

asures in place that can be geared towards improving the international institutions created by the few major countries. Liberalism can only be sustained with an agreement on sustainable global rules among the countries of the world. Questions are raised if the European Union can still offer a resilient solution in terms of regionalism. Hegemonic countries are riding on a wave of change recently and they are making efforts to build more peaceful and equal relations with non-hegemonic countries to reduce complaints. However, the difficulty in the negotiation process and consequent unfairness still remaining issues to be tackled.

— **TAN See Seng** The phenomenon of regionalism should also be discussed in terms of security. Conflicts about security among countries with different philosophies should be resolved peacefully. I am concerned about the way new norms that do not fit us are becoming permanent. Bilateral negotiations held without an understanding of the negotiating partners' sentiment will certainly produce discord. Chinese President Xi Jinping has emphasized the importance of mutually sustainable development of East Asian countries. Discussions on how to promote sustainable development should continue.

— **Mark BEESON** The EU will continue to exist. However, it is evident that its influence would be weakened. The EU has been viewed as the model for regional integration, but we now need to consider the implications it may have for the rest of the world. The integration of the European Union was supported by the U.S. and was a natural result of the geopolitics and the American Hegemony. The U.S. played a crucial role in the creation of the EU. I doubt if the Trump administration has any understanding of the background of the birth of the EU. There is little doubt that the EU has been successful in fulfilling its original mandate of regional integration, but it seems clear that Brexit and other negative factors will deal a serious impact on it. Europe's experience may not be useful to East Asian leaders who want to learn something from it. They need to have an understanding of the geopolitical features of the countries. East

Asia would have to accomplish regional integration compatible with its own geopolitics. Otherwise, it will be more difficult to achieve integration of East Asian countries.

— **CHOI Jinwoo** Today's regionalism is a small-scale globalization. Unlike in the 1930s, dense networks of cooperation among countries underpinned by a myriad of institutional mechanisms are deeply entrenched on different levels today. It is impossible to separate the liberal international order and regionalism. There is a perception that they are the culprits for the worsening wealth distribution and economic inequality. The top priority should be distributing wealth and devoting efforts to ensuring fairer negotiations. In East Asia, the notion of nationalism is very much equivalent to hegemony, sovereignty and freedom. Such nationalism must be overcome, but there exist hurdles hard to remove in reality. Rulers would capitalize on them every time so that they can prolong their regimes. Supra-partisan efforts and long-term endeavors to resolve the contradiction of chauvinistic nationalism are needed.

● ● ● Policy Implications

• **Efforts to Overcome "America First" Policy:** There are growing concerns over recent trends in the world such as protectionism, isolationism and unilateralism. Such apprehension is reinforced by the latest developments, including Brexit, Trump administration in the U.S., the rise of right-wing populist governments in Europe. "America First" slogan will be stressed leading to growing complaints amongst countries suffering from the damages caused by unfair trade agreements. Accordingly, it is important to devise and adopt mutually understandable regulations and principles of integration. Mutual cooperation based on the free market system and sustainable development will help establish win-win economic relations.

• **Difficulties for Regionalism to Take Root in East Asia:** President Xi Jinping emphasized the importance of mutually sustainable development in regional cooperation among East Asian nations. China is not only intent on competing for world hegemony but also reinforcing its hegemony in East Asia. This might become an obstacle to fair regionalism in East Asia. To make the situation more complicated, the fierce war of nerves between China and Japan is very likely to develop into a confrontation in the region, involving South Korea, which remains neutral over their feud.

New Leadership with New Partners in Asia



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— **SHIM Yoon-joe** After the inauguration of the Trump administration in the U.S., the world has entered a new era of change. The key features of the change are uncertainty and unpredictability. The Trump administration came up with the America-first policy, and the world is closely weighing its possible impact on the regional order in East Asia in connection with the "Pivot to Asia" and rebalancing policies of the previous U.S. administration. Therefore, we will discuss possible changes in the regional order of East Asia, now in transition, and the prospects of the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.

— **Harold TANNER** Trump was viewed as a loose cannon when it came to the East Asia policy during his presidential campaign. He took a hardline position toward Korea, China and Japan with illogical remarks in his anti-TPP (Trans-Pacific Partnership) line, mentioning the abolition of the TPP. As president of the U.S., Trump is a conservative sticking to the status quo. He also seems to be maintaining the foreign policy of the State Department without changing that of the previous administration. How-

ever, he implemented his own bargaining tactics in diplomacy with foreign countries. As a presidential candidate, he used to criticize China, but maintains close ties with China after a summit with his Chinese counterpart. He pursues a transactional approach to diplomacy. He denounces trade negotiation itself and claims that South Korea free-rides on free trade. The transactional diplomacy has a negative element, but he regards it as one of the alternatives.

