a national issue

• **JUNG Woo-sung** As a South Korean actor, I have been working as a UNHCR Goodwill Ambassador. I posted about refugees on Instagram on the occasion of World Refugee Day, June 20, as I do as a goodwill ambassador. Many Koreans seemed to be very surprised at some strongly worded parts of the UNHCR Korea's World Refugee Day statement. I fully understand how they felt about it and why

they felt confused about it. There seems to be some discussion about the pros and cons about the refugee issue, but we need to talk, first of all, about why there are different views and perspectives. In fact, I often ask myself if I am doing something beyond my ability whenever I visit refugee camps in different countries.

• **KIM Pil Gyu** Do you mean you have visited refugee camps in person?

• **JUNG Woo-sung** Yes, I have. I went to Nepal in 2014 as an honorary advocate for UNHCR Korea. Then I visited refugee camps in Lebanon, South Sudan, Iraq and Bangladesh after I was named a UNHCR Goodwill Ambassador in 2015.

• **KIM Pil Gyu** Now, we know that you served as an honorary advocate before being appointed a goodwill ambassador. Some people who left their comments about your controversial Instagram post did not even know you are a UNHCR goodwill ambassador. When did you start your goodwill mission?

• **JUNG Woo-sung** Many people still do not know it. The name of the organization is too difficult to remember, and how to address the refugee issue is not an easy matter, too. I guess they just thought that I was doing something good. That is why I had to keep thinking to myself as I toured the refugee

camps, “What should I do to make this global issue understood by the Korean people? Is it too much for me?” I also thought about how I could explain to my friends the hardships the refugees are experiencing. In the past, refugees were simply none of our business, because they were just too far away to be taken seriously. However, the issue became our problem after hundreds of refugees flew to Jeju to seek asylum, and many Koreans seem to be asking, “Why do we assume the responsibility to accept refugees?”

• **KIM Pil Gyu** A total of 549 Yemeni people have arrived on Jeju. News reports say 486 Yemeni asylum seekers have applied for refugee status so far. The immigration authorities are currently reviewing their refugee claims. No visa has been required for a Yemeni to travel to Korea so far. But, Yemenis are not allowed to enter Jeju now on a visa waiver, because, following the arrival of them, Jeju added Yemen to the list of countries whose citizens cannot enter the island without a visa. Some Koreans think we should accept the Yemeni refugees from a human rights point of view. By contrast, other Koreans do not believe hospitality will solve their problems. What is your view about this?

• **JUNG Woo-sung** From a humanitarian and human rights perspective, it is just nonsense that Jeju excluded Yemen from their list of visa waiver countries. To check the entry of refugees with a visa is a dangerous idea, because it would put the refugees in a position in which they cannot seek shelter in any other country. The words, “human rights,” are nearly ubiquitous in every aspect of our lives, but ordinary people find the actual human rights issue intractable. Jeju residents, among others, might be angry or anxious, and would ask themselves, “Why do we have to be responsible for all of this?” This kind of reaction came probably because the government barred the Yemenis from leaving Jeju for the mainland. If allowed to leave the island, they might have stayed in Seoul and other cities with the help of Yemeni communities until the review of their refugee status was completed. I know it is not easy, but they might find jobs during the review, which in turn could ease the

burden on Jeju and the central government.

• **KIM Pil Gyu** You could have expected a controversy like this when you accepted the ambassadorship. Why did you decide to take it?

• **JUNG Woo-sung** I roughly knew at that time what the organization was. When the organization made the offer, I had no reason to refuse it. I accepted it because I was glad to do anything that would contribute to society. But I came to have more of a sense of responsibility while carrying out goodwill missions. What motivates me is more important now than what motivated me to take this job. It is also important to me how I interact with society to share this value. I had a vague thought about how Koreans would perceive and react to refugees. When faced with an actual refugee situation, you cannot help in finding difficulties in addressing the refugee crisis. The reason I keep talking about the difficulties is that the root causes are much complicated. According to 2017 data presented by the UNHCR, the global population of refugees stood at about 68.5 million, which is the equivalent of Thailand’s population. Out of them, 25.4 million people are cross-border refugees while 40 million people are domestically displaced. That means about 44,500 people become homeless every day, or about one person displaced every two seconds. These huge numbers are a constant reminder that refugee crises cannot be handled on a national level and must be dealt with globally. The huge number explains why the Yemeni refugees had to travel all the way across the globe to come here. This has become a global issue. And that is why the UNHCR is proposing that the entire world come together as a single community to jointly find a solution to what caused the refugee crises, not the refugees’ problems themselves.

• **KIM Pil Gyu** The number, 68.5 million, is larger than the South Korean population. The number of forced refugees also amounts to Thai population. What is the reason for the continued increase in refugees?

• **JUNG Woo-sung** It is never-ending war and conflict. Some people ask why we should care about the none-

of-our-business conflict between religious sects. You probably heard that the interests of Western powers have been involved in these wars and conflicts. War and conflict are not issues that can be resolved by a mere dialogue. We will be able to understand what is behind all of this if we continue to do our part as a member of the international community.

• **KIM Pil Gyu** The international community is continuing its efforts to reduce the number of refugees. It seems, in a sense, that the UNHCR’s appointment of a celebrity like you as goodwill ambassador was part of such efforts.

• **JUNG Woo-sung** I do not think that was the case. My job is, on the contrary, to help the general public better understand the refugee issue, discuss the fundamental problems and call for political solutions to the conflicts causing the refugee crises. There is nothing more I can do about it. Ultimately, it is up to the people of each country to call for political solutions. So, I think the international community can find solutions if we recognize, understand and share the seriousness of the causes of war and disputes.

• **KIM Pil Gyu** The living conditions of refugees are poor because they are staying in developing countries. Are the refugees not having a hard time due to the lack of accommodation facilities at refugee camps?

• **JUNG Woo-sung** Yes, they are. I met Rohingya people, displaced from Myanmar, when I visited the Kutupalong refugee camp in Bangladesh. Bangladesh already had about 160,000 refugees before another 720,000 refugees from Myanmar poured into the country because of the escalated violence in August 2017. A border city with a population of 880,000 was established with the sudden influx of refugees. Some may think Bangladesh and Myanmar, as neighboring countries, should work together on the Rohingya issue. However, the border city could not have been built if the Bangladeshi government had not approved their refugee status. Aid agencies, ranging from the UNHCR and UNICEF to Doctors Without Borders, have formed a community at the Kutupalong refugee settlement. The relief agencies are

there to help the refugees with healthcare, education, food and other necessities of life. In the absence of potable water and sewage facilities, they are struggling to provide daily necessities. They desperately need our attention and support.

• **KIM Pil Gyu** You are right. There are disabled people, and children suffering from the trauma of war. The continued provision of psychotherapy for such children is an important issue there.

• **KIM Pil Gyu** We used to look at the refugee issue as a distant problem, something we are not familiar with. Now, we will have a fact-checking session on refugee issue with UNHCR Goodwill Ambassador JUNG.

Q. Are war criminals and terrorists eligible for refugee status?

A. No, they are not. You may get it wrong if you are not familiar with the refugee review system. Refugee status is determined very strictly under the regulations specified in the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, the Refugee Act and other applicable laws. Why would any terrorist go through that thorough procedure of exposing their identity? Instead, they would pose as a tourist or a businessperson to enter the country. It is highly unlikely, therefore, that they will qualify for it. Even those who happened to commit a criminal offense on their way to apply for asylum will be denied refugee status, not to mention criminals.

Q. Do most refugees seek settlement in a third country?

A. No, they do not. They are different from immigrants who move for financial reasons. Their ultimate dream is to go back home because they only had to leave their homeland to escape a sudden crisis. I hope they will return home, send their children back to school and restore normalcy to their lives. I have not seen any refugee seeking settlement in a third country.

Q. Are North Korean defectors refugees, too?

A. North Koreans are also considered as South Koreans who are yet to acquire full citizenship because the Constitution of the Republic of Korea defines the

whole Korean Peninsula as its territory. That means they acquire Korean citizenship as soon as they set their foot on South Korean soil. We used to criticize North Korea for its human rights abuses. If North Koreans who fled to a third country are repatriated to the North, they are very likely to be tortured and persecuted to death. Some Korean people are asking the government to repatriate Yemeni refugees, but this might put their lives at risk.

- **KIM Pil Gyu** More than 500 Yemeni refugees on Jeju Island have become our problem. There are somewhat emotional reactions as well as overheated debate. Recently, more than 200,000 Koreans filed a petition to the presidential office in less than a month to demand the government should not accept these refugees. According to news just minutes ago, the petitioners grew to 380,000. I would like to ask your opinion about this.

- **JUNG Woo-sung** We surely need to discuss this issue because it is something Koreans have never experienced before. But there seem to be concerns about unfounded and exaggerated rumors, or touchy reactions off the mark. Some people question why we have to consider refugees' human rights before Koreans' rights. No, we do not. It is just that we should care about their human rights as they deserve the same treatment as all human beings. No one should be given priority over others. And this issue seems to provide an opportunity for us to examine the problems of our own society. Mothers are having a hard time raising their children. The younger generation in their 20s and 30s are complaining about joblessness and deprivation. Women are concerned about being exposed to sexual crimes all the time. To make matters worse, the influx of the 500 refugees from Yemen sparked an outcry from some Koreans that, "Things are already hard for us." The government should listen to them and ease their difficulties. I think, however, it is also time for the people to back the government so that it may play its due role as a member of the international community by collecting wisdom to resolve this issue.

- **KIM Pil Gyu** Ambassador Jung reminded us that

the Yemeni issue allows us to reflect on the many problems of Korean society. He looks determined to continue raising his voice over the refugee issue while paying unwavering attention to it. What are your plans from now on?

- **JUNG Woo-sung** It is a UNHCR goodwill ambassador's job to visit a refugee camp every year to let the people here know about the hardships of refugees. First of all, I wish I could be of service in sharing wisdom to address this new, huge issue in our society. I was planning to go on a goodwill mission, as usual, later this year, but I want to see this domestic issue resolved first, before embarking on my next mission.

- **KIM Pil Gyu** Do you mean that you will continue raising your voice about the Yemeni refugees on Jeju?

- **JUNG Woo-sung** I will if necessary. And this session seems to have allowed me to do so. As I said, protecting our own people living in this country is one thing, but accommodating refugees is another issue that has something to do with global society. Korea must fulfill every commitment it has made to the international community. To that end, we have to give reassurance to those who are worried and concerned about refugees, and I think it will take time and effort to do that. This is not about who is right or wrong.

Q & A

Q. I was quite curious why the U.K. is sitting back on the sidelines, and the UN and other countries are closing their eyes to the U.K.'s accountability for Myanmar's crackdown on the Rohingya. The U.N. has never commented on the way many of these world powers sowed the seeds of conflict in the "Third World" that produced refugees. What do you think of that, Goodwill Ambassador Jung?

A. **JUNG Woo-sung** I agree. I said earlier that the interests of the Western powers were behind every conflict. The aftermath of the Cold War and imperialism have led to wars and disputes as we see today.

Wars produce refugees, and the entire world shares the burden. What I would like to say is, therefore, that we should squarely look at the problem and its causes so that South Korea can have a say in international society as a responsible member. If we say, "We are out of this because that's all your fault," without doing our part, the Western powers would not say, "Okay. South Koreans are pretty smart." Rather, they would say, "We will see what happens." that is the reality. We may be preoccupied with immediate costs and benefits. However, we should be more prudent in judging what serves our national interest.

The way we see ourselves is different from how the world sees us. South Korea is one of the world's 10 largest economies. The world is asking us to shoulder responsibility corresponding to the size of our economy. We need to think about ways to enhance the country's profile in the world when addressing refugee and other international issues. We cannot ignore the worries of mothers about their children, nor younger people about their job opportunities. I am not denying the pressing concerns of our society. We have no choice but to do both, helping ourselves and helping others.

I am not suggesting that we give up our rights to give them to refugees, but that we share our rights with the refugees. I sometimes talk about Japan. I ask, "Japan does not accept refugees, does it?" In 2017, Japan donated more than \$150 million to the UN Refugee Agency, which translates into \$1 per capita. Our country contributed about \$22 million, the equivalent of \$0.3 per capita. And that explains why Japan has the all the right to make statements. The Yemeni refugees cannot receive the grants from their host country without meeting strict requirements. A Yemeni refugee who applied for refugee status killed himself.

His application for a grant was rejected, when he was jobless due to the language barrier. He had only 50 won in his bank account when he died. He had to renew his stay every three months and six months. The refugees are not in the position to take away our

jobs. Some people might tell me that I am getting too sentimental, but I am just telling the truth. How can we tell our children to "love the world" when we refuse to accept other races, other people or other religions? We cannot say, "You deserve all the love in the world," either. I have enough of an understanding of the positions of the people who oppose acceptance of refugees, but I would appreciate if they broaden their perspective just a little wider.

Policy Implications

- Before discussing pros and cons on refugee issues, we need to broaden our perspective on them to better understand them.
- The international community thinks much more highly of Korea than we do. Accordingly, the world expects more of Korea and asks us to assume more responsibility. South Korea should join hands with global society in addressing international issues to raise its global profile.
- The refugee issue also gives us an opportunity to reflect on the dark side of our own society, such as the record-low birthrate, jobs crunch and intergenerational conflict. The government should address people's complaints by listening carefully to them. Koreans, in turn, should help their government collect wisdom on the refugee issue so that it may perform its due role in the international community.

The Summits and Beyond: The Sustainable Peace on the Korean Peninsula



Moderator **KIM Taehwan** Associate Professor, Korea National Diplomatic Academy
Speaker **ZHANG Tuosheng** Senior Fellow, China Foundation for International and Strategic Studies
CHOI Jong Kun Secretary to the President for Peace and Arms Control
SHIM Jaekwon Chairman, Foreign Affairs and Unification Committee, National Assembly of the R.O.K.
Joseph YUN Senior Advisor, U.S. Institute of Peace/Former United States Special Representative for North Korea Policy
Rapporteur **CHANG Ji-Seon** Global Asia Fellow, East Asia Foundation

- **KIM Taehwan** There are many different responses to the historic inter-Korean summit in April and the subsequent Singapore summit between the leaders of North Korea and the U.S. What do they mean for us? What did Chairman Kim Jong-un of North Korea achieve by them? What are their implications for denuclearization and peace on the Korean peninsula?

- **Joseph YUN** The Donald Trump-Kim Jong-un summit was unprecedented, and we have to pay attention to two things to evaluate the results of the series of meetings. First, North Korea and the United States no longer harbor animosity toward each other. Second, the joint statement from the summit lacked any tangible commitment to the actual denuclearization of North Korea, which has been the source of tension and contention between Washington and Pyongyang. In fact, much to my disappointment, the Singapore summit resulted in a vaguely worded joint statement that contained no concrete plan or timeline for denuclearization. It is apparent that the summit was instrumental in easing tensions on the Korean peninsula, but we have to think of ways to resolve the lingering threats.

- **CHOI Jong Kun** As a result of the summit between

U.S. President Donald Trump and North Korean leader Kim Jong-un, the U.S. officially acknowledged the legitimacy of the North Korean regime, and both of them agreed on the need for complete denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. In another noteworthy shift, Trump has opted for a top-down approach, discarding the traditional bottomup process, which most of his predecessors resorted to until the inter-Korean summit at the truce village of Panmunjom in April. As the Panmunjom Declaration was reaffirmed in the subsequent Sentosa Agreement, I think, the two Koreas and the U.S. could link inter-Korean relations with the denuclearization issue. This occasion has produced momentum for Korea to improve inter-Korean relations.

- **KIM Taehwan** Some people criticized the joint statement over the lack of concrete commitments. What do you think of this?

- **CHOI Jong Kun** As you understand in diplomatic practice, political leaders do not meet each other to discuss everything in detail. They discuss only to agree in principle. At the Singapore summit, Chairman Kim Jong-un expressed his commitment to denuclearization, the two leaders signed a broad

agreement, and a concrete agenda will be drawn up in the follow-up working-level negotiations. Also, President Moon Jae-in and Chairman Kim shared their commitment to complete denuclearization. I understand that their agreement implicitly includes an agreement from North Korea to the inevitable verification process.

- **Joseph YUN** In all aspects, the joint statement of the U.S. and North Korea does not say anything. It is written so simply that it does not have any specifics. I do not think it qualifies as a statement signed at a summit meeting. From the working-level, negotiator's perspective, it seems that the document reflected Kim's wish to be as nonspecific as possible, thus practically delivering victory to North Korea.

- **SHIM Jaekwon** I think the joint statement in Singapore was a good start. Trump's goal was the denuclearization of North Korea and Kim's goal was to ensure the continuity of his regime. Since the two countries were locked in mistrust for so long, what was expected of the summit was to enkindle trust in each other, no matter how tenuous at first. The Singapore summit has brought about an unprecedented change in the way of North Korea's demonstrating its commitment. For instance, Kim's pledge to shut down a missile engine testing site as well as to return the remains of American soldiers killed in the Korean War was a good trust-building action to start with. I believe Trump's unilateral promise to end the U.S. military exercises with South Korea was a good and corresponding step forward to build trust between the two countries.

- **ZHANG Tuosheng** I think the inter-Korean summit in Panmunjom was a great success. The 2018 Pyeonghchang Winter Olympic Games opened the door for dialogue and cooperation, contributing to easing tensions on the Korean peninsula and thus paving the way for the summit meeting. The North Korea-U.S. summit marked the first ever between a North Korean leader and a sitting U.S. president in six decades of hostility and proved to be a success. It is important that both countries are continuing to work together to denuclearize North Korea, to bring

peace to the Korean peninsula, and to normalize relations between Pyongyang and Washington. It is disappointing, however, that the joint statement contained no detailed plan or timeline for nuclear disarmament, showing how wide their differences were. That being said, I think highly of the way they, to some extent, rebuilt trust in each other at the summit, bringing them a step closer to further trust-building and denuclearization. I expect more practical and tangible outcomes in follow-up talks.

- **KIM Taehwan** The South Korean government brokered the North Korea-U.S. summit talks. What do you think the Moon Jae-in government should do to build a peace regime?

- **CHOI Jong Kun** I would say it is more correct to say the South Korean government orchestrated or started rather than brokered it. The Panmunjom Declaration contains the two leaders' commitment to officially declaring an end to the Korean War as well as a rough roadmap for denuclearization. South Korea has to develop stronger relations with North Korea and work more closely with the United States.

- **KIM Taehwan** The Panmunjom Declaration contains the agreement of Chairman Kim and President Moon on the need for a declaration to end the Korean War. Do you think that agreement is important? Do you think it is a merely political or symbolic gesture or an important source of momentum to resolve the hostility between North and South Korea?

- **CHOI Jong Kun** An official declaration to end the Korean War is connected to a peace treaty on the Korean Peninsula and it must be achieved together. A declaration to end the Korean War means more than what it symbolically represents. It represents their commitment to formally declare the Korean War as over and build a peace regime on the Korean peninsula. The declaration of an end to the Korean War will also help bring a sense of relief to the people in Seoul, Pyongyang and Washington. If an economic benefit is not an option available for North Korea at the moment, I think, a political or military benefit should be considered for the country. It would help Chairman Kim Jong-un strengthening

his political foothold in North Korea. Those options will also give the U.S. more latitude and accelerate the denuclearization process. The declaration of an end to the Korean War will help South Korea employ different initiatives to achieve a peace treaty.

- **KIM Taehwan** Following the Singapore summit, Trump announced that he was willing to halt the ROK-US joint military exercise, and there are mixed reactions to Trump's decision. There are views that the U.S. made a unilateral concession to the North. Others presented more positive views that the summit laid the grounds for Pyongyang and Washington to start building trust in each other. Which view do you side with? And what do you think about the concerns of Japan and other Asian allies of the U.S. over Trump's decision?

- **Joseph YUN** Any policy of the government should be evaluated by the question of how it affects its allies. Questions such as, "Will the suspension of military exercises with South Korea undermine the U.S.-South Korea alliance?" should be considered before making decisions. If the U.S.-South Korea alliance deteriorates and weakens, it is feared to have a negative effect not only on South Korea, but on other American allies in the Asian region. However, I agree that it is sometimes necessary for America to make concessions as part of efforts to build trust with North Korea.

- **KIM Taehwan** Do you think China has eventually become the final winner of the diplomatic war over the Korean peninsula? Do you think Kim Jong-un's latest three visits to China gave more diplomatic leverage to North Korea?

- **ZHANG Tuosheng** The U.S. and North Korea flatly rejected the so-called "freeze for freeze" plan, which was suggested by China last year. However, the summit talks ended up producing something similar to the proposition of China, although there were some differences in the process. After all, North Korea's destroying its several nuclear facilities drew favorable reactions from the U.S. and South Korea, resulting in the Panmunjom and Singapore summits. Relations between Pyongyang and Bei-

jing have markedly improved because North Korea has changed its attitude toward China. Pyongyang, which had been pursuing its nuclear ambition against Beijing's wish, woke up to the realities and reconsidered its position, which was welcomed by China. As a matter of fact, North Korea needs the support of China, above all, to open up to the world.

- **KIM Taehwan** South Korea's National Assembly failed to adopt a resolution to support the Panmunjom Declaration agreed upon by the leaders of the two Koreas on Apr. 27. But I think the Moon Jae-in government needs a domestic political consensus, even if it is not a must, to improve South-North relations. Many believe that lawmakers should, among others, bring a divided nation together and lead discussions. Do you believe the National Assembly is capable of doing the job? Do you think the landslide victory by the ruling Democratic Party in the June 13 local elections will help engender a broader consensus in South Korea?

- **SHIM Jaekwon** The opposition refused to back the ruling party-proposed resolution to support the historic Panmunjom Declaration, which was supported by more than 80 percent of South Koreans. The National Assembly, I think, has to put partisan interests aside and be always ready to discuss what should be done to cope with the rapid changes on the Korean peninsula.

- **KIM Taehwan** We need to bear two things in mind to denuclearize North Korea and build peace on the Korean Peninsula. First, the two tasks, by their nature, cannot be achieved overnight. They should go through multiple phases to be accomplished at the same time. Second, the two Koreas have serious mistrust in each other. Fortunately, their talks have been going well so far. A specific timeline for denuclearization is not so important, if North Korea's denuclearization can be verified. The National Assembly should not only adopt a resolution to support the Panmunjom Declaration, but also to institutionalize a sustainable and irreversible process to continue inter-Korean exchanges and improve their ties.

- **KIM Taehwan** Is there any indicator that will help

us determine whether or not the future process of negotiation will succeed?

- **ZHANG Tuosheng** Nothing is more important than the talks between North Korea and the U.S. Following the Singapore summit talks, they will discuss the concrete timeline or roadmap for the denuclearization of North Korea in subsequent talks. Washington pursues complete denuclearization in the near future whereas North Korea favors a step-by-step approach to denuclearization. Personally, I think the development of nuclear weapons will be halted, somehow, if Pyongyang and Washington manage to agree on a roadmap or timeline for dismantling North Korea's nuclear weapons program. There are three requirements for disarmament. First, fair and comprehensive verification. Second, compensation by the U.S. for the denuclearization. Third, the conversion of the bilateral peace talks into multilateral talks. Without China, there will be no true peace in Northeast Asia. From a longer-term perspective, the Six-Party Talks could be an alternative. Progress of the negotiations would be possible only when all the parties concerned, not a few certain countries, cooperate with each other and coordinate their policies.

Policy Implications

- There are mixed reactions to the U.S.-North Korea summit meeting held in June. Their shared commitment to complete denuclearization of North Korea was a good start to the trust-building process. However, there is criticism against the summit over the absence of an agreement on any concrete roadmap or timeline for denuclearization.
- Seoul has to develop stronger relations with Pyongyang as well as work closely with Washington in the future process of negotiations for dismantling the nuclear arsenal in the North.
- The declaration of an end to the Korean War is more meaningful than what it symbolizes. It represents the political will of Kim Jong-un and Trump to officially declare the Korean War as over and build peace on the Korean peninsula. It is desirable to seek the declaration of the end of the war in conjunction with the negotiation on the U.S.-North Korea peace treaty.

Historical Reconciliation and the Future-oriented Korea-Japan Relationship



Chair/Moderator	KIM Dohyung President, Northeast Asian History Foundation
Presenter	CHUNG Jae-jeong Emeritus Professor, University of Seoul Masanobu UMENO Executive Director and Vice President, Joetsu University of Education
Discussant	HA Jong-moon Professor, Hanshin University NAM Sang-gu Director, Northeast Asian History Foundation
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• **CHUNG Jae-jeong** This session will discuss where East Asia stands in terms of historical reconciliation, with a focus on the following three areas: 1) changes in the profiles of China, Japan, and Korea and their mutual relations; 2) China, Japan, and Korea's perception of history and historical policies; and 3) the future direction for reconciliation with the past and cooperation. Political developments in East Asia are characterized by Korea's achievements and confusion, North Korea's woes and provocations, China's hardline stance and hegemony, Japan's reemergence and renewal, and the U.S.'s solid presence and pivot to East Asia strategy. The international situation requires a wake-up call. Korea should take a level-headed perspective on the international situation in East Asia. Statistics on international trade, exchange, and GDP show the importance of China and Japan as valuable trading partners for Korea. However, the level of preference is relatively low between China, Japan, and Korea. This discrepancy is mainly attributable to unresolved issues from the past. Historical issues have been the primary obstacle to exchanges and cooperation between the three countries. China,

Japan, and Korea are not amicable to each other, despite their trade of 300 billion dollars, annual exchanges of 300 million people, cultural exchanges and the popularity of Kpop and J-pop. The irony of the bitterness, frequent exchanges, and mutual reliance is dubbed the "East Asia Paradox," which is underpinned by historical issues.

Understanding the background for the East Asian Paradox requires a look into how history education in three countries has shaped their respective perceptions of history. Korea's history education focuses on an overcoming national crisis, shifting away from a nationalistic tone. However, nationalism is still an overarching theme of history education in Korea. In the case of Japan, a focus on democratic education in the post-war period led to improvements in the perception of history. However, the Abe administration's policies of historical revisionism reject apologies and self-reflection, and underline patriotism, love of hometown, tradition, the emperor, and mythology. China underlines a unified, multi-ethnic country and Sinocentrism. Such situations are fueling conflicts over historical issues in East Asia. The historical issues

of East Asia call for an end to national supremacy. It is essential to overcome excessive nationalism, prioritize trade, cooperation, and historical factors that have been overlooked, recognize plurality in the perception of history, and emphasize universal values such as human rights, peace, freedom, and democracy.

I would like to propose ways to address these historical issues, based on thirty years of personal experience in working with researchers in Japan, China, and the rest of the world. Let me use an illness as an analogy. There are three approaches to treating an illness: 1) remove the root causes of illness, which takes time; 2) address the symptoms by identifying the cause of the illness and take immediate action to counter it; and 3) prevent illness by mitigating lifestyle factors. I believe these three approaches are applicable to overcome conflicts over unresolved issues from the past.

To this end, history education is critical, and education should be based on historical research. Efforts by history researchers will enable the three countries to move closer and develop a shared perception of history. It is necessary for East Asia to come up with an equivalent of the EU to expand the areas of shared understanding. The three countries should start with the easiest points, or where everyone stands to benefit, that is, economic cooperation, exchanges of people and students, and security in East Asia. Recognizing differences and creating a history community in East Asia is important.

A good example for such a community is "The Treatise on Peace in the East" envisioned by Ahn Junggeun, a Korean independence activist. Ahn Junggeun suggested a security alliance in East Asia through which China, Japan, and Korea would form a joint fleet to guard against threats from the West. Moreover, he proposed a joint economic community, where China, Japan, and Korea would make joint capital investments and create a network of banks. Ahn Junggeun came up with a way of peaceful co-existence when Korea's future hung in the balance in 1910. Today, the "Treatise on Peace" is only an outline of An's vision, as he was executed before he

could finish writing down the details. His "Treatise on Peace in the East" is highly regarded for illustrating how China, Japan, and Korea should come to terms with the past.

• **Masanobu UMENO** (Right after the Second World War) Japan sought to change the militaristic education that characterized the pre-war period. However, Japan was not able to hold discussions with Korea, as it was under U.S. occupation. The post-war treatment of Japan was decided without consultation with Japan, Korea, or a tripartite consultation involving China, Japan, and Korea. In Japan, discussions did not take place until the 1980s about the need to discuss unresolved issues from the past with China and Korea. Exchanges on historical issues began before the outbreak of Japan's textbook controversies. According to Lee Wonsoo, professor emeritus of Seoul National University, when Korea and Japan signed the Treaty on Basic Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea in 1965, it provided the two countries with an opportunity to open discussions on Japan's controversial textbooks. It was not until the 1970s, when a symposium was officially held in Seoul, that Japanese people involved in history education were invited. Lee Wonsoo said the symposium marked the beginning of academic exchanges. The 1970s had yet to open the floodgates for exchanges, but it was a transitional period. The 1990s laid the foundation for historical reconciliation, as summit meetings between Japan and Korea translated into commitments to reconciling with the past, as evidenced by apology statements issued by then-Prime Ministers Kiichi Miyazawa and Noboru Takeshita regarding the Second World War. Although their apologies and self-reflection were criticized in Japan, the statements were published in both countries as official stances of the government.

I am conducting research on war reparations. Japan's courts have tried more than 100 cases involving China and Korea since the 1990s. Most cases were not upheld in the courts for various reasons. However, the courts acknowledged the use of sex slaves by the Japanese army. Facts on where and who were

taken into sexual slavery should be publicized. These factual descriptions are included in textbooks. Controversy over the right-wing Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform's history textbooks erupted in around the year 2000. Some improvements have been made to textbooks for middle and high schools, which are not shared with the general public. It is regrettable that these textbooks are not particularly accessible to people in Korea and Japan. Government-authorized textbooks are only read by students, but they should be shared with the general public as the content of the textbook has been acknowledged by the government. Today, we are joined by Professor Chung Jae-jeong. Since Professor Chung published the "Korea-Japan Joint History Textbook" in 2007—a work that took two decades to complete—little progress has been made over the past ten years. Historical reconciliation has reached a plateau. To overcome this, it is necessary to produce a new textbook, as well as to share the progress already made, such as a description of the colonial rules in modern times, the use of sex slaves by the Japanese army, forced conscription, and war reparation rulings. Disclosing court rulings are not difficult. It is essential to create compilations of declarations and statements issued by both governments and authorizing people of both countries to use them anytime and anywhere. Compiling official remarks from both governments will help the people of Japan and Korea to share them, ensuring that the progress made will not be lost and in fact contribute to the next stage.

- **HA Jong-moon** Recently, the two Koreas have been moving toward reconciliation. One of the key questions is how the reconciliation between the two Koreas is aligned with conflicts over historical issues in East Asia. Historical issues originated from Japan's colonial rules and invasion of Korea, which have had a lasting impact on bilateral relations. I believe the issue of North Korea is a key catalyst to the region's historical reconciliation. I believe this ongoing détente between the two Koreas will provide an opportunity to look for a new form of historical reconciliation.

- **CHUNG Jae-jeong** To answer the question of how the inter-Korean reconciliation process will help Japan and Korea come to terms with the past and build a more forward-looking relationship, we need to examine two issues: 1) the perception of history and 2) war reparations. I believe the perception of history has moved in a certain direction. In 2002, Prime Minister Koizumi visited North Korea and signed the Pyongyang Declaration, where he offered an apology and self-reflection on Japan's wartime past. I saw improvements in the perception of history over the past fifteen years. In 2010, Prime Minister Naoto Kan of Japan offered a renewed apology to Korea for Japan's brutal colonial rule, as part of a statement marking the 100th anniversary of Japan's annexation of the Korean Peninsula in 1910. Prime Minister Naoto Kan took a step further from his predecessors, who claimed that the Japan–Korea Annexation Treaty was lawful. Prime Minister Naoto Kan stated heartfelt apology for the tremendous damage and suffering caused by Japan's colonial rule, which was against the will of the Korean people. Should North Korea and Japan normalize diplomatic relations, I expect the two will share an historical perception of this kind. As for war reparations, I hope for an improvement on the 1965 case. To this end, Korean historians should work harder and conduct joint research with Japanese counterparts to the set tone.

- **NAM Sang-gu** I believe historical conflicts will move toward resolution, when Koreans and Japanese share the "neighboring country clause" (which requires textbooks to demonstrate understanding in their treatment of historical events involving neighboring Asian countries), the Murayama Statement, and the Kan Statement. The question is if this shared understanding can address all the problems. When one makes an apology and self-reflection without taking any responsibility, the apology and self-reflection will be no better than paying lip service. Professor Umeno commented on the sharing of apologies and self-reflection to address historical issues. I believe it is a community asset which should be further developed. Listing the Sites of Japan's Meiji

Industrial Revolution as a UNESCO World Heritage without any reference to the facts discussed in the textbooks is moving the shared asset backwards, not forwards. The challenge facing us is how to use community assets in the context of East Asia, not just Korea and Japan.

- **Masanobu UMEMO** Making apologies does not mean that everything is resolved. One should be held liable for damages caused to others and learn lessons from it. It is important to let all Japanese people understand that Japan is making an apology. Furthermore, it is important to think about the next step. Making an apology is not an end in itself. Sharing the reasons why one apologized will change the content of education. Creating an opportunity to widely share undeniable facts is of utmost importance.

- **KIM Dohyung** Even if apologies and self-reflection are not fully satisfactory, the sharing process can provide a small, yet new beginning for historical reconciliation. That is, it is necessary to take the sharing process to a new level, breaking free from an all-or-nothing mentality. Reconciling with the past cannot be done overnight. All parties can make peace with the past by communicating with each other and confirming whether they stand together or apart. Historical reconciliation takes place by sharing the communication process. Although reconciling with the past is a matter of history, it is not entrusted to historians. Making peace with the past in true sense is possible when everyone in Japan and Korea makes incremental progress based on education in their daily lives.

Policy Implications

- Historical issues have been detrimental to promoting peace and prosperity in East Asia, especially China, Japan, and Korea. Overcoming these barriers requires constant exchanges and dialogue on history, and Japan and Korea should share the progress made to reconcile with the past.
- China, Japan, and Korea need history education and exchanges to overcome the nationalistic perceptions of history and to come to terms with the past.

Seismic Shift of the Korean Peninsula and the U.S.-China Relations

Korea Foundation for Advanced Studies

한 국 고 등 교 육 재 단

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• **Gary SAMORE** I think the Singapore Summit has created a new opportunity to resume talks between the United States and North Korea on denuclearization which is a positive outcome of the summit. At the same time, I think we have to recognize that the summit communique is vague and does not resolve any of the critical issues related to denuclearization. My recommendation to Secretary of State Pompeo is to focus the talks on getting some initial step that both the United States and North Korea could take that will begin the process of denuclearization. I call it a “mini package” in which North Korea could make a declaration on its nuclear facilities and program, allowing international inspectors to monitor and verify that the declaration is accurate. In return, the United States should be prepared to take some initial steps to move toward normalization of relations. It will take months, if not more, to verify the first declaration by North Korea even if it fully cooperates. Therefore, while that verification process is going on, the United States and North Korea could negotiate a more comprehensive agreement. Rather

than dragging out the talks, I think the United States and its allies should look for some early steps North Korea could take like a declaration that could begin the progress, which could run simultaneously with a more difficult task of trying to negotiate a more comprehensive agreement. Declaration will also give an early indication on whether North Korea has made a strategic decision to give up its nuclear weapons or is repeating its pattern of pretending to negotiate. However, even if North Korea is not willing to give up its nuclear weapons, we have an interest in prolonging the negotiation process in order to keep in place some limits on the nuclear program such as the test freeze.

• **Richard BUSH** To get North Korea to abandon its policy objective of ensuring security with nuclear weapons, the surrounding countries had undertaken three significant efforts: the Agreed Framework; the Six-Party Talks; and the Leap Day Agreement. But all ended in failure. More recently, tightening economic sanctions and enhancing deterrence – “maximum pressure” – did not divert North Korea

from its goal. Now underway is a fourth effort to contain North Korean ambitions by negotiations. In the course of this containment process, the United States and China have expanded their cooperation. From the time of the normalization of US-PRC relations in 1979, the bilateral relationship has been one of mutual hedging. Even before the Trump administration, the range of cooperative elements in U.S.-China relations were declining, but now North Korea remains the only major issue on which Beijing and Washington collaborate. It is uncertain that the June 12 th meeting between Trump and Kim in Singapore would lead to productive negotiation, since it appears that the goals of Washington and Pyongyang are contradictory. If the US-North Korea negotiations break down, it is likely that US-China cooperation will also decline. We need to consider the possibility that the goals of Washington and Beijing are changing in unprecedented ways. On the one hand, China has been signaling for some time that it would prefer Asian countries to take more responsibility for security issues in the region. On the other hand, there is a possibility of some degree of strategic withdrawal by the US.

• **CHENG Xiaohe** In the Singapore Summit, I sensed a big change that Trump and the United States government softened their position on the timetable of North Korea’s denuclearization. Neither joint statement nor Trump’s press conference mentioned a timetable. Without a concrete timetable, it is difficult to expect denuclearization to be accomplished. With this change of position, if the United States pursues a limited, face-saving policy toward North Korea, the very concept of CVID might end up in CVD; the letter “I” may disappear in the future which means that North Korea’s nuclear capability would not be eliminated. I believe the high-level talks between the United States and North Korea will be fruitful mainly because it will be North Korea’s turn to make more concessions in the next round of negotiations. Otherwise, President Trump may walk away from the talks with North Korea. Sino-US relations have become increasingly uncertain and challenging.

If full-blown trade war between China and the US breaks out in the future, cooperation between the two countries in dealing with North Korea will be greatly undermined. Therefore, it will be better for the United States and North Korea to move as quickly as possible to cut deals. Due to worsening relations between China and the United States, there is a concern that China may not play a positive role in the North Korea negotiations. However, no matter what goes on between China and the United States, so long as North Korea is determined to seek diplomatic normalization with the United States, China has no say in that regard. Mutual suspicion is running deep between the United States and China, and it has become increasingly difficult for the two countries to continue on their cooperation in dealing with the North Korea issue. Even though I personally believe that pursuing CVID serves China’s national interest, I think that Chinese leaders will feel difficulty continuing such cooperation with the US given the complicated situation on trade.

• **LI Nan** At present no one has a clear policy towards North Korea and this could serve as an opportunity for North Korea to survive and succeed. There is no clear definition of denuclearization of the Korean peninsula and no clear roadmap on how to make North Korea denuclearize itself. There might be strategic changes underway in North Korea: 1) To focus on economy-oriented development; 2) To improve relationship with South Korea; 3) Step-by-step denuclearization; 4) To not rely on any great power – become more economically independent; 5) To improve its relationship with China. Countries like the US, China and South Korea should make more efforts to work together to deal with the issue of North Korean denuclearization.

• **AHN Ho-young** The Overall assessment of the Singapore Summit reduced to one sentence would be: “It was a meeting short on substance and long on possibilities.” To bridge this gap between “short substance” and “long possibility,” I tried to come up with a wish list to share with Secretary of State

Pompeo as well as President Trump. On top of the wish list, I must clarify that our goal of negotiation must continue to be CVID. There are skeptics who do not believe, at the end of the day, we will be able to achieve CVID. However, if North Korea remains a nuclear state, I think it will continue to be a serious challenge for security, stability, and prosperity of Northeast Asia. That, in fact, is the single most important reason why it must be CVID. Second on my wish list has to do with the methodology in how we get there, which is to “freeze.” There are far more activities that should be frozen other than the current test freeze. The third element on my wish list that we must always think about is the leverage we have in order to make progress on negotiation including diplomatic, information, military, and economic sanctions. There are much concern spreading in Korea and Washington that we may be giving up our levers too early. On the US-China relations, it should be noted that the North Korea issue is almost the only remaining area in which the two countries can constructively work together. I think that leaders of the United States and China should realize not only the tactical importance but also the strategic importance of cooperating on the North Korea issue.

- **LEE Geunwook** We still do not know how willing, how sincere and genuine North Koreans are about denuclearization. We also have a different understanding of the same issue, for example, denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. To test North Koreans’ sincerity and willingness to cooperate with the rest of the world, we need to demand something that only sincere types of North Koreans would accept – for example, military reduction of North Korea’s 1.3 million soldiers. Demobilization is good for Kim Jong Un for 3 reasons: 1) 1.3 million men in uniform is too much financial, political and economic burden for North Korea; 2) If North Korea denuclearizes, North Korea will get capital from the outside world to develop its economy and North Korea needs to find its own manpower to utilize the capital; 3) Demobilization would give Kim Jong Un

more chance to stay in power. The Nuclear weapons issue is indeed important, but the conventional threat is an existential threat to South Korea. We need additional ways to build trust between the two Koreas as well as to build trust between Pyongyang and Washington.

[The 20th Anniversary of Korea-Japan Joint Declaration:
A New Korea-Japan Partnership towards the Twenty-first Century]

How to Promote Cultural Exchanges between Korea and Japan



Korea-Japan/Japan-Korea Parliamentarians’ Union

Chair	CHUNG Ku-chong Chairman, The Korea-Japan Culture Exchange Council /Professor Emeritus of DongSeo University
Presenter	SHIN Kak Soo Former Korean Ambassador to Japan/Senior Advisor, Shin & Kim law firm Ogura KIZO Professor, Kyoto University
Discussant	NOH Jaehyun Executive Director of News Circulation Business, Korea Press Foundation YANG Keeho Professor, Sungkonghoe University Tatsushi NISHIOKA Director of Public Information and Culture Center, Embassy of Japan Akiko HORIYAMA Seoul Bureau Chief, The Mainichi Newspapers
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- **SHIN Kak Soo** Korea and Japan are reeling from strained ties. Their relations have continuously gone through an irregular path for almost six years. In 2015, the 50th anniversary of the normalization of bilateral ties, they showed signs of improving relations with an agreement on the comfort women issue, but this soon turned for the worse, and the relationship has still to become normal. Amid the worsened ties, popular views on each other have sharply worsened. In a poll conducted by the South Korean daily Hankook Ilbo, and Japan’s Yomiuri Shimbun in 2017, 81 percent of Koreans viewed Japan in a negative light, while 77 percent of Japanese felt so about Korea. As to future ties, 56 percent of Korean respondents said they would improve, but only 5 percent of Japanese said so in the survey. They were also found to have mistrust in each other, with 81 percent of Koreans and 69 percent of Japanese saying they do not trust their counterparts. The poll revealed wide gaps in their perceptions of, expectations of, and confidence in each other. Watching the long-stalelated ties, I have to express the grave concern that their mutual distrust and misunderstanding of each other might

end up settling as the new normal. Amid these worsened ties, the external environment surrounding the two countries also has three negative factors:

- 1) the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula,
- 2) the power shift in Northeast Asia with the rise of China, and,
- 3) the dismantling of the liberal international order that has buttressed the peace and prosperity of the two countries.

In this grave situation requiring bilateral cooperation more acutely than ever, public sentiment about each other poses an obstacle in cooperation. It is fortunate, though, that this year marks the 20th anniversary of the Kim Dae-jung-Keizo Obuchi Declaration of a New Partnership in the 21st Century. On April 11, the foreign ministers of the two countries agreed to make a new blueprint to improve ties in their meeting in Seoul, and consultations to follow up on the agreement are now underway. As the political relationship between Korea and Japan deteriorates, it has increasingly negative impacts on non-political spheres, such as economic relations, and cultural and tourism exchanges. In Korea, there

is a sign of gradual improvement of the perceptions about Japan, but Japan sees no such signs yet in asymmetrical ties. One of the examples is tourism. The number of Korean visitors to Japan last year was 7.2 million. On the other hand, about 2.2 million Japanese tourists came to Korea. This phenomenon is found in cultural exchanges. In Korea, the fad for Japanese culture has settled as a phenomenon, but the Korean Wave, hallyu, declined after reaching a peak in 2010. Recently, hallyu is re-emerging with the popularity of K-pop. In the pursuit of the “Korea-Japan Partnership Version 2.0,” the people of the two countries play a very important role in building a relationship of mutual respect and trust. Such roles should be contained in the “Korea-Japan Partnership Version 2.0,” and I will make some suggestions about this.

First, the governments of the two countries should continuously promote mid- and long-term projects for human and cultural exchanges to fight off the ignorance, mistrust and prejudice toward each other, which stand in the way of the development of ties. In this respect, I think there should be institutionalized human and cultural exchanges supported by a treaty or an agreement. The motive behind this idea comes from the case of France and Germany. The two European powers have fought in three wars but implemented frequent exchanges after concluding the Elysees Treaty in 1963. A new order has settled in the present relations between Korea and Japan, but it is not easy to cooperate with each other without a real understanding of each other in this adverse condition. So, they need efforts to promote institutionalized human and cultural exchanges. One of the important things to do is youth exchanges. It is the younger generation who are responsible for the future of Korea-Japan relations. In the state of *tabula rasa*, they can see and experience each other without any preconception, so they can develop ties based on this experience. For this reason, they can contribute more to bilateral ties than any others. The two countries should take concrete measures to support school trips to each other, promote sisterhood ties

among schools, activate sports exchanges, and provide more convenient accommodation and transit for their travel in Korea and Japan. It is also necessary to establish an agency in charge of various youth exchange affairs. I would like to cite the example of the Franco-German Youth Office created by the Treaty of Elysees, under which 70 staff members oversee various projects for youth exchanges. This exchange project was possible because there was an agency that served as a secretariat. Likewise, Korea and Japan also should activate student exchange programs through sisterhood ties between schools, and allow their students to acquire credits and degrees easily in each others' country. Since most universities of the two countries offer English courses, the education authorities can operate a mutual accreditation system. At the same time, it is necessary to benchmark the Erasmus Program in Europe to launch a similar version, called the Campus Asia Program, in the two countries.

This is the era of localization. The power of local provinces becomes the power of the state. Hence, efforts should be made to promote exchanges between local governments in both countries. To that end, sisterhood ties should be established through exchanges of the heads of local governments. The Japan-Korea Friendship Association in Japan has been operating exchange programs so far, but it now needs younger manpower to replace the aging generation of the association. To invigorate exchanges, the association should recruit a more diverse age group. In this era of social networking, Korean and Japanese NGOs are advised to establish civil networks.

Judging by the population, the number of Japanese tourists visiting Korea should be greater than their counterparts, but the reality contradicts this. Therefore, measures to encourage tourism are needed. To increase the number of tourists to both countries, direct flights need to be increased. Another measure is to simplify the immigration process so that Koreans can complete their Japan entry procedure in Korea, and Japanese tourists can do so in their homeland.

In cultural exchanges, the Korean wave (hallyu)

lags behind the popularity of Japanese culture in Korea. We need to scale up the exchanges, which are mostly concentrated on popular culture, by revitalizing exchanges of classical culture. For reconciliation over past history, they have to know about each other. What is important is the role of popular culture, like movies, drama and literature. There are many dramas about history, but few periodical movies and novels. The organization of a joint ballet troupe or choir could also be a good means to promote cultural exchanges.

Sports exchange is also important. It was during the 2002 Korea-Japan World Cup that bilateral ties were the best. Koreans rooted for Japan for the first time during the World Cup. It is sports exchanges that can bring the two countries together and open their minds to each other.

Journalism is another important field of exchange. There is active exchange among journalists, but this should be further expanded as the news media, particularly in broadcasting, serve as a window of understanding for each other.

A non-political approach counts most in cultural exchange. Governments should break the vicious circle of stopping exchanges whenever relations deteriorate. It is time to change this way of thinking. They have to pursue exchanges more actively when relations are bad, and a non-political approach can free the exchanges from political whims. What counts more is action than words. I look forward to more cultural exchange programs with concrete action plans.

● **Ogura KIZO** It is the time to establish a Korean-Japanese model of exchange. First of all, I would like to express my respect to President Kim Dae-jung, who decided to gradually open the door to Japanese popular culture in 1998. Twenty years on now, young people of both countries wonder why it was a grave decision. Twenty years ago, it was a big change, but now accepted as natural, and this means a lot. In the 2000s, hallyu and the fad for Japanese culture emerged. We are really living in a new era. In May 2012, there was a meeting at which the two govern-

ments of Korea and Japan vowed to collaborate to create a new cultural paradigm for the world, while pursuing a creative bilateral relationship. It meant that the two countries would deepen their understanding of each other's culture and transform their West-influenced culture into one with an East Asian identity. With rich cultural heritages, Korea and Japan should lead in the creation of a new cultural paradigm for the whole world. Cultural exchanges between Korea and Japan have various meanings. They must contribute to the world. Korea and Japan can have cultural power through collaboration. Culture should be accepted in a broader sense. It is a duty of developed countries to build a cultural paradigm, in addition to cultural products, to promote happiness for humanity.

There are concerns that the countries increasingly distrust each others' culture, judging by the broader meaning of culture. It is noticeable especially in Japan. Superficially, it seems to just reflect historical views, but mistrust and suspicion about the other's culture are apparent. What I mean by culture here is the way people think about the law and treaties, human rights and morality, and citizenship in a broader sense. The thinking on these concepts constitutes the basis of a liberal and democratic society. However, Korean and Japanese societies do not understand the core thoughts of their counterparts. There was a joint statement by Kim Dae-jung and Keizo Obuchi issued in October, 1998. The statement did not contain a mere slogan but delivered the concept of “value sharing” for the first time; as follows: “The leaders of both countries expressed their determination to develop bilateral ties based on the universal ideology of the market economy of liberal democracy through a wide range of exchanges and mutual understandings.” The Japanese Foreign Ministry revised the description about Korea 10 years later in 2015. Previously, Korea was described as “an important neighbour country which shares the basic values of freedom, democracy and the market economy,” but now is simply stated as “the most important neighbour country for Japan.” Many words of attribution were

deleted. And the press highlighted this, interpreting it as meaning that the two countries no longer share similar values. It is evident that the Japanese government started to have doubts about the rule of law in Korea after witnessing the controversies flaring up over the comfort women issue, the case of the theft of a Korean Buddha statue in Japan and the prosecution of the Sankei Shimbun correspondent. Many Japanese expressed dissatisfaction over those issues. Earlier, both peoples believed that they shared the same values in their optimism about their ideological base. But now, they recognized the wide gap in their perception about the basic concepts of freedom, democracy and law. The gap is represented by Korean and Japanese words. Freedom (自由) and democracy (民主主義) are pronounced as Jiyū and Minshu shugi in Japanese, and Jayu and Minjujui in Korean. The cultural implication of this difference refers to the gap between the two countries. I think that the revision of the description of Korea by the Japanese government was based on rather a hasty emotional judgement. The Japanese people should earnestly learn about the rich historical experiences Korean society has accumulated. They need to make efforts to understand and pay respect to the Korean connotations of law, democracy and freedom as distinguished from the Japanese concepts of them. They should try to understand the noble meaning of the blood-stained democracy of Korea. They are advised not to distance themselves from the Korean people only because they have different ideas. They need to actively learn about Koreans' experiences and creativity, and develop their concepts of freedom, democracy and law, accordingly. They would have to change their perception about Korea and accept Korea as a good model. They have to forget the old belief that freedom and democracy do not exist in Korea. Koreans, too, need to stop the practice of belittling the Japanese experience. Many Koreans said in a survey that they have bad impression of Japan because the Japanese do not sincerely feel sorry for their occupation of Korea. I think it is natural to have this kind of perception if one grows and is educated

in Korean society. However, Koreans do not know that Japan was the first country whose government made an official apology for its colonial rule and violation of women's rights. It is really frustrating when I hear the argument based on the preconception that the Japanese are different from the Germans who repented their wrongdoings. To a question about the characteristics of Japan in another survey, most Koreans said it was a militaristic or imperialistic or expansionist state. The answers which described Japan as a democratic, liberal, cooperative and peaceful country were very few. Judging by the results of this survey, Koreans are not aware of the pacifism of the Japanese. The Japanese do not understand the democracy the Korean people take pride in, while Koreans know nothing about the pacifism the Japanese are proud of. Cultural exchanges in the absence of mutual understanding of each other would be of no avail, I think. For the maturity of bilateral relations, I think that they need to understand the ideological background of each others' culture and cultural concepts.

History researchers of both countries are outstanding. Japanese scholars of history are not behind their counterparts in any other countries. But they lack the competence in the interpretation of historical facts. They just rely on an ideological or moralistic interpretation. Hence, there are some cases of new historical findings being of no avail. This is the case of the historians of the two countries. There was an argument that western scholars are more competent in that aspect, but I do not agree with this. European scholars have done what they had to do only about European issues such as the relationship between France and Germany, or between Germany and Poland. They did not squarely look into colonialism, which produced diverse problems in Latin America as well as terrorism. This is because the Europeans were only intent on reconciliation among themselves. When Japan and Korea concluded their treaty on the normalization of bilateral relations in 1965, Japan was not aware of its obligation to apologize to Koreans. However, it began to recognize it,

especially in the 1990s. Japanese governments have repeatedly made apologies for their colonial rule, and admitted to their responsibility for the violation of women's rights. However, current Japanese governments no longer do it now, to my regret. The two countries should not dwell on past issues now. We need to be optimistic about our relations, as we have at least made efforts to improve ties, though there have been no satisfactory results from them. The efforts, successful or not, to address the legacies of colonial rule, might be an asset for humanity. I think this is the true meaning of cultural exchange.

• **YANG Keeho** I think the Joint Declaration of Kim Dae-jung and Keizo Obuchi 20 years ago is an ideal model. I will discuss two points about this. First, it is a matter of continuity. In a written interview before President Moon Jae-in's visit to Japan on May 8, he said that his government's policy toward Japan was a product of the Kim Dae-jung-Keizo Obuchi summit and that he would create a future-oriented relationship with Japan based on it. Twenty years later, continuity is guaranteed. The Kim Dae-jung-Keizo Obuchi Declaration is the first of its kind in the world because there has been no country other than Japan that has documented its official apology for its colonization. Afterwards, apologies by invader countries ensued with the British government apologizing for its massacres in Kenya, and the Italian government making an apology to Libya. What is important is not simply whether the responsible governments have made an apology but if the entire society sincerely admits to the responsibility for its past wrongdoings. President Kim Dae-jung knew this and also the fact that territorial disputes are almost impossible to resolve. In the meeting with the then Japanese Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi 20 years ago, President Kim suggest that they take care of the historical issues between Korea and Japan, without paying attention to the controversies, on an unofficial level.

The second is how to be flexible. The declaration of partnership is meaningful in that it does not refer to diplomacy on the governmental level but a mu-

tual understanding spreading across the societies of both countries. In this respect, it might be called an exchange among their people. Japan has forged partnerships with many other countries since 1998. Korea, too, has declared partnerships and engaged in personal and cultural exchanges with other countries. When then Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi visited the Korean presidential office in April, 1999, he said that the true meaning of the Japan-Korea partnership was that the people of the two countries had started to see each other with open minds. It was an insightful remark.

Personally, I am not optimistic about any improvement in bilateral ties. Prime Minister Shinzo Abe has been in office for more than five years with the support of the Japanese press and academic circles. The Japanese people are also satisfied with this. The relationship between Korea and Japan should be seen in the context of trilateral relations among Korea, Japan and China. Japan pays attention not only to the denuclearization and peace issues of Korea but also the presence of China behind them. China is an important factor as a rival of the U.S. in the region that confronts the Japan-U.S. alliance. Given this, even if peace is built on the Korean peninsula, Northeast Asia will not see peace. China's rise will be checked by the U.S.-Japan alliance. Korea and Japan cannot improve their relations in near future, I think, because the regional community based on common interests and the need for security is firmly established amid public support in the region.

Cultural exchanges between Korea and Japan are needed to enhance the understanding of each other. It is also necessary to institutionalize activities to create positive perceptions about Korea in Japan. The Northeast Asian region has political leaders relying on a personality-based leadership. President Moon of Korea also takes advantage of his popularity in political affairs. To check this practice, the two countries need institutional measures to create a bridge between each other. First, they should resume cultural exchanges. Second, there should be no tension with China in cultural exchanges in the region.

I hope Korea and Japan can join hands to control the variables arising from China and North Korea. Now, Japan is going all in on the North Korea issue. Japan had better resolve the North Korea issue gradually by normalizing its relations with South Korea.

- **Tatsushi NISHIOKA** I would like to think about Europe from another perspective, different from previous ones. After World War II, countries pushed for European integration. With this intention, Europe came up with the idea of regarding other countries as indispensable entities in economic terms. This has created a public consensus that the disadvantages of other countries would end up disadvantaging themselves. On the other hand, the relationship between Korea and Japan is different from those in Europe, as they have a different history. Therefore, the relationship between Korea and Japan should be shaped not by economic considerations but by cultural exchanges. Mutual understanding is more important than interdependence. I would like to talk about this from various angles.

The current Korea-Japan partnership is almost 20 years old. It is still hard to say that they have made progress in politics, security, the economy, cultural exchanges, human exchanges and other fields. They have embassies in their counterpart countries, and the Korean wave is booming in Japan. These are not enough, but they contribute to establishing a stable bilateral relationship. This relationship will continue in the future as they have mature democracies. Mutual understanding among people should be the basis of these ties.

- **NOH Jaehyun** The two governments should have a mid-to-long-term human exchange plan. I agree that a non-political approach is needed to this end. In May 2015, there was an announcement that they would pursue creative cultural exchanges. But three months later, the ties went downhill with the visit of the then president Lee Myung-bak to Dokdo island. After the joint declaration of Kim Dae Jung and Keizo Obuchi, Korea opened its doors to Japanese culture. Since then, there have been a lot of human and material exchanges between the two countries, but it is hard to

say that they have developed friendly ties.

The book, “Japan and China, the Countries Only Koreans Do Not Know About” has a comment on the door-opening to Japanese culture. “Amid the anti-Japanese sentiment prevalent in Korean culture and their lives, Koreans make such a mistake as saying that they have a balanced view of Japan, in spite of their prejudice against and ignorance of Japanese politics and history, and its security affairs. I was also embarrassed when they said they like Japanese culture while they stick to such an absurd mindset about Japan as to claim that the Japanese refuse to apologize for colonial rule or admit to past wrongdoings, which would surprise the Japanese.” The two countries have deepened their level of cultural exchanges, but when it comes to political issues, politics absorb all others like a black hole, sending them to point zero.

- **Akiko HORIYAMA** As a Korean-Japanese model for reconciliation, prosperity and peace was suggested in this session, I will go over the examples that I have experienced as a journalist. To resolve or reconcile historical issues takes a process. A process of constantly making efforts to mirror each other is important. What counts is not how to change the existing interpretation of history but to pay attention to and evaluate the changes in historical perception. I think there should be a reward to those who make the changes, instead of outrightly denying the value of the conventional perception of history.

When I was a correspondent in LA in the U.S. in 2011, the comfort women issue remained as a thorn in the side of ties between the two countries. In the affluent district of Glendale in LA, a comfort woman statue was erected on a lot Glendale city provided. Controversy erupted over the statue, with the Japanese government protesting it, since it seemed like an export of Korean-Japanese history overseas. The Japanese press gave it a wide coverage. In the U.S., it was accepted as a women’s human rights issue rather than a historical one, possibly because of the presence of the Armenian and Israeli population near the area in Hollywood. The discussion in the

U.S. developed into a question, what they should do, if a similar incident happened in the contemporary world. They likened the comfort women case to those who were abducted in the Philippines and Taiwan or by the Mafia, and joined in drug trafficking or other crimes, presenting the views that the current measures to restore the victims’ rights would help resolving the comfort women issue. They were dealing with the issue from another perspective, different from the Korean or Japanese view. Apart from the issue whether Japan should make a sincere apology, the discussion in the U.S. was focused on the rights of the victims.

It is a good idea to learn lessons from failures in the past. The Korea-Japan partnership declaration contains an action plan. Long-term action plans are necessary. The two countries should consider what kind of preparations they should make, including a revision of domestic laws. The Kim Dae-jung government considered this and succeeded in producing human exchanges and the Korean wave boom. On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Korea-Japan partnership declaration, the two countries must think about the value of the path they have trodden.

- **SHIN Kak Soo** Cultural and human exchanges between Korea and Japan can be likened to Oriental herbal medicine rather than a western treatment, I think. It is to improve the basic condition of the bilateral relationship, not to resolve certain issues. Oriental medicine can prevent illness only when taken for a long time. So, I think relations can only improve when exchanges continue under a long-term plan. This year offers a good opportunity to reset ties. The governments and citizens of the two countries should have an opportunity to reflect on how to create a sound Korea-Japan relationship and implement an action plan for it.

- **CHUNG Ku-chong** Many have expressed pessimistic views on the Korean-Japanese relationship, ridden with a series of conflicts and confrontations. But in my personal view, the relationship is not that bad, and I expect it will get better. First of all, human exchanges have marked the era of 10 million visi-

tors, with 7.2 million Koreans visiting Japan and 2.2 million Japanese arriving in Korea. This indicates the stability of exchanges between Korea and Japan. Now, we live in an era when the people of the two countries share their culture beyond the Korean Wave and the fad for Japanese culture. I believe that cultural exchanges will continue to develop.

There are a lot of discussions about the issue of security cooperation between Korea and Japan, and the Jeju Forum is providing a platform for discourse on a peace regime on the Korean peninsula and in East Asia. It was President Kim Dae-jung who suggested to Japan a discussion on security cooperation for the first time. It was true foresight. As a result, Korea, Japan and the U.S. formed the tripartite alliance to thwart the North Korean nuclear threat, and are now discussing measures to promote inter-Korean cooperation. I think that the relationship between Korea and Japan is still developing and they would certainly build future-oriented ties, even though they sometimes undergo conflict and confrontation due to the populist moves of politicians.

The Summits and Beyond: Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula



Moderator **KIM Sung-Hwan** Distinguished Professor, Hanyang University/ Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade of the R.O.K
Speaker **MOON Chung-in** Distinguished University Professor, Yonsei University/
 Special Advisor to the ROK President for Unification and National Security Affairs
Joseph YUN Senior Advisor, U.S. Institute of Peace/Former United States Special Representative for North Korea Policy
Jeffrey FELTMAN Former UN Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs
NING Fukui Deputy Special Representative for Korean Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, PRC
Rapporteur **CHANG Ji-Seon** Global Asia Fellow, East Asia Foundation

- **KIM Sung-Hwan** Thus far, no tangible follow-up measures are in sight after the summit talks between the US and North Korea. Optimistic observers say that negotiations are ongoing between the two countries behind the curtain.

The Chances of Denuclearization in the Negotiations Following Up the US-NK Summit Talks

As President Trump said, however, the outcome remains to be seen. On a scale of 1 to 10, how likely or unlikely do you think CVID (complete, verifiable, irrevocable denuclearization) is in the follow-up negotiations?

- **MOON Chung-in** I would say nine. The key obstacles for the U.S.-North Korea relations so far can be summed up as follows. 1) There was not enough time and opportunity for President Trump and Chairman Kim Jong-un to have indepth conversations; 2) there is a disparity between the U.S. and North Korean positions: the U.S. wants to denuclearize North Korea before offering anything in return, while North Korea demands that denuclearization and economic compensation be pursued concurrently; and 3) both

parties failed to agree on a timetable specifying each step of denuclearization. Still, the summit talks in Singapore did provide an opportunity to iron out disagreements. In a recent media interview, President Trump talked about the importance of follow-up negotiations on the working level and suggested that he would offer North Korea security guarantee and economic reward in return for denuclearization. Again, he told a nuclear expert at MIT that denuclearization would take a long time, possibly more than 40 years. These statements suggest that the U.S. could possibly strike a deal with North Korea. I expect that a basic agreement will take shape once Secretary Pompeo meets with his North Korean counterparts in the follow-up negotiations.

- **Joseph YUN** I would say five (if it takes two or three years). While the summit talks in Singapore were a good starting point, the outcome was nothing more than a short, some 400-word agreement. It should have included more constructive and concrete details on the denuclearization. It will take a long time before a truly verifiable, comprehensive denuclearization process can be launched. However, I am

giving five points for turning the tension and anxiety into a mood where dialogue and negotiations have become possible.

- **Jeffrey FELTMAN** Seven. There has been a tectonic shift since December of last year on the Korean peninsula, with two rounds of the inter-Korean summit, the U.S.-NK summit as well as Chairman Kim's three visits to China. We have passed from an imminent war to open communication and stable crisis management through the hotline. So, I give seven points.

- **NING Fukui** I cannot be specific on the score, but I give 10 points to the U.S.-NK summit. I expect that both parties will come up with denuclearization roadmaps with details each has in mind in the following rounds of negotiations and that the chances of complete denuclearization will increase through said rounds of negotiations.

The Definition of CVID

- **KIM Sung-Hwan** Recently, President Trump has been using the term "total denuclearization," instead of "complete denuclearization." Some observers argue that CVID is not feasible but only a political rhetoric. What is your take on this and what is your own definition of complete denuclearization?

- **Joseph YUN** We want North Korea to take steps to denuclearize itself in a verifiable manner. Secretary Pompeo, in this regard, used the word "permanent." The truth is, it is only a matter of nuance and what truly matters is whether North Korea has a serious intention about denuclearization. North Korea should express its resolution to dispense with all nuclear materials to the world and make good on its promise.

- **NING Fukui** I do not think the inclusion of CVID is the only criterion by which the U.S.-NK summit should be judged. Chairman Kim clearly expressed his will to denuclearize his country in the agreement. The statement itself is a commitment to the U.S. and to the international community as a whole. Also, I think Chairman Kim's pledge of complete denuclearization corresponds with the scope of

denuclearization the international community has been demanding of North Korea. From my personal experience of living quite a long time in the country, North Korea seems optimistic about the chances of CVID. Even though the U.S. and North Korea have been enemies for more than five decades, their leaders were able to take a big step forward together by sitting face-to-face to talk about the peace of the Korean peninsula, denuclearization and a permanent peace regime. What we must keep in mind is that we should take historical lessons as well as future-oriented perspectives into account at the same time when we discuss the issues of the Korean peninsula. We cannot expect the result just with an assessment of the current state of affairs. The agreement between the U.S. and North Korea was only possible because both parties weighed all the problems carefully. A Chinese saying goes, "A skyscraper cannot rise without a solid foundation (不怕楼房高, 只要根基牢)." Although some criticizes the agreement of the summit as too broad and vague, the North Korean nuclear development issues cannot be solved in one fell swoop. It has to be done in a step-by-step manner. There will be unexpected and unpredictable obstacles in the process of CVID of the Korean peninsula. The following elements will be essential to the issue.

1) Trust: Building trust between the U.S. and North Korea is a top priority. North Korea and the U.S. have been enemies for more than 50 years. The recent summit in Singapore alone is far from providing a solid basis for mutual trust. Still, I expect that follow-up negotiations on denuclearization could serve as a trust-building process. The denuclearization can proceed smoothly only when the two countries see eye to eye with each other.

2) Security guarantee for the North Korean regime: A reasonable regime security guarantee is necessary for a successful denuclearization process. As denuclearizing the Korean peninsula is directly related to the security of North Korea, specific measures to dispel concerns and ensure North Korea are required.

3) Setting goals of denuclearization by stages in a reasonable fashion.

4) Linkage with a peace regime: The denuclearization and the peace regime of the Korean peninsula are the two wheels of one cart. The two goals can be realized only when they move forward together without tilting towards one side. Also, it should be remembered that attempting to accelerate the process itself will not help reach the end goals.

- **MOON Chung-in** I fully agree with Ambassador Ning. President Moon had an in-depth conversation with Chairman Kim during the summit talks, and Chairman Kim also shared our definition of complete denuclearization. Still, North Korea is sensitive about the term CVID, which was coined in 2003 by Mark Groombridge, an adviser to John Bolton, who was then the Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security Affairs during the G.W. Bush administration. Past experience has informed North Korea's feeling of aversion to the term because it thinks it implies unconditional surrender. Personally, I think any discussion over the meaning of CVID is irrelevant. When we say "complete" denuclearization, it embraces all the necessary steps including verification, monitoring, etc. That is, it includes the disposal and removal of plutonium, nuclear bombs, highly enriched uranium, nuclear facilities, experts and engineers, vehicles, etc. Thus, CVID is essentially not different from CD. Personally, I think President Trump, President Moon and Chairman Kim all have a solid understanding of CVID.

- **Jeffrey FELTMAN** Clearly, North Korea showed a stronger determination to denuclearize in the Singapore declaration than before. However, a misinterpretation of the agreement could cause misunderstanding between the two parties about what denuclearization means. This is why we will need some confirmation in the implementation stage.

Denuclearization Timeline and China's Role

- **KIM Sung-Hwan** Secretary Pompeo originally set the deadline for the denuclearization at the end of

President Trump's term, which is two and a half years away, but he recently said he did not have a fixed timeline in mind. How do you assess his statement and what is your take on the chances of denuclearization without a timeline?

- **Joseph YUN** The focus of the U.S. executive is to achieve goals with having in mind the development on the ground, and Secretary Pompeo's recent stance suggests such flexibility. Personally, I expect that complete denuclearization will take more than a decade, but it could take less time if parties involved are determined enough. I highly regard the U.S. stance to set the denuclearization process in motion as soon as possible.

- **MOON Chung-in** Recently, many figures in the Trump administration have seesawed in their timelines, and I think this is because they are becoming more realistic in dealing with North Korea. I personally think that Chairman Kim's three visits to China helped expedite the developments so far, including the U.S.-North Korea summit talks. President Xi Jinping upholds the principle of peace and stability, the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula, and a resolution through dialogue and negotiation. Thus far, China has maintained that the denuclearization should be achieved through "bilateral suspension" and on "parallel tracks (of denuclearization and a peace treaty)" and that North Korea would need to alter its original stance. China will have to work harder to persuade North Korea to make good on its promise of denuclearization.

- **Joseph YUN** I do not agree with Advisor Moon. China previously acknowledged North Korea's possession of nuclear weapons on the condition that North Korea should not use the weapons on the Korean peninsula.

- **NING Fukui** The development for the last several months suggests that the US has a better understanding of the complicated North Korea issues. Secretary Pompeo's remark that he would not set a specific timeline indicates the US determination to solve the denuclearization issues gradually, first by building mutual confidence. As a close neighbor and a con-

cerned party of the Korean Peninsula issues, China is drawing more attention. However, we should have a historical understanding of China's role when it comes to the Korean peninsula questions. For the past several decades, China has played a pivotal role in maintaining regional peace and stability even in times of rising tension and imminent crisis on the Korean peninsula. In particular, its stance on the denuclearization issues has been unwavering. In the three visits to China by Chairman Kim, China again clearly stated its support for the following policies: 1) Implementing the outcome of the U.S.-North Korea dialogue and the U.S.-North Korea summit talks; 2) inter-Korean summit talks and improving inter-Korean relations; 3) denuclearizing the Korean peninsula and building a permanent peace regime on the peninsula; and 4) supporting North Korea's economic development. The situation on the Korean peninsula actually turned for the better after Chairman Kim's visit to China in March. The amicable relationship between China and North Korea will continue to play a significant role in the denuclearizing and peace-building process on the Korean Peninsula.

North Korea's Changing Behavior and Mitigating Economic Sanctions after the US-NK Summit Talks

- **KIM Sung-Hwan** North Korea has to show meaningful changes in its behavior within a couple of months lest the U.S.-North Korea summit loses its momentum. How can North Korea play a proactive role in this regard?

- **Joseph YUN** North Korea should first disclose a detailed list of its nuclear materials specifying the location of nuclear facilities, the amount of plutonium and uranium, etc. If it does not, there will be no further negotiations between the U.S. and North Korea.

- **MOON Chung-in** I agree with Ambassador Yun's remark that disclosing the list of nuclear materials is necessary. I also think what President Trump meant about the preliminary work is that North Korea should come up with the list by itself. Since North

Korea already withdrew from the NPT (Nuclear non-Proliferation Treaty), it is all the more imperative for North Korea to show its strong determination to discard its nuclear arsenal. Also, it has to take some drastic action such as removing all ICBMs. That will open up a path to a grand bargain.

- **KIM Sung-Hwan** The success of negotiations will eventually depend largely on the timing of easing the economic sanctions on North Korea. When do you think this will happen?

- **MOON Chung-in** The sanctions currently imposed on North Korea include 1) those in accordance with the UN resolutions, 2) those unilaterally executed by the U.S. government (some 300 measures including a boycott, the listing of terrorist-sponsor states, a ban on trade with enemy states). If North Korea discloses an exhaustive list of its nuclear materials and declares its acceptance of the front-loading proposal, the South Korean government could make a suggestion to ease economic sanctions to the U.S., China and Russia. The key here, however, is whether North Korea will offer the list and take drastic measures.

- **Joseph YUN** I agree with Advisor Moon. But I also think it necessary to agree on the verification process in addition to the disclosure of the nuclear materials list by North Korea.

- **NING Fukui** I think easing sanctions on North Korea is part of the denuclearization and peace-building process. However, China will strictly abide by the sanctions before the UN Security Council withdraws the resolutions on the sanctions on North Korea. Yet, if and when the denuclearization process brings about tangible progress, it will become necessary to modify the resolutions after discussion and deliberation according to the Security Council regulations.

- **KIM Sung-Hwan** Easing economic sanctions should include improving inter-Korean ties. As Prime Minister Lee Nak-yeon said in the opening address of this forum, economic exchange with North Korea would not be possible without easing the sanctions.

- **MOON Chung-in** In the course of improving inter-Korean relations in parallel with the denuclear-

ization process, the South Korean government will never betray the U.S. and will strictly observe the UN resolutions on economic sanctions. However, many initiatives are possible for improving the relations within the boundaries of the resolutions. It is necessary for officials of the two Koreas to execute joint projects such as linking railroads and planting trees together, which do not violate the resolutions. North Korea, of course, would want more than that. In that case, North Korea should demonstrate that it continues to freeze its activities regarding nuclear and missile development. If the UN Security Council makes more conciliatory gestures in return, South Korea could also take momentous action to normalize and improve inter-Korean relations. Although the economic sanctions have overshadowed the whole scene thus far, now we need a new incentive structure to make a complete denuclearization possible.

- **Jeffrey FELTMAN** Recent changes in North Korea's attitude suggest the regime's aspiration for economic reform and market opening. However, the same cannot be said for the denuclearization part. Even though the regime suspended nuclear tests and detonated the nuclear test sites in Punggye-ri, more tangible actions are needed. In this respect, the economic sanctions do not seem likely to wane anytime soon. Still, President Trump's remark of the 20 percent reduction in economic sanctions or the clauses of UN resolutions suggest that humanitarian aid could be practicable.

A Congressional Ratification of the US-NK Agreement and the Sequence of Denuclearization and a Peace Treaty

- **Joseph YUN** While a Congressional ratification is mandatory for the agreement between the US and North Korea, it would help ensure the consistency of US policy towards North Korea even when new presidents come to occupy the White House. However, it will never be an easy task since any Congressional ratification needs a bipartisan consensus.
- **NING Fukui** The denuclearization and a peace

regime on the Korean peninsula should be balanced and carried out simultaneously. Whereas the U.S. is more interested in how North Korea would remove nuclear materials, North Korea is more keen on ensuring the survival of its regime and normalizing ties with the U.S. and other countries. The denuclearization and the peace regime of the Korean peninsula are the two wheels of one wagon. Unless they move in sync, the wagon will be overturned. If we want a rapid denuclearization, building a peace regime must speed up, as well. My suggestion is based not on political logic but on hard reality. History will tell that the China's proposal of "parallel tracks" is a constructive idea.

- **MOON Chung-in** I agree with Ambassador Ning. Denuclearization and a peace treaty should proceed in parallel in a two-track approach.
- **Joseph YUN** : In principle, denuclearization should come before a peace treaty. Removing the threat of nuclear weapons is a priority. However, we can expect a peace treaty earlier if the denuclearization process shows tangible progress.
- **Jeffrey FELTMAN** I agree with Ambassador Yun.

