

avoid the impact of the financial meltdown. The creative diversity of people is what enables societies to overcome difficulties but that can only happen if the structure and laws within a country enable them to do so.

Courageous leadership can and must provide that opportunity.

The diversity and different beliefs of the world community is used by a few to justify terror. There is no justification, can never be justification, for the horrors of racial and religious strife that again torment the world and as a result we daily witness the tide of refugees seeking a new home because they can no longer live in their home countries.

It is tragic beyond comprehension that the world again has to confront similar racial prejudices to those that tore the fabric of western civilisation apart in the middle of the 20th century. Similar views are back to haunt the world in the 21st century and with notable exceptions the world has been slow to respond. The tragedy is compounded by the fact that many countries refuse to admit refugees or admit relatively few of these desperate people.

Ethnic strife, whether based on religion or not, has caused unimaginable dislocation of communities, but the challenge doesn't end there, because unchecked, Climate Change also has the potential to cause millions to become refugees and looking for new homes that will offer sanctuary from the incoming sea.

The 2015 Paris Climate Conference was a great success in that it brought together the countries of the world and reached agreement on the need for urgent action. The question remains however, will all countries or sufficient countries take the necessary action to keep the temperature rise below 2 degrees centigrade? Even a 2 degree rise will cause much damage with the flooding of coastal lands, where most of the world's population live, but it would be devastating if temperatures were to rise much above 2 degrees.

It would mean the mass relocation of people and as we know from the world's experience with today's refugees, moving large numbers of people is a very demanding undertaking, so the logic is compelling for countries to urgently take action to greatly reduce carbon emissions now.

A few countries are taking bold steps, like the Netherlands passing laws to outlaw the purchase of petrol and diesel vehicles after 2025, or Norway that has taken taxes off hybrid and electric vehicles so that they are price competitive. New Zealand has also taken some steps to make electric vehicles more attractive. Others are taking different steps like China and other countries' large investment in solar energy to limit the need for dirty coal fired power stations.

My point is that every country must take steps to respond to the threat that unchecked climate change will cause. Action is required now - it cannot be put off to a future date. Asia which has led in many areas down through history now has the opportunity to lead in developing new and innovative approaches to curbing carbon emissions.

Let me conclude by observing that I have covered some of the great challenges we face, but the counter point is, that the world stands on the threshold of extraordinary possibilities through the rapid growth of knowledge, but we need more, we need to promote the values that recognise each individual as unique, irrespective of their race, colour or religion and each is entitled to live in peace. Achieve that and the possibilities are without end. Thank you for your attention.

[Keynote Speech]

Collective Wisdom for a Better Future

GOH Chok Tong Former Prime Minister of Singapore



It is my pleasure to take part in the 11th Jeju Peace Forum. Today, I would like to share the perspective of a small country, Singapore, on the topic of Asia's New Order, and the role that cooperative leadership has in achieving this vision.

Asia's New Order

We are well into the second decade of the "Pacific Century." The Asia Pacific region now contributes 40 percent of global output and two-thirds of its growth. If Asian economies can maintain their growth momentum and adapt to the shifting global economic and technological advances, Asia would account for half of global GDP output by 2050, similar to its share of world population. Already, the number of Asians living below the global poverty rate of US\$1.25 per day, has halved from 1.6 billion in 1981 to around 700 million today.

But we are still far from achieving our full potential. This is in part due to intractable issues that have their roots in the legacies of history. To escape the shackles of history will require enlightened, strong and far-sighted leadership which shares a common vision of Asia's new order and collectively exercise political will to overcome complex challenges together for the common good.

Leadership in Asia since WWII

The notion of cooperative leadership is not new. It has been demonstrated in many significant episodes throughout history. For example, the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648 following the 30-year war in Europe, introduced the concepts of sovereignty and territorial integrity, which underpins much of foreign policy and international relations today.

The vibrant Asia-Pacific region we live in today went through turbulent times as a fragmented and unstable entity after World War II. Decolonisation led to a number of newly independent states in Asia. Communist insurgencies divided Southeast Asia, and led to a period of Confrontation between Indonesia and Malaysia. The Korean Peninsula remains divided under armistice.

Those were difficult times, but the respective governments concerned were able to bridge their differences and created supra-regional peace. The US security umbrella provided regional stability for Asia to focus on economic development. It paved the way for Japan's economic miracle and the emergence of the four Asian Tigers: the ROK, Singapore, Hong Kong and Taiwan. China joined the World Trade Organisation in 2001, and became the world's 2nd largest economy a decade later. Through all this, our leaders adopted development and prosperity for their peoples as their guiding paradigms and actively sought win-win outcomes despite lingering trust deficit in some countries resulting from the historical baggage of World War II.

Today, the international order is under pressure. Rapidly changing global trends brought about by technological advancements and ease of communication has generated unprecedented disruptions both within and between societies. Leaders and governments face tremendous pressures in trying to meet the aspirations of their peoples and secure their political legitimacies. In responding to such pressures, there is sometimes a temptation to externalise problems as a form of distraction or to buy time to tackle difficult issues.

But simply kicking the can down the road cannot resolve these issues which have the potential to create even more problems for future generations. They have to bear the burden of these historical legacies even though they have not personally experienced them. People across Asia want peace and stability. They are still trying to climb up in life. Leaders should have the vision and political courage to take bold steps to build the necessary regional architecture to fulfil these common aspirations rather than merely safeguarding national interests alone in a zero-sum manner.

