

the world court to find settlement. And we agreed that if the world court rules on any settlement, we will respect the rule made by the world court. And in the dispute that was with Indonesia, the world court decided that the two islands belong to Malaysia. There's no war as we accepted the findings of the world court.

Then there was a dispute with Singapore over a tiny rock found in the seas between Malaysia and Singapore. Again we went to the world court after long negotiations and failing. We went to the world court and the world court decided that this rock belongs to Singapore. We did not dispute the findings of the world court.

Then we had a dispute with the Philippines. We decided that it should not be brought up as a major issue in our relations. Initially, we had no diplomatic relations, but diplomatic relations have been restored.

So there are other ways of settling disputes than going to war. War is very primitive because war means killing people. And if we consider ourselves as having achieved civilized status, we should avoid war in the solution of any dispute between us.

We have the United Nations. If, in the United Nations, settlement is not met by one of the five who are permanent members, but indeed it is settled by the majority of the members of the United Nations. Then probably we would be having less conflict between us. And we would resolve the problems that we face due to the availability or due to the choosing of war as a means of solving our conflicts.

Today much money is being spent on improving the power of weapons. We come to the stage when we now have in our hands weapons that can wipe out the whole human race. Should that be a nuclear war, the whole human race might vanish from the earth.

Even if it is conventional weapon, a lot of people are going to be killed when they swarm. And it is not confined only to the combatants, but also to the ordinary, non-combatants in any country. Surely we must regard killing on the scale as a greater crime than a single case of murder in our own countries.

It will take a long time before our mindset can be changed. But as with slavery it took almost two hundred years before slavery is universally accepted as a crime, and then we should not have slaves. Maybe the struggle to criminalize war will take even longer time.

But the journey of thousand miles begins with the first step. We believe that if everyone especially in democratic countries insists that candidates buying for places in the election should vow to disregard war through avoiding war as a means of settling dispute between nations.

If that happens, then we can claim that we can be truly civilized. Today I think it is only half civilized because we still believe in killing people in order to resolve problems and conflicts between us.

[Keynote Speech]

Reducing Nuclear Weapons down to Zero

Jim BOLGER Former Prime Minister of New Zealand



Thank the organisers of the Jeju Forum for Peace and Prosperity for their generous invitation for me to attend and speak to this prestigious gathering. I want to acknowledge my fellow speakers.

In the language of New Zealand's indigenous people: He aha te mea nui o te ao, He tangata he tangata he tangata.

“What is the most important thing in the world? It is the people, it is the people, it is the people.”

I have started with that proverb of New Zealand's indigenous Maori people to give focus to our discussions and remind us that we are not discussing the latest technology or even the grandeur and mysteries of outer space. No, we are talking about people and their needs and their hope to live in peace and security.

The Maori people over the centuries made their way across the vast Pacific to reach New Zealand about 1000 years, Polynesian people, distant decedents of the original people of Taiwan.

On every visit to South Korea I have been impressed by the dynamism of the country and its people but I know the pain of a divided country still lingers 72 years after the end of World War II. My parents were from Ireland so I know a little of the pain the division of a country can cause.

In the case of Ireland it happened because of colonisation and religion and in the case of Korea the division was caused by different ideologies driving world politics.

I know that no two situations are ever the same and the history of Ireland and that of the Korean Peninsula are very different but I am certain that the Korean people north of the 38th parallel would welcome a more open and prosperous society similar to the south.

It would be easy, and perhaps expected, that I will add, and I do, to the condemnations often made of the policies of North Korea but I have chosen, under the conference theme; “Asia's New Order and Cooperative Leadership,” to suggest an alternative approach rather than just to restate the problem as has been done many times before, instead I want to talk about possible solutions.

I suggest it is not too idealistic to seek a resolution perhaps similar to the so called



“Good Friday Agreement” that was negotiated in Ireland in 1998. Finding a way forward out of a deeply entrenched stalemate is never easy but ultimately negotiations are the way forward. If that could be accepted then all involved can focus on achieving the goal of peaceful collaboration on the peninsula which could, in time, lead to the unification of the Korean Peninsula.

That after all is what the United Nations set out as its goal 71 years back in 1945. For comparison, from the partition of Ireland in 1921 until the agreement in 1998 was 77 years.

To me a cooperative approach is needed if the serious threat associated with North Korea’s nuclear program is to be resolved. Let me now put the possible resolution of the threat from North Korea’s nuclear ambitions in a broader nuclear disarmament context.

As suggested a different approach, negotiations, can make progress as shown by the recent agreement achieved with Iran to dismantle its nuclear capability following the committed effort of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council plus Germany.

I believe we can all draw some encouragement from the progress made in Iran and work to achieve a similar outcome with North Korea.

New Zealand has a long history of opposition to nuclear weapons, a position that at times has caused rifts with our traditional friends, so we welcomed the big reductions in nuclear weapons made by the US and Russia from the large stockpiles they had in the cold war era, but the two countries, currently, still have about 95 percent of the world’s nuclear weapons.

Given New Zealand’s history of opposition to nuclear weapons it should surprise no one when I say that all the current nuclear weapons powers must be urged to move disarmament efforts further and faster.

In fact the reverse is happening. The United States and Russia are in planned programs to upgrade their respective nuclear stockpiles and delivery systems.

The cost of these upgrades according to one report I have seen, is in the case of the US over a trillion dollars and I suspect that Russia will spend a similar amount. I ask what message is this to the world.

The world desperately needs to sign up to another message, the message that the only safe number of nuclear weapons is zero. Zero is the only safe option. Currently the world lives under the threat that in certain circumstances a single individual could be required to make a very quick decision on whether or not to unleash nuclear weapons that could kill millions or tens of millions of innocent people. The world needs to reflect on that cold fact.

To achieve the peace and security goals of this forum the 7.5 billion people of the world want the nuclear powers large and small to cooperate and develop a program for the planned reduction of nuclear weapons down to zero. Cooperation, not threats is also essential to prevent the complex issues associated with the South China Sea becoming a destabilising flash point in regional relations. On simple practical grounds it costs very little to resolve issues by dialogue and negotiations compared with spending a country’s treasury on more arms.

Economic cooperation is often best captured in balanced Free Trade Agreements and I note that South Korea and Asia in general have been active in that space and there are now a number of FTA’s linking the economies of Asia and linking Asian economies to the world. I welcome that development. New Zealand has a number of such agreements and they are all beneficial. New Zealand was the first developed country to negotiate a FTA with China.

Cooperation across Asia and the world is essential to grow world prosperity and regain momentum after the financial meltdown of 2008/9. I have been talking about the ambition to live in a world of peace and security but we also have the ambition to live in a world where all have an opportunity to be engaged in a meaningful activity and have a future full of hope. Economic programs have shown over the years how difficult it is to achieve the correct balance between relying on market forces to moderate corporate behaviour and what are the appropriate regulations necessary to ensure that corporate behaviour is consistent with its obligations to the country it operates in.

The recent leaking of the “Panama Papers” has forced many Governments to address the issue of large corporates and wealthy citizens not paying taxes. Searching the world’s tax laws to avoid paying appropriate tax in the country of operation is not acceptable, so now countries are in the process of tightening tax laws. Again cooperation between countries is needed to ensure that new international tax laws are honestly implemented.

From a political perspective the people have had enough of unfair economic policies as evidenced by the pulling power of political outsiders like Jeremy Corbyn in the UK and Bernie Sanders in the US. There are a lot of angry people across the world because unfair policies have seen a small few gain great wealth at the expense of the great majority.

Asia’s new order is a very dynamic one, but not even that dynamism enabled it to

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.