How Likely is the Ongoing Denuclearization Process to Fail and What Should Be Done in Response

- **MOON Chung-in** 2
- **Joseph YUN** 4
- **Jeffrey FELTMAN** 4-5
- **NING Fukui** I would not give a specific score. It will certainly be a painful process, but China will make an utmost effort to not miss this rare opportunity of denuclearization. History must not repeat itself.

Q & A

Q. Donald KIRK (journalist) When do you think the suspended ROK-US joint military exercise should resume?

A. Joseph YUN It must resume at some point. I am skeptical about the suspension of the joint exercise if it weakens the alliance. Still, temporary suspension

is necessary as a means to build trust between the U.S. and North Korea as part of the denuclearization process.

Q. PARK Cheol-Hee (Dean, Seoul National University GSIS) Ambassador Ning mentioned the importance of security guarantee of the North Korean regime. What does that guarantee refer to specifically? If it means withdrawing the policy of antagonizing North Korea, the U.S. can provide it by simply showing good will. However, does North Korea think the security guarantee should include not only signing a peace and non-aggression treaty but also the withdrawal of the U.S. forces in Korea and ultimately the Korea-U.S. alliance?

A. NING Fukui In my personal view, what North Korea means by regime stability suggests a comprehensive set of security guarantees. Despite the predominant anti-American sentiment in North Korea since the Korean War, the country is well aware that improving external circumstances, particularly normalizing ties with the U.S., is necessary to achieve economic growth. Therefore, talks of normalizing the U.S.-North Korea relations are not something that came out of the blue, but has been one of North Korea's wishes for a long time. I cannot offer a more specific answer, but I am sure institutions and multilateral regimes are necessary to ensure not only a US-NK peace treaty but also measures to guarantee the peace and stability of the Korean peninsula in general. Concerned countries would have to discuss these measures.

A. MOON Chung-in What North Koreans demand as security guarantee refers is not to the survival of Chairman Kim and his regime but to their hereditary leadership and the socialist economic system. It falls squarely in the category of sovereignty and non-interference in domestic affairs, which are the key international principles enshrined in the UN Charter.

Q. John DELURY (Professor, Yonsei GSIS) In fact, the question of regime stability should be directed at the US. How can the normalization of diplomatic ties gain traction when President Trump is losing popularity at home? Also, unlike North Korea and China, the

leadership of the U.S. may change hands in the 2020 elections. What is the prospect?

A. Joseph YUN In recent days, there has been bipartisan cooperation within the U.S. Congress over several policies. If the issues concerning missile and nuclear weapons can be resolved, and the international community gets what it wants, the Democrats can hardly remain opposed to the development. Also, I personally expect that President Trump will be successfully re-elected and step down only in 2024.

Q. KIM Jong-min (student) Things are looking up for issues such as denuclearization and peace on the Korean peninsula. However, history tells a different story. When the U.S. armed forces withdrew from Vietnam after signing an agreement, Vietnam collapsed. What sort of preparation is needed to avoid a similar fate on the Korean peninsula?

A. MOON Chung-in First, the situation of Korea is different from that of Vietnam in the past. The role of the U.S. forces in Korea is different. Instead of relying heavily on U.S. forces, we need defense capabilities of our own. As President Moon said, these changes will not and should not be synonymous with the weakening military might. A strong deterrence is the basis of peace.

The Peace and Development Cooperation Nexus



Moderator	James KIM Research Fellow, The Asan Institute for Policy Studies
Opening Remarks	CHO Hyun Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs
Presenter	PARK Kyung-Ae Professor, Korea Foundation Chair, School of Public Policy and Global Affairs of the University of British Columbia YU Chong-Ae Professor, Sungkyunkwan University
Discussant	Sara TAYLOR Country Representative in Bangladesh, The Asia Foundation OH Hyunjoo Director General, Development Cooperation Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs CHUNG Kuyoun Professor, Department of Political Science, Kangwon National University KIM Taekyoon Associate Professor, Graduate School of International Studies, Seoul National University Juliana LEE Managing Director and Chief Economist EM Asia, Deutsche Bank
Rapporteur	KIM Seonkyung Research Associate, Asan Institute for Policy Studies

- **CHO Hyun** The two causes of the increase in forced refugees in the 21st century are disputes and underdevelopment. They are closely related to the three key missions of the UN – security, human rights and development.

The Trend of International Discussions on Peace and Development

The sustainable development goals (SDGs) are the concept the UN has developed for its missions. It is important to know how to create the nexus of peace and development and put them in a virtuous circle, which multilateral organizations and donation-recipient countries both should make efforts to create. To strengthen the nexus is the way toward peace and development.

The Peace and Development Issue Now Newly Discussed amid the Recent Changes on the Korean Peninsula

The Korean peninsula is still under the Cold War order and fails to pursue development cooperation because it is fettered by the peace issue. The Re-

public of Korea is a member of the OECD's DAC (Development Assistance Committee), and donates more than 500 billion won as one of the top 15 donor countries in the world, but has made little progress in the nexus of peace and development. Starting with the PyeongChang Winter Olympics, however, the peace issue was dealt with at the ensuing inter-Korea summits, the Panmunjom Declaration and the summit talks between North Korea and the U.S. on June 12. Amid the changes on the peninsula, the development projects in North Korea emerged as a new issue. North Korea is the best place for the nexus of peace and development. Since North Korea is a vulnerable and low-income country, it is one of the countries that most needs peace and development cooperation. Peace and development should be discussed together on the Korean peninsula.

How to Promote Peace and Development

First, discussion should be activated. Second, preparatory work is needed for cooperation in the nexus of peace and development. This requires

complete denuclearization of the Korean peninsula; and a permanent peace regime is a prerequisite for development cooperation. Conversely, development cooperation is also an important factor in building lasting peace. Ultimately, peacebuilding and development cooperation should mutually reinforce each other. The Korean Peninsula can be a good example of the nexus of peace and development. But peace should take the lead, with development following. In addition, because of the special conditions regarding North Korea, there are some factors that should be taken into consideration such as the SDGs, the efficiency of aid and transparency. Given the security-related issues involving North Korea, how to promote development cooperation is another matter that should be examined. As SDGs are universal values, no compromise on them should be allowed during development cooperation with North Korea. Third, Korea should take the lead in all development cooperation projects in North Korea. South Korea has accumulated ample experience of development cooperation and is qualified enough as one of the top 10 donor countries sending many volunteers to development cooperation projects. South Korea should lead cooperation projects but would have to make them irreversible in its cooperation with other countries, international financial institutions, international development cooperation organizations and NGOs. It will not be easy to further improve inter-Korean relations to build peace, but South Korea should reach a consensus with and secure support from other countries to lead the nexus of development and security cooperation.

- **Sara TAYLOR** Theoretically, peace is a prerequisite for development and development cooperation. But the theory of peace and development planning is one thing, and the practice of them is another. There is no single and holistic approach to an individual country, or a region. There are external factors, such as inter-state relations, the dynamics of peace (or dynamics of conflict), and development cooperation, as well as the problems within the state that should be taken into consideration. What kind of dynamics

do the conflicts/peace and development have in a country? A comprehensive approach is also important in understanding the status quo of a country and the positive impacts of development. The Rohingyas are an example of the problems of a country affecting other countries. This kind of situation directly affects the potential capacity of a country to achieve peace and potentially interferes with development projects. The Bangladesh government had to choose whether to close the border or to accommodate the Rohingyas and finally opened its border. If the Rohingya issue had prolonged, would the Bangladeshi government and the international community have made a different response? How would the debate between Bangladesh and Myanmar have changed? There are also issues such as the role of stakeholders that the affected countries should consider. It is also important to think about the meaning of the nexus of peace and development. There is a concern that both peace and development may be taken advantage of, because the efforts to improve a situation may result in deteriorating it. There are instances in which development has provided a better impetus to other regions than the target country, either intentionally or unintentionally. Or a certain group may gain more benefits than other groups, either intentionally or unintentionally. For example, the problems associated with the dispute between Sudan and South Sudan were related to intentional deterrence on the development of a certain area of Sudan. One of the reasons that Bangladesh seceded from Pakistan and became an independent state is that Bangladesh did not achieve the same level of development as Pakistan. Since independence in 1971, Bangladesh has made national progress on a comprehensive level, but there are some regions that have deteriorated. We should consider how this imbalance impacts on national development in a long-term basis; whether the country is sustainable when it fails to make comprehensive progress, and whether such dynamics have the effects of destabilizing other countries. There is no single solution to these complex and interconnected problems. Understanding these complex

dynamics is necessary, and oversimplification of the problem makes it hard to get the expected effect and may turn the situation for the worse. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the complex characteristics of the problems and to respond more effectively and appropriately to them.

- **PARK Kyung-Ae** Development is generally known as a prerequisite for peace and security. However, this is questioned, because economic growth alone cannot prevent and resolve conflicts. Economic growth may rather intensify social tensions. In this respect, peace and security are prerequisites for development cooperation. The views that prioritize security lead to the argument that the donation-recipient countries should focus more on plans to promote political, social and economic stability, especially focusing on poverty, inequality and education issues. For development cooperation, it is necessary to consider the controversies involving “conflict-sensitive development cooperation” and “strategic peacebuilding.” The interpretations of the nexus of peace and development may differ depending on the circumstances of each country. In the case of North Korea, peace is a prerequisite for large-scale development cooperation. Amid the current sanctions against it, North Korea finds it hard to attract investment from international financial institutions, so peace agreements should be made first. Development cooperation can then contribute to the establishment of strategic peace.

The Concepts of Peace and Security

According to Johan Galtung, peace building means something active and positive beyond stability, and is accompanied by the concepts of human capacity building, human rights, good governance, tolerance and the happiness of individuals. It is important to understand the nexus of peace and development in terms of peace and security, not in terms of a peace after the settlement of conflicts. Also, it is necessary to take a holistic approach toward security by focusing on the concept of human security, non-military security and unconventional security.

The nexus of security and development can be deepened, expanded and humanized by building human capacity and strengthening human rights and human security,

Canada-North Korea Knowledge Partnership Program (KPP)

The KPP was established at the University of British Columbia eight years ago for the purpose of peacebuilding and capacity building through academic exchanges with North Korea under a development cooperation program. Since 2011, North Korean professors participated in six-month-long academic exchanges programs at UBC. So far, 40 professors have visited UBC, and their research fields were business enterprises, economics, trade and finance. The exchanges are composed of a visiting scholar program and international conferences. The KPP has held six rounds of unofficial conferences since 2013 on special economic zones and sustainable development. It pursues sustainable economic and social development in conflict-affected countries as well as generating potential socialization effects. The development cooperation on two tracks may serve as tools for productive engagement and diplomacy on a long-term basis and ultimately result in the prevention of disputes and peacebuilding. The program might deepen and humanize the nexus of security, peace and development.

- **YU Chong-Ae** At the time of the famine in North Korea, I worked at the Rockefeller Center and the Carter Center. In 1991, North Korean nuclear proliferation was causing political tensions in South Korea, Northeast Asia and the U.S. The U.S. was watching the Punggyeri site in North Korea, suspected of having a nuclear power plant. If it proved to be a reactor site, it would violate the Geneva Agreement. At this time, the North Korean government requested food aid from the U.S., but Washington was unable to provide the aid because of the embargo, so the Private Voluntary Organization Consortium (PVOC) took charge of food aid to North Korea. The PVOC devised a project to expand potato farming, and the

PVOC representative and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) went to North Korea to negotiate the project. The U.S. sent 100 metric tons of potatoes, and China 900 metric tons. This project was meaningful in that it was the first collaboration between North Korea and the U.S., as well as an attempt to build peace and pursue development. It was an example of both seeking peace and development. In the U.S., there was a discussion on how to deal with North Korea’s development. I thought that separating development from political issues would ensure sustainability. However, during the past two decades, political conditions have been attached to humanitarian aid by the EU, European non-governmental organizations, the U.S., USAID and PVOC. In Korea, aid to North Korea depended upon the political position of various governments. I think the KPP program was meaningful and needs to be operated separately from the political situation.

- **KIM Taekyoon** There is the “Do no harm” principle. To minimize the damage incurred by aid to local people is the core of the nexus of security and peace. In the 1990s, the term “conflict and development” was used more often than “peace and security,” and its meaning was gradually expanded to imply security. We now use the term the “nexus of security and development.” The World Bank and the United Nations now use the term, “pathway to peace,” advancing the concept of peace further. Korea can apply this concept to the situation on the Korean peninsula. The DDR (demobilization, disarmament and reintegration) concept can also take the “Do no harm” approach. One of the examples for this is how to integrate North Korean soldiers into civil society when the nation is unified. On peace and development, which should be pursued first? Most scholars argue that development comes first. We can march toward the nexus of peace and development after extending humanitarian aid to build peace and stabilize political conditions.

The Concepts of Peace and Security

The UNDP and the World Bank concluded

that: 1) prevention of risk and strengthening risk management 2) responsive and responsible governments and, 3) comprehensive political procedures are the key elements in linking peace and development. A decision should be made on how long they should continue the contribution. It is also necessary to undertake partnerships with governments and local communities for development cooperation. A comprehensive approach is needed to build a responsible and sustainable relationship. At a meeting held last year at UNESCAP, North Korea presented its main tasks in connection with the SDGs. They were: 1) a peaceful environment, 2) the reduction of the effects of inhuman sanctions on people’s life, 3) the amendment of national laws in accordance with international standards. A major difference from the SDGs-related tasks that North Korea previously submitted is that it stated that it is prepared to amend domestic laws in accordance with international standards. United Nations agencies and the North Korean authorities have signed a memorandum of understanding (MOU) on the DPRK-UN Strategic Framework for 2017-2021 and are exploring the means to cooperate with UN agencies to achieve the SDG goals. On the other hand, the United Nations imposes sanctions on some countries, while proclaiming, “No one should be left behind.” How can the UN achieve the goal of “leaving no one behind” while sanctioning some UN member states? This is an issue that should be considered when thinking about how to expand the development nexus in North Korea.

- **CHUNG Kuyoun** Peace is a precondition for development on the Korean peninsula. Development cooperation and humanitarian assistance to North Korea have been controversial both in South Korea and in the international community, because standards of international development cooperation cannot be applied to North Korea. South Korea is different from other donor countries because it provides humanitarian aid to North Korea for the purpose of peace and unification on the Korean peninsula.

These differences also raise questions about the effectiveness of development cooperation with North Korea. South Korea hoped that development cooperation would contribute to creating a peaceful environment on the Korean peninsula, but it has failed to do so thus far. In the recent phase of peace on the peninsula, however, it is expected that the initial plan can be implemented. Peace on the Korean peninsula should include: 1) a regional security environment, 2) inter-Korean relations, 3) the safety of the regime and they should be connected with the development strategy. In discussing the nexus of peace and security, one must think about which should be done first, among the establishment of infrastructure and humanitarian aid. There is continuity between humanitarian assistance and development cooperation, including the establishment of infrastructure. North Korea has a poor quality of human resources and infrastructure. Without infrastructure, it is difficult for North Korea to continue economic development. It is hard to determine which should be prioritized between humanitarian aid and infrastructure establishment, and we should consider the needs of North Korea, first. North Korea should also prepare a roadmap for development cooperation and share its development goals. It should be examined whether North Korea will comply with international standards. The main criticism of South Korea's development cooperation in North Korea is that international standards have not been applied to North Korea. International standards will enhance the efficiency of development practices. Specific criteria on development cooperation can make it more efficient. So, we have to examine whether North Korea is ready to adhere to it, which is directly related to peace, as well. Whether North Korea can accept international standards is also linked to the question of whether North Korea can overcome its obsession with the threats from world powers surrounding it. Whether North Korea can overcome its siege mentality and if it can hold ownership of development cooperation projects depend on whether North Korea complies with international standards.

- **Juliana Lee** Security is a prerequisite for development, but economic differences between the two Koreas are evident. North Korea is lagging behind due to its long isolation. The gross domestic product per capita of South Korea is more than 20 times higher than that of North Korea, and its total trade volume is more than 130 times that of North Korea. This is related to North Korea's willingness to open up to the international community.

North Korea in the Context of Security and Development

Politics and security are important factors for national development, and the more integrated the country is into the world economy, the faster it can achieve economic growth. If North Korea open its door, it will be able to achieve growth, but what matters is its willingness to open up. The situation in North Korea affects the private sector of South Korea, as well. North Korea's nuclear tests have had an impact on Korea's sovereign credit rating and have limited foreign investment in Korea, despite a massive rebound in the Korean market. Even if peace and stability cannot be achieved, the door-opening of North Korea will create synergy effects as well as having a positive impact on South Korea since it has been geographically isolated.

- **OH Hyunjoo** The international community approaches international political crises in a sequential and gradual way. However, this phased approach did not make much of a difference in Afghanistan, South Sudan and Iraq. The international community, with a focus on security and stability, provided \$100 million in aid to Afghanistan from 2001 till 2009. However, the situation in Afghanistan deteriorated. In this regard, I believe that the international community can more effectively achieve development cooperation by pursuing peace and development at the same time. Successful nexus of peace and development requires: 1) close cooperation between stakeholders and 2) women's role. In particular, women's participation in the development cooperation process can be a major driving force of its success. The role of women also counts in the case

of North Korea. Finally, all the development efforts and peaceful approaches should be implemented in accordance with the SDGs framework. The SDGs clearly state that the 2030 agenda presents peace as a prerequisite for development. Peace should be sought as one of the SDGs.

Policy Implications

- Peace and development are complex issues that should be thoroughly understood. Excessive simplification of the issues can make it harder to achieve the desired effects and make the situation worse. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the complex characteristics of them and produce a more effective and appropriate response. Even if these two issues are discussed together, they need to be considered separately.
- Development cooperation on two tracks may serve as tools for productive engagement and diplomacy on a long-term basis and ultimately result in the prevention of disputes and peacebuilding. Through this, the nexus of security, peace and development can deepen and be humanized.
- To address peace and development issues, it is necessary to emphasize the value of policy. The issues are hard to deal with from both theoretical and analytical terms, so government choices may be value-neutral.
- Cooperation among stakeholders is needed to have a successful nexus of peace and development. The role of women is also important.

Towards a Sustainable Peace: Restorative Justice and Peace Education



Chair **David HOOKER** Associate Professor, University of Notre Dame
 Presenter/Discussant **Mahan MIRZA** Professor, University of Notre Dame
KIM Ji Eun Assistant Professor, Eastern Mennonite University
YI Seong-Woo Research Fellow, Jeju Peace Institute
BYEON Jong Heon Professor, Jeju National University
 Rapporteur **KIM Hyun-Jeong** Friends of the Jeju Forum

- **David HOOKER** Peace is a complicated subject in which various disciplines such as anthropology, history and religious studies are interrelated with each other and with the different values associated with them. Thus, scholars interpret peace differently. This session will discuss the diversity of peace education.
- **YI Seong-Woo** From a scholarly perspective, peace studies must have three pillars to stand on: peace research (scientific research based on statistical evidence), peace education and peace activism. In the U.S., peace studies place much emphasis on scientific data. The use of readable and understandable data is instrumental. For example, if a situation arose where North Korean dictator Kim Jong-un verbally threatened the U.S., it would be important to gather and analyze the data about the series of events that led to that situation. Johan Galtung, the founder of peace and conflict studies, emphasized the importance of the presence of justice. He recognizes peace not as the absence of conflict but as the presence of justice. When I visited the Hiroshima Peace Institute, locals talked about the atrocities of the atomic bombing and they were not interested in discussing

the circumstances of the war, such as how the war began and which party started it. They only emphasized that the bomb was dropped in their city, that they were hit by it and that they were victims. Therefore, I believe peace is the existence of justice. The subject of peace in Korea is mostly connected with the issues of North-South Korea relations, including the peaceful reunification of the peninsula. In terms of contemporary policy, peace studies is focused on social justice. The greatest problem with us is that we do not see the big picture.

- **KIM Ji Eun** We have made tremendous advances in Korea. However, Korea has yet to address the need to heal the wounds from its past. In this regard, I think there is much room for possibility. Societies have been engaged in seeking ways to heal wounds from massacres, wars, apartheid, forced relocations, etc. What is of the utmost importance is to heal the wounds of the victims. To that end, society must recognize the moral status of its victims and help them return to society. It is important to acquire restorative and stable justice; in order for that to happen, the state or responsible organization must

acknowledge its wrongdoing and officially apologize for it. Secondly, apologies must be judged from the perspective of the victims. Whether an apology was made or not is not what matters. For example, it is historically significant that the Moon Jae-in government apologized directly to the victims of the Jeju 4.3 Incident. During the time of the 4.3 Incident, innocent citizens were indiscriminately killed due to the government's crackdown on communists. What is even more important is that it was political violence. After decades of silence, the government's involvement in the violence was revealed, and the special act was legislated, which meant that the state officially acknowledged its complicity in the massacre. Two years ago, I spoke with surviving family members of 4.3 victims about how they felt. They said that they felt better. However, it is regrettable that the compensation for their suffering was not enough. Views on this matter differ from scholar to scholar. What is important is the manner in which the government apologizes to the community that has been torn apart. Of course, an apology is not the end of the healing process. For the victims, the process of healing is a long one. The apology should not end with mere words but be accompanied by follow-up measures. There must be commitments to peace.

- **Mahan MIRZA** Today's theologians discuss the religious crisis in Muslim communities of Southeast Asia. Madrasa, the Islamic educational institution in India and Pakistan, teaches Arabic and religious faith while sharing views with scholars and philosophers. Students of madrasa return to society to teach the public on religious matters. An idiosyncrasy of madrasa is that it never teaches one singular answer. It encourages students to ask each other questions without easily reaching agreement. Through this process, madrasa promotes cooperation among people of different social classes who have different perspectives on the world. This mode of promoting cooperation could be an effective tool for building peace. The highly advanced technologies of today make connections easy. In fact, madrasa students

use electronic devices to participate in peace building. This not only facilitates communication on familiar subjects but also helps to expand the scope of the new subjects of communication. Such use of technologies can potentially contribute to building peace in Asia.

- **BYEON Jong Heon** There are many inherent difficulties in peace education. The first is that everyone has a different definition of what peace is. Even if we somehow define peace, that definition will be differently understood. And since everyone examines the notion of peace from their own particular place in society, it is difficult to settle this issue of peace. What we should note about various concepts of peace are the elements of harmony or integration inherent in the meaning of peace. On Jeju Island alone, there are many social conflicts over such issues as the Gangjeong naval base and the recent influx of Yemenis refugees to the island. I think solving these problems is a way to achieve peace. Traditionally in China and Korea, peace does not simply mean the end of war but a peaceful state of mind. To coexist and harmonize with all forms of life is to achieve peace. I would like to talk about the internal changes of mind in establishing peace with the society that surrounds us. If we accept peace as such, I think perhaps peace is sustainable. UNESCO defines peace not as something that can be politically or economically prescribed but as something that comes from the human mind. It says that at the heart of the matter is how we change ourselves.

I want to talk about specific methodologies for peace education. Let me suggest two basic premises of peace education. The first is a complex thinking system approach. Humans enter into a variety of relations in the course of their lives, and it is a complex-system thinking approach that allows them to have a comprehensive outlook on their relations. A simple thinking approach permits the viewer to focus just on the here and now and to think of the world in black and white. With a complex system thinking approach, however, one identifies a pattern in the flow of the past, present and future.

The second premise is moral imagination. This is the ability to imagine the effect of one's actions in a given situation. In other words, it is an ability not to be stuck in one's own personal thoughts or perspectives but to imagine the social consequences of one's own choices. Ultimately, moral imagination is a means by which humans become aware of the diversity of the human network. In a situation where people experience conflict and violence as a matter of daily life, moral imagination allows us to break the cycle of conflict and imagine the future that has yet to come. To address the issues of violence we face, or to resolve conflicts we face in our daily lives, it is necessary to see the different aspects of the situation from different perspectives.

- **David HOOKER** Peace is a value that everyone must understand. It is not that peace is only taught in schools. Peace education depends on how we organize society. It depends on the value of all cultures and varies by organization size and period. It focuses on how individuals and groups can contribute to society.

Sharing a Vision for the Peace and Prosperity of Korean Peninsula - the Role of International Media for Korean Peninsula's Security

KOREA KF FOUNDATION

Chair	LEE Sihyung President, Korea Foundation
Moderator	PARK Ihn-hwi Professor, Ewha Womans University
Presenter	CHOI Kang Vice President, the Asan Institute for Policy Studies YOON Kyeonggho Chief editor, Maeil Business Newspaper Roy SHUBHJIT Senior Assistant, The Indian Express Paolo AFFATATO Editor, Agenzia Fides Asian Section
Rapporteur	WOO Hee Jeong Interpreter

- **LEE Sihyung** The political situation on the Korean Peninsula is highly uncertain, yet the Korean government is making sustained efforts for peace and denuclearization of the peninsula. The international media's main concern is if "a new peace order" will be established in Northeast Asia, where tension has existed. Here today, academics and journalists from major countries are hoping to have an opportunity to discuss the future of the Korean Peninsula and the role of mass media.

- **CHOI Kang** My report is on the prospect for peace and security in Northeast Asia and Korea's policy for sustainable peace. President Moon Jae-in's North Korea policy is quite pragmatic, rather than neutral or ideological. He has a firm stance opposing war and pursuing denuclearization. He is focusing more on the peaceful co-existence of South and North Korea and its sustainability, rather than on hasty unification. The Moon Jae-in administration's northern policy is closer to Kim Dae-jung's Sunshine Policy than to that of the Roh Moo-hyun government. At the moment, North Korea wants to talk directly to the United States and is likely to set the basic frame-

work through North Korea-U.S. dialogue. The June 12 summit has a greater meaning than other talks and North Korea and the United States will deal with more concrete matters in ensuing meetings. It is too early to tell if the June 12 summit is a success or a failure, and it needs to be seen how things will proceed in the coming days.

Exchanges with North Korea are planned in the economic, socio-cultural and military sectors, and especially in the sociocultural field. The current economic sanctions against North Korea do not apply to contacts in that sector, and they do not violate UN Security Council resolutions. South Korea is fully aware of this and will concentrate on an exchange with North Korea in this sector. South Korea does not want to look to be a weak link in the international regime of sanctions against the North. It will not try to change the current situation where China is taking a positive attitude towards the sanctions. In fact, China, not South Korea, seems to be the weakest part in the sanctions regime. The Moon Jae-in government intends to achieve denuclearization, promote economic exchange, and create a peace regime

on the Korean Peninsula.

Unlike President Trump's expectations, denuclearization requires a long-term process. The issue of U.S. Forces in the Republic of Korea needs to be discussed. There are some 28,500 American forces stationed in ROK and President Trump asked for Seoul to increase its share of the cost, which currently amounts to 960 billion won or 57 percent of the total expenditure. As Japan shares 30 percent of the expenditure for U.S. Forces in Japan and Germany pays 17 percent for its American military presence, Korea is sharing a great burden. When we consider this spending, we can understand how helpful inter-Korean peace will be for the Republic of Korea.

- **YOON Kyung-ho** When President Moon Jae-in and Chairman Kim Jong-un met at the inter-Korean border on April 27 and when President Trump and Chairman Kim shook hands, journalists broke with their usual objectiveness. They felt a flutter of excitement with the expectation that the 65-year-long cold war on the Korean Peninsula could come to an end. Journalists could not cover the inter-Korean and North Korea-U.S. summits on their own and had to rely on the authorities' announcements of the dates, venues, and other matters. The most shocking and dramatic development was the second inter-Korean summit on May 26 between President Moon and Chairman Kim shortly after President Trump's cancellation of a summit with Chairman Kim, which was conveyed in the form of a letter. Journalists could show off their own reporting skills in a New York Times article that Gabriel Schulze had served as the messenger behind the meeting between Secretary Pompeo and Kim Yong-chol, and another report that President Trump, who arrived in Singapore on June 10, directed that his meeting with Chairman Kim be moved up to June 11 but his staff dissuaded him from doing so and the summit was held on June 12 as planned earlier. It is even harder for journalists to get information about news from North Korea. There was a fake report that North Korea had asked each journalist to pay 10,000 dollars to cover the de-

struction of the Punggye-ri Nuclear Test Site. Such a groundless report shows how dangerous it is to have preconceptions in news coverage.

It is desirable for journalists to contribute to painting the future for the settlement of lasting peace on the Korean Peninsula, but it is far from desirable to take a lead with articles written with certain intentions or to write reports that go against the process. It is the time for journalists to reaffirm their mission and to bear in mind what expectations ordinary citizens have for them.

- **Paolo AFFATATO** One of the most remarkable things about human inventions is that gunpowder and printing ink were invented at the same time. Keeping this fact in mind, we need to settle three tasks. First, we should get rid of the obstacle called hatred. We should do away with it and restore identity as one nation. Secondly, we should establish justice. Each and every citizen should be given equal opportunity. Thirdly, human rights should be respected. Journalism should contribute to achieving these three tasks. Lastly, I would like to point out one more time that journalists in this process should contribute to settling peace by, as Pope Francis said, not distorting communication but delivering facts and concentrating on listening as much as on speaking.

- **Roy SHUBHJIT** I would like to discuss the international news media from an outsider's point of view. Mass media wrestle with the innate question of "What is new?" all the time. There was nothing new, in fact, until the recent summits. The rhetoric was repeated without stop amid an uninterrupted war of words between the United States and North Korea. The majority of world media did not pay much attention to the moves on the Korean Peninsula. India recently sent a reporter to North Korea to cover a soccer match and had me, a reporter for international affairs, prepare this together. It was the first dispatch of reporters to North Korea in 10 years. There have been many articles written on North Korea, but this was the first time in a decade that reporters went there for on-the-spot coverage and analysis.

First of all, journalists should investigate thoroughly because only by doing so can they write good articles and contribute to the situation. Secondly, they need to write in plain language. International politics involves so much jargon that it often hinders the readers' understanding. Inter-Korean relations is something that should be accurately understood by the general public. It is necessary to deliver the facts and truth through valid investigation and simple language. Lastly, I would like to quote a couple of Korean maxims for advice. "Well begun is half done." The first step has been taken in an inter-Korean relationship. This means tremendous change is in the offing and Koreans should be confident about themselves. The other maxim is "Do not count your chickens before they hatch." The summits have brought to the fore many issues, but they are still in the early stages. The international mass media may contribute to a newly opened direction for peace and prosperity in Northeast Asia by being faithful to their fundamentals.

Q & A

Q. Are there private exchanges between South and North Korea? To report accurately on inter-Korean relations, we need to get information. Where can we get this information? What are the prospects for future six-party talks, when countries with different interests join in?

A. CHOI Kang There are private exchanges between South and North Korea, and not necessarily on the Korean Peninsula. Chances for an inter-Korean exchange of scholars and others exist in Switzerland and other countries. For some time, it was difficult to meet North Korean scholars at academic gatherings in Switzerland, but they are coming again. This is something to welcome. The six-party talks are expected to proceed after details are arranged between the United States and the two Koreas. The talks are not the place to arrange detailed matters, and progress will be seen only after the current issues are concretely sorted. For accurate reporting

on inter-Korean relations, keeping experts' contact information on hand is recommended.

Policy Implications

- It is necessary to maintain objectivity in news coverage of the inter-Korean, and North Korea-U.S. summits.
- The mass media need to conduct thorough investigations and use simple language to help the public understand the issues.
- Reporters require the contact information of experts as the former have minimal access to North Korea-related news and facts.

Cooperation of Border area on the Korean Peninsula after 2018 Inter-Korean Summit I

The Council of Mayor-Provincial Governor of South-North Korea Border Area

Moderator	CHOI Wan Kyu Chair Professor, Shinhan University
Presenter	KIM Juwon Senior Researcher, Research Institute for Gangwon CHOI Yonghwan Senior Research Fellow, Institute for National Security Strategy
Discussant	CHO Seongchan Chief Researcher, Institute of Land and Liberty YIM Dongkun Researcher, Korea National University of Education NAM Jungho Research Fellow, Korea Maritime Institute
Rapporteur	IM Soyeon Deputy General Manager, The Hankyoreh Foundation for Reunification and Culture

- **CHOI Wan Kyu** For progress in inter-Korean relations to build a permanent peace, we need to start with smaller discourses before moving on to discussions on a grand scale. In this sense, the theme of this session might be called a symbol of the smaller discourse. To improve inter-Korean ties, the two Koreas should open up their minds, engage, communicate and intermingle with each other, and tear down the walls between them. This the theme of today's discussion.

- **KIM Juwon** Spring settled on the Korean peninsula with the PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games. I hope what we have envisioned and prepared for will lead to national unification that paves way for a peace regime. A study has forecast that sudden unification would entail 10 times the cost of unification through gradual preparations. In this respect, it would be very meaningful to institutionalize a gradual unification plan by legislating what is called the Act on the Special Self-governing Province for Peace in Gangwon Province, the only administrative unit that is divided between the North and South. Gangwon

Province engaged in inter-Korean exchanges earlier on. In 1998, the provincial government enacted an ordinance establishing the Inter-Korean Cooperation Fund for the first time. There was also a presidential election pledge to proclaim the province as a special self-governing province for peace. Since the new government is committed to decentralization and peace building, the designation of self-governing province for peace could help in leading the peaceful atmosphere forged by the PyeongChang Winter Olympics to unification. I think the measure will also promote and develop the value of Gangwon Province. By analyzing various peace concepts and models of local autonomy, Gangwon Province has set the goal to institutionalize peace and decentralize governance. It is also set to cooperate with the North on common ground by acknowledging the legitimacy of the North Korean regime as well as utilizing the unique features of the province bordering the North. With a focus on restoring national homogeneity, the province plans to expand historical, cultural and sports exchanges with the North. The key

exchange projects include the preservation of the DMZ, restoration of the Baekdudaegan Mountain Range and the maintenance of Olympic heritages. The vision of a peace province is to create a unity of the province. The backward northern region of the province has a smaller population. The North is constructing a special tourism zone and an industrial complex around Wonsan. The projects planned in the southern part of the province comprise the establishment of the Inter-Korean Peace Zone; a peace industrial complex; an international tourist zone linking Mount Geumgang and Mount Sorak; and a joint South-North fishing zone in the East Sea, as well as ecological and historical restoration projects. The inter-Korean Peace Zone project is to build a Hong Kong-style international city, which will host food and functional medicine industries to ease the food and medicine shortages in the North, as well as opening the University for Peace to produce nutritional directors who would lead the development of the North. The peace industrial complex is a southern version of the Gaesong Industrial Complex in North Korea that is designed to permit North Korean people to work in an industrial complex in the South. This project will be possible only when inter-Korean trust is assured. First of all, an envisioned act should be legislated so that the province can ease regulations and draw investment from the private sector. These projects require inter-Korean negotiations and preparatory work by Gangwon Province. The province should collaborate with central government to forge a national consensus on pending legislation now under intense discussion.

- **CHOI Yonghwan** I will give a comprehensive explanation about the special economic zone in the peace city envisioned for the inter-Korean border area. Following the inter-Korean summit on June 15, 2000, various projects were pushed in areas around the DMZ (Demilitarized Zone). It was Gangwon Province that drafted ordinances for inter-Korean exchange projects for the first time among municipalities. The discussions on a special economic zone and local autonomous zone went full scale in 1998 when

tours to Mount Geumgang were started, and South and North Korea started discussions to establish the Gaesong Industrial Complex. The discussions on inter-Korean exchanges sharply declined when a South Korean tourist was shot to death at the Mount Geumgang resort in 2008, but there were many plans for inter-Korean projects mostly outside the DMZ. But, there have been no consultations with the United Nations Command, nor negotiations with the North on exchange plans around the DMZ, which have not reflected the opinions of the residents, either. Nevertheless, discussions on the establishment of a peace city and special economic zone had been actively underway until then. The bills on special economic zones were continuously submitted and remain pending. Most of them had profit-oriented plans to establish industrial plants like the Gaesong Industrial Complex. The establishment of special economic zone is still one of the key projects for inter-Korean exchanges. However, the past projects had some problematic features. They were based on the idea of drawing cheap labor from the North to the industrial plants. The Gaesong Industrial Complex employed about 50,000 North Koreans during its peak time, the maximum size of the labor force available, given the total population of 200,000-300,000 in Gaesong. It would be safe to say that there is no additional workforce in the North, now, though I am not certain. And if we bring North Korean workers to the South, we have to pay them the minimum legal wage. If the South employed North Korean workers at lower wages under an agreement with the North, it would face punitive actions by international labor organizations. So, it is time to change this way of thinking. This year saw the Panmunjom Declaration and the U.S.-North Korean summit. The talks addressed the issues connected to border areas such as an agreement on cooperation in the Yellow Sea, the declaration of the end of the Korean War and a peace treaty. If the agreements are materialized, they would reshape the border areas. We should have a new vision corresponding to developments in the nuclear issue and inter-Korean ex-

changes. We should be also prepared for changes of the agency in charge of the management of the border areas. There is nothing to be done under the current sanctions against the North, which bars inter-Korean cooperation. But we would have to come up with new alternatives instantly if there is progress in the denuclearization issue and changes in sanctions.

After all, the project to establish the special economic zone for unification was to make a breakthrough in stalemated inter-Korean relations. Looking back on the Gaesong Industrial Complex, it seems to have failed to play more than the mere role of a small commune. It had no inter-Korean industrial connection. If we plan a special economic zone, it is important to make it have inter-Korean industrial connections. In the initial stages of economic cooperation, the government's role is important, but the private sector and diverse actors count more in later phases. Inter-Korean cooperation should encompass diverse fields in addition to the economic sector. A comprehensive plan should be made considering diverse issues to make inter-Korean projects sustainable.

- **CHOI Wan Kyu** The presentation of the two panelists showed us the way we have to go. To present more feasible plans, on the other hand, we also have to consider the position of the North.

- **CHO Seongchan** I would like to talk about what may be called the “rediscovery of Gangwon Province.” The peripheral region is likely to become a central region when peace settles on the peninsula. In the era of peace, Gangwon Province will assume more significance, and Cheorwon and Goseong counties might serve as an embryo for a unification model. As a researcher of the land policies of North Korea and China, I would like to assert that the national division originated from corruption involving the monopoly of land ownership in the late Joseon period. The Donghak Rebellion invited Japanese troops into the nation, and the subsequent incidents led to national division. Therefore, we have to consider possible land ownership issues after the unification of Korea. Gangwon Province,

in particular, should do so. Recently, the prices of real estates in Paju and Gimpo rose, with the land prices in Dandong, China, across from Sinuiju in the North, are reported to have risen by 45 percent. The increase of land prices is not confined to border areas, but found in Pyongyang. Land prices in Pyongyang reportedly increased by three-fold after the U.S.-North Korea summit. There is a question of who is entitled to profits from the increased value in normal land prices. If the land price issue is not properly addressed, we might fall into the historical trap. Land ownership is a very important issue. It seems to me that the earlier presentations by the two panelists set up the rationale for the special self-governing province to justify a premeditated goal. They argue that Gangwon Province needs a special act to exercise authority over various projects. But, the connotation of the word “special” here is oriented to universality.

The Shenzhen Special District in China was originally intended to normalize the status of the district after giving it special treatment. Special municipalities, such as Seoul Special Metropolitan City and Sejong Special Self-Governing City, are increasing in Korea, too, and now are established almost as ordinary administrative units. There should be a measure to acquire administrative authorities without relying on special status. Jeju Island has been reeling from reckless development after being designated as a special self-governing province. Jeju might have done better under the supervision of the central government.

- **YIM Dongkun** Special self-governing status is designated when the size of the administrative unit is too large relative to its population to administer policies effectively. It is a matter that should be considered apart from decentralization, which is to give local governments unified governance. The status quo of Gangwon Province mirrors its own historical background regarding military and environmental affairs. Once it undergoes a change, it is almost irreversible. It is a global trend that the central government intervenes in the local administration for

the stability of local governance. In this respect, it is questionable if special autonomy can be achieved by decentralization.

As to the second presentation, I would like to say that we have to set up a scenario on what to do and when to intervene in provincial affairs, and constantly examine the results. The affairs that local governments cannot control should be managed by the central government and international organizations. What can be done by the central government should be clearly separated from what local governments can do to maintain the sustainability of local projects. As regards border projects, central and local governments should cooperate with each other after defining the scope of their respective roles.

- **NAM Jungho** I agree with the two panelists who spoke before me. The border municipalities either in Gangwon or Gyeonggi provinces need their own specialized projects. A special zone or special self-governing province cannot be a valid option. Firstly, the municipalities should figure out who the customers are. The planning of a special zone is subject to change depending on whether it is targeted at customers in the South or from the North. If targeting those from the North, it should provide them with benefits, but the envisioned three economic zones fail to give benefits to others outside the zones. If the South unilaterally pursues the project, it cannot reach an agreement with the North. So, the existing plan should be revised so that it may benefit the North.

The government's H-project designates the border areas as special tourism and environmental zones. Economic zones are designated along coastal areas, and they collide with environmental zones. This will be an issue of a conflict of interests. In the European Union, the West and East were involved in conflict over the Iron Curtain. The issue was resolved with the Greenbelt Declaration signed by 18 countries in the late 1980s. This will serve as a reference for Korea.

I would like to talk about three Ps. So far, the discussions have been focused on peace and prosperity,

but it is time to discuss “protection” for sustainable development. They should be integrated and pursued iteratively and incrementally under the “three I” principle. There should also be “three Is”: a track to resolve conflicts in South Korea, a cooperative track to narrow the gap between the two Koreas, and a track of international organizations for the contact of the two Koreas via the ocean. We might find a practical solution with these approaches.

- **KIM Juwon** What matters is not the governance of the central or local governments, but the government itself. As the government is problematic, I cannot agree with the argument calling for more administrative power of the government. Border villages suffer from excessive regulation. For instance, residents' lives are under regulations in the villages inside the Civilian Control Line, which remains beyond the governance of the local government. For this reason, Jeju Island came up with the special self-governing model. I believe that a self-governing province might help the residents around the DMZ, who are facing the extinction of local communities, maintain the normalcy of their lives in cooperation with the North after unification.

- **CHOI Yonghwan** I think those in the border areas have much to prepare. They should be ready to mingle with North Koreans and prepare themselves for new diseases and different government systems. They should figure out why certain areas had less exchange with the North than others. An improvement of inter-Korean relations will bring fast changes to areas along the Seoul-Wonsan railway and the estuary of the Han River. We should also consider measures to link the Korean peninsula to the continent. New economic programs from the government have designs on a great scale, but are yet to be finalized. Local governments should have their own detailed economic exchange programs.

- **CHOI Wan Kyu** Even if the two Koreas improve their ties, their national identities will not change. The two Koreas are still engaged in political war. Their confrontation is basically of a political nature. It is a competition to be recognized as a le-

gitimate country truly supported by its people. No matter how much they cooperate, they cannot go beyond the reason of state, or the reason of politics. They should integrate their ideologies and political systems as well as converging their political interests to a cooperative level. It is desirable to be hopeful. Local governments should strive to make the recent changes irreversible, mindful of the fact that the reconciliatory mood might be dashed by the realities.

Policy Implications

- The two Koreas need new exchange and cooperation measures after the 2018 inter-Korean summits that could bring them win-win results.
- Gangwon Province and border regions should have plans to understand and accept each other based on mutual respect for their regional characteristics.

Cooperation of Border area on the Korean Peninsula after 2018 Inter-Korean Summit II

The Council of Mayor-Provincial Governor of South-North Korea Border Area

Moderator **KIM Dong-Jin** IRC Marie Curie Fellow, Trinity College Dublin
Presenter **Derik WILSON** Emeritus Reader, Ulster University
Discussant **JUNG Jiseok** Representative, The Border Peace School
JUNG Bumjin Chief Director, DMZ Peace Life Cooperation
PARK Suhong President, Agricultural cooperative of Nat-gang Doo-rae
LIM Soon-taek DMZ Policy Division Director, Gyeonggi Provincial Government
Rapporteur **IM Soyeon** Deputy General Manager, The Hankyoreh Foundation for Reunification and Culture

- **KIM Dong-Jin** In Korea, recently there has been growing interest in Irish issues. Ireland is grappling with Northern Ireland disputes, UK-Ireland issues and Northern-Southern Ireland issues. Ireland has built a peace regime while pursuing “Agreed Ireland” through the Belfast Agreement. We will refer to this Irish case to examine inter-Korean issues.
- **Derik WILSON** Compared to the Irish situation, Korea surely has more obstacles in the way toward peace. However, I envy Korea since it expects a possibly bigger change ahead. “It is in the shelter of each other that the people live.” This Irish saying is the theme of today’s session, I think. Based on the experiences at the Corrymeela community, I would like to explain how citizens were encouraged to participate in the process of concluding agreements or treaties and how to lead civic society to that end. The Corrymeela community was founded 52 years ago to teach children. Two teaching groups gathered and formed a business community. At the community, they held dialogue on their political orientation. They believed that people cannot lead a safe life

without peace and can only materialize a peace vision when they meet and interact with each other. The Corrymeela community integrated Muslim and Catholic organizations 34 years ago and has now become one of the largest scale schools in Ireland. Some members of the community have overcome their family backgrounds, marital status and cultural traditions for national integration. While acknowledging the differences of each other, they could have a stable society. They surmounted antagonism against each other and made efforts to hark to what they fear. They could reconcile with each other by pursuing this new energy and harmony through formal education.

I think reconciliation can fulfill human potential and lead socio-economic development. For reconciliation, they should keep a distance from their religious and political identity. Reconciliation is about relationships and structure. Political reconciliation is just a beginning, but an indispensable starting point for peace-building. The momentum for reconciliation is generated here. Overcoming an

existing relationship is creating a new relationship. It is to surmount the previous isolation and disconnection. This also leads to everyday changes. What the political circle should recognize is that when civil society performs an active role, it can exert political influence. In the pursuit of peace, we must make sure that peace is maintained on a permanent basis. In the social space we create, everyone should be able to freely manifest hope. In sum, hope is a futuristic goal and emotion. If you lose hope, you lose your plan and direction. When we accentuate our hope, we can overcome difficulties. I hope that we will have the strength of each other in creating new hope and provide each other with shelter.

- **KIM Dong-Jin** You may be curious why Korea, which has no religious conflict, is likened to Ireland. The conflict between Catholics and Protestants in Europe was closely connected with national institutions. The conflict in Ireland started because Ireland was under the influence of the Pope, and the United Kingdom under its king. The borders of Belfast, the capital city of Northern Ireland, were guarded by military servicemen until free passage was allowed in 2005. Ireland is just one step ahead of the divided Korea, where it is impossible to imagine the divided people living together again. That is the reason that I cited the Irish case as a reference for Koreans.

- **JUNG Jiseok** Now, we Koreans are divided, but will inevitably live together when peace settles on the peninsula. We could suffer from conflict, as Northern Ireland did, due to different beliefs, and social, economic and political gaps. I think we would have to go through the Irish process, if we do not remain permanently divided. A noticeably new trend in the South in the recent two to three months is the growing investment in infrastructure (in areas bordering the North). To build peace, more attention should be paid to people, not infrastructure. It is important to encourage and support the efforts to build peace and assist the people who are doing so. A movement to instill the spirit of peace in people should accompany the investment.

- **JUNG Bumjin** I think we should model ourselves

after the efforts of the Corrymeela community to give up antagonism against each other. I have thought about the regrettable absence of the efforts of the South and the North to coexist. The catch phrase of the Korea DMZ Peace-Life Valley and the Peace-Life Cooperative is “Open the Gate of Peace with the Key of Life.” A peace regime is likely to be built on the Korean peninsula, but there is no discussion on the concrete shape of a society befitting that peace. People do not care if they are ready for it. That is why peace education is necessary.

Let us look at the example of Inje in Gangwon Province which was once North Korean territory and annexed by South Korea later. The Taegeukgi (national flag) is put up at every house in Inje. Why? It seems to be aimed at demonstrating their identity as South Korean. Once, I listened to the people who have lived in Inje for a long time to write their oral history. When they described to me the scenes of death they witnessed during the war, they did not expose any emotion. That was because they knew from past experience what it would be like if they sided with any party. This poses the question of what we should do to help them engage in inter-Korean exchanges. In the past when inter-Korean relations were in good shape, local communities in Daegu and North Gyeongsang Province extended the greatest support to the North, because many residents of the region had the experience of visiting North Korea. This is the reason why participatory education is necessary. It is important to nurture people who value peace, and to have an active discussion on an alternative society. The approval of discrimination and exclusion of certain people is anything but a true peace education. It is necessary to cooperate with various actors for exchanges on the civic level. We should make exchanges and cooperation irreversible. We should offer exchange projects corresponding to the specific conditions of each community to engage more local residents.

- **PARK Suhong** I wish that we would have more local communities that urbanites willingly return to. I also know that the North Korean residents born

in Naetkang in the South miss their hometown, so I am determined to work harder to make this village a better place to live in after unification.

- **LIM Soon-taek** The DMZ at the center of the Korean peninsula is a place of historical, ecological and environmental importance. After the Panmunjom Declaration, we have set up new plans to develop the area around the DMZ. The first is based on a paradigm shift in development so as to utilize the DMZ as a window of communication with the North. It will link the DMZ to the border areas and produce tourism programs by utilizing the Peace Trail and other local resources to offer new tour courses on the theme of unification, security, history, culture and ecology. Performance halls will also be established along the Peace Trail. Yeoncheon County near the DMZ also has many ecological and tourism resources such as the Taepung Observatory. The outstanding ecology and cultural heritages there will also be used for balanced development of the county. The second plan is designed to turn the border area into a peace zone while preserving its value. One of the key issues is how to utilize the DMZ area after unification. Preservation of the area is of the utmost importance, but some areas will be subject to a survey for development so that land owners may exercise their property rights. The third is the plan to develop the area into a global tourist spot.

- **Derik WILSON** What counts most is how to overcome conflicts and live together. It is imperative to overcome differences and coexist with each other. There seems to be no place, other than Germany, that administers education for harmony and coexistence. We need education for a harmonious world. We should be able to practice peace-building in our daily life. We can go forward when we have a spiritual model for it, first. We always meet other people in society. The others themselves are not a problem. What matters is the people who do not see those who have different backgrounds and thoughts. If we see only homogeneous people, we cannot do critical thinking. Then, we cannot create a safe society for our children. We need to think about how we could

promote discussions between heterogeneous people in the South and North, as well as internal discussion in the South.

Peace building is not a task of the younger generation, but for adults. It is their role to create new spaces that the younger generation can enjoy. Adults are responsible for peace-building. You will do it well. As we have done it, so can you. I cross my fingers that your hope will come true.

- **KIM Dong-Jin** Belfast has a barrier to peace. This is a high barrier to others. The peace process seems to have raised the barrier all the higher. As contact increases, it has created the ironical situation in which they dislike each other. I think we should ponder how to address this issue.

[Global Advisory Committee's Session]

Summit Diplomacy: What Comes After KJU's Meetings with Xi, Moon, and Trump?



Moderator	CHANG Daljoong Professor Emeritus, Seoul National University
Speaker/Discussant	YAN Xuetong Dean of the Institute of International Relations, Tsinghua University Masao OKONOGI Professor Emeritus, Keio University Marty NATALEGAWA Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia Shivshankar MENON Chairman, Advisory Board Institute of Chinese Studies, India
Rapporteur	Darren SOUTHCOTT Visiting Professor, Jeju National University of Education

• **CHANG Daljoong** The Korean Peninsula is on the precipice of a “thinking the unthinkable” geopolitical game. Although it will be years before we know the results of Kim Jong-un’s meetings with Xi, Moon and Trump, in this session we will analyze how this geopolitical game might unfold.

• **YAN Xuetong** There are three main points to focus on: First, how do we define the summits between Kim Jong-un and Xi Jinping, President Moon and President Trump? Second, what is the result we have to focus on in the near future? Third, what is the best or worst thing that can happen in the future?

These events are regional and not global. The summits are Northeast Asian events and we should discuss their regional impact.

Although it is wrong to say everything is fine and despite remaining security issues, the danger of war is gone, and I am optimistic that the summits have produced a peace guarantee.

Kim Jong-un unexpectedly changed his national guidelines from the military first to the economy, which surprised even insiders. Now the DPRK can gradually join China, Japan and the ROK in a re-

gional strategic effort for economic development. I do not believe this will lead to destabilisation.

Although Kim fired top military commanders and visited China to get political support to legitimise his new political guidelines, it is wrong to say he is following a Chinese roadmap. For China, the first objective is peace.

The Security Council should consider easing sanctions if the DPRK shows progress towards denuclearization. In the meantime, as tourism is not restricted by sanctions, increased foreign tourism can boost development and interpersonal relations.

Finally, the most important summit was between Moon Jae-in and Kim Jong-un because if the ROK and the DPRK are brothers then outsiders will find it hard to interfere.

• **Masao OKONOGI** The summits look very different from nearby and from afar. The near view, through a microscope, shows unfulfilled high expectations after Trump boasted about making “a real deal” and Pompeo emphasized CVID (complete, verifiable, irreversible denuclearization). The Joint Statement contained no specifics on the process for inspection,

implementation and verification, and merely committed the U.S. and the DPRK to follow-on negotiations.

However, from afar, through a telescope, we could say we have a ‘beautiful landscape’: First, it was the first signed agreement between the leaders of the DPRK and the U.S. since the end of the Korean War 70 years ago. Secondly, there was a trade-off as Trump agreed to provide “security guarantees” and Kim stated a commitment to “complete denuclearization.” Thirdly, both leaders committed to new US-DPRK relations which will help promote denuclearisation.

There are two main issues for the future:

First: Both parties must keep moving forwards and the DPRK calls for “confidence building measures based on goodwill” and “phased and simultaneous action for action.” After the U.S. cancelled the US-ROK joint military exercises, the DPRK will have to reciprocate with denuclearization measures in the spirit of “goodwill.” The problem comes in making appropriate reciprocal measures. For example, if the DPRK removes ICBMs and nuclear warheads will the U.S. remove economic sanctions?

Second: the US-DPRK and the DPRK-ROK talks must move in parallel as progress in each will build confidence in the other. Conversely, if either talks stall then confidence will be lost across the board. For example, the ROK request for long-range artillery to be pulled back 30-40 kilometres from the DMZ (Demilitarized Zone) will depend upon progress in the US-DPRK talks.

If progress is made, a 2+2 system could emerge with DPRK-ROK coexistence and U.S.-China balance. If a new economic system is to emerge then economic development between the Koreas must happen alongside cooperation between the U.S. and China.

A key sign of progress will be whether President Moon is invited to Pyongyang for the 70th anniversary of the DPRK on Sept. 9. It is also crucial whether the first phase of denuclearization is initiated before the UN General Assembly in September.

Although the conditions are not there yet I think

Japan should try to normalize relations with North Korea if a new system in Northeast Asia is to emerge. North Korea needs to address historical, abductee and security issues but for stability we need normalization between North Korea and Japan.

• **Shivshankar MENON** I do not think this is a regional matter because countries around the world are looking to see whether North Korea will denuclearize, because of their own non-proliferation issues.

This time is different from the 1990s and early 2000s as the balance of power has shifted and everything has been shaken loose. This is a destabilizing process but it looks like being a different process from before.

The agency for this is with the Koreans and the actions of Moon and Kim. Kim talking to the U.S. president was a huge shift and now everyone wants to talk to everyone else.

The problem lies in choosing between peace and cooperation, or denuclearization? Do you make cooperation and peace conditional on denuclearization or do you create a stable structure of deterrence within Northeast Asia? Strong deterrence can bring the peace that you need to prosper. Ideally, I think that is where it should go, to try out something new.

Although there will be nervousness about an unstable multipolar world, if you look at the historical record, multipolar systems are the historical norm and work well. Bipolar systems have only worked once, and that was during the Cold War.

Although all parties will be nervous, what Korea has achieved in terms of maintaining peace and building prosperity since the mid-50s has been remarkable in one of the most difficult security environments on earth.

• **Marty NATALEGAWA** This is a critical juncture between the Korean Peninsula being a perennial security threat and at the start of fragile peace and trust building. From an outside perspective, I want to look at this inter-Korean process as the beginning of a new Northeast Asian regional dynamic.

Most important is the conduct of the two Koreas;

other powers must show respect and give them space for peace to take root. Southeast Asia overcame its tremendous historical problems by working together. But such divisions were magnified by major powers that were protecting their own interests.

Southeast Asian nations used ASEAN as a hub to work together in harmony despite threats to relations with the U.S., Russia/Soviet Union or China. ASEAN must share its own experience of building strategic trust which can begin at the 13th East Asia Summit in Singapore for the ASEAN + process.

The two Koreas, hopefully soon joined by Japan, can similarly start a Northeast Asian process. The Panmunjeom meeting can provide the spirit and process for a Northeast Asian peace process.

Let us step back from the obvious problem of denuclearization and work towards a potential Northeast Asian regional process with an association of Northeast Asian nations not unlike ASEAN as the ultimate goal.

In the spirit of non-aggression, the ASEAN Regional Forum should develop a treaty on the non-use of force among its 27 members which includes North Korea. The Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia can provide a model.

Sanctions must be lifted to ensure that there is a peace dividend. The DPRK must be reminded that its efforts are bringing economic dividends.

Rather than worrying about a bipolar or multipolar world, I believe in the dynamics of power and the intent in the minds of decision makers. Rather than balance we should be striving for equilibrium. We must have rules and norms to manage our relationships.

Trust is key, aside from the complex rules and provisions of denuclearization. Certain motivations drive the desire to acquire nuclear capabilities. Once the ability to develop nuclear weapons is there it will not go away.

- **CHANG Daljoong** What is the end game for major players on the Korean Peninsula?
- **Shivshankar MENON** It is hard to see an end game.

I think we should focus on peace and stability and leave some issues for future generations.

- **Marty NATALEGAWA** Although we may not have the wisdom to solve it in one go, the best we can do now is introduce a process to take root, hopefully with Japan involved. Perhaps even a forum like the Jeju Forum can help crystalize the Panmunjeom process of dialogue.

- **YAN Xuetong** If you look at Chinese history, it is perpetual division and unity, so if you are looking for an end game, it is endless. A new problem will come. So we should focus on today and try to maintain the momentum moving forward.

- **CHANG Daljoong** Korea is traumatized by the historical experience of trying to play one country against another. That kind of trauma is very strongly embedded in our mindset when looking at this denu-

Policy Implications

- The DPRK and the ROK are the most important players, and outside powers should give them the scope and respect to build trust and improve relations.
- There is a need for a regional strategic effort for economic development between China, Japan, the ROK and the DPRK.
- In addition to the denuclearization processes, a structure of deterrence and cooperation must be established across Northeast Asia.
- When the conditions are right, Japan should normalize relations with the DPRK to ensure a new system emerges in Northeast Asia.
- ASEAN should share its experience of building strategic trust and the ASEAN Regional Forum should develop a treaty on the non-use of force among its 27 members (including North Korea).
- The Security Council should consider easing sanctions on the DPRK in recognition of the goodwill shown towards denuclearization.
- Appropriate reciprocal goodwill measures between the U.S. and the DPRK are essential to continue trust-building.
- Tourism to the DPRK should be increased as this is outside of sanctions and can boost development and interpersonal relations.
- The success of the DPRK's denuclearization will have a global impact for other regions with nuclear proliferation concerns.

clearization process.

- **YAN Xuetong** What is the goal? Is it denuclearization or peace? The key issue is not the existence of the weapons but whether they cause a war or not. They know that the U.S. will not remove its nuclear umbrella. So that is why they call for fair denuclearization.

Finally, the DPRK is far more independent than people think. It will try to take advantage of the U.S. against China and leverage the non-alliance principle. But this will be different from the Cold War as countries will not take clear sides.

- **Marty NATALEGAWA** The other option is to pursue Northeast Asia's own peace architecture which requires leadership by countries of the region. There is life beyond China and the U.S. in my view.

Reducing Tension and Building Confidence in the Korean Peninsula



Moderator Sonja BACHMANN Teamleader, Northeast Asia and the Pacific, Department of Political Affairs, Asia and the Pacific Division, United Nations
Speaker Robert CARLIN Visiting Scholar, CISAC, Stanford University
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• **Sonja BACHMANN** Following the Panmunjom Declaration, both reducing tension and building confidence on the Korean Peninsula have become serious matters. These measures can lead to the denuclearization of North Korea. The two Koreas consider the Declaration essential for providing security guarantees. Therefore, it should be implemented accordingly. In regard to building a peace regime, which is the ultimate goal to be achieved, the Declaration lays out ways to enhance political and military confidence in detail. When focusing on building trust, the two Koreas should probably start with low-level arms control, and then if possible, move on to the gradual reduction of each other's armed forces. As trust builds over time, the tension will further de-escalate on the Korean Peninsula. Under such circumstances, relations between the U.S. and North Korea can be normalized. Simply put, the completion of the normalization process will be a prerequisite for bringing about a stable peace regime. All of these suggest that everything must be coordinated carefully. Let us start off by assessing the Panmunjom Declaration in detail. Without the

proper implementation of the measures stipulated in the Declaration, reducing tension and building confidence on the Korean Peninsula simply will be impossible. Therefore, how will the Declaration get implemented?

• **BAEK Jong Chun** The Panmunjom Declaration between the two Koreas led to the U.S.-North Korea summit in Singapore. On the basis of reducing tension and building confidence, North Korea's "complete denuclearization" will be exchanged for a U.S. security guarantee. Through the Panmunjom Declaration, the two Koreas agreed to construct a permanent peace regime on the Korean Peninsula. Through the Singapore Summit, Washington and Pyongyang agreed to establish a "new relationship." In order to build trust between the two hostile countries, it is important that they enhance political and military confidence. In Article I of the Panmunjom Declaration, the leaders of the two Koreas agreed to build political confidence. In Article II, they agreed to build military confidence. The Panmunjom Declaration only stipulates basic principles and measures for establishing political and military

confidence. Therefore, the two Koreas will agree and carry out more concrete measures as their confidence in each other increases over time. This will be a step-by-step process, but if circumstances allow, the two sides could pursue both political and military confidence together at the same time.

As the peace regime develops on the Korean Peninsula, a formal peace treaty can be negotiated and signed on the grounds that "complete denuclearization" actually takes place. However, signing a peace treaty alone does not guarantee lasting peace. Even after signing a treaty, the process of building a stable peace regime on the Korean Peninsula must proceed. The prospect is looking good at the moment. Previous agreements with North Korea were made at the working level. On the contrary, recent agreements were made by the leaders themselves at the highest level possible. They still need to work out the specifics. Of course, Pyongyang will need some time to come up with the details. Once the timetable is set up, successful denuclearization will be highly likely. The issue of verification will remain a big problem. Washington should have shown strong leadership in the past. This time, I demand that the U.S. show strong leadership. China must show leadership as well.

• **Sonja BACHMANN** Similar to inter-Korean relations, the relations between the U.S. and North Korea must improve as well in order to reduce tension and build confidence. However, it seems like Washington only cares about denuclearization. What can we learn from the past experiences?

• **Robert CARLIN** Since I am more of a carpenter or a cabinetmaker, I like dealing with details, but other panels have been more conceptual. Currently, we are intellectually constipated. We must be prepared to go beyond the norm. The gap has been too wide between Washington and Pyongyang until now. But, the speed that we are witnessing right now should be an indication of what is possible. The process will be slowed down inevitably at some point. Considering this, we should take bigger steps and do things sooner.

There is a lot of momentum on the North Korean

side. The U.S. has tendencies to slow things down when there is widespread skepticism, and this must be avoided. Let North Korea continue to make progress for us. Governments have hard time coordinating. In order to move things forward, all implementation steps are crucial. We have to stop being obsessed with the concept of denuclearization and, at the same time, keep in mind that this is a much broader process. Denuclearization is important for sure, but it is not the only thing that needs to move forward. In regard to the implementation process, there have been multiple failures in the past. However, these failures should not be considered the same.

The Agreed Framework did not fail. Instead, it was deliberately murdered; it is a mistake to call it a failure. Negotiators spend a lot of time putting words on paper. Unfortunately, those who implement have a hard time understanding them. Implementing is much more complex than negotiating, and we must figure out how to integrate the two together. Lastly, it would be misleading to think that complete verification is possible. It is simply impossible! North Korea is not a conquered country. It is a sovereign state and a matter of sovereignty will come into play. We will have to settle for less somehow.

• **Sonja BACHMANN** What are the roles of so-called the "Big 4" countries, particularly the U.S. and China?

• **CHENG Xiaohe** We are still in the early stage of exploring key actors' true intentions. We are moving to a good direction, but I am not sure whether North Korea will give up its nuclear weapons. Why did North Korea refuse to make new commitments at the Singapore Summit? Despite this, I believe that Washington and Pyongyang can have a breakthrough on major issues through high-level discussions. At this point, the basic framework for denuclearization is absent. Accordingly, clarifying key concepts will be very important. The two leaders must reach a minimal consensus. For example, what does CVID mean exactly? For the time being, this is more important than the implementation process.

There are many lessons to be learned from the past failures. First of all, Washington and Beijing must show leadership. The U.S. once believed that China should spearhead the efforts to achieve the denuclearization of North Korea. More importantly, the process should not be a zero-sum game. The U.S. and China did not—and still do not—trust each other. When playing zero-sum games, it is extremely difficult to cooperate.

With respect to the unification issue, the two Koreas will continue to lead the way, and both the U.S. and China will play a supporting role. When it comes to the denuclearization issue, Washington and Pyongyang will play a leading role, while the roles of Seoul and Beijing remain confined. Russia and Japan will be included in the process later on, but they will play only supportive roles. Other members of the international community such as the European Union (EU) have a very limited say in this matter and will be so for the foreseeable future. Finally, it is important to remember that securing more participants does not necessarily guarantee bringing about good results.

China's role in dealing with North Korea has been evolving since the early 1990s. China had nothing to do with the Agreed Framework. China then joined the Four-Party Talks. Subsequently, China began to host the Six-Party Talks. China became a resolution enforcer, thereby punishing its own ally. Nonetheless, Xi Jinping and Kim Jong-un met three times up until now and signalled that they have good relations, their friendship remains unchanged, and Beijing will assist Pyongyang along the tumultuous way. In other words, if North Korea really needs help, China will be there. It is evident that China will play a more important and active role.

- **Sonja BACHMANN** What can the international community do? Are there any lessons from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) or other agreements? Moreover, what should we and North Korea expect from one another?

- **Glyn FORD** How did we get to this point? There are two threats to North Korea: external (i.e., the

U.S., South Korea, and Japan) and internal. South Korea spends more than North Korea's entire GDP on its military. Therefore, for North Korea, its nuclear weapons can trump everything. Kim Jong-un wants to retain his nuclear arsenal while developing his country's backward economy, but he will be unable to do so. This is exactly why he wants CVID. Chairman Kim wants to kick-start North Korea's economy. We are in a sweet spot at the moment. Pyongyang is prepared to move very fast and far. We must focus on things that could further encourage North Korea to denuclearize.

The policy of strategic patience was simply what I call "malign neglect." All previous negotiations with Pyongyang ended in failure, but they were not the same failure. We have to learn from them. In fact, one agreement that was partially successful was the 1994 Agreed Framework; it effectively arrested North Korea's path to nuclearization for about six to eight years. Most likely, a new agreement will resemble the Agreed Framework. However, there must be some kind of a sense of ownership. For example, guarantors of North Korea's security have to show gestures. Kim Jong-un will not abandon his nuclear arsenal until everything has been implemented. He is well aware that Washington will lose interest in Pyongyang without the presence of nuclear weapons.

The North Koreans will want something like two light-water reactors, which would be funded mostly by South Korea. Of course, under President Trump, the U.S. will not pay a single penny. In order to develop its economy, North Korea will need help in mitigating the chronic energy supply shortages. For this particular reason, I believe that Pyongyang's big demand will be connected to energy.

We have to make reasonable demands. North Korea is sanctioned today due to its nuclear, missile, and space programs. The international community also expressed grave concern over North Korea's current human rights situation. If Pyongyang wants sanctions relief, it will have to comply and roll back these programs. What could North Korea expect

in return? There will be a U.S. security guarantee, sanctions relief, and normalization of relations. Moreover, there will be humanitarian and development assistance.

Throughout the entire process, they have to communicate with one another. One of the problems with the Agreed Framework was that the promised Liaison Offices in Washington and Pyongyang were never established. Opening Liaison Offices therefore should be prioritized this time. These Liaison Offices will play a key role in managing the problems and disputes that may arise between the two countries.

For North Korea to feel sufficiently safe, a U.S. security guarantee and the entailing peace settlement should be endorsed by the UN Security Council. This endorsement by the Security Council will make any new agreement with Pyongyang more multilateral in nature similar to the JPCOA, which then would be more resilient and stronger compared to the Agreed Framework. The international community has to share the financial burden. At the same time, there should be some burden-sharing arrangements in the political arena. For instance, the EU could reengage North Korea through a human rights dialogue.

Policy Implications

- Even after the inter-Korean and Singapore summits, the basic framework for denuclearization remains absent. Prior to discussing the implementation process, several key concepts such as CVID should be clarified.
- Although all previous negotiations with North Korea failed, there are lessons to be learned from them. It is imperative that both the U.S. and China actively take charge of the denuclearization efforts this time.
- The Agreed Framework and JPCOA will serve as good guidelines when making new agreements with Pyongyang. The key is to make them multilateral by getting them endorsed by the UN Security Council.

The Role of Young Journalists for Denuclearization of Korean Peninsula and World Peace



Moderator **PARK Heung-soon** Professor, Sun Moon University
Presenter **KIM Jacheon** Professor, Sogang University
Discussant **LEE Wootak** Journalist, Yonhap News Agency
MOON Anna Ph.D, Korean Society for Journalism and Communication Studies
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Rapporteur **CHOE Juann** Interpreter

- **KIM Jacheon** The much-anticipated U.S.-North Korea summit was recently held. What has the summit achieved? Some criticize that the summit statement makes no mention of North Korea's complete, verifiable, and irreversible dismantlement (CVID), falling short of expectations. The two Koreas' Panmunjom Declaration also saw a mixed bag of responses. The inter-Korean summit led to a U.S.-North Korea summit, laying the foundation for peace building on the Korean Peninsula. Situations on the peninsula are changing rapidly. The Korean Peninsula, which was on the verge of a war, has taken a dramatic turn for better. Since the 2018 PyeongChang Olympics, North Korea has been on a charm offensive with neighbouring countries, resulting in an inter-Korean summit and a U.S.-North Korea summit. This recent series of events raises

questions about whether North Korea will abandon its nuclear ambitions, or whether it is possible to bring sustainable peace and denuclearization to the Korean Peninsula. To answer these questions, one should understand why North Korea has joined the negotiating table on denuclearization. North Korea maintained that denuclearization was not a subject of negotiation, but as a nuclear power it was willing to negotiate on disarmament and the reduction of its nuclear warheads. North Korea has changed its stance. I think the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula means something different to North Korea and South Korea. For North Korea, denuclearization is the withdrawal of U.S. nuclear weapons from the Korean Peninsula and the removal of South Korea from the U.S. nuclear umbrella. What explains the perception gap between the U.S., South Korea, and

North Korea with regard to the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula? Why does North Korea come to the negotiating table on denuclearization? I think the recent developments may be part of North Korea's big picture. In 2017, North Korea successfully test-fired the Hwasong-15 missile, putting the U.S. mainland within range. This suggests North Korea has reached its goal of becoming a nuclear state, in its quest for a credible nuclear deterrent against the U.S. Based on this achievement, Kim Jong Un came up with a two-track policy on nuclear development and economic growth. With the success of nuclear development, a pillar of the two-track policy, North Korea is now shifting its focus to economic development. Now, its nuclear capabilities can be an obstacle to economic development. It is impossible for North Korea to completely abandon its nuclear expertise, as the country has already achieved high levels of know-how. Accordingly, North Korea may think complete denuclearization is impossible. It will take decades to abandon all its nuclear programs and achieve complete denuclearization. I think North Korea made a strategic decision to join the denuclearization talks due to high-pressure DIMEFIL (diplomatic, information, military, economic, finance, intelligence, and law enforcement) sanctions. No one knows for sure what brought North Korea to the negotiating table on denuclearization. Economic concerns were definitely one of the key factors. Moreover, the Moon Jae-in administration's diplomatic efforts also deserve credit. Most news reports have it that the outcome of the summit is unsatisfactory, and the joint statement is ambiguous compared with the Joint Statement of the Six-Party Talks published on

September 19, 2005. However, the first summit between North Korea and the U.S. marks a step toward eliminating the remnants of the Cold War left on the Korean Peninsula. The window of opportunity is still open. What role should the international media play in this regard? The international media should note that peace on the Korean Peninsula is beneficial to the entire international community and people around the world. Addressing problems fac-

ing the Korean Peninsula indicates the possibility of tackling a variety of challenges around the world, including the Syrian crisis. The ultimate goal of peace on the Korean Peninsula is achievable through denuclearization. The resolution of North Korean nuclear issues will drive the international community to achieve denuclearization. Peace building on the Korean Peninsula will help address human rights issues as well as problems related to environmental destruction in North Korea. North Korea suffers severe environmental challenges, including deforestation. Efforts to build peace on the Korean Peninsula can be potentially aligned with various pending issues in the international community.

- **LEE Wootak** North Korea's allies—Russia and China—have had their media representatives in Pyongyang for some time now. It was impossible for the Western media to enter such a reclusive country as North Korea. However, in 2006, North Korea opened its doors to Western media outlets such as the Associated Press (U.S.), Agence France-Presse (France) and Kyodo News (Japan). However, the Korean media is still denied access to North Korea, which reflects the separation of two Koreas on the Korean Peninsula. Yonhap News Agency is among the first to cover new developments in North Korea and has long sought to enter Pyongyang. Yonhap News Agency planned to dispatch two journalists to Pyongyang in the early 1990s, when inter-Korean relations improved. However, this did not materialize as relations took a turn for the worse. South Korea's media agencies need to have a presence in North Korea to provide an accurate picture of what is happening there. Although some Western media outlets have entered North Korea, they have a different take on North Korea than that of South Korean media agencies. Yonhap News Agency has made an official request to Pyongyang to open an office in North Korea as part of its efforts to promote peace and unification on the Korean Peninsula. It is working hard in this regard. The Korean media should play an active role in bringing about denuclearization on the Korean Peninsula. I believe the rapid

progress in inter-Korean relations and U.S.-North Korea relations will help Korean news agencies to open their Pyongyang bureaus sooner or later.

- **MOON Anna** I agree with Professor Kim Jacheon. Right after the inter-Korean Summit, President Moon Jae-in's approval rating surged more than 10 percentage points to 80 percent. The Democratic Party won a landslide victory in local elections, which reflects the Korean people's expectations for inter-Korean relations. Peace on the Korean Peninsula is of critical importance.

- **Per GRANKVIST** Europe did not care about what happened in Korea. In Europe, it is important to raise awareness about Korea by holding press seminars. News informs people quickly, but viewers are losing interest in news. Viewers follow up on news through social media, spending time on more interesting news. News agencies should use social media platforms to connect with readers. It is imperative to think from the perspective of readers and find what they want. The media tend to deliver facts. The media should be faithful to its role, but it does not have to be boring.

- **PARK Heung-soon** Before your visit to Korea, what question did you first want to ask about recent developments on the Korean Peninsula, and what messages do you have for the Korean government?

- **Andrea GERLI** New developments on the Korean Peninsula such as missile or nuclear tests do not make intriguing news. The EU does not view North Korea as a security threat, as it is outside the ICBM range. However, North Korea claimed that its missiles have an estimated range of 10,000 kilometers. Many Italians fear the possibility of Kim Jong Un attacking Europe with nuclear missiles. Currently, the Korean Peninsula generates positive news, such as the talks and peace, while media coverage of Europe is fuelling fear and resentment, such as the massive inflow of immigrants and Europe's deteriorating relations with President Trump. I believe there may be a perception gap about unification between generations. How will Korea remove this generation gap?