— **HUH Taehoi** There are a lot of uncertainties about the foreign policy of Trump and the North Korean issues. China has suffered difficulties due to deep-rooted corruption and economic inequality. With growing demands for democratization, China has the task of maintaining "Chinese nationalism." Japan, on its part, is faced with the task of transforming its outdated political system into an advanced one. Korea, which overcame the foreign exchange crisis over a short period of time, still faces other challenges as well as the North Korean nuclear issue and the possibility of an economic crisis. Relations among South Korea, China, and Japan are oriented toward economic union, and are likely to develop

to that end. Noteworthy is their growing trade dependency upon each other. However, the East Asian countries are inclined to nationalistic and myopic perspectives. The leaders of the countries pursue exclusive regionalism while putting foremost emphasis on their national interests. This kind of myopic and intolerant approach will only cast a pall over the future of East Asia.

— **Kan KIMURA** It is necessary to analyze the diplomatic policies of the Park Geun-hye government to improve South Korea-Japan relations during the Moon Jae-in administration. The Park's government treated the U.S. and China equally. It sought ambiguous trust diplomacy with North Korea, which does not have a clear stance between sanctions and talks. Accordingly, the U.S. was irritated by the South Korean stance toward China, finally pressuring the South Korean government to deploy Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) missiles. China was also upset with the changes in South Korea's policy and concerned over the posture of the South to turn its back on China. Relations with Japan also worsened in spite of the agreement on the comfort women issue. Previously, the South Korean government used to utilize domestic affairs as diplomatic tools. Again, it refused to acknowledge the agreement, citing the domestic situation and moralistic reasons. To improve Korea-Japan ties, they have to deal with concrete issues and values.

— **Sergei SEVASTIANOV** The election of Trump as U.S. president brought changes to the internal processes in the U.S. The Trump administration is characterized by uncertainties. Trump pursues to maximize benefits for the U.S. in his diplomacy, but if the new approach does not work, he easily takes a step back. He repeats the tactics of changing policies in accordance with the responses of his counterparts. Let us examine the relations of the East Asian countries. Trump's posture toward China has changed after his meeting with Xi Jinping. As a presidential candidate, he used to criticize China, but turned friendly with China after his election. Japanese Prime Minister Abe maintains friendly ties with Pu-

tin and Trump. Recently, he made a visit to Moscow and is scheduled to attend the upcoming meeting in Vladivostok in September. In South Korea, President Park Geun-hye was impeached and Trump took advantage of the occasion to pressure South Korea to deploy THAAD and hold renegotiations on their Free Trade Agreement (FTA). The new president of South Korea has to deal with all these issues. South Korea could not handle all of them, because of the North Korean issue. All the parties involved should gather and discuss measures to stabilize the Korean Peninsula. To that end, solid relations among the countries based on mutual trust are required. I look forward to a dialogue between the new South Korean president and the North to improve inter-Korean ties. I think that the Six-Party Talks are the best option for that. The countries involved in inter-Korean issues should start a joint cooperative project again.

— **YUELI** The U.S. is currently upholding the America-first policy while curtailing its responsibility in international society. The U.S. declared its withdrawal from the TPP, opposing the FTA, as well. The U.S. indicated its move to renegotiate the FTA with South Korea on the grounds that it favors the latter, and deployed THAAD in South Korea in spite of opposition to it from China and Russia. It was a measure, the U.S. claimed, to protect South Korea from a North Korean attack. However, the South Koreans started to have doubts about the real intentions of the U.S. as Trump demanded South Korea pay one billion dollars in return for THAAD. After the election of Moon Jae-in as South Korean president, North Korea unveiled a different posture from that during the Park Geun-hye government which sought a breakthrough in inter-Korean ties. The North expressed its hopes for dialogue with the South, signaling positive signs for it. If the South holds talks with the North, the armistice treaty might be replaced by a peace treaty. South Korean special envoy Hong Seok-hyun and the U.S. Secretary of State of Rex Tillerson said that the South is willing to hold talks with the North if the North exhibits a genuine willingness to suspend the development of its nucle-

ar arms. The Chinese government has proposed a double suspension (Pyongyang stops its nuclear and missile tests, and Washington and Seoul halt their annual military exercises near North Korea) in its negative view about the improvement of inter-Korean ties in the near future. China holds that the South should embrace the North