Singapore's Perspective

Even the small Jeju Island is 2.6 times the size of the whole of Singapore. For us, basic necessities like water and food security are everyday concerns that keep our leaders awake at night. As a small city-state, we have very few options and little room for error. We depend on an open, transparent, rules-based international system and a benign external environment. We cannot be divorced from the world. Geopolitical tension in the region and heightened terrorist threats are bound to affect Singapore.

Therefore, since we became independent in 1965, we have pursued a proactive foreign policy. We have worked to create frameworks for regional cooperation. Besides being a founding member of APEC, we also founded the UN's Forum of Small States, and initiated the creation of the Asia-Europe Meeting, ASEM, and the Forum for East Asia-Latin America Cooperation, FEALAC. All these forums and mechanisms helped contribute to deepening understanding and strengthen cooperation among the countries concerned.

ASEAN

The establishment of ASEAN in 1967 is a good example of a multilateral institution that can play the role of a "cohesive glue" to bring countries together. Former foes can become cooperative partners. ASEAN remains a cornerstone of Singapore's foreign policy. While we are 10 very different countries in geographical and population size, economic and social structure, and political governance, we do not lose sight of our common goals – reduce poverty, narrow developmental gaps, and improve overall well-being of our peoples. Our efforts towards achieving these goals bring us closer to fitting the different pieces of the "ASEAN jig-saw puzzle" together. In December



2015, we launched the ASEAN Economic Community, AEC, a huge market of over US\$2.6 trillion and over 620 million people. Under the AEC Blueprint 2025, we have also set ambitious targets to enhance connectivity and create a competitive, innovative and dynamic ASEAN. ASEAN may not be perfect but it is a good example of what we can achieve if we are determined not to remain mired in the past.

ASEAN also plays an important role in anchoring the major powers' engagement of the region, such as through the East Asia Summit, EAS. Notably, trilateral cooperation among China, Japan and the ROK has its roots in the historic breakfast summit meeting held on the sidelines of the ASEAN+3 meeting in Manila in 1999 between Chinese, Japanese and ROK leaders. This was a crucial first step towards formally developing the China-Japan-ROK trilateral cooperation framework. Since 2008, the three countries have met separately outside the ASEAN+3 framework, and Singapore welcomes the latest Trilateral Summit Meeting that took place in Seoul last November. We hope that the jig-saw puzzle in Northeast Asia could similarly be fitted in well for the mutual benefit of the countries concerned.

Collective Wisdom

Size is relative. Both the ROK and Singapore are dwarfed by our neighbours. The ROK has its own unique geopolitical challenges at its doorstep – a hostile regime in the DPRK, China's growing strategic and economic weight, and the historical baggage in ROK-Japan relations. Should tensions escalate in the Korean Peninsula or between the US and China, the ROK will be caught in between, even if it is not a protagonist.

How can the ROK avoid such a scenario? And can the ROK be solely dependent on the US' security umbrella, important as it is? These are important questions that the ROK leadership, both present and future, will have to think about.

History has shown that collective wisdom and open-minded leadership can bring about extraordinary outcomes. Many leaders before us have led the way in demonstrating how to break free from the burden of history for a better future. These leaders may be criticised for taking a bold step or for not pandering to domestic expectations, but history will be the judge of whether this is the right move. One recent example of such bold leadership is the agreement between Japan and the ROK last December to resolve the long-standing "comfort women" issue. This has been a difficult problem, and understandably so because it is an emotional one, but both sides showed great determination and will to turn the page on history and build trust and reconciliation. This will benefit not only Japan and the ROK, but also enhance peace, stability and cooperation in the region.

Conclusion

In conclusion, while we have strong leaders in Asia, it is insufficient for leaders to only exercise leadership within their respective countries without looking at the larger regional canvas. It would be all the more a pity if we have such strong national leaders, but weak cooperative leadership between them. To fully realise the vision of a "Pacific Century" and a new peaceful and prosperous new order for Asia, we need to reach out to one another; go past the confines of history; and build an order that will enable our future generations to live harmoniously and prosper together. It is Singapore's hope that our region can realise this vision together. Thank you.

[Keynote Speech]

Education, Key to Cooperative Leadership

Enrico LETTA Former Prime Minister of Italy



May I begin by saying hello to everyone here today? It is a great privilege for me personally to be here before such a prestigious audience and alongside such authoritative figures, figures who, in their respective fields of activity – in politics and culture, in business and academia – are distinguished by their leadership, never solitary or self-absorbed but always aimed outwards toward dialogue and constructive interaction between individuals, societies and states.

Alongside my personal sense of privilege, I have the honour of being permitted to bring to your attention my point of view as an Italian and a European. That is to say the point of view of one who has lived and experienced the growth of the European Union and its process of integration; a process which has guaranteed to that area of the world decades of peace and stability after millennia of fratricidal war and devastation. So, obviously it is from this position that I will describe the subject of the cooperative leadership of the new world order.

I will focus my analysis in particular on the impact of the three great crises which have shaken Europe in the last decade: the economic and financial crisis; the refugee crisis and the crisis of terrorism with the war against Daesh.

How much do each of these affect international relations and intersect with expectations for the so called "Asiatic Century?" From the answers to these questions I hope there will emerge a fact; in regard to the challenges they bring the distance between my and your outlook is only geographical.

Between the European and Asiatic civilisations – both fruits of a millennium of evolution and of noble philosophical and cultural traditions – there exists a common objective towards peace and dialogue between nations. It is the same objective that the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Ban Ki-moon, has patiently followed for the collective and sustainable management of global problems. This objective itself, when seen clearly, is aimed at the reduction of inequality between peoples through change and innovation as the successes of the country which hosts us – South Korea is at the forefront of the global technological revolution – efficaciously bear witness.

The three great crises of the "black decade": why the EU needs cooperative leader-