- **Gergely NYILAS** Hungarians are also closely fol-

lowing Kim Jong Un and North Korea's reclusive system. When North Korea tested its nuclear missiles, it made news among ordinary Hungarians, although North Korea is far away from Hungary. There are limitations for the Hungarian media to accurately cover developments on the Korean Peninsula. It is widely known that Kim Jong Un has executed many of his opponents. In Hungary, rumor had it that he even executed his wife. However, there was no way to fact check this at the time. How do you double-check North Korean news? How reliable are North Korean defectors' testimonies? How do journalists cover situations in North Korea?

- **Per GRANKVIST** How does the Korean media plan to penetrate Pyongyang? North Korea is filled with propaganda without the freedom of speech and freedom of the press. What kinds of news can be covered in such an environment?

- **KIM Jacheon** Korea is the only country which speaks positively of peace and unification, at a time when international relations are fraught with challenges. Reconciliation is possible, although unification is a different matter. Younger generations do not welcome unification for fear of the financial burden, but they still want reconciliation and peaceful coexistence on the Korean Peninsula. Korea has a long way to go to achieve unification. Improvement in inter-Korean relations and reconciliations should take precedence over unification.

- **LEE Wootak** Globally, North Korean leader Kim Jong Un is becoming popular. The question is how to collect and report reliable information on North Korea. Let me give you an example of misinformation on North Korea. North Korea's Samjiyon Orchestra led by Hyon Song Wol—North Korea's leading artist—successfully performed during the 2018 PyeongChang Olympics. A Korean news agency, which had reported that Hyon Song-wol was executed a few years ago, did not correct its error even after a successful performance by Samjiyon Orchestra because it encountered no protests about false North Korea news. As such, the media coverage of North Korea has been sensational, with a focus on the

brutality of the North Korean regime and Kim Jong Un's atrocities. Most Koreans feel confused with recent news about the U.S.-North Korea Summit, the inter-Korean summit and Kim Jong Un's diplomatic maneuvering because he is so different from what has been portrayed in the media. Has the media done justice to the reality of North Korea? The Western media should ask the same question of itself. When it comes to North Korea, an acute sense of responsibility is needed, as journalists report on what they did not experience first-hand. As long as these problems are left unaddressed, journalists may risk misleading readers into believing something that is not real. Even if South Korean media agencies are allowed into Pyongyang, do they have freedom of the press? Freedom of the media is not allowed for Kyodo News and the AP in North Korea. Journalists can report within the scope approved by the North Korean regime. However, journalists reportedly have more freedom than before. Improvements should be made to human right issues as well as for the freedom of the press. According to journalists who have been to North Korea, despite the regulatory control, North Koreans follow South Korean drama series and are very knowledgeable about situations in the South. Stopping the spread of information is impossible.

- **PARK Heung-soon** In Germany, broadcasting advanced unification and changed the lives of Germans. Broadcasting was a link to the outside world. As was the case with Germany, the media has an important responsibility in North Korea. There are 30,000 North Korean defectors in Korea and more than 100,000 North Korean defectors in China and Mongolia. North Korean defectors left North Korea for freedom and a better life. The number of North Korean defectors is declining due to North Korea's harsh punishments and tighter security measures. The testimonies of North Korean defectors are convincing, yet should be taken with a grain of salt. South Korea's Ministry of Unification investigates how defectors lived in North Korea and made their way to South Korea. North Korean defectors left North Korea for various reasons. Some want to

reunite with their friends or family members living in South Korea. I trust the testimonials of North Korean defectors, as the government has a process to verify them. Some say they were seduced to defect by brokers, which I think is also true. We have no choice but to trust the government. The international community believes that North Korea has human right issues. I think under the Kim Jong Un regime, North Korea is undergoing rapid changes. North Korea has changed its stance to achieve economic development. North Korea's young leader Kim Jong Un does understand that his regime is not viable, unless the quality of life improves for ordinary North Koreans. Clearly, the Korean Peninsula is in transition. It is still premature to answer the aforementioned questions, and it is necessary to keep a close eye on future developments.

- **LEE Sihyung** The question is where to get reliable information about North Korea. The same is true of South Koreans. Not all testimonies of North Korean defectors are reliable. Fact checking is essential. The Korean people and reporters ask the same question. One cannot fully trust what North Korean defectors claim. As Professor Park Heung-soon said, the Korean government's verification process is reliable to a certain extent. Some North Korean defectors return to North Korea and appear on North Korean TV programs as a critic of South Korea. North Korean defectors must have a lot of personal history before they took refuge in a South Korean embassy, walking thousands of kilometers and crossing the borders of China or Southeast Asian countries. After being interviewed and verified by South Korea's National Intelligence Service and other experts, North Korean defectors are provided with settlement grants. A few South Korean TV programs feature North Korean defectors as panel guests to share their harsh experiences in North Korea. South Koreans can better understand what North Korea is like through their testimonies, although the reliability of their stories is still in question. Western journalists can visit and experience North Korea in person. But South Koreans are not allowed to visit North without special

government permission. It is difficult to verify news reports on North Korea's nuclear facilities and the testimonies of North Korean defectors. I think what North Korean defectors say in common is reliable. Yonhap News Agency's reports on North Korea are reliable.

- **MOON Anna** There are a lot of restrictions to inter-Korean dialogue. Indeed, communication between the two Koreas is non-existent. The situation of East and West Germany was quite different from that of the two Koreas in that residents in East and West Germany were able to engage with each other. The Korean media's advance to Pyongyang will open a channel of crossborder communication.

- **LEE Wootak** Comparing Germany's reunification and that of the Korean Peninsula is like apples and oranges. Germany worked hard up until the 1970s. The two Koreas have just made their first step toward unification. The governments have a key role to play. It was the government's efforts that facilitated West Germany's engagement with East Germany. In the beginning, government support is essential. Given the nature of the media, the penetration should take place rapidly. Despite the initial hardships, West Germany's media was able to enter East Germany thanks to government support, which contributed to Germany's unification. I expect the media to contribute to Korea's unification.

- **Andrea GERLI** Any plans to visit North Korea? Dennis Rodman visited North Korea. Kim Jong Un is now called North Korean leader, but he used to be referred to as a dictator. Is there anything confirmed with regard to North Korea's nuclear facilities and Punggye-ri Nuclear Test Site confirmed? I believe the South Korean government has high expectations for North Korea's denuclearization initiative. The former UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon has a more cautious stance on the Korean Peninsula denuclearization than the South Korean government.

- **Dimitrios MANOLIS** What policies are needed for the two Korea's unification? Of the German model or a confederation system, what do you think is the way to go for the two Koreas? When North Korea

implements delaying tactics, what stance should South Korea take? What is the media's role in this regard?

- **Gints AMOLINS** Sports can unite people. Kim Jong Il's love of basketball is well known. Kim Jong Un's recent moves show his human side, rather than simply that of a brutal leader. The execution of Hyon Song-wol turned out a rumor. However, Kim Jong Un assassinated his own brother. North Korea is in need of changes.

- **Martina HRUPIC** Korea has a lot of media outlets. How faithfully do the Korean media cover the future of the Korean Peninsula? Everyone I met during this trip to Korea invariably say that they wish for Korea's unification and peace on the Korean Peninsula. Are there not any dissent voices regarding Korea's unification? Does the Korea media speak for itself?

- **KIM Jacheon** The Punggye-ri Nuclear Test Site has been abandoned, but missile test sites have yet to be closed. The former UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon remains cautious because the dismantling of the Punggye-ri Nuclear Test Site is a significant gesture that North Korea will use to convince the U.S. and the international community that it is committed to the denuclearization process. Still, North Korea is a nuclear power armed with nuclear warheads and inter-continental ballistic missiles. Accordingly, North Korea's denuclearization is still in the early stages. The international community needs to confirm the extent of North Korea's nuclear arsenal and nuclear materials. I cautiously look for positive results. If North Korea fails to fulfil its pledges, it should be held liable for the consequences. North Korea understands if it breaks its pledge, the U.S. will not let it slide. South and North Korea have completely different political systems. I believe more thought should be given to how to bring peace to the Korean Peninsula than to whether Korea should choose between a system of confederation or the "one country, two systems" case of Hong Kong and China. Kim Jong Un cannot be a democratic leader. North Korea should be induced to address human rights issues. Many journalists are sceptical of North

Korea's denuclearization initiative. Some in the media project that inter-Korean economic cooperation can take place once it is confirmed that North Korea has abandoned its nuclear program.

- **PARK Heung-soon** Is reunification aimed at making use of cheap labour and rich natural resources in North Korea? If the two Koreas unite, North Koreans should not be treated as a second-class citizen or taken advantage of for their labour. There are varying opinions about Korea's unification. Many South Koreans share the view of foreign media and are concerned about rapid changes on the Korean Peninsula, while at the same time supporting the government's stance. President Trump, who waged a war of words with Kim Jong Un, is praising the North Korean leader. Kim Jong Un is concerned about the survival of his regime. Although President Trump guaranteed the safety of Kim's regime, there is no such guarantee for the North Korean system. It is anyone's guess how the North Korean system will hold after the opening of the North Korean society. It is important to prioritize denuclearization over unification, and trust and support the government's decision. South Korea should serve as an intermediary between North Korea and the U.S. and at the same time enhance partnerships with China and other neighbouring countries.

- **Dimitrios MANOLIS** Who do you think has a bigger role to play—the UN or President Trump?

- **PARK Heung-soon** North Korea turned down Ban Ki-moon's offer to visit the country. The UN has played a key role in promoting world peace and ending the Korean War. Today, the driving forces behind the international community are the five nuclear powers, including the U.S. and China, which seek four-party or six-party talks outside the UN. Although President Trump belittled the UN during his presidential campaign, he now recognizes the importance of the UN. Many countries desire to engage North Korea directly, not by way of the UN.

- **KIM Jacheon** President Trump is unreliable. According to a count maintained by The Washington Post's Fact Checker, Donald Trump says something

that is not true an average of 5.5 times a day. History is being radicalized, and malicious leaders have made history. It is necessary to focus more on international relations than on individual leaders.

- **MOON Anna** It takes at least two years even for experts to understand a political situation in North Korea. The complex dynamics may discourage journalists around the world from covering North Korea. This session highlighted the difficulties global journalists have in reporting new developments on the Korean Peninsula. I hope this conference will help them to better understand Korea and bring their many experiences home with them.

Policy Implications

- Building peace on the Korean Peninsula is the first step to resolving the daunting challenge the international community faces.
- The South Korean media's entrance to North Korea is essential to promote a better understanding of the reclusive country.
- The media should not just deliver facts but also satisfy the needs of readers.

[Ambassadors Roundtable]

Diplomacy in Building a Peace Regime on the Korean Peninsula



Moderator	KIM Young-hie Former Senior Columnist of the JoongAng Ilbo
Keynote Speaker	CHO Hyun Vice Minister for the R.O.K Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Presenter/Discussant	Marc KNAPPER United States Chargé d'Affaires Ad Interim to the R.O.K Fabien PENONE Ambassador of France to the R.O.K Michael REITERER Ambassador of the European Union to the R.O.K Yasumasa NAGAMINE Ambassador of Japan to the R.O.K Eric WALSH Ambassador of Canada to the R.O.K
Rapporteur	KIM Hyun Jin Friends of the Jeju Forum

• **CHO Hyun** We will now discuss follow-up measures to the recent inter-Korean summit. Although optimism was voiced in the run up to the U.S.-North Korea summit, the view was subject to a great deal of criticism as well. There was also a surplus of pessimism even after the leaders of the United States and North Korea met in Singapore. Some pessimists argue that the U.S. and North Korea signed a behind-the-scenes agreement. I hope these concerns and criticisms contribute to efforts to find a solution.

The kind of optimism that we need is different from what Voltaire believed it was. For the first time, the Panmunjom Declaration and the Singapore declaration were signed by national leaders. Reaffirming the former, the latter has stipulated complete denuclearization of North Korea. This has been achieved in a top-down manner, through an agreement between the leaders. The recent inter-Korean summit has provided an unprecedented breakthrough in so far as it took place for the first time with the active support and participation of the U.S.

Next, the relationship between the two Koreas

has entered a virtuous circle. Let me first share my opinions on what needs to be done to establish permanent peace. First, every country should strive to maintain peace. Regarding the denuclearization issue, efforts should be made to implement the Panmunjom Declaration and the Singapore declaration and ensure follow-up negotiations take place. The U.S. and North Korea should also continue to talk. Actions necessary for peace building should be taken. Priorities should be set to achieve complete denuclearization and maintain permanent peace. While there may be other points of interest, I hope these issues are proposed in a timely manner. Second, peace and development cooperation should take place simultaneously. To maintain peace, denuclearization is a must, and that should be accompanied by cooperative efforts to develop North Korea. Pre-requisites for all these points should be fully met. Third, mutual trust, joint efforts, and patience are essential for future negotiations. A sustainable and permanent peace on the Korean Peninsula is good for the entire world. By fulfilling their duty, the

public good should be maintained by all members of the community. Peace building requires effort on the part of every nation.

• **KIM Young-hie** What changed Chairman Kim's behavior? Until last year, there were several moments of crisis with North Korea conducting missile tests, etc. What do you think triggered a change to his behavior?

• **Marc KNAPPER** No one can answer that except Kim Jong-un. We can think of two potential reasons. First, Kim Jong-un's change in behavior could stem from a strategic, short-term decision. He could have done so cynically to strengthen North Korea's power and secure his regime. Meanwhile, he could have needed a fundamental change to his strategy. He now wants to emerge from confrontation and isolation and be part of the international community. He may want to bring an end to the North's nuclear weapons development programs.

Regarding Kim's change in behavior, President Trump agreed to meet the North Korean leader in Singapore to confirm whether Kim has an unwavering commitment to the denuclearization. We can say that there were some positive indicators, such as the dismantling of the nuclear test site in Punggye-ri, halting missile tests, the return of the remains of American soldiers, and release of three civilians that had been taken hostage.

• **Michael REITERER** Let me first point out that what I am about to share is my personal opinion. The first time I visited South Korea was in 2000 to attend the Asian conference. It was right after President Kim Dae-jung was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, and everyone thought the inter-Korean issue would be resolved. However, for the next eighteen years the issue was not resolved. People were also optimistic back then, just as they are now. I hope this optimism will come to fruition and the process will be completed. In particular, I would like to praise President Moon Jae-in's strong leadership. His leadership has improved the inter-Korean relationship to the its current state. Good examples are the Panmunjom Declaration and the joint statement adopted by the

U.S. and North Korea.

The international community should share the ultimate goal and achieve complete, verifiable and irrevocable dismantlement (CVID) that the UN has announced. As has been argued by the EU, diplomacy is the only way to build peace on the Korean Peninsula. To achieve the peace process, participation and inclusion are key. While they put pressure on North Korea through sanctions on one side, communication should take place on the other side. From the EU's experience and history, we have learned that diplomatic efforts pay off. Leadership must be practiced with patience and cool-headedness.

The international community should pursue the peace process with a shared stance. When verifying North Korea's denuclearization process, the EU should support follow-up measures for nuclear non-proliferation. I hope they build trust to construct a permanent peace process. To secure peace and security, economic cooperation should go hand in hand.

Recently, multilateralism has weakened. The EU maintains its cooperative system with the UN at the center. Through the UN Ministerial meeting, the EU agreed to cooperate with Asia regarding security. Three days ago, the EU has announced its support for multilateralism. We need strong support for multilateralism. At the UN General Council, the EU has clearly agreed to multilateralism and to participate in an agenda for peace, conflict prevention and human rights, climate change, environmental protection, migration, counter-terrorism, and efforts to prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction. The international community should join forces to build a peace process on the Korean Peninsula. The EU will participate in sanctions along with key allies and continue efforts to make peace force majeure.

• **Yasumasa NAGAMINE** First, I would like to express my respect to the Korean government regarding the recent inter-Korean summit. President Moon's leadership and that of Foreign Minister Kang Kyung-hwa worked on the talks between the U.S. and North Korea. I could see that President Trump's strong leadership and the U.S. Secretary of State are trying

to find a comprehensive solution. I am also grateful for raising the Japanese abduction issue at the summit in Singapore.

North Korea must take concrete action. I expect that North Korea and the U.S. will negotiate, and the North will act differently through follow-up talks. Japan will actively cooperate on this. We should reach the final goal of complete denuclearization. In the past, Japan has worked to resolve the North Korean issue. Japan, the U.S. and South Korea have announced that they will repeatedly stick to the principles and maintain the sanctions adopted by the UN Security Council. Based on CVID, North Korea should implement complete disarmament of its nuclear weapons. The declaration also mentions shutting down all nuclear test sites in North Korea. President Trump has stated that the sanctions will be lifted when the nuclear issue is resolved. In understanding the joint statement from the U.S.-North Korean summit in Singapore, the U.S. stated that it will participate in the peace process and secure the stability of the North Korean regime. However, there has been no confirmation on North Korea's stability. North Korea's regime stability is closely related to security in the region. The U.S. and South Korea should cooperate. According to the joint statements of Japan and North Korea declared in 2001 and 2005, the two parties agree to maintain their stances regarding the basic principles and address past issues by fully resolving the issues of the Japanese abductions and nuclear missiles. Japan's stance remains unchanged, and Japan will continue to emphasize all these principles. A summit should take place and resolve the issues of the nuclear development program, Japanese abductions, and nuclear disarmament. However, there has been no confirmation on whether concrete action has been taken thus far. Japan will participate in the North Korean issue by cooperating with the U.S.

- **Fabien PENONE** A process for complete denuclearization has taken place, and I support President Moon Jae-in's efforts. I admit that the inter-Korean relationship is improving since the Olympics in

Pyeongchang and that President Moon is acting as a mediator for the U.S.-North Korean relationship. The international community wants to see how the situation will progress. It is my hope that the UN sanctions will force North Korea to come to the negotiating table. Sanctions are a means to bring the counterparty to the negotiating table. For CVID, firm action should be taken. Currently North Korea seems to be keeping its end of bargain by halting experiments on nuclear and ballistic missiles and destroying the nuclear test site in Punggye-ri.

Moreover, they should discuss the issue of missiles and chemical weapons. France supports follow-up negotiations, and the international community should make efforts to ensure that North Korea steadily participates in negotiations. Building a reliable peace process on the Korean Peninsula can take place when the nuclear issue is clearly resolved. I support this as a member of the international community.

- **Eric WALSH** Complete denuclearization is stipulated in the declarations announced at Panmunjom and in Singapore, and the sanctions should continue to ensure CVID is followed through. Discussion is needed on how to achieve this, such as what specific conditions are to be met and through what mode of dialogue. Canada has attended a security meeting with twenty participating countries. We have made efforts for the peace and security mechanism. As the President of the G7 Summit, Canada has worked to maintain the peace mechanism. The G7 members will take concrete actions, and they are applying pressure on the North through sanctions. They have contributed 3.15 billion dollars to fund sanction exercises. We are trying to maintain the UN's sanctions by blocking illegal transfers at sea, and we support our coast guard. We will try to make significant contributions to the process to build a peace mechanism.

Canada is engaged in dialogue with North Korea, and we have kept providing international support. We are helping North Korean residents through technological and academic exchanges. We participate in a multilateral meeting on human rights infringements in North Korea, and the UNHCR is

working on this. We are making substantial efforts to see meaningful results. We hope our efforts will lead to true change in North Korea.

The inter-Korean talks and the human rights issue should not be dealt with separately. Sustainable peace cannot be achieved without addressing the human rights issue. They must agree on how to resolve the human rights issue.

Regarding what U.S. Secretary of State Pompeo said about denuclearization, he will need an answer to what complete denuclearization means and whether there is a shared understanding on this. Canada will contribute to finding common ground.

- **Marc KNAPPER** When I attended the 2017 Jeju Forum, several unexpected developments unfolded, such as the intercontinental ballistic missile tests and the shootout in the Demilitarized Zone. I could not imagine that North Korea would participate in the PyeongChang Winter Olympics and that the inter-Korean summit and the U.S.-North Korean summit would ever happen. We could come this far, thanks to President Moon Jae-in's bold leadership. Last year, that is 2017, President Moon laid out this agenda in Germany. Through a tight relationship with President Trump, a journey toward complete denuclearization has begun. The joint statement of the U.S. and North Korea includes not only North Korea's complete denuclearization, but issues like improvement of the U.S.-North Korean relationship, building a peace mechanism, and returning American detainees. To accomplish these tasks, it is very important to maintain complete denuclearization and a positive relationship between the U.S. and North Korea. I would like to emphasize that there is a bright future for North Korean residents. If the North does implement complete denuclearization, economic sanctions will be lifted and technological and economic support will follow. In this process, the international community should work together, and President Trump, Secretary of State Pompeo, and many other leaders should participate in the sanction measures.

- **KIM Young-hie** Is there a reason to doubt what the

North has in mind?

- **Marc KNAPPER** Since June, North Korea has ceased missile launches, closed its nuclear test sites, and returned the American detainees. We will closely consult with South Korea and make this happen. If the situation changes, we can resume the joint military exercises with South Korea. But first we would like to give North Korea a chance.

- **KIM Young-hie** A friendly communication is taking place between North Korea and China. What is the U.S. stance on this?

- **Marc KNAPPER** I believe there are many other experts on China, and they can answer the question. China has a strong stance, and I think it is quite important that Chairman Kim Jong-un talks directly with President Xi Jinping. Through this, China can lead in a direction that benefits China. Through the three rounds of the summit with China, Chairman Kim frequently visited China, accompanied by his wife and sister. And there were positive effects as he checked their trade relationship and experienced open society. I think the more often meetings take place, the better.

- **CHO Hyun** I would like to further discuss sanctions. Basically, the South Korean government's stance on sanctions is one of active participations, as Minister Kang said. South Korea should not send a wrong message to North Korea. We should make sure that the North is aware of the fact the sanctions are still there. We should ensure that the North moves on to the next step through the sanctions. Until North Korea fully achieves complete denuclearization, we could come up with temporary measure such as temporary relief. In this process, we need priorities. We need to ask for the understanding of the related countries. We cannot just hold a dialogue with North Korea. We need to set our priorities and negotiate with a consistent attitude.

- **KIM Young-hie** Does the abduction issue come before denuclearization? Is there a possibility that Japan normalizes its ties with North Korea before the U.S.?

- **Yasumasa NAGAMINE** I do not want to say that the abduction issue is a prerequisite, but it is a matter

that should be resolved for Japan. Once it is resolved, we can talk about normalization of the relationship. Setting priorities will be a negotiation tactic. Which agenda to propose and how to discuss it are part of a tactical agenda and should be jointly dealt with by the parties involved in the negotiations. The relationship between Japan and North Korea will be normalized, but I cannot say whether it will happen before the U.S. does. As for the priorities, we will maintain what we announced at the joint statement adopted by Japan and North Korea in Pyongyang in 2001.

- **Marc KNAPPER** The countries should maintain a tight relationship with one another and collaborate. We cannot determine who will do it first.
- **KIM Young-hie** From a distance, you can see the forest rather than the trees. In this context, how would the EU handle North Korea's peace process?
- **Fabien PENONE** First, I cannot say France is far from the Korean Peninsula. We are directly involved as a regional player of the Pacific Ocean. I also think North Korea's denuclearization is an issue that should be handled by the entire international community. I believe nuclear non-proliferation is a global responsibility. France is sticking to this stance, and we play the role of a leader as a permanent member of the UN Security Council.

A viable part is that all players participate in the Korean issue. We will actively participate in efforts made by all involved parties to address the issue regarding the missile defense system, disarmament of the ballistic missiles, short- and long-range missiles, and the denuclearization issue.

- **Eric WALSH** Canada has considerable interest in the Korean Peninsula in terms of global peace and security. Although we do not share borders with the peninsula, we can understand the North Korean denuclearization in terms of a global standard. Thus, the issue is meaningful as a material result for the international community. Quite a lot of Canadians are buried at the UN Memorial Cemetery in Busan. The number of Korean expats living in Canada is the largest after China, the U.S., and Japan. Canada is aware of the importance of the security of the

Korean Peninsula. Although we are not part of the six-party talks, we would like to contribute to addressing the issue of the Korean Peninsula.

Q & A

- **KIM Young-hie** Do you think President Trump will actively support President Moon's North Korean policy? Do you expect that the U.S. could lead North Korea to completely give up its nuclear missile development program?
- **Eric WALSH** Yes.
- **Fabien PENONE** I want to ask whether the North will choose strategically?
- **CHO Hyun** We will make it possible through the appropriate conditions.
- **Yasumasa NAGAMINE** We need to maintain our efforts. We will be able to reach the goal.
- **Michael REITERER** It will cost a lot if we do not succeed. Diplomacy is not just a key objective but the only option. Diplomatic efforts will be needed along with hope.
- **Marc KNAPPER** If we had not anticipated success, this process would never have been started.

Policy Implications

- From the optimistic perspective, the outcomes of the inter-Korean summit and the U.S.-North Korean summit should be studied and active measures should be taken to build a peace mechanism for the Korean Peninsula.
- Economic sanctions should be kept in place to force North Korea to implement CVID, and multilateral efforts are needed to bring the North to the negotiation table. North Korea's denuclearization is a global issue, and everyone's responsibility, in terms of setting a global standard.
- The inter-Korean dialogue and the North Korean human rights issue should be dealt at the same time. Along with that, a multi-faceted approach should be taken to build trust with North Korea.
- While it is important to check the stance of the Western world like the U.S., the EU, Canada, and Japan, it is also necessary to expand the view to neighbouring countries and organize diplomatic talks with China and Russia.

China under Xi Jinping and the Future of the Korean Peninsula



Moderator **John DELURY** Associate Professor of Chinese Studies, GSIS, Yonsei University

Speaker **CHUNG Jae Ho** Professor, Political Science and International Relations at Seoul National University

ZHANG Baohui Professor & Director, Centre for Asian Pacific Studies, Lingnan University, Hong Kong

LI Nan Associate Research Fellow, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences' Institute of American Studies

WANG Dong Associate Professor & Executive Deputy Director, Institute for China-US People to People Exchange, Peking University

Rapporteur **CHO Sookyung** Asia-Pacific Leadership Network

- **ZHANG Baohui** Looking at relations between China and North Korea, China has used North Korea as a bargaining chip without worrying all that much about North Korea's interests. China is not at all content with its relationship with North Korea, where the two countries have remained codependent. One North Korea expert in China stated that North Korea's strategic end goal is not only to guarantee its security, but also to confirm that the U.S. is making no effort whatsoever to steer North Korea toward regime change. He went further, saying that North Korea needs nuclear capabilities not for weapons, but as a bargaining chip, and possessing them in itself is meaningful. In other words, because North Korea is insecure, it seeks a guarantee of security, which is the reason that North Korea cannot easily give up its nuclear capabilities. North Korea is using nuclear weapons to lure the U.S. to the negotiating table. The chip that the U.S. can bring to the table is recognizing North Korea as a normal country. North Korea can so be steered to relinquish its nuclear weapons. However, normalizing relations with North Korea and putting North Korea in the driver's seat are not enough. After President

Trump and Chairman Kim agreed to meet, China changed its position significantly and encouraged Kim Jong-un to visit to China. This likely boosted North Korea's confidence. North Korea and China have returned to friendly relations, but North Korea appears skeptical. North Korea not only wishes to normalize relations, it seeks to use improved DPRK-China relations to leverage negotiations with Trump. Also, it is a mistake to assume that China is in the driver's seat only because DPRK-China relations have improved and normalized. Therefore, a fundamental strategy is necessary to end North Korea's isolation and build and develop friendly relations based on cooperation.

- **CHUNG Jae Ho** Some people have expressed the opinion that China is regressing politically. Many decisions were made at the National Congress held last November. An idea was introduced that contradicts Deng Xiaoping's policy of "reform and opening." China has sought economic and political decentralization. For the past forty years, China has succeeded in economic and financial decentralization, but regressed politically. In order to understand this, we will have to watch whether leaders are

purposely consolidating power in order to carry out decentralization.

The Xi Jinping administration is facing three dilemmas. The first is whether to prioritize sectarian interests or national interest. The second dilemma is that China is controlling rural areas and small cities based on central-local interests. China sees the need to manage locales through various means, including centralized management. The final dilemma is that if China cannot control domestic public opinion due to conflicts surrounding international and domestic interests, an atmosphere of nationalism will arise.

- **WANG Dong** First, there has been the discussion of a Nobel Prize for President Trump. This is a possibility. We must consider whether the U.S. and North Korea will accept a compromise, and how their negotiations will unfold. President Trump seems to have views that oppose those of traditional conservatives, and he does not appear to be a complete hard-liner. The American public has shown skepticism after it was said that Trump failed to elicit any concessions by Chairman Kim Jong-un. I question how long President Trump can resist public pressure, if at all, now that this opinion has formed. If all goes well, North Korea might show a willingness to relinquish its long-range ballistic missiles. Using this as a bargaining chip, North Korea could ask to maintain its nuclear capabilities or develop nuclear weapons, or for humanitarian aid or the easing of sanctions, but it is unclear what the U.S. would give in exchange.

Can the U.S. accept these terms? I think that President Trump will accept this much, but he may be limited by American public opinion. I question how much President Trump can resist, whether he can hold fast to the strict conditions of CVID until the end. There are many contradictions in the remarks made by President Trump and his administration. After the summit, senior officials seem to have pretty much come to a consensus, and they seem to be deciding on issues to bring to the negotiating table. If the Trump administration does not show a cohesive stance, rigid hard-line arguments will prevail, which

might lead to a breakdown in negotiations.

Already Premier Xi Jinping and Chairman Kim Jong-un have had three summit meetings. During Kim's last visit to China, Premier Xi Jinping seems to have encouraged Kim to focus on North Korea's economic development. Chairman Kim told Premier Xi that North Korea will follow China's example to achieve economic and social development. During the meeting with Chairman Kim, the Chinese premier expressed delight with the series of positive changes in North Korea and said that the endeavor will require much time and effort.

- **LI Nan** There have been many changes on the Korean Peninsula. DPRK-China relations have changed particularly rapidly. However, trust between North Korea and China is still weak. China's sanctions last year were the strongest that China has ever placed on North Korea. In recent years, there had not been high-level meetings between the two countries, and North Korea had voiced strong criticism of China. Distrust between North Korea and China runs deep. North Korea no longer follows China's directives. The reason that North Korea resumed cooperation with China is that Chairman Kim Jong-un foresaw problems between the U.S. and China due to worsening relations, and took the opportunity to place North Korea in an advantageous position.

China's views on North Korea also changed rapidly after North Korea announced its willingness to denuclearize. Until now, China's North Korea policy has been focused on the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. China has promised to support North Korea's economic development and impart the know-how from its reform and opening up to aid economic development. However, Chairman Kim Jong-un's sincerity is questionable at best after his three visits to China, and whether DPRK-China relations will return to the solid alliance of the past is unclear. Notably, China still demands that North Korea relinquish its nuclear capabilities. I believe that economic cooperation is impossible if the issue of denuclearization remains. Like China, the U.S. and South Korea have doubts about North Korea's re-

nunciation of its nuclear ambitions. Likewise, North Korea does not believe that China will provide its full support. China has promised to impart its know-how on economic development, but North Korea is suspicious of China's intentions. Therefore, it is premature to say that DPRK-China relations have returned to the strong alliance of the past.

Q & A

Q. John DELURY President Moon Jae-in's recent visit to China is in rather stark contrast to that of former South Korean President Park Geunhye and Chinese Premier Xi Jinping's meeting in Tiananmen Square in 2015. What was your opinion of bilateral relations at that time? I would like to hear about ROK-China relations. How is China's strategy going forward?

A. CHUNG Jae Ho There are many similarities and contradictions between the Park Geun-hye administration and the Moon Jae-in administration. The Park administration maintained a consistent policy on ROK-China relations. I believe that it weighed South Korea's relations with China and the U.S. equally. The Park administration was too optimistic about ROK-China relations, and I believe that it truly sought to transition to a strategic partnership. The relationship between President Park and Premier Xi soured suddenly when the Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) issue surfaced. The Moon Jae-in administration, like the Park Geun-hye administration, has an optimistic outlook on ROK-China relations. There are differing opinions among South Korean experts on the future of ROK-China relations. Some people say that they could return to better days, and others say that the current state is the new normal.

Q. John DELURY How will South Korean power align with realist logic?

A. ZHANG Baohui With North Korea's announcement of the achievement of nuclear capabilities, the North Korean nuclear issue came to the fore. In the past, China exercised a military alliance strategy, and established a response strategy against a U.S.-Japan-

South Korea alliance. While former President Park Geun-hye held office, China wished for a new strategic relationship. But THAAD influenced China's idea of a strategic relationship. China sees THAAD as a means to keep China in check, not North Korea.

- **John DELURY** U.S.-China relations have finally descended into a mere trade relationship, and the U.S. might take the position that it no longer needs China, which is debatable. There are a number of reasons this could offend China. What is your opinion?

- **WANG Dong** We should view the THAAD issue and ROK-China relations from the perspective of broader, trilateral relations, in terms of ROK-U.S. relations and ROK-China relations. Assuming that denuclearization goes smoothly, despite many difficult challenges, military pressure and tension are bound to diminish. The military motivation to deploy THAAD and station more troops will lessen. China, South Korea, and other countries of the international community will adopt North Korea policies with a common goal. In addition, regarding the statement that North Korea is leaving China's track, I would like to respond that North Korea has never been on China's track, and that North Korea and China are comrades. The fact that North Korea has autonomy in its policies and its development of nuclear weapons, and so forth, has often posed challenges for China. In addition, Premier Xi Jinping and the Chinese leadership consider the stabilization of Korea, denuclearization, and negotiation by peaceful means to be top priorities.

- **John DELURY** What do the public of South Korea, China, and North Korea want from trilateral relations? If North Korea is seeking economic development, is it possible that there is a movement within North Korea to exclude China and develop friendly relations with other countries?

- **LI Nan** Last year, I visited a few villages, including one in Pyeonganbuk-do Province. Everyone, from the commoners to the elites, was disgruntled about China. Hamheung's economy is centered on heavy industries, and thus is under the greatest pressure from sanctions. People there were generally very

friendly, but their tone changed when talking about China. Many Chinese people do not believe that North Korea will actually relinquish its nuclear program. The Chinese youth recognize the strategic importance of U.S.-China relations. North Korea would rather not rely economically on China and wishes to be highly independent. Rodong Sinmun reported that heavy industries should be based on the Juche ideology, and the nationalized system should be maintained. I think that North Korea will follow the Chinese model of reform. North Korea sees many conceptual and systematic elements that they could adopt. Even if it adopts the Chinese model, North Korea will likely be eager to learn from the examples of other countries, too. North Korea is also seeking to upgrade its railroad system and is conducting broad research on railroad systems.

Policy Implications

- China has urged North Korea to pursue denuclearization and has placed economic sanctions on North Korea. China has promised to support North Korea's economic development, and to pass on know-how from its economic reform to aid in North Korea's economic development.
- When former President Park Geun-hye took office, China wished for a new strategic relationship. THAAD changed China's idea of a strategic relationship. China considers THAAD a means of keeping China in check, not North Korea.
- There have been three DPRK-China summit meetings, but distrust nonetheless runs deep. Returning to the strong alliance of the past will be difficult.
- North Korea will likely adopt the Chinese reform model, but it will likely seek to learn from the examples of other countries, too.

What Should We Do Now to Build an Interregional Cooperation Initiative?



Chair	HAN Intaek Director of Research Department, Jeju Peace Institute
Moderator	DOH Jong Yoon Research Fellow, Jeju Peace Institute
Presenter	Vikram Kumar DORAISWAMI Ambassador of India to the Republic of Korea Leonard J. EDWARDS Co-Chair, Korea-Canada Forum Steven BLOCKMANS Senior Research Fellow, Centre for European Policy Studies, Belgium LE THU Huong Senior Analyst, Australian Strategic Policy Institute JIAO Shixin Professor, Institute of China Studies at the Shanghai Academy of Social Science/Shanghai University of Political Science and Law
Rapporteur	CHOI Seungin Hanyang University

- **HAN Intaek** We will now focus on regional cooperation among Southeast Asia, China, South Korea, and Japan. In this session we will debate as to whether current trends in regional cooperation are going to continue prevailing or not. An important topic is the question of how we can cooperate and compete in a mutually beneficial manner.
- **Leonard EDWARDS** I will begin this keynote address with three fundamental questions. What is the mutual benefit of a new form of regional cooperation in today's international community? What should we focus on, economics or security? What is an important role that Northeast Asia can play in regional cooperation? Those are the three questions. The current environment in today's international community is no picnic. Whether it is international organizations or regional cooperative institutions, all areas face many difficulties. Yet countries in regions like Latin America and Africa have already invested a lot of interest and effort in regional cooperation. Chile, Mexico, Peru, and Colombia, for example, have shown their commitment to regional

cooperation through the Pacific Alliance. But there are accompanying challenges. Economically, for instance, there is U.S. President Donald Trump's protectionist "America first" approach. A look at North America's domestic developments shows Trump moving to renegotiate the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and raise tariffs on imports. Many countries are concerned with not only domestic problems but their relations with the U.S., which could pose an obstacle to regional cooperation. Furthermore, regional cooperation is different from purely political issues, which could present another problem.

Many regions, particularly East Asia and South Asia, have begun showing an interest and confidence in regional cooperation. Economically, many cooperative projects are coming to fruition, and people are recognizing how they can benefit from them. Some have questioned whether Northeast Asia could be a foothold for interregional cooperation. Regarding this, I have a positive outlook. Northeast Asian nations have already recognized the immense sig-

nificance of interregional cooperation on an extensive scale. Interregional cooperation can bridge the gaps in our concerns and in our interests. Canada is optimistic and actively in favor of such cooperation. Another issue is the question of what to prioritize between economics and security. In fact, both realms influence each other. Many countries influenced by the liberal international order are trying to sustain this network, but we cannot ignore the issue of security. The question of economics or security does not have an easy answer. I would like to ruminate over the matter with today's panel members. Moving on to the third issue, the region of Northeast Asia, particularly Korea, China, and Japan, are investing a great deal of effort into regional cooperation. As G20 member nations, they also serve as key players in international trade and investment.

In truth, the region has faced many difficulties in interregional cooperation due to incidents related to North Korea, and as the issue of North Korea has yet to be solved, it is reasonable to be skeptical as to whether Northeast Asia can become a regional foothold. However, Korea, China, and Japan are investing heavily in regional cooperation, and it is possible to be optimistic about the current process of solid trust-building in the area of security. The most concerning issue is likely the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, but with enough hard work, I think it is a solvable one. In particular, it is important to start with small things. Lastly, I cautiously invite you to consider the following two ideas. We need to consider the utilization of AI in the areas of security and resolving conflict. We also need to consider employing cryptocurrencies and blockchain technology in international exchange. Together, we also need to brainstorm ways to apply an Asian method and to build a 1.5 track dialogue.

- **Vikram DORAISWAMI** It seems interregional cooperation is emerging as a very important topic. I want to approach the topic from an Indian perspective. India has reasons to cooperate with other countries, including Korea. I want to discuss whether India can form economic and security partnerships with those

countries, and whether India can engage in regional cooperation with Asian countries. Firstly, through interregional cooperation we can reduce economic and security threats. Through regional cooperation with Southeast Asia we can benefit financially. However, there are issues such as the spread of economic crises or a disparity in benefits among nations and economic classes. For international cooperation to occur, key elements like openness, equality, and inclusion need to be fulfilled. To accept the many differences, we have among ourselves, we must be inclusive. We also must operate from a universal set of principles. The problem is the question of what to do so we do not just become an assembly for discussion among different regions. In Asia, we particularly need to move toward a coalition revolving around ASEAN that more nations can join. We need to arbitrate between existing coalitions to strengthen overall cooperation. Thus, we need to work on achieving a greater understanding of the nations in the Indo-Pacific region. Moreover, every player with interests in Asia, such as the U.S., Canada, and EU, must participate. With ASEAN at its core, gradually expanding the breadth of regional cooperation will prove to be an effective method. I also want to discuss how cooperation between small- to midsized nations can develop into cooperation on a grander scale. Prime Minister Narendra Modi has said that we must follow the principles for each one's growth. From small- and mid-sized nations to superpowers, everybody must have an equal voice.

- **Steven BLOCKMANS** Fundamentally, interregional cooperative institutions have different interests according to region. The EU, for instance, is encountering many challenges including Brexit. The EU leans toward wanting to protect the security and economies of member nations. But cooperation between nations can bring forth many changes. Situations that we have never encountered over the past twenty years are now stretching out before us. Even so, the EU is creating positive momentum. For instance, we made new bilateral trade agreements with Australia and Canada. Currently, the Trans-Pa-

cific Partnership (TPP) is having some issues as its terms are being renegotiated, but from the viewpoint of peace, I think Europe can also take part in the TPP. Based on the EU's experiences, we can further modernize global regulations.

Secondly, I would like to talk about interregional cooperation. In 1996, the EU and East Asia formed the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM). This was brought about through unofficial meetings between governments and others. It was led by then President Kim Dae-jung. Even in 2002, there were meetings concerned with issues related to the East China Sea, and partial solutions were proposed. Not only were such political issues mentioned, but non-traditional security issues such as illicit drugs, human trafficking, pirates, weapons smuggling, money laundering, financial crime, and cybercrime were also brought to the table. Of course, there are unique differences that play in relations between countries, so regional issues are often fraught with difficulties. Consequently, there is an increasing interest in placing a priority on regional issues. Although there are still challenges in non-conventional security issues, these cannot be viewed as non-political. For instance, the refugee issue has recently emerged as a major topic in Jeju. And it is not just a refugee issue, it is entangled with numerous political issues of individual nations, including citizenship and the economy, making it a difficult problem for other nations to get involved in, or interfere with.

- **JIAO Shixin** I think it is possible for more economic development and cooperation to occur within the region. Russia opened the Eastern Economic Forum to deal with criticism regarding its handling of the Crimea. Korea and China are also working toward interregional cooperation. There are international cooperative efforts such as the One Belt, One Road initiative and the Northeast Asia Plus Community of Responsibility (NAPCR). The One Belt, One Road initiative offers six options. First, the resurrection of the Silk Road began and a think tank was established this year. Also, meetings of foreign ministers were held. Next, I want to address inter-Korean relations.

The issue boils down to responsibility, but when it comes to economic and geographical interests, South Korea and China both have a stake. Korea and China are also members of NAPCR. In terms of security, North Korean nukes are an important security issue for China as well. I also think economics and security are closely linked. Furthermore, regarding interregional cooperation, I think it is necessary to discard geopolitical considerations. For the One Belt, One Road initiative, economic cooperation needs to occur outside of geopolitical interests. I think both the One Belt, One Road initiative and NAPCR can play important roles in interregional cooperation, although there is still a lot of tension in East Asia.

- **LE THU Huong** Personally, I find interregional cooperation fascinating and it is my first topic of interest. Cooperation among nations and regionalism are important issues which can present challenges. Why do we need to be more regional? Because it benefits us. First, we need to think about what a region really is, and what regionalism actually entails. Although interregional cooperation brings benefits, it also presents challenges. In the EU, a strong economic and political dependence has caused certain nations to sacrifice more than others. Brexit has taught us that the EU style of regionalism has to be modified. With ASEAN, on the other hand, the problem lies in cooperation being too relaxed. Further, having too broad or too narrow an agenda is unhelpful when it comes to regionalism. Over the course of the past few decades, there have been certain changes in regionalism. There have been increasing efforts to consolidate regional cooperation into bigger blocks. ASEM is an example of that. Throughout the consolidation process, however, countries have realized that interregional cooperation is not always a good thing. Some say that to merge together, you need to consider everything—both cultural and political. But when interregional cooperation tries to benefit all nations involved, it can occasionally lead to disappointment. These many challenges can pose difficulties forming cooperation between Asia and the EU. You also mentioned specifically Asian issues,

which is also something we need to consider. Asia has often been criticized as being elitist. Many have criticized the people-centered nature of Asia, as well as the tendency for cooperation to benefit leaders instead of ordinary citizens.

• **HAN Intaek** Dr. Steven Blockmans, you referred to the EU-ASEAN as an instance of interregional cooperation. Dr. Le Thu Huong, however, says cooperation between Europe and Southeast Asia is decreasing. Do you agree?

• **Steven BLOCKMANS** I agree. But we need to consider structural peculiarities. Europe prioritizes a supranational mindset, whereas Asian nations place more importance on government and regions. Yet there are still many positive developments and a lot of potential. Europe will continue to develop in its regional cooperation, and cooperation between Europe and Southeast Asia continues to increase. Protectionism is making a comeback in Europe, however, and there are also a number of screening processes being introduced. Obstacles such as Europe's protectionism and Chinese protectionism exist, but I think these are surmountable problems.

• **LE THU HUONG** If we respond accordingly, I think good countermeasures should be available. But for interregional cooperation, I think it is going to be difficult to produce the necessary momentum. The One Belt, One Road initiative is a very Sinocentric form of interregional cooperation. Thus, there are still many issues to address, and we need new approaches for solutions to them.

• **Leonard EDWARDS** A lot of our current challenges lie in each country's domestic issues. I also think the situation for interregional cooperation is rather limited at the moment. Yet, the way I see it, the most important time period is right now. This is going to sound a little pessimistic, but we need to properly manage public opinions and the media. Considering North America in particular, relations with the U.S. are not ideal. We therefore must examine the question of the future of the region. We in Canada invest a lot of interest in our relations with the U.S. Even when it comes to the Trans-Pacific Partnership, we

are trying to increase cooperation on a variety of levels, and to focus more on interregional cooperation.

• **JIAO Shixin** Some people think ASEAN is a little too late, but I do not think their timing is late at all. When looking at the international stage, the region has encountered problems regarding historical issues and territorial disputes, yet cooperation has been occurring, and both small- to mid-sized nations and superpowers can benefit from such cooperation. The One Belt, One Road is not a strategy but an initiative. Not all nations can get everything they want. They need to cooperate with each other. I would also like to reiterate once again that it is not geopolitical cooperation, but economic cooperation.

• **HAN Intaek** We are seeing some skepticism, but skeptical viewpoints can be mitigated over time. How do you feel about this, Ambassador Doraiswami?

• **Vikram DORAISWAMI** I would like to address two issues. First off, what can we benefit from interregional cooperation? Secondly, what sector should we focus on? To start, we need to have a narrow focus when approaching interregional cooperation. If the focus is ambiguous, the policymakers will have difficulties in the drafting phase. It is particularly difficult when one country drafts and implements policies on its own. Of course, Southeast Asia comprises many nations, but we need to prioritize putting all nations on an equal level. Particularly pressing is the formation of a mechanism for small- to mid-sized nations, so that they, too, can benefit from cooperative networks. We need cooperation that benefits smaller nations such as cooperative efforts with Nepal and Bangladesh. Yet there are few interregional cooperation projects that benefit small- to mid-sized nations. It is difficult to accurately determine just how much each nation benefits, but we should not have situations where one party clearly benefits while another clearly suffers.

Q & A

Q. There is a perception that countries like Nepal or Bangladesh, and indeed several Northeast Asian

nations, have suffered under colonization and European influence. When Northeast Asian nations enter into cooperative projects under this negative perception, what can European countries do to help? Also, ROK-China relations are currently very sensitive, and many Koreans view China with a rather wary view. What can Southeast Asian nations do to help form cooperative networks?

A. Steven BLOCKMANS Regarding what Europe can do to help, I think Europe has always made an effort to be of assistance—although it was unavailable during difficult times like the financial crisis—and continues to do so. The EU, in particular, is the most advanced and systemized form of regionalism, and I think we can help by exporting this model. That said, regionalism is currently limited, and the EU is suffering from issues related to an unequal distribution of expenditures. I want to say that such issues trouble even us, but I think we can expand our global relations by cooperating with China and Canada. What we can learn from the EU is that Britain has opted to leave, so now the EU is more open to membership applications from other countries. Of course, we will certainly encounter challenges, but I think we are capable of handling them. The 16+1 initiative is also aimed at Eastern European nations.

A. Leonard EDWARDS I think Canada's situation is similar. Basically, the values of democracy are powerful and this is what bonds us. Of course, the U.S. government is currently trying to dismantle our most powerful economic structures, which poses problems. However, I think we can find a solution within EU-U.S. relations. In addition, we are already applying a multinational framework on an international scale. This can serve as a lesson to Korea. Powerful international networks are already in place. We have also applied different policies according to region and country. Although it is problematic that smaller nations are being threatened by larger ones, it is a solvable issue and we can counter it through a variety of policies.

A. Vikram DORAISWAMI I cannot understand why Korea considers itself a small- to mid-sized nation.

Although its territory is small, in terms of its economy and technology Korea is far from diminutive. If Korea continues to sustain its cooperative international relations, I think it will continue to grow. If you keep thinking of yourselves as a small nation, you will continue encountering difficulties in developing further.

Policy Implications

- Through the development of fundamental policies that promote a cooperative network involving both smaller and larger nations, as well as preserve the equality of nations, we can increase international cooperation.
- By researching and learning from the EU model of regionalism, with its long history and record of successes, we can effectively form a new system of regional cooperation. Also, we can further expand the breadth of cooperation centering around ASEAN and thus enhance regional cooperation.
- We need a cooperative network that does not distinguish between non-traditional security and political issues. Also, research and development of AI and cryptocurrency, and an exploration of ways to apply them to international relations, can further expand the potential of international cooperation.

After the inter-Korean and U.S.-DPRK Summits: the New Beginning of a Non-nuclear and Peaceful Korean Peninsula?



Chair	JUN Bong-guen Professor, Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security (IFANS) of Korea National Diplomatic Academy (KNDA)
Presenter	HWANG Il-do Assistant Professor, Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security, Korea National Diplomatic Academy PARK Ihn Hwi Professor, Ewha Womans University HONG Min Research Fellow, Korea Institute for National Unification
Discussant	LEE Dong-Hwi Vice Chairman, Korean Council on Foreign Relations WANG Son-Taek Diplomatic Correspondent, YTN KIM Young Mok President, Grace and Mercy Foundation
Rapporteur	KIM Jahee Researcher, Korea National Diplomatic Academy

• **JUN Bong-guen** The situation on the Korean peninsula is changing rapidly in 2018. Just around the end of last year, the war crisis on the peninsula was heightened by repeated nuclear and missile tests and threats by North Korea, the war of words between the U.S. and North Korea, and the possibility of a pre-emptive attack by the U.S. Many observers said that the peninsula faced the greatest war crisis since the Korean War, with some projecting the possibility of a war at more than 25 percent. However, the tense situation began to change dramatically, as the new government of President Moon Jae-in consistently pursued peace and reconciliation with the North, and Kim Jong-un expressed a willingness to participate in the PyeongChang Winter Olympics in 2018. These developments also led to the historic inter-Korean and North Korea-U.S. summits, which were generally evaluated as successful. I expect that the discussion in this session will focus on an evaluation of the summits and remaining tasks. Will the Korean peninsula be freed from nuclear threats and war? This is a big question for us, so, I think we

should share our outlook for future developments in the region and discuss how to prepare for them.

• **HWANG Il-do** In North Korea, the military seems to have suffered a decline in social status and prestige recently. On the other hand, those in charge of economic development projects seem to enjoy better treatment. The recent motto of the People's Army is "We will take charge of national security and the construction of a socialist economy." It is not new for the People's Army to carry out roles in economic construction, and during the rule of Kim Jong-il, it was deeply involved in earning foreign currency. Recently, however, the People's Army has been given a clearer mission for economic development, and the Army appears to be responsible for the operation of joint ventures with civilian investments under the name of National Cooperative Operations. Although this may be interpreted in various ways, it might be the basic idea of Kim Jong-un to utilize the People's Army as a kind of labor force for economic development and reform, and this is likely to lead to a limited and controllable market opening, and reform

measures that Cuba has taken.

• **WANG Son-Taek** There is recent talk that likens the tasks of the South Korean government to a "heptathlon," meaning that it has to accomplish seven missions while steering its relations with the North through risks and uncertainties. The first is how to take care of the North Korean issue, or how the South Korean government should deal with the North. The second is the U.S. There were many disruptions in the ties between the South and the U.S.. Relations with the U.S. are in good shape now, but concerns also exist. The government now has a good communication channel with the U.S. administration, but an elite group in Washington are casting doubts and remain sceptical about the policies of President Trump toward the North. Along these lines, they also harbour suspicions about President Moon Jae-in who advises Trump on the North Korea issue. These factors may make it hard to cooperate with the U.S., when the North changes its attitude. The next is China. When China reserved its position or intended to interfere with developments on the Korean peninsula, it always made things worse. The next is Japan and Russia. And the sixth is how to get supra-partisan support from the domestic political circle. The seventh and last is how to control the ideologically progressive staff at Cheong Wa Dae. Currently, the government takes good care of the situation, which looks somewhat risky as threats still exist.

• **LEE Dong-Hwi** Strategic judgment is very important in the rapidly changing situation on the Korean peninsula. Strategic decisionmaking necessitates a process of negotiations. Strategies and negotiations should be inter-linked. A noticeable change found in the summit preparations was that the working level officials, who used to be technical experts in non-nuclear proliferation during the former U.S. administrations, were replaced by political figures in the Trump administration. This shift from a technical approach to a political one also shows the change of the subject of the summit from denuclearization to a peace process.

Judging from a strategic point of view, the denu-

clearization issue on the Korean peninsula is subject to the U.S.-China rivalry. Japan and Russia are also intervening in the issue with their own strategic intentions, which is likely to complicate the issue further. On the other hand, the main concerns for South Korea are the ROK-US alliance, inter-Korean issues in general, and the specific issue of denuclearization. Considering these factors, the strategies of each country in the region are subject to inevitable changes.

It is not clear whether North Korea is set to go all in on economic development, or will try to have sanctions eased partially through connivance with its nuclear weapons. In the case of the U.S., it is uncertain whether it will be content with just the elimination of North Korea's ICBMs or will push for CVID. As regards China, it is also unclear if it will continue to retain North Korea as its strategic asset or fully join efforts to denuclearize the North. Finally, it is unclear whether the Moon Jae-in government of the South is prioritizing denuclearization or improvements in inter-Korean relations. Since each of the four countries has such dual choices, these options will combine to produce complicated results. Therefore, in terms of strategy, uncertainty will inevitably prevail in Northeast Asia. Because uncertainty implies instability and fluidity, we have to make a good strategic judgment.

• **JUN Bong-guen** I have written about the prospects of the Korean peninsula issue this year, noting the shift from a rigid defense posture to political flexibility. In fact, the confrontation with the North, which was seemingly headed for a certain disaster, is now being replaced by an uncertain future.

• **KIM Young Mok** North Korea seeks to take advantage of the disruption of the existing political, economic and trade orders. It could not do what it wanted to when the U.S. and China were locked in tense confrontation, South Korea and the U.S. maintained a firm alliance, and global society criticized its human rights violations and dictatorship. We should note that the North is capitalizing on the confusion resulting from the disruption of the existing order. The word, denuclearization, confuses many. While

denuclearization has a comprehensive connotation, dismantlement has quite a concrete concept. From the experts' view, we should use the word "dismantlement," focused on the destruction of all nuclear arms and programs, because the nuclear problem started with the production of nuclear materials and the operation of nuclear programs. The word, denuclearization, makes the issue sound like an ambiguous and political one. Kim Jong-un repeatedly stated that he would denuclearize the North, and State Secretary Pompeo and President Trump also said that Kim is committed to doing so. However, on Kim's part, denuclearization is a political concept, not the actual abandonment of nuclear arms or programs. We should not confuse the word with our wishful thinking.

- **PARK Ihn Hwi** Compared to the grand scale of the U.S. detente policy toward China in the 1970s to establish an Asian order of its own, the current approach toward North Korea, a small country isolated like an island, might be called small *détente*. The summit between the U.S. and North Korea was deemed as meaningful bargaining, based on the Asia policy of the U.S., to put an institutional binding force on the denuclearization of the North. Many of the past policies toward North Korea have failed because the latter has failed to answer the demands of those policies. We believe, however, that the agreement on denuclearization and a peace regime was a meaningful political settlement. Among the four points of agreement, Paragraph 2 (building a peace regime) provided the obligation of

the U.S., and Paragraph 3 specified that of North Korea, while the North was designated as the subject of denuclearization. It is not "we," but the "DPRK" (Democratic People's Republic of Korea), according to the agreement, that has to denuclearize the Korean peninsula. The important point of the Panmunjeom Declaration is that the North and South will declare the end of the war within this year. Since the U.S. and North Korea reaffirmed the Panmunjeom Declaration once again, the declaration of the end of the Korean War this year is recognized as an official

agreement of the three countries. However, there is something to be desired. Will North Korea suddenly change the economic and political system it has maintained for 70 years? There should be follow up measures and further talks to address unsolved issues and remaining tasks.

What kind of interests did the heads of the two Koreas and the U.S. have at the summits? The U.S. administration can now take the credit for solving the North Korean issue, as its predecessors failed to do so. As an NPT (Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons) member, the U.S. established its image as a guardian of international norms by safeguarding the NPT system. The new posture of North Korea, no longer hostile toward the U.S., will provide the U.S. with a more favorable regional environment and advantageous position to check China, though it may somewhat complicate their rivalry.

North Korea has now come to be recognized by the U.S. as a normal state. With the summits, the North found a great opportunity to avert the sanctions and break away from the isolation that has continued for 70 years since the Korean War. It also provided the opportunity for the North to end the contradictory pursuit of nuclear arms and economic development. In addition, the North Korean leader can make the most of his new image as a negotiating partner of the U.S. for his domestic politics. By improving its ties with China, it also found grounds to ease the difficulties it is suffering from economic sanctions.

In the case of South Korea, the government succeeded in overcoming the scepticism about negotiating with the North which had been rife until last year and paving the way for peace building. President Moon Jae-in made a truly meaningful attempt to embrace both the U.S. and North Korea, based on lessons from the previous governments. The Moon government made a shift from a passive diplomatic posture to an active one, as testified by its economic policy, called the New Economic Map for the Korean Peninsula. We should carefully watch how the manoeuvrings of the three countries will interact with each other.

- **Hong Min** For denuclearization of the Korean peninsula, it is time to get out of the CVID framework. It is not appropriate for the expert group itself to discuss the feasibility of such a framework. In fact, nuclear engineers and nonproliferation experts think it is impossible to use the political term, CVID, as a criteria for the verification of denuclearization and all other technical issues.

I want to critically analyse this problem. We should not confuse technical and political processes. The technical process of denuclearization is said to take as long as 15 years. It is not reasonable for the political circle with just two- to five-year terms to discuss the CVID issue with a 15-year timeframe. The main issue is how to set up a political timeline and gradually ensure irreversibility within this timeline, and how to expand irreversibility with political determination. Denuclearization belongs both to the political and technological domains. It is meaningless to discuss a fictional CVID framework. It is necessary to define and judge irreversibility in terms of a political timeline. The two-and-a-half-year political timeline should be viewed as a period in which irreversibility is enhanced from a lower level to higher one, not a technical timeline toward complete denuclearization. Then, how do you ensure technical irreversibility in two years and six months? It is not the full denuclearization that we are talking about, but the distinction of each level of irreversibility such as one-year disabling, five-year disabling, and 10-year disabling. A selective approach is necessary to complete the most critical step of disabling earlier, and defer the less critical steps to later phases of denuclearization. It is important to draw up a two-and-a-half year schedule for irreversibility, so that this can fit well with the political timeline.

We need to find out what kind of roadmap North Korea has for denuclearization. First, we need to ensure the voluntarism of the North. This is not to say that all the processes of denuclearization should be voluntary, but that the North should at least take voluntary measures on a substantial level. Second, what the North wants is equal treatment. The North

feels it is extremely uncomfortable to be subject to a unilateral action of inspection or verification. Of course, to verify its denuclearization, the North should comply with an inspection by an international team. However, the North wants to implement the process on an equal footing without being passively subject to inspection. Lastly, the North hopes to pursue denuclearization simultaneously with economic development. There was criticism that the decision at the third plenary meeting of the Seventh Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea to push for new economic development projects was just a scheme to avert international sanctions, but I do not agree with this viewpoint. I think that the decision will be regarded as the first declaratory action for reform and door-to-door opening. North Korea is willing and able to denuclearize, but on the other hand, it seeks to push for economic development at the same time. China is also seen as having contributed to North Korea's denuclearization, instead of delaying it, by presenting economic development models at the three summits it has held with the North.

Policy Implications

- Top-down approach led by the presidential office and National Security Agency should be integrated with the bottom-up approach driven by the responsible government agencies and expert groups.
- To prevent a backlash from conservative forces and the opposition camp, the government should explain its North Korea policy to the latter and seek their cooperation.
- The government is required to make continued efforts to discuss its agenda with the leaders of neighboring countries and their staff, and to forge a consensus with them.
- Given the absence of a long-term blue print for the ROK-US alliance and the relationship with neighboring countries after the denuclearization of North Korea, it is urgent to draw up a mid- and long-term vision for the post-denuclearization regional order in consideration of the U.S.-China rivalry and the international order.
- Now that North Korea seeks economic development and denuclearization at the same time, and the U.S. calls on the South to assist the North, the government should explore concrete measures to assist in North Korean economic projects as a reward for its denuclearization.

'Indo-Pacific Initiative' and Maritime Security Order in East Asia



Moderator **LEE Seo-Hang** President, KIMS
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LEE Jaehyon Senior Fellow, The Asan Institute for Policy Studies
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- **Gregory POLING** The “Free and Open Indo-Pacific” (FOIP) regarded as the basis for U.S. policy toward the region under the Donald Trump administration is still evolving. But, it is possible to identify some of the concept’s broad strokes. First, the FOIP encompasses both economics and security, particularly maritime security. Second, it seeks to elevate the importance of the Indian Ocean in U.S. Asia policy by replacing the “Asia Pacific” of the Barack Obama administration’s pivot or rebalance with the “Indo-Pacific.” Third, it is a concept shared by many of the United States’ partners, especially in Tokyo, Canberra, and Delhi. Fourth, while the policy is largely a response to Chinese revisionism and perceived threats to the rules-based order, it does not aim at “containing” China. And fifth, while the broad goals underlying the FOIP are becoming clear, the administration faces significant hurdles in formulating policies to achieve them.

As for the exact contents of the FOIP strategy, certain key themes have been consistently listed, just as in the five “shared principles” underlying the strate-

gy mentioned by Secretary Mattis at the Shangri-La Dialogue: respect for sovereignty and independence of every nation, no matter its size; freedom for all nations wishing to transit international waters and airspace; peaceful dispute resolution without coercion; free, fair, and reciprocal trade and investment; and adherence to international rules and norms.

The principles of the FOIP seem to clearly match up with the long-term systemic challenges that the Trump administration sees as most pressing in the region: maritime disputes, especially in the South China Sea; the negative aspects of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), which include unsustainable debt levels resulting in political leverage over host nations; and economic frictions, including perceived unfair trade, investment practices and forced transfer of intellectual property.

The next step for the administration will be to match these broad priority areas with concrete policies. This is where the administration is struggling most however, both because of the difficulty in forging effective policy options and because of inherent

tension between certain aspects of the FOIP. In fact, the Trump administration has placed an importance on four concrete policies as a way of implementing the principles: freedom of navigation operations, legal diplomacy, a maritime capacity building for partner nations, and support for ASEAN in its negotiations with China. However, these policies were all pursued by the Obama administration and, while necessary, have proven far from sufficient to achieve the states U.S. goals of preventing China from restricting freedoms of navigation, overflight and violating international law. It is thus expected that under the FOIP the U.S. will seek to build partner capacity in the maritime space and boost interoperability in near future.

- **LEE Jaehyon** There are two potentials and two pitfalls in the free and open Indo-Pacific Initiative. First potential is the maritime connectivity in the region. The Indo-Pacific is the first concept for the region focusing on maritime connectivity compared to other precursors that focused on continental aspects of the region or were incomplete as their geographic scopes did not cover the Indian Ocean. Such concepts as Asia-Pacific and East Asia did not cover the economic and strategic connectivity between the Pacific Rim and the Indian Ocean. They, instead, focused more on the continental aspect.

The second potential is that it is an incentive for a fresh regional multilateralism. The Indo-Pacific has the potential to be a new stimulus for reviving regional multilateral cooperation. This region in recent years has been suffering from weakening regional multilateral cooperation. The regional countries are still plagued by countless nontraditional and human security issues that require joint efforts. The security issues include energy issues, natural disasters/HADR issues, public health, maritime security and safety issues including piracy, transnational crimes, drug, small arms trafficking, illegal money laundering, increasing terrorism and violent extremism. All these issues are transnational, thus are in need of multilateral efforts and approaches for a possible resolution. The new concept of the Indo-Pacific can

thus help to rekindle regional countries’ interests in promoting new multilateral cooperation to tackle the maritime security issues.

First pitfall of the Indo-Pacific initiative stems from the perceptions of regional countries on the initiative in terms of its nature. Some understand that the Indo-Pacific is a military strategy to implicitly counter rising Chinese military might in the region, while others mainly talk about economic links among Indo-Pacific countries. But, considering the Trump administration’s decision to pull out from the TPP unilaterally, one cannot say for sure that it is a geo-economic entity. Rather, the initiative can be regarded as a Trump administration’s strategic engagement with this region. But, considering the lack of the consistence and sustainability of the initiative as a strategy, it may be too early to call the initiative a strategy.

The second pitfall comes from other regional countries’ perception that the QUAD (US, Japan, Australia, and India) is the same as the FOIP even through the QUAD countries do not agree that the QUAD and the FOIP are two sides of the same coin. The thing that matters most here is that a perception of other regional countries toward the FOIP is taken more seriously than real intentions of the FOIP. As noted, the QUAD countries are global, or at least regional, powers, appearing as dominant from the perspective of small and medium countries in the region. If it is true that many regional countries and observers still see the shadow of the Quad looming over the Indo-Pacific initiative, smaller countries tend to have some reservation toward the concept of Indo-Pacific, worrying about their diminishing autonomy and leverage vis-à-vis the Quad countries and their vision of the Indo-Pacific.

- **WU Shang-Su** Due to the central locations between the Indian and Pacific Oceans, maritime Southeast Asian countries and their growing navies have increasingly important roles in the Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP) Initiative. The possibility cannot be excluded that there will be a major conflict between China and the US due to the US Indo-Pacif-

ic Initiative. In the conflict, if Beijing loses the first battle or cannot retain sea control over the specific disputed area, its dream of sea power would vanish and make Southeast Asia strategically unimportant. In contrast, China's victory over the US, or another Quad member, in a first-round exchange would force the latter to choose between preparing a next battle or blockading the key straits in Southeast Asia, aside from negotiating for peace. In a blockade, there is no doubt as to the importance of the maritime Southeast Asian states along the straits.

Southeast Asian countries would have three political positions in the face of such scenario: strict neutrality, loose neutrality, and clearly inclining to one side. But, being loosely neutral would be the common practice in the region, evidenced in all maritime Southeast Asian countries' policies and participation in the nonalliance movement. Under the loosely neutral positions, each Southeast Asian country may have certain policies favoring a specific sea power. Arms procurements and intelligence sharing would represent relatively implicit policies showing their preference or linkage, as joint exercises, foreign military presence and deployment are clearer indicators.

The loosely neutral positions favored by the region's countries is one of reasons maritime Southeast Asian countries have significantly modernized their navies and other related forces taking advantage of their recent economic growth. The modernization of those navies has two strategic values. Firstly, as it is infeasible to invade Southeast Asian countries, their military capacity is unlikely to be fully neutralized. As a result, their specific capabilities, particularly submarines and other sea denial means, would affect the maritime balance of power. Secondly, despite inferior quantity and perhaps quality, regional militaries have home field advantages, such as familiarity of theatre and light logistical burden, which may somewhat compensate for their inferiority.

In general, the basic aim of Southeast Asian navies is to defend their territory, but their planners would face dilemmas in distributing resources between peacetime and wartime missions where different ca-

pabilities are required. Under the current framework in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and other regional defense cooperation, conducting coalition operations to unify regional navies for greater challenges of conventional warfare may not be matured yet. However, some Southeast Asian countries have the potential with their current arsenals to match up with an external sea power using a ski-jump aircraft carrier with a capacity of about 40 aircraft, and escort vessels.

But, it needs to be noted that trade, investment and other economic ties with China would constrain the will and likelihood of direct participation of maritime Southeast Asian countries in the FOIP Initiative. Moreover, Beijing is also endeavoring to develop and deepen security ties in the region. However, there is still a possibility that the regional countries, under a loose neutrality position, can contribute to the FOIP Initiative through defense diplomacy, arm deals and other means.

Policy Implications

- Ensuring that purposes of the Indo-Pacific Initiative are transparent enough for other countries in the region not to misperceive.
- Making sure that order at sea in the region is to be kept not based on coercion or containment but on international norms and rules.
- It is necessary to seek multilateral approaches rather than unilateral measures for easing rising tensions especially in the South China Sea.

A Vision for ROK-UNESCO Relations in a Changing World



Opening Remarks	KIM Kwangho Secretary-General, Korean National Commission for UNESCO
Chair	LIM Hyun Mook Assistant Secretary-General, Korean National Commission for UNESCO
Moderator	KANG Sang Kyoo Director of International Relations, Korean National Commission for UNESCO
Presenter	HAN Kyung Koo Professor, Seoul National University LEW Seok Jin Professor, Sogang University SOHN Hyuk Sang Professor, Kyunghee University JO Dong Joon Professor, Seoul National University
Discussant	CHUNG Utak Director, Asia-Pacific Centre of Education for International Understanding under the auspices of UNESCO BAE Young Ja Professor, Konkuk University CHOI Dong Ju Professor, Sookmyung Women's University CHANG Jae-bok Ambassador, Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie
Rapporteur	JUNG Ye Lin Programme Specialist, Korean National Commission for UNESCO LEE Sou Yeon Programme Specialist, Korean National Commission for UNESCO

• **KIM Kwangho** Korea has considerable influence in the international community, albeit not as much as the global powers do. This session will be a good opportunity to discuss Korea's status in the global arena and directions for the future. Notably, Korea has a very important connection with UNESCO. For example, Korea ranks 13th in terms of the size of its contributions to UNESCO's regular budget and makes sizable donations over and above the regular contributions. However, Korea's visibility and efficiency do not match its contributions.

• **HAN Kyung Koo** From a cultural anthropologist's point of view, UNESCO is an international organization that perceives intellectuals, scientists, philosophers, and artists as global citizens. It strives to build peace beyond the concept of borders and states. While this is an ideal ideology from the political perspective, it still reflects the development of

human history. The way UNESCO operates is not that different from a nation. Thus, in a broad sense it is important to seek long-term benefits for member states. Of course, short-term benefits for member states are important. However, it is important that the members go beyond myopic national interests and work for the benefit of all.

There is inefficiency inside UNESCO. Result-oriented management is how for-profit organizations work. Thus, this is not suitable for an international organization that pursues educational, scientific, and cultural exchange and cooperation. Since UNESCO was established for peace, we need to be reminded of what it stands for and try to keep it separate from politics. Indeed, short-term goals have limited its operation in many ways. I believe efforts are needed to go beyond these governmental limitations. To that end, Korea should actively contribute to UNE-

SCO's overall agenda setting and establishment of its visions. Since the Korean National Commission for UNESCO is the largest and most active among national commissions, the commission should play an active role, and communication, exchange and cooperation need to be augmented.

While the concept of universal peace exists, we need to think about how UNESCO can harmoniously seek "cultures of peace". Korea should proactively initiate joint studies and take action.

- **LEW Seok Jin** Before setting the vision for Korea-UNESCO cooperation, we need to set Korea's vision on what we want to get from UNESCO and how we can contribute to it. For example, the U.S.'s announcement to withdraw from UNESCO should deal a blow to the U.S. as well. What would we miss the most if Korea were to decide to leave the organization? The answer to this question could help elucidate the vision for our cooperation with UNESCO. We should also examine how UNESCO is uniquely different from other international organizations (e.g., UNICEF) that Korea supports.

Currently, Korea has no clear goal or criteria on what it wants to gain from its cooperation with UNESCO, and that is why we ended up discussing the efficiency of the Korea-UNESCO strategy. We should not just assess our cooperation with UNESCO in terms of cost-efficiency. Instead, we should think logically about how we can cooperate rather than whether our cooperation is efficient or not.

- **SOHN Hyuk Sang** Setting aside UNESCO's fundamental values and legitimacy, I would like to talk about what our contribution goals should be, and how we should cooperate, given that Korea makes a financial contribution to UNESCO. While Korea's assessed contributions have grown smaller, albeit moderately, its multi-bilateral funding is rising. In particular, the amount of multilateral, non-earmarked assistance—which allows us to select the purpose of a particular project, its recipients and location—has grown. The size of Korea's assessed and voluntary contributions have increased 21 percent from 2015 to 2018, and the Ministry of Education

and Ministry of Foreign Affairs are leading these efforts. But Korea has no comprehensive data that breaks down contributions to UNESCO separately, as made by each government organization, and also lacks national statistics on multilateral assistance. While several government organizations contribute to fourteen international organizations, my impression is that they have not coordinated their assistance. Thus, their assistance projects overlap with one another. I see there is much room for improvement to ensure the efficiency of our contributions. I am referring to what should be done at the national level. For example, each government organization should examine whether they have expertise in their respective projects. These projects are mostly concentrated in education, rather than being classified by region or theme. Moreover, the budget size for a contribution varies a great deal by subject field. For example, few contributions have been made for science and communication. Thus, further discussion is needed on how to set goals for Korea's voluntary contributions.

I have following concerns for our voluntary contributions to UNESCO. 1) The First Basic Plan for International Development Cooperation discusses the Millennium Development Goals and universal values such as humanitarian aid. The Second Basic Plan talks about the Sustainable Development Goals and how to establish policies and rules for multilateral organizations. However, there is no discussion regarding UNESCO. 2) UNESCO was mentioned once in the 2017 Comprehensive Implementation Plan but does not appear in the 2018 edition. For that reason, it is difficult to suggest a goal for our voluntary contributions to UNESCO. The government should come up with a strategy, including our vision and core values regarding our cooperation with UNESCO, and propose comprehensive goals. 3) We need a more concrete strategy, one which takes into consideration political alliances with member states through a bilateral approach. The strategy should also determine whether we should develop an area in which Korea has a competitive edge and expand UN-

ESCO's unique values or whether we should pursue a multilateral partnership by expanding our global social capital.

- **JO Dong Joon** Excellent work pointing out how we lack common goals regarding our cooperation with UNESCO. I think we need to pursue a particular project with UNESCO after identifying what we want to obtain from this cooperation. Recently, there has been a great deal of criticism about how UNESCO has been politicized. However, I always considered UNESCO to be a very political organization.

The UN started as a wartime alliance in 1942. Since UNESCO is an organization created after World War II, its background is similar to that of the UN. Since the 1950s, UNESCO has heavily invested in education to address various political issues such as Apartheid and conflict between the U.S. and newly independent countries. Since then, member states have worked on tackling poverty through education. That, in turn, has resulted in an ultimate increase in social investment in education.

There are many versions regarding what UNESCO's original purpose was. However, a debate on this can be interpreted in any way you like. What matters more than this debate is a discussion on what each member state wants, what resources and strengths we have, and how we can apply them to UNESCO. While working with numerous countries, we should pursue the agenda we want. For that, we need to be honest and talk about what we want to achieve by cooperating with UNESCO, then discuss the pros and cons, and finally make a decision.

- **CHUNG Utak** UNESCO is an international organization with an unsolvable dilemma. Its governance is ruled by governments, something the organization has no power to change. Although UNESCO was established as an international organization, it has become an inter-governmental organization. And the way it operates is different from its founding objectives, with participation by foreign ministries, the permanent representative office, and member states of its executive board. However, Korea has had a competitive edge in some areas. Korea ranks high among

UNESCO member states and has carried out world-class activities in Category 2 Centres. Based on this, Korea's influence will grow in such areas as official development assistance (ODA) projects, and Category 2 Institutes and Centres should take on practical roles. For a more value-oriented division of roles, institutes should cooperate even in the development of Category 2 Institutes and Centres.

- **CHOI Dong Ju** There is criticism about UNESCO, specifically about its inefficient operation, lack of skilled management, and how politics often come into play. Although UNESCO is perceived as specializing in culture and education, when compared with other organizations its visibility is relatively poor in the fields of science and information communication. The Korean National Commission has world-class expertise, and I recommend active use of this expertise. Within UNESCO, Korea has taken the lead in the concept of educational ODA and global citizen education. Korea should take into consideration the following information. Regarding Korea's diplomatic ties with the UN, 25,000 of the 40,000 documents that were reviewed were related to UNESCO. Indeed, Korea has built a strong relationship with UNESCO. Considering recent changes on the Korean Peninsula, UNESCO is the only channel by which to take a non-political approach. Korea should take more of a leading role within UNESCO by proposing universal policies, values, and the like.

- **BAE Young Ja** I study the contact point of international politics, science, and technology. Although the presence of science is weak in UNESCO, science was included by Sir Julian Huxley, who served as the first Secretary-General of UNESCO. I would like to have an in-depth discussion regarding the social responsibilities of scientists. Science accounts for 20 to 30 percent of UNESCO's total budget. As such, it is still an important field for UNESCO. However, further consideration should be given to whether UNESCO's science projects align with its identity.

When UNESCO was founded, there was no organization specializing in science. Thus, UNESCO pursued large projects involving the oceans and water.

However, these projects have poor visibility. A recent trend in science and technology is public diplomacy, in addition to professional cooperation, by contributing to universal values such as peace and humanity. Since individual countries are actively participating in public diplomacy in science and technology, UNESCO can serve as a venue for multilateral organizations.

We should also think about how science matches UNESCO's identity. Since UNESCO is in charge of pursuing universal values for humans and preparing the necessary rules, it could bring to the fore topics such as economic divisions and ethical issues caused by new technology in relation to the recently discussed 4th Industrial Revolution. It would be meaningful for UNESCO to serve as a pivot for the discussion on how to make new technology a common resource. For that, various topics can be discussed, including new technology as seen from an economic perspective, and how this could result in gaps or inequity between advanced and developing countries in social, ethical, and philosophical areas.

We could also pursue development cooperation in relation to science and technology capabilities similar to the United Kingdom's Newton Fund. We need to try to secure the status of science by strengthening the visibility of projects that support developing countries' capabilities in science and technology. Japan is also trying to offer practical benefits to developing countries by harnessing the contact point between education and science. For example, Japan runs a fellowship that links scientists from Japan and developing countries. We should also provide support for the joint study of the Baekdusan volcano and inter-Korean science and technology projects. By focusing on science and technology for the promotion of peace, we can come closer to UNESCO's founding goal of realizing peace and prosperity through science. This will also ease the issue of political influence over UNESCO.

• **CHANG Jae-bok** My association with UNESCO goes back to my appointment as the Minister-Counselor of UNESCO's representative office in 2009. Through the

Korean National Commission, the office could establish a strategy that gives financial support for the private sector, academia, and government that pursues UNESCO's brand values (World Heritage, Creative Cities, etc.) They should think about how to secure sufficient resources for UNESCO using this brand value.

Q & A

Q. Kwon HUH Director General of UNESCO's International Information and Networking Center for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia Pacific Region To cooperate with UNESCO, Korea can pick the projects it wants. We should determine what we want from the relationship by considering what we would miss the most when we quit UNESCO. Moreover, we should also consider effectiveness of our support to international organizations and how it aligns with our national strategy. Without spelling out our purpose and strategy, it is difficult to expand our partnership with UNESCO. Thus, we should regularly examine what we want to get out of our cooperation with UNESCO.

A. LIM Hyun Mook In Korea, many players are carrying out UNESCO projects. However, each player, including the government, civic groups, and experts, has its own goal. Thus, the participants should gather and have a candid conversation about what goals they should pursue, find common ground, and form synergistic relationships.

Policy Implications

- We discussed what UNESCO fundamentally stands for and explained why discussion is needed. We need to discuss whether UNESCO's current status is desirable and what kind of UNESCO we want. We need internally agreed-upon goals to avoid becoming obsessed with efficiency.
- Although numerous organizations are actively working with UNESCO, there is no common vision and goals for cooperation between Korea and UNESCO.
- It is recommended that the Korean government, UNESCO's Korean National Commission, and UNESCO Category 2 Centres play more leading roles by proposing universal policies or values.

Shedding New Light on Trilateral Cooperation: Beyond Vision 2020



Chair/Moderator	LEE Jong-heon Secretary-General, TCS
Presenter	CHOI Bong-kyu Deputy Director-General, Northeast Asian Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the ROK Fumio SHIMIZU Deputy Director-General, Asian and Oceanian Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan MAO Ning Deputy Director-General, Asian Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China PARK Young-June Professor, National Security College, Korea National Defense University Go ITO Professor, International Relations, Meiji University FAN Shiming Deputy Dean, Institute of International Relations, Peking University
Rapporteur	HWANG Ye-Eun Political Affairs Officer, Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat

• **CHOI Bong-kyu** The Republic of Korea, China and Japan together form a unique cultural zone, and each of them have a significant role in international politics. The three countries also account for 21 percent of the world population. In economic terms, they take up 22 percent of the global GDP and 18 percent of the world trade volume. On the other hand, they are still trapped in the "Asian Paradox," a disconnect between growing economic interdependence on the one hand, and backward political, security cooperation on the other. Against this background, the three countries began their summit talks, timed with the ASEAN+3 meeting in 1999, which later developed into independent trilateral talks. The incumbent government of South Korea also attaches importance to tripartite cooperation.

The most significant achievement of the Seventh Japan-China-ROK Trilateral Summit meeting was the adoption of the Joint Statement on the 2018 Inter-Korean Summit, in which they pledged to cooperate on a peace process for the Korean peninsula. The leaders of the three countries also agreed

to institutionalize tripartite cooperation by holding annual meetings and to expand substantive cooperation by providing their people with the opportunities to experience their counterparts. To implement these agreements, they should strive to establish future-oriented cooperative ties. They would also make efforts to institutionalize trilateral cooperation by holding summits on a regular basis and strengthening the capacities of the Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat.

• **Fumio SHIMIZU** The ups and downs of bilateral ties in recent years have exercised a serious influence upon tripartite cooperation, even raising doubts about the trilateral summits. However, most recently, bilateral ties among the three countries have shown signs of improvement, with the Korea-Japan and China-Japan summits being held jointly with the 7th Japan-China-ROK Trilateral Summit in Tokyo.

In the trilateral summit, the three leaders held discussions on two agendas on the regional and global level, including the North Korean issue. Marking the 10th anniversary of the trilateral summit this year,

they reviewed tripartite cooperation and agreed to advance their cooperation in an open and inclusive manner. The three countries have made important achievements in various fields of cooperation, ranging from disaster management, the environment and human exchange to health affairs.

The complete denuclearization of the Korean peninsula and the maintenance of peace and stability in Northeast Asia remain the common goal and responsibility of the three countries. The summit was meaningful in that it was held at a crucial moment, right before the U.S.-North Korea talks and after the inter-Korean summits.

Concrete measures to promote open and inclusive cooperation include negotiations on the ROK-China-Japan Free Trade Agreement and the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP). In addition, considering the large demand for infrastructure development in Asia, infrastructure cooperation is one of the areas that can adopt the “3+1” cooperation formula which was newly introduced at this summit. Finally, Japan is pursuing a “free and open India-Pacific strategy” based on the principle of the rule of law, prosperity through connection, and peace and stability in the Oceania region.

- **MAO Ning** The summit held last month and the positive developments in the political situation surrounding the Korean peninsula have provided new opportunities and impetus for trilateral cooperation. I think this is an appropriate moment to give the trilateral cooperation mechanism a greater role and responsibility ahead of its 20th anniversary next year. First, trilateral cooperation should play a more active role in promoting regional cooperation. Second, the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula and the establishment of a peace regime are difficult tasks, which require coordination and cooperation among all concerned countries. I think that Korea, China and Japan should play an important role in this respect. Third, the three countries should be the driving force behind global economic development and defend the multilateral trade system based on free trade principles and the rule of law.

To fulfil these responsibilities, the trilateral cooperation needs to be strengthened. In particular, as the three leaders agreed to regularize the summit, they should build political trust through in-depth strategic communication among themselves. Furthermore, they need to advance existing functional cooperation and strengthen cooperation with other East Asian countries by paving the way for new cooperative ties under such frameworks as the One Belt, One Road initiative or the 3+1 cooperation formula. They are also advised to take full advantage of the Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat. As the new chair country of trilateral cooperation, China is ready to cooperate closely with Korea, Japan and the TCS.

- **PARK Young-June** The East Asian region has long been characterized by the absence of multilateral cooperation. There have been significant developments such as the establishment of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) in 1993 and the TCS in 2010, but considerable uncertainty reigns over the region as a consequence of historical disputes and competition over sea rights. This paradox proves the importance of trilateral cooperation. So far, President Moon Jae-in has played an active role in promoting trilateral cooperation.

To expand the role of TCS not only in strengthening trilateral cooperation but also in contributing to the gradual opening of North Korea, I would like to share views on the following proposals. First, North Korean universities should be allowed to participate in the CAMPUS Asia program of the three countries. Second, the three countries must invite North Korea to the East Asian Culture City Program, which selects culture cities in each country every year. Third, the three countries should assist the backward economy of North Korea by institutionalizing the Northeast Asia Development Bank. Fourth, they should invite North Korea as an observer to the next Korea-China-Japan summit, which would have a positive impact on the denuclearization of North Korea.

- **Go ITO** It was the usual practice of many East Asian countries, including Korea, China and Japan,

to take advantage of nationalistic sentiment or to utilize conflicts with other countries in their pursuit of national interests. In the case of trilateral cooperation, the common enemy, a nuclearized North Korea, has been very helpful in bringing Korea, China and Japan together.

In contrast with the negative effects of politics, the economic interdependence and social interactions such as human exchanges gained more importance gradually amid the expansion of the scope of exchanges. Civic groups have actively exchanged ideas and cultural activities among themselves, regardless of intergovernmental relations. A good example is the boom of the Korean Wave in Japanese pop culture. It should be remembered that politics should work for the public, not vice versa.

In this context, it is necessary for Korea, China and Japan to focus on a framework for cooperation rather than the content of dialogue, which accentuates the need to continue dialogue, even if they face differences on specific issues. Given the geographical proximity of the three countries, it is also necessary to pay heed to the respective benefits of each party even when discussing a common agenda. What counts is not words, but action.

- **FAN Shiming** The summit level agenda repeatedly highlights the importance of tourism and sports, and youth, cultural and educational exchanges along with public diplomacy among the three countries. Human exchanges among them can create an atmosphere conducive to better understanding and positive perceptions about each other. The virtuous circle of human exchanges and the knowledge accumulated through networking activities may deliver bottom-up solutions to political conflicts among the three countries.

Aside from these positive aspects, it is time to consider how to promote more substantive human exchanges. According to related statistics, tourism did not necessarily contribute to friendship or intimacy. The statistics also showed the imbalance of the human exchanges. As pointed out earlier by other speakers, human exchanges are also easily

influenced by the ups and downs of political and diplomatic relations.

Mutual understanding comes from shared ideas, and educational exchanges provide young people with this opportunity to interact. The CAMPUS Asia program is an example. It provides the opportunity for students and professors to engage in academic discussions and contact local people outside the universities, as well. Such educational exchanges are expected to play the role of “adhesives and lubricants” in trilateral cooperation.

Policy Implications

- To institutionalize trilateral cooperation, it is necessary for Korea, China and Japan to implement agreements on regular summits and to continue in-depth strategic dialogue across all levels of governmental agencies. They also should provide all the support needed to strengthen the capacities of the Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat.
- A variety of dialogue platforms are needed to define the concepts or cooperation frameworks proposed by the leaders of the three countries, and to discuss how to materialize or put them into practice. By doing so, they can avail themselves of balanced top-down and bottom-up approaches toward trilateral cooperation.
- The development of new cooperative projects is still important in expanding substantial cooperation, but now is the time to think about how they can develop more substantive cooperation on a higher plane.

Formation of New Peace Paradigm of Korean Peninsula and Role of Civil Society



Chair **CHO Han Bum** Senior Research Fellow, Korea Institute for National Unification
 Presenter **Tadatoshi AKIBA** Co-Chair, Hiroshima Council Against A & H Bomb
LEE Seung-Hwan Chairman, South-North Korea Exchanges and Cooperation Support Association
LIM Kang Taeg Senior Research Fellow, Korea Institute for National Unification
 Discussant **KANG Young Sik** Secretary-General, Korean Sharing Movement
KIM Jong Soo Unification Research Fellow, Democratic Party of Korea
KIM Il Yong Former Head of Seoul Headquarters, Jeju Special Self-Governing Province
 Rapporteur **LEE Hyun Hee** The National Unification Advisory Council

- **Tadatoshi AKIBA** To seek peace, stability and justice in Northeast Asia, this region has to turn into a “nuclear weapons-free zone,” in addition to the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. To do this, the members of the six-party talks – South and North Korea, China, Japan, Russia and the U.S. – should participate in negotiations on this nuclear-free zone. The two Koreas and Japan at the center of the region should declare that they will not possess nuclear arms, and the neighboring China and Russia and the U.S. should pledge that they will not use nuclear weapons in this region. The role of civic society and local governments is also important to denuclearize the region. Japan already has many nuclear-free cities. The municipalities of Korea and Japan may issue a joint declaration on denuclearization. If local governments do so, it would help change the policies of the central government, and the civic circle should play an active role to that end. Denuclearization might seem like a dream. However, the number of nuclear warheads remarkably decreased after reaching a peak in 1986 as civic groups raised their an-

ti-nuclear voices. It is not an impossible goal, given the fact that half of the world is now free of nuclear arms.

- **LEE Seung-Hwan** The recent change in North Korea did not come suddenly. Kim Jung-un has consistently pursued economic development and wants peace on the Korean Peninsula for this. Hence, the change in the North might be the result of long accumulated efforts. The North is seen as aiming at becoming a normal state, maintaining a politically neutral stance between the U.S. and China, and having closer economic ties with China. Inter-Korean relations should now be operated in accordance with the spirit of the candlelit protests calling for direct democracy. In addition, the South should make a transition from the government-led paradigm to “collaborative social governance” to expand democracy and ultimately expand the role of civic society. Institutional reform for the development of inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation should be based on the principle of promoting the autonomy of the private sector and providing multilateral access

by various actors to North Korea. Efforts should also be made to institutionalize measures to allow citizens to participate in the decision-making on the execution of unification, diplomacy and security policies. Civic society and the National Assembly should join hands to establish permanent dialogue and communication channels that will prevent expanded inter-Korean exchanges from inviting social conflict in the South.

- **LIM Kang Taeg** North Korea declared the simultaneous pursuit of economic development and possession of nuclear arms at the third plenary session of the 7th Central Committee of the Communist Party in April, 2018. The North brought about a change in its economic policy to the ends of concentrating efforts to develop its socialist economy. Economic cooperation and exchanges with the North should be pursued in consideration of this change in North Korean policies. The South Korean government’s New Economic Map Initiative for the Korean Peninsula is to bring a market-oriented change to inter-Korean economic cooperation, and most symbolic of this initiative is the high-speed railway connection project. If the railways of the North and South are connected, Northeast Asia, including China, would become a one-day living zone, and it would pave the way for their connection to the highspeed railway network of China, and the integration of markets in the region. The establishment of a new economic system on the Korean peninsula requires a consensus in South Korean society, a positive response from North Korea, and the understanding and cooperation of the international community. In other words, civic society in the South would assume a more important role in forming a consensus on inter-Korean exchanges. The government would have to build a role-sharing cooperation system with the private sector in order to build good governance with civic society. The government should also play a role in establishing a new framework of cooperation with the North and a legal system to back it up, as well as expanding the scope of inter-Korean exchanges to include the business and civic sectors.

On the other hand, local governments and NGOs should focus their efforts on promoting exchange projects in the field of humanitarian aid and development cooperation. North Korea is also in need of exchanges and cooperation in the private sector to create momentum for change from below. We should strengthen the base of the market economy in the North by expanding contacts with North Korean residents and supporting their market activities. Even if inter-Korean economic cooperation is expanded, the polarization of North Korea and the life of vulnerable groups are likely to be left unattended. Therefore, civic society in the South should keep this in mind when assisting the North, and their exchange projects should be oriented toward the future.

- **KANG Young Sik** There are many reports that North Korea’s economic situation has improved, but 45 percent of North Koreans still suffer from malnutrition due to an economic crisis. In contrast, South Korea keeps three million tons of rice in warehouses, which entails 800 million won in storage costs yearly. This is tantamount to the spending of the UN for emergency relief in North Korea for eight years. The South needs to actively assist the North to reduce the gap between the lives of North and South Koreans. Future support to North Korea should be planned from a comprehensive viewpoint, going beyond humanitarian aid, so as to resolve the gap by promoting joint development projects to the end of balanced development and peaceful coexistence. They should cooperate to build a humanitarian community, as well as a peace community and an economic community. Korean civic society should cooperate with the international community so that the UN’s sustainable development goals, which are a platform for international development cooperation, can be implemented in North Korea.

- **KIM Jong Soo** While the inter-Korean stalemate has been prolonged, unification activities of civic society in the South have declined quantitatively and qualitatively. However, for the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and the establishment

of a peace regime, the government should cooperate closely with civic society and secure legal grounds to support it. Civic society needs to be revitalized through the synergy effects from the improvement of inter-Korean relations and government support, so that it may continue to promote inter-Korean cooperation projects. The role of the private sector and inter-Korean business partners is instrumental in the implementation of the New Economic Map Initiative, but the business sector is deeply distrustful of inter-Korean economic cooperation due to the suspension of the Mount Geumgang tours and the closure of the Gaesong Industrial Complex. Therefore, the South should dispel the distrust with institutional measures such as the amendment of the Inter-Korean Exchange and Cooperation Act, and the enactment of what is called the Inter-Korean Economic Cooperation Insurance Law. The government and civic society should promote inter-Korean cooperation projects in the private sector through the channel of the Joint Liaison Office.

- **KIM Il Yong** To establish a new economic paradigm on the Korean peninsula, not only the government but also civic society and municipalities should actively do their parts. In the case of Jeju Island, civic society's inter-Korean cooperation projects and peace projects led to the successful result of designating Jeju as the Island of World Peace in 2005. The inter-Korean exchange project for peace initiated by civic organizations also developed into a province wide movement. To lay the institutional foundation for inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation, the Jeju Special Self-governing Province set up mid- to long-term master plans (2006), enacted an ordinance (2007) and established a fund (5.2 billion Korean won as of 2018). Civic society took the lead in these endeavors that were backed by the local government with institutional measures. To help local governments become full-fledged players in inter-Korean exchanges, it is necessary to reform the existing system that restricts the direct involvement of local governments in the exchanges.

Policy Implications

- Beyond the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula, the Northeast Asian region should be a nuclear weapons free zone. This will be accomplished when the two Koreas and Japan at the center of the region declare that they will not possess nuclear arms, and the neighboring China and Russia and the U.S. pledge that they will not use nuclear weapons to build peace in this region.
- Inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation should take the course of empowering direct democracy, the call of the "Candlelight Revolution." This will encourage citizens' participation and expand the private sector's role in exchanges.
- In consideration of the still adverse conditions in extending humanitarian aid to the North, a North Korea aid program should take the approach of building a humanitarian community as well as a peace community and an economic community. The government and civic society should also cooperate on "good governance," while expanding the role of the private sector.
- Local governments should also perform the roles of main actors, jointly with citizens, in inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation. To this end, institutional reform is called for.

Era of Negotiations and The Korean Diplomacy



Chair	HAN Taekyu Chairman, Korean Council on Foreign Relations/Former President, Jeju Peace Institute
Presenter	LEE Donghwi Vice Chairman, Korean Council on Foreign Relations/Emeritus Professor, Korea National Diplomatic Academy JEON Kyongmann Vice President, Unification Council of Korea JUN Bonggeun Professor, Korea National Diplomatic Academy KIM Kyuryoon Senior Research Fellow, Korea Institute for National Unification
Discussant	BYUN Daeho Editor-in-Chief, Journal of "Foreign Relations", KCFR/Former Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to Croatia KANG Keuntaik Research Fellow, Center for Diplomacy, Negotiation & Strategy of KCFR/ Former Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to Ukraine KIM Hongkook Vice President, Korea Association of Negotiation Study/Adjunct Professor, Kyonggi University
Rapporteur	KIM Youngshim Section Chief, Korean Council on Foreign Relations

- **KIM Kyuryoon** After the Panmunjeom Declaration on April 27, inter-Korean relations face a new momentum of change. It is a big change, in that they ended the long stalemate. However, we still have to wait and see if the improved ties will bring a greater scale of change, because the North Korean dictatorship system will remain in power until the death of Kim Jong-un, while President Moon Jae-in has just a single five-year term.

Since the Panmunjeom Declaration put forward the issue of denuclearization, it is important to solve the issue on an international level. Inter-Korean relations will be significantly affected by the influence of international society. North and South Koreans might find it hard to understand this, asking why foreign forces intervene in their own unification issue. There is also a possibility that unification will be delayed a little further. However, there is a positive aspect that the universal standards recognized by global society can make a solution to the nuclear

issue more sustainable. I would like to see the inter-Korean issue solved by a multilateral cooperative system joined by countries other than the U.S., China, Russia and Japan.

Military tensions can be mitigated by inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation, when North Korea conducts reform and opens its doors. Will North Korea join the path toward unification through these exchanges and cooperation with the South? In the past, North Korea agreed even on the minute details when President Roh Moohyun and Chairman Kim Jong-il issued the Oct. 4 Declaration in 2007. However, the agreement was abandoned, due to the replacement of the progressive government by conservative one in the South, and subsequent changes in the position of the North. However, the failure to implement the agreement is not ascribed to regime change in the South, alone. The North is also responsible, given the limitations in its reform efforts. North Korea is putting limits on economic reform and opening; shun-

ning a full-scale opening and refusing to accept the market economy, fearing it as a threat to its regime security. The North now maintains peaceful relations with the South while complying with dialogue, but it remains to be seen how long these limited exchanges will be sustained. That is the uncertainty the South has to grapple with.

- **HAN Taekyu** The bottom line of negotiations is to keep promises, but the North often has not. So, there is a matter of trust when we deal with the North. On the other hand, Chairman Kim Jong-un has demonstrated his confidence in talks at the inter-Korean summit this year, which might indicate the possibility of the perpetuation of his power. I think it is a good reminder that the presidents of South Korea and the U.S. have inherent limitations, compared to the North Korean leader.

- **JUN Bonggeun** I would like to talk about the North Korea-U.S. summit in terms of negotiations. There used to be many taboos in the relations between South and North Korea, and between the U.S. and North Korea. Hence, the South should think strategically and approach the negotiations from a broader and more comprehensive perspective. South Korea has not had the experience of negotiating on security matters, as it has just relied on the U.S. In contrast, North Korea has ample experience of negotiating for the sake of its security. We have witnessed North Korea's balanced diplomacy with China. North Korean diplomacy has been flexible, but will it remain flexible toward its security, too? The conventional talks on the North Korean nuclear issue were bureaucratic and technical negotiations, but the talks now underway are a kind of political negotiation in which politicians take the initiative. If negotiations continue this way, we should take a sensitive approach toward it.

The North has opted for voluntary and proactive denuclearization, but I think there is a big limit to this. There are options which are open to progress or interruption. There should be a higher level of response capacity and follow up capacity. Before making a response to the moves of the North, the South

should accordingly decide whether to wait until the North implements its agreement or to intervene in the denuclearization process. Finally, one of the most salient features of the 27-year nuclear negotiations is the "vicious cycle." There have been six major cycles, including the Joint Declaration of Denuclearization, the Geneva Agreement, and the Six-Party Talks. The agreement this year is also unlikely to be implemented, not only because of the unreliable North, but also because of other problems. We need to identify the problems of the vicious cycles of the past. If the nuclear agreement fails to secure political support, future negotiations will face difficulties. It is important to maintain a policy consistency and a domestic consensus.

- **HAN Taekyu** As President Moon Jae-in emphasized in the process of an agreement between the U.S. and North Korea on the nuclear issue, how to play the role of mediator is an important diplomatic task for the South Korean government.

- **JEON Kyongmann** North Korea has insisted on a peace treaty, since it was first mentioned in the Geneva talks, in its talks with the international community. As it has kept advocating for a peace treaty for a long time, North Korea is now in an advantageous position in negotiations. The North succeeded in putting the treaty on the negotiations agenda, after completing its development of nuclear weapons and missiles. In order to achieve "peaceful coexistence and common prosperity" with the North, the Moon Jae-in government designated the nuclear issue as part of the negotiations agenda between North Korea and the U.S., while prioritizing the improvement of inter-Korean relations as the South's agenda. This provided an opportunity for Kim Jong-un. Overall, the inter-Korean summit ended up giving an advantage to the North, as the North wanted.

To be a perfect negotiator, one has to be realistic, not to believe in others but let others believe in their counterparts, and to pretend to be modest but to cheat others for one's own interests. Among the heads of the two Koreas and the U.S., Kim Jong-un is the most realistic negotiator. As the North Korean

regime is in his hands, Kim Jong-un has the upper hand over President Moon Jae-in and Trump who are not owners but managers. Kim has the desperate need to steer the negotiations in his favor. Although the U.S. asked North Korea to return to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) and presented CVID (complete, verifiable and irreversible denuclearization) as a sufficient condition to solve the nuclear issue, Kim Jong-un ended the negotiations by accepting just the necessary conditions for the solution of the issue, as he had the upper hand over Trump. The results of negotiations are classified into "full agreement," "disagreement," "suspension of negotiations," "agreement on disagreement" and "partial agreement." It is evident that the inter-Korean and the North Korea-U.S. summits produced "full agreements." However, they did not specify the timing and method of meeting the sufficient conditions for denuclearization. This indicates that the North is in control of the issue, while the U.S. still has to ask the North to meet the sufficient condition. Those who have negotiated with North Korea usually complain about the distrustfulness of the North. Pyongyang used to treat negotiations, agreement and implementation as separate things. North Korea has a bad track record of implementing agreements. The peace treaty will depend upon the U.S. judgment of whether North Korea has met the necessary conditions for denuclearization, and to which extent North Korea ties denuclearization with the need to maintain its regime.

- **HAN Taekyu** Negotiations on denuclearization are said to be proceeding in favor of North Korea. Negotiations are a process of give and take. If South Korea wants North Korea to abandon its nuclear arms, and the North wants a peace regime for its security guarantee, the negotiations would be about exchanging these. Judging from the Six-Party Talks, Sept. 19 Statement, the Panmunjeom Declaration and the North Korea-U.S. summit, it is inevitable that the negotiations should pursue denuclearization and a peace treaty in parallel. China also calls for a parallel track (of denuclearization and a peace treaty). This is

nothing new to South Korea, which has yet to agree with the two track approach. However, negotiations on a peace treaty have their precedents, too.

- **LEE Donghwi** If the North Korea-U.S. summit is evaluated in terms of negotiations, the evaluation is divided into two: one based on the result, and the other based on the achievement. The former is to assess the summit by the statement, which came after the negotiations. The latter is to estimate the achievement of the negotiations. A true evaluation of the negotiation should be based on achievement, but it is hard to evaluate the summit between North Korea and the U.S. because the negotiations are to be followed by other ones. In conclusion, North Korea is evaluated to have fared better.

The U.S. and North Korea both were evaluated to have failed to efficiently approach their goals. The U.S. retreated from its original goal in its power-driven approach, and North Korea has tried to take advantage of the time constraints of the U.S., but it is hard to judge this approach as efficient. Another question is whether they will be able to sustain the negotiations. Considering domestic politics, the U.S. is unlikely to do so, due to the Russian scandal and illegal immigration problems. North Korea also faces the possibility of economic hardship and the resistance of its military. Both of them do not have favorable conditions for the negotiations, and are likely to face the problems of the top-down approach.

Judging in terms of sustainability, it is uncertain if domestic politics can serve as an accelerator or decelerator of the negotiations. It also remains to be seen whether the U.S. could successfully push for CVID, or whether it would be content with managing the North Korean issue like the cases of India and Pakistan if the North offers a compromise on denuclearization. The second question is North Korea. It is uncertain whether it will keep its promise to concentrate on economic development, or continue to possess nuclear weapons. The third question is China, which says it will denuclearize North Korea. But China might be tempted to capitalize on the

North Korean nuclear arsenal. Finally, South Korea should consider the inter-Korean relations while addressing the denuclearization issue. In view of these circumstances, I think that the outcome of the negotiations will be determined by the various, conflicting positions of the related countries.

Given this situation, there should be a systematic effort to connect diverse strategies with the negotiations. There are three questions: 1) State power was supposed to be of leverage in the negotiations at the U.S.-North Korea summit; therefore, what impact did it have? 2) When economic interests and security are interlocked, how do they affect the negotiations? 3) How do we evaluate in theoretical terms the negotiations which have yet to be completed?

- **HAN Taekyu** South Korean diplomacy has three tasks in negotiations on the North Korean issue: inter-Korean cooperation, the denuclearization of North Korea and a peace regime. The subjects of inter-Korean cooperation are South and North Korea. In the denuclearization issue, the actors are North Korea and the U.S., with South Korea assuming the role of mediator. The peace regime issue has no key player, which is an interesting point.

- **KANG Keuntaik** The North Korea-U.S. summit exposed some problematic features. First, it took the top-down approach with the heads of state sitting down at the negotiating table in person. However, they had no basic agenda on the concrete methods and timing for the denuclearization of the North. What does it mean to entrust such matters to their secretaries or ministers? Some observers say that Trump and Kim Jong-un will have second and third talks. But, summits cannot be held without preparations. In spite of the working level negotiations, they did not produce any single principle. It will be harder to do so in the second and third summits. As it is not a simple matter, they cannot make progress. Another questionable issue is who will be the architect of the peace regime. According to the joint statement, it is the U.S. and North Korea. They can draw up an overall outline. The two Koreas discussed the peace treaty issue at the four-party talks for two years in

1997-1999, but failed to reach an agreement, because North Korea claimed that the South was not qualified to do so, citing the fact that the South was not a signatory to the Armistice of the Korean War. At the time, the North insisted that the U.S. and the North should conclude the peace treaty. Hence, the U.S.-North Korea talks on the peace treaty raise concerns that it may rekindle the issue of who should sign the treaty. The North may also take issue with the ROK-US joint military exercises. To replace the armistice with a peace treaty also affects the United Nations Command, the presence of U.S. troops in the South, and the ROK-U.S. alliance.

- **BYUN Daeho** Judging by the inter-Korean joint declaration at Panmunjeom on April 27 and the joint statement of the U.S.-North Korea summit on June 12, North Korea is deemed to be the “winner.” While the two documents have all the agenda items the North insisted on, they have none the South suggested. They had denuclearization, a peace regime and an improvement of U.S.-North Korea ties. In another agreement between the U.S. and North Korea, the return of the remains of U.S. servicemen was added. It is an old issue reaffirmed at the agreement, which is no more than a consensus on the agenda items for further negotiations at the working level. On the other hand, there are questions on the relevance of the items and whether the establishment of U.S.-North Korean ties should precede denuclearization and a peace treaty, that is, a priority issue. The unresolved issues include the Chinese suggestion of “bilateral suspension” and “parallel track (of denuclearization and a peace treaty)” as well as the issue of verification of denuclearization. For this reason, I would like to say that the North achieved its goals at the summit. Second, I would like to go over the reason why the North has complied with the summit. The North came to have confidence that it might be on an equal footing with the U.S., with its successful development of nuclear arms. The joint declaration manifests the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. This is aimed at dismantling the ROK-US alliance and a blockade of the deployment

of U.S. nuclear arms to the South. This might be connected with the suspension of the ROK-US joint military exercises, and further with the dissolution of the ROK-US alliance and the withdrawal of U.S. troops from the South. A peace regime is possible when these issues are settled.

- **KIM Hongkook** After the PyeongChang Olympics in February, two inter-Korean summits and a North Korea-U.S. summit have been held. Contrary to the past, inter-Korean relations have changed into a leader’s game. Can the bureaucrats make decisions against the leader’s will? I think that the current state of affairs is important. New currents are in the making in the North and South, and both sides are seen undergoing a process of evolution, judging by their recent exchanges. It is South Korea’s role to present creative alternatives, like BATNA (Best Alternative to Negotiated Agreement). When the South fails to do so, the Korean peninsula could be dragged into a war. It is important that South Korea play the role of actor to solve the problem. I think the fact that the heads of South and North Korea, and the U.S. made the agreements means that all three are winners, considering the new bureaucracy in which the legislature and the bureaucrats in the administration work together on the agenda suggested by their leaders. The U.S. averted the threat of ICBMs; South Korea ended the crisis of war; and North Korea made its debut as a normal state on the international stage. They all shared benefits here.

We should take a different path from the past. Each party should build a new peace, and the Republic of Korea is responsible for that because North Korea and the U.S. can change their courses at any time. We can create a flow of change when we apply persuasive pressure on North Korea. Of course, we must be cautious of the distrust between the U.S. and North Korea, support the ROK-US alliance and uphold our own values. I think that the task of South Korean diplomacy is to have the capacity to change North Korea. We should proactively respond to the current flow of change. We cannot break through the Korean peninsula issue by sticking to the past order

based on distrustful relations with the North. From now on, we would have to be prudent, doubtful and skeptical, but proactively persuade the North with optimism to open a new horizon for Korean diplomacy and politics.

- **JEON Kyongmann** The Panmunjeom Declaration on April 27 says that the two Koreas and the U.S. will declare an end to the Korean War this year, the 65th anniversary of the armistice, and replace the armistice with a peace treaty. Before concluding the peace treaty, there should be concrete measures to specify the timing and methods of denuclearization. South and North Korea, China and the U.S. should jointly declare the end of the Korean War. The participation of the four parties in the declaration, before concluding a peace treaty, would minimize any possible backlash from North Korea.

- **LEE Donghw** The Korean peninsula issue is being subject to the rivalry between the U.S. and China. In the meantime, the U.S. was the first to raise the issue of the ROK-US joint military exercises and the ROK-US alliance. Hence, I think that there will be a tension between the effort to denuclearize North Korea and a bid to dismantle the US-ROK alliance.

As regards to roles being played: the two Koreas, China and the U.S. might be the key actors in the peace regime issue; North Korea and the U.S. in the nuclear issue; and South and North Korea in the economic cooperation issue. This poses a question of how to deal with the denuclearization issue when it became complicated, not merely a problem. A virtuous circle should be created in a triangle structure of peace buttressed by the two Koreas and the U.S., in which denuclearization, inter-Korean relations and regime security might be discussed. Economic issues should be subject to negotiations among the concerned parties, including China. Finally, I felt confused about the position of South Korea in the recent negotiations. It is necessary to define the role of South Korea and to examine whether the two Koreas and the U.S. are playing their due roles.

Power, Geopolitics, and Hegemonic Rivalry in Northeast Asia



Moderator **John NILSSON-WRIGHT** Senior Lecturer, Modern Japanese Studies, University of Cambridge
Speaker **David KANG** Professor of International Relations, Business, and East Asia Languages & Cultures, University of Southern California
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PARK Cheol-hee Dean & Professor, School of International Studies at Seoul National University
Rapporteur **KIM Yu-Bin** Global Asia Fellow, East Asia Foundation

Policy Implications

Evaluation of the Inter-Korean and U.S.–North Korea Summits

- The South is required to have proactive diplomacy, and take anticipative actions and a multilateral approach toward North Korea to bring change to it.
- The importance of a responsible actor in the process of denuclearization and peace building
- The importance of the role of a mediator (South Korea) in considering and mediating the positions of the concerned countries

Settlement of Permanent Peace

- Institutionalization of a research project on negotiations with a systematic strategy
- A responsible actor's role in proactive interpretation, solution making and producing creative alternatives

• **John NILSSON-WRIGHT** It is possible to see the world as having been fairly stable since the end of the Cold War. The U.S. obviously played an important role in that process. As a guarantor of the international order, the U.S. maintained the Bretton Woods system and managed East Asian security through its major alliances. In terms of values, the U.S. played the role of defender of liberal democracy. Several scholars, including Joseph Nye, have even said that the U.S. naturally became the country that guaranteed stability for the entire world. Francis Fukuyama described the global stability immediately after the Cold War as the end of history. But this stabilized environment has recently begun to change. President Trump has arrived on the scene. He denies the U.S.'s leadership role while continuing to take various unilateral measures that are based on his slogan of "America First." At the same time, there have been major shifts in liberal democratic values. Populist governments have appeared in many countries around the world, and uncertainty is increasing as movements that deny the existing order gain ground. In light of this, what order is currently forming in

Northeast Asia, or are we perhaps moving toward a state of disorder? If the current order in Northeast Asia collapses, what will replace it? Will the U.S. actually limit its role in managing security in this region? If change occurs, will that change be temporary or long-lasting? What is going to happen in the future? Will there be a sharp competition between China and Japan for hegemony over Northeast Asia? How will South Korea and other mid-sized countries respond in such a situation? Finally, let us discuss how liberal democratic values can be defended.

• **David KANG** To begin with, there are two things we need to understand. First, the U.S. is currently obsessed with the "myth of the Golden Age." The idea is that the U.S. used to be the strongest in every respect and that everyone used to love and trust it. But was there ever such a time? For the past twenty or thirty years, and particularly since the Asian Financial Crisis in the late 1990s, many Asian countries have started to think that they need to take care of their own problems. In fact, the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) was not initiated by the U.S., and President Obama joined it late in the process. Fur-

thermore, the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) was not launched by China. Both of these partnerships were envisioned and spearheaded by Asian countries. In a certain sense, the U.S. has been responding to these regional trends and changes until now. The political relationship between the U.S. and Asian countries is changing and will continue to do so in the future. The situation in 2018 does not bear comparison to the situation in the 1970s or even in the 1990s. Second, it is obvious that President Trump is a special figure. He is having an enormous impact as he inserts new elements into American politics and diplomacy. But what I would like to emphasize here is that Trump has accelerated long-term changes. In that sense, we cannot say for sure that Trump is destroying everything. Rather than focusing solely on Trump, we need to keep an eye on the underlying trends.

• **SHI Yinhong** I would like to talk about the competition between the U.S. and China. China has risen economically with immense speed. Furthermore, China is working on a number of ambitious national projects under the leadership of President Xi Jinping and is exercising great influence around the world. China now has the will to apply its economic development model to other developing countries. China continues to rise, and the U.S. is attempting to counter that. Since his inauguration, President Trump has taken a hard line toward China on the pretext of our trading relationship and the North Korean issue. In fact, China has made many concessions on the North Korean issue. It has imposed tough economic sanctions on the North. Trump has shown that he is truly a crafty strategist. In his negotiations with China he has focused on a single issue and applied all his energy to that. Without trying to get everything at once, Trump has squeezed China as much as he can and sought concessions. Viewed in strategic terms, Trump is unpredictable and very spontaneous. On a number of territorial issues, he has taken a hard line and then suddenly shifted to a more sympathetic position. Furthermore, his continuing emphasis on “American First” has shifted now to an emphasis on

the Indo-Pacific era. His attitude about China seems to frequently change as well. We are worried that he may be starting a new arms race with China. Since Trump is directly targeting China in trade relations, there are doubts about whether Chinese products will be able to have access to the West in the future. Taking these factors into consideration, it is possible that in the near future China will compete with the U.S. for strategic hegemony. The sharper that antagonistic relationship becomes, the more challenging the situation will become for every country in the region.

• **Peter HAYES** How should we define hegemony? Three elements are necessary to establish hegemony. First, there needs to be a political and ideological framework. A global consensus needs to form around key values. Next, there needs to be an integrated system. But those two are not enough. Last of all, hegemony requires a unique power. This is easy to understand if you consider not only the U.S.’s military might but also its awesome nuclear power. The framework of hegemony has existed for some years now. If we enter into the so-called post-hegemonic era, this will be an age where the existing hegemonic order has collapsed but a new hegemonic order has yet to take shape. The U.S. would no longer be able to play its role as a hegemon because of the various kinds of discord that arise in such an era. But as of yet, there is no country that could replace the U.S. For some years to come, China will continue to be preoccupied with domestic problems. So where is that new framework going to come from?

• **PARK Cheol-hee** We are entering a new yet complicated era of change and transfer of power. More specifically, a power game is playing out in three phases. First is the power game on a global level. Since the Cold War, the rapid rise of China has resulted in a rivalry with the U.S. But neither China nor any other country is able to directly challenge the U.S. Furthermore, many people argue that President Trump is withdrawing from the international stage, but there were times when President Obama did the same thing. While it is true that Trump is rapidly reducing the U.S.’s international intervention, the U.S.

as a whole continues to develop the latest military technology. While China can be said to have caught up with the U.S. to a certain extent, it is still far behind in the areas of military and strategic assets and cybersecurity. Simply put, the U.S. will have the advantage over China. This is why North Korea is so intent on normalizing its relations with the U.S. To view things from an economic perspective for a moment, Trump looks foolish and his actions seem bizarre. The U.S. is the most advanced country in terms of cutting-edge technology. The Amazons and Googles of the world—the companies that are breaking ground in new industries—are all American companies. But nevertheless, Trump is trying to somehow breathe new life into the American economy by resurrecting legacy industries such as steel and automobiles. Second is a power game on a regional level. The antagonism between China and Japan is much sharper than it used to be. Since the Opium Wars, Japan has been the leader of this region, and China has lagged behind Japan. Back then, China was unable to develop quickly, but now it is rising rapidly. China surpassed Japan in terms of GDP in 2010. This was demoralizing for Japan, and there was a lot of talk about Japan sinking into the Pacific Ocean. Many people believe that the contest between Japan and China is already over, but the parties concerned see things differently. It is not an easy task, but Prime Minister Abe is attempting to make Japan more competitive once again. While maintaining warm relations with the U.S. with the aim of countering China, Abe is seeking to establish friendly relations with other countries in the region, including Australia and India. In this way, Japan is attempting to counter China’s rapid rise in the multilateral environment, but South Korea presents a problem. South Korea is wary of improving its relations with Japan. The third and final power struggle is being played out on the Korean Peninsula. South and North Korea’s competition for the Korean Peninsula ended with the 1988 Olympics. North Korea has astutely attempted to change the rules of the game by focusing on developing asymmetric military assets.

The North Korean nuclear issue is part of that trend.

• **John NILSSON-WRIGHT** As can be seen in the “myth of the Golden Age,” which Professor Kang has already mentioned, the U.S. has said that it leads other countries as part of its commitment to defending liberal democracy. But was that not ultimately for its own benefit? Furthermore, the U.S. has emphasized that it has a role to play in Asia as one of the regional powers. That is the background for the U.S.’s creation of robust regional alliances based on numerous security agreements. But since the rise of Trump, the U.S.’s convictions in this area have weakened. We do not hear as much about symbolic security pledges as we used to, either. How are the elites in the Asian region reacting to this? I would also like to hear a little about the stationing of American troops in the region. In fact, there has been talk about withdrawing American troops for a long time now, but little progress has been made. However, Trump’s talk about the withdrawal seems different.

• **David KANG** Despite the Opium Wars, the Vietnam War, and the Korean War, Asia is a stable region. It is much more stable than it was fifty years ago. I find myself curious about whether the U.S. is as necessary in this region as it was in the past. We also need to think about the legitimacy of keeping American troops here in the future. We are overlooking the stability of Asia. If more stability is needed, couldn’t the countries in the region deal with that on their own? We must not assume that an American role is always ideal. But the important thing is that South Korea-U.S. relations, and the alliance in particular, are being steadily maintained despite Trump’s heavy-handed behavior.

• **John NILSSON-WRIGHT** I think that current U.S.-China relations are more in a phase of confrontation than cooperation. What do the Chinese elites and the man on the street think about that? Are they not calling for a harsher response to Trump?

• **SHI Yinhong** President Xi Jinping initially was hopeful and even confident that he could rein in the new American president. China made a lot of concessions to the U.S. in a number of areas, but Trump paid it back by imposing steel tariffs. Unless Xi

makes an appropriate response, some Chinese might begin to wonder whether he actually has Chinese interests at heart. They might also harbor doubts about China's national strategy. If China wages a trade war with the U.S., it has too much to lose. That is why China is trying to prevent a confrontation from escalating too quickly in its U.S. relations, which also explains why Xi is exercising such a high degree of strategic flexibility. When the time is right, I think that China will have no choice but to find a compromise through negotiations with the U.S.

- **John NILSSON-WRIGHT** Finally, do you think that a new framework will really appear in Asia? If it does, what will that framework look like?

- **Peter HAYES** Clearly, something new will appear, but that will not be the existing hegemonic order. A post-hegemonic framework is beginning to surface. American leadership has already taken a major hit and is unlikely to recover in the future. The U.S. and China could compete for an opportunity to build a new framework. Incidentally, we are not tied to the past when many changes occur around us. In such circumstances, every country can exercise its own independent strategy. At the same time, many leaders will attempt to keep the great powers from employing strong-arm diplomatic strategies by consistently employing supranational language.

Policy Implications

- The Asian region can already be described as having considerable stability, and the states of Asia are also capable of taking the lead in continuing to maintain regional stability.
- Though attention continues to focus on conflict in China-U.S. relations, China will find a way out through negotiations with the U.S..
- Though the era of American hegemony has ended, that does not mean a new hegemon has appeared to replace it. Though this is a transitional period in which China is rising, the era of American superiority is expected to continue for a substantial period of time.
- In the future, all the states of Asia will need to prepare national strategies and countermeasures to account for the post hegemonic era.

China's Seeking for a Peaceful International Order: The Implication of 'One Belt One Road'



Chair	CHUNG Sang-ki Distinguished Professor, Konkuk University
Moderator	KIM Han-kwon Head, Center for Chinese Studies, IFANS, KNDA
Presenter	RONG Ying Vice President, China Institute of International Studies LI Mingjiang Associate Professor, Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University Shino WATANABE Professor, Sophia University
Discussant	SHIN Jung-Seung Director, Center for Chinese Studies, Dongseo University CHOI Jinbaek Research Professor, Center for Chinese Studies, IFANS, KNDA
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- **CHUNG Sang-ki** At the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China held last October, China emphasized building the "New Type of Great Power Relations" in order to realize the ideal of the "Community of Common Destiny with Mankind." To that end, the One Belt, One Road Initiative was indicated as the key means. In place of the competitive international order built by the U.S. and the Soviet Union in the past, China proposed the "Community of Common Destiny with Mankind," where humanity as one seeks common welfare and a mutual win-win. However, in opposition to what China is advocating, progress so far has drawn criticism, and some regions such as Europe are opposed to the initiative for reasons other than economic factors. In this session, we will discuss how China's One Belt One Road Initiative will contribute to building a peaceful world order, and whether it will cause a new type of hegemonic competition.

- **RONG Ying** The One Belt One Road Initiative was presented by China five years ago. An international forum on the topic was held in 2017 and another is

scheduled for 2019. The initiative is changing from a vague concept into substantial action plans, and some 100 countries are showing interest in participating. Based on the five major goals, namely, policy coordination, facilities connectivity, unimpeded trade, financial integration and people-to-people bonds, China wants to talk to with neighboring countries and share its opportunities. Against the backdrop of economic globalization, the One Belt One Road Initiative is becoming a new platform upon which China will open its market to the world, and is expected to contribute to complementing global governance.

The One Belt One Road Initiative is accommodating in nature, as a type of the market economy in the form of a combination of government guidance and business initiatives. Some difficulties may arise in the course of actual implementation, but it is a natural process. At the BOAO Forum, President Xi Jinping stated that although the initiative was proposed by China, the opportunities and benefits coming from it will be shared by everyone. The One

Belt One Road Initiative never forces anything from other countries. Rather, it is a concerted action based on market principles. In the process of four decades of reform and market opening, China has continued to find a balance among reform, development and stability, eventually becoming the 2nd biggest economy in the world. Now, the country hopes to share its experience with the world. China has presented a model of global development and new prosperity through its own path to economic development. At the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party, it added the mission of the One Belt One Road Initiative to the party charter, and the constitution was also revised to manifest the ideal of a “Community of Common Destiny with Mankind” through the One Belt One Road Initiative.

Along with the initiative, the recent developments on the Korean peninsula and in Northeast Asia are auspicious. A series of summits were held between China-North Korea, the U.S.-North Korea, South Korea-North Korea, and South Korea-China-Japan. These will present a new chance for development of the three countries in the region. Carrying out in earnest what was agreed in the summits, the countries involved should continue to make efforts to bring peace to the Korean peninsula and the development of Northeast Asia.

• **LI Mingjiang** According to a study last year, the impact of the One Belt One Road Initiative on Southeast Asia and how it will change China’s influence in the region can be summarized in three points. First, the One Belt One Road Initiative is nothing radically new from the perspective of Southeast Asia. Rather, it incorporates all existing policies and projects. Second, the progress made within the framework of the One Belt One Road Initiative warrants a certain degree of positive assessment. Third, it could expand its influence in Southeast Asia through the initiative, but it would be far from changing the basis of the geopolitical structure.

As to the first point, policymakers in Southeast Asian countries do not think of the One Belt One Road Initiative as anything new. The five connectiv-

ity principles (policy coordination, infrastructure, trade, finance, human resources) already existed not only between China and Southeast Asia but also with other regions, with decades-long projects in place. As they had a number of joint projects with China already, the One Belt One Road Initiative has little new meaning, if any, to Southeast Asian countries. One possible difference could be that it emphasizes a new connectivity in the region, and that it encompasses a larger geographical area.

Second, the progress of the One Belt One Road Initiative is viewed as a positive development. Some major projects are under way, such as the China-Malaysia eastern railroad and harbor construction, the Lancang-Mekong cooperation mechanism, the harbor expansion in Indonesia, etc. Looking into the past development of these projects, the ongoing projects could have been executed even without the One Belt One Road Initiative. Most Southeast Asian countries support the Chinese policy because the One Belt One Road Initiative assists in their own economic growth.

Third, as regards China’s growing influence in Southeast Asia through the One Belt One Road Initiative, it is true that China enjoys great influence in the region. Still, territorial disputes linger, and this always threatens to reduce China’s influence. Some countries still doubt China’s intentions, and there are credibility issues in this regard. In Southeast Asia, many countries compete and cooperate at the same time in the process of envisioning regional integration and a common future. Japan is emerging as China’s potential rival in the region, and Southeast Asian countries have historically not depended economically on one single foreign country, but instead diversified their diplomatic portfolios. As for China’s investment in the Southeast Asian region, anti-China sentiments are brewing in Vietnam, Myanmar, Indonesia, etc. (except for Singapore and Brunei). These negative views are mostly of China’s own making. While Chinese investment in Southeast Asia contributed to higher corporate sales, more jobs, and local economic growth, its investment

focused disproportionately on resources and infrastructure development, which is producing backlashes in various societies. While the One Belt One Road Initiative in Southeast Asia will continue in the foreseeable future, it is unlikely to bring about a power shift in the region. The balance of power will remain as it is, and I assume there will be no drastic change.

• **Shino WATANABE** The Indo-Pacific Strategy, conceived by the Trump administration, has the following features. First, as State Secretary Tillerson mentioned at the CSIS (Center for Strategic and International Studies) conference last October, the main theme of the strategy concerns U.S.-India relations. He also stated that the U.S. would trade with India while defending the universal values of the international community. On the heels of the remark was President Trump’s speech about the Indo-Pacific Strategy at the APEC conference held in Danang, where he advocated the observance of law, individual rights and the freedom of navigation. Although it was a strategy of the U.S., its origin can be traced back to the first Abe administration of Japan. In his speech during his state visit to India in August 2007, Prime Minister Abe clearly proposed the concept of the Indo-Pacific Strategy. There, he talked about the notion of the Indo-Pacific with a sea lane at the core, and he again mentioned the concept at the Tokyo-Africa Development Conference in 2016. The concept stands on three pillars, namely rule of law, freedom of navigation and economic prosperity, and peace and stability. While the U.S. version of the Indo-Pacific Strategy and the Japanese equivalent have differences, they essentially share the same purpose; the U.S. focuses on security whereas Japan’s focus is on the economy. Also, they have different geographic scopes; whereas the U.S. regards the Indo-Pacific region as spanning from the U.S. to India, Japan envisions a geographically broader scope, including Africa and Asia as a whole.

Comparing the One Belt One Road Initiative and the Indo-Pacific Strategy, they are not entirely disparate notions, and they have some things in common.

They both set international peace, security and prosperity as their ultimate goals. However, the Japanese version of the Indo-Pacific Strategy gives priority to the rules-based international order. Whereas China’s One Belt One Road Initiative does not openly mention the rule of law principle, Japan puts an emphasis on international standards.

• **SHIN Jung-Seung** There are diverse views on the background of China’s One Belt One Road Initiative. From a strategic point of view, the initiative is to avert a potential head-on collision with the U.S. in the short term, and to direct China westward. Some argue that China is seeking to build friendly relationships with many countries in the long run and to ultimately reduce or even eliminate the U.S. influence in Eurasia. Since there will be a lot of challenges in the process, it is uncertain if China can go ahead with the initiative as it first planned. In particular, experts on Central Asia caution that growing economic cooperation between China and Central Asian countries is reviving the historical fear that China might try to exert its influence in the region. As ambitious an undertaking as it is, the One Belt One Road Initiative will be sure to face serious obstacles unless it successfully earns support and assistance from neighboring countries.

Even though China stated that it would create a new type of great power relationship and a community of common destiny with mankind, based on equity and reciprocal prosperity, the move will face difficulties before specific actions take place. For the past few years, China has maintained that the U.S. should respect China’s core interests. Now, China should exhibit more interest in the “international commons” rather than focusing solely on its own national interests. I expect that economic cooperation between Korea and China will expand as a result of the recent thawing inter-Korean relations, etc. In line with this, it is necessary for China to have more interest in establishing cooperative ties between the two Koreas and the three northeastern provinces of China with the One Belt One Road Initiative. It is also advised that China should examine if it could

cooperate with Korea in coping with the political resistance of neighboring countries to China's growing influence on a global scale.

- **CHOI Jinbaek** When the One Belt One Road Initiative was first announced, it was expected to have infinite potential. Projects in progress for the past few years, however, have laid bare problems. There are voices of concern that the benefits of the initiative flow mostly into China while neighboring countries have seen little in economic gains. Few projects of the initiative have detailed actions plans. The most serious problem is that China's neighboring countries participating in the initiative are experiencing growing trade deficits with China. As the dark side of the initiative looms, some of the related projects have either been postponed or cancelled. Dam constructions in Myanmar and Pakistan were riddled with environmental issues as well as ownership disputes, while a high-speed railway project in Indonesia is being impeded by land expropriation issues. More importantly, many of the participating countries are distressed by heavy debt. Being a member of the One Belt One Road Initiative seems to be synonymous with becoming a debtor country to China. The foreign debt problems of Pakistan and Cambodia are causing an array of adverse effects domestically. A series of problems arising in the process of the execution of the initiative are raising alarm in a growing number of countries.

- **RONG Ying** There were a lot of discussions in the process of planning and executing the One Belt One Road Initiative. China's progress has gone through several stages before marking the 40th anniversary of reform and the opening of its markets. In a sense, this represents the epitome of global development. As for the initiative, China keeps emphasizing in its official announcements that it will contribute to the development of the whole world alongside its own domestic development, which is why China advocates the One Belt One Road Initiative. The reason the Korean peninsula was not included in the announcement of the One Belt One Road Initiative was because it failed to meet the requirements of coop-

erative projects at that time. When the international forum was held on OBOR, South Korean representatives attended it, and North Korea also showed interest. As the situation on the Korean peninsula has taken a turn for the better recently, we need to discuss how the two Koreas and China, as well as other countries in the region, will cooperate on the initiative. Relevant policies by the South Korean government (e.g. its New Southern Policy and New Northern Policy) demonstrate South Korea's willingness to join the initiative, and it is worth discussing possible connections among relevant policies.

There are concerns that OBOR is China-centered. This misunderstanding is not China's fault. Based on its own experience of economic development, China is ready to share the opportunity of economic growth from the middleman's position. While it is true that some countries are suffering from a bigger debt burden in the process of the initiative, the future development of the projects can solve this problem. Countries suffering from debt already had debt from the beginning of the initiative, and a lack of infrastructure stood in the way of their economic growth. To make the best of their potential, we need to connect OBOR and other initiatives and develop them further on the basis of five major goals. To this end, the Chinese government will also make an earnest effort to help these countries in a responsible manner. Since the initiative is a long-term project, it will take time to produce the benefits. Once these projects are settled, the debt issues will be resolved. Relevant research agencies are working on solutions through bilateral and multilateral funding regimes, and the performance of OBOR should be judged based on the results made from now on.

- **LI Mingjiang** We should be more prudent about news reports about the negative sentiments toward China that neighboring countries allegedly have. We need a careful interpretation of them. In Southeast Asia's case, most countries supported OBOR, and this support contributed to the progress of many projects in the initiative so far. A lot of resources were already invested in related projects now un-

derway in many countries such as Kazakhstan, Bangladesh, etc., and the investments were based on economic motives. Of course, negative views exist, but they are only part of the story. Particularly in Southeast Asia, governments generally support the initiative, whereas civil society or NGOs take a dim view of it. India is officially against the initiative, but it also accepts Chinese investment in its infrastructure development. In this regard, it is questionable if India is actually unrelated to the initiative. Many countries are either directly or indirectly involved in it. Risks exist around the initiative, as now seen in Indonesia, Cambodia and Malaysia. In the future, political upheavals in Cambodia might have political repercussions targeted at China. Given these issues, it seems like Chinese experts are far from making precise assessments on the initiative's risks. Another problem is the difference in the pace of development between Southeast Asia and China. Whereas China pushes large-scale projects at a rapid pace, Southeast Asia has a culture of slowness across societies. This was already raised during talks on cooperation between China and Southeast Asian countries.

- **Shino WATANABE** China's 21st Century Maritime Silk Road (MSR) is supposedly the crown jewel of OBOR. While it is still uncertain how China will make use of port facilities currently under construction, quasi-military installations are also being built alongside them. Such projects stoke concern and fear among its neighbors about China's true intentions. From the perspective of the rule of law, China's stance over the South China Sea also alarms countries in the region. Some of the countries participating in the initiative have begun to suffer from worsening financial difficulties. It is too early to tell the consequences at this moment; the vicious cycle will occur once the developing countries in need of infrastructure tap into foreign loans. As China is one of the potential major providers of international loans and aid, it could dispel such concerns among neighboring countries if it provides the developing countries with financial assistance through fair and transparent criteria.

- **SHIN Jung-Seung** If China's OBOR Initiative aims at gaining political support from the international society by providing economic aid to its neighboring countries, this will amount to the Chinese Tianxia (world) order redux. As for the Indo-Pacific Strategy, there is an argument that economic interconnection should take precedence over a security-centered approach, but Southeast Asian countries cast doubt on whether the U.S. actually has such an intention. India also seems to have an ambivalent stance. On Japan's part, they want to know if the U.S. has consistency in pursuing its Indo-Pacific strategy and if it is the equivalent of or a rival to the OBOR Initiative.

- **RONG Ying** On China's part, the initiative is a bottom-up approach. The background and values of the initiative can be explained in terms of China's own experience. They once talked about amassing wealth before paving the road. The initiative is an effective and effectual strategy for China and it could bring about changes in China's domestic system as well as in the governance and values of countries along the belt. China has had the experience of success in infrastructure projects in Africa such as the case of Angola. Compared with African countries, those now participating in the initiative arguably have better conditions. China's relations with neighboring countries or those across the globe are diverse and complicated. Finally, China has a dual identity both as a major power and a developing country, and it is focusing less on the political benefits of the initiative than on cooperation.

- **Shino WATANABE** The Indo-Pacific Strategy and OBOR Initiative commonly require large-scale infrastructure projects. As this means they need huge financing sources, China and Japan can become key actors in such projects. And as such they can support infrastructure development in developing countries. While Japan seeks high-quality infrastructure and China focuses on rapid development, they can still find common ground upon which they can cooperate.

- **RONG Ying** The OBOR Initiative is a highly

open-ended concept. While this may entail problems, I am positive that we can find some solutions to the existing issues at a forum planned for next year. China stresses that the initiative is not of a geopolitical design. What is important at the moment is that China is actually transforming international and regional mechanisms through the initiative and that it wants to work together with all countries including the EU and Japan.

- **Shino WATANABE** The OBOR Initiative and the Indo-Pacific Strategy are not fixed but evolving concepts. As involved countries can exchange ideas and learn from both success and failures of each other, we had better not make a hasty judgment on the two initiatives.

- **CHUNG Sang-ki** The way the Chinese leadership looks at security issues or the international order has changed a lot over time. While Mao Zedong advocated the inevitability of war, Deng Xiaoping emphasized economic growth amid a strategic balance between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Now, Xi Jinping holds the view that the world is still bound by the Cold War framework, calling for the abolition of the winner-take-all order. The pursuit of the OBOR Initiative is part of efforts to overcome a West-driven order for coexistence of countries worldwide. Before making a premature judgment that the initiative will contribute to world peace or simply serve China's interest, we should materialize the Chinese initiative in a way that alleviates international zero-sum competition, and builds a cooperative worldwide economic community. China should also have an open mind toward the critical views and opinions of the international community.

Q & A

Q. LEE Sun-jin (Research Professor, Sogang University, former ambassador to Indonesia) As part of the New Southern Policy initiated by the South Korean government, South Korea-Mekong Summit talks are scheduled for next year. With the Lancang-Mekong Summit hosted by China already in place, I am cu-

rious about how China will respond to this newly planned summit. I am also wondering about the chances of collaboration between China's initiative and that of South Korea, if China welcomes South Korea's participation.

A. LI Mingjiang The recent development projects in the Mekong region expose an array of initiatives that overlap in the sub-region. If they have the earnest intention of regional development, they do not need that many initiatives. If the Korean government wants to compete with major actors, a Korea-Mekong Initiative will be unnecessary. If it wants to help developing countries in the neighboring regions and gain benefits from that, this will produce positive effects. From China's perspective, the Mekong River has strategic significance, and any issues related to countries involved in the South China Sea disputes are a matter of importance to China. If South Korea's main purpose is to participate in the economic development of the Mekong Basin, China will welcome the move. Also, cooperation in the region for wider connectivity, a better infrastructure and a larger market will ultimately help not only neighboring countries but also China.

Policy Implications

- China should have an open mind toward global criticism of the One Belt One Road Initiative.
- The international community should recognize the One Belt One Road Initiative as an evolving concept and have a collaborative attitude to help the initiative build a peaceful world order.
- Amid changes in inter-Korean relations, South Korea should be prepared for the possible extension of the One Belt One Road Initiative to the Korean peninsula.

State Violence, Women and Jeju 4·3 Incident



Chair	HEO Young Sun Director, Jeju 4·3 Research Institute
Moderator	KIM In-Hee Former Announcer of MBC
Presenter	Saskia E. WIERINGA Professor, Amsterdam University Kozue AKIBAYASHI Professor, Doshisha University KIM Eun-Shil Professor, Ewha Womans University
Discussant	GWON Gwi-Sook Research Associate, Tamla Culture Research Institute, Jeju National University
Rapporteur	LEE Dong-Hyun Researcher, Jeju 4·3 Research Institute

- **Saskia WIERINGA** The Jeju April 3 Incident and the Indonesian Massacre have one thing in common: they were the byproducts of the Cold War. Both countries had a similar attitude toward communism at that time although communist influence was more direct in Korea. The year 1965 was a chaotic moment in the history of Indonesia. The economic situation was increasingly deplorable and attempts were made to usher in a guided democracy. At that time, rumors made rounds that the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) was against the state religion and its foundational principle of Pancasila. The entire country was affected by the rumors. The turning point came in October, 1965, when six right-leaning army officers were murdered. Suharto's military immediately declared this a coup attempt by the PKI. They pointed to the "30th of September Movement" (Gerakan 30 September or G30S) as the mastermind behind the murder. This is an interpretation still held by a majority of Indonesians today. The military pointed their fingers at Gerwani, the Indonesian women's organization associated with the PKI. Gerwani women were portrayed as witches or sexual perverts. From

October 1965 onwards, the PKI was destroyed. Sukarno loyalists were likewise hunted and murdered. The slow removal of President Sukarno from power was achieved by the massacre of possibly one million people and other crimes against humanity committed by the military in an alliance with rightwing militias. President Sukarno was ousted and General Suharto replaced him. Suharto established the brutal New Order regime, which allowed those responsible for the massacre to get away with it. Here, I would like to ask a question: Why did Indonesia's ordinary civilians start killing their fellow citizens in the first place? Another tragedy where Koreans killed their neighbours took place here on Jeju. The bottom line here is that they killed each other. I would like to discuss fabricated charges here. The allegations surrounding the PKI were groundless. The hostility of the Muslims was not taken seriously at that time whereas that of the PKI was exaggerated. They "fabricated" charges to make an excuse for the mass killing, which is well demonstrated by their campaign of sexual slander against Gerwani members. In 1965, the army circulated the groundless claims via

the army-controlled press that the girls had danced, naked, the “Fragrant Flowers dance,” singing the song “Genjer-Genjer.” Their fabricated claims were so persuasive that many Indonesians still believe them today. They were unconsciously imprinted in the minds of Indonesian people as witches.

Many Gerwani members were imprisoned without being properly tried. When Gerwani members escaped, women with the same name were brought to prison. They were beaten, tortured and raped just because they had the same name as the escapees when, in fact, they had nothing to do with them. And they were forced to confess to crimes they had never done, but were fabricated by the army. The army made up a story to tie these women, portrayed as brutal sexual maniacs, rapists and murderers, with the communists. The government forces called themselves male heroes who saved their country from collapse. As a result, innumerable leftist women were raped and had their breasts amputated. They were labelled as witches, atheists, sexual maniacs and perverts. That is how Gerwani, which was once the most successful women’s organization in Indonesia, ended up being framed as “prostitutes as brutal as devils.” To their despair, the women returned home from prison to find their children and grandchildren asking them whether they were murderers and prostitutes. The anti-Gerwani propaganda was so effective that the victimized women and their family members had to keep silent, as they were afraid that they might be associated with anti-government activism.

The Indonesian military exported its violent methods to East Timor, which it brutally occupied between 1975–1999, massacring, starving and torturing to death about one third of the total population. The sexual violence perpetrated on the East Timorese women was similar to that the Gerwani members underwent. The massacre in Indonesia and the Jeju April 3 Incident have many things in common, aside from the fact that the tragedies in both countries resulted from the Cold War order. First, illegitimate right-wing militants were involved in

the genocide. The notorious Pemuda Pancasila of Indonesia was similar to Korea’s then anti-communist militia, called the “Northwest Youth League.” Second, the victims and survivors remain stigmatized. Third, the widows of the victims of the Jeju April 3 Incident still tend to be perceived as “filthy,” and the members of Gerwani as sexual perverts. Fourth, they had to keep silent for a long time. Fifth, they have neither been compensated nor rewarded. Lastly, those who are responsible have been excused. Of course, there are a few things that Jeju and Indonesia do not have in common. South Korea’s president formally apologized in 2003 for the Jeju massacre and conducted a fact-finding investigation into the incident. But there was no such effort in Indonesia. No Indonesian government has acknowledged the state’s responsibility for the massacre. The massacre is still kept under the lid in Indonesia. Indonesia still suffers from communism phobia. Those responsible for the massacre still enjoy immunity because no truth was brought to light.

- **Kozue AKIBAYASHI** Women in Okinawa have also been subject to state violence, if not a genocide, for decades. Sexual assaults have been committed against women especially by U.S. soldiers. Sexual violence was also reported in Japanese colonies. Let me discuss how state violence spread so wide in the first place. First, I would like to talk about the structure of state violence. Second, I would like to discuss militarism and colonialism, which are important in understanding the institutionalization of violence.

Okinawa once prospered as an independent kingdom, the Ryukyu Kingdom, for some centuries. As an independent kingdom, the Ryukyu Kingdom maintained trade, cultural and political relations with its neighboring countries in East and South East Asia, fighting off invasions from more powerful neighbors until it was formally incorporated into Japan in the late 19th century, and became what is now called the Okinawa Prefecture. Within the nation state of Japan, the people of Okinawa were subject to colonial rule and various assimilation policies,

as they were labeled “backward.” I know Koreans understand this very well because they have experienced the process of colonization. In the Battle of Okinawa in 1945, the fierce battle that lasted officially for about two-and-a-half months between the U.S. and Japanese soldiers, a considerable number of civilians were killed. Okinawan civilians did not have any place to escape nor had they been evacuated. After the end of the Asia-Pacific War with the defeat of Japan in 1945, Okinawa was placed under the occupation of the U.S. before being annexed to Japan again in 1972. But Okinawans were sacrificed again for the interests of mainland Japan. Located at the mid-point between Tokyo and Manila, Okinawa has always been identified as the “keystone of the Pacific” in U.S. military strategies. Therefore, the U.S. has stationed a huge number of military forces on Okinawa, and Okinawans had to give up their land. The mainlanders did not care about Okinawans because they only accounted for one percent of Japan’s entire population. Mainlanders discriminated against the people of Okinawa for living on remote islands and being belatedly incorporated into the modern nation of Japan.

I started to have exchanges with Okinawan people from 1995, and came to meet many feminists. It was the start of networking activities to engage in the women’s movement. In Okinawa, sexual violence against women was well known, but this women’s issue was neglected on the island. So the Okinawan women were all the more intent on analyzing the relationship between sexual violence and the presence of military camps, and making this known. The sexual violence was not a matter for the U.S. military camps, alone. Before the arrival of U.S. forces, there were comfort stations established by the Japanese army. The Okinawan women chronicled sexual violence at more than 140 “comfort stations” on Okinawa, which tells us how much mainlanders discriminated against Okinawans. They started to compile a chronology of sexual assaults committed by U.S. soldiers on Okinawa since 1945 to make the historical experiences of women in Okinawa vis-à-

vis the U.S. military presence more visible. Through these efforts, they were able to identify some interesting relationships between war and U.S. soldiers in the Asia Pacific region, including the fact that the sexual crimes all occurred after the Cold War ended, or at a time coinciding with the Korean War. It was also the time when Okinawa was struggling to rebuild itself after the war, and sexual assaults were rampant. U.S. soldiers did not hesitate to hurt or kill Okinawan men when they came to rescue the women. But no one was punished or arrested. Then the community of Okinawa faced a problem between the 1960s and 1970s, during which the Vietnam War was underway. Okinawa was the last stop for U.S. troops before they were deployed to Vietnam as well as a place of rest for soldiers who returned from the Vietnamese battlefields. As sexual assaults by U.S. soldiers became rampant, it was decided to build brothels near the military bases. But the decision divided the women of Okinawa into two groups – those protected and those not. It was a problem not only faced by the U.S. military authorities but also by the community of Okinawa. Sex crimes, including date rape and sexual assault, are still committed against women in Okinawa. This is a matter of human rights, which is why they call for the withdrawal of the US military.

Sex crimes by soldiers are a manifestation of ideas that soldiers are taught throughout their training, and in all aspects of their military life. Sexual violence committed by soldiers against women is an inevitable result of such values structurally embedded in their culture including the training. The military was an inhumane social institution in which violence against women was intrinsic in order to fulfill its purpose of killing the enemy, which explains why sexual violence increases where military troops are stationed.

The notion of security has been criticized for justifying the military wielding violence. We need to discuss an alternative concept of security and a preferred framework of security. Sexual violence by soldiers, the women argue, is a fundamental problem

of patriarchy and militarized security that is built upon patriarchal values. The questions they posed, “Whose security?” when women’s lives are made insecure by the very presence of U.S. servicemen who are to assure security reveals deep contradiction of the conventional militarized notion of security. Okinawan women were deeply disappointed by the mainland Japanese, including their peace movements and women’s movements because there was very little understanding about the colonialism, militarism, and sexism that Okinawan women had to endure.

There is one thing we must not take for granted, and it is none other than “humane security.” The conditions for humane security should direct security policies to assure a sustainable environment for all lives in order for all of humanity to survive. It is the matter of adequate policies and their implementation that assures the survival and well-being of the people. That is what humane security is about.

• **KIM Eun-Shil** *State violence, women and the Jeju April 3 Incident as the Locus of the politics of death:* It is not easy to get testimony from the widowed mothers of the victims of the Jeju April 3 Incident. They just keep saying, “I do not remember anything,” “I have nothing to say,” “I have suffered so much that I do not feel sad any more,” “Can you understand what it was like?” and so forth. Even if they started talking, they stop for no reason, or say they forgot what to say. Nevertheless, we keep visiting them to hear and record their stories about the tragedy. In fact, we often ask ourselves if we are really prepared to interview them, and what needs to be done to do so. So much sexual violence was committed against women during the Jeju April 3 Incident. Testimony mostly comes from men. They speak about what they heard. But women will not talk about it. If that is the case, what should be done? Should we knock on every door to interview them? And what should we do that for? What is the politics of death? Modern nations emerged to guarantee their citizens the right to happiness and protection under the law. However, it was too difficult for a decolonized nation to develop

into a modern nation, which is the reason that many rulers resorted to reigns of terror. South Korea was no exception. The anticommunist nation state was established through the politics of death and reigns of terror. I would like to talk about how they managed to come to power by capitalizing on the politics of death. The Korean government, during the time of the April 3 Incident, had the power to determine who deserve to be killed and to kill them. Most of those victims of state violence ended up dying, or suffering from serious post-traumatic disorder for the rest of their lives. As we interviewed the widows, we found out that they were almost killed and continue to suffer from the mental scars. They waited for death, but they did not die. If they had children, they chose to live because of their children. Some had to keep their mouths shut because of their sons. They came to have trauma because of it. They had no choice but to keep to themselves everything they had learned and witnessed. Sometimes they decided to tell everything only to find themselves hardly remembering anything. Nevertheless, we are calling on them to remember their past. We are beginning to heal ourselves through the politics of memory. Is our society prepared to listen to what the widows say? Korean society is not prepared to discuss such a subject. They cannot speak alone. They ethically chose not to share their personal lives with their families or communities. What do the widows say about the Jeju April 3 Incident? They say they do not know or remember about it. Even when they choose to talk, they end up talking about a very small portion of it. Or they cover up something, and say they cannot tell everything.

All of this is because of the political situation. They know very well how dangerous it is to talk about it. They know who is listening to them. They already know what to say and to whom they should say it. They know some people would never understand what they say. Listeners do not know what they are saying or what they are hiding unless they are very familiar with the history of Jeju. What the listeners are doing is exercising the power of listen-

ers. Actually, when the widows talked, they were sometimes overwhelmed by emotions and past wounds. The widows are those who are familiar with death. How could we possibly understand the hunger the survivors of Auschwitz suffered? Knowing is one thing, and experiencing another. And the gap gets wider over time. With that in mind, how are we going to listen to their stories? How can anyone, who witnessed and experienced death and massacres, not be scared of death? The fear of communists and stigmatization by the state are all made by the politics of death.

While securing its sovereignty, a nation-state usually “otherizes” a certain group of people and massacres them. That was the case with Jeju Island. Jeju came to be a venue of death. Women are also “otherized” by the politics of death. That is the way their social and biological life is taken away. But, if the women had “practiced maternity” as members of the community, we could say that they might have stopped the politics of death from exercising its power. We should approach this matter in that respect.

• **GWON Gwi-Sook** *The Indonesian Massacre and the Jeju April 3 Incident must be remembered in world history because they were byproducts of the Cold War. From my understanding, the presentation by Prof. Wieringa was about “propaganda.” Indonesians are said to be too sensitive to do such a horrible thing as mass killing. How could the warm-hearted Koreans kill each other just three years after the nation was liberated from Japan’s colonial rule? What is noticeable here is “dehumanization.”*

Earlier, nobody had thought about gender and sexuality. In Indonesia, however, female communists were described as sexual perverts castrating men. They were manipulated as an excuse for exercising stronger masculine power. Just as they did on Jeju, they said they did it for the country; and in the name of democracy in Indonesia. Just as they did in Indonesia, the Korean press labeled the left-leaning rebels on Jeju as inhumane mobs. They seem to have taken advantage of sexuality to demonize the enemy. On Jeju, then punitive forces had young women mount

elderly men as if they were horsemen. They appear to have intended to create the communist image as a sexual perversion. Of course, it did not work on the people of Jeju, but it was the efforts of the punitive forces to make themselves believe such an image for communists.

The punitive forces did not apologize for what they did, but they do not brag about what they did, either. There are two documentaries about the Indonesian genocide. One of them is “The Look of Silence,” an internationally coproduced film, which portrays General Suharto’s soldiers who proudly boast of raping women. Communists are still seen as sexual maniacs in Indonesia. Then, what do women who survived the massacre have to say about Suharto’s military regime?

“Pancasila Youth,” a local militia involved in the Indonesian mass killing, appears similar to Korea’s “Northwest Youth League.” They have one thing in common: both were brutal. The only difference is that Pancasila Youth is still alive and well, and continues to be proud of themselves. The punitive forces in Jeju might have had mixed feelings about the rebels they chased. Some of them might have thought that they deserve to be killed for being communists. We need to study what the communists were for the Northwest Youth League militia. We need to do so to prevent the same incident from being repeated. More studies are needed to better understand the psychology behind mass killings.

Why did they need the image of meek women when they cracked down on communists and built an anticommunist state? Syngman Rhee’s regime also inculcated on the efforts to be “a good wife and wise mother,” especially after the Korean War. The pursuit of extreme masculinity justified such acts as raping women who were not obedient and deeply religious under the Suharto regime. That is not necessarily the case here in Korea, but masculinity and militarism have also been rampant in Korean society. We should conduct a study on how these images imposed on women were used as a means to establish an anti-communist state and how masculinity

was defined in that process.

How could the women's movements be activated in Indonesia? I would like to ask your opinions about how they could advance the movement in a country where the prejudice about women is so deep-rooted that women activists are still called the "new Gerwani." I would also like to discuss Prof. Akibayashi's presentation in relation to the Jeju April 3 Incident. I believe that militarism and subsequent misogyny were the motivation behind the sexual assaults against women on Jeju. The punitive forces were led by, among others, Japanese-soldier-turned militias, which proves the persistent militarism among them. I think we need more studies on how Japan's militarist culture, passed on from Syngman Rhee's dictatorship regime, led up to the violation of women's rights. The question of Prof. Akibayashi, "Should national security be valued over women's rights?" was quite impressive. Women's rights were ignored in the name of national security during the Jeju April 3 Incident. A special law on the incident did not spell out the victimization of women. Women victims of the incident are keeping silent, and I respect their right to do so. However, it is necessary to discuss how to define the violation of women's rights. This debate about the violation of women's rights is necessary to promote human rights. A militarist culture was rampant in Okinawa because of the presence of U.S. troops there. Militarism also prevails in Korean society, as military service is mandatory for men. I would like to ask your views about how militarism leads to misogyny.

Let us move on to Prof. Kim's presentation. As she said, women hesitated to testify. They did not speak about the sexual violence they went through. We discussed the reason why they chose not to speak, why they did not have their voices heard. I hope Prof. Kim will give a new perspective on this matter. Lastly, they say that women kept silence because of the political realities or fear, helplessness and sickness. Male survivors of sexual assaults are giving similar testimony. I would like to discuss whether a gender difference exists in expressing emotion and blaming

politics.

- **KIM Eun-Shil** Sexual violence certainly deserves to fall into the category of sacrifice and victimization. More importantly, it should be taken so seriously as to be recognized as a violation of human rights and dignity. Victims will not speak if the Jeju community does not take it seriously. There should be more controversies about the Jeju Incident. But it is not the time to decide the scope of the controversy. The more discourses we produce about the tragedy, the more freely the victims will raise their voices. If the discourse narrows its scope, they could say less. If their testimony is likely to do harm to someone in their family, they will not speak. They will speak out when we raise our awareness of sexual violence. The oppressive politics, fear and the shock of death all combine to end up with trauma. The way men endure trauma is different from the way women do, and how men actually express it also differs from women.

- **Kozue AKIBAYASHI** A military draft is being used to justify war. I think we should support the peace process through every means possible. That is, I believe, how we can change our perception about security.

- **Saskia WIERINGA** The Indonesian Massacre took place in connection with the perception of women as politically motivated communists and sexual perverts. There is no such thing as the "#Me Too" movement in Indonesia. There is no memorial event to remember the massacre of 1965, either yet. We have yet to heal the wounds of the past in Indonesia.

- **HEO Young Sun** I think today's session has provided a new talking point on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Jeju April 3 Incident. It seems to me that we had a chance to review the relationship between state violence and women from an international perspective. It is undoubtedly evident that women are the most vulnerable in times of war. I think we still have a long way to go toward truth and justice. We should find more views on the Jeju Incident from the international perspective, and I look forward to more opportunities to hold discussions on a deeper level.

Policy Implications

- By investigating the Indonesia Massacre and other mass killings of the world in the aftermath of the Cold War and finding their correlations with the Jeju April 3 Incident, we can have it remembered in world history.
- We need to take a systematic approach to and research on all types of violence against women, including sexual assaults, committed during the Jeju April 3 Incident.
- Sexual violence against women, particularly that committed by the state, mattered not only in the past, but continues to do harm in the present day, because the slander against the victims and survivors of violent incidents continues to disgrace them. Therefore, we need concrete and practical measures to have their honor restored as well as ensure that proper apologies, due compensation and continuous psychological treatment be extended to all victims. Education on all kinds of state violence should also be implemented to prevent it.
- Different types of state violence against women were prevalent worldwide and is still common today across the globe, which means that it is not just a matter of the past. It is something that requires discussions and international cooperation to address the issue.

Denuclearization and Confidence Building Measures



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- **Daniel PINKSTON** The Korean government was cautious at the inter-Korean summit not to repeat the past government's mistakes. The North Korea-U.S. summit talks this year took a top-down approach, not a bottom-up one the Bush-Obama administration had opted for. This was similar to Carter's surprise visit to North Korea to create momentum for dialogue between North Korea and the U.S. The Trump-Kim Jong-un meeting is expected to generate considerable momentum such as the 1994 Geneva Agreement, and that shuttle diplomacy will continue in the first half of 2018, as seen in President Moon Jae-in's visit to Russia and Kim Jong-un's frequent visits to China.

The incumbent (South) Korean government is performing a more active role than its predecessors and is expected to maintain consistency in its North Korea policy in accordance with one of the five goals of the government in the name of peace and prosperity on the Korean Peninsula. However, there are unresolved issues such as the conflict of interests between the two Koreas, as well as problems

in the orientation and concrete purposes of South Korean policy. The two Koreas have made various proposals about measures to build trust in military affairs for the last 25 years. North Korea has insisted on nonaggression, the withdrawal of U.S. nuclear arms, a North Korea-U.S. peace agreement and the mutual reduction of military forces, while South Korea has been focused on measures to gradually resolve practical issues such as the peaceful use of the DMZ, military exchanges, regular military talks at the generals' level and arms control. Trustbuilding measures basically encompass the establishment of communication channels, technological and institutional changes, limits on the number of troops, the restriction of troop deployment to certain areas, transparency in troop movements and all measures to verify the results of these actions. In contrast, past agendas were how to maintain a military balance in the DMZ, and how to reduce tension and the North's nuclear program.

North Korea is seen as maintaining consistency in its policy without changing its attitude. To encour-

age North Korea to change its position, it is crucial to incorporate the North into the international system. This includes its compliance with the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test Ban Treaty, Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC), and UN Security Council Resolution 1540, as well as the peaceful use of missile programs for space research and its membership in the Asia-Pacific Regional Space Agency Forum and the Asia-Pacific Space Cooperation Organization. What matters is the procedure in which North Korea could implement the proposals above. As trust building requires long-term efforts from the North, it is necessary to agree on concrete steps to examine and verify changes in the North. Since measures to assist North Korea through models such as the Korean peninsula Energy Development Organization or the nuclear power consortium require the efforts of multiple parties, concerned states should make a wide range of endeavors to that end.

- **ZHAO Tong** Negotiations on denuclearization should proceed throughout the gradual "process" to build trust because it is important to help North Korea feel safe while advancing toward the next phase. North Korea and China are likely to have a similar posture to the negotiations, given the similarity of their regimes, and cultural and social systems. Traditionally, China has shunned any forcible manner of interference, and the North would approach the negotiations in a likewise manner. Nevertheless, the North might gradually learn a lesson during the negotiations.

As stakeholders, neighboring countries might act as significant variables in the negotiations. They have different priorities and must also take heed of domestic variables, because domestic affairs affect inter-state negotiations. Domestic variables might have the potential power to veto agreements between states. To maintain the negotiations longer, it is necessary to demonstrate both at home and abroad the sincerity and good faith of the parties involved. Therefore, it is most important to ratify the agreement at home and agree on the sequence of implementation of what was agreed after the negotiations

are completed.

Given the lessons from international cases, verification and inspection of the nuclear sites are important, and South Korea might assume a more significant role. Along this line, the mutual process of verification and inspection of nuclear sites between Brazil and Argentina, and their creation of a nuclear weapons free zone could serve as a reference for Korea. Through civilian satellite programs and technological cooperation, South Korea can assist North Korea in launching satellites. Measures to verify missile development are also important to pinpoint the limitations of North Korea's missile technology. Special inspections at any place and at any time and the monitoring of nuclear materials will be a critical issue, and South Korea will have to consider whether to separate civilian and military missile technologies. North Korea may be encouraged to join the Export Control Regime and to implement nonproliferation measures at the international level. Since South Korea joined the Missile Technology Control Regime first, it can assist North Korea acquire its membership, too.

National and regional benefits coming from the trust building measures to assist the negotiations for denuclearization may vary. It would be possible to keep North Korea's nuclear weapons on a low-alert status and contribute to preventing the accidental use of nuclear arms. Also, in terms of crisis management, it can positively contribute to reducing the nuclear threat of North Korea. South Korea and neighboring countries could have the benefits of preventing the proliferation of North Korea's nuclear arms. In the long run, it will help operate export control systems for conventional weapons and weapons of mass destruction. The trust building measures can weaken North Korea's nuclear threat at any given stage.

- **Stephan FRUHLING** Trust-building is a very long, step by step process and a necessary, not a sufficient, requirement. In light of past experience, it is clear that trust building proposals alone were insufficient. Today, the situation is somewhat different from the

past. On the other hand, the summit between North Korea and the U.S. was possible thanks to the personality of President Trump, in spite of the continued military buildup in North Korea,

In this context, it is very meaningful to consider whether trust building can be a positive factor in the ongoing negotiations and what the role of third countries would be. Trust building in the Asian region is seen as a very comprehensive measure and as a “process” that includes political, economic and cultural exchanges. Since the concept of trust building encompasses diverse factors, the question we have to ask is: “What kind of trust building is necessary?” That means “what should be built” depends on the context. Given that the New Eastern Policy of West Germany in 1970 or the Oslo Peace Process led to changes not only with the efforts of the countries involved but also with the support of neighboring countries, the allies in the region should participate in the process.

However, there is a conceptual difference between trust building and CVID (Complete, Verifiable, Irreversible Dismantlement), and it is necessary to understand that subjective judgment is involved in this. Trust building is a different concept from CVID, so it is a different process from CVID. Verification is included in the framework of trust building, and it is an activity that objectively examines the status of nuclear programs and judges if the counterpart implemented the agreed measures. As trust building means a “process,” it can be said that the U.S. President Trump and North Korean leader Kim Jong-un have already started to build trust in the pre-denuclearization phase.

Trust that is subject to subjective judgement depends on the perception of the sincerity and intentions of one’s counterpart. When it comes to verification, one has to decide jointly with the counterpart “to which extent denuclearization is verified,” since trust is built mutually, not unilaterally. And trust building is sometimes affected by the personal character and beliefs of leaders. Historical cases show whether to continue negotiations depended upon

trust building.

There is an adage, “Trust but verify.” It was a key practice to verify disarmament through the multilateral and bilateral agreements such as the Open Skies Agreement or the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT). Successful verification cannot always build trust, and sometimes suspends the negotiations. This is proven by the recent action of the U.S. to withdraw from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) with Iran. Looking back upon the 1970s and 1980s, when the problems involving the implementation of SALT exacerbated the relationship between the U.S. and Soviet Union, we can see that verification is a necessary condition, but not sufficient.

The U.S. allies should think about what the U.S. would ask them to do after North Korea takes irreversible measures for denuclearization. If they cannot trust North Korea’s intention to denuclearize itself, they should determine what kind of measures of “assurance” are necessary. Since the trust building process after the completion of negotiations will include measures to reduce the U.S. threat to North Korea, it might lead to the reinforcement of conventional deterrence by South Korea. However, as North Korea is certain to demand credible denuclearization measures on the part of the U.S. not to threaten North Korea with nuclear weapons, there is a concern that this could include lifting the nuclear umbrella for South Korea. If the U.S. does not deploy nuclear weapons in Northeast Asia, it is a serious matter not only for the security of South Korea but for the entire region, with countries in the region facing the same fate.

Given the unpredictability of the Trump administration, the U.S. allies need to work together to make the U.S. commitment to the security of the region more reliable in the multinational process of building trust. Also questionable is whether promises from the Trump administration are reliable amid the uncertainties surrounding the negotiations between the U.S. and North Korea. The unconventional, somewhat peculiar maneuvering of the current U.S.

administration has already become routine, and the NATO conference in Brussels will be a very important occasion for the U.S. allies. The Trump administration is making dual moves by continuing to invest in NATO, such as bolstering the U.S. military presence in Europe on the one hand and aggravating diplomatic relations with its allies on the other. Therefore, it is too early to say what the true intention of the Trump administration is. I think that the Brussels meeting would be a touchstone to judge the U.S. leadership in trust building with its allies.

President Trump has personally expressed high expectations of success in negotiating with North Korea, but he has also indicated at the possibility of the negotiations being ditched by the next U.S. administration as the U.S. has withdrawn from the nuclear deal with Iran. Another question is whether U.S. allies will be able to exert influence on the U.S. to comply with the outcome of the negotiations, and one of the trust building measures is a comprehensive move by multilateral parties to ensure the implementation of the outcome of the negotiations with the support from global society. It will also act as international pressure on the U.S. to focus more on the denuclearization talks.

- **KIM Jina** The problems arising in the course of reaching a technical agreement, verifying each other’s will and implementing the accords are far more complicated than those in the process of a political agreement. It would not be so difficult to draw a political consensus in a broader framework through the inter-Korean and the U.S.-North Korean summits, compared with the process of drawing up a roadmap for denuclearization. The U.S. and North Korean leaders agreed in the talks to establish a new bilateral relationship, completely denuclearize the Korean Peninsula and build a peace regime on the Korean peninsula. The differences in the agreement from previous ones lie in the nuances of the detailed expressions and in the manifestation of the North that mutual trust building can promote denuclearization, which accents the causal relationship of trust and denuclearization. Therefore, we should keep in mind

that trust building measures should come first or be pursued simultaneously.

It should be noted that the U.S.-North Korea agreement reaffirms the Panmunjom Declaration and calls on the two Koreas to cease all hostilities against their opponent, which was the source of military tension and clashes. North Korea has defined “hostilities” in a broad sense in the past. So, there is a concern over the possibility of significant changes in military operations on the Korean peninsula, which depends on what would be contained in the basket of confidence building measures.

The reason why many agreements of the past failed to be implemented was because the two Koreas had different priorities and external factors exercised influence on the security environment of the peninsula. If we look at how confidence building measures have been discussed in the security context of the Korean peninsula, we find that a number of agreements on military operations have been made, but not implemented. Above all, the complex interests of the two Koreas in the establishment of trust on the Korean peninsula have been combined with the variables of the security environment. In addition, the first and second nuclear crises, and the deteriorated ties between the U.S. and North Korea have often suspended inter-Korean military talks. At the same time, the two Koreas had a smaller scope of common interests and failed to narrow the gap. In addition, the South Korean government made systematic approaches to the themes and phases of trust building, while the North was more focused on specific issues.

It is notable that the trust building issue can be discussed at a different pace from the past, now that it is illuminated from new perspectives. Contrary to the past practice of shelving the issues of a peace regime and improvement of bilateral ties in previous U.S.-North Korea negotiations, the Trump administration is prioritizing them in its talks with the North. In the past, they used to put the unresolved issues on the sidelines so that they would not be an obstacle to reaching an agreement. The most worrying situation

is that if a peace treaty is signed in the middle of the denuclearization roadmap, it will have a profound impact on the speed and scope of trust building.

Therefore, how to define the peace regime will be determined on the changes in the speed and scope of trust building. To be content with a declaration of the end of the war, or to ask for more concrete measures than the declaration, depends on whether to regard the peace regime as a mere static status of ending the war, or as a dynamic process to build peace. How to build a peace regime also depends on whether to see it completed with signatures on the declaration of the end of the war, or with the joint operation of an organization to derive an agreement, or with the establishment of a system to guarantee principled implementation of what was agreed upon. What counts above all is under which phase of peace building the peace treaty that falls, as this would bring significant changes to military operations on the peninsula.

It is too early to judge whether North Korea will make a fundamental change. Therefore, keen attentions should be paid to variables originating both from North Korea and the U.S.. North Korea has always tried to link the nuclear issue with a peace treaty, and there is little basis to judge that North Korea has changed its principle of denuclearization through the normalization of ties with the U.S. While North Korea will not be able to make positive changes in non-military affairs concerning the safety of its regime, it will not be easy for the U.S. to give exceptional treatment to North Korea due to the negative sentiment within the U.S. Congress toward North Korea and legal limitations.

On the other hand, since the U.S. considers the denuclearization issue and recent changes on the Korean peninsula in terms of “cost,” a new concern is being raised. Therefore, South Korea should be prepared for both a minimum and maximum range of change. Trust building includes all measures to promote mutual understanding and trust by reducing uncertainty in the operation of military force and enhancing transparency. The measures range from passive actions to prevent armed conflict

by misjudgment to active measures to establish mutual understanding through various exchanges and contacts. Therefore, if the discussion on denuclearization and peacebuilding progresses step by step, it should start with less sensitive issue before addressing the more intractable ones in a gradual approach. The trust building measures are classified into declarative ones: one for transparency, and a restrictive one, but the verification of mutual implementation of these measures can act as a catalyst to build trust, so it is advised to take the measures in parallel.

Policy Implications

- In consideration of the things that should be done to build trust with allies, we need to establish standards upon which we share the perception about North Korean intentions regarding denuclearization, with allies and continuously assess them.
- To verify the implementation of the agreement after negotiations on the initial measures, the countries concerned should agree on a sequence of implementation measures and institutionally support their sustainability by ratifying them in accordance with domestic procedures.
- Starting with institutional measures such as the establishment of communication channels and risk reduction measures, within a minimum-maximum range of trust building, the concerned parties should prepare alternative measures, including coercive ones, such as military information exchanges and mutual inspections.

Chapter TWO

아시아의 평화 재정립
Reengineering Peace for Asia

PROSPERITY

Asia's Harmonious Economic Cooperation for Common Prosperity



제주한라대학교
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CHUNG Keeyoung Director of Governance, Global Green Growth Institute
 Rapporteur **KIM Shin Hyo** Director of Center for International Free City, Cheju Halla University

• **JUN Yongwook** For the past three decades, East Asia has enjoyed political stability and economic growth based on a well-established value chain among neighboring countries. As the investment-based economic growth of China slows, however, economic tension is building in Northeast Asia. On the one hand, a supply glut caused by overinvestment is expected to continue and this, in turn, will drag out the U.S.-Sino trade dispute. On the other hand, China's relations with its neighbors including South Korea and Japan are increasingly becoming competitive across industries as the country strives to move upwards in the value chain. This session aims to realign the Asian economic order and seek shared prosperity by outlining the current economic state of affairs and providing a forum for experts from the three Northeast Asian countries to present and discuss ideas for coordinated and mutually beneficial cooperation among them.

• **KIM Bokyoung** China's rapid growth over the past 30 years has led the economic growth and prosperity in East Asia. The fact that China's GDP growth has still been lagging behind the growth in investment

shows that its economic growth has been largely dependent on investment. While investment essentially contributes to the better welfare of the whole population through the accumulation of capital stock, overinvestment leaves a large portion of this out of production activities and the excess capital is eventually wasted through depreciation. So overinvestment cannot increase future productivity and therefore does not contribute to actual economic growth as much as it contributes to the current GDP in nominal terms. Based on the IMF Working Group Paper, "Is China Over-investing and Does It Matter" (2013), a comparison of the "GDP minus investment" economic growth rate with the growth rate of "investment" shows that the latter exceeds the former for most of the time between 2000 and 2010 in China, suggesting that the country's economic growth was led mostly by investment. While this investment-driven economic growth model was a great success in the past, voices of concern are growing as the growth rate has slowed since the global financial crisis in 2008. The limits of this investment-led economic growth are clearly illustrated by

a number of ambitious projects to build new towns and infrastructure, which have ended up creating "ghost towns" where few people live and engage in economic activities.

Recognizing these limits, the Chinese government recently announced and set about several ambitious projects to create new growth engines for the future to avoid falling into the "middle income trap" created by an economic slowdown. First, they started the so-called "One Belt, One Road" initiative, a modern equivalent of the Silk Road, in 2013. If successful, the project will help expedite trade and economic cooperation between China and other participating countries. However, this Marshall Plan in Chinese guise will have to prove first that the billion-dollar investment in infrastructure is more than simply extending the life of the existing investment-led growth model.

Second, China laid out an audacious roadmap called "Made in China 2025" aiming to raise 10 leading high-tech industries. China's desire to move upward in the global value chain will soon play the country off against its long-time customers, namely South Korea and Japan. What is particularly alarming is that China does not seem to be seeking a win-win situation but wants to obtain technological capacity enough to carry out the entire process of the high-tech sector solely on its own. A study of the supply of intermediary goods among South Korea, China and Japan in the value chain showed that China has increasingly reduced its dependence on intermediary goods from the two other countries while ramping up domestic supply. Moreover, a potential problem of the "Made in China 2025" initiative is that its key elements consist of government-led policies such as subsidies and the protection of domestic businesses, which are against the mechanisms of the market economy. Some are even raising concerns that China could possibly violate WTO rules and norms.

At the Boao Forum for Asia in 2013, President Xi Jinping emphasized co-prosperity among China and its Asian neighbors. It is a fact that East Asian

countries relatively well-established in the global value chain have thus far contributed to the economic growth and stability in the region. I appreciate the ambitious China has proposed for future growth, but it remains to be seen whether these colossal projects will provide shared prosperity with its neighboring countries in East Asia, or go against the market economy as China is playing a zero-sum game with yesterday's partners. It is necessary for China to coordinate itself with its neighbors as it pushes forward with these grand projects, while the other East Asian countries should strive to bring the regional economic order to a more desirable equilibrium to achieve prosperity for all.

• **SHENG Bin** I am going to talk about "Enhancing the Quality of Trade Agreements in the Asia-Pacific." De-globalization, which is the reverse trend of regional integration represented by Trump's withdrawal from the TPP (Trans-Pacific Strategic Economic Partnership) has not only resulted in a shrinking number of new RTAs (Regional Trade Agreements) and FTAs (Free Trade Agreements), but also impeded and even derailed well-conceived RTAs and FTAs. It is imperative for Asian countries to create a regional value chain, maintain an open regional economic system, and improve the quality of regional and bilateral trade agreements so that they can lead to fundamental re-integration process. To this end, the following three issues should be dealt with in a higher level: trade agreement clauses should be broadly applied, the legal binding force of trade-related clauses should be enhanced, and dispute resolution processes by trade-related clauses should be agreed upon. Using coverage, extensive and depth ratios, all of which are based on ratio and scoring approaches, I have made a comprehensive assessment of the quality of the 56 trade agreements in the Asia-Pacific region by item, by clause and by element. In terms of coverage ratio, South Korea scored 0.49, surpassing other Asia-Pacific countries such as the U.S., Japan and China. As for extensive and depth ratios, the U.S. tops the list, followed by Canada and South Korea. In contrast, Japan and

China scored poorly on all three ratios compared to South Korea. The higher intra-region trade ratio is, the lower the quality of the free trade agreement. An example of a high-quality FTA is the TPP-11 and the P4 among Singapore, New Zealand, Australia and Chile, while ASEAN represents an agreement with a high intra-region trade ratio. In terms of the quality of trade agreement and the participation ratio in the global and regional value chain, South Korea is one of the top-scoring countries.

I suggest three policies for a stronger regional integration of the Asia-Pacific region. First, accelerate trade liberalization “at the border.” To be more specific, I suggest lower average tariff rates and tariff peaks in chosen sectors; lower tariffs rates on intermediary goods related to global and regional value chains; the implementation of zero-tariff sectors or trade liberalization initiatives; non-tariff barriers; SPS (Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures) and eased quantitative controls; and the facilitation of trade through simplified customs clearance. Second, improve the business environment “behind the border.” Action plans in detail include moving from a conventional market-centered approach to trade and investment issues for the next generation focusing on the consistency of regulation; reducing protective measures in the service trade (investment), particularly in specialized areas such as finance and communication; and implementing new issues and clauses generally applied or legitimately enforced in high-quality FTAs, such as intellectual property rights, investment, government procurement, small- and medium-sized businesses, electronic commerce, etc. Also, we need to combine and integrate forceful dispute resolution mechanisms. Third, promote regional interconnection “across the border.” To this end, it is necessary to improve the trade-related infrastructure, initiate development-oriented project financing and support capacity-building programs.

• **KIMURA Fukunari** I would like to talk about “Supporting the Rules-based Trade Regime.” President Trump’s obsession with the U.S. trade deficit vis-a-vis other countries is based on an anachronistic

notion of the 1980s or even the early 18th century; and the trade policies adopted by the U.S. have caused great uncertainties across the globe. Renegotiations on existing FTAs such as the KORUS FTA and NAFTA, measures regarding the trade of steel, aluminum and automobiles relevant to Section 232 of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, other measures against China based on Section 301 of the Trade Act of 1974, and a “trade war” and “anti-trade measures” that violate WTO rules all undermine the credibility of the rules-based trade regime and cause economic loss. The rules-based trade regime is threatened not by rules but by deals. The renegotiation of the KORUS FTA is another example of an undesirable case in which the U.S. had its way at the expense of South Korea by linking trade with national security.

East Asia, that includes Northeast and Southeast Asia in a broader sense, has been the leader in developing international production networks or the second unbundling (Baldwin 2016). All the efforts of ASEAN aim at trade and FDI (foreign direct investment) liberalization, and the promotion of support for a regional value chain. Also, the wave of the digital economy has finally reached the shores of East Asia, making it imperative for countries to promote the free flow of data and policies backing it up.

The CPTPP (Comprehensive and Progressive Trans-Pacific Partnership) and TPP-11 did not impair the overall text of the original TPP and members have imposed a freeze on 22 items in order to narrow down the scope of negotiations, and allow the U.S. to renegotiate terms for its possible return to the deal. While uncertainties remain, they are expected to be ratified in 2019 and it would be reasonable for the US to return to the TPP rather than sign separate, bilateral FTAs. Other countries including Thailand, Colombia and the United Kingdom will also show interest in joining the CPTPP.

What can South Korea, China and Japan do to make a stronger rules-based trade regime? First, they should sign a trilateral FTA and RCEP (Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership) as early as possible. Second, the expansion of the CPTPP is

inevitable. South Korea should pay serious attention to this, and China should also reconsider joining the CPTPP if the agreement has positive effects on its domestic reforms. Meanwhile, Japan will have to scrap its century-old protective measures for its agriculture sector. Although the Abe administration has made significant progress on this front so far, it is far from enough and it still undermines Japan’s negotiating power. To sum up, Japan should prepare itself for negotiations with the U.S., either for a Japan-US FTA or for the CPTPP, or for both.

• **KIM Yongjune** I would like to discuss “Prospects and Strategies for Northeast Asian Economics in the Trump Era.” The “Trump Era” indicates a U.S. shift from globalization to nationalism. In his inaugural address, President Trump declared that “America First” is the one and only principle in making decisions on all issues, including trade, employment, immigration and security. Meanwhile, other countries are also going down the same path of de-globalization and nationalism, with Britain going for “Brexit,” China advocating “China First! China Dreams!” and North Korea engaging in a series of military provocations to seek regime security. South Korea, however, conveyed a message clearly different from those of the leaders of the U.S., China and North Korea. In his interview with “Time” magazine before the election, what President Moon Jae-In stressed was not “Korea First” but that “the two Koreas are one nation sharing one language and one culture for the past five millennia.” On the cover page was his picture with the title “The Negotiator.” With the start of the Trump Era came changes in the political and economic paradigms of all three East Asian countries, and North Korea looms as another variable as uncertainty grows over trade balances, exchange rates and investment between the U.S. and the three East Asian countries. The US seems determined to have its own way by negotiating with each country separately. The U.S.-Japan summit in February 2017, the U.S.-China summit in April 2017, the reassurance of the ROK-US alliance in the aftermath of North Korean military provocation, the Panmunjom

Declaration of the inter-Korean summit on April 27, 2018, and the U.S.-North Korea summit talks in Singapore on June 21, 2018 all illustrate seemingly erratic political, economic and strategic maneuvers. It is also likely that the US will take advantage of the North Korean issue in its future negotiations with South Korea, China and Japan. In fact, the three countries have notably enjoyed trade surpluses with the U.S., and the U.S. government already renegotiated the terms of its FTA with South Korea. In sum, the Trump administration has intended to readjust tariff rates, improving its trade balance, drawing investment in production facilities and infrastructure in the U.S., and revising exchange rates by negotiating one on one with South Korea, China and Japan.

• **CHUNGKeeyong** I would like to discuss “Strategies for Developing and Emerging Economies and Green Growth Potential on the Korean Peninsula.” Amid growing expectations for a diplomatic solution on North Korean issues and its nuclear weapons program through dialogue among parties concerned as well as between South and North Korea, the GGGI (The Global Green Growth Institute) headquartered in South Korea can make suggestions about areas where the organization can make contributions based on its experience regarding green growth in developing countries. It includes (1) reforestation/agriculture (2) recyclable energy sources (solar thermal/off-grid power generation), (3) water resources management, (4) greenhouse gas emissions monitoring, (5) support for North Korea’s climate change response, etc. Specific action plans for cooperation in these areas would have to be considered not only in terms of the observance of international and domestic law, but also in the context of international sanctions, diplomatic relations and the regional state of affairs.

Q & A

Q. HUANG Chunyuan In his presentation, Professor Kimura Fukunari said South Korea and China should sign a trilateral FTA with Japan and also join

the CPTPP. While the South Korea-China FTA is already in place, what impact is the CPTPP expected to have on the FTA?

A. KIMURA Fukunari Since the U.S. raised the issue of a trade war, there are growing voices calling for multilateral mega-FTAs rather than bilateral FTAs. Japan and the EU are poised to sign an FTA next month and RCEP negotiations have also begun in Tokyo. I think the Japanese protectionist policy for its agricultural sector is largely responsible for the drawn-out negotiations of an FTA among South Korea, China and Japan. I believe the South Korea-China FTA, or the pending trilateral FTA will have a positive impact on the RCEP.

A. SHENG Bin I think the Korea-China FTA is a high-quality agreement, particularly in comparison with other bilateral FTAs such as the China-Australia FTA. Whether China can sign a high-quality trade agreement depends on the regulatory environment of its counterpart. President Xi Jinping already announced that China would focus on the deregulation of business activities, including state-owned enterprises.

Q. Canning LEE Is there any chance that Trump will initiate a trade war between the U.S. and China by imposing exorbitantly high tariff rates on Chinese imports?

A. KIM Yongjune Shrugging off the existing rules, President Trump wants to revise existing agreements by engaging in one-on-one negotiations with each country. Dissatisfied with the trade balance with South Korea, China and Japan as well as exchange rates or tariff rates, he wants to change the status quo in favor of the U.S. through a series of individual negotiations. The North Korea issue can be used as a means of coercion with its negotiating counterparts.

A. KIM Bokyoung From an economist's perspective, President Trump's chauvinism and the consequent backing out of FTAs are far from a discreet choice by a prudent statesman. It is a short-sighted policy solely for his four-year term. In the short term, it could benefit a small group of U.S. citizens and might help

his re-election, it will likely have a negative impact on the US economy overall in the long run.

Policy Implications

- All East Asian countries should join forces to help China find a more desirable equilibrium in the economic order and achieve co-prosperity in Asia during its pursuit of large-scale projects by coordinating and cooperating with neighboring countries including those in East Asia.
- Three policy recommendations have been made to improve the quality of trade agreements among countries in the Asia-Pacific region and to strengthen regional integration. ① Accelerate free trade "at the border" ② Improve the business environment "behind the border" ③ Promote regional connections "across the border"
- Free trade agreements among South Korea, China and Japan as well as the RCEP should be signed as soon as possible to reinforce a rules-based trade regime. The expansion of the CPTPP is inevitable and South Korea should seriously deliberate joining it. Also, China should consider joining the CPTPP, if it could help domestic reform.
- With strategic political and economic maneuvers toward the Northeast Asian countries, the Trump administration is determined to readjust tariff rates, improve its trade balance, draw investment for infrastructure in the U.S. as well as readjust exchange rates in its favor by negotiating one on one with South Korea, China and Japan, which have been enjoying trade surpluses vis-a-vis the U.S. In the process, it is likely to strategically take advantage of North Korea issues.

Smart Growth Control Strategies in the Korean Peninsula



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Rapporteur	KANG Min Pyo Seoul branch of Jeju Special Self-Governing Province/Soongsil University

• **LEE Sang-hyun** If North Korea accelerates its door opening, the country will undergo rapid urbanization that will inevitably result in an expansion of its cities and a concentration of the population in them. North Korea is likely to promote a sprawling growth of its cities as its population grows, which might result in the same negative effects of urban sprawl in the South, including environmental pollution, housing shortages and long commutes to work. It is necessary for North Korea to pursue compact urban development based on TOD (Transit Oriented Development), a new paradigm of urban development that will overcome the negative consequences of urban sprawl. TOD, unlike expansionist urban development, is an urban space design that pursues a mass transit system-centred urban space and the high-density development of areas around public transport stations and terminals to the end of providing easy access to the transit system.

The urbanization of North Korea is expected to expand the outlying areas of Pyongyang, Sinuiju,

Wonsan and Rajin-Sonbong. The Rajin-Sonbong region, in particular, is likely to draw international attention because it could become a hub of goods exchanges, as it is located in the area bordering North Korea, China and Russia. If five districts are built along the Tumen River and accommodate a population of 400,000 (an area with a radius of 1.6 km with a moving walk system and smart mobility to restrict most vehicle traffic), they might become an East Asian version of Manhattan. Actually, a development project is underway in the region with the participations of China, Russia, the U.S. and Japan. These five circular districts will revitalize personal exchanges with high-rise complexes (central area: 80-storied buildings/ commercial - middle area: 50-storied buildings/ outskirts-residential area: 20-30-storied buildings), leading to the continued development of new products and technological innovation. Also, space efficiency will be enhanced by the establishment of underground factory facilities in industrial cities and unmanned manufacturing.

They can also build airports and reorganize port facilities that are required to facilitate the exchange of goods in the region.

- **CHO Moon-soo** The city of the future will take the shape of a mega-city prioritizing human life. Urban development should be pursued from the historical context, and in terms of the daily lives of citizens. North Korea should overcome the negative effects of urbanization in the South and promote strategic urban development focused on the wellbeing of people, which will eventually bring economic prosperity. The concept of the mass transit system and compact city suggested in this session is not about a way to resolve urbanization problems with global information technologies; it is a comprehensive concept of urbanization, addressing the issues of healthcare of North and South Koreans, smart-city development, transit systems, logistics and the environment; all aimed at improving the quality of life.

- **CHUNG Tae-yong** Urbanization in North Korea requires a balance between the ideal and reality, and between theory and practice. The urbanization experience of South Korea and the financial support it could provide would make it possible to establish mega-cities in North Korea. Before that, North Korea cities should maintain their manufacturing-based city function (a quality workforce at lower costs). As regards to the negative aspects of rapid urban growth, North Korea should learn a lesson from South Korea's urban development history.

- **KIM Hong-kook** Now, politicians need to consider how to build up inter-Korean relations. They should learn lessons from the serious consequences of South Korea's reckless urban development. Being aware of the mistakes found in this, they need to prepare a new direction for urban development in North Korea. They have to study how the citizenry can lead green lives in high-density compact cities. Furthermore, they have to discuss and find solutions on how high-density compact cities can address the challenges from regional conflicts and natural disaster such as earthquakes. It is also necessary to gather public opinion on and discuss how to recover

the cultural homogeneity of North and South Korea, and how to address the maladjustment of citizens to high-density compact cities in South Korea. Urban development in North Korea should be accompanied by efforts to promote cooperation and coexistence among neighboring countries. North Korea can build new peace cities in Northeast Asia, if neighboring powers China, Russia, Japan and the U.S. are willing to invest in North Korea, including the Tumen River region.

- **CHOI Woong-chul** A dispersed city has lower energy efficiency. A high-density compact city is a space where the requirements for a futuristic transit system can be optimized; and we can experiment with this on Jeju Island. We need to propose the Jeju case of urban development and its futuristic transit system to underdeveloped countries. In addition, it is important to develop specialized technology to operate an integrated city and futuristic transit system.

- **KO Kwang-bon** Futuristic cities should be built to accommodate South Korean and global companies in the North Korea-China-Russia border regions such as Sinuiju and Rajin-Sonbong, and Specialized Economic Zones such as Haeju, Kaesong and Wonsan. They need to build a vibrant business ecosystem of smart cities (testbeds for the Fourth Industrial Revolution) led by the private sector that will promote technological innovation, create jobs and improve quality of life through technology. It is also required to encourage private investment for rental services, instead of ownership of real estate. The major concepts of a smart city provide:

- 1) Public bidding for high-tech streetlighting platform projects which will be operated by private companies with the revenue from digital ads, power charging services for electric cars, and parking services

- 2) The establishment of pedestrian-friendly mass transit systems (the operation of autonomous driving buses and cars and pedestrian and traffic volume sensing systems)

- 3) The shared economy service

- 4) Technology test-beds for telemedicine services and medical data based on blockchain. At the same time, North Korean cities should remain open to investment by private enterprises to ease budgetary constraints of the government in urban development projects.

Policy Implications

- For both societies in South and North Korea, propositions were made about economic policies for economic growth and to improve quality of life through balanced futuristic cities.

The Strategy of Differentiation and Competitiveness for the Future of Agriculture in the Nation



Chair	PARK Hyunchul Director General, JDC
Moderator	PAK Jaimo Director, JDC
Presenter	János LÓCZI Chief Executive Officer, Gremon systems Zrt.
Discussant	LEE Sangkil Former Vice Minister of Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs HA Daesung Director General, Presidential Committee for Balanced National Development KIM Seongsoo President, Association of Korea Agri Food Sextic Industry LEE Jongwon Research Professor, Kyungpook National University Tamás GILLER Chief Operating Officer, Gremon systems Zrt.
Rapporteur	SON Peter J.W. Chief Executive Officer, Ventex GNC Co., Ltd, Jeju Free International City Development Center

• **LEE Jongwon** To discuss the future of agriculture, it is necessary to understand the reality that Korea's agriculture currently faces. As of today, 45.7% of farm managers are aged 65 or older, and less than 1% are aged 40 or under. Society itself is rapidly aging, and farming size per capita is expected to gradually grow accordingly. The living conditions in rural areas in particular have deteriorated. Despite much effort, agriculture's share of the nation's GDP stood at a mere 1.9% as of 2017. While this share continues to gradually decrease, front and back industries are constantly growing. In other words, while the agriculture industry's nominal share of GDP is on the decrease, its influence grows steadily through agriculture-related start-ups, for instance.

However, the small scale of domestic farming is a significant structural limit. As small farms make up a large number of Korea's farming households, strategies that differ from other countries such as the Netherlands and Hungary are needed. An important topic in the future of agriculture is "sharing" - small-

scale farmers need to share if they wish to compete effectively with large farms. They will need to come together at different levels, such as by organizing small or large cooperative units and training courses to compete against large distribution networks. Creating such a new "sharing" business model by taking advantage of Korea's advanced IT infrastructure is also an important task for the agricultural industry.

• **KIM Seongsoo** The Sixth Industrial Revolution is to converge farming with the second and third industries to increase its added value, since agriculture by itself has its limitation in achieving growth. The Sixth Industrial Revolution is as important as the Fourth. Although Korea's IT is highly advanced, its investment in agriculture-related software remains meagre. In addition, a future-oriented approach is needed if agriculture on the Korean Peninsula is to be prepared for reunification. For instance, the crops of Southeast Asian origin will begin to be cultivated on Jeju Island. North Korea will produce beans and corn while the southern part of Korea will mainly

produce rice. South Korean farmers often disobey the government policies, but North Korea has the potential to become a "mecca" of the agricultural industry, given its socialist system. However, it is regrettable that the training system for young farmers has yet to be organized well in South Korea. The older generation is to blame for the lack of a sufficient education system for the young, who are the main agents of the future of agriculture. I suggest the establishment of high-tech agricultural complexes where the younger generation would gather and train themselves in agriculture.

• **Tamás GILLER** The global agricultural industry has its own problems as Korea does. Population is increasing on limited land, so the key issue is how to cultivate quality crops more efficiently. The key issue is how to apply the Industrial Revolution to agriculture and have this industry go digital. Hungary also faces serious issues, such as an aging population and a shortage of manpower. As young people are very interested in jobs utilizing cutting-edge technology, my company is making efforts to create jobs in agriculture attractive to them. The variety of solutions is the outcome of these efforts. Our goal is to boost production from current levels.

• **HA Daesung** The Presidential Committee for Balanced National Development focuses on developing strategies specialized for each region. We are considering a measure to identify strategic industries for each region and extend government-level support to them. During the Roh Moo-hyun administration, the government provided support for some 70 cities, counties and districts with an aim to converge the primary industry with other industries in rural areas. Today, the Committee is working to modernize rural areas, as stipulated by the government project.

Although Jeju faces an increasingly aging society, it also sees an influx of young people and is undergoing changes to become a better place to live. I hope that the JDC will play a leading role in industrial innovation on Jeju, and the center's knowledge and skills in a variety of areas will significantly contribute to the agricultural industries of Jeju and Korea.

• **LEE Sangkil** Besides the aging population, small-scale farming and shortage of manpower, the domestic agricultural sector suffers from an elusive commercial market due to the influx of foreign agricultural products following a market opening and stagnant domestic consumption. Farming revenues have stalled and the agricultural industry has faced limits to its growth over the past two decades since the Uruguay Round was concluded and the World Trade Organization was established. Korea's agricultural sector used to focus on cultivating food crops to ensure food security, but now we have to go further and break away from land-intensive farming and promote protected cultivation. It is particularly important to study ways to integrate advanced technology with the agricultural industry. Cutting-edge technology, such as controlling the growing environment, should be applied not only to the production stage but also to the entire process of distribution, processing and consumption. Only then is it possible to ensure competitiveness and efficiency. Furthermore, greater scale of investment in R&D is necessary; Korea's current level of technology is about 70% to that of advanced nations, and three to four years behind, thus requiring heavy investment. Jeju should maximize its eco-friendly and "clean" image to promote greener agriculture and increase added value by achieving the Sixth Industrial Revolution with the linkage of its agriculture to the tourism industry. Moreover, Korea's agricultural industry should enhance its competitiveness by strengthening the domestic market and exporting its products to Japan and China. As Jeju accommodates many tourists, there is room to tie tourism with the food industry. Furthermore, it is also necessary to promote the industry producing convenience food for single households, senior-friendly food, functional food and fermented products to meet the changes in consumption patterns.

In conclusion, science and technology is a key element in the competitiveness of the Korean agricultural industry, and the human resources and capital to harness it are required - the main point is to create

a virtuous circle linking these three. The high-tech agri-food complex project that the JDC is set to implement should play a supporting role in it. The JDC itself should lead in advancing Jeju's agriculture and food industries by expanding the training programs for agricultural start-ups; supporting farming households with advanced technology to gain returns on its investment; and extending technical assistance in food processing and safety.

Policy Implications

- Constant investment in R&D and better training for new agricultural start-ups are essential for the future growth of agriculture.
- The "pristine and clean" image of Jeju can be utilized to initiate the Sixth Industrial Revolution by consolidating agriculture and tourism.
- Farming households should differentiate themselves from large-scale farms by sharing information, interacting with one another and responding in a systematic manner to the market.

[Global Leaders Session on Diplomacy and Security]

Industry 4.0 and New Frameworks for Entrepreneurship

Friedrich Naumann
STIFTUNG **FÜR DIE FREIHEIT**

Opening Remarks	Lars-André RICHTER Head, Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom (FNF) Korea Office
Welcoming Remarks	Stephan AUER Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to the Republic of Korea
Moderator	Karena BELIN Co-Founder, W Hub, Hong Kong SAR
Discussant	Christian BLOBNER Head of International Research Networks, Fraunhofer Institute for Factory Operation and Automation IFF, Germany Francis FONG Honorary President, Hong Kong Information Technology Federation LEE Yong Suk The SK Center Fellow, the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies; Deputy Director of the Korea Program, Stanford University
Rapporteur	Pett.JARUPAIBOON Regional Program Manager, Friedrich Naumann Foundation

• **Stephan AUER** The fourth industrial revolution affects all countries, not the least the most industrial ones as Korea and Germany. A growing world population and rising standard of living caused continued growing demands for all kind of products. Automation is one of the most effective means to match the limited natural resources and meet the growing demand in production capacities and individualized quality. It is therefore no wonder that information engineering is one of the most future-oriented professions. Industrial manufacturing plays an important role for the economies of Korea and Germany. However, both our countries are facing serious challenges, such as shorter time to market, more complex products, and much higher data volumes. With almost no natural resources, innovation is a key for the success of our two economies. When people, machines, and industrial processes are intelligently networked along the whole supply and value chain, that is Industry 4.0.

We are expecting big changes in the industrial, but also social and political landscape. Industry 4.0

will change the way we live and work. Ever since its introduction in Germany in 2013, the so-called Platform Vier Punkt Null unites representatives from government, research institutions and companies with labor unions and business associations. In an interdisciplinary program, they address the challenges arising from Industry 4.0. With the creation in Korea of the presidential committee on Industry 4.0, we now have two bodies that can promote bilateral cooperation in that area.

The fourth industrial revolution will present a major challenge for employees. It can open up new areas of creativity for employees, but it will require well-trained workers with the appropriate skills. So the next question is what about Education 4.0? It would be necessary at an early stage to address questions of skills development, labor organization, job design, health and safety at work, and truly, data protection. Industry value chains have stopped ending at national borders. Therefore, if we want to remain globally competitive, we need international cooperation. The Ministry of Economy of Germany and the Ministry

of the Korean Government on ICT, and for Startups and SMEs are already working together very closely.

- **Karena BELIN** What does industry 4.0 mean?

- **LEE Yong Suk** Industry 4.0 can be defined differently in different industries and disciplines. But for me, it is a combination of data, AI, machine learning and automation and how that becomes new general-purpose technology, i.e. electricity and internet initially produced. Then they moved on to an era where they become prevalent across societies. Innovation happens within the utilisation of each technology. We are in an era where massive amount of data analysis together with automation and artificial intelligence can potentially become general purpose technologies.

- **Karena BELIN** How does it compare to the previous revolutions?

- **Christian BLOBNER** We can think of it as a continuing trend of automation.

Industry 1.0- mechanisation of production

Industry 2.0- electrification

Industry 3.0- automation through ICT

Industry 4.0- use of data, networking of machine, basically further exploiting the ICT that is already in the production process and bringing those together to network the data that is already available.

- **Karena BELIN** How are the new technologies driving this change?

- **Francis FONG** It is the massive change in industry processes. AI, a lot of data and other technologies are integrated into manufacturing processes. SMEs and some countries are afraid, because they do not understand this and worry about job loss.

- **Karena BELIN** Coming back to this idea of creating system rather than looking into optimization of different processes. But, what is really the big point there?

- **Christian BLOBNER** I think the big point is what you just already mentioned is the system perspective on not just the production, but on the system as a whole. We are also talking about industrial ecosystems, we are not looking at different disciplines in silos that work independent of each other, but how different elements of this ecosystem influence each other, how data from one aspect of production can influence

another aspect or how data from human resources, from production, from suppliers can improve processes in business model. It is about increasingly usable data as basis from production paradigm where we sell things to sell services around those things that we produce, means to end, and add benefit to customers.

- **Karena BELIN** So this is not only about vertical integration, but also horizontal integration. So, Dr. Lee, what is the opportunity there?

- **LEE Yong Suk** Data-driven analysis has been in place for quite a while, e.g. inventory management. The difference this time is the integration of data within a systems framework and around the whole process rather than each individual process. AI driven system can predict what type of customer or which customer will demand at a certain point of time.

The whole process is more efficient and cost-saving. And this is only about manufacturing, there are other potential possibilities and industries, such as health, finance and service sectors.

- **Karena BELIN** How much new business models are created in this 4.0 scenario? Can we see different countries at different stages of this continual improvement?

- **LEE Yong Suk** There are substantial differences in people's mentalities, especially in entrepreneurs in SMEs and large businesses. For example, in South Korea, Uber and Airbnb are not legal in Korea, because of the regulations and that shapes how entrepreneurs utilize technology.

- **Christian BLOBNER** Within the established economy like Germany, where you have a lot of SMEs in the manufacturing sector, a large number of OEM in the automotive sector, these kinds of disruptive models are really hard to achieve for them. Because they have IPs (intellectual property rights) that they invested in, they have assets, they have factories, worker and qualified staff. So, disruption for them is very hard because they have a legacy that they build on. Nevertheless, when we are looking into the sample in automotive sector in Germany, we see that they are still producing combustion-engine cars,

because that is where their major IP is. But they are also experimenting with new business models that they try to establish in parallel with their established business model. Daimler and BMW cooperate in a car sharing business, which is not to sell cars, but provides mobility to customers. Through this, they collect valuable data for business, how long they use car, average drive, to build better products for them. There will be a parallel development of business models, an experiment of new model to complement existing one, which makes more use of digital aspect of production and moving more to service sector. There will be a gradual and evolutionary transition to digital business models in the next couple of years.

- **LEE Yong Suk** Major input in the production function of Industry 4.0 is data. The amount of data that can be collected and utilised will enhance the development of each industry, and be linked to the business model. For instance, US has lax data privacy security compared to Europe. The more drastic case is China. We know that the technology is out there, but how is it utilized? How is facial recognition being utilised? In China, you can find anyone within seven minutes. Security camera all over can be used for different purposes, but it also includes the risks to personal security. In South Korea, it is highly regulated. Even collected data cannot be incorporated into business model.

If you think about data issue, there is a trade-off between security of data, collection of data and analysis and utilisation. But then what is the benefit for the society?

- **Christian BLOBNER** Collection of data is already in the industry 3.0. Industry 4.0 is about integrating data from different sources. It is about networking aspect of data and increases the benefits of each data. Of course there needs to be a certain kind of regulation concerning the integration of data. Each country has a different background and reason for regulation. GDPR (General Data Protection Regulation) is a large discussion point globally, although it is a European initiative. With GDPR, the EU is trying to level the playing field for the data economy

for the first time. Facebook and Uber, for example, were exploiting loophole in regulations, amassed massive amount of data from different users. The EU intervened and argued that this is the data of users and users have right to the data. They should be able to define what they want to do with data and move to other social media platform.

GDPR only addresses data privacy for private users vis a vis company. I think there is also a need to have one among a company level to level the playing field. Currently, companies are hesitant. They know the data they have is valuable, but they do not have a way to exchange the data. There is no common ground rule for their rights to their data vis a vis companies that provide services to them. That is where I found regulation provides benefit - basic trust layer between actors in the market.

- **LEE Yong Suk** An important point is also about how to utilize technology. German economy is driven by SMEs. Korea is different. The economy is dominated by a few conglomerates, such as Samsung and Hyundai. Big businesses in Korea have more potential to utilize technology to further their productivity, but for SMEs, they struggle a lot. They lack personnel with skills to use and incorporate technology. Therefore, human capital affects the utilization. Will this promote entrepreneurship? If the labour market is constrained, it would impede business development.

- **Christian BLOBNER** In Germany, human capital is the limiting factor. Some people say that automation will create job loss, but that is not the situation in Germany. The whole drive concerning Industry 4.0 is to better exploit human resources. In fact, 80-90 percent of companies are looking for people and would like to retain the people they have. Given the demographic change, automation is the way to retain the status of Germany as industrialized nation. The purpose of robots is to replace humans, but for more laborious work. At the same time, they also have to invest in qualification of staff. People have to adapt to new environment and acquire new skills. Lifelong learning is essential. Basic digital skill has to be integrated into education system started from

young age.

- **Francis FONG** I agree with the lifelong learning idea. But there will be low-skilled workers who cannot adapt. One day we may have the thing called 'dark factory,' when robots fully replace humans in a factory. Then how do we deal with that?

- **Christian BLOBNER** That is the purpose of robots. They are used to replace humans, but on what skill levels? In China, for example, thousands of people working in a sweatshop making phone components, robots can replace them and that is brute automation. In Germany, there is no this kind of factory. It is way beyond this stage. There is no excess of workers and we will need them. The more likely prospect is humans and robots working together in a factory, but not a dark factory.

- **LEE Yong Suk** The issue of jobs for humans vis a vis robots is a contentious one. It is too early to make assessment. It would also create new jobs which did not exist before. The intention of firms matters. Some would aim robots to replace humans. Some may aim to increase productivity by using robots and hiring more people. Politics matters. It will frame the issue of how we use technology, in relationship with labor, corporate profit and social security.

- **Karena BELIN** What is the role of government?

- **LEE Yong Suk** Training and education are very important and it should train people to these technologies.

- **Christian BLOBNER** To ensure that there is a level of playing field among the actors in a market. Also, it relates to consistent quality of education. Companies can find qualified staff. On the other hand, to ensure that people are not lost because they do not have basic skill of digitalization. A third level is infrastructure, which is also relates to a level of playing field. It is important to note that this is the first time in the history of industrial revolutions on how development path would pan out. Government's perspective is important and should it be long-term and balanced. It should also be reminded that regulation always follows technology.

- **LEE Yong Suk** Education is very important and the basic understanding of digitalization has to be taught

from early age. Immigration policy can also help, but each country has different cultural values and policies.

- **Francis FONG** In the case of Hong Kong, training our own talents is better and easier.

- **Christian BLOBNER** We have to nurture basic digital skills, raise awareness in children how everything is connected, teach them about ecosystem approach to data, and embrace a digital society.

- **LEE Yong Suk** In Korea, SMEs have ideas, but constrained by outdated regulations. For instance, crowdfunding can only be done two years of legislative process. Those barriers are immediate impediment for small businesses.

- **Christian BLOBNER** Industry 4.0 in Germany is a technology-push initiative, to keep competitiveness in the world market for its SMEs, which are heavily invested in machine tools. But in the end it is not just technology initiative, it is also about creating standards. Germany is a forerunner in this regard. So, both technology-push and standard-push are from industries' initiative and they are the main players in the market, not the government. EU also has its program on platform building, e.g. Rise 2020 research program. European commission also has initiatives on digitalisation of European industries, and has tried bringing actors together, by creating platform for data exchange.

Policy Implications

- The important roles of governments concerning the frameworks for industry 4.0 are to level the playing fields among all actors in a market and provide basic understanding of digitalization in an education program.
- Certain level of regulations is necessary, but too much and outdated regulations are impediments to the development of entrepreneurship.
- Concerning the question of job loss for labors in a market, because of automation, the situation is different in each country. For example, in Germany it is likely not the case. While in China, the prospect it is most likely the case.
- Concerning other societal consequences, it is too early to assess at this point. We are, in fact, still in an early stage of industry 4.0.

JDC, towards a Hub of International Exchanges in Asia



Chair	MOON Chung-in Special Advisor for Unification, Diplomacy and National Security Affairs for South Korean President
Moderator	SON Bongsoo Director of Planning & Coordination Dept., JDC
Discussant	WON Heeryong Governor, Jeju Special Self-Governing Province LEE Kwang-Hee Chairman, Jeju Free International City Development Center KOH Choong-suk President, Jeju International University JUNG Ku-hyun Honorary Professor, Yonsei University KANG Gi-Choon Professor, Jeju National University
Rapporteur	KIM Hyunkyung Assistant Manager of Planning & Coordination Dept, Jeju Free International City Development Center

Diagnosis: The Globalization of Jeju Special Self-governing Province and the Role of the JDC

- **LEE Kwang-Hee** The Korean government has sought to create the Jeju Free International City for the purpose of utilizing Jeju as a forward base for market liberalization and as a model for enhancing the nation's international competitiveness. The Jeju Free International City Development Center (JDC), an agency wholly dedicated to pursuing this goal, was established in 2002. In the past 15 years since its inception, the JDC has successfully executed various projects to expand infrastructure for the purpose of globalizing the island's tourism, high-technology industry and education sectors. However, hardware buildup is only one process of globalization. In preparation for the age of smart power, a software-based approach is now necessary to achieve true globalization by promoting the Fourth Industrial Revolution and hosting international conferences. Learning from the achievements and the evaluations of the JDC's performance so far, the JDC will con-

tinue to cooperate with the central and local governments to develop this software-related sector.

- **WON Heeryong** Thanks to the JDC, I believe Jeju is about halfway to achieving its goal of being a true global city. However, judging by a comprehensive view of the demands of local communities and the status quo, it is time that the JDC fundamentally change its role. Let us take a look at the seven key projects, the *raison d'être*, of the JDC. Of the seven projects, some have been successful, but others have all but been put on hold. The stranded projects include the Seogwipo Tourism Port and the Resort-type Residential Complex in Yerae-dong. In the case of the Healthcare Town project, a public hearing session is now underway due to a deviation from the original plans and public objection to the introduction of a commercial hospital. Looking back on the past 15 years of JDC activities, we find positive elements that live up to the vision of globalization, but it is also clear that some projects have revealed inherent limitations. The important questions to ask

at this point are how to globalize the local population and how to cultivate competent human resources for the globalization of Jeju. Along this line, we need to make Jeju a haven for a quality workforce by producing experts in highly advanced technologies or by attracting high-tech professionals from outside the island. What we need now is not tourism-oriented projects, but an environment where talented people would want to stay. In this regard, the JDC should change its role. The JDC should not remain just a government contractor, but play a more active role in close cooperation with the central and local governments. As for the projects that the JDC has failed to carry out, radical shifts and readjustments must be made.

- **KOH Choong-suk** The evaluations of the JDC's performance are admittedly mixed, but many underestimate the Jeju Free International City. I believe that prior to an objective evaluation of the achievements of the JDC, there must be a rigorous evaluation of the progress the free international city has thus far made. It is regrettable that no such report is available now. Jeju is far ahead of other provinces in terms of the aggregate economic index, which includes the growth rate of foreign tourists, local tax revenue and economic growth. It would be safe to say that the JDC deserves credit for a significant portion of Jeju's growth. To make Jeju a truly international city, what the JDC has to do in collaboration with the Jeju provincial government is make sure that the local economy prospers, that the benefits from globalization are given to the people of Jeju and that there is a scheme to preserve the island's unique environment and culture.

- **JUNG Ku-hyun** First of all, it is quite encouraging that the population of Jeju has increased by 24.1 percent from 550,000 in 2001 to 680,000 in 2017. The population of most other cities in Korea, with the exception of Seoul, has seen a continued decline, a phenomenon accompanied by a continued drainage of local talent. The continued growth in population is a significant sign that Jeju is on its way to becoming a global city. Looking ahead at the year 2030,

Jeju should particularly keep increasing its population of youth and professionals. In this regard, we should note the fact that foreigners on Jeju make up just 3 percent of the local population, lower than the national average at 4 percent, in spite of its efforts to become a global city. Nevertheless, the Jeju Global Education City project, operated by the central government under the auspices of the JDC, has played a pivotal role in increasing the population on Jeju Island, including foreigners.

- **KANG Gi-Choon** It would be difficult to ascertain how much the JDC has contributed to the globalization of Jeju in objective terms. Basically, the JDC has been steadfast in laying the infrastructure for the globalization of Jeju. However, Jeju still lacks a healthcare infrastructure, but somehow succeeded in establishing an educational infrastructure for training high-quality manpower. It is encouraging that the JDC is shifting its focus from hardware development to software-oriented projects. In comparison to other cities/provinces in Korea, Jeju has two intrinsic advantages for innovation. The first is its capacity as a venue for international conventions, and the second is its optimal location for education and training. I expect that the JDC will play a pivotal role in further developing the capacities of Jeju in these aspects. In addition, the division of labour and collaboration between the JDC and the provincial government leaves something to be desired. The JDC should explore a new direction for its future role.

Seeking a New Role for the JDC: Toward the Goal of Strengthening the Global Capacity of Jeju

- **JUNG Ku-hyun** There are largely five flows (the flow of goods, services, capital, knowledge and people) in international exchange. Jeju has merits in the flow of knowledge and people. Jeju does not have the conditions necessary to become an international financial hub, such as Singapore or Hong Kong. In sum, becoming a knowledge hub is the best option for Jeju. Looking ahead 10 years from now, Jeju will be in the ideal position in the middle of the five major East Asian ICT cities, given the technological

revolutions currently taking place in Silicon Valley and in East Asia. Keeping this in mind, Jeju needs to focus on securing and retaining hi-tech experts and creating a research and development environment. In order to reach this goal, Jeju had better adopt the "open innovation" model of France rather than the "closed innovation" model that Japanese IT businesses pursue.

- **WON Heeryong** The JDC is planning to establish the International Human Resources Development Institute (tentative title), whose function would be similar to that of the Korea National Diplomatic Academy. In the meantime, Jeju, contrary to its Jeju Free International City title, had utterly poor educational conditions for global education, with no proper course for civil servants. The proposed institute will be a realistic solution that will play a pivotal role in making Jeju a global city and in cultivating human resources qualified for international affairs. So far, the JDC has concentrated its efforts in building infrastructure to bring more tourists to the island. From now on, it should focus on attracting and cultivating talent. More specifically, it should focus on cultivating, supporting and retaining a large pool of talent who would play important roles in the island's future. In short, the JDC should function as a hub for international exchanges.

- **LEE Kwang-Hee** The International Human Resources Development Institute (working title) is an important project that would have an impact on both national and local development. Under the approval of the central government in January of this year, the JDC is now vigorously establishing the institute's operating system and detailed education programs. Once the curricula are determined, it will test-run education programs for civil servants in close consultation with the Jeju provincial government since this fall. Starting next year, the institute will go into full operation after making improvements based on the results of the trial run. As of now, the institute's curricula have four courses (culture, on-the-job training, law and business manners). The educational programs will undergo readjustment, in

accordance with the results of the evaluation during the test period. The institute is expected to contribute significantly toward the advancement of Jeju as a knowledge hub by administering needed education to the civil servants for decentralization and "balanced development."

How to Become a Cradle of Human Resources Development and a Knowledge Hub

- **KOH Choong-suk** Cities such as Daegu, Ulsan and Gwangju have state-run graduate schools that produce significant achievements. In the case of Jeju, the envisioned human resources development institute had better specialize in theoretical studies with a view to opening graduate courses afterwards. In the short term, it is also advised to offer courses tailored to the needs of civil servants, before operating graduate courses separately later on. The capacity of local universities here is too limited to produce globalized human resources. If the proposed human resources development institute could contribute to the development of local talent, it would also have positive effects on local development.

- **WON Heeryong** The task of developing human resources for globalization requires cooperation of diverse knowledge societies in establishing infrastructure (buildings, etc.) and formulating academic curricula. The Jeju provincial government has an ambitious plan to nourish young talent in preparation for globalization. Thus, it is important to cooperate with the local government in establishing a research and educational institution in collaboration with local universities as a knowledge hub in the fields of peace study, ecology and future technologies on a long-term base. In addition, it would be desirable to couple the research project with its endeavour to produce globalized human resources.

- **KANG Gi-Choon** Jeju has infinite possibilities to leap forward as a knowledge hub. To this end, IT education for youths must be given priority. The U.S. actually has a system in which a short-term web-based training program produces a workforce that might be recruited immediately upon completion of

the program. Jeju must be able to graft technologies of the future, such as virtual reality (VR), augmented reality (AR), mixed reality (MR) and artificial intelligence (AI), on the traditional tourism industry. It is important to produce specialized human resources to meet this demand. Youths from not only Korea but abroad must be able to say to themselves “Jeju is the place where I can become a specialist in leading technologies.” When they do so, a startup business ecology will naturally thrive on Jeju Island.

- **JUNG Ku-hyun** If I may summarize the discussions so far, there are three proposals: The first is a proposal to establish a training institute for civil servants; the second is a graduate school specializing in the study of local policies; and the third is a proposal for youth education programs in natural sciences and engineering. In fact, the first and second proposals are very different in nature and should be approached respectively. In the case of the first proposal, there would be significant hurdles in generating motivation. Any such training program has to be highly creative and original, and respond directly to the real career demands of civil servants.

- **WON Heeryong** In 2010, the island hosted the Jeju International Training Center (JITC) of the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), providing various educational and training programs for civil servants from Southeast Asia. Those who took the course expressed satisfaction with it. As a UNESCO World Heritage site Jeju is also seeking to host other educational and training centers such as for the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN). It is expected that the presence of these training institutions, established in partnership with international organizations, will lead to increased demand for educational programs on the island, which would in turn lead to new opportunities. Of course, in the short term, it would be better to focus on the areas or sectors in more immediate demand. However, other demands will arise in the near future, and any plans for developing educational programs should take these future needs into account.

- **LEE Kwang-Hee** The JDC is currently shifting its direction from hardware development to software-focused projects. Moreover, we are doing everything we can to upgrade the competitiveness of Jeju, including increasing residents’ income. Education projects are one of the leading ways to achieve this end. In fact, the JDC spends an annual budget of approximately three billion won to provide education in various fields to Jeju residents. By launching the proposed human resources development institute, the JDC plans to further specialize in education programs and expand its budget and organization so that Jeju may become an education hub. The official launch of the proposed institute is slated for next year. Once the operation of the institute stabilizes, the JDC plans to attract a graduate school on public policies to meet the particular needs of Jeju. It also plans to introduce programs to develop human resources for IT-based future technologies that include AR, MR and AI. Close cooperation with the provincial government will be very important in this process.

- **WON Heeryong** In terms of training IT professionals, I believe Jeju offers ample possibilities. The Hackathon program organized by the Jeju Center for Creative Economy & Innovation (J-CCEI) is a good example. Participants obtain revolutionary ideas either from the programs offered by the organizers or during exchanges among themselves. In conclusion, the great potential of Jeju in this area, the island had better become a new trendsetter than compete with other municipalities like Ulsan, for example.

- **JUNG Ku-hyun** Indeed, the keywords here are education and talent. In this regard, it is advisable that the JDC shift its focus from hardware to software and to “human-ware.” Educational innovation is a global phenomenon in all sectors of society. The old way of teaching students is now over. In this regard, Jeju should become the capital of Korea’s learning revolution.

- **WON Heeryong** In step with the national motto of being a “create state,” Singapore has been revamping its educational system so that students can learn and

solve problems by themselves. In contrast, the youth in Korea spend enormous resources on “self-improvement” measures to improve their competitiveness in the job market to little avail. The youth in Korea have great difficulty gaining employment. In the case of startup businesses, too, the situation is not much better; the success rate is about 5 percent. We can benchmark Singapore and introduce creative education methods, first. We can then systematically build up the network while simultaneously providing continued support for youth employment and startups. I think such a program would serve as a new model for providing incentives to the youth and cultivating human resources. Of course, the details of implementing such a program would require further and careful study and discussion. However, the current, fossilized pedagogy will only insure failure. What Jeju has to do is not seek an economy of scale but set a new trend of its own. Jeju needs to cultivate human resources to expand this new trend.

- **KANG Gi-Choon** What Jeju needs is not another college but an educational institution that provides the youth with practical training in areas such as information technology (IT). In addition, in regards to the globalization education for civil servants, Jeju should also partner with the Training Institute of Land, Infrastructure and Transport and the National Tax Officials Training Institute and develop training programs for civil servants from the 37 partner cities. Such programs would help Jeju globalize itself and leap forward as a knowledge hub.

- **OH Choong-suk** I hope the human resources training institute proposed by the JDC could do its role of research and become a new pedagogical experiment model, as seen in the case of the Minerva Schools.

- **MOON Chung-in** The JDC is currently shifting its role from hardware development to software-focused projects. Software development requires people to develop them, and investment in human resources is a prerequisite. In short, the future of a global Jeju depends on knowledge and people. A human resources training institute has been proposed by the JDC as a way of integrating knowledge and

people to strengthen the globalization capacity of public servants. Other key suggestions discussed in this session include the introduction of a new pedagogical paradigm; education and training of the youth; development of future technologies; and the enhancement of values inherent in Jeju. The key point was that Jeju needs to adopt these measures in order to leap forward as a knowledge hub. Lastly, there is great expectation that the JDC will contribute significantly to developing human resources to globalize Jeju and turn itself into a knowledge hub. Furthermore, it is hoped that the JDC will emerge as an Asian hub of international exchanges in close cooperation and collaboration with the Jeju provincial government.

Policy Implications

- To help Jeju make the leap to become a hub of international exchanges in Asia, human resources development is a prerequisite. Various other approaches should be explored, such as knowledge-based approaches and those that enhance the intrinsic values of Jeju.
- To cultivate human resources for globalization, collaboration and networking with all sectors of the knowledge society are seen as important. It is also advised to start with the efforts to come up with immediate solutions and to continuously identify and prepare for new tasks.
- To make the proposed human resources development institute successful, it is important that its programs provide original curriculum without relying on the conventional pedagogy and establish itself as a haven of innovative educational experimentation.
- The JDC’s shift to software-oriented projects is a welcomed change. It is imperative for the JDC to communicate and collaborate with the provincial government in creating a new future.

Inequality: A Challenge for Our World



JEJU PEACE INSTITUTE
제주평화연구원



경희대학교 평화복지대학원
KYUNG HEE UNIVERSITY

Chair	OH Joon Professor, Kyung Hee University/ Former Ambassador to the United Nations
Presenter/Discussant	Nikhil SETH Executive Director, UNITAR KWON Gibung Rector, Graduate Institute of Peace Studies YOU Jong-II Professor, KDI School of Public Policy and Management Erik IVERSON Managing Director, Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation
Rapporteur	KANG Hyein Friends of the Jeju Forum, JPI

- **OH Joon** The United States is home to 50 percent of wealth in the world. Inequality is rampant in all countries, and a global challenge. It has been the best friend of human history as soon as people were able to establish economic systems. Some might argue that technological advancement is reducing inequality. However, reality tells you that the overall improvement is not the same as equality. Wealth and income have been dramatically differentiated; just as in a high and low game where one winner takes it all. Inequality causes social anxiety, deters efficiency at work, and produces deleterious results for both the rich and poor. When I was chairman of the social and economic committee at the UN, we held the first meeting driven by inequality issues. In this session, we will talk about inequality among the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), including Goal 10: “To reduce inequality within and among countries,” for the first time with professionals.

- **Nikhil SETH** I will confine global aspects of inequality to division of labor. Why some countries are rich, and why some countries are poor? Why only 10 countries are leading the development of the whole

world? When we try to explain global inequalities, poverty and inequality sometimes are interchanged. However, inequality can be discerned in not only economic terms, but from political aspects or social status. Although some people live on a high income, it is very difficult for them to move up in a particular social hierarchy. This raises an important initiative to consider: A social and cultural dimension, including land, capital, knowledge and education. These inequalities create an order within countries. The dollar rating represents one of the examples of inequality in our society. Policies which cause extreme inequality are not what just society pursues. In fact, inequality is the mother of all social problems, causing every social problem that we could think of including migration and violence. In order to extirpate chronic inequality, our generation devised Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) based on the 2013 agenda. The next generations must carry on and deliberately discuss this idea.

There are no reasons for leaders in the contemporary world to shift around and steal glances at each other. Inequality is everywhere. The world is too

deeply engaged in disease, discontent, refugees regardless of national borders.

For further development, trade is always important. Most successful countries’ development has been based on trade. Removing barriers to trade will be the most important factor to resolve inequality. The inequality of stocks and the monetary system in developed countries impacts on developing countries. And these impacts disrupt the ride toward progress.

So, why do we have to deal with these inequalities? There are lots of issues such as unemployment, refugees, migration and education in the world derived from extreme poverty of specific groups in the world. After all, all of these problems are linked with national and global inequality.

How can we reduce inequality and what should we do? First, international monetary system reform is needed because financial crises worsens poor countries’ development. Second, we must deal with the regulation of tax avoidance problems. Third, since trade is important, protectionism of trade should be regulated. Fourth, technological cooperation is important since developing countries are lacking in information in new technologies and education systems. Fifth, democratization is needed. Sixth, customary practices must be reduced. Lack of movement in many developing countries is increasing. However, since developed countries promise to help these developing countries, they need to keep their promises. Since the SDGs impact poor countries, they must be respected.

Why should we address global inequality? As we are global citizens, and in an interconnected society, extreme inequality works at a national level. Therefore, we need stronger multilateralism, and should support each other to deal with global inequalities.

- **YOU Jong-II** I was trying to cover both “within inequality” and “across inequality”, but I will focus more on “within inequality.” What actions should we take to reduce inequality?

The inverted U curve is about the inverted situation of inequality. The problem of capitalistic

development is inequality. Ironically, as capitalistic development intensifies, it will eventually lower inequality. Inequality in Anglo Saxon society increased while that in European countries decreased. Inequality in nations affiliated with the EU is less than other countries, but it does not mean that there is no inequality at all. In other words, inequality exists everywhere no matter what. Although different parts of distribution vary, it is generally concentrated at the top. Also, the division of income mostly goes to capital rather than labor.

So, why is this happening? The first thing to consider is technological changes. New forms are demanded every time technology undergoes a transfiguration for more highly skilled labor, meaning higher salaries. Second, present day capital is substituting for labor. For instance, robots or AI system replaces work that what we previously presumed as work for people. Third, the most important factor in this phenomenon is globalization. The China effect is the one of them. An excess supply of unskilled labor produces inequality in the workforce, reducing wages. Labor income share decreases, whereas capital income share increases; a reflection of asymmetric factor mobility. Also, monopolies are a growing trend. The market share of the largest countries and the concentration among them are rising. Hence, the returns on invested capital by those countries is rising while that for labor is decreasing. Inequalities can be accounted for not by fundamental productivity or other reasons, but by monopoly power. Consumers are deprived of their natural rights. Fourth, a lack of global convergence is another reason. A lot of countries are prevented from converging with developed countries. They fail to thrive because of the poverty trap, geography, and many other reasons. Poor countries should be progressing, but rather the gap between their rich and poor is increasing.

To resolve these issues, what should we do? NATO refers to “No Action Talk Only.” In the Davos Forum, the one and only action that the former President of the United States Barack Obama took was a conversation. Current U.S. President Donald Trump

presents populism by protectionism. We should get into real action, rather than remain as cowards and repeat meaningless words like a parrot. We also need to deal with issues such as global multilateralism, international cooperation on migration tax, compensation for losers, technological changes, monopolies and practical efforts for the SDGs.

The very next step of our sacred vocation is to help people through education and redistribution. Due to ever-changing technology, people are experiencing technophobia. Those who are getting a lot from these changes should get less. We need to address monopolies. Outdated regulations are contributing to the expansion of inequality.

To deal with globalization, reviving multilateralism, promoting global inclusion reforming global governance, international finance, international trade, and cooperation for migration, taxation and technology are needed.

- **Erik IVERSON** How inequality might be addressed is the main issue for today. We should support more businesses, not just give hand outs. I mostly worked in Seattle and currently in Wisconsin. My main goal was to commercialize new technologies, so that people can acknowledge and deal with the new.

The Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation (WARF) is where I currently work, with financial aid from the University of Wisconsin-Madison. It is one of eight U.S. academic institutions that spend more than \$1 billion annually on R&D: The institution is increasingly global in operations and culture by hiring people from other side of the world. Start-up funding in Asia now rivals Silicon Valley. Meanwhile, I did not want it to be another Silicon Valley, as you may know that most people cannot afford to live in Silicon Valley.

More income represents a greater extension and expediency of life. Foreign aid is not a panacea to promote global economic development and geographic stability. Bono said, "In dealing with poverty here and around the world, welfare and foreign aid are a Band-Aid. Free enterprise is a cure." Hundreds of academic studies have tried to determine the

extent to which foreign aid is effective. However, a simple answer could be found by investing in entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship and opportunity correlate more closely to a nation's overall prosperity than any other factor. In 2017, the biggest gains came in the Asia-Pacific region. The fastest improving business environments are in India, China, Pakistan and Indonesia. It is now easier to access credit and intellectual property rights, which have been improved. On the other hand, the most important factor will be an increase in the middle class.

High income economies are measured by lifetimes. Since each individual is not a natural resource, we really need to support them, by investing in education and opportunities, an incumbent for sustained economic growth.

There are many strategic and social reasons to promote global entrepreneurship. First, less than 50% of young adults who join rebel movements cited unemployment as the reason. Second, 60% of people aged 15-24 worldwide are jobless. Third, Attitudes and policies continue to undermine female entrepreneurship. Fourth, as of 2016, only 1% of U.S foreign aid goes toward promoting entrepreneurship. Therefore, we need to care more about inequality in global entrepreneurship. Steven Koltai said "The time has come – with urgency and terror – for entrepreneurship to be recast as a pillar of foreign policy."

To reduce inequality, universities are engines of innovation and job creation. Since 1996, United States academic tech transfer has contributed \$1.3 trillion to the country's gross industrial output, \$591 billion to U.S. GDP, 4.3 million jobs and 11,000 plus startups. For these reasons, we have to support the university system.

- **KWON Gibung** Why are small businesses important? And why do we need to focus on them? It has not to be just confined to economists or politicians, we all should concentrate on the issue of inequality. Eighty-two percent of the wealth created last year went to the richest one percent of the global population, while the 3.7 billion people who make up the poorest half of humanity got nothing.

There is a typical liberal response. There is a reason why we do not concentrate on this issue. The real issue here is not inequality but poverty. In addition, equality is not necessarily equal. The GINI index shows that Sweden (0.25) and Afghanistan (0.28) have about the same level of equality, which represents the inaccuracy of the equality system. Also, Adam Smith talked about the ratio between the poor and rich, and said that for one very rich man there must be at least five hundred poor; and the affluence of the few supposes the indigence of the many. The affluence of the rich excites the indignation of the poor, who are often both driven by want, and prompted by envy, to seize his possessions.

On the other hand, Aristotle stated the importance of middle class. He said, "There may be distinguished three parts, or classes, of the citizen-body - the very rich; the very poor; and the middle class which forms the mean. Now it is admitted, as a general principle, that moderation and the mean are always best."

A shrinking middle class is everywhere which results in a danger to democracy, and bitter competition.

Politics as a result becomes more uncertain and unpredictable. Democracy requires a middle class who can mediate the excesses and polarity of the upper and lower classes. They have to be of a considerable large number, that is, should constitute the majority of society. Also, they should be able to be autonomous and independent enough to stand up and speak freely for the well-being of the whole

community.

We have to seriously worry about the future of democracy now, with all the accumulating evidence of the crippling effects of globalization and hyper market driven competition on the middle class, the backbone of democracy. How we interconnect with theory and the reality will be the main issue for the future all over the world.

Policy Implications

- Stronger multilateralism and cooperation are needed to reduce global inequality.
- Universities are engines of innovation and job creation in reducing inequality.
- The middle class should be large in number and they should be able to be autonomous and independent enough to stand up and speak freely for the well-being of the whole community.

Free Economic Zone Roundtable: Cooperation of Growth Center among Korea, China and Japan(Regional Economy Base)



Chair	JEONG hyunggon Senior Research Fellow, Korea Institute for International Economic Policy
Presenter	KIM Myungah Senior Research Fellow, Korea Legislation Research Institute
	KU kibo Professor, Soongsil University
	HONG jinyoung Research Professor, Jungseok Research Institute of International Logistics and Trade, Inha University
Discussant	HUANG Chunyuan Associate Professor, Nankai University
	Yukiko FUKAGAWA Professor, Waseda University
	KWAK Jun-gil Director, Incheon Free Economic Zone Authority
Rapporteur	YOO Yeonsung Assistant Director, Incheon Free Economic Zone Authority

- **JEONG Hyunggon** Of the 130 billion won of foreign direct investment in China, 100 billion was invested in the services market in 2017. South Korea and Japan also witnessed the expansion of the services market as a common trend. It is meaningful, amid the lack of institutionalized exchanges among the three countries, to discuss local economy-based cooperation between cities in preparation for the pending Free Trade Agreement among Korea, China and Japan.

- **KIM Myungah** This session is to discuss, based on the possibility of regional cooperation between Korea, China and Japan as examined in 2017, how to legally institutionalize concrete measures for “cooperation between the economic growth bases of the three countries.” Experts say that multilateral cooperation, instead of one-on-one cooperation, between Korea, China, and Japan is necessary. The three countries need cooperation through a regional network on the plane level, such as the “spot-line-plane” strategy of China, for economic door opening. The common feature of their economic growth bases is their special economic zones. The growth bases of

China, Japan and Korea differ from each other as they have different purposes and characteristics, but they have the potential for cooperation with each other. The Incheon Free Economic Zone has the geographical conditions and policies conducive to the promotion of new businesses and the services industry in Songdo, Yeongjong and Cheongna. China’s Tianjin, Qingdao and Dalian play key roles pursuant to Chinese industrial policy. Incheon, close to China, is in a geographical position in which it can function as part of the Chinese network for the maritime silk road of the 21st century. Fukuoka, Japan, is developing strategies to reform its job market for start-ups.

Basically, it is necessary to understand the ideas and regional policies involving the growth bases. Based on this understanding, we should determine whether cooperation between governments is possible, make a consensus on how to coordinate policies of the three countries, and designate model areas and implement pilot projects there. In particular, we should examine how to share reciprocal benefits

among Korea, China and Japan, and how to generate these benefits efficiently with market liberalization measures. The growth bases can cooperate with each other to liberalize, standardize and facilitate trade, which the FTA is aiming for, and inter-governmental cooperation is also possible on the industrial basis of these growth bases. This has already been proposed by the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Energy of Korea. It is necessary to discuss whether to hold negotiations on this proposal as a package deal or gradually expand the scope of cooperation. At the same time, the countries should cooperate to resolve disputes and facilitate trading.

There are various options depending on the method and phase of cooperation. If cooperation is strengthened, it may bring about a greater possibility of disputes. In addition to utilizing WTO rules, it is important for Korea, China and Japan to secure special dispute resolution methods. How to resolve disputes is described in detail in the Economic Cooperation section of the Korea-China FTA. If necessary, they may operate an ad hoc organization to address such issues as how to facilitate investment.

In conclusion, the common feature of growth bases is that they are playing a leading role as special economic zones in the region, and it is essential to raise the three countries’ level of liberalization. They need to explore ways to pursue cooperation based on intra-regional industrial links and relevant supply chains (SCM).

- **KU Kibo** This presentation is about the particulars of regional cooperation with regard to finance, investment and services, mainly about cooperation between Korea and China in the services and investment sectors. Currently, a Korea-China FTA has been concluded, and the discussion in this session might serve as a reference for the negotiations on a Korea-China-Japan FTA now underway. Korea and China are now continuing negotiations on the services part of the FTA. Southeast Asia has emerged as an economic community, based on the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), but Northeast Asia currently has no single trade community.

Therefore, the conclusion of the Korea-China FTA was very important, and this is likely to lead to a Korea-China-Japan FTA. China and Japan have different positions. China eyes to expand the Korea-China FTA into a tripartite FTA, while Japan wants the FTA to be at a deeper level. Korea posted a trade surplus in goods, but a deficit in the services sector in 2016. With the Korea-China FTA, Korea runs a trade surplus with China, and the services sector in China is expected to be more important for Korea in the future. The sector in which Korea runs a deficit in trade with China is industrial processing, with Korean companies liable to take losses on their investment in China. There is also a gap in tourism revenue because Chinese tourists prefer Korean destinations. In the intellectual property rights sector, Korea has a slight surplus with China.

The services, finance and investment sections of the Korea-China FTA are focused on financial products that were introduced in 2015, and additional negotiations are underway on derivative products. The items subject to additional negotiations includes telecommunications and the movement of persons, with the negotiations on the services and investment sectors putting emphasis on financial services and equal treatment of foreign investors and locals. As financial services are subject to the permission of the government, it is important to treat foreign investors equally. The investor-state dispute (ISD) system is expected to be applied to financial services covered by positive listing in the initial stages and negative listing later. The ISD system covers legal, engineering, construction and environmental services. The telecommunications sector requires a transparent competition policy. China has eased regulations on security-related telecommunications, but Korean companies are having difficulty in obtaining certification of their batteries in China as a consequence of the THAAD dispute.

Negotiations on the ISD system are also important. Korea has opened its market wider than China under the Korea-China FTA. Korea should seek the same scope of market opening with China in the

principle of reciprocity as well as lower the barrier in the banking and securities markets. The Chinese government is to lower these market barriers within three years. However, it needs to improve the environment for investment in the legal services, logistics and entertainment businesses and guarantee substantially equal treatment for foreign investors.

For wider implementation of a Korea-China-Japan FTA, the market needs to be regulated by the negative list of imports, which is also favored by Japan. It is also necessary to establish a cooperation model for the financial services of the three countries. They are advised to introduce a Tianjin-Incheon-Seoul cooperation system like the Incheon-Weihai cooperation model under the Korea-China FTA. The governments of the three countries should make efforts to improve the environment for investment. Korea and China should designate KOTRA (Korea Trade-Investment Promotion Agency) and the China Investment Promotion Agency as counterparts to improve the environment for foreign investment. In the case of the Korea-China-Japan FTA, it is necessary to discuss whether to designate local growth bases, as Korea and China did.

- **HONG Jinyoung** I'll give explanations, focused on e-commerce, about logistics cooperation among Korea, China and Japan. Electronic commerce is a sector that requires a lot of investment. By 2025, the e-commerce is expected to develop into cross-border electronic commerce. Without any difficulty in transportation, the e-commerce reduces shipping and transportation costs, and can be conveniently used by the general public. China's online cross-border market is now witnessing vigorous cross-border e-commerce activities. Korea is not actively engaged in e-commerce, compared to China. Duty-free shops account for a substantial part of e-commerce in Korea and China as a rare case. Consumer demand is important for e-commerce, which first of all should be convenient to use and always ready to deliver the goods. It measures the satisfaction level of the consumer through the responses of customers to products and cross-border services. UPS can only

identify the location of goods over a large range, not their detailed geographical location.

Logistics cooperation through e-commerce is about the logistics information system, goods information and customers. To strengthen the connectivity of each country through e-commerce, large-scale investment should be made in the sector, even though it has a small volume of logistics. It is necessary for the three countries to invest in goods storage and customs facilities for the trading system.

If the Free Economic Zones of the three countries build a comprehensive logistics hub in their airport areas as well as individual logistics centers, it would end up creating tripartite competition to secure cargo volume due to overlapping investment. Therefore, they need to coordinate their logistics policies.

- **HUANG Chunyuan** Negotiations on a Korea-China-Japan FTA are making little progress. It would make the negotiations more difficult if the tripartite FTA adds a provision on investment to the existing thorny issues. They should formulate policies if they can agree on that are easy to implement. By relying on comparative advantages and reducing the barriers to technology trade, they can further enhance the technological level of Northeast Asia. The three countries should pay attention not only to economic cooperation, but also to environmental issues. Green economies and environmental protection require tripartite cooperation. They also need to standardize legislation, organizations and institutions. To prevent accidents, they should establish a cooperative mechanism to issue warnings to each other. This will solidify the economic and financial system. I think it is imperative for them to establish economic growth bases and to designate pilot areas for them immediately. The three countries should pursue new economic cooperation in the sub-regions, so that this can advance the negotiations on a Korea-China-Japan FTA.

Suggestion 1. Comparative advantages should be utilized well. Horizontal as well as vertical approaches are advised.

Suggestion 2. The creation of pilot growth bases will reduce technology barriers. (In terms of intel-

lectual property rights, etc.) China is trying to do as Japan and Korea do in the IPR field.

Suggestion 3. They should be interested in the hidden economy. It is necessary to pay attention to environmental issues and low-carbon economies as the carbon emissions of the three countries account for a large part of the total emissions worldwide. Tianjin is very interested in the eco-city concept and recycling. To advance to the circular economy, the three countries should cooperate on green economies and environmental protection.

Suggestion 4. An institution should be established to standardize legal systems and organizations, and carry out clear-cut and efficient standardization policies. Also, an organization is needed to coordinate policies to reduce misunderstandings between the three countries.

Suggestion 5. A monitoring system is required as well as a mechanism to prevent accidents.

- **Yukiko FUKAGAWA** Currently, the Japanese and Chinese economies are sustainable solely with their domestic demand, so they lack a zeal for globalization. Both countries are in the process of innovation to generate more domestic demand and are taking similar path, judged by China's "Manufacturing 2025" policy. However, less priority is given to the manufacturing sector, with the three countries' views about the industry different from the old days. Therefore, the countries are likely to seek tripartite cooperation in the services industry rather than in manufacturing. Since Japan does not have an FTA with Korea, it wants a Korea-China-Japan FTA, acknowledges the efforts of Korea to link Japan and China in the investment/services sectors, and appreciates the role of Korea.

The three countries maintain cooperation with each other, but negotiations on a tripartite FTA face a rough path. ASEAN+3 is likely to replace the Korea-China-Japan FTA, and Korea is more likely to join the TPP as its supply chain shifts from China to Vietnam, which is expected to play a more significant role as a trade partner of Korea.

Amid Chinese industries' shift to a new paradigm,

China is pushing ahead with market liberalization and the establishment of special economic zones. China should pay attention to human and services exchanges rather than manufacturing exchanges. The financial sector enjoys freedom in cyber space, and deregulation is the key to the success of this sector. China faces a dilemma on whether to open its services sector to the U.S., now in a trade dispute with China, or to Korea and Japan. China will also have to address healthcare and pension issues soon. Cooperation among the three countries is unlikely without social reform. They will commonly face the advent of super-aged societies as well as healthcare and pension fund issues. They also need to cooperate in food self-sufficiency and energy. Agriculture, in particular, is likely to assist social reform. Through the IoT, agriculture will become a more innovative industry than manufacturing. The exchange of quality human resources will lead this industrial innovation.

- **GWAK Jun-gil** As Paul Krugman stressed in his special lecture, we are witnessing a paradigm shift from free trade to protectionism. Krugman pointed out the paradoxical need to strengthen intra-regional trade. I also agree with Professor Kim Myungah that it is important to select a leader among the free economic zones.

- **Kim Myungah** The policies of Korea, China and Japan are set in a single direction. How to cope with the intensifying trade war between the U.S. and China and other external factors is a challenging task for them. They have old cooperative ties, but should be prudent in formulating policies on tripartite cooperation.

- **KU Kibo** China has explained about the items that it cannot accept. I fully understand that there are some things China cannot accept in the negotiations on FTAs with Korea and Japan.

- **Yukiko FUKAGAWA** As China and Japan have economies of scale based on their domestic markets, they have different interests from Korea in tripartite cooperation. I think Korea can work out the measures for tripartite cooperation, because it has a desperate need to advance into foreign markets. Certainly,

there is a room for Korea to coordinate and contribute to cooperative ties.

- **HONG Jinyoung** The aging of society is a common issue faced by the three countries. If the human resources of China, logistics system of Korea and technology of Japan are integrated in a global value chain, they can utilize ASEAN as a region of resources. If ASEAN and the three countries perform their unique roles, it would further develop cooperative ties between them.

- **JEONG Hyunggon** The recent trend in trade for the last two-three years shows the rise of stronger protectionism that weakens diverse trade blocs and mega FTAs. Market liberalization is important for cooperation between Korea-China-Japan, and the three coun-

tries' share in global GDP is expected to rise from 20% to 25%. Currently, the countries are engaged in competition to secure economic hubs, so it is important for special economic zones to lift regulations and improve urban competitiveness. The six cities in Korea, China and Japan should cooperate to prepare for regional economic cooperation, based on the pending Korea-China-Japan FTA. The competition among special economic zones to become a regional hub is more of a contest between cities than states.

If the regional economic growth bases of the three countries are given special legal status and perform their roles like an airport terminal, I believe they could secure a more competitive edge than other hubs.

Policy Implications

- It is time to identify an agenda and tasks to "improve cooperation between local economies" for the upcoming negotiations of a Korea-China-Japan FTA by sharing the need for institutional cooperation between the economic growth bases of the three countries; designating and developing pilot areas for economic cooperation; and improving the efficiency of the operation of growth bases based on the experiences of each country.
- A standing committee on cooperation among the economic growth bases of Korea, China and Japan, joined by the three governments, growth bases (special economic zones) and research institutes, should be operated on a regular basis. It is necessary to establish a venue, such as the Free Economic Zone Roundtable held at the Jeju Forum, to forge a consensus and discuss concrete measures for cooperation.
- Cooperation between the local economic bases of the three countries would be a new approach to negotiations on the Korea-China-Japan FTA, that are now stalling, and also serve as a means to facilitate these negotiations.
- It is necessary to identify areas where cooperation on the governmental level is possible based on an understanding of the local policies governing the growth bases of the three countries. The designation of pilot areas and trial deregulation programs should be considered for the growth bases of the three countries.
- During negotiations on the Korea-China-Japan FTA, it is necessary to discuss concrete measures, such as Article 17.25 of the Korea-China FTA on local economic cooperation, to designate local economic bases and to promote cooperation centred on them.
- To make the logistics flow between the three countries as free as cross-border e-commerce, the three countries should prepare concrete measures to prevent overlapping investment in logistics such as the construction of individual logistics centres in each country.
- In the face of super-aging and protectionism, the growth bases of Korea, China and Japan should cooperate in the fields of food, energy, agriculture and human exchanges.
- The growth bases of Korea, China and Japan need to implement trial projects to liberalize services and trade in major cities in preparation for the Korea-China-Japan FTA.
- For solid cooperation between the growth bases of Korea, China and Japan, an industrial platform should be established to strengthen industrial and logistics cooperation as well as build an East Asian logistics hub for international vessels. Customs clearance should be made more efficient through measures to transform bonded ports into free trade ports such as simplified clearance procedures; the reform of financial practices; and the improvement of dispute settlement systems on a gradual basis.
- Based on the understanding of the differences between the growth centers of Korea, China and Japan, they should present their agendas for future-oriented cooperation and tripartite market integration. The growth bases need to share IT experts, workers and entrepreneurs; lift regulations on competition; improve the business environment; engage in dialogue for social reform; and establish a public data archive on natural disasters, public health and transportation.

Rapidly Rising Protectionism and East Asia's Responses



- Moderator** **AHN Choongyoung** Distinguished Professor, Graduate School of International Studies, Chung-Ang University/
Former Chairman, Korea Commission for Corporate Partnership
- Speaker** **Jeffrey D. JONES** Chairman, American Chamber of Commerce in Korea
Yorizumi WATANABE Professor of International Political Economy, Faculty of Policy Management, Keio University
HEO Yoon Professor of International Trade, Graduate School of International Studies, Sogang University
DING Dou Professor of International Political Economy, School of International Studies at Peking University
- Rapporteur** **CHO Sookyung** Asia-Pacific Leadership Network, East Asia Foundation

- **AHN Choongyoung** gave an overview of current world trade. The world is on the verge of engaging in a trade war, especially between the US and China, due to President Trump, he remarked. A vicious cycle emerged in which Trump's protective measures against EU and Chinese exports have inspired a series of retaliations and re-retaliations from all sides. Trump started with a 30% tariff on solar panels, then moved onto 20% on washing machines, then high tariffs on steel and aluminum. He stated that Trump is justifying his protectionism on the grounds that those measures are to ensure an equal playing field by lessening US trade deficits with other countries' trade surpluses.

- **Jeffrey D. JONES** explained President Trump's brand of protectionism and the motives behind his actions. While his rhetoric is very frightening, his policies in reality are very calculated and somewhat predictable, he reassured. For instance, the KORUS FTA did not undergo a lot of changes: even for washing machines, LG and Samsung opened factories in the US even before Trump's actions and were not affected deeply. He went on to say that the audience

should not hope for Trump's actions to stop because he was actually doing well in restraining policies, before they become too extreme, to benefit the U.S. For instance, one of the only policies that Trump implemented in accordance with his rhetoric was tax reductions, but this has lowered unemployment rates, he mentioned. Mr. Jones believed that tariffs against Korean automobiles will probably not be implemented as well because every interested party, including U.S. auto manufacturers, know that it would be disastrous to the U.S. economy, and is making sure to let POTUS know. In fact, Mr. Jones advised the Korean government to follow his lead on deregulation and tax reductions as it lowered barriers for business, which is the key objective for any trade ideology or policies.

- **DING Dou** criticized Trump's protectionist policies against China and commented on a China-Japan-Korea FTA as a solution to combat the rise of such isolationist tendencies. It is unfair for the U.S. to ask for government intervention when China has a market economy, he said, as a market economy does not have only one model. In fact, Prof. Ding

criticized Trump's accusations against China as double-standard as subsidies for state-owned enterprises and other sectors exist in many other countries including the U.S., EU and Japan. The actual problem with trade profit distribution stems from domestic social tensions such as oil crises and the bigger gap between the rich and the poor. Prof. Ding advised that the U.S. engages in fiscal policies to address the core reasons. Lastly, he added that transfer of technology is also a phenomenon in the market economy. In addressing solutions, Prof. Ding commented that China is more favorable to a CJK FTA than the TPP because the three Northeast Asian countries have already formed a global value chain and mutual investment.

• **Yorizumi WATANABE** elaborated on trade frictions between Japan and the U.S. and on alternative multilateral trade regimes as solutions. Trade friction has long been a part of bilateral relations between the two countries since the 1950s, especially in the steel and auto sectors, he said. The problem is that Trump is making his requests based on the trade model of the 1980s, despite fundamental changes in the trade structure between the U.S. and Japan since then. He observed that 75% of Japanese cars in the US market are made in NAFTA countries, and 3.7 million cars are produced in the U.S. Only 1.7 million cars are made in Japan and then exported to the U.S. Therefore, Trump's request for Japan to impose voluntary export restraints will not bring about the desired results, but rather cause a backlash in the U.S. economy as well, he noted. Prof. Watanabe suggested keeping the momentum going on the TPP, even without the U.S. Furthermore, Japan is very favorable toward Korea's joining the TPP, as the TPP and RCEP are complementary for Japan. Regarding FDIs, the TPP is important for Japan. But the RCEP is also important for Japan in the context of outflows. Prof. Watanabe stated that negotiations for a Japan-Korea FTA, in the process of leading to the CJK FTA, would also be welcomed. Japan has now already tabled more than 80% of agricultural products for tariff eliminations. The favoritism of Japanese consumers for domestic

products is fading. The problem now for Japan is that the China-Korea FTA is already in force, but largely excludes auto products.

• **HEO Yoon** elaborated on Trump's motives for trade tension with China, its impact on Korea, and alternative solutions for this. He clarified three things that Trump wanted from China: to impose a properly transparent intellectual property system; for it to stop subsidizing its state-owned enterprises; and to stop government-enabled cyber theft. He speculated that Korea will become a serious victim of the US-China trade war because Trump wants a fundamental and structural change in China's economic system and China cannot meet that demand. However, to some extent, Korea can benefit from Trump's stiff tariffs policy towards China by reducing its dependency as Beijing's No. 1 trading partner. Prof. Heo said that Korea missed its window to join the TPP because it prioritized the Korea-China FTA at the time and China was sensitive to the TPP, a U.S.-led multilateral trade regime effort. China had pushed the RCEP to counter the TPP. But now that the U.S. has exited the TPP, China has focused instead on the One Belt One Road initiative. Prof. Heo said the Korean government should join the TPP as soon as possible next year, but admitted that it would receive some disadvantages as joining after the treaty is ratified would leave the government in a take it or leave it situation. Potential problems for the Korean government joining the TPP were seen as fishery subsidies, and the categorizing of state-owned enterprises. Prof. Heo analyzed that the biggest hurdle for the CJK FTA is unfavorable Korea-Japan relations. Previous efforts for a Korea-Japan FTA dissolved due to Japan's protectionism on agriculture and Korea's protectionism on automobiles, he observed. However, since Korea's competitiveness in automobiles and components has improved, it no longer strictly needs to enforce tariffs against Japanese electronics and parts. He encouraged the government to see beyond the narrow box of tariffs, as growing interactions and exchanges between the people of two countries were lessening previous hostility.

Policy Implications

- While Trump does engage in extreme rhetoric, his actions are logical and restrained. His rhetoric, however, will probably not change any time soon.
- China would prefer that the three Northeast Asian countries engage in CJK FTA negotiations as they have already formed a global value chain.
- Japan is favourable towards both the RCEP and TPP as they are complementary for its economy, and would welcome Korea joining the latter.
- The Korean government should make a commitment to join the TPP next year.
- Before moving onto CJK FTA negotiations, Korea and Japan should restart Korea-Japan FTA negotiations to smooth out wrinkles in the auto and agricultural sectors.

The Future of BlockChain and Cryptocurrency

한국경제매거진

Moderator JEONG ChaeHee Editor, The Korea Economic Magazine
Presenter OH TaeMin Head, Crypto Bitcoin Research Center
GO Ugyun CEO, MEDIBLOC
Rapporteur JEONG Chaehee The Korea Economic Magazine

• **GO Ugyun** What would be the most popular keyword of this year? I presume you are well familiar with virtual currencies, such as Bitcoin, Ethereum and Gazua (a South Korean cryptocurrency). They all fall into the category of “blockchains.” The topic of this session is “The Future of Blockchain and Cryptocurrency.” I don’t think I can exactly predict their future. But I will try to explain to the best of my understanding.

Blockchain operates on distributed ledger technologies and smart contracts. More specifically, a distributed ledger refers to a database of transactions or contracts maintained in a decentralized form across different locations and people eliminating the need of a central authority to prevent manipulation. A smart contract is a contract that is converted into computer code, executing itself automatically without the involvement of third parties upon the occurrence of certain transactions. Banking service is a typical example of a centralized platform. Banks possess all the financial information of individuals. Such a structure is not a problem in itself. But, the problem is that the data can be distorted if the cen-

tralized bank chooses to do so. Decentralization means that ledgers are distributed to all participants, which means you have to modify the ledger of all participants to modify a piece of data. Blockchain is a decentralized system of transactions. A block of data is chained to the other blocks. If one block of data is changed, the others are changed, too. Blockchain is a way to store and access data to exchange digital assets. It is a way to distribute ledgers among the computers of its network, the most famous example of which is Bitcoin. The Bitcoin network allows more than 10,000 computers to access the same copy of ledgers. It is practically impossible to modify data on more than 10,000 computers simultaneously. Bitcoins consist of independent networks. If A sends 3.1 bitcoins to B, then C sends 3 bitcoins to B after taking a transaction fee of 0.1. Unlike with banks, C is one of the many unspecified participants of the blockchain network. Bitcoin mining is the process by which transactions are verified and added to the block chain, and miners are paid transaction fees as well as block rewards, which are new bitcoins distributed automatically by

the network. A cryptocurrency is a kind of digital currency designed to reward the miners who run the blockchain network. The reward is an incentive for miners to continue investing their time on the network. Cryptocurrency and blockchain are the future of the latest catchphrase: “sharing economy.” Blockchain itself was just data, but smart contracts started to be added to it. Digital ledgers that cannot be corrupted started to be used for smart contracts. This means making a “promise in the name of blockchain.” Law firms and large businesses in the United Kingdom and other countries have already begun to study smart contract. In sum, blockchain technology is about decentralization, flawlessness, swiftness, transparency, security and expandability. Many companies are already trying to overhaul their services by incorporating blockchain technology. MediBloc, a blockchain startup, is working on a breakthrough in the healthcare service industry. Many blockchain-based businesses will emerge one after another.

• **OH TaeMin** Originality is one of the key characteristics of blockchain technology. You can infinitely reproduce digital music files of global boy band, BTS, but blockchain technology prevents any digital file from being duplicated. Blockchain only allows one data file to be reproduced, getting rid of another file, the original one. If I send data to someone over a blockchain network, the data belongs only to the recipient. Microsoft and accounting services firm Ernst & Young recently teamed up to create a rights- and royalties-management solution based on blockchain technology. Their collaboration will change the way digital content is distributed.

Q & A

Q. Some people say double-spending will be an issue for blockchain technology. What do you make of the claim?

A. Double-spending is virtually impossible.

Q. There are so many digital currencies out there. Prices are volatile. What are your opinions?

A. More cryptocurrencies will be added and removed in the future. Their prices will go up or down depending on whether its benefits are recognized by the market or not. Also, most cryptocurrencies will be exchanged. The industry has just been born. The prices of quality cryptocurrencies will be stabilized when the industry matures to some extent.

Q. MediBloc is a cryptocurrency used for the creation and exchange of health information. I know it is a platform with a great cause, but it is a huge problem for many elderly people who are not familiar with cryptocurrencies.

A. Elderly citizens know better than young people how important it is to keep healthy. They might have some difficulty at first accessing it, but studies have shown that the elderly are more capable of managing health information on a long-term basis as well as in a stable way than younger people, once they get used to it. They tend to care more about health information especially when they are suffering from a serious disease like cancer. Besides, spouses and children more earnestly keep record of and check up on their health data.

Q. When do you think MediCoin will become a reality?

A. We are already running pilot programs with hospitals that are partners with us. It will take about three to five years for health consumers to get access to them. Starting next year, I hope, we will be able to launch the planned service. In fact, things are developing quicker than we expected. That is because the cryptocurrency became such a big issue that many people now know more about it.

Q. Do you have any advice for many youngsters who are interested in blockchain technology?

A. Blockchain is creating new business opportunities. It would be worthwhile to try something interesting while looking forward to a wide array of opportunities. But, for the new opportunities, many people might call themselves blockchain experts. The high-quality free blockchain classes offered by the government agencies are more useful than the costly private courses.

The Geoeconomics of the Indo-Pacific Initiative



Moderator **KANG Seonjou** Professor, Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security, Korea National Diplomatic Academy
Discussant **James CHOI** Ambassador of Australia to the Republic of Korea
KIM Joong-Keun Former Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to India, Executive Adviser, PG Group, Singapore
Shivshankar MENON Chairman, Advisory Board Institute of Chinese Studies, India
Akihiko TANAKA President, National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies
Rapporteur **RO Yoo Kyung** Researcher, Korea National Diplomatic Academy

Policy Implications

- Blockchain technology will reshape future business models.
- Efforts to study blockchain are necessary to advance a new business model.
- Diverse cryptocurrencies will emerge and compete with one another. Some will survive and others will fail. They will continue to be exchanged. The growth of cryptocurrency will contribute to the much-touted sharing economy, and it will settle as one of the alternatives to the capitalist corporate system.

• **James CHOI** Environments for economic growth are changing in Asia. The changing nature of economic growth is reshaping economic environments. The U.S. remains the world's largest economy, but its relative weight in the global economy has been declining. In a changing environment, other countries have emerged as economic powers such as Japan in the 1980s, the four Asian tigers (i.e. Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore) in the 1990s, and China today. From the perspective of Australia, the global economy is tilting toward the West. Despite the rapid economic growth, China is facing challenges in its transition from a labor-intensive economy toward a service- and technology-based economy. With the center of the economy shifting toward the West, countries in the ASEAN region are expanding at a rapid rate. The changes in strategic weight are fueling competition for hegemony in the region. China is transforming itself into a superpower and has a good chance of outgrowing the U.S. Moreover, there is a growing probability of China exercising its military might, on the back of its economic growth. China has the largest military power in the region. China is

also challenging the world on the ideological front. China is displaying strong confidence as a leader in an alternative system, and enhancing its influence on the global stage, advocating its values, interests, and systems. During a multilateral forum, Chinese President Xi Jinping expressed his commitment to making China a global leader by implementing the "Made in China 2025" initiative in strategic areas in a world to be reshaped by the Fourth Industrial Revolution. In the past, the pursuit of economic ambition, or the expansion of trade relations, overshadowed strategic rivalry. Today, economic competition is raising tension. Economic might and trading power are used for strategic purposes. Regional integration also sees the heightening of geoeconomic competition for infrastructure and related financing. China's One Belt, One Road initiative reflects the country's confidence in building a new economic order.

The economic expansion of this kind is not without risks. Currently, about two thirds of the countries included in the One Belt, One Road initiative are classified below an investment grade. A case in point is Sri Lanka's handover of its Hambantota Port to

China. The Australian government is concerned about the impact of the concession deal between the two countries on neighboring countries in the Pacific region and the possible threats to sovereignty. It should be noted that the U.S. has also a strategic interest in shaping the Indo-Pacific region. Under the Trump administration, the U.S. abandoned the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), and President Trump is endeavoring to achieve strategic goals through tariffs. The Trump administration's tariff policy is not just targeting its largest rival, China, but also allies such as Korea, Australia, and the EU. "America First" does not differentiate rivals from non-rivals.

The U.S.-China rivalry is going to define the Pacific region. Japan as the world's third largest economy, is unlikely to sit on its hands while the region is expanding toward the West amid rapid changes. The relation between Japan and China also holds the key to the future of the region. Competition in the region should further intensify, as India is implementing its "Act East" policy, supported by rapid economic growth, and China is pursuing its "Look West" policies. The future of power dynamics in the Indo-Pacific region is uncertain. One thing for sure is that we have never lived in a world where China, India, and Japan are equally mighty. It looks inevitable that the Indo-Pacific region will be a stage for competition.

Ahead of the U.S. and Japan, Australia used the term, "Indo-Pacific region" in its 2013 Foreign Policy White Paper and the 2016 Defence White Paper. Australia's 2017 Diplomacy White Paper specified the Indo-Pacific region as a key region. As Australia faces the Indian Ocean to the West and the Pacific Ocean to the East, it is natural to see the Indo-Pacific region as a collective concept. Moreover, although some say that the quadrilateral talks are part of the Indo-Pacific strategy, and the "Quad" shares the understanding of the Indo-Pacific region, this is incorrect. The quadrilateral cooperation does not involve the military realm nor seeks to keep China in check. Australia does not believe containing China is possible or desirable. It is proper to define the Indo-Pacific

region, despite being a useful term, in a way that suits respective parties. Australia refers to the area as the Indo-Pacific region not because it has the same strategies with other parties, but because it has the same perspective of geoeconomic and geopolitical changes in the world. I believe the term Asia-Pacific, as it is, is not sufficient to grasp the pending issues, and the Indo-Pacific region better reflects a new reality.

What matters is what we want to do in the Indo-Pacific region. Australia's 2017 Foreign Policy White Paper prioritizes enhancing and promoting a "rules-based order" in the Indo-Pacific region. The Indo-Pacific region stands to benefit most from the rules-based order that has contributed to the development of the world after World War II. Korea, the ASEAN region, China, and India have achieved rapid growth by ensuring that the rules-based order regulates competition and enables free and fair competition. Australia wants the region will be secure, open, prosperous, resilient, and free from coercion. Accordingly, it is necessary to examine the challenges facing the region. Geopolitical and geoeconomic competition should not be allowed to destroy the global commons.

• **KIM Joong-Keun** Let me explain about the backgrounds of maritime security threats. Currently, with the competition between the U.S. and China escalating, Asia is facing new threats—maritime territorial disputes, Sea Lines of Communication (SLOCs), and the modernization of China's navy. As the U.S. and Japan act in response to China's rise, the Indo-Pacific notion was introduced. Under the Obama administration, the U.S. adopted the Indo-Pacific notion and defined SLOCs as a key maritime interest for the U.S. Shinzo Abe, Japan's prime minister proposed that Japan, the U.S., India, and Australia forge security partnership in the Indo-Pacific region under the "Democratic Security Diamond" initiative. Australia used the term Indo-Pacific in its 2013 Foreign Policy White Paper. Taking its geopolitical location into consideration, Australia has expanded the alliance system beyond the U.S., forging secu-

rity relations with India, as is the case with Japan. India actively participated in security partnerships with the U.S., viewing China's One Belt, One Road initiative as a policy to enclose India economically and geographically. In 2013, China introduced its One Belt, One Road as a policy focusing on the connectivity and cooperation with Eurasian countries. However, some view the policy as being designed to restrict U.S. leadership in Asia and magnify China's influence. President Trump confirmed the strategic importance of the Indo-Pacific region in 2017, mentioning "a free and open Indo-Pacific region."

Disputes over maritime security in the Indo-Pacific region have brought to the surface China's conflicts with Japan in East Asia, and with Southeast Asian countries in the South China Sea. China's aggressive maritime activities have prompted Southeast Asian countries to build a tighter security partnership with the U.S. The threat to SLOCs, which may have a significant impact on the maritime trade of energy resources, has important security implications for China and other Asian countries. Notably, the renewed U.S. interest in Asia has made China more vulnerable to the risk of oil supply disruptions. The modernization of China's military forces is focusing on upgrading A2/AD and maritime forces. Given the possibility of China having nuclear-equipped fighter bombers by 2020, China's strategies are posing a formidable threat to the U.S. In response, the U.S. is enhancing its oversight and naval presence in the Indo-Pacific region, embracing the Air-Sea Battle (ASB) approach.

Maritime security is emerging as a key agenda in the Indo-Pacific region. Nevertheless, the region lacks the following three conditions to enhance economic integration and cooperation: 1) a dialogue system for economic cooperation; 2) regional trade agreements; and 3) infrastructure/connectivity initiatives.

The primary objective of the Indo-Pacific Vision is to establish regional frameworks to address security concerns and include India in the existing allies. It remains uncertain whether the Indo-Pacific Vision

will be able to materialize. The U.S., a strong advocate for the Indo-Pacific Vision has yet to come up with action plans. China will definitely make efforts to reduce the overwhelming influence of the U.S. India's admission to APEC might be a solution, as the Indo-Pacific region lacks an internal mechanism for regional economic cooperation.

Economic strategies available to Korea are closely related to security strategies. It should be noted that the Indo-Pacific Vision is basically related to the escalation of the U.S.-China rivalry. Given that the alliance with the U.S. is pivotal to Korea, the safety of marine vessels and freedom of navigation should be key factors to be considered.

• **Shivshankar MENON** The Indo-Pacific region is critically located. When Antarctica is placed at the center of the map, the ocean is one huge, interconnected body of water that spans several basins, and marine transportation is most cost-efficient. That is, using the term "Indo-Pacific" itself is the first step in recognizing that the ocean is one continuous body of water. However, it also reflects the difficulty in dividing the ocean into regions or segments.

His Excellency Prime Minister Narendra Modi defined the Indo-Pacific region as stretching from the shores of Africa to that of the Americas. This area is what India considers the Indo-Pacific region. What matters is that the ocean is gaining importance to us all. Nearly 90 percent of India's trade is routed to maritime passages. However, geographical differences exist even in the ocean. The Pacific Ocean, the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic Ocean are open, whereas the East China Sea and the South China Sea are enclosed by land. For instance, the axis of the Indian Ocean has never been dominated, which explains why the Indian Ocean, unlike other enclosed seas, became the stage for international trade.

There has been a geographical justification for using the term Indo-Pacific. The economic justification is also gaining ground. The center of the global economy is shifting toward the Indo-Pacific region, which is the key driver for global economic growth. In addition, most countries which benefit from glo-

balization are located in this region. Accordingly, trade-dependent economies have shared interests to keep maritime passages secure and stable.

It is ambiguous whether the use of the term Indo-Pacific is geopolitically justifiable. State actors behave as if it is more insecure than ever in dealing with issues that have deteriorated over the past two decades such as denuclearization, piracy, terrorism, drug trafficking, and human rights. The world is witnessing the largest-ever arms race in human history. In Asia alone, national spending on defense systems, especially offensive arms such as submarines and missiles, surged 9 percent from 2013 to 2015. Many countries in the region are heavily investing in their naval forces, as well as national defense, and act as if they feel insecure, joining hands with informal alliances. With a sense of insecurity growing over the past decade, defense security cooperation has increased exponentially, and cooperation has become the norm.

However, the western shore of the Pacific Ocean—near China and the Indian Ocean—has problems of a different nature. Today, the Indian Ocean does not have serious security issues, while the West Pacific Ocean is witnessing territorial and maritime disputes and remains under the influence of the U.S.-Japan alliance. The world's superpowers are implementing strategies that would increase their own interests. China has come up with the One Belt, One Road initiative worth 1 trillion dollars, while the U.S. is expected to invest 1.5 billion dollars over the next five years to expand its presence in the Indo-Pacific region as part of its efforts to make the Indian Ocean central to its military strategies.

In conclusion, the term Indo-Pacific is an economically justifiable one based on the geographical concept and has a geoeconomic element. Nevertheless, it is questionable whether the term will provide guidance to the world's superpowers. Frankly speaking, as a government official I do have a keen interest in what the government will do. However, what the government announces is one thing, and what it does is another. As such, when it comes to

the Indo-Pacific region, I believe actions speak louder than words. As maritime security interests vary by country, countries will respond differently to situations that may occur in the Pacific Ocean, the Indian Ocean, and the Atlantic Ocean. A shared vision for the Indo-Pacific region does not exist, and one should not assume that every country has a shared understanding of the Indo-Pacific region. Countries other than China have made few changes to their maritime strategies over the past three years. In addition, with the absence of institutional consistency, the East Asia Summit (EAS) may provide a theoretical basis for joint security strategy. However, it remains uncertain whether member countries have reached a consensus on using the EAS to jointly address security threats. I think the EAS will be able to serve as a reasonable and proper forum led by the heads of the member countries, yet it is unlikely to materialize anytime soon.

The Indo-Pacific notion has been discussed in terms of an ocean. The ocean is an important corridor connecting land. Without taking the land into consideration, addressing marine orders alone won't solve security problems. For instance, the U.S., a seafaring nation sandwiched between the Atlantic Ocean and the Pacific Ocean, may believe so. However, that is not the case for other countries. Accordingly, both land and marine issues should be part of the equation. Moreover, the Indo-Pacific strategy is proposed and analyzed as if coastal countries should fully respond to the strategy of advanced countries. No coastal country would like it if it were left with no other options but to follow the lead of advanced countries. Given the way it is presented, the Indo-Pacific strategy is unlikely to win support and participation from many countries. Countries should be able to work together when investments and actions to enhance maritime security are implemented through a bottom-up approach, trust-building and risk-control measures are in place, and strategies encompassing all coastal countries are devised. The geoeconomics of the Indo-Pacific region should be geographically based. The Indo-Pacific notion,

which sees increasing economic justification, should be embedded into the strategic and geopolitical concept, which requires all related countries to work together. If such is the case, the Indo-Pacific region's geoeconomic potential should be materialized.

● **Akihiko TANAKA** With differing views on the Indo-Pacific region, there is no consensus as to what the term Indo-Pacific term refers to, and how to define the geographical scope of the Indo-Pacific region. Given that the Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP) strategy, as announced by Japanese Prime Minister Abe, first brought up the idea of connectivity with Africa, I think Japan views the Indo-Pacific region as encompassing California and East Africa. Japan is seeking to expand the implications of the Indo-Pacific notion, with the center of the global economy shifting from the Atlantic Ocean in 1990 to Asia-Pacific in the 2000s and southward to the Indo-Pacific ever since. The key drivers for innovation are IT powerhouses such as California, China, and India. As the shifting of the economic center is accompanied by changes in trading partners, Japan should take note of growth potential. The 21st century sees ongoing changes in viewpoints. During his visit to India in 2017, Prime Minister Abe referred to the relation between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean, drawing attention to changes in the way the region has been perceived. Overall, global projections forecast the growth of the Indo-Pacific region, which is premised on stability and peace. The economic prosperity that East Asia has achieved is attributable to the absence of wars since 1979, which is almost a political miracle. Efforts to preserve the peace are needed to ensure peace and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific region. To this end, there are a few things to be noted. The first is managing the balance of power dynamics. I agree with His Excellency Ambassador James CHOI about anti-China sentiment, yet balancing power dynamics is important. Power dynamics should be balanced through engagement with China. The second is to guard against risks arising from vulnerable countries. Civil war-torn countries and other developing countries are located

close to the Indo-Pacific region and experience dynamic developments. Related threats should not be overlooked, and efforts must be made to bring peace to the region. Aside from efforts to preserve peace, it is necessary to create conditions for basic economic growth. Infrastructure, physically connecting the Indo-Pacific region, should pave the way for economic growth. Aligning existing projects with new projects, or at a national level, would enable Japan and China to work together. Infrastructure development is pivotal to peace preservation and provides grounds for further growth. The development of a talent pool is also important. A Sino-Japan partnership is critical in such areas.

Q & A

Q. His Excellency Ambassador KIM Joong-Keun placed a relatively greater focus on the rise of China and underlined China's maritime force as a potential threat. Other presenters viewed the Indo-Pacific region from a geographical and economic perspective. Why do you consider China to be a potential threat?

A. **KIM Joong-Keun** At this point, the details of the Indo-Pacific Vision are undisclosed. For instance, none of the Quad has yet to elaborate on security issues. The same is true of economic issues. That's why all of the talks are devoted to explaining the background. The Indo-Pacific Vision was created out of concerns over the Sino-U.S. rivalry. Indeed, such rivalry has an impact on security. Economic development plans have yet to be established.

Q. Prime Minister Abe was the first to bring up the Indo-Pacific Vision, saying that the strategy would be aligned with China's One Belt, One Road initiative. What is your take on that?

A. **Akihiko TANAKA** I could not agree more. I believe the Indo-Pacific Vision and China's One Belt, One Road initiative are compatible. When it comes to political backgrounds, Japan was late to join China's One Belt, One Road initiative because political tensions with China made it difficult for Japan to embrace China's policies and work together with them.

The political atmosphere since 2014 is hampering Japan from fully committing to China's One Belt, One Road initiative.

Q. During the presentation, Shivshankar MENON said additional elements should be satisfied to realize the Indo-Pacific Vision. What obstacles do you see to the Indo-Pacific Vision?

A. Shivshankar MENON When asked about what the Indo-Pacific strategy is, I gave a blended answer because I think most countries in the region have their own Indo-Pacific strategies. Japan and India also have had their strategies for a long time. Strategies cover issues common to the region, which explains why countries in the region have entered free trade agreements with each other since the 1990s. On the economic front, the Indo-Pacific strategy is already underway. Accordingly, it would be wrong to say that there is no strategy, and nothing has happened.

On the maritime security front, since the 1990s countries in the Indo-Pacific region have worked together more than ever, when they joined hands to combat piracy in the Malacca Straits. Respective countries have their own strategies. If one asks what India can offer, the answer is that India will do its best to do what it can in the realms of economy and security. It depends on what the partners want. I am not saying that a big picture should be presented, and all must be asked to join. The Indo-Pacific strategy won't work that way because respective countries are free to choose areas of cooperation according to their varying security and economic needs. For instance, I think maritime security is an area where all countries—the U.S., Japan, China, and India—can work together. As His Excellency Ambassador KIM Joong-Keun mentioned, it is encouraging that although countries are placed in different parts of the Venn diagram, the overlapping section does exist and continues to expand over time. Countries increasingly share interests in economic, political and security issues, and now is time to work together in a forum larger than the Quad. Accordingly, I believe the EAS will serve as a proper forum.

Q. The Indo-Pacific Vision has been around for 10

years. But it is only recently that the strategy is being discussed. Why do you think it took so long for it to come to people's attention?

A. Akihiko TANAKA It was 2016 when Prime Minister Abe brought up the Indo-Pacific concept, with the region gaining in importance. Japan's high-quality infrastructure has different significances to different people. Some believe the creation of high-quality infrastructure is driven by Japanese businesses. As President of Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), I think infrastructure, which lasts longer, should be provided to meet the needs of partner countries.

Q. Japan provides the Indo-Pacific region with high-quality infrastructure. I would like to ask His Excellency James CHOI and Shivshankar MENON as to what contributions Australia and India can make for the Indo-Pacific strategy.

A. James CHOI The question as to what Australia can do for the Indo-Pacific region will have a similar answer to what the Asia Pacific region can do for Australia in 1989. The Asia Pacific region was a concept redefining Australia's vision for the region and the future composition of the region. Today, the center of the global economy is shifting in a changing world, which calls for a new perspective of the region. Australia does not view the Indo-Pacific region as a channel to provide other countries for quid pro quo. While redefining the way the region is perceived, Australia is seeking forward-looking measures to maintain peace and prosperity with a focus on joint security, economy, trade and orders based on rules and regulations. If these issues are overlooked at this point, it may risk undermining the regional power-check structure at the expense of the interest of underdeveloped countries. When APEC was formed in 1989, it was unknown what the concept of the Asia Pacific region will offer to countries. However, today, the EAS is being held through the establishment of institutions in partnerships with APEC. Likewise, asking where the Indo-Pacific region is headed for is important, and Australia is picturing the future of the Indo-Pacific region.

Q. Korea is apparently under pressure to join the Indo-Pacific strategy. As is the case with Thailand and the Philippines, is the Korean government facing pressure from the Trump administration?

A. KIM Joong-Keun Although I am not a government official, no countries have been pressured in this regard as far as I understand. President Trump has never personally mentioned Korea's participation in the strategy.

Policy Implications

- Historically, there has been a geographical justification for the use of term: the Indo-Pacific region. Aside from the historical rationale, the economic justification is also gaining ground. However, advanced countries are implementing strategies to enhance their own interests in the Indo-Pacific region, and marine security needs vary from country to country. Accordingly, there is no single, common vision for the Indo-Pacific region. It should not be presumed that every country has a shared understanding of the Indo-Pacific region.
- The balance of power in the Indo-Pacific region looks uncertain going forward, and it looks inevitable that the region will be embroiled in the competition for hegemony. Countries which have a keen interest in the Indo-Pacific region, have a shared view of economic, political, geopolitical and geoeconomic developments in the world. Enhancing and promoting a "rules-based order" in the Indo-Pacific region should be the primary goal.
- The heightening of the U.S.-China rivalry is closely related with the Indo-Pacific Vision. Asia is facing new threats to maritime security such as maritime territorial disputes, SLOCs, and the modernisation of the Chinese navy. Nevertheless, it is necessary to create its own mechanism for economic cooperation to enhance economic integration and cooperation.

Possible solutions include the creation of a dialogue system to facilitate economic cooperation, the establishment of trade agreements within the region, and India's admission to APEC.

- With the center of the global economy shifting toward the Indo-Pacific region, peace preservation efforts are needed to ensure peace and prosperity in the region. The preservation of peace requires active efforts to manage the balance of power dynamics, guard against risks arising from vulnerable countries, and build peace.
- Without taking land into consideration, addressing marine orders alone will not solve security problems. Accordingly, both land and marine issues should be part of the equation. Countries should be able to work together for the Indo-Pacific strategy, when investments and actions to enhance maritime security are implemented through a bottom-up approach, trust-building and risk-control measures are in place, and strategies encompassing all coastal countries are devised.
- It is encouraging that although countries have different interests, an overlapping area does exist and continues to expand over time. Countries increasingly share interests in economic, political and security issues, and now is the time to work together in a forum larger than the Quad.

Trilateral Economic Cooperation for the Success of Olympic and Paralympic



Chair	Yasushi YAMAMOTO Deputy Secretary-General, TCS
Presenter/Discussant	CHEN Jian Vice President and Research Fellow, China Society of Economic Reform JOO Won Deputy Director of Economic Research Department, Hyundai Research Institute Jun SAITO Visiting Professor, the International Christian University/ Senior Research Fellow, the Japan Center for Economic Research
Rapporteur	CHUN Jae-Pyo Economic Affairs Officer, Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat

• **Yasushi YAMAMOTO** Winter Olympics in Pyeongchang showed the importance of having Olympics not only a festival for sports but also a venue for exchanges and at the same time giving a huge impact to the economy. The Pyeongchang Olympics contributed to the peace process of the region and the following Olympic Games in 2020 in Tokyo and 2022 in Beijing could hopefully take these advantages as well.

As combined efforts to build foundations on which the three countries of China, Japan and the ROK can build peace in the Northeast Asia region, the Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat (TCS) was established in 2011. To facilitate the trilateral cooperation for the peace and prosperity of the Northeast Asia region, the TCS has organized a session to discuss the significance of trilateral economic cooperation for the success of Olympic and Paralympic Games held in Japan and China.

• **CHEN Jian** The three Northeast Asian countries, namely the CJK, will hold two or three Olympic Games in the next four or even eight years. The three countries are influential in the world economy and

by strengthening cooperation in respective to the Olympic Games the three countries could enhance mutual trust, friendship and economic impact. During the meeting between President Xi Jinping and Prime Minister Shinzo Abe on November 11, 2017, the leaders put forward the opportunity of hosting the Olympic Games and supported to strengthen the cooperative relationship between the two countries.

The Olympic Games can play a very positive role in expanding the consumption and investment as well as promote economic growth. It also provides a platform and space for economic and trade exchanges between the three countries. In these terms the three countries should strengthen economic cooperation in the following areas.

First, the three countries should strengthen cooperation in the snow and ice industry. To expand China's ice and snow industry market, Japan and the ROK can increase investment in China's ice and snow industry market, including the leisure industry, ice and snow tourism. Second, the three countries can cooperate in the transportation and other infra-

structure areas. China has competitive advantages in price and labor force, while Japan and the ROK have advantages in engineering and technology. The total number of venues planned for the 2020 Tokyo Olympic Games is 37. In the construction of infrastructure and venues, China could also give support with its own advantages. Third, the three countries should cooperate in promoting the development of the Olympic market. The Olympic development plan can be considered into three major areas, which are sponsorship, franchise and ticketing plans. Fourth, the three countries need to strengthen exchanges and cooperation in the field of ICT. One of the five visions of the 2018 Pyeongchang Olympics was a breakthrough in ICT. The three countries should enhance exchanges and communication, try to deepen cooperation, and jointly promote the level of the three countries in the field of ICT. Lastly, promotion of tourism between the three countries is necessary. As neighbouring countries, the three countries should make use of the Olympic Games to further promote the tourism cooperation between the three countries.

It is also important to examine at the previous Olympic Games and prevent any post-Olympic risks. For the ROK, science and technologies involved for the Pyeongchang Olympics highlighted technological innovation. It is also important to look at the integration and development in the urban and rural areas, which brought positive experience bridging the gap between urban and rural regions. Finally, reviewing the management plans of the Olympic facilities of Pyeongchang is important for the cost efficient planning of the upcoming Olympic Games.

Japan experienced a rapid economic growth after the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games due to the large scale increase in government spending of infrastructure and public utilities of Tokyo. It is also worth learning from Japan's careful planning to add some sports with its own advantages such as baseball, softball, and karate.

• **JU Won** During 1986-1988, real GDP growth in the

ROK was a bit higher than the period after the Seoul Olympics. It is presumed that economic activities just before the Olympics were more active as well as the fact that Seoul also hosted 10th Asian Game in 1986. During 2015-2017, the real GDP growth was stable but gradually increased before the Pyeongchang Winter Olympics Games.

Private and government consumption growth sharply increased before the Seoul Olympics while it slightly increased during the Pyeongchang Winter Olympics. Investment in the transportation showed significant improvements as Yeongdong Highway for the Pyeongchang Olympics and 88 Olympic Road for the Seoul Olympic were developed. Yangyang highway was newly established and bullet train between Seoul and Gangneung was developed for the Pyeongchang Olympics as well.

During the Olympic periods for both Seoul and Pyeongchang, activities in the areas of construction, accommodation and food service, and culture were more active compared to other periods. On the other hand, it is notable to see that there were not much tourists to Gangwon province during the Pyeongchang Olympics.

With the 2018 Pyeongchang Winter Olympic Games, the ROK is expected to become the sixth nation to land a so-called "Grand Slam" of international sporting events. The major international sporting events include the Summer and Winter Olympic Games, FIFA World Cup, and IAAF World Championships in Athletics.

The economic effects of international sports events can be divided into direct effects and indirect effects. The direct effects include the total investment amount for hosting the Winter Olympics and the indirect effects include the additional tourism effect and the enhancement of the national image due to becoming a famous tourist destination after the event.

The economic effects of the total investment (production inducement amount) is estimated to be about 16.4 trillion KRW and the total amount invested for the Pyeongchang Winter Olympic Games has been

about 7,225.5 billion KRW. In terms of operation spending the Olympic Organizing Committee spent about 1.9 trillion KRW for the Olympic Games, and the production inducement amount is estimated to be about 3,755 billion KRW.

The total consumption expenditure of foreign tourists is projected to be 721.3 billion KRW, and the production inducement amount is estimated to be about 1,254.3 billion KRW. The expected increase in foreign tourists visiting Korea during the Olympic Games is about 390,000. In comparison, the consumption expenditure of Korean tourists is calculated to be about 239 billion KRW, and the production inducement amount is estimated to be about 415.5 billion KRW. The expected increase in Korean tourists visiting Pyeongchang during the Olympic Games is about 2 million.

The expenditures resulting from additional visits by foreign tourists will be about 18.46 trillion KRW over the next 10 years, and the economic effect will be about 32.2 trillion KRW. Assuming that the national brand recognition and the top 100 companies' brand awareness are raised by 1% due to the Olympics, the economic effect will be equivalent to 10 billion USD (11.6 trillion KRW).

In summary, the total direct economic effect is about 21.1 trillion KRW, the total indirect effect is about 43.8 trillion KRW, and the total economic effect is estimated to be 64.9 trillion KRW. However, it is important to note that the biggest benefit of Pyeongchang Olympics is not only the economic effect but also the peace that was brought in the Northeast Asia region which cannot be calculated in monetary terms.

• **Jun SAITO** Looking back at the three Olympic Games held in Japan, the major conclusions for the economic effects are as follows: 1. the larger the size of the overall expenditure of the Olympic Games, the larger the positive impact to the economy; 2. the larger the size of the overall expenditure of the Olympic Games, the larger the negative impact after the event; 3. the drop in investment and economic activities after the event does not necessarily mean

recession because the impact of the drop of spending is caused by the economic performance of the economy at that moment.

To compare the direct and indirect costs of the past Olympic and Paralympic Games, nominal GDP is calculated for relative comparisons. Regarding the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games, the total expenditure amounts to 3.1% of GDP which implicates the big impact to the economy. However the positive impact had been limited since Japan was in a fixed exchange regime at the time with very low foreign reserve. On the other hand, there were negative impacts after the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games as well. After the Tokyo Olympic Games, Japanese economy encountered a serious recession in 1965 with a growth of 6%. The average growth rate was about 10% during this period.

In Sapporo Olympic Games in 1972, the magnitude of the total expenditure was small compared to the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games amounting to 0.3% of nominal GDP. However the constraints coming from foreign reserves were not big because by that time Japan had a big amount of foreign reserves. Since the total expenditure was small, the negative impact was also small after the Olympic Games. Japan went into recession in the late 1973, not because of the Olympic Games, but due to the oil crisis.

For the third Olympic Games in 1998, the overall spending was also very low by 0.3% of the nominal GDP. There were not much constraints coming from the foreign reserves because Japan was in a fixed-exchange regime by that period. The recession Japan encountered in 1998 had no relevance to the Olympic Games, and it was due to the consumption tax rate rise in 1997 and Asian crisis in 1997 which caused financial difficulties in Japan.

Regarding the direct and indirect costs of future Olympic and Paralympic Games, for Tokyo Olympic games in 2020, the overall spending is currently expected to be around 0.6-0.8% of the GDP, which is significantly less than the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games but higher than the previous Winter Olympic Games. For the Sapporo Olympic Games in 2026

or 2030, it is expected that direct cost would be very small, but the final outcome tends to be bigger than expected. The indirect cost is not available at this moment due to insufficient information on the construction and upgrading of infrastructure.

Policy Implications

CHEN Jian(China)

- Establish the Olympic city alliance of the three countries
- Establish an Olympic city development fund

JU Won(Korea)

- Network and communicate about sport policies
- Expand the tourism industries
- Improve the facilities utilization

Jun SAITO(Japan)

Economic Policy Area

- Successfully conclude the China-Japan-ROK Free Trade Agreement
- Establish local currency bond markets under the Asian Bond Markets Initiative as well as cooperate for international financial stability through the Chiang Mai Initiative Multilateralization (CMIM) and ASEAN+3 Macroeconomic Research

Office(AMRO)

Olympic and Paralympic Games-related Areas

- Share information and experiences gained by hosting the Games
- Strengthen wider cooperation in sports at local and civic levels
- Initiate cooperation in areas closely related to sports, such as health promotion

Research Activities Areas

- Foster systematic and consistent research activity
- Establish a permanent network of think-tanks and research institutions among the three countries. Also establish a permanent section, within the TCS, responsible for original research activities

Revised KORUS FTA and New Trade Policy in Korea and the U.S.A.



Moderator **RHYU Sang-young** Professor, GSIS, Yonsei University
Speaker **David RUCH** Country Manager Korea, United Airlines/Vice-Chair, American Chamber of Commerce in Korea
AN Junseong Attorney-at-Law licensed to practice in the US state of Maryland
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KIM Tae-nyen Director, Korea Automobile Manufacturers Association
Rapporteur **CHANG Ji-Seon** Global Asia Fellow, East Asia Foundation

The session enabled an in-depth discussion as to the extent to which the revised KORUS FTA will make bilateral trade relations certain and predictable; how to restore trade orders led by technological innovation and competition for the protection of consumer interests; and ways to enhance win-win partnerships between the two countries.

- **RHYU Sang-young** The session will feature four main topics: (1) the revised KORUS FTA—what has changed and why. How effective and realizable the revised FTA is; (2) how to address F/X issues and deal with the Trade Expansion Act; (3) how the economic players of the respective countries will forge “rules-based” cooperation in response to new industrial policies and globalization; and (4) how businesses and governments in the U.S. and Korea should cooperate to overcome challenges and build win-win partnerships in a sustainable way.
- **AN Junseong** KORUS FTA negotiations hinge on U.S. presidential terms. The timing of negotiations depends on whether the U.S. president is elected for a single term or reelected for the second term. The

KORUS FTA is reviewed whenever an administration changes hands. Under the Bush administration, the U.S. and Korea held the first round of negotiations, concluded, and signed the agreement. Under the Obama administration, additional negotiations were held, and the revisions went into effect. Under the Trump administration, three rounds of negotiations took place on January 5, January 31, and March 15, 2018. The two parties reached an agreement on March 26, 2018, concluding their negotiations in just three months.

During the negotiations on the amendment of the KORUS FTA, the U.S. and Korea did not have overlapping areas of interests. The U.S. was interested in extending import tariffs for Korean pickup trucks, increasing flexibility in safety and environmental standards, keeping greenhouse gas regulations at current levels, and enhancing the country of origin verification. Korea was keen to improve the Investor State Dispute Settlement (ISDS) system, preventing frivolous lawsuits by investors, reflecting the government’s legitimate policy-making authority, ensuring procedural transparency in trade remedies,

and revising the country of origin rules related to textiles. Given the differences in the areas of concern, the U.S. and Korea apparently saw eye to eye on the outline of the FTA.

In addition, the U.S. announced an agreement for a permanent tariff exemption on steel imported from Korea on March 26, 2018. Korea has negotiated an exemption from the Section 232 steel tariff of 25 percent and instead will be subject to a quota, which is equivalent to 70 percent of Korea’s annual export volume to the U.S. in 2017. Removing uncertainties over Korea’s steel exports to the U.S. is positive. An exclusion request is hardly granted, and the U.S. Department of Commerce will not consider steel product exclusions for countries subject to quotas.

The new trade policy of the U.S. has three variables, the first of which is President Trump’s reelection odds. In case he is elected for a second term, it should be noted whether President Trump will maintain consistency in his policies for another four years. The second variable is the North Korean nuclear issue. Despite not being a trade issue, North Korea’s nuclear program still weighs on the amendment of the KORUS FTA and is a key variable to the reopening of the Kaesong Industrial Complex. North Korea’s nuclear program is expected to make a lasting impact on thorny trade issues between Korea and the U.S. The third variable is how FTA partners will respond going forward. One critical element is the inclusion of the “most favored nation” clause.

The Trump administration’s trade policy is “America First” with the U.S. taking a unilateral path. Above all, America First has weakened the influences of the UN and the WTO. Following its exit from the Paris agreement in June 2017 and withdrawal from UNESCO in October 2017, the U.S. has been seeking to renegotiate or terminate FTAs. The U.S. unilateralism is evidenced by how President Trump has used executive orders. President Trump issued an executive order withdrawing the U.S. from the TPP in January 2017 and readied an executive order to take the U.S. out of NAFTA in April 2017.

Against this backdrop, the U.S. and Korea should

work together to call on the U.S. government to return to a multilateral system. To achieve this, it is necessary to advocate for the benefits of international organizations such as the UN and the WTO and make a strategic approach using North Korea’s denuclearization and market opening as a bargaining chip. It is also important to establish partnerships with global companies in the U.S. and establish a close cooperation system with other trading partners such as the EU and China.

- **KIM Tae-nyen** The automotive sector is the key and the largest obstacle to trade issues between the U.S. and Korea. The number of cars worldwide has reached 1.3 billion. Of the three countries—the U.S., China, and India, which have their own automotive industries and self-sufficient markets—India is expected to emerge as a key player over the long-term. Automobile-producing countries with independent and self-sufficient markets would seek to build entry barriers. One such example is the Trump administration putting up all sorts of barriers. U.S. trade policy is underpinned by the U.S. automotive industry’s efforts to ensure that the U.S. opens up its trading partners’ markets and expands its market access.

Speaking of the impact of the KORUS FTA on automotive trade, automotive trade has significantly increased since the implementation of the KORUS FTA in March 2012. Notably, as Korea’s import tariffs were halved from 8 percent to 4 percent with the introduction of the KORUS FTA and completely removed in 2016, U.S. automobiles have gained price competitiveness, resulting in a 348 percent increase in Korea’s imports of U.S. automobiles. Compared with automobiles made in Japan, with whom Korea does not have an FTA, U.S. automobiles are more price-competitive, making the U.S. the second largest automotive exporter to Korea in 2015, following Germany. Since the KORUS FTA went into effect, Korea’s imports of U.S. automobiles have grown, reflecting that Korea has opened its market wider for U.S. automotive companies. In return, Korean auto makers are contributing to the regional economy and job creation in the U.S. Hyundai and Kia have

made many investments in the U.S., expanding their local operations and relocating their vendors and are planning additional investments.

In accordance with Section 232 of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, the U.S. Department of Commerce initiated an investigation to determine the effects on the U.S. economy and the national security of imports of automobiles and auto parts. Over the past 20 years, the share of imported cars in the U.S. market has increased, while employment in motor vehicle production has declined. The U.S. accounts for only 20 percent of total global R&D spending in the automotive sector. The Section 232 investigation looks into import volumes of automobiles and auto parts, the nature of imports, the availability of human resources needed for the production of automobiles and auto parts, products, commodities, production equipment and facilities and the level of technology innovation. In addition, a Section 232 investigation under the Trade Expansion Act indicates changes in U.S. trade policies, the competitive nature of products made in Korea and the U.S., and an increasing complexity of the global value chain.

The automotive industries in the U.S. and Korea may expand technology cooperation in such areas as green vehicles, vehicle-to-vehicle (V2V), and self-driving cars. In addition, both countries can pursue a win-win strategy through fair competition. To this end, it is necessary for the two countries to continue and enhance trade and industrial cooperation in a fair way under the FTA.

- **David RUCH** The amendment of the KORUS FTA is revisions to the existing FTA, not renegotiation, and is different from the NAFTA process. The KORUS FTA needs to reflect technology developments and changes in trade practices, given that it was first negotiated about 12 years ago. In addition, since the implementation of the KORUS FTA in 2012, entry barriers still exist, keeping the KORUS FTA from unleashing its full potential. The revised KORUS FTA covered a wide range of issues such as U.S. tariffs on pickup trucks, expansion of U.S. car exports and more rigorous country of origin verification.

The KORUS FTA is likely to remain as a rule-based trade mechanism.

The automotive market is directly related to the financial conditions of people. An economic slump discourages people from buying new cars, dealing a heavy blow to the automotive industry. The U.S. automotive industry has been through restructuring and bankruptcies. Ironically, the economy is now in a better shape after a series of bankruptcies. In addition, GM and Ford are expected to suspend the production of passenger vehicles to prioritize SUVs. As such, the U.S. is making a forward-looking approach to the automotive industry.

With the U.S. trade policies being still rule-based, we believe the KORUS FTA will set the direction for trade policies. In addition, export items have changed from finished goods to intermediary goods under a new trade paradigm. For example, about 50 percent of NAFTA imports are intermediary goods, which are exported after assembly. Recent developments added to trade uncertainties, changing tariff orders and affecting production locations and the cost of finished goods.

The U.S. government handles trade from a macro perspective encompassing F/X intervention, the dispute settlement process, and national security. The U.S. government has initiated an investigation into automobiles and auto parts in accordance with Section 232, which entered alongside the KORUS FTA negotiations. The investigation is premised on foreign imports posing a potential threat to the U.S. automotive industry and national security. In this regard, AMCHAM supports fair and balanced trade and finds the imposition of tariffs inappropriate.

Moreover, the U.S. has special relations with Korea. The KORUS FTA is not just about free trade but also exists within the framework of economy, economy and politics, making Korea a special beneficiary.

President Trump's protectionism might have been affected by protectionist policies that trading partners pursued in the past. Global trade has taken place within the framework established to support the economic development of Japan, Korea, and Germany

in the post-Second World War period. Accordingly, trade relations with emerging countries should be rule-based, and countries must cooperate with each other in a mutually reciprocal way in areas that affect fair competition (tariffs, non-tariff barriers, country of origin, state-owned companies, intellectual property protection, and national industry policies). Notably, cooperation in energy, defence and tourism is needed to ensure sustainable, win-win economic relations between Korea and the U.S.

- **CHUNG Chul** The Trump administration's trade policy is oriented toward unilateralism. President Trump is sceptical about the notion of global trade being "fair," given the extent of the U.S. trade deficit. At the same time, President Trump has imposed a U.S.-centric order on the world, dismissing international trade rules. For instance, the U.S. slapped tough safeguard tariffs to curb washing machine imports. The U.S. set preliminary anti-dumping duties on washing machines from Korea and Mexico. Then, most production was relocated to China. When the U.S. slapped duties on washing machines made in China, production was off-shored to Vietnam and Thailand. In other words, anti-dumping measures did not address the problem. Moreover, the trade rivalry between the U.S. and China is intensifying, as the two global powers compete to secure intellectual property right (IPR) investments and cutting-edge technologies. It is imperative for Korea to adjust itself to changing conditions.

Last but not least, the U.S. trade strategy is comprehensive, with security and trade being aligned with each other. In contrast, Korea's trade strategy is asymmetrical. In bilateral cooperation, Korea may have conflicts of interests with the U.S. in its pursuit of the New Economic Map for the Korean Peninsula and New Southern Policy and New Northern Policy. The question is how to engage the U.S. in Korea's new initiatives. Moreover, regional investments have not been discussed since the closure of the Kaesong Industrial Complex. However, discussions should be held in this regard.

- **RHYU Sang-young** The expansion of the TPP may

undermine the KORUS FTA. If such is the case, how should Korea address the challenge and is the KORUS FTA sustainable? If Korea opts out of the TPP, does the country risk being isolated?

- **David RUCH** The TPP originated from the KORUS FTA and takes it a step further. The TPP itself is unlikely to supplant the KORUS FTA, and the U.S. is expected to enter bilateral or multilateral agreements based on the KORUS FTA. Moreover, although the U.S. government has drifted away from multilateralism to focus on bilateral relations, I believe the U.S. will return to multilateralism.

- **AN Junseong** The admission to the TPP does not hold much weight. Among the signatories of the TPP, Japan and Mexico are the countries with whom Korea has no FTA. Japan and Korea find it difficult to hold FTA negotiations, due to the similarity of the industry structures between the two countries. In addition, Mexico, which has traditionally close relations with Japan, is not a preferable partner for the Korean government.

- **CHUNG Chul** Korea has missed out on an opportunity to be part of the TPP and is not in a state to pursue it right away. Korea is unprepared and needs to discuss what it takes to join the TPP.

- **KIM Tae-nyen** The automotive sector is critical to the FTA and the TPP. Japan's strong push for the TPP is attributable to its automotive manufacturers—Toyota and Nissan. However, chances are slim that Korea will see as much benefit from the TPP as Japan does, or the TPP yields more to Korea than bilateral negotiations.

Policy Implications

- The amendment of the KORUS FTA is revising the existing FTA, not entering a re-negotiation.
- The Trump administration's trade policies are characterized by America First and unilateralism. The U.S. government should be called upon to return to a multilateral framework.

Chapter **THREE**

아시아의 평화 재정립
Reengineering Peace for Asia

SUSTAINABILITY

Policy Issues and Strategies for Sustainable Island Tourism



Moderator	LEE Jae Hong Vice President, Jeju Tourism Organization
Welcoming Remarks	JEON Seong-tae Vice Governor of Jeju Special Self-Governing Province
Congratulatory Remarks	PARK Hong-bae President of Jeju Tourism Organization
Discussant	YANG Gi-Cheol Director General of Tourism Bureau, Jeju Special Self-Governing Province SONG Mengmeng Assistant Professor, Hainan University Agung Suryawan WIRANATHA Director, Tourism & Culture Research Centre, Udayana University Hembler V. MENDOZA Tourism Chief, Lapu-Lapu City Jatopong KAEWSAI Director, Phuket Foreign Affairs Dilekha KUDDACHCHI Senior Assistant Secretary, Southern Provincial Council
Rapporteur	KANG Young Jun Chief Manager, Jeju Tourism Organization

• **JEON Seong-tae** It is very meaningful that the ITOP Forum is being held in Jeju in line with the Jeju Forum. Since it was launched in 1997, the ITOP Forum has continued to grow into an organization of 11 member countries and three observer countries, and is now celebrating its 22nd year. This is the second year its International Policy Seminar has been organized to deepen the debate at the forum and should provide an opportunity to share successful examples of tourism policies and expedite the development of island tourism.

It was once the case that islands were synonymous with isolation and disconnection, but now from our modern perspective we can see their value and great potential with their pristine, unique environments that are resources for everyone. But like a coin that has two sides, island development is accompanied by growing difficulties resulting from an increase in the number of visitors. The sustainability of island tourism, therefore, is a problem we cannot help but contemplate. Jeju Island is faced with unprecedented

problems, such as unchecked land development and spikes in real estate prices, as its population expands and ever more tourists and investments pour in.

Having set environmentalism and co-existence as its future visions, Jeju is making an all-out effort to build a system of managing its growing pains, while achieving sustainable development and an economy of co-existence. It has strongly dealt with unchecked development by revising its guidelines on large-scale development projects and has striven to maintain the harmony between development and preserving the environment by securing illegally acquired farmland. To preserve its ecosystem by means of a comprehensive recycling system, Jeju has strengthened its waste management protocols and overhauled its public transportation system, which also helped improve traffic conditions for locals.

I hope these endeavors, in connection with its tourism policies, will be closely examined and shared by member countries and other participants, thus contributing to stronger relationships between

them.

• **PARK Hong-bae** I would like to thank the participants from ITOP member countries who have traveled all this way. The ITOP Forum was founded in 1997 owing to the solidarity of the four provincial governments of Jeju, Korea; Bali, Indonesia; Hainan, China; and Okinawa, Japan. The forum has grown to have 11 member countries and 3 observer countries. Sharing the geographical identity and cultural bonds inherent in islands, ITOP members have discussed tourism issues and will hold its 22nd meeting in Malaysia this coming October.

While the ITOP members, as islands, have geological peculiarities and a tourism-centered industry in common, the greatest question facing them is sustainability. The sustainability issue should be carefully studied in order to maintain the beauty of these islands. From today's presentations, we will be able to examine the efforts that have been made for the sustainability of island tourism and envision a better future through the successes and failures of each one. I hope the ITOP International Policy Seminar will transcend being a simple networking event and serve to expand policy sharing for island tourism.

• **YANG Gi-Cheol** **The Present and Future of Tourism in Jeju:** Let's examine Jeju tourism using a SWOT analysis. Its strength lies in its central location in Northeast Asia. Blessed with natural attractions, the island is a critical point in the special purpose tourism market. Its weakness is the limits of Jeju's environmental capacity and access to the island, as well as low cost tourism from China. Opportunities exist in the island's indigenous culture. One example is the culture of the haenyeo, the women divers, which is inscribed on the UNESCO Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Threats mean that Jeju tourism is prone to outside elements, due largely to its extreme dependence on Chinese tourists.

Jeju has achieved remarkably rapid growth owing to its natural beauty and unique culture, factors that made it an island of national healing. But now it is facing signs of an impending crisis. The signs in-

clude problems in waste disposal resulting from the quantitative expansion of the tourism market. This relates to the piped water supply and sewage disposal, and those stemming from low cost tourism. To cope with these problems and to maximize its value, Jeju is implementing a wide range of policy measures.

First, Jeju is expanding its physical capacity. Jeju needs to build additional airport infrastructure. Jeju International Airport has an annual capacity of 26 million passengers, but the actual number of passengers it handles has already exceeded 29 million. If a second airport is established, it will be able to accommodate another 25 million passengers. To promote the use of public transportation, the provincial government has overhauled the transportation system, and to cope with the issues of piped water and sewage disposal, it is working on revising the water supply system and expanding infrastructure. The waste problem is being solved by a system under which different recyclable materials are gathered on different weekdays. The island's government has worked out a future vision policy report for Jeju for its sustainable development and based on this is focusing on infrastructure that will meet the needs of a future island population of 1 million and 22.5 million annual tourists.

Secondly, Jeju is diversifying its overseas tourism market to tackle the issue of low cost tourism originating from China. At the moment, China-affiliated travel agencies monopolize the majority of group tours from the country, often taking them to free-of-charge spots or forcing them to shop at specific outlets, thus lowering their satisfaction with their Jeju visit. To stop these practices, Jeju is toughening up on tourism-related infractions involving unqualified guides and unregistered travel agencies, while enhancing high added value services for tourists. The provincial government has requested that the central government revise the problematic commission on outgoing passengers and is planning to enforce a ceiling on fees. It has also been diversifying its overseas marketing approach, to address the limitations

of its Chinese-centered tourism market and has increased the number of regular air routes to 18 in five countries. For destinations without direct flights, the provincial government is working to introduce a transit system using the international arrivals at Incheon International Airport.

Thirdly, Jeju has set as its policy goal as “tourism for both visitors and locals.” Instead of pursuing quantitative growth, Jeju will seek to promote the co-existence of the residents and tourists. In the case of tourism development projects, a minimum 80 percent of the total needed workforce shall be met by local residents, and for building projects, 50 percent or more of builders should be local firms. In addition, Jeju has created and conducted specific programs that suit different villages. It regularly develops tourism-related content and supports local events such as the Gotjawal Firefly Festival and the Bangeo Festival, featuring the yellowtail amberjack. Jeju will also carry out ecotourism programs based on its UNESCO-recognized natural environment and develop high added value tourism products, making the most of the pristine ecology of the island.

- **Agung Suryawan WIRANATHA: Implementing Traditional Wisdoms towards Sustainable Tourism Development in Bali:** Bali is wrestling with the foremost question of what traditional wisdom it should practice for sustainable tourism. The number of incoming overseas visitors has increased by more than 20 percent since 2007. As of 2017, the number of overseas tourists who visited Bali reached 6 million. The number of domestic tourists is increasing, too, and the tourism sector outpaces the agricultural sector when it comes to the contribution to overall economy. Bali’s tourism is developing, bringing changes to lodgings and employment. However, since 2013 the lodging facilities have begun to be over supplied and now hotels without star ratings are finding it hard to compete.

Changes in land use are challenging, too. A thousand hectares of farm land has turned into a tourist site and the amount of usable water is decreasing. The failure to provide water to all tourist facilities result-

ed in the excessive use of deep ocean water and signs of groundwater depletion and seawater intrusion are appearing. Another issue is the difficulty of waste management, especially plastics. This is not only a problem of tourism but rather a national problem. Bali does not have enough space to bury its waste. Bali visitors usually come in small groups and their individual tours are causing traffic congestion.

Bali sees sustainable tourism in the context of socio-cultural, environmental, and economic perspectives and here we may utilize the traditional Bali wisdom of Tri Hita Karana that is linked with sustainability. We have yet to make the adoption of the old wisdom in our policies, but our efforts have already begun. The provincial government of Bali is implementing the Bali Clean and Green Province Program and conducts sustainable tour programs.

What matters most is the political will. All governments should gather their political force for comprehensive management, and this is true of the provincial government. Political leadership should spur on implementation of policies.

- **LEE Jae-hong** The seven problems of over-tourism troubling Bali seem to be common to all islands. We will closely watch how Bali deals with them by applying the three wisdoms of Tri Hita Karana. In short, Bali’s sustainable tourism will depend on how Tri Hita Karana enables the provincial government’s comprehensive management and the enforcement of strong political leadership.

- **SONG Mengmeng: Hainan Tourism Policy Case Sharing:** Hainan, one of the most famous Chinese tourist attractions, has a unique economic system. Hainan’s tourism industry is developing rapidly, with many epochal achievements thanks to its various tourism-friendly policies. Hainan unveiled a world-class package of tourism publicity policies in 2010 which is aimed at making Hainan a world-class island by 2020.

In 2017, the government selected Hainan as the first pilot area for innovation and introduced many innovative measures, including five development policies and several other strategic projects. In

April 2018, the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, in commemoration of Hainan’s 30th anniversary as a designated exclusive industrial zone, announced a full-fledged reform and opening of Hainan. The island is now developing a variety of tourism products on the basis of this innovative strategy. The policy of openness is embodied in these products, which are centered on tourist consumption. Greater efforts are being made to develop tourism spots with upgraded services. By making the most of its strategic location, Hainan aims to take center stage in tourism in the new era.

- **Hembler V. Mendoza** Tourism is a strategically critical industry. Cebu’s Lapu-Lapu City sees tourism as the core of job creation for economic growth and everyone cooperates to carry out varied programs. Being promoted are peace, international order, transportation and infrastructure, and special emphasis is given to environmental preservation, health, wellbeing, social welfare, education, and sports which draw the greatest efforts.

Lapu-Lapu has the City Environment and Natural Resources Office (CENRO) whose departments tackle environmental issues, managing environmental resources, and waste disposal. The city also has the Kalikasan Task Force that strives to protect marine resources. From 2014, a program has been carried out to protect the ocean and save fish and other marine resources. On the other hand, marine tours and other activities are promoted to generate income for locals.

The city has organized a tourism committee named “Sangguniang Kabataan” for cultural networking and promoting ecotourism. The city’s tourism products include “Olango,” a community-based tour program that offers homestays and experiences through which the tourists may learn the city’s history and savor the traditional culture of the region. Tourists can also visit historical remains in the region by taking part in the cultural programs of Gabii sa Kabilin.

In the meantime, Lapu-Lapu City is making an all-out effort to become the center of sports tour-

ism, hosting international sports events such as a triathlon and the Davis Cup tournament. Officials in charge of logistics, security, and distribution cooperate with one another to make such events safe and enjoyable. The triathlon is particularly instrumental in bringing business people and residents together around diverse regional networks.

- **Jatopong Kaewsai Sustainable Tourism and Tourism Policy in Phuket, Thailand:** Phuket is Thailand’s largest island and smallest province. Phuket’s policy for sustainable tourism can be summarized as taking the maximum consideration of the present circumstances and planning for the future by taking the socio-economic effects into account. Through a SWOT analysis, Phuket has mapped out sustainable action plans and is working on detailed long- and short-term plans. For a successful action plan, it is imperative to promote cooperation among groups of conflicting interests.

Phuket aims at rendering services that meet the needs of tourists, while encouraging them to feel like residents when it comes to protecting nature and public resources. It is pursuing sustainable socio-cultural development by utilizing the Sustainability Compass model, which offers indicators for four directions: E-economy, W-wellbeing, N-nature, and S-society. It also makes concrete efforts to achieve sustainability in the fields of the environment and resources, protecting natural resources, establishing a business center, and launching the Phuket Beach Clean Program. On the other hand, the provincial government makes the most of creating economic gains for local residents by encouraging tourists’ consumption of fruits, seafood, and handicrafts from the area. An example of sustainable Phuket tourism may be Bang Rong Pier, where Muslim residents make a living fishing. Located on the northeastern side of Phuket, Bang Rong offers easy access to several other tourist spots. Another example of sustainable tourism is Phuket’s cultural festivals which provide a combination of local culture and traditional food. Under the theme of global experience, the festivals are full of cultural programs

designed to promote sustainable tourism.

For sustainable tourism, strategy and planning, infrastructure and security, and communication are essential. The cooperation of hotels, restaurants, and other business partners of diverse interests are also key.

- **Dilekha Kuddachchi Outstanding Policies of Southern Province, Sri Lanka, for Sustainable Tourism:** The Southern Province is one of the nine provinces of Sri Lanka. With its oceanic climate and rich natural resources, the island has a great potential as a tourist spot. It now receives more than 30,000 tourists a year.

The Southern Provincial Council is implementing the central government's strategic master plan for 2018-2020 in a way appropriate to the island. The Southern Province has three goals for sustainable development: ensuring efficiency, sustainable consumption, and protection of production.

Tourism is one of the three major means of earning foreign exchange for Sri Lanka and it is an industry of tremendous importance. It is pivotal that all private businesses participate in tourism and that regional development is pursued for the balanced growth of the nation. The province pays the utmost attention to protecting and properly managing its natural resources, while also creating job opportunities. The importance of natural resources cannot be overemphasized for the residents and they are listed for management.

With the end of a 30-year-long war, Sri Lanka is at peace now. Many people still regard the country as a dangerous destination, but Sri Lanka is safe and efforts are being made to publicize the safety of the country. In other words, the nation is striving to realize a secure environment that is agreeable to tourists. There are difficulties in achieving this goal, particularly in terms of policy coordination and the exchange of opinions, because these policies need to go through several administrative levels—the central government, provinces and districts, and local councils—to be implemented. Difficulties also arise in making policies for the management of natural

resources because of a shortage of human resources and data. Other hindrances are financial difficulties, a lack of infrastructure for tourism market diversification, and systematic difficulties stemming from the provincial government's limited capabilities. The Southern Province is seeking thematic solutions to each of these problems.

Above all, policy consultations among the different levels of administration are being simplified. Comprehensive research is ongoing for a long-term plan for the development of tourism spots. The research includes environmental preservation and protection, diversification of goods and services that meet the needs of a wide range of visitors, the development of premium goods, and participation by local residents. In addition, tourism-related diploma courses have been expanded, in affiliation with colleges, to fulfill the demand for qualified human resources.

Policy Implications

- ITOP member areas are commonly suffering from over-tourism and need to seek out methods of manageable, sustainable growth instead of simple quantitative growth. Major problems resulting from over-tourism are limits in waste and sewage disposal, a shortage of piped water resources and the depletion of groundwater, traffic congestion, and heated competition and environmental destruction resulting from unchecked development. Each and every ITOP member enforces diverse policy efforts, and it is necessary to let them share examples of their successes, experiences, and know-how, by supporting and reinforcing their cooperative network.

The Future of smart city



Chair	PARK Yeon Soo Visiting Professor, Sogang University
Moderator	KWAK James Director, Future Biz & Investment Deputy, JDC
Presenter	YOO Benjamin Insang Head of Smart City Biz Group, LG CNS
Discussant	RHO Hesub Director of ICT Convergence Division, Jeju Special Self-governing Province BYUN Miree Director of the Future Research Center, The Seoul Institute OH Seong-ik Director for Innovation City Support Policy, Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport LEE Dongsoo Vice President, Honam Research Center, Electronics and Telecommunications Research Institute
Rapporteur	KIM Jina Assistant Manager, Jeju Free International City Development Center

- **YOO Benjamin Insang** The notion of a smart city, which is the subject of growing attention, is not defined by a single idea, but rather by multiple concepts. The definition of a smart city has been changing in a way that emphasizes the identification of urban solutions led by citizens, not by governments. The current administration is also pursuing a smart city using data-based urban platforms, which marks a departure from the existing U-city initiative. Overseas examples of a smart city are being exemplified by the characteristics of their respective cities. Such major state-led cities include Barcelona, Amsterdam, and Singapore. Major cities, where public-private cooperation is facilitated through Living Lab, include Santander in Spain and Copenhagen in Denmark. One example of a smart city being implemented by means of a competition is Columbus, Ohio. It was the winner of the U.S. Department of Transportation's smart city Challenge in 2016. One of the major private R&D cases is Sidewalk Toronto, undertaken by Alphabet's Sidewalk Labs. Sidewalk Toronto plans to double its scale to 3.3 million square

meters, following a pilot project in an area measuring 165,000 square meters.

According to their roles, stakeholders in a smart city can be classified as the central government, state-financed research institutes, local authorities and citizens, project undertakers (public companies), and businesses. The central government and state-financed research institutes devise medium- and long-term roadmaps to ensure consistent policies, establish ministry-wide standards and standardization, and coordinate legal/institutional systems. Local authorities and citizens develop urban visions, build a governance system, and identify use cases based on citizens' demands. Project undertakers (public companies) develop district-level plans aligned with urban visions and business models. In addition, businesses enhance competitiveness in R&BD (Research & Business Development), investments, and exports.

For a smart city, identifying use cases based on citizens' demands is of the utmost importance. As such, it is necessary to identify services strictly

based on demand, rather than supply side services. Life-enhancing services such as the Salt Road design in Yeomni-dong and “Parenthesis Lights” (which reduced collisions between cyclists and pedestrians) in Hangang Park highlight the importance of applying cutting-edge technologies as well as insights into society, philosophy, and humanities. Given the constraints of government budgets, private investments are essential to finance projects. Business models should be based on mutual trust between stakeholders and be implementable in the form of a special purpose entity encompassing the private and public sectors, and the community. In addition, measures should be devised to integrate participants in smart city projects throughout the design, construction, and operation stages, which are otherwise separated.

So far, domestic U-city projects have treated cities within a living zone as a tradable product. However, cities cannot be commodified since they gradually evolve through their life cycle encompassing design, construction, and operation. Last but not least, Jeju’s smart city will be able to provide a good test bed to solve urban problems by aligning Korean-related challenges with those from abroad. This is because Jeju was the first site in Korea to conduct an empirical comparison with foreign cities of an equivalent size to transform itself into a world-class smart city.

- **PARK Yeon Soo** The Incheon-Songdo project marked the beginning of Smart Cities in Korea, and probably in the world. As a key part and a platform for the Fourth Industrial Revolution, the smart city is where the Fourth Industrial Revolution is being realized. At this point, 99.999 percent of people view the Fourth Industrial Revolution as the “future,” and only 0.001 percent see it as the “present.” It raises a question as to whether we belong to the 99.999 percent or the 0.001 percent. Today’s sessions does not just ask what a smart city is, but whether it is the present or the future, reality or rhetoric.

- **OH Seong-ik** From the perspective of a layperson and an ordinary citizen, I have thought a great deal about how smart city policies can be implemented

in a way that makes people happier. First of all, the concept of a smart city can be divided into two. One, as seen from an engineering perspective, is a technological utopia, a city with advanced technologies. Can a “technopia” become a reality in Korea? Korea faces regulatory restrictions such as personal information protections. Previously, U-city projects did not work out well partly because the Personal Information Protection Act strictly regulates the use of collected information. The other smart city concept, as seen from the perspective of urban planning, is a place where people live and technologies are used to reflect the values of citizens and increase their sense of happiness. However, current discussions on the smart city are taking place primarily from a supplier’s perspective. I believe it is very important to have the participation of citizens. It’s central to the smart city. However, not enough discussions are being held as to citizens’ participation in the smart city. If citizens are provided with sufficient information, it would be possible to provide smart solutions. Citizens are not those who recklessly demand solutions, but when properly informed are capable of addressing problems by themselves. Jeju Island’s smart city should be approached from a demand-side perspective. The private sector takes part in the project, taking the market into account. Accordingly, it is essential to understand market demand or demand from citizens. This explains why a citizen-oriented smart city is needed. Pursuing the smart city, driven by cutting-edge technologies, has limited potential for development and is likely to run into regulatory roadblocks. In contrast, changes may easily take place in areas where people keep calling for such changes. For instance, if enough citizens speak up, the current ban on cloud-based sharing of autonomous vehicle data may be able to be lifted. Policymakers fear criticism that technologies that are the newest at the time of the planning stage will become outdated by the time the smart city projects are completed. It is also needs of citizens that can justify the introduction of technologies.

- **RHO Hesub** The definition of a smart city is still un-

clear and varied. Today’s smart city project is different from a U-city in that the former is service-based. That is, life-enhancing services play a central role. Vision and structure are needed for local authorities to push ahead with smart city projects and identify many business opportunities. The largest problem is securing budgets. Jeju has also drafted a vision for its smart city. However, the project has hit a snag, due to difficulties in convincing various stakeholders about the recent definition of a data-based smart city. Nevertheless, Jeju is gradually taking the necessary steps. The first hurdle to overcome is “standards” because developing and integrating standards for technologies, interfaces, and compatibility is a costly process. The second hurdle is communication with citizens. Jeju Special Self-governing Province recently took on the digital society innovation project led by the central government. In this regard, efforts are being made to enhance communication with citizens, and various initiatives will be launched within the year to engage citizens online and empower as well as engage innovative opinion leaders offline. The third hurdle is communication, which is more about a technology gap between businesses and the government than between citizens and the government. The government should be able to absorb and implement technology issues proposed by the private sector in a timely fashion, which is not the case yet. As such, I believe public administration across the board, including that of Jeju, needs improvements. Jeju is making various efforts in the big data segment and seeking to use knowhow that the private sector has obtained, such as benchmarking the development of Night Owl Bus service in Seoul. Data quality is critical to improving data-based urban administration. The public sector generates a lot of data, yet most of it is not usable. Standard data models should be developed at the same time, which requires a significant investment of manpower. In the big data segment, data cleaning and merging is most resource-intensive. A lack of resources makes it time-consuming to generate usable data. If there had been a standard model from the beginning, it

could have facilitated the transition to a smart city and created a variety of newly accessible opportunities. However, since I joined the public service, I have come across several problems that I have not experienced in the private sector. First of all, addressing these following three issues—data quality, standards, and communication—is the prerequisite to accelerate the implementation of the smart city. I take a view different from others when it comes to the cultural and artistic aspects of the smart city. Given that the smart city needs service layers, the cultural and artistic aspects are related to UX issues.

- **BYUN Miree** The main agenda is how to continuously monitor people’s social values in a tech-heavy era and make them key actors of the smart city. I am excited that one of the presenters highlighted that there is more than one protocol for the implementation of the smart city, and a variety of flexible protocols exist according to the context of cities. Focusing more on the process than an outcome will enable the smart city to function properly. Budget constraints do exist, yet budgets will be channeled to technologies if they are considered essential to the lives of the citizens. For instance, the welfare segment is prioritized in budget allocation, reflecting the importance of welfare in people’s lives. If the smart city represents what matters to a city, an appropriate budget will be allocated to the smart city. Being “citizen-centric” is highlighted as an essential part of the smart city. Then, what does it mean being “citizen-centric”? It is the question that policymakers should put into a broader context. A smart city can be evaluated for its public nature such as mobility, health and safety, as well as its potential for creating new markets. The age of the Fourth Industrial Revolution will reshape labor, with the creation of new markets and jobs being a key part of the equation. Indeed, the value system of citizens should change to ensure that the smart city will function properly. If employment does not increase further, the issue of distribution in the labor market will raise the question of sharing. The smart city’s social values and shared values should be taken into consideration.

Key notions that the smart city pursues on the social sphere include an integrated city, an inclusive city, a fair city, and an open city. From the procedural perspective, residents in cities have such different interests that the implementation of the smart city should ensure the sharing of social values. If this is the case, the question is whether smart city initiatives, as pursued by local authorities, emphasize not only the participation of citizens, but also allow citizens to share and embrace social values that can replace capitalism. Currently, there are many conflict-prone areas. Generational conflicts may surface within the demographic structure, including an aging population and an increase in single-person households. Having said that, it is necessary to enhance society's capacity to share the social values of the smart city and pursue cooperation.

- **LEE Dongsoo** The smart city should be more about technologies. Technology-centered cities are likely to lose the initial purpose of cities. It is necessary to prepare related urban policies and engage citizens. I would like to revisit some of the aforementioned points. First, since accomplishing everything at once is impossible, implementing pilot projects and using feedback are essential. As is the case with Alphabet's Sidewalk Labs, it is necessary to execute pilot projects at a district level and incorporate feedback from pilot projects into the planning stage. Deciding the scale and level at which pilot projects are implemented is also critical. Personal information issues exist in smart city projects. With regard to the collected data, clearly defining ownership and governance is necessary. During the engagement with citizens, data ownership and privacy policies should be clearly defined in a relevant way.

- **PARK Yeon Soo** Big changes are taking place in the history of Korea's smart city. Being citizen-based holds the key to the future of smart city. The success of the smart city depends on whether it is based on citizens, not technologies. That is, citizens are instrumental to making the smart city functional, including such things as securing budgets, easing regulations, and building urban social values.

Policy Implications

- It is necessary to create a smart city that throughout its life cycle evolves in a sustainable way, encompasses the design, construction, and operation, and is backed by partnerships between the private sector, the government, and the community.
- The sustainable future of the smart city depends on being "citizen-based," which enables smart city projects to address hurdles such as budgetary constraints, regulatory issues, and new market creation.

Implementation of Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration(SDGs target 10.7) in Asia Pacific Region



Chair	Mihoko KUMAMOTO Head, UNITAR Hiroshima Office
Presenter	Lars Johan LÖNNBACK Senior Migration Policy Advisor, International Organization for Migration E. A. Edna CO Director, UNITAR CIFAL Philippines
Discussant	Leena Rikkilä TAMANG Regional Director for Asia and the Pacific, International IDEA Hussein MACARAMBON National Project Coordinator for the Integrated Programme on Fair Recruitment, ILO Philippines Samy Leroy UGUY Head Research and Development Center, Ministry of Village, Disadvantaged Areas Development and Transmigration, Indonesia
Rapporteur	CHON Jihyun Seoul National University Asia Center/Staff, KAIDEC, UNITAR CIFAL Jeju/JITC

- **Mihoko KUMAMOTO** This session's theme, "The Implementation of Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration (SDGs target 10.7) in the Asia Pacific Region," is a timely subject for a discussion in global society and a challenging task for contemporaries.

- **Lars Johan LÖNNBACK** It was the UN General Assembly and the 2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that put the refugee and migration issue on the international agenda. It was thanks to the sustainable development goal to reduce inequality that migration became a special subject for discussion. Actually, developing countries were able to grow tenfold thanks to the migration and development policy. Currently, migration is evolving into diverse patterns in a wider scope over the world. It is time to think about whether this phenomenon forebodes a crisis.

Then, what would be the driving force behind the migration and immigration in various regions? There are various factors like demography, distance shrinking, digitalization and disaster. If we study the individual factors, we can understand why and how

the phenomenon of migration occurs. Many understand migration as a result of failed development. However, that is not the case, because the phenomenon occurred to fulfill the need to find opportunities amid globalization. In fact, migration has many positive aspects. For instance, it reduces inequality or raises the income level, thus creating better living conditions. Here, we need to analyze the costs and benefits of migration and understand the remittance rates. Asia can be called the largest remittance window of the world. In the case of Nepal, for instance, remittance accounts for a large portion of its gross domestic product. The remittances from overseas contribute to the development of a country. When Nepalese workers return home and change the foreign money into local currency, it contributes to social development. Besides this, many studies confirm the positive educational effects of migration, since remittance from overseas can develop the educational system and human resources of a country.

Then, how can we make migration safe? Migration is related to the SDGs 10, "Reduce inequality

within and among countries,” and exerts strong influence on immigration reform. Migration also has close connections with education, human trafficking and employment. SDGs 8.7 and 8.8 are the goals that well-organized immigration policies should attain. The goals were reaffirmed in the UN review process. The purposes of the immigration governance framework are to effectively cope with the crisis faced by immigrants and their host societies and to devise safe and well-organized immigration policies. The three principles of the policies are 1) respect of immigrants’ rights and compliance with international norms, 2) establishment of the basis for immigration governance and pan-governmental approach and 3) strong partnership to support the immigration governance.

The migration and development policy as well as the remittance policy, in particular, should not be modeled after the trickle-down effects. If the remittances are effectively used in the developing countries, it would produce positive effects in infrastructure development projects. To implement the migration and development policy efficiently, the countries should operate programs centered on Asia-Pacific demography and policy studies, community integration, technology development, and sustainable reintegration of expats. In recognition of the role of migration in reducing poverty, they have to conduct studies on the programs.

- **Edna CO** Migration is a worldwide phenomenon, but occurs more often between the South-South regions, with 98.4 million people migrating in Asia alone. It accounts for one-third of all migrants, which underscores the sheer volume of migration in Asia. In the Asia-Pacific region, Australia has the largest number of legal immigrants. Therefore, intra-regional cooperation between countries is an important issue. Considering the fact that women account for 48% of the migrants over the world, more systematic management of migration is necessary, as the mobility of women affect their children. As Dr. Lars said, the motives of migration are as follows. In terms of demography, most countries see

big increases of the younger population except for a few countries. They migrate to make money after graduation from colleges because they find few job opportunities at home. Besides, many are migrating because of the environmental changes, conflicts, persecution, violation of human rights and natural disasters. However, they suffer again from human trafficking and other refugee problems after migration. In the case of illegal immigration, in particular, they suffer more severe difficulties without resident status. Aside from these negative aspects, migration has positive aspects such as 1) spread of multiculturalism and diversity, 2) opportunities to be economically self-reliant and 3) increase of migration-related investment. There was a report that migration continually increased investment from overseas and supported economic growth in the Philippines.

Irregular migration involves various risks, but the migrants opt for illicit means because they cannot find regular and safe migration channels. To address these problems, the countries should strengthen their capacities to manage the migration issue. They should educate the public officials involved in diplomatic affairs as well as the immigrants and their families. Second, countries should have a wide range of responsibility for immigrants. Various studies on this issue and on the human rights of immigrants are being conducted in the Philippines. Third, there should be measures to help the expats reintegrate with the societies in their homelands. These measures should also be included in the economic development plans.

- **Leena Rikkilä TAMANG** I will explain why migration occurs and its connectivity with SDGs. Indians, Mexicans and Russians constitute a large portion of all voluntary migrants. We must understand SDGs 10 and 16, in particular, more thoroughly because SDGs 16 promotes “inclusive societies for sustainable development.” Especially SDGs 16.9 is very important as it is about the legal identity and birth registration of immigrants. It takes one step further in understanding immigrants from considerations of economic aspects to social and political rights.

On the other hand, there are talks about the problems of democracy in terms of governance and policymaking, which could arise with migration. Political policies to embrace and integrate the immigrants are necessary. However, to make it easy to naturalize or obtain citizenship with various rights may cause diverse problems. For instance, to give them the rights to vote, and to engage in politics and participate in policymaking are serious controversial issues. It is hard to decide whether to grant them the same rights that nationals have. However, many countries confer the same rights to immigrants. A measure to grant them the rights to join a political party or organization has the merit of giving them a sense of belonging. Recommendations for the issue in democratic principle are as follows, and it is important to view them from democratic perspectives.

- 1) Consider a measure to grant the immigrants the political rights (to vote) for effective assimilation and to facilitate naturalization

- 2) Encourage them to join political activities as civic subjects and help their cultural understanding of the host countries

- 3) Take into consideration their potential political rights and possibility of political engagement in their homelands

- 4) Cooperate with civic groups and government agencies to fulfill the goals of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development

- 5) Make efforts to implement the global compact for safe, orderly and regular migration

- **Hussein MACARAMBON** Migrant workers do not have to pay commissions when they migrate or are employed with the assistance of ILO. Employers pay the brokerage fees when employing foreigners. They might think that the workers should pay the commission. The government should play its proper role in resolving the issue. The migrant workers should not be subject to exploitation and be exempt from the commission. They have to perform their due roles at proper places, and ILO should make efforts to abolish job-matching commissions. The fair payment system will promote the human rights of the

migrants.

- **Samy Leroy UGUY** About 70% of Indonesian migrant workers are women. They migrate mostly due to poverty. They wish to return home but cannot do so because of diverse reasons such as unpaid wages, suspended contact with their families and illegal employment. To address these problems, an initiative, called the Village Authority Fund, was set up at Indonesian villages. The Fund with two-track initiatives – Desmigratif and Desbumi – strives to fulfill the goals of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development within three years.

The Desmigratif initiative is aimed at providing an information service center, job training, and educational service for entrepreneurship in collaboration with the government agencies. It is an initiative focused on business start-up. Led by non-governmental organizations, the Desmigratif initiative also concentrates on the protection of women’s rights. The two-track initiatives are supervised by the Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration and given their roles by the Village Authority Fund. The initiatives succeeded in producing positive effects in 3,000 villages for the last three years.

Q & A

Q. All of today’s presentations were about migrants. I would like to know about the status of refugees and whether it is desirable that the refugees have the rights to work when they temporarily stay in Indonesia and Bangladesh. I would also like ask Mr. Hussein whether political rights should be granted to the temporary workers.

A. Hussein MACARAMBON As ILO is the organization that sets international labor standard, I am not in the right position to give the answer to that question. I think International Organization for Migration can give the answer. If I were to give my personal opinion, I think it is hard to provide political rights for the temporary workers. I doubt that the citizens of the host countries would agree with the social integration of temporary workers. It would take a long time

and effort for them to do so.

A. Lars Johan LÖNNBACK These issues would have to be settled in consultation with the Indonesian government officials. IOM is ready to cooperate with the Indonesian government to protect the human rights of migrant workers.

Q. There are many workers who stay in India with the assistance of ILO. But, there is a problem in that India has not ratified the ILO standards. The local communities are not aware of the household labor issue. I wonder if ILO has done anything about this.

Q. The newly introduced French reformative law on immigration in April 2018 permits immigration of asylum seekers only after they serve one year in prison. I wonder if IMO examines the safety issue of such reformative measures.

A. Lars Johan LÖNNBACK I know nothing about the French reform. But, judging by overall situations, I believe that IMO should cooperate with the French government to resolve such issues.

A. Hussein MACARAMBON Education for immi-

grants before their departure for host countries is important. To help workers in getting practical job knowledge is the role ILO has to play. ILO provides orientation programs, instead of short job training, for workers to help them adapt to the new labor environment.

A. Edna CO It would be better not to formulate comprehensive policies on migrant workers. With bilateral issues, it is possible to proceed with negotiations based on the policies of the two countries, but the comprehensive policy cannot properly address all the individual issues of concerned states.

Policy Implications

- As migration and development can reduce poverty in developing countries, there should be various studies on it.
- Cooperation between states, international organizations and concerned institutions is required for the orderly, safe and regular migration as well as for achievement of the goals of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.
- The national offices of international organizations in the Philippines and Indonesia operate diverse projects to integrate migration into national development projects and actually produced positive results.
- The migration and development policy and the remittance policy, in particular, should not be modeled after the trickle-down effects. The remittances should be properly used in the developing countries for development of the local communities.
- To implement the migration and development policy efficiently, the countries should operate programs centered on Asia-Pacific demography and policy studies, community integration, technology development, and sustainable reintegration of expats.
- Political, social and cultural rights of immigrants should be taken into consideration for the orderly, safe and regular migration.

The New Role of the Public Sector for Resource Circulation Society



Chair	KIM Tae yoon Senior Researcher, Jeju Research Institute
Moderator	KANG Young-Soo Manager, Future Biz & Investment Deputy, JDC
Presenter	Iwao TSUBOI CEO, TRIM Co.,Ltd Ralf ZAEHRINGER Deputy Head of the Environmental Protection Department, State of Freiburg, Germany
Discussant	CHUNG Soo Hyun Special Research Fellow, Korea Institute of Energy Research KWAK Jin-gyu Director, Future Biz & Investment Deputy, JDC
Rapporteur	KIM Yang-bo Director General, Environment Conservation Bureau, Jeju Special Self-governing province YOON Seunghyeon Assistant Manager, Jeju Free International City Development Center

• **Iwao TSUBOI** Roughly translated as “Do not be wasteful,” *mottainai* is a Japanese approach to the concept of waste advocated by environmentalists. “Supersol” is an extremely lightweight, porous structure that is certified as a recyclable material by the Japanese government that can be used in various areas; such as greening, insulation, horticulture, water purification, architecture and civil engineering. Our company’s Supersol is used as a material for environmentally friendly products, as well as in civil engineering projects and others, making spaces more environmentally friendly. Its distinct feature includes high water and air permeability, fire resistance and light weight. We expect to receive Japan Industrial Standards (JIS) Certification, resembling South Korea’s Korea Industrial Standard (KS) Mark Certification, around September. I had a chance to be involved in different business projects and exhibitions in Vietnam, Thailand and Indonesia. I came to realize how much Jeju and Okinawa have in common as I prepared my presentation for this session. Okinawa is slightly larger than Jeju Island – its

population is 1.2 million compared to Jeju’s 600,000, which indicates a higher population density. Both are tourist destinations, with about 1.5 million tourists visiting Jeju and about 1 million Okinawa annually. Jeju’s historical background is also similar to that of Okinawa. Okinawa was once called the Ryukyu Kingdom, and Jeju, the Tamna Kingdom. Okinawa has a god of protection similar to that of Jeju, Dol hareubang. And both islands have sad memories from World War II.

• **Ralf ZAEHRINGER** The concept of a “green city” is important because it is about combining a resource circulation economy with waste processing as a crucial factor to determine the future of a city. Germany’s Freiburg has a population of about 220,000, with 30,000 of them being students. It has advanced services, and tourism and small-sized business sectors. It is also a city of academics where strong research and development activities are creating a lot of new jobs. The Black Forest, a famous tourist attraction locally known as the Schwarzwald, is located near the city. About 40 percent of the city is

covered with trees while half of the city is designated as a natural reserve. The city has been consistently working on different environment initiatives, earning itself the title of Germany's environmental capital. Freiburg was the first German city to give up a nuclear energy-driven development strategy. The city was honored with a German environment award, "Solar Bundesliga Champion," in 2002. How did the city of Freiburg become famous as a green city? Some citizens of Freiburg staged protests against nuclear power in the 1970s, which promoted research and development in renewable energy. Currently, the city is working on the development of renewable energy from the waste heat of industrial processes. The waste heat from industrial processes and district heating systems is sent to combined heat and power (CHP) plants and recycled to produce electricity, which is then delivered in different forms to consumers in the city. The city is also working on projects to develop energy sources from waste from homes, including biogas. In Germany, waste management is taken care of by municipal governments. Every German city has launched public-private organizations to oversee waste management projects. As a result of this, Freiburg's recycling rate rose from 25% in the early 1990s to 70% today. The city, at the same time, is running waste awareness programs for kindergarten and elementary school students. The programs are designed as an investment in the city's future generations, teaching students about recycling, including how recycled products are made and how they are recycled afterwards, as well as giving them the opportunity to experience recycling. Freiburg has recently focused on a project to reduce packaging waste from the consumption of local foods. The city is actively working on the project by enlisting restaurants and other local commercial facilities. It has also signed contracts with cafeterias at workplaces in an effort to encourage citizens to consume local foods. Local food, packaged with eco-friendly materials, leaves behind less waste and is easier to collect and recycle, compared to that of regular restaurants. In addition, the city has

launched the "Coffee to Go" program, a solution to address the problem of coffee cup waste with reusable coffee cups. The reusable cups are popular as souvenirs among tourists. Freiburg is also studying ways to reduce plastic bottle waste by encouraging citizens to use less plastic water bottles. Although Freiburg's tap water is actually safe to drink, many people buy water or soda in plastic bottles. The city plans to offer tap water free of charge so that fewer citizens will use plastic bottles.

- **KIM Tae yoon** Waste management is the most challenging issue for Jeju. Waste landfills on Jeju are close to reaching their capacity limit, and the processing cost of waste is also rising fast. In these circumstances, a lot of attention is being paid to a plan by the Jeju Free International City Development Center (JDC) to develop an "Upcycling Cluster" based on the glass waste processing technology of Trim, a Japanese recycling company. Freiburg is also the most famous green city known to South Koreans. The notion of a "waste economy" was very appealing to me. The better we understand waste, I think, the better we are prepared to handle the issues of waste and other environmental challenges facing Jeju.

- **CHUNG Soo Hyun** I find JDC's plans for the recycling of waste material meaningful. Jeju's recycling rate through the separate collection of waste is relatively higher than other provinces, but the same rate through the collection of pay-as-you-throw bags is low. Freiburg's recycling rate stands at about 70%. There is an issue on Jeju with the way residents are allowed to throw glass waste into pay-as-you-go bags. Jeju's recycling rate is expected to stand at 65%, if this glass waste is recycled. The rate may reach the 70 percent threshold if plastic waste is collected separately. In Korea, a new law on resource circulation passed by the National Assembly earlier this year will be enforced next year. The law makes it compulsory for individuals to pay 15,000 won per ton of waste when discharging household waste at landfill sites. The same goes for private businesses and public institutions. It is imperative for Jeju to

increase its recycling rate for the long-term goal of an environmentally friendly Jeju. The country's first legislation on waste management took effect in 1992, to make it mandatory to use pay-as-you-throw bags, collect waste separately and provide rewards for returning empty containers, which has settled now as a daily routine. Individual citizens, businesses, public offices should cooperate on waste reduction to achieve the recycling rate of 70 percent. Public offices should improve the waste treatment system and encourage residents to comply with it. What is also important is cooperation between waste management companies and civic groups in the process of managing, transferring and processing waste. But, cooperation among residents counts most, as waste reduction will be impossible from the outset without this. As the case of Freiburg illustrates, it is important to help students recognize the value of resource circulation as early as in kindergarten or primary school. Also, there are recent voices calling for a change in the role of environmentalists. Environmental groups used to faithfully serve as watchdogs against reckless development, but their anti-development campaign is now failing to win the support of citizenry for seeming to oppose for the sake of opposition.

- **KWAK Jin-gyu** JDC's "Upcycling Cluster" initial project is aimed at setting up a recycling system to process glass waste into completely new construction materials. JDC plans to introduce Japanese technologies to fast-track the project. Items to be recycled at the planned Upcycling Cluster will include plastic bottles, tire waste, oil waste and many others. We recently conducted a survey among Jeju residents to hear their opinions about the JDC's future businesses that include the Upcycling Cluster, Smart City Test Bed, Advanced Farming and Food Complex, and Drone Businesses. The respondents cited "Upcycling Cluster" as the most urgent project, which shows widespread public concern about waste management. Some citizens raised questions about why a public corporation like the JDC should be involved in such a business. As an answer to the

question, I would to make it clear that the JDC's role is just that of a jump-starter for the project, not a main actor. I think that public institutions or private enterprises should be the final operator of the environmental project. That being said, the JDC is just in charge of the initial phase of the project so that it may end up giving benefits to the residents of Jeju. However, there is no guarantee of success in the joint efforts of the JDC and Jeju Self-governing Province. This project cannot proceed without the consent and cooperation of Jeju residents. That is why the JDC seeks cooperation with all concerned parties. We hope that the JDC's Upcycling Cluster will spread across the nation to help other local governments solve waste problems. To that end, we are working to build a unique, if not the best, recycling complex to the Jeju standard.

- **KIM Yang-bo** According to last year's environmental statistics, the average waste incineration rate on Jeju was 24.5% and the landfill rate, 18.8%; but Jeju is aiming at a zero-landfill rate. In 2015, a total of 2,860 tons of glass waste were collected on Jeju, but an annual average of 5,775 tons of glass bottles were collected since last year. A majority of this waste has been transferred to the mainland because Jeju is only capable of processing only a small portion of it. The local government's subsidies are given to companies collecting waste. The recycling of glass waste is a must on Jeju because it has little space for landfill sites. The limited space on the island also makes it difficult to benefit from economies of scale. That is why the initiative of public offices such as Jeju Province Development and JDJ is important. Also, there is a problem that Jeju suffers as a popular vacation destination - that is to get tourists to adapt to its own waste treatment system. To address this issue, the Jeju Self-Governing Province is operating a service in which house cleaners help tourists with the separate collection of waste. Jeju is also sending vinyl waste to the processing firm, Jeju Clean Energy, to produce refined oil, and 1,000 tons of this is sent to Korean Southern Power and another 1,000 tons to asphalt concrete plants in an effort to create a vir-

tuous circle of producing diesel from plastic waste. Freiburg started to open their eyes to environmental issues as early as the 1970s. In Korea, however, we only began to become aware of them in the 1990s. As a result, Jeju's recycling rate stood at 54.5% in 2016, but the rate rose to between 57% and 58% after adopting a new waste collection system under which waste is collected on a designated day. I think a major difference between Freiburg and Jeju is found in their citizens' commitment to community. In Freiburg, they collect the waste from gardening and other mass wastes only two or three times a year, but in Jeju, they collect waste almost whenever it is discharged. Many residents of Jeju are complaining about the inconvenient way waste is collected separately. However, we are not sure exactly what could be called an "inconvenience." Anyhow, Jeju is going through a change that calls for citizen's participation and concerted efforts. The more people are committed to their communities and willing to participate, the more likely the waste problems facing Jeju and other parts of the nation will be solved. Resource circulation starts at the moment each individual and household discharges waste. It is important that we do our part and continue to recognize our responsibility for the environment.

- **KIM Taeyoon** There's a saying in economics: There is no such thing as a free lunch. From the perspective

Policy Implications

- Cooperation between public administration, citizens and businesses, coupled with Jeju residents' shared commitment, are vital in helping Jeju society better address resource circulation and other issues in this transition to a recycling society.
- With regard to the Upcycling Cluster project, the JDC should successfully complete the initial stage of its project to recycle glass waste into useful material.
- It is necessary to see waste as economic goods, which means all the garbage we discharge everyday can be turned into useful resources.
- As seen in the case of Freiburg, it is important to give future generations experience-oriented education on resources recycling to build a recycling society.

of the "economics of waste," the environment wasn't given to us for nothing. At first, I thought about the JDC's "Upcycling Cluster" project in a negative light. But it occurred to me here that the production from Japan's Trim, the public administration of Jeju and the participation of Jeju residents might combine to contribute to the environmental growth of Jeju. It is the public administration's job, an important job, to encourage citizens to get involved and to do their part so that waste management will not cause any inconvenience to them. I expect recycling assistance centers will help reduce the inconvenience caused by the weekly waste collection system.

Asian Networks and Development Cooperation



Opening Remarks	KIM Bok-Hee Director General, Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA) Academy
Chair	LEE Heejin Professor, Yonsei University/KAIDEC
Presenter	XU Xiuli Professor, China Agricultural University/China International Development Research Network(CIDRN) Hisahiro KONDOH Professor, Saitama University/The Japan Society for International Development(JASID) MOON Kyungyon Professor, Chonbuk National University/KAIDEC
Discussant	KIM Sunggyu Senior Research Fellow, Seoul National University Asia Center/KAIDEC KWON Gusoon Professor, Seoul Cyber University/KAIDEC YOON Yuri Researcher, KOICA
Rapporteur	CHON Jihyun Seoul National University Asia Center/Staff, KAIDEC

- **KIM Bok-Hee** This session provides China, Japan, and Korea with the opportunity to present where they stand on development cooperation in the Asian region to promote a better understanding of networking and future directions. I hope this session will help define and clarify the roles of respective countries, contributing to a restoration of peace in Asia through tripartite cooperation. It is particularly important to set common goals with binding power to maintain these networks in optimal conditions. Tripartite cooperation will be understood as instrumental to achieve these goals. I hope this session will bring attention to the related factors.

- **Xuili XU** On behalf of China Agricultural University, I am going to introduce how "South-South cooperation" is being implemented. Development cooperation has undergone a number of changes over the past few years. In China, various discussions have been held in the field of development cooperation such as the One Belt One Road initiative, which led to the establishment of several institutions. Changes

have taken place at such a rapid pace that it raises the question as to whether experts on international development cooperation are ready to tackle recent developments. As for international development cooperation, one should examine where the expert knowledge originated and how it can be improved. A variety of international development cooperation projects are underway in China, especially in the southeastern region. Notably, according to annual reports published by the Communist Party, development remains on top of the national agenda in 2018. Accordingly, the country's expertise on international development cooperation is understood as a matter of utmost importance.

One may ask what efforts the China International Development Research Network (CIDRN) has made to manage such critical matters. CIDRN has shifted its focus from domestic development to overseas aid. With a three-decades-long history in international development cooperation, CIDRN has developed its track record through various projects at home and

abroad, and in cooperation with multi-lateral organizations and non-government organizations. Based on such experiences, CIDRN has provided various countries with consulting services and conducted related research. Over the past decade, CIDRN has offered various training programs and established international development cooperation networks for China's overseas projects. CIDRN promotes cooperation between researchers at home and abroad to effectively facilitate networking. In particular, such cooperation and research provide appropriate consulting services to China's policymakers.

- **Hisahiro KONDOH** With China's social and economic rise since the 1980s, Japan has seen a growing role and accountability in international cooperation. However, Japan endured a severe shortage of expertise and capabilities in this regard. Academic knowledge, being individual and sporadic, was not functional, leading to a constant call for integration. To this end, the Japan Society for International Development (JASID) was needed to serve as a platform. JASID's membership numbered 800 people in the early 1990s and since the 2000s has surged to 1,800. With a growing membership base, JASID has been enhancing its influence through cooperation with various government organizations. More than 50 percent of research topics are related to politics and public administration. JASID's research primarily cover countries in Southeast Asia, South Asia, and East Asia.

Various Japanese organizations, including JASID, continue to participate in international exchanges. They do so because according to international relations theory, such exchanges lay the foundation for mutual reliance and future cooperation for world peace. Such functional exchanges can be viewed as a "win-win" strategy. Indeed, from the perspective of mutual reliance, countries can reduce uncertainties through cooperation. In addition, the expansion of relations should bring stability and benefits to related organizations. One such example is JASID and KAIDEC. The two organizations stand to benefit through flexible and timely communication in the

field of international development cooperation.

- **MOON Kyungyon** Domestic and overseas academic societies, which play a key role in international exchanges and cooperation, are facing a number of challenges. The first is how to put international development cooperation theories into practice, and how to make use of various policies and implications derived through international cooperation as well as academic knowledge. The second challenge is the sustainability of programs. Despite efforts to build sustainable exchange programs through various tracks, government subsidies are drying up. For example, the Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA) will no longer be able to receive subsidies from 2019. The third challenge is undertaking international development cooperation and research projects between Asian academics. Whether experts in Asia can conduct joint research depends on the availability of research funding. I believe ensuring the continuation of joint research and academic projects is essential. It is important to provide effective policies through joint research and communication between knowledge-rich academic experts and those working in development cooperation.

- **KIM Sunggyu** China's various kinds of support to Africa should be viewed in a positive light. Although there are skeptics that the One Belt One Road initiative serves only China's interest, I believe the policy should be seen from the perspective of the bigger picture, as China is assisting in building Africa's infrastructure. Notably, it should be noted that how CIDRN can influence, advise, and support the process. Of course, CIDRN is not without limitations. Its status as an informal organization can be a problem. The organization's flexible nature is both its strength and weakness. In the case of China, most organizations related to international development cooperation are informal, which raises the question of whether the Chinese government will not authorize them, or whether this is characteristic of Chinese society overall. In addition, it is questionable if the sharing of China's past experiences with developing countries is still relevant today, when a new econom-

ic development model is emerging. It is CIDRN's role to answer this question through its research efforts. It is also necessary to remove the gap between international development cooperation communities within China. Economic aspects cannot be overlooked when it comes to international exchanges and cooperation. Funding structures are vital to holding joint meetings or conducting joint research. Understanding the circumstances of respective countries and seeking joint funding opportunities will make a significant contribution to the promotion of international cooperation.

- **KWON Gusoon** Going forward, China is set to emerge as a superpower in development cooperation. China, Japan, and Korea should work together to promote peace and development in Asia. KOICA and KAIDEC have been very active in this regard. Notably, KAIDEC is devoting 4 percent of its budget to peace-building efforts. It is necessary to devise ways to build peace in conflict-torn countries with a vulnerable social structure to make best use of financial resources.

- **YOON Yuri** Currently, KOICA's ODA researchers are striving to implement effective international development cooperation projects and establish an efficient platform. This session enabled KOICA to better understand what roles the three organizations should play academically and to see that more networking is instrumental to increasing the efficiency of international development cooperation projects and research. I would like to ask what our colleagues from Korea, Japan, and China picture for the future regarding the direction of cooperation, outlook, and orientation.

- **MOON Kyungyon** Going forward, KAIDEC is committed to creating more effective networks and building peace by working with academic institutions in Korea, China, and Japan, as well as government organizations such as KOICA and EDCF. We should think about how the Korean Peninsula will serve as a window of knowledge and a channel for peace building efforts. Funding is essential to achieve these goals. However, without external sup-

port, it would be extremely difficult for KAIDEC to continue its related projects and research. Given that KAIDEC has academic and professional knowledge and platforms, I hope financial support from external sources will continue.

- **Xuili XU** Let me first answer the previous questions. First of all, China has been actively undertaking projects in Africa. There was a growing voice of criticism that China should learn ODA knowhow from Japan, and that it is too early to provide assistance to Africa. Discussions on the economy, military, politics, and development should be held to ensure that the tripartite partnership will have a positive impact on international development cooperation. If international cooperation and exchanges take place across these areas, it will enable the three countries to determine substantive and positive practices.

Policy Implications

- Korea, China, and Japan are effectively building networks to bring peace to Asia. Notably, experts from KAIDEC (Korea), JASID (Japan), and CIDRN (China) continue to collaborate with each other. Such cooperation and research enable respective institutions to accumulate comprehensive knowledge in international development cooperation and provide related consulting services to those working in development cooperation. The tripartite partnership has a positive impact on networking and restoring peace in Asia.
- Funding is essential to ensure that such international exchanges will continue. Using academic knowledge and platforms requires funding from various sources.
- Meanwhile, international exchanges are challenging. Continuous funding is needed to address these challenges. Solutions should be devised in a timely fashion, given that effective policies can be developed through joint research between knowledge-rich academic experts and those working in development cooperation.
- Furthermore, China, Korea, and Japan should identify opportunities for international cooperation and collaboration with government organizations to build peace in Asia more effectively.

Korea-China Climate Change Cooperation Seminar



Congratulatory Remarks	YOO Yeonchul Ambassador for Climate Change, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Li Gao Director General, Department of Climate Change, Ministry of Ecology and Environment of People's Republic of China
Moderator/Discussant	LEE Tong-Q Deputy Director-General, Climate Change, Energy, Environment and Scientific Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Presenter/Discussant	LIM Seoyoung Manager, Korea Environment Corporation BAE Jaesoo Director of Forest Industry Division, National Institute of Forest Science LIU Feng Deputy Director, Department of Climate Change, Ministry of Ecology and Environment of People's Republic of China
Rapporteur	PYON Jeonghye Third Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

- **YOO Yeonchul** Climate change is a man-made problem and thus can be addressed by man. However, it takes not just an individual or a country but also the entire world to tackle climate change. Countries will be able to achieve the objectives of the Paris Agreement when they advance collective—not individual—interests. The Korea-China Environmental Cooperation Center opened its doors in Beijing, China on June 25, 2018. The center will serve as a platform where bilateral discussions can be held on the Blue Sky Project and other joint projects, consolidating bilateral cooperation in climate change and other environmental issues. Notably, recent political developments on the Korean Peninsula have highlighted the possibility of promoting cooperation between the two Koreas and in the region. Korea and China are expected to play a central role in regional cooperation on climate change.

- **LI Gao** Domestically, China has enhanced its policies to mitigate climate change by planting trees, introducing low-carbon policies, and promoting

non-fossil fuels. Notably, the Chinese central government will play a managerial and monitoring role, while empowering local governments in their fight against climate change. China has already implemented low-carbon pilot projects, which should expand further. Globally, China plans to collaborate with various countries—including Korea—through multilateral frameworks such as the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) to counter climate change. In particular, China is set to work harder for developing countries. At the same time, China is supporting its people to help reduce climate change and promote green growth. The Joint Committee on the Korea-China Climate Change Cooperation is expected to increase non-governmental exchanges between the two countries and encourage its citizens to participate in fighting climate change.

- **BAE Jaesoo** Korea's deforestation is attributable to fundamental and direct causes. Fundamental causes include the separation of the two Koreas (1945), the

outbreak of the Korean War (1950–1953), population growth, poverty, slow growth, and weak governance. Direct causes include a heavy reliance on fossil fuels for residential use, slash-and-burn farming, and illegal logging. Currently, Korea's forest coverage rate has nearly doubled since the 1950s to 63 percent, as Korea sought to fight deforestation through various efforts such as the use of non-fossil fuels for residential use, rural-urban migration, state-led forest reclamation policy, steady economic growth, and large-scale government-led reforestation. Forest transition refers to a turnaround in which a net loss swings to a net increase in terms of forest area. Take this example from Korea: if the government sets a clear goal and induces residents to join extensive reforestation programs, forest transition will be able to take place even over the short term. In 2015, Korea's Intended Nationally Determined Contributions (INDCs) covered energy, industrial processes and product use, agriculture, and waste with a 2030 target of reducing greenhouse gas emissions by 37 percent from business-as-usual (BAU) levels. Korea will partly use carbon credits from international market mechanisms to achieve its 2030 mitigation target. During the period 2017 and 2027, the net CO₂ absorption capacity of forests is estimated at 30 to 40 tonnes every year, suggesting a huge potential in greenhouse gas reductions. The upcoming INDC will determine whether to include land-use, land use change, and forestry (LULUCF). If forests become vulnerable to climate change, it will be impossible to reduce greenhouse gases. Given this, the concept of adaptation is important. Korea has established and been implementing the second National Climate Change Adaptation Measures (2016–2020). Adaptation measures include the establishment of forest and climate observation, monitoring and analyzing systems, monitoring of changes in forest ecosystems, forest preservation and restoration, prevention and reduction of forest diseases, and productivity of short-term income-earning forest products. Following the introduction of the ETS Act in 2013, Korea implemented a greenhouse gas ETS in 2015 and

revised related enforcement decrees in 2016, making it possible to register forest carbon credit projects as ETS offset projects by aligning forest carbon offset schemes with ETS. Businesses, local governments, and forest owners voluntarily seek to increase carbon sink to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Forest carbon offset schemes, through which the government recognizes carbon uptake, include forestation, reforestation, revegetation in urban areas, prevention of forest conversion, use of wood products, and forest biomass energy. As of June 2018, 159 projects are registered. By project type, forestation and reforestation account for the largest share at 38 percent. When these projects are implemented, the forest management segment is expected to generate the largest amount of carbon credits (98 percent).

- **LIU Feng** Efforts to mitigate climate change can lead to localized pollutant emission cuts (SO₂, nitrogen compounds, carbon monoxide, volatile organic compounds, and granular particulate matter) in the process of reducing CO₂ emissions or CO₂ emission cuts in the process of reducing local pollutant emissions. Accordingly, measures to prevent air pollution may lead to an increase in CO₂ emissions, or measures to reduce CO₂ emissions may result in an increase in pollutant emissions. Preventing such unintended outcomes requires the implementation of policies to generate synergistic effects between pollutant emission cuts and CO₂ emission cuts. To this end, consideration should be given to more than those responsible for greenhouse gas emissions and environment protection. Those related to economic growth and environmental protection—development/reform, transportation, agriculture, forestry, IT and construction—should play a leading role. Related policies must be pursued in a compatible way. In addition, cooperation and coordination should be enhanced in energy-intensive, high-pollution, and resource-consuming industries such as electricity, thermal power, chemical engineering, transportation, coal/gas drilling, and construction. According to a Chinese science research institute, for every 1 tonne reduction in CO₂, 3.2 kilograms of SO₂ and

2.8 kilograms of nitrogen compound emissions are reduced. The introduction of clean energy, industry restructuring, energy efficiency improvement and green transportation policies, Beijing will be able to cut 185,000 tonnes of SO₂, 415,000 tonnes of nitrogen compounds, and 56,000 tonnes of PM₁₀ emissions through 2020. With the implementation of Ten Actions in China's 2013-2017 Air Pollution Prevention and Control Action Plan, China slashed the share of coal in the primary energy mix to 60 percent and total coal consumption volumes to 300 million tonnes. In addition, China has achieved pollutant emission cuts by retiring 20 million old vehicles. Policy options include 1) the establishment of binding laws and regulations, 2) offering economic incentives; 3) policy promotion and guidance. Specific measures include 1) the improvement and upgrade of existing institutions (including coordination and collaboration across different sectors); 2) the exclusion of synergistic effects in the calculation of greenhouse gases and pollutant emissions; 3) development of related technologies; 4) implementation of efficient policies in respective areas; and 5) establishment of binding, long-term plans for pollutant emission cuts. China has been implementing related policies. Article 2 of the 2015 amendments to the Air Pollution Prevention and Control Law sets provisions for collaboration and control with regard to air pollutants and greenhouse gases. The Ministry of Ecology and Environment became responsible for climate change from March 2018, providing institutional support for cooperation and control policies. Institutionally, policies to reduce the use of coal fuel can be also implemented. As is the case with advanced countries, it is also possible to consider introducing policies which regulate greenhouse gases as pollutants. As carbon emissions are mostly generated by fossil fuels, the sources of carbon emissions and air pollutants are similar. Carbon markets allow businesses to enhance energy efficiency and reduce carbon footprints by improving energy structure, saving energy, and adopting low-carbon/new energy technologies.

The introduction of ETS in China was attributable to 1) a Sino-U.S. joint statement on climate change; 2) a comprehensive reform plan for ecosystem development; 3) a greater focus on climate change mitigation measures to achieve INDC targets; and 4) China's third Five-Year Economic and Social Development Plan. China's National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC) designated seven areas—Beijing, Chongqing, Guangdong, Hubei, Shanghai, Tianjin, and Shenzhen—as pilot sites to implement ETS and launched a carbon credit trading system in December 2017. China defines carbon markets as a policy tool to control greenhouse gas emissions and set basic principles by underlining the market-based guidelines, adopting multi-layered gradual approaches, using integration standards and ensuring transparency, and engaging a wide range of stakeholders. The stable operation of carbon markets requires a three-phase framework. The first phase is infrastructure building, encompassing a carbon emissions reporting system, a nation-wide integrated data transmission system, a registration system, and a trading system. The second phase is the pilot run, where the power generation industry's emission quota trading is simulated, and the efficiency and reliability of respective stages are monitored to enhance the market risk prevention system and complete related systems. The third phase is completion and in-depth development, which enables spot transactions on emission allowances and gradually expands the scope of trading markets, items, and methods on the premise of transaction stability. China is committed to enhancing its capacity to protect the ecosystem and environment and to expanding its policy changes in the industrial and energy segments to mitigate air pollution based on reduction targets for CO₂, nitrogen compounds and PM_{2.5}, and completing the legal frameworks for ETS and regulatory systems. In addition, specific policy measures will be prepared to enhance joint management. China will enhance policies to reduce the emissions of greenhouse gases (CO₂ and carbon), while implementing cross-regulations, and expanding pilot districts.

- **LIM Seoyoung** Korea's carbon market follows the government's effective carbon emission control policy, which enables significant cuts in greenhouse gas emissions at a lower cost, and allows businesses, which are policy targets, to make decisions flexibly. Moreover, it is very important that in accordance with the "polluter pays" principle, the party responsible for producing pollution is held liable for the social and economic costs resulting from greenhouse gas emissions. The Korean ETS is very complicated, as the government devises allocation plans for emission rights, and businesses compare their credits with emission volumes, to come to a decision. However, Korea was the first among Non-Annex I countries to voluntarily set a high target for its greenhouse gas emission cuts and proactively introduced ETS. Korea has faced growing pressure from the international community to reduce its greenhouse gas emissions, which has increased in tandem with rapid economic growth. However, given the Korean economy's heavy reliance on international trade and the manufacturing sector, Korea should secure flexibility to mitigate the impact of greenhouse gas emission cuts on the industry. This will help achieve cost efficiency and leadership in ETS, which has a complicated mechanism. Following the Phase I ETS (2015–17), Korea has entered the Phase II ETS (2018–20), introducing new credit auction methods and foreign credits, and expanding the scope of industries to which benchmark is applicable. From 2021 onwards, the government plans to operate ETS with a five-year time frame. Despite the lack of trust in ETS in Korea, Korea is set to augment Phase III, learning from mistakes made during the Phase I-II. In the case of foreign credits, Phase II allows for the use of a certified emission reduction (CER) generated through an overseas clean development mechanism (CDM) by companies in which Korean companies have a 20 percent stake or more. Korea's ETS transaction volumes have increased since the start, and emission credits are trading at 25 to 26 dollars, the highest level in the world. However, allocating emission rights based on past emissions has a

side effect because heavy emitters are awarded larger emission rights. Accordingly, Korea is seeking to develop an emission coefficient to better reflect its emission control performance. Korea and China recognize each state's right to decide, in accordance with the Paris Agreement, a document that values pluralism. Nevertheless, it is necessary for the two countries to work out ways to promote environmental soundness and contain greenhouse gas emissions by introducing market mechanisms. In addition, given that both Korea and China have launched national ETSs, they should devise ways to mutually recognize domestically-generated CERs as offset credits, consider sectoral approaches advocated by the EU, and operate cross-border ETS over the long term. Notably, all countries have targets for emission cuts when they implement emission reduction projects. It will be a realistic option for the two countries to make joint investments in emission cuts and share credits, as is the case with a profit-sharing scheme under the Kyoto Protocol.

- **BAE Jaesoo** **Methods to counter damage to forests:** Unlike Australia or Canada, Korea is not fraught with natural disasters. Forest destruction are mostly due to man-made causes such as fire. To tackle such challenges, Korea has introduced a buffer system under which a reserve of about 20 percent is available for use, if necessary. In addition, forestation and reforestation is also used to help repair damage to forests.

- **LIM Seoyoung** **Korea's carbon market management, supervision, and credit approval certification methods:** In Korea, the Korea Environment Cooperation is responsible for managing and overseeing the carbon markets and certifying greenhouse gas emissions approvals and checking emissions quotas allocated to businesses. According to the Greenhouse Gas Inventory and Research Center's report, ETS was effective in reducing greenhouse gas emissions. However, allocating allowances on the basis of past emissions (grandfathering) was found to be problematic. As such, the government plans to introduce and expand a benchmark method, which is based on

industry-specific facility efficiency, to induce businesses to voluntarily reduce carbon emissions.

- **LIU Feng** **China's international exchange in carbon markets:** China launched ETS in 2017. First of all, China will devise carbon market operation measures with a focus on reducing greenhouse gas emissions by Chinese companies and plans to gradually expand the scope and value of transactions. Moreover, there were exchanges between China's pilot districts for carbon transactions, but not without differences on the distribution of emissions. However, it provided an opportunity to adjust quota levels, which should facilitate exchanges and coordination of ETS methods in the Northeast Asian market, including Korea.

Policy Implications

- Korea and China hold the Joint Committee on the Korea-China Climate Change Cooperation every year in accordance with the Climate Change Cooperation Agreement which the two nations entered in January 2015. The joint committee should be held in a way that facilitates in-depth discussions in key areas of interest and topics through expert presentations and discussions on climate change countermeasures.
- Korea and China have similar experiences in that the two countries have restored damaged forests through state-led initiatives. These past experiences will enable the two countries to expand their partnership in the forest segment to counter climate change through private-led reforestation programs.
- With the launch of ETS in December 2017, China has enhanced its low-carbon policies and is working to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. It is necessary for Korea to identify ways to cooperate with China in connection with Korea's ETS.

Chapter FOUR

아시아의 평화 재정립
Reengineering Peace for Asia **DIVERSITY**

The Role and the Vision of Island Universities in the Asia-Pacific Region for a Sustainable Island Development



Moderator **LEE Byung-Gul** Acting Vice President for International Affairs, Jeju National University
Discussant **SONG Seok-Eon** President, Jeju National University
Elsa P. MANAPAAC President, Western Philippines University
KOH Chung-Suk President, Jeju International University
UENG Jinn-Pyng President, National Penghu University of Science & Technology
Austin P. SHELTON III Executive Director, UOG Center for Island Sustainability/Director, UOG Sea Grant, University of Guam
Rapporteur **YANG Geum-Hee** Graduate Student of the Department of Political Science and Diplomacy, Jeju National University

• **SONG Seok-Eon** The Role and the Vision of Island Universities in the Asia-Pacific Region for Sustainable Island Development The regions of Asia, except Central Asia, are surrounded by seas, including the Pacific Ocean, and all of their industries and cultures have experienced ups and downs as a result of their relations with the sea. As such, the countries in those regions should pursue expansion and opening to the world via the sea. Meanwhile, island signifies a position of isolation and challenge. Depending on how this position is approached, island can enterprise on the path of prosperity, or of decline. Island can develop the global culture and civilization that links the whole world, without remaining isolated, if it seeks international expansion through the sea and establishes organic relationships with other regions based on solidarity and the spirit of cooperation. The universities on islands can also play an important role in such a process of development. They protect and research science, civilization and traditional culture while contributing to the cultivation of global human resources. As the island universities perform the multiple roles of establishing political, economic,

social and cultural connections with the world, it is incumbent on the universities to determine how to pursue change and reform on the island. Talented graduates of island universities enter into every sector of the island and lead the island's development. Therefore, island universities should not only pursue research and education specific to the island, but also establish a network with universities in Korea and abroad to further their research and education.

Jeju National University is currently expanding its academic exchange with its counterparts in foreign islands such as the University of Hawaii, the University of Guam, the University of the Ryukyus in Japan, Hainan University in China, Udayana University in Bali, Indonesia, Western Philippines University in the Philippines, and National Penghu University of Science and Technology in Taiwan. In addition, it plans to strengthen its network with other island universities in Thailand, Vietnam and Malaysia.

Global marine ecology is undergoing drastic changes due to climate change. The pollution of the ocean by micro-plastics and coastal pollution is spreading to and rapidly deteriorating polar regions

including the Antarctic. This poses a serious challenge to the improvement of the quality of life, a key task on the sustainable development agenda of the UN.

To prepare for global environmental change, island universities should play a central role in studying and understanding the marine environment. I hope that the Island University Forum, which started today, will contribute significantly to finding ways to solve these global problems. The beginning of this forum is a small step, but we will do our best to obtain great achievements in the future.

• **Elsa P. MANAPAAC** Palawan, known as 'the outpost of the last ecosystem of the Philippines,' is suffering from typhoons and environment pollution despite the existence of environmental laws. Recognized as one of the most sustainable and environment-friendly schools in the period from 2013 to 2017, Western Philippines University is committed to the vision of becoming a sustainable and leading knowledge center, devoting itself to the ecological movement in the western Philippines and beyond. The university is developing a more environmentally friendly curriculum and propelling the sustainable development of Palawan Island. It is also strengthening cooperation with universities as well as encouraging participation of stakeholders.

Western Philippines University should be active in addressing the ecological threats faced by the Asia-Pacific region, including Palawan Island. Our lives as lifetime island residents are governed by the environmental conditions of our islands. We must be able to provide a vision of sustainability to future generations through non-destructive development. The university has the power to make islands sustainable.

• **UENG Jinn-Pyng** Penghu Island is located in the Taiwan Strait, 50 km from Taiwan and 140 km from Eurasia. The island has developed fishing and tourism industries but suffers from the depletion of marine resources and a limited tourist season. Because of overfishing, most of the island's marine life remains scarce. The tourist season in Penghu is

limited to late April through mid-October. Wastes floating on the shores of Penghu are also destroying the ecosystem.

Universities should not only produce academic and research talents but take responsibility, along with national and local governments, for the improvement of society and communities. National Penghu University of Science and Technology administers education on conservation of marine ecology to help investigate the consequences of resource depletion due to overfishing and to raise awareness of ecological preservation, as well as being devoted to the restoration of local marine species. It cooperates with the Taiwanese government to establish an ocean preservation zone. It also supports the Taiwanese government's tourism promotion policy. To enhance the quality of tourism in Penghu, the university produces tourism talents and provides well-designed educational programs. In addition, it conducts studies on traditional culture such as stone walls of Taiwan to develop inherited local culture and provides tourists and the local government with instructions on history and tourism by combining intelligent information and technology. The university has formed a close partnership with other regions and has contributed to the island's ecological, economic and cultural development, thus serving as an indispensable companion of the island off Taiwan's coast.

• **Austin P. SHELTON III** Guam is a U.S. territory in the Pacific Ocean, 2,900 km southwest of Jeju Island. The 544-km² island is the largest and most populous island in the western Pacific region of Micronesia. As the Pacific region grapples with serious environmental and sustainability issues, Guam is suffering from the same difficulties. The island communities in the region are at the forefront of rapid environmental changes, represented by rising sea levels, food shortage, and more frequent and powerful storms. The island communities are also experiencing environmental turmoil caused by pollution, land abuse, and so on. In response to these challenges, the University of Guam established the

Island Sustainability Center in 2009. It has become a key institution in developing island-based models in the Pacific region of Micronesia to meet the needs of island communities in the broader areas of the environment, economy, society, and education. The annual meeting on the Island Sustainability and Grants Program, hosted by the Center for 10 years, helps in leading the island communities towards a sustainable future.

The island environment requires an island-based model to respond to the reality of the island and achieve sustainability. Even though the islanders have not caused the climate change, they are the ones suffering the most from it. Local governments of the islands cannot force central governments to cut carbon emissions, but they can do so in their own regions. Scientific studies have shown that the island community can increase its resilience to the impacts of climate change by reducing the cause of environmental damages. Island universities are the institution that can develop innovative strategies and solutions through research and student training to reduce the factors of local environmental stress. And as we have gathered at this forum in Jeju, island universities can share ideas and raise awareness of the problems to bring about change to local communities in their own gathering.

- **KOH Chung-Suk** In past civilizations, island has been in the periphery, but in the 21st century it has become the center of civilization. Yet islands are suffering tremendously. They are beset by a rapid increase in tourism, environmental pollution and water shortages. Rising sea levels due to climate change is also a serious issue. Not only the islands but also city-states are suffering from the sea-level rise. Jeju Island is no exception. Environmental security means the ability to survive. As a collective intelligence, Asian island universities need to cooperate with each other for environmental conservation and sustainable island development. Asia-Pacific islands have much to cooperate on. It is worthwhile for the island universities to jointly conduct research on the natural conditions and histories of the islands. It is also necessary

to develop educational programs linked to the Fourth Industrial Revolution and joint research programs on the future of the islands. The universities should also take the initiative to work out measures to cope with climate change. How to utilize the unique resources of islands is also subject to the joint research of island universities. In the case of Jeju, it is necessary to study the use of resources such as various marine life, wind power and water resources.

The island universities will have a competitive edge over their mainland counterparts when they study with a concrete purpose the identity of islands that the latter cannot afford to. It will produce a synergistic effect if they study the island crisis jointly with other Asian universities. It is necessary for them to develop main educational subjects; discover research topics common to island universities;

Policy Implications

- In the 21st century, the Age of the Ocean, the island-states in Asia should cooperate with each other for sustainable prosperity of islands by sharing the philosophy of challenge and expansion.
- Islands have many demerits such as isolation, limited resources, shortage of water and ocean pollution, but can tide over the disadvantages with a network of cooperation and coexistence.
- The openness, communicative competence, cooperation and inter-dependency of islands can solve the multi-layered problems in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres.
- At the heart of the communicative competence and prosperity of islands is the key role of universities, which also have the task of producing global talents.
- Island universities should not only pursue research and education specific to the island, but also establish a network with universities in Korea and abroad to further their research and education.
- To prepare for the global environmental change, island universities should play a central role in studying and understanding the marine environment.
- Island universities identify changes in the global maritime environment and ecology earlier than any others and are in a geographical position to play the role of foothold in marine environmental research. Therefore, it is necessary for island universities to lead the study on the ocean's ecological environment.

exchange students and professors to expand the horizon of the perception about the islands; hold seminars; and provide opportunities for students and professors to visit Asian island regions to learn about the island realities, which may lead to civic activism to protect island environment.

The island was in the periphery until the 20th century but became thereafter the center of a region. Islands face a crisis, but they also have an opportunity. If we study islands systematically and scientifically by sharing a vision and perspectives and establish a research network to diagnose and prescribe solutions to the crisis of the islands, it will contribute to the progress of humanity. It is hoped that the island universities will contribute to humanity by forming an organization for substantive exchanges and cooperation.

Path to Reconciliation, Coexistence and Happiness for Jeju Islanders



Moderator	KIM Suk-Beom Director, KCTV Jeju Broadcasting co.
Video Message	Jean-Marie Gustave LE CLÉZIO Nobel Laureate of Literature in 2008
Keynote Speech/Discussant	SUH Myung-Sook CEO & Chairperson, Jeju Olle Foundation
Discussant	MOON Sori Actress, Movie Director
	SONG Ki-Jeong Professor, Ewha Womans University
Rapporteur	AHN Hyunmi Representative, Story AHN, Jeju Province/Jeju Peace Institute/Jeju Olle Foundation

• **LE CLÉZIO (video message)** I am truly saddened to say that I cannot visit Jeju Island to see you. I cannot attend the Jeju Forum because health complications do not allow me to travel long distances. I really love Jeju Island. Jeju is a place that has its own spirit, courage and virtue. Particularly, the island is home to an amazing people, the women working at sea, haenyeo (women divers). Jeju is also known for its long and rich tradition of art and literature. There are also many gods, fairies and spirits blessing the island. No other place in Korea or in the world provides a venue more befitting peace talks than this island.

It reminds me of Mauritius, a small country that is the motherland of my ancestors. Both people on Jeju Island and Mauritius who have waded through adversity have dauntless courage and willpower in common.

In my view, Jeju is a very special and important place, as it can usher in peace in the future and contribute to the advancement of culture and literature.

There will be another meeting on Jeju for world peace, especially for the fight against all nuclear

weapons. In this respect, I hope you have many successful encounters at this year's Jeju Forum.

• **KIM Suk-Beom** Anyone who lives on Jeju Island loves the Jeju Olle Trail. It is Suh Myung-sook, chairperson of the Jeju Olle Foundation, that blazed the trail. Quitting her 23-year career as a journalist, she embarked on a solitary pilgrimage to the Way of St. James (Camino de Santiago) when she turned 50. On the pilgrimage, she was reminded of her hometown on Jeju. She decided to make a "more beautiful and peaceful road than the Way of St. James" and started to blaze a trail after establishing the Jeju Olle Foundation. The foundation completed opening a 425 km-long foot path that circles the island in November 2012. In addition to the regular 21 courses, the Olle Trail also opened on Udo and Chuja-do Islands, and even on foreign soils in Mongolia, Japan and Turkey.

• **SUH Myung-Sook** I'm pleased to have this opportunity to talk about the Olle paths to those from overseas. You can circumambulate Jeju Island in 26 days by walking on 21 regular courses, constructed over 10 years, and five alpha courses. On Jeju, there were

roads on which the ancestors used to tread, the way that haenyeo (women divers) took to get to the sea, and the way to schools. I connected and transformed these scattered roads into a flat trail anyone could use without difficulty. It is a multi-purpose road where you can see the nature of the island, meet the village people and discover the history, unique culture of Jeju, and haenyeo.

While attending university in Seoul, I did not think that I would live on Jeju again. I worked as a journalist for 30 years. But when I turned 50, I quit the job and embarked on the pilgrimage. During that period, my hometown on Jeju came to my mind. I began to think about Jeju tourism and came back to Korea with a pledge to go back to Jeju to blaze a trail. I formulated a plan to create a circular road along the coast by connecting unpaved roads away from the streets. To help tourists communicate with the people of Jeju, I connected the villages with the Olle courses. The Olle roads pass 100 native villages so that walkers can see the lives of Jeju people and discover the hidden features of the UNESCO-recognized Jeju nature. Such a connection is what distinguishes the Olle roads from other trails in the world.

In the earlier days, news media and many others expressed skepticism regarding the Olle Trail. It was very hard and painful, but I constantly recalled the Jeju proverb on life, "If you keep living, you can manage to live." Now, Mongolians, Japanese and Vietnamese have their own Olle courses. I will continue to spread Jeju Olle to the world.

• **KIM Suk-Beom** You all are known to have deep affection for Jeju Island. What does Jeju mean to each of you?

• **SUH Myung-Sook** When it comes to Jeju, many think about Mt. Halla. But, it is all about the sea. I am always reminded of the sea, possibly because I have lived near the Seogwipo coast. Whenever I see the sea, I feel much relieved. The better part of what raised me was the wind. Hence, when it comes to Jeju, it is all about the sea and the wind.

• **MOON Sori** It has not been long that I have had a special attachment to Jeju. I have walked only five

Olle courses after a chance meeting with chairperson Suh, and I am just starting to fall in love with Jeju. I am from Busan. I grew up seeing the sea and feeling the wind all the time. When I was in sixth grade, my family moved to Seoul to get out of poverty. I often felt stifled in Seoul and remember a short story by Oh Yeong-su, "Gaenmaeul (The Seaside Village)" in which the female protagonist, who went mad during her stifling married life, talks to the sea. I have cried when reading that part. The sea of Busan is not what it used to be after many tall buildings were erected around Haeundae Beach. On Jeju, the buildings are mostly low-rise, with the sky remaining the old sky and land being the old land. So, it is comforting at the moment I get off the plane. Jeju is like the warm arms of my grandmother hugging me. When nestled in the bosom of Seolmundae Halmang (a mythical figure of Jeju folk tales), it feels as if I fill up the void inside myself. Now, I am developing a special attachment to Jeju.

• **SONG Ki-Jeong** When it comes to Jeju, I visualize the black basalt, particularly the wall loosely built with basalt rocks. The basalt walls, the green barley fields and the blue skies are a touching scene to me.

• **KIM Suk-Beom** I wonder how Prof. Song came to know Le Clézio.

• **SONG Ki-Jeong** South Korea is the first country that Le Clézio visited in Northeast Asia. Since moderating his lecture, I have had a friendly relationship with him for nearly 20 years. Le Clézio loves Korea so much that he dedicated his "Tempest" to haenyeo (women divers) on Udo island in 2014 and published "Bitna-sous le ciel de Séoul (Bitna – Under the Seoul Sky)" last year. I would like to say that I contributed to the awakening of his love of Korea.

• **KIM Suk-Beom** What do you think Jeju is to Le Clézio?

• **SONG Ki-Jeong** Le Clézio has dual nationality as French and Mauritian. His spiritual motherland is Mauritius, which lies between Europe and Africa. He is always in touch with Mauritian culture, thinking himself as a Mauritian. His ancestors migrated from Bretagne to Mauritius during the French Rev-

olution (in the late 18th century). Jeju Island seems to remind him of his motherlands. Mauritius and Bretagne are windy places. He seems to have felt the wind of his homeland in the strong wind of Udo Island. It seems that he thought about Mauritius, while learning about the troubled history and extreme living condition of the island. He is much interested in haenyeo, noting their virtue and courage to pioneer their lives. When he comes to Korea, he wants to visit Jeju Island. He is known to have often visited the island without telling anyone about it.

- **KIM Suk-Beom** Ms. Moon, you told us that you have fallen in love with Jeju Island. What is so attractive about Jeju?

- **MOON Sori** I did not come to Jeju often in the past. It is because I did not want to when I heard the stories about Jeju from the visitors to this island. All the images that I had about Jeju were nothing more than “rape flowers” and “horse riding,” so I did not feel like going. But it changed when I started a walk on the island. It might be thanks to the realization that I know nothing about Jeju. As I walked, I became aware that I did not know Jeju, and I became more interested in Jeju’s history, culture, and people. The study of Jeju history was about the history of Korea. When I met haenyeo while walking, I thought I found a role model for my own life. In the meantime, I have been asked in many interviews about which actor/actress is my role model, and I used to answer that I had no role model, as each actor/actress has his/her own personality. I can say that I have found my role model, after watching Jeju haenyeo. I wish I would become a self-reliant, independent, and communal person like haenyeo, when I grow old. I still do not know much about Jeju. I did not walk many Olle courses, either. Now, I want to know more about the inner life of Jeju, while walking more.

- **KIM Suk-Beom** Are you perhaps planning to settle down on Jeju?

- **MOON Sori** Many art genres allow solitary work, but the film cannot. It is a genre that requires collaboration of many people. It is almost unthinkable to do film work on this island. I am not that greedy as to

monopolize Jeju. I am grateful enough for the comforts I sometimes find on this island.

- **KIM Suk-Beom** As an artist who loves Jeju, what do you think Jeju should do to be loved for long?

- **MOON Sori** I wish the island would stop the development modern Korea has pursued. I wish the island to do away with the “mindset seeking more grand development and more values.” When small things accumulate over time, unexpected, phenomenal effects can be the end result. I also wish the island would not be so preoccupied with the tourism revenues and the number of tourists. The island should stop quantifying its beauty and value in the development plan. Jeju Island should prepare 100-year and 200-year plans to become a land for consolation and healing. I hope that this island is loved in this way. Actors should be so. The most local has the global power. We should think about what is most local and concentrate on what we can do our best. The same is true of actors in this regard. Jeju also should give more weight to its locality. We should develop Jeju in such faith.

- **KIM Suk-Beom** Prof. Song has been making strenuous efforts to globalize Korean culture, particularly literature, as well as introducing the literary works of Le Clézio to Korea. Prof. Song, what do you think is the attraction of Jeju Island? And what is the attraction of the island Le Clézio notes?

- **SONG Ki-Jeong** Le Clézio is one of the most popular writers in the world. His books have been translated into many languages. Once I thought about why he is favored by many people over the world. In the modern world of materialism, his works give us insights into secular values, indifference to institutions, communion with nature and the importance of every moment as well as the vital energy to muster courage in the face of sad realities.

Likewise, Jeju Island provides the contemporary people with the same realizations. In this respect, I wish the island would remain a place of consolation and healing for the people fatigued by materialism. There is nothing that gives humanity as much consolation as nature does. Whenever I see damage to

Jeju, my heart hurts. I am afraid of seeing further damages. To prevent further deterioration of this island, I am engaged in the activities of Jeju Culture Supporters. It is my desperate wish that the last remaining beauty of Jeju would be preserved.

- **SUH Myung-sook** I agree with Prof. Song. I remember Seogwipo of the mid-1960s. At that time, Mt. Halla was visible anywhere in Seogwipo. However, now we cannot see it, because the high-rise buildings block the view. Sometimes I had an extreme wish to blow those buildings away. With legal permission, they erect those high-rise buildings. It is deplorable that there is no law to check this kind of practice. Younger people should be wary of such reckless development lest the older generation mangle the land for the next generation. Mt. Halla and Gotjawal, the gem of Jeju Island, are being destroyed by the older generation pursuing their own interests. The younger people should step forward to put an end to this. In preserving the land of Jeju, we should help the younger people design a land where humans and nature coexist. Seogwipo is being destroyed day by day. Jo Jeong-rae, the author of Taebaeksan-maek (Taebaek Mountains) who loves Seogwipo, lashed out at the skyscrapers. It would be no use to criticize the bureaucrats only. Citizens should act, and younger people should raise their voices and admonish their parents over this. We should leave an uncontaminated land behind for the next generation. The fight for a better life starts with the protection of nature of this island.

- **KIM Suk-Beom** The Jeju Olle Trail contributed much to preserving the value of the beautiful nature of Jeju. I wish more stories about Jeju culture, including haenyeo, would be known more widely. What should be known and shared by more people about Jeju culture and history?

- **SUH Myung-Sook** I wish the myths of Jeju women would be shared by the public. Haenyeo is a living goddess. In addition to haenyeo which was recognized as cultural heritage, Jeju has many goddesses, such as Baekjotto, worshipped at the Songdang Bonhyangdang Shrine, Yeongdeung halmang (goddess

of wind and riches) and Seolmun halmangdae (goddess of genesis). It is a rare case to worship so many goddesses. The myth of Seolmun halmangdae symbolizing femininity that embraces nature, in particular, is very rare around the world. In the 21st century, the age of women, women should find self-esteem in Jeju myths. We need cultural works that reinterpret the Jeju myths about women against historical backgrounds. I wish younger talents would reproduce them as characters of games, novels and animations.

- **MOON Sori** Actors use their whole body to act, but language basically accounts for much of acting. As a native of Busan, I am proficient in the Gyeong-sang-do dialect. Also, I can speak the Jeolla-do dialect as my mother was from the province. In Korean dramas and movies, you can hear the dialects of all provinces, even of North Korean language, but it is hard to hear the Jeju language. Only once did I hear it in the film, Jiseul, which delivered it in subtitles. It indicates that there has been no film characters who speak the Jeju dialect. I wish the Jeju dialect is known better and spoken more often. I want to see poems, plays and films in the Jeju dialect to help the public familiarize itself with it. Someday, aspiring actors might practice the dialect as their special talent. Anyhow, I would like to see more cultural content rendered in the Jeju language.

- **SONG Ki-Jeong** Like chairperson Suh, I am also interested in Jeju myths. Koreans do not have many myths of women. Just the Baridegi princess tale and nothing more. But I was surprised at the Jeju myths that feature many goddesses. Jeju has also the tale of goddess of genesis, hard to find anywhere else. Jeju myths have rich resources for storytelling. As the world is now interested in myths, we would have to utilize them well. Jeju is also known for its culture of shamanism. There is a reason for it. In the face of the tremendous power of nature, they had to rely on gods, thus developing the culture of shamanism. We should promote and preserve this culture.

- **SUH Myung-Sook** I agree on the importance of language and myths. The use of a language is based on the pride in it. As for me, I kept on using the standard

language after attending college. So I used what the Jeju people call “the noble language.” When I was young, I had no pride in using the Jeju language. While living in Seoul, I had a sense of guilt about the Jeju language. After coming to Jeju and seeing the nature of Jeju, I realized how the language was created. What could more realistically describe the mercilessly hot sunlight than the Jeju words, “warang warang.” The landscape, nature and culture of Jeju are embodied in the dialect. I wish the Jeju language would be more widely used in movies and computer games. A memorial hall for Dr. Seok Joo-myung will open next year. Dr. Seok was a world-renowned lepidopterist and an expert in Jeju studies. He visited every nook of Jeju to collect Jeju words and academically systematized them. I wish many students visit the memorial hall next year and read books about him.

- **KIM Suk-Beom** What should Jeju do more to let its attractions (culture, history and tales) be known around the world?

- **MOON Sori** I am now interested in the history of Jeju. We have a Jeju history that should never be forgotten. I have read a poem by Heo Yeong-seon, “To You Asking about the Apr. 3 Incident.” I felt sorry for myself because I thought that I have nothing to do with the past Apr. 3 Incident. The poem revealed the stigmatization of innocent people as commies and the National Security Law. Jeju history is a painful one but represents the tumults of modern Korean history. The anti-Japanese struggle of Jeju haenyeo was also impressive. I was surprised at their fight against the exploitation by the Japanese, which also constitutes a meaningful part in the history of Korean women’s activism. I learned from a book about the Apr. 3 Incident that Jeju has denounced the May 10 general elections, the first election to establish the Republic of Korea. The Apr. 3 Incident originated from the boycott of the general elections. We should never forget and be proud of the Apr. 3 Incident which happened in protest against the division of the nation. Jeju history dramatically represents the painful but proud history of Korea. I did not like to read history,

but now it interests me more than any novel. So, I would like to advise you to study the history of Jeju.

- **SONG Ki-Jeong** I came to be interested in history while studying literature. The history of Jeju is dramatic. The history of the Tamna Kingdom which once existed on this island, the occupation of the island by the Mongol Empire, and its annexation by the Joseon Kingdom read like a drama. Jeju natives around me seem to try to be away from this island but return here eventually. And they are doing something about Jeju. They have ambivalence toward the island, their birthplace, but feeling the instinctual call of the place they love the island even more for its problems. I hope that we study and understand the long history of this island against this background and in the context of the Northeast Asian region. By doing so, we can foresee the future of Jeju.

- **KIM Suk-Beom** Would you please tell us three things that you think Jeju should never do?

- **SONG Ki-Jeong** I do not want to see Seoul transplanted to Jeju. Those who come to Jeju do not seek the comforts of Seoul here. So, I would say Jeju should never establish undersea tunnels, cable car lines and high-rise buildings.

- **MOON Sori** We should never forget the history of Jeju, its dialect and the beauty of its nature. I would do whatever little things that I can for Jeju.

- **SUH Myung-Sook** I agree with the opposition to undersea tunnels, a cable car system and high-rise buildings. At the same time, I wish the historical heritages, culture and nature of Jeju to be preserved as they are. They should remain intact, without undergoing changes except for the inevitable ones for daily necessities. To protect Mt. Halla and Gotjawal is to safeguard our hearts. The best value in the 21st century is nature itself. We cannot create nature even with the investment of tens of trillion won. As Le Clézio said, Jeju should be an island of peace. Every Jeju resident has an opinion about peace and a yearning for peace as they have a painful history in which one-tenth of Jeju’s population was killed. I want to see the opening of the Olle Trail for peace, when South and North Korea connect the inter-Ko-

rean railways. Korea is the only divided country in the world. I wish Jeju to become the place where the two Koreas would declare the end of the war. It would be a new history for the world, too. All of us are dreaming of that day.

- **KIM Suk-Beom** Jeju Island is a tourist destination. Economic growth and development are necessary to improve the quality of the residents’ life. What should we do to keep a balance between growth and preservation efforts?

- **SUH Myung-Sook** That is the question only the governor of the Jeju Special Self-governing Province can answer. It is not easy to control the demands of tourism. Jeju is also talking about over-tourism. It is a task for the future to figure out how to control the individual desires of residents and communities, how to treat wastes, and how to estimate the proper number of tourists. In fact, there is no answer to these questions. We would have to reach a consensus through discussions. While regulating reckless development, we should find a viable ecological tour model at the same time.

- **MOON Sori** In Bhutan, they are said to limit the number of foreign tourists to 200 a year. Bhutan seems to be pursuing a value different from ours. We should first agree to settle on a value before figuring out a desirable volume of tourism for us.

- **SUH Myung-Sook** As each country and region has their own environment, it is important to coordinate the opinions of citizens.

- **MOON Sori** We should reach a compromise while discussing values.

- **SONG Ki-Jeong** I think of a measure to make it difficult to buy land on Jeju Island. Jeju natives’ development of their land as a tourism spot is different from the investment of mainlanders in the real estate of Jeju. Even in the mainland, it is hard to procure land in a village, if the buyer is not a resident there. I do not know much about the administrative affairs involving real estate, but Jeju should impose administrative restrictions on the development of real estate on this island.

- **KIM Suk-Beom** Jeju women seem to have a duality

of self-reliance and respect for patriarchal value.

- **SUH Myung-Sook** They are economically independent and have a democratic and communal mindset. However, they are patriarchal and conservative when it comes to family. I think they have been brainwashed by the patriarchal system for a long time. They also stick to exclusivist culture, called Goendangmunhwa. It is deplorable to see them fail to sublimate the feminine energy into a social energy. I wish the future generation could do so.

Networking Art and Peace Community in East Asia



Chair	GIM Jungi Director, Jeju Museum of Art
Presenter/Discussant	PARK Kyonghoon Chairman the Jeju Foundation for Arts and Culture Higa TOYOMITSU Photographer, Okinawa HSU Manray Independent Curator and Critic, Taiwan BŪI Kim Đinh Researcher, Georg-August-University Gottingen/Independent Curator, Vietnam DU Xiyun Deputy Director of Shanghai Himalayas Museum HONG Sungdam Artist, Gwangju
Rapporteur	YANG Junghwan Documentary Director, Jeju Province/Jeju Peace Institute/Jeju Museum of Art

- **GIM Jungi** One of the purposes of organizing this symposium was to explore ways Jeju Island could act as a messenger in the East Asian Peace and Arts Network. To explain this, I would like to give an explanation about the exhibition at the Jeju Museum of Art, titled, “Post Trauma.”

We often call damage to the mind that is hard to get over as trauma. As the title “Post Trauma” denotes, the exhibition is about how to overcome and go beyond trauma, and what kind of influence it has had for us so far, which is also the theme of this forum.

The Jeju April 3 Incident refers to the massacre in which 30,000 people of Jeju Island were killed from 1948 to 1954. Along with the Gwangju Uprising on May 18, 1980, the Apr. 3 Incident was one of the only two incidents in which civilians took up arms against the government ever since national liberation from Japanese rule. The artists say they were able to uncover the truth of the April 3 Incident by looking into the Gwangju Uprising. Hence, it is the mission of artists and the purpose of this forum to

shed light on the Vietnam War (President Moon Jae-in recently apologized for the Vietnamese victims), the February 28 Incident in Taiwan and the bombing of Nanjing by the Japanese Air Force, which used the Alttreu Airstrip on this peaceful island of Jeju as a stopover site. The artists of the countries involved in those incidents should join hands to heal the scars.

If we hold the map of Northeast Asia upside down, we find Jeju Island at the center of Northeast Asia, not at the end of the Korean peninsula, facing the Pacific Ocean. On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Jeju April 3 Incident, we are ready to build a network of artists from six countries and municipalities of Jeju, Okinawa, Taiwan, Vietnam, Nanjing and Harbin, which commonly endured the pain of state violence that took the lives of civilians in the 20th century.

- **PARK Kyonghoon** In fact, networking is not easy. Peace is not a thing anyone can easily talk about. A true narrative for peace comes only from those who have a real thirst for peace, as in the case of thirsty people digging a well. Peace is attained when they

desperately wish for it after peace was broken by wars, starvation and extreme poverty. In this respect, East Asian countries share historical experiences that inevitably bring forth ardent talk about peace.

Sadness is usually expressed by tears or sighs, and by talk and writing. However, no amount of tears or writing are enough to nurse the grief of the Jeju April 3 Incident. People who have experienced the incident say that they can shed tears only when they are relieved of the heavy sadness.

- Hyeon Gi-yeong, <Thirsty Gods>

As the passage above says, those who experienced the Jeju April 3 Incident find it hard to testify about it. Therefore, the artists who are doing artwork on the theme of the incident are doing the work of ghostwriting for the victims, as the disciples of god perform religious services. There are many artists in East Asia who perform this kind of role. Though I did not experience the April 3 Incident, what I am doing with my artwork is to ghostwrite on their sorrow.

The historical experiences of each country are different from each other depending on their history, but they commonly have a historical trauma, so I wish that they could share the spirit of sunureum (common) community. With this common feature, Asian artists can declare an alliance to reshape the past in art forms and interpret the past from today’s perspective. While historical studies send history to tombs or museums, literature and arts breathe life into buried history.

- **Higa TOYOMITSU** Okinawa itself is a scar. The tombs of Okinawa have 67-year old bones. We call the bones of the Okinawa people and the bones of those who were not native Okinawan as the war generation, who returned home in the shape of bones. The wars on Okinawa sacrificed innocent civilians, mostly children and women. Those who survived the wars still suffer from the trauma.

The U.S. military bases still exist on Okinawa, which hosts 70 percent of the U.S. military bases in

Japan. Additional U.S. military bases are now under construction, drawing protests from residents. Hence, the residents think Okinawa is not a Japanese territory but a colony of the U.S. Photographers can produce artworks out of these scenes and distribute them to the world. This kind of cultural exchange is important.

- **HSU Manray** After the Second World War and the end of the Japanese colonial rule, Taiwanese people cheered on the military government at first because they believed that if the military government took power, China would return the territory back to Taiwan. However, the military government in disarray invited continued protests due to its corruption. Amid the confusion, a large-scale protest by Taiwanese citizens occurred against the authorities’ atrocities on an old woman who was selling smuggled cigarettes. This is the February 28 Incident. The KMT military government forcibly suppressed the protesters. Intellectuals in Taiwan vainly attempted negotiating with the military government. The February 28 incident instantly led to white terrorism that continued until 1991. This has cast a shadow over Taiwan. The KMT military government killed many artists, who made efforts to make the tragic incident known to the world. Then, in the 1970s, when the Taiwan economy was booming, Taiwanese artists left the country to study abroad and engaged in activities to inform the world of the incident. Since then, Taiwanese artists have negotiated with the government over the forgotten February 28 incident and created a civic organization to shed light on it. Most importantly, we have to dig deeper into the horrors of the day and find out the cause of the trauma.

- **BŪI Kim Đinh** I would like to talk about the artistic expression of war in contemporary and modern Vietnamese arts and the use of the arts for political propaganda. Vietnam was divided into the south and the north under the 1954 Geneva Agreement but achieved national unification in 1975.

Art has served as a political tool in Vietnam. In fact, the works of artists that tell the truth about Vietnam could not be exhibited in Vietnam. Fortunately,

however, with the introduction of Vietnamese style economic development plan in the 1990s, the art market also opened its door to the world. Since there was no art market in the past, the opening of the art market gave an opportunity for the arts to progress in Vietnam. However, Vietnam, which had used art only as a political tool, faced up to the reality that it lacked the infrastructure for artists and arts. Only three universities in Vietnam have arts courses with no gallery for exhibitions. There are many indie artists in Vietnam. I hope these artists will interact with foreign artists and build an infrastructure for artistic exchange.

- **DU Xiyun** Everyone is connected via the Internet and it is democratic. Since many people are connected on the Internet, it is effective in delivering truth. Therefore, the Internet connection remains instrumental in our society, and all kinds of things can become art on the Internet. An artist in China was not an artist until he knew the Internet. When he became aware of the Internet, he began to design web logos for the Internet. He is an artist who is making good use of the Internet. He could gather more than a thousand people on Internet to make his project successful. When he had to pay a fine for his work, he was able to pay it with Internet funding. This kind of artwork and exchange using the Internet is a good example. Use of the Internet will be the most practical way to engage in exchanges with international artists.

- **HONGSungdam** Instead of talking about Gwangju, I would like to discuss how to resolve historical issues of the East Asian region. I would like to describe the trauma of East Asians under the political oppression in the name of martial law. Western powers, which colonized Asian countries, seemed to regard Asians as savages. East Asians were embroiled in the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War due to the arrogance of the Japanese. In the trial of war criminals after the war, Japan was judged to have brought insufficient justice to them, compared to the case of Germany. Under the protection of the U.S., Japan introduced democracy while maintain-

ing its emperor system. Under the Korean military leadership which followed Japanese militarism, 24 South Korean artists had to undergo torture in prison for their works sent to the 1989 Festival of World Peace in North Korea. Recently, artists tried to hold an exhibition, which portrayed the president as a scarecrow, but the exhibition in memory of the Sewol ferry victims was cancelled for mocking the president. The military troops sent to Vietnam and Gwangju perpetrated atrocities. The Republic of Korea still suffers from the trauma of martial law that has yet to be lifted from the minds of the people.

When we recognize the common denominator of all those incidents and sublimate it into art, we will be able to lift the martial laws imprinted in the minds of the East Asian people. The existence of trauma means that the war is not over yet in the minds of the people. East Asian artists should face up to the task of curing the trauma and form an alliance for peace.

Chapter FIVE

아시아의 평화 재정립
Reengineering Peace for Asia

GLOBAL JEJU

Jeju April 3 Incident from Eyes of the Foreign Journalists



Chair	KO Hee-Bum Former Director, The Hankyoreh
Moderator	KIM In-Hee Former Announcer of MBC
Keynote Speaker	YI Mahn-Yol Honorary Professor, Sookmyung Women's University/Formal Chair, National Institute of Korea History
Presenter	Tim SHORROCK Journalist, the Nation & Newstapa-Korea Center for Investigative Journalism Hideaki ISHIBASHI Journalist, Asahi Shimbun
Discussant	KWON Hyukchul Director, The Hankyoreh Peace Institute
Opening Remarks	LEE Kyu-Bae Chairman, Jeju 4.3 Research Institute/Professor, Jeju International University
Congratulatory Remarks	WON Heeryong Governor, Jeju Special Self-Governing Province
Rapporteur	LEE Dong-Hyun Researcher, Jeju 4.3 Research Institute

• **LEE Kyu-Bae** Jeju 4.3 Research Institute makes it a rule to have an academic seminar every year to prepare for what is expected ahead. This year marks the 70th anniversary of the Jeju 4.3 Incident. I hope today's session will provide an opportunity to remind us of the meaning of the Incident, discuss how it should go down in history and how to hold the U.S. accountable for its role in the tragic incident. If we could find the path we should take in the spirit of the Jeju 4.3 Movement, the institute would have fulfilled its task, I think.

Jeju 4.3 Research Institute has followed the history of Jeju and have been with the people of Jeju ever since it was founded 30 years ago. At long last, spring is coming to Jeju just as President Moon Jae-in said when he attended a memorial ceremony marking the 70th anniversary of the Incident. I hope the government would have more interest in the historical incident and do what it has to do. I expect that a lot of great proposals, including the ideas on what to do at this turning point, will be presented at to-

day's session. I expect honorary professor YI Mahn-Yol will share his insights on exactly what direction we should pursue with regard to the Jeju 4.3. I also think that we can learn about the viewpoints of the foreign press on the Jeju 4.3 as well as many cases of victimization of women by state violence in different parts of the globe. Today, I hope, we can share deeper thoughts about how we should carry on the spirit of the Jeju 4.3.

• **WON Hee-ryong** I think this is a truly meaningful and valuable occasion to ruminate on the Jeju 4.3 Incident. This year marks the second time that the Jeju Forum has organized a session on the Incident. I hope this session will provide an opportunity for the entire nation to remember the historical incident and to make it known around the world. I appreciate Chairman Lee Kyu-Bae of Jeju 4.3 Research Institute and others at the institute, the staff members at the Association for the April 3 Victims, and the staff at the Jeju 4.3 Peace Foundation for arranging this opportunity. I would also like to thank honorary

professor YI Mahn-Yol for being here to deliver a keynote speech and other guests such as journalists and professors. This year marks the 70th anniversary of the Jeju 4.3 Incident. We recently held a historic memorial ceremony that President Moon Jae-in attended. The Jeju 4.3 is part of Korean history. So far, topics about the Incident have been sporadically discussed on the civic level. It is so meaningful to have them discussed in a public session such as this. I pledge to formulate official policies on the remembrance of the Jeju 4.3, based on the discussions we have here today. In celebration of the 70th anniversary of the Jeju 4.3, we have already declared this year as 'Visit Jeju Year' and have been focusing our efforts to make the Incident known at home and abroad. Your interest will be greatly appreciated. And I would like to ask for your continued support for the amendment of the Jeju 4.3 Special Law, the long-pending wish of the victims.

• **YI Mahn-Yol** Sexual assaults on women were no exception in the case of the Jeju 4.3 Incident. Female victims were raped and then brutally murdered. Those that survived sexual assaults were traumatized for the rest of their lives. This genocide of innocent people and sex crimes against women committed by government authorities testify to what the Incident was. As Kim Ik-ryeol, then commander of police forces on the island, said about the rebel leader Kim Dal-sam in his memoir, the Jeju 4.3 was a righteous uprising against the Japanese collaborators and police forces. That means, I believe, the Jeju 4.3 deserves to be written in history as one of the great social movements in modern Korean history along the lines of the peasant revolts in the early 1900s; the Imsul Rebellion of 1862; Donghak Peasant Revolution; the Anti-Japanese Righteous Army Movement; the Independence Movement against Japanese Rule; the March First Movement; the independence fight of the Korean Provisional Government; the April 19 Revolution; the Gwangju Uprising; the 1987 Struggle for Democracy; and the most recent candlelight protest. That being said, the Jeju 4.3 is still characterized as a genocide. It is a unique incident because

the tragedy took place on the isolated island of Jeju. The genocide was committed during peacetime, not wartime, and the victims were killed by law enforcement authorities on the isolated island. But the Incident, seen as a byproduct of the Cold War to some extent, is also imbued with international factors. Japan had something to do with the Jeju 4.3 in social and economic aspects of the Incident. At the same time, there is an issue of statute of limitations on anti-humanity crimes, including sexual assaults. So, whether and how to revise the relevant laws should be subject to further research and discussions. The victims were ideological scapegoats sacrificed by the state power in the period of national liberation. They were also scapegoats of the Cold War, the national division and the segregation between islanders and mainlanders. Jeju people should never forget this painful period. The Incident was sparked by the central government's discrimination against the islanders, so the Jeju community should make efforts to identify themselves with the spirit of the struggle. The designation of 'April 3' as a local Memorial Day is part of those efforts. Its memories should be passed on to the succeeding generations, so that they can "contemporize" the Jeju 4.3. To achieve "reconciliation and co-prosperity," we should revive the Jeju 4.3 spirit of self-sacrifice under the Cold War system, national division and ideological confrontation. We do not have to torment ourselves over the unresolved issues. It is difficult to settle them all at once. I expect that we can make progress step by step and reach maturity while endeavoring to address the 4.3 issues and carry on the spirit. As the history is completed in the "passage of time and procedures," it is important that we wait and see how our next generation would reincarnate the spirit.

• **KO Hee-Bum** On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Jeju 4.3, Korean society came up with the thematic statement, "The Jeju 4.3 is a history of the Republic of Korea." This statement indicates the awakening to the fact that we know little about the Incident. We have been talking about how to make it a national and an international issue. I think, if we

listen to the views of the foreign journalists here, we can see how it would go down in world history.

• **Tim SHORROCK** *The Jeju 4.3 Incident and the Gwangju Uprising Through the Eyes of an American Journalist:*

I was surprised when I found out the Jeju 4.3 and the Gwangju Uprising had a lot in common. The Jeju 4.3 was an armed rebellion against the U.S. Military Government in Korea, while the latter was a pro-democracy struggle against the then martial law government of Korea. In both cases, the U.S. got involved in the violence committed by the Korean government. The U.S. involvement was clearly seen in the Jeju 4.3. The U.S. Military Government was behind the suppression of the rebellion on Jeju. The Jimmy Carter administration was also behind the Korean government's bloody crackdown on the uprising in Gwangju. The declassified documents, dated between April and May 1980, confirmed that the U.S. government approved of the dispatch of Korean troops to Gwangju. Today, many citizens of Gwangju are still upset by the fact. However, civic groups did not take note of the role of the U.S. armed forces here, just taking issue with the role of then Korean general Chun Doo-hwan in the crackdown on the Gwangju Uprising. To me, that is because of the fact that the Jeju 4.3 Incident happened in 1947, when South Korea was ruled by the U.S. Military Government, while the Gwangju Uprising took place in 1980, when the coup forces were in control of the country. However, both of them had their roots in the Cold War. There is a slight difference between what the U.S. did in Gwangju and what it did on Jeju. However, it is clear that the U.S. government was directly involved in the acts of the Korean government backed by the U.S. Intervention in Korean affairs was a conventional practice of the U.S. since 1945, and it should be understood in the context of Cold War history. The two incidents were the only struggles against the U.S.-backed governments, hard to find elsewhere during the Cold War order. The two incidents provide us with an opportunity to examine the perspectives that the U.S., the Soviet Union and their respective allies had during the Cold War. What

counts, aside from the role of the U.S., is how the Korean government oppressed the people. One of the tragic features of the Jeju 4.3 is that anti-Communist rightists not only remained in power for a long time, but also kept a lid on the history. How many years did it take to talk freely about the tragic incident that happened in Jeju and Gwangju? The news media was not allowed to report about them from the 1980s to 1990s. The suppression of the press is something the two incidents have in common.

Another common feature was the rightists' denunciation of the historical incidents. Once, a memorial ceremony of the Jeju 4.3 was interrupted by rightists. The same is true for the uprising in Gwangju. The Gwangju Pro-democracy Movement were vilified by the rightists during the conservative governments of Lee Myung-bak and Park Geun-hye, with "Marching for Our Beloved," the anthem of the Gwangju Uprising, being banned at the commemorative ceremonies. Like this, the tragic incidents have constantly been stigmatized afterwards. They have something to do with Japan, too. Many residents of Jeju moved to Osaka and other places in Japan during the Japanese rule and after the Jeju 4.3 broke out later. After the colonial rule ended, many of the emigrants to Japan returned home to devote themselves to the pro-democracy movement. However, after being subject to the oppression during the Jeju 4.3, thousands of them went back to Osaka and settled there. These *Jainichi* (Korean residents in Japan) played a crucial role in revealing the truth about the Jeju massacre. Unlike Jeju, Gwangju had no particular relation with Japan. In 1980, the Christian communities of the two countries, including Gwangju City, had exchange programs, and the Christian groups in Korea relayed news about what was happening in Gwangju in 1980 to their counterparts in Japan, which led to Japanese journalists' news reports about the uprising. The Jeju 4.3 and the Gwangju Uprising have such many things in common, and what is important among them is the role of the U.S. government. We should continue to look into the relations between the U.S. and Korea

since 1945, and what the U.S. did behind the scenes of the Jeju 4.3 and Gwangju Uprising should thus be unveiled. I hope my efforts to shed light on the facts will contribute to the relations between the two countries. The ROK-U.S. alliance is important, but what counts more is how the people of the two countries can support each other.

• **Hideaki ISHIBASHI** *The Jeju 4.3 Incident as Seen by a Japanese Journalist:* I happened to write a news article about the Jeju 4.3 after having a conversation with a Korean-Japanese living in Osaka. Most Japanese do not know about the Incident. There were few people who had heard of it at that time. Nevertheless, the news story carried substantial weight in Japan.

There is a Koreatown in Ikuno Ward in Osaka. Many people from Jeju have been living in Osaka since World War II. In the 1990s, the Korean community in Osaka was experiencing a generational shift, and the second Korean-Japanese generation began to learn about the Jeju 4.3 Incident and do something for reconciliation with the past. The second-generation Korean-Japanese planned Jeju 4.3 memorial ceremonies, and I covered a story about them. My article, the leading story in the city section of the morning newspaper on the Jeju 4.3, was published under the title "A taboo for half a century – Looking back upon the Jeju 4.3 Incident in Korea." The article was about a woman who had no choice but to escape to Japan at the time of the 4.3 Incident. The Incident was something directly concerning the people of Jeju living in Osaka. It was painful for them to talk about the tragedy. But I thought that they could talk about the Incident because the Korean-Japanese community was going through a generational shift from the first to the second. I sympathized with the pain of the Korean-Japanese living in my country and that encouraged me to write the story. On the other hand, as the Kim Dae-jung government took office in Korea, a mood of reconciliation with the past seemed to settle in the Korean-Japanese society. I could write the story because the Japanese news media also started to show interest in the Incident. A Korean-Japanese from Jeju asked

me after my article was published, "Why did you, a Japanese, write about it?" I thought Japanese people should look squarely at the tragedy as one of the parties involved in the Incident, because it broke out in the power vacuum following the withdrawal of Japanese troops from Korea and amid the distorted power balance Japanese colonial rule left behind. I walked around Osaka's Ikuno Ward every day from 1997 to 1998 to learn about the Korean community and the Apr. 4.3. I thought it would be more important to describe the overall feature of the community of Jeju people in Ikuno Ward than to merely collect testimonies from them.

• **KO Hee-Bum** I would like to say that Mr. Shorrock seems like an investigative journalist with scholarly insight, whereas Mr. Ishibashi appears to be a journalist with a warm heart who knows how to thoroughly probe the wound as to heal it.

• **KWON Hyukchul** Like many other mainlanders, I was not previously interested in the Jeju 4.3. It was ten years ago, when I was walking along Jeju's Olle Trails, that I started to think hard about it. At first, I noted the beautiful scenery. After walking on the trails several times a year, I came to know that there are many sites of the April 4.3 massacres along the trails and started to feel the suffering of the victims. I asked myself why I did not know and why I, as a journalist, was not interested. I soon found myself looking for books about the Incident. I was much surprised when I came across Mr. Ishibashi's article. I felt ashamed to find that a foreign journalist was more interested in and knew more about it than I. I felt sorry for myself as a journalist for being ignorant and doing nothing about it. The Jeju 4.3 has been a taboo subject in Korea for the last 70 years.

We are discussing ways to make it a national and global issue. Recent surveys show, however, that it has yet to become one. It is still considered just a past of Jeju Island. The motto, "The Jeju 4.3 is a history of the Republic of Korea," adopted by the National Committee for the 70th Anniversary of the Jeju 4.3 Incident paradoxically testifies to the reality that the tragedy is still seen only as a history of the remote

island, not of the Republic of Korea. I would like to ask Mr. Ishibashi how he came to be interested in the Jeju 4.3 Incident, how Japanese people perceive it and how much coverage the Japanese media has allotted it as a news item. And I would like to ask Mr. Shorrock how the U.S. Military Government or the U.S. government was related to the Jeju 4.3. Why did the former president Roh Moo-hyun mention the Cold War when he formally apologized for the massacre on behalf of the Korean government? It was because the Jeju 4.3 was inseparable from the then Cold War order, I believe. The fact-finding report on the Jeju 4.3 published by the Roh Moo-hyun government in 2003 supports this view. The government report indicated that the U.S. Military Government and the U.S. Military Advisory Group were culpable, holding them accountable for the losses of lives during the Incident. American Professor Bruce Cumings claimed that the U.S. was responsible for the Incident as a whole, while John Merrill said that the U.S. was responsible until the Republic of Korea was established in August 1948, but afterwards, the government of Syngman Rhee should have been held accountable for it. I would like to ask you for your opinion, Mr. Shorrock.

- **Hideaki ISHIBASHI** I covered the story about the Jeju 4.3 partly because I wanted to portray it in the eyes of the Korean residents in Japan. The existence of Korean-Japanese in Japan might be called a by-product of Japanese colonial rule. They might be entitled to the compensation of the Japanese government for the violation of their human rights. I have covered their story as a mirror of Japanese society. I wrote about what they had in mind about the Jeju 4.3 and what was in the background of their migration to Japan. I am not saying that there was no Japanese news media which delivered the Korean-Japanese version of the Jeju 4.3 story. The regular memorial ceremonies have been reported in Japan whenever they were held. Many news outlets did not fail to report about how Korean-Japanese paid tribute to the victims of the Incident. It is true, however, that many of them still think it is an unpopular subject that only

concerns a small group of Koreans living in Japan. I feel sorry about that. After all, we should admit that the root cause of the Incident lies in Japanese colonial rule.

- **Tim SHORROCK** It seems that you have cited John Merrill's report, "The Cheju-Do Rebellion," to point out the U.S. government's responsibility for it. Jeju was labeled as the "Reds' Island" after the Korean government was established in 1948, and I suspect the U.S. has been involved in the stigmatization of the island. It is not certain whether the U.S. involvement was direct or not, but I believe that the U.S. still got involved in the crackdown on the leftists in different ways and tacitly allowed the Japanese-trained police to continue to serve the government after national liberation. The Cold War order dominated Korean society. Koreans wanted independence and reunification but ended up with unwanted national division. It was due to the policies of the U.S. and other world powers. So, it is not a matter of whether the U.S. was involved in it directly or indirectly. I still

Policy Implications

- The Jeju 4.3 Incident should not be seen as a tragedy merely in the context of Korean history but as part of Cold War history. Therefore, the incident should be characterized not only as Korean history, but also as part of world history and the history of the Cold War.
- The perceptions about the Jeju 4.3 vary among Koreans, foreigners, islanders, mainlanders, the generation that experienced it and those that did not. The perception gap would widen as time passes. And such a gap will be a major obstacle to understanding the Jeju 4.3. Thus, the efforts to close the perception gap are necessary, among others, to have the Jeju 4.3 go down in world history, and the government should support it with its policies.
- Also, we should endeavour to make the Apr. 3 Incident better known around the world. These efforts should include support for exchanges among local governments, art and culture circle and academic organizations, in addition to the issue of educational material and translation of the historical texts on the Jeju 4.3 in foreign languages. On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Incident, we should consider a world-tour exhibition of Jeju 4.3 in cooperation with world-famous museums to globalize the historical incident, in addition to the one-off exhibition organized recently by the National Museum of Korean Contemporary History.

believe that the U.S. has been fully involved in the tragic incident.

- **KO Hee-Bum** I believe the reason we delve into the tragedies of the past is that it is a procedure we have to go through to move toward a new future. The same is true for relations between countries. It is necessary to find truth in the past to move toward a new and friendly partnership. I hope that the Jeju 4.3 as discussed in today's session will go down in world history as one of the resistance movements against unjust state violence.

Global Investment Outlook for the Future of the Beauty Products Industry and Exploration of Strategies for Entering the Global Market



Chair	KANG Gi-Choon Professor, Jeju National University
Moderator	YANG Soon-Cheol Assistant Director of Investment, Jeju Provincial Government
Speaker	Alicia YOON Founder and CEO, Peach & Lily Edward SCOTT Founder and President, EWS Growth KIM Jong Sun General Manager of Cosmetic Division, Polus Biopharm Co., Ltd. Lucy LEITER Co-Founder & Managing Director, Shishi Chérie Peter LEITER Entrepreneur, Angel Investor
Discussant	LEE Ji-won CEO, UCL Co., Ltd KOH Dae Seung Director, Bio Convergence Center, Jeju Technopark Todd SAMPLE Investment Advisor for Jeju Special Self-Governing Province
Rapporteur	JEONG Jinyoung Coordinator, Jeju Special Self-Governing Province

• **KANG Gi-Choon** Jeju province started to promote the cosmetics industry from 2012-2013. So far, Jeju has made quantitative growth hosting about 140 businesses. Now it is time to make qualitative growth in the cosmetics industry. As a free international city, Jeju has attracted investment mainly in tourism. Currently, Jeju is seeking to diversify sources of investment and is eyeing the biotechnology industry (cosmetics and food) among others. There is no remarkable investment in the cosmetics industry on Jeju yet, but the province is pinning its hopes on it. A survey on the industry found that the annual sales revenue of 100 Jeju-based cosmetics businesses averaged about 700-800 million won, as of 2016. The average number of workers in cosmetics businesses was seven-eight, with one worker accounting for 100 million won in sales revenue. I hope this discussion session will be an opportunity to explore measures to help small cosmetics businesses grow into strong medium-sized enterprises or even conglomerates.

• **Alicia YOON** I will present to you the landscape of the beauty industry in the U.S. The U.S. market is similar to that of Korea. High-end brands in the U.S. are making efforts to secure sales outlets at luxury department stores because they focus on branding rather than raising sales revenue. Mid-tier department stores are a good place for mass marketing rather than branding, as they are large-scale, and the most popular channels. Professional beauty stores such as Sephora in the U.S. are the best outlets for beauty brands. Mass retailers and drugstores also sell a lot of beauty products. In particular, Olay, the largest beauty brand in the U.S., sells well in drugstores. There are also discount stores. Nowadays, online stores are the most popular with consumers.

Since the U.S., unlike Korea, has diverse sales channels, beauty brands should have various strategies to penetrate the market. I think it is important to have a brand positioning strategy, because luxury items and mass products should not be mixed under

a single brand. For a K-Beauty (Korean Beauty) brand to succeed in the U.S. market, it is important to deliver a story about the identity of the brand. Marketing through social media is especially important. What counts next is the natural ingredients. Consumers now have a lot of knowledge and interest in natural ingredients. K-Beauty has been recognized just as a category in the beauty market, but now individual brands belonging to K-Beauty also draw much interest. In the U.S. market, K-Beauty is making a new wave, with consumers choosing individual K-Beauty brands.

• **Edward SCOTT** I will tell you how investors look at the beauty industry in Korea. Capital and private equity industries weigh three factors in choosing an investment destination. The first is a consistent brand identity. The second is the company's powerful unit economics. To attract investment in the value chain, one should have an EBITDA model. Lastly, to be successful in the U.S., the K-Beauty industry should be innovative enough in the domestic market. The distribution channel should not be confined to some retailers but have specialized retail channels such as e-commerce. It should also be tuned into various channels and scenarios in the U.S. market. If they do this, they will be able to upgrade the value of K-Beauty brands in the U.S.

Next, there are five strategies for success in the U.S. First, you need to find a good U.S. partner. There are many potential partners in the U.S., and there are many Korean partners, too. They are well connected with the Korean market. It is important to find an appropriate channel for cooperation. That way, the American partners will help K-Beauty's brand building. Second, they should clarify their brand identity. This is not just to succeed in the U.S. market. Only when brand building is continued, can it be successful both at home and abroad. The third is a long-term approach. Most brands want to be successful in the early days because they make a unit-centered approach to the U.S. market. However, they must approach the U.S. market from a long-term basis to raise the brand value. The fourth

is social media. Social media is very important in the Korean market, but also very important in the U.S. Investors also measure the attractiveness of the brand based on ripple effects on social media such as Instagram. The fifth is price. It is very important to have a stable pricing model in the retail or mass markets. The gray market is not desirable, so you should be wary of it, because it blurs the market boundary.

• **KIM Jong Sun** The global cosmetics market is a huge one generating billions of dollars in sales a year. Statistics show that by 2020, sales will reach \$675 billion, or about 700 trillion won. It is about 140 times the annual budget of Jeju Island and double the 500 trillion budget of the Korean government, which is the 10th-12th largest economy in the world.

Like other major industries, consumer behavior in the cosmetics industry exercises a greater influence upon society, with sustainability of the industry emerging as a topic. I will explain about a recent issue called "body burden." It is a term that refers to the total amount of toxins or chemicals accumulated in your body over a certain period. Recently, it is emerging as an important issue in the field of health and the environment, and chemical products used in many parts of our lives have a great influence on our health. It causes diverse diseases such as cancer and diabetes, and even affects the unborn fetus. Scientific organizations such as the Environmental Working Group say hundreds of chemicals are affecting the human body, and breastfeeding is said to transmit these toxic substances to the child. These toxic chemicals are contained in water, air, detergents, cosmetics, plastic containers and construction materials etc., and even very small quantities affect the hormone and immune systems.

What also matters is the impact from packaging material. According to statistics, about 120 billion cosmetics products are produced worldwide each year. The paper used for secondary packaging of the cosmetics amounts to about 66,115 square kilometers. This means that a forest of three times the size of Jeju Island disappears every year. Cosmetics containers can be recycled, but most of them are

wrapped in materials that are difficult to recycle, just ending up as waste. If we cannot find a way to recycle chemical packaging materials in the near future, the ocean will have more waste than fish.

Efforts for Sustainability

The case of Hawaii should be noted. For the first time in the U.S., Hawaii banned the use of sunscreens containing oxybenzone and octinoxate. This is because when a person puts on sun block cream containing these chemicals and enters the ocean, it has a fatal impact on Hawaii's coral reefs. Other states in the U.S. are also interested in and watching this policy. Some organizations oppose it on the grounds that the use of the product without such chemicals has adverse effects on the human body. However, the producers of these sunscreens have started to make products without the toxic chemicals with the support of Hawaiian companies.

Jeju Island, which has an industrial structure and environment similar to Hawaii, should note this move. Recently, the Chinese government has begun to ban the import of foreign garbage, which is expected to bring changes to the waste recycling industry. Montreal imposed a blanket ban on the use of disposable plastic shopping bags and even prohibited the use of biodegradable and naturally degradable plastic bags. In Britain, Prime Minister Theresa May banned the use of disposable plastics, such as cotton swabs and straws, in a full-scale campaign against disposable plastics. Korea's cosmetics industry is growing rapidly in the global market. The Ministry of Environment is implementing policies to reduce plastic waste and is planning to establish and implement guidelines to reduce cosmetics containers.

Examples of Cosmetics Development to Protect Human Body

A global company, Aveda has been running the "Earth Month" campaign every year since 1999. It is a leading cosmetics producer whose entire manufacturing process from production of base materials to distribution of its products is committed to sustain-

ability of both the ecosystem and the environment. As a global cosmetics brand, L'Oreal is operating a variety of programs to ensure sustainability in all aspects of users' living, industrial production and business development. L'Oreal recently announced measures to reduce anti-sustainability factors that have been found in production processes by 60 percent. The RBI (Responsible Beauty Initiative) also holds campaigns pursuing sustainability in all kinds of production in the beauty industry.

I would like to propose some suggestions for the Jeju cosmetics industry. They might serve as campaign guidelines under which Jeju's beauty industry can expand its share of the global market. The campaign slogans are "FFBB: Free from Body Burden" and "FFEB: Free from Earth Burden."

Products pursuant to these campaigns should meet the guidelines on permissible limits set by the Ministry of Food and Drug Safety on biohazardous materials. When such materials exceed the limit, they cause a body burden. I would like to ask the Jeju cosmetics industry to consider the FFBB and FFEB campaigns.

- **Lucy LEITER** The important asset of this beautiful, clean island of Jeju is progressive people here and its unique history. The unique and rare historical incidents on this island contribute to raising its value. That is why traditional European cosmetics makers should visit and see Jeju. The island has a great potential to produce organic materials, and I think it might be significant to forge partnerships between traditional cosmetics companies and this island.

There are three things that the beauty industry of Jeju needs to do to enter into the European market. First, it should raise the awareness of Jeju cosmetics in Europe and know about its target market. It is very important to use digital devices as well as traditional distribution tools. In online marketing, how to set goals and which tools to use are important, and they require a marketing strategy and a sustainable business model.

Second, the Korean industry should understand cultural differences, because people have different attitudes and approaches to skin care in Europe.

Korean consumers are willing to learn the complicated methods to use cosmetics, but Europeans want cosmetics to be just simple and useful. European women are also receptive to innovative products.

Third, products for vegans, non-alcoholic ones and those made from the best raw materials do not instantly create a market trend, but they have a market potential on a long-term basis. I think there is an untapped opportunity in Europe for organic products produced in Jeju. The unique value of the Jeju brand can appeal to European consumers. The beauty industry of Jeju should consider producing specialized products customized to European consumers. For instance, cosmetics made from lotus leaves, "Lotus" are gaining popularity in Europe. Starting with the German market, they are expanding their market share, and retail stores in the U.K. and Spain see a steady increase in the number of consumers of Lotus. In addition, an esteemed magazine is highlighting Lotus, and influential figures on social media are also taking notice of this brand.

- **Peter LEITER** I would like to tell you a very interesting story about how innovative companies in Jeju can be connected to European companies. As a startup accelerator, I know what German investors want. Jeju is a very attractive tourist destination and has a unique natural environment, making it a great place for the cosmetics industry. It is also the right place for technology companies in the startup field. Organizations such as the Center for Creative Economic Innovation are expected to serve as incubators for startups in Jeju. With government support, they are developing electric car and E-Mobility businesses, which share common ground with German industries. Since Jeju is pursuing the same direction of development that Germany is, it is expected to be able to cooperate with German companies, thus having a huge potential for cooperation. Since the primary goal of the Jeju vision is to lead innovation in Asia, cooperation with relevant German companies would help in attaining this goal.

However, there are two problems. One is that Europe is not aware of Jeju, and the second is that Jeju

is located far from Europe.

Jeju should move quickly to draw the attention of European investors and strive to promote its high-quality products and technologies. To make an investment successful, we must distinguish between "smart money" and "stupid money." Outward expansion worldwide is important, but what counts most is smart money. We should combine capital and knowledge, have the right networks, and most importantly, fit into the target markets.

How can we connect Jeju and European startups? As larger companies find it hard to get over difficulties in the market, German enterprises rather prefer small and agile startups as their industrial partners. I hope that Jeju startups will note these kinds of opportunities in their partnerships with German firms. If Jeju startups join the events of TechFounders and BMW Demo Day, they will find the right partners and investors. We recommend that they first search for partners before selling their products in the market. The e-Mobility and auto industries, in particular, play a key role in Germany, and there is also great potential for cooperation with Germany in the industrial field of renewable energy.

- **LEEJI-won** I would like to discuss how local brands can succeed. More than 10,000 companies are engaged in cosmetics manufacturing and sales nationwide. The local brands of Jeju Island have to stage an uphill battle with limitations in the market against these 10,000 competitors. They are facing adverse conditions in this competition with other domestic brands due to the burden from the logistics cost and lack of global marketing experience.

Nevertheless, the Jeju cosmetics brand should be nurtured as indie brands. Indie brands have a strong brand identity and specialize in one-line products. Why should we raise indie brands? Currently, the most influential consumers in the market are the millennial generation. This generation is enthusiastic about social media and cherishes daily, interactive communication, so the younger brands of Jeju can make a success by utilizing these marketing channels.

I would like to suggest three requirements for

the success of the Jeju-type indie brands. First, they should have a Jeju story. They have to capitalize on the Jeju myths, folktales and haenyeo (women divers) to appeal more to consumers' sensibility than reason. The approach to sensibility is concerned with the package design, scents and so on. The value of Jeju is not represented by the raw materials, alone. It should appeal to sensibility, too. There are also a variety of Jeju stories that can be effectively utilized to upgrade the indie brands.

- **KOH Dae Seung** I would like to explain why the Jeju Provincial Government should nurture the cosmetics industry and what kind of efforts it has made to promote the industry so far. Jeju Island has a natural beauty whose value has been recognized by UNESCO. Therefore, Jeju Island has a lot of resources that can be used as raw materials for cosmetics. There are more than 1,800 plants, many of which cannot be found on the peninsula. This gives a competitive edge to Jeju, which is considered the best place to localize and produce raw materials for cosmetics. Currently, there are 388 kinds of resources on Jeju Island whose efficacy as materials for cosmetics have been proven.

I would like to explain about the efforts made thus far. Governor Won Hee-ryong presented three projects to promote the use of natural resources in his election pledges. They were to foster a nature-friendly industry, an anti-aging industry utilizing its brand as a longevity island and a biodiversity-based bioindustry. To the list, Jeju added a project to promote the perfume industry, modeled after the one in Grasse, France, during the incumbent governor's term of office. In line with this, the ordinance to promote the Jeju cosmetics industry was enacted in 2015, and the cosmetic certificate system, "Made in Jeju," was introduced in May 2016. From 2018, Jeju seeks to establish a provincial institution to promote the use of environment-friendly resources. The Made in Jeju certificate for cosmetics is to encourage the use of environment-friendly materials by stipulating that the materials of Jeju origin account for at least 10 percent of total components of cosmetics products; the products should be produced in Jeju-based fac-

ories; and the factories should not use plastics and LPG propellants. As of June 2018, 171 products from 36 companies have been certified. The Raw Materials Development Center for the Cosmetics Industry will establish a factory with 10 billion won financed by the central government and another 10 billion won by the Jeju Provincial Government with the aim of strengthening the competitiveness of the domestic cosmetics industry by establishing the infrastructure for the raw materials development industry and by developing new manufacturing processes. Major issues facing the cosmetics market are how to develop environment-friendly, sensible cosmetics with scientifically proven effects based on dermatology, neuroscience and emotional science; how to utilize ICT; and how to secure raw materials in accordance with the Convention on Biological Diversity. Therefore, it is necessary for the cosmetics industry of Jeju to acquire the advanced technology of dermatology and develop a global brand. In addition, the Jeju cosmetics industry should develop raw materials to replace 70% of imports, and sensible cosmetics that satisfy personalized needs; enhance the brand value and its authenticity; and create stories about the unique value of Jeju Island.

- **Todd SAMPLE** I will make a presentation, mainly focused on what kinds of efforts Jeju cosmetics producers should make to advance into the global market. Other countries have much interest in Korea. There are many people in the world who want to know about Korea even if they do not have enough information, and they are interested in K-Beauty, but have less awareness of Jeju. To join the global market, Jeju must find its own uniqueness. It is important to know how to approach the market where people have different perceptions. Some people value nature, but others do not. Producers of Jeju brands should think about how to present the nature of the island. It is valuable, but they have to learn how to differentiate it.

Next, it is more important to learn how to promote the brand than access the market. It is imperative to meet directly with consumers and industry representatives. No matter how much the government

encourages the activities of K-Beauty overseas, it is useless if business people do not work hard. Brand building should precede other activities. For brand building, we need to build relationships in the market and make an approach to it from a long-term perspective. This is true not only for K-Beauty but also for other industries.

Now that the awareness of Korea has been raised, it is important to differentiate Jeju Island. When we talk about Jeju Island, we are reminded of its nature, first. Nature has a positive image when we hear it, and they say the Jeju nature is far better than imagined when they actually see it. Therefore, the Jeju Forum can be a good platform to promote the beauty of Jeju. Some of those who visited Jeju for the first time to attend the Forum say, "It is far beyond expectations," and "It is so beautiful." For a good impression of the island, Jeju should invite many people through familiarization tours. Also, it is important to let the presence of K-Beauty be known through online social media. Korean industries make good use of online marketing but fail to do so with hash tags. Jeju should recognize what foreigners are saying about Korea and Jeju Island and how they perceive them and should make good use of hash tags.

Lastly, the K-Beauty industry should be fully prepared in the domestic market before advancing to overseas markets. It is crucial to know the strong and weak points of the brands in the Korean market.

Policy Implications

- Efforts to raise awareness of Jeju Island should precede the advance of Jeju brands into the European market.
- It is important to develop Jeju-type indie brands that represent the characteristics and traits of the island.
- To promote Jeju, which is not well known in the international market, Jeju should invite foreign investors and entrepreneurs to visit frequently and make full use of such things as familiarization tours and forums.
- To advance into overseas markets, especially the European market, cosmetics brands should engage in marketing tailored to local consumers through social media and make more efforts to prepare storytelling about the brands.

Review on How to Nurture Global Talents at the Local Level to Lead Balanced National Development



Chair	KANG Gi-Choon Professor, Jeju National University
Moderator	KANG Choong-Hyo Research Team General Manager, JDC
Presenter	KIM Byeong-Kuk Head Director, Korea Research Institute for Local Government & Community Affairs
Discussant	JUNG Hyun-Min Director General, The Presidential Committee for Balanced National Development LIM Choon-Bong Management & Planning Headquarter Director General, JDC CHO Sang-Bum Director, Jeju Special Self-Governing Province Human Resource Development Institute KWON Ki-Wook Professor, Konkuk University
Rapporteur	OH Hyung-Jin Manager, Jeju Free International City Development Center

● **KIM Byeong-Kuk** **How to Nurture Global Talent at Local Communities:** Committed to the policy goals of decentralization and local autonomy, Korea promotes balanced national development to close regional gaps. This is because stunted growth and economic polarization, coupled with population decline caused by low birthrates and an ageing population, are likely to lead to the extinction of the local population. The first thing the local governments should do to overcome this is to prioritize measures to produce a talented workforce. But local municipal governments are lagging far behind in global competitiveness and globalization indices, and the foundation of their educational system remains too weak to produce global talent. Therefore, it is an urgent task for local governments to produce global talent specializing in the affairs involving foreign investment and international cooperation. To that end, I suggest they establish a local hub to nurture global human resources.

● **LIM Choon-Bong** **JDC's Efforts to Nurture Global Talent and Set up a Training Institute Tentatively called The**

Global Talent Development Institute: Jeju Free International City Development Center (JDC) was launched in 2002 with the mission of creating a free international city on Jeju. Its name itself already denotes the concept of globalization. The JDC has implemented an education project called the Jeju Global Education City and other corporate social responsibility projects, including the JDC Global Academy, English camps for residents of Jeju, and training programs for vocational high schools that have provided educational services to more than 75,000 Jeju residents. Combining the knowledge and expertise in international affairs the JDC has accumulated over the last 16 years while carrying out the Jeju free international city development project, it is now working on a project to establish a training institute, tentatively called The Global Talent Development Institute, which will train civil servants at local governments, employees at local public enterprises and talented locals in international business affairs. The JDC is now drawing up a basic plan for the project to operate the education programs for civil servants at local

governments, employees of local public enterprises and others. We are planning to expand our audience gradually to include small- and medium-sized businesses and others in the private sector, preparing to play a leading role as a public organization in this age of decentralization.

● **JUNG Hyun-Min** **A Proposal to Effectively Promote the Global Talent Development Institute Project:** To improve the quality of education programs, we would have to analyze information about international exchanges between local governments, in addition to utilizing the knowhow the JDC itself has amassed over the years. The success story of the Busan International Banking Institute tells us how important it is to develop differentiated educational programs tailored to meet actual needs. Demands for educational programs may be scarce at the initial stage of operation, but it will increase if differentiated quality programs are provided.

● **CHO Sang-Bum** **Suggestion on the Operation of Education Programs at the Global Talent Development Institute:** The quality of Jeju Island's human resources admittedly remains lower than desired in terms of the need for innovative local governance. Hence, the JDC's offering of educational programs is a due procedure to meet the need for specialized training. I think the training programs the JDC is preparing are likely to draw positive responses from younger civil servants in the 7th and lower grades. However, it is too early to be optimistic about it, in spite of the positive responses, as supervising officials are reluctant to allow lower grade officers to attend the educational programs. It is also hard to predict the demand for the programs. Earlier this year, we operated an education program for employees at public enterprises, which ended up with just 12 enrollments. Training programs for workers at public enterprises should be differentiated from those for public officials. It has yet to be decided whether the JDC's education programs should focus on the training of public officials or expand its target audience over time. It is also necessary to consider providing educational opportunities for the residents of Jeju, including the young

generation. About 90 percent of businesses on Jeju are small-sized, employing just five or fewer workers. That means they do not have enough money to invest in human resources. It would be worthwhile for the JDC to provide job training for small businesses in the public sector.

● **KWON Ki-Wook** **Proposal on the Organization and Operation of the projected Global Talent Development Institute from the Perspective of Human Resources Management:** It is important to make sure the institute is staffed and organized so that qualified personnel with global competence administer the education, though this is a hard task. I propose that the JDC hire staff with expertise, from the start if possible, to solidify the basis of the educational programs. They should also develop, among other things, sustainable evaluation tools as a measure to improve the quality of the educational course and its operation.

● **KANG Gi-Choon** **Opinions on the Proposal of the Global Talents Development Institute:** The JDC has initiated many important projects since its inception, contributing much to the growth of Jeju Island. Judging by the JDC's career of project management and the knowhow it has amassed over the years, it is deemed to be qualified enough to launch innovative education programs. It is giving it a new try with the Global Talent Development Institute project, which seems desirable in that it is focused on the development of software competence, departing from the usual hardware-oriented approach.

Policy Implications

- As its key policy agenda, South Korea prioritizes decentralization and balanced national development to close regional gaps.
- In terms of education programs for globalization, however, local governments in South Korea fall far behind in global competitiveness, and their educational systems remain too poor to nurture global talent, which necessitates new policies to develop educational programs to produce global talent among local natives.

Jeju Peace Island for Koreas: Six Party Talks Culture Tourism Welfare at the Grass Roots Level



Chair/ Moderator	KO Chang Hoon Professor Emeritus, Jeju National University
Presenter	KANG Woo Il Bishop, Jeju Catholic
	LAI Jeh-Hang Professor, National Central University, Taiwan
	Douglas A. YATES Professor, American Graduate School in Paris
	Sachio NAKATO Professor, Ritsumeikan University, Japan
	CHENG Cheng-chen Professor, National Central University, Taiwan
	Anton KOSLOV Journalist/Professor, American Graduate School in Paris
Discussant	Michael B. RAMBAROSE CEO, Whitney Center
	Christine STOPKA Board Member, East Rock Institute, USA
	LEE Kyung-Won Professor, Jeju National University
	IM Ae-Duck Adjunct Professor, Jeju National University
	Charles M. SMITH CPA, CohnReznick Director
	KOH Kwon-II Peace Activist, Gang Peace Village
	WI Sung-Gon Congressman, Korea National Assembly
	KANG Sun Seok Director of Jeju Geology Institute
	OH Seong Hak Teacher, Jeju Halla Middle School
	WON Hyung Joon Director, Lindendaum Orchestra
	HAN Geum-Soon Teacher, Jeju Nam-nyeong High School
PARK Young-Hye Professor, Sookmyung Women's University	
Rapporteur	YANG Jeong Chul Researcher, Jeju National University

- **KANG Woo Il Jeju and peace education:** Jeju is designated as the “Island of World Peace,” but it is vulnerable to social conflicts. Permanent peace education programs need to be in place to resolve such conflicts and pave the way for all residents of Jeju to come together as one. More than 40 participants from seven countries around the world are to attend the 2018 Jeju World Peace Academy, an internationally esteemed peace education program organized by Jeju National University. I propose that we share the culture of peace by learning about the Jeju 4.3 Incident, the Gangjeong peace movement and other peace initiatives at the Academy. Let us help citizens

and teachers join hands to make sure the Academy serves as a graduate school of peace studies on Jeju.

- **LAI Jeh-Hang The Meaning of the Inscription of Taiwan's 2.28 Incident on UNESCO's Memory of the World Register:** It is hard to talk about Taiwan's decades-long conflicts without mentioning, among others, a tragedy that took place in 1947. It happened after a new government took office in Taiwan after Japanese colonial rule ended. It was a conflict between corrupt government officials and residents, and a confrontation between Taiwanese and mainlanders. Estimations vary, but casualties are reported to have totaled 1,500-2,000 people. I heard Jeju

experienced a similar tragedy, the Jeju 4.3 Incident. I would say all these took place in the process of a power shift. We studied and taught the tragedies to remember the victims, who did not die in vain. With these efforts, we had the Taiwanese government pay compensation to the victims of the 2.28 Incident, while designating February 28 as a national Memorial Day to share the suffering of the victims and their families.

- **Douglas YATES Jeju's Strategy to Promote the Island of Peace:** In Paris, I do research on the untold stories of the 4.3 Incident. I am not just studying about them. I am teaching about what we should do to build peace. Korea is planning to submit the documents on the Jeju 4.3 Incident to UNESCO's World Heritage Committee to inscribe them on the Memory of the World Register at the annual session to be held at this time next year. They stand a fair chance of being listed as such because, earlier in 2011, the archives for the May 18th Gwangju Uprising were inscribed on the UNESCO Memory of the World Register. The register, an archive of records of historical significance, is distributed across the world. South Korea needs to make sure the Jeju 4.3 Incident is listed on the Memory of the World Register for global society's research on peace. It is important to lay a foundation for peace studies on the global level by promoting inter-disciplinary research and education on peace studies.

- **Sachio NAKATO Jeju's Six-plus-One-Party Talks Strategy:** Japan is also providing a lot of peace education programs, with most of them available in the prefectures of Okinawa, Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Peace is usually taught from early ages in these regions. That is because peace education is something that can achieve its goal by going through the process of building consensus among different generations. The U.S. troops are stationed in Okinawa, and Okinawans often complain about the inconvenience the Americans have caused. I held a lecture in Japan the other day on the “Security Treaty Between the U.S. and Japan” and the “Australia, New Zealand, U.S. Security Treaty.” It was a lecture given from the

American perspective. A female college student, a native of Okinawa, pointed out that the mere absence of war between world powers does not mean peace for Japan. She was against the world powers' version of peace. That tells us that the way Asia views peace is different from the way major powers do. We should take into consideration that the perceptions about peace on Jeju, and in Okinawa and Taiwan are different. If we really want to pursue true peace, we need solidarity and a new peace concept, independent of the perspective of power politics, to protect human rights from state violence and to share each other's pain. The Six-plus-One-Party Talks that Jeju has put forward sounds like a fresh idea to me. The Osaka Prefecture can host the talks in 2020 in cooperation with Ritsumeikan University.

- **WON Hyung Joon Talks about Music for Peace on the Korean Peninsula:** I have engaged in music performance and talk shows on the theme of peace since 2009. Music is a language of communication. Young musicians are talking about peace, and playing music for peace in harmony. Those many harmonies bond young people of different races and nationalities together. I want to deliver a peace message through music to the world. I am trying to heal the scars of the Jeju 4.3 Incident through the language of music.

- **CHENG Cheng-chen Taiwan's 2.28 Incident and peace in Taiwan:** In Taiwan, we had pretty much discussions about what we should teach about the tragic 2.28 Incident. I believe they did too on Jeju about the 4.3 Incident. What should you teach about the tragic incident? Jeju has gone through the same pain as Taiwan has. You have the 4.3 Incident. Taiwan's 2.28 Incident is a tragic history, in which innocent civilians were suppressed by soldiers and policemen. Learning lessons from such a painful history, we have taught ourselves, shared the suffering, and done research to discover the truth to make sure such things are not repeated again. Although Jeju is called the Island of World Peace today, it has the same painful history as Taiwan. The scars from the tragic history of Jeju, I hope, will be healed through

well-organized education programs for reconciliation and cooperation. Also, I hope the sad history of Jeju will be inscribed on UNESCO's Memory of the World Register.

- **Anton KOSLOV** *Six-Party Talks and the Role of Russia:* Relations between South Korea and Russia – members of the Six-Party Talks on the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula – have a special history. Russia has a great interest in promoting permanent peace in Central and Northeast Asia. Russia is making more efforts to find its own role than any other member of the Six-Party Talks. Russia has maintained a balance in the talks. I do not believe denuclearization of North Korea will be completed within a decade. And yet, I am very interested to know how quickly they will improve relations and how soon they will achieve complete denuclearization, the kind of peace all members of the Six-Party Talks desire. The recent summit between Kim Jong Un and Donald Trump has brought many changes. Russia supports the latest developments and will continue to contribute to peace on the Korean peninsula. I think it would be a good idea if Russia hosts the Six-plus-One-Party Talks in the Far East city of Vladivostok in late 2020 or 2021.

- **Michael RAMBAROSE** *Global Ageing Network Korea 2019:* South Korea is becoming a super-aged society, too. Healthcare of elderly people is looming as a challenging issue. Many studies are being carried out in the U.S. as part of efforts to reform the care programs for the elderly. Through these programs, elderly citizens in 30 countries across six continents are receiving healthcare services. The worldwide population aged 60 and older is projected to reach about 1 billion by 2020. Studies are being conducted to improve the healthcare system for the elderly and help them feel that they belong to the community. I would recommend that Jeju National University, the Korea Tourism College and the Whitney Center host the Global Ageing Network Korea next March on Jeju, which has a reputation as the island of longevity and peace, and ultimately the “Global Ageing Conference,” in 2021.

- **Charles SMITH & IM Ae-Duck & PARK Young-Hye & BOO Eun He** *Jeju Talks about Combining the Kim Man-deok Culture and Global Ageing Network Korea 2019:* We agree on the idea of South Korea building peace through cultural education. We believe that the philanthropic culture of Kim Man-deok, coupled with Jeju's commitment to women's rights and world peace, will help in bringing peace to Northeast Asia. The Global Ageing Network Korea 2019 slated for next March will be a landmark event, if it is combined with the philanthropic culture of Kim Man-deok on the global stage. We would like to assist in international exchanges between Jeju National University, the East Rock Institute and Yale University.

- **Christine STOPKA** *Convergence of Oriental and Western Cultures:* I was ten years old when I left Korea for New York. I experienced a wide range of cultural diversity there. I learned about cultural differences as I interacted with people. I also had a chance to teach about peace. As we talk about peace with each other, we sometimes find ourselves standing on the opposite side of the fence on certain issues. Going through these processes, people get to understand each other better and share each other's stories. There are differences between Eastern and Western cultures. However, the East and West share the same practice of making efforts to understand one another and talk about peace. Jeju culture, represented by “bulteok” (a rest place for Jeju haenyeo) and jeongnang (the front gate of a traditional Jeju house) in Seongeup Historic Village, was impressive. If the Global Ageing Network Korea 2019 is held to discuss the unique culture of Jeju, I will do my best to support it.

- **KOH Kwon-II** *Policy Shift toward Promoting Gangjeong as the Port of Peace:* As inter-Korean relations have improved, I suggest that Gangjeong Port be converted back into a civilian-military complex, as planned before, to start a cruise tour service. In a related move, Rep. Wi Seong-gon of the ruling Democratic Party of Korea pledged to establish an international graduate school of environmental studies at Gangjeong Village in cooperation with Jeju National

University, a plan I support. I hope the school will be set up in Gangjeong or Seogwipo.

- **KANG Sun Seok** *Asian Standards for Use and Preservation of UNESCO Global Geoparks and World Natural Heritages in Connection with the Establishment of the ASIAPARC Federation:* There are some problematic issues with the management of the World Natural Heritages of Jeju such as the extreme commercialism and bureaucratic interference since 2012. To address these problems, I think, we should consider introducing an independent organization modeled after the Federation of Nature and National Parks of Europe. We need to completely re-examine the way Jeju heritages are managed. Among recent issues are the controversies about an access road to Sanbang Mountain and the installation of a pedestrian bridge over Yongmeori Beach.

- **HAN Geum-Soon** *“Cherry Tree & Peace Culture Festival” of Jeju National University and American University:* According to a U.S. Congressional document, an American senator announced in a speech on March 29, 1943 that the cherry trees planted around the Capitol Hill in Washington D.C. were found to have not originated from Japan, but from South Korea's Jeju Island. Decades later, on April 20 this year, students and faculty members of Jeju National University visited Washington D.C. to attend the Jeju 4.3 Reconciliation Conference. After the conference, they stopped by Capitol Hill to see the flowering cherry trees from Jeju, and American University, which has a stone grandpa (Dolhareubang) from Jeju. During the visit, they proposed the two universities hold a cherry tree-themed culture festival on Jeju, which deserves support from the island.

Policy Implications

- Peace education serves as global infrastructure for building peace and easing tension through civic initiatives. Let us promote the Jeju World Peace Academy of Jeju National University as an international education program that might be joined by Japan, the U.S., Switzerland, Hong Kong, France, Australia and other countries. If Jeju succeeds in launching the Six-plus-One-Party Talks in March next year within the framework of the World Peace Academy, it will upgrade the civic diplomacy of Jeju and its global profile.
- Jeju is the island of longevity. Jeju is also a place of tragic history, the Jeju 4.3 Incident. Most of the victims of the incident are very old now. That means they are fading into history without having their trauma treated. The Global Ageing Network Korea 2019 might provide us with an opportunity to heal their pain, move toward peace and solidify the cultural identity of Jeju. If the Global Ageing Network Korea 2019 is held jointly with the Six-plus-One-Party Talks in March next year, we might introduce the Jeju bulteok culture and jeongnang tourism network to North Korea.
- It is expected that it will take up to ten years to have a documentary heritage of the Jeju 4.3 Incident listed on UNESCO's Memory of the World Register. Jeju Special Self-governing Province also unveiled its roadmap for the project. We propose that Jeju National University conduct a joint research with Taiwan universities and the American University of Paris, as well as seek cooperation with other relevant institutions.
- As the management of Jeju's World Natural Heritages and Geoparks of UNESCO remains in disarray, there should be a measure to address this issue by establishing an international graduate school of environmental studies in Seogwipo or the ASIAPARC Federation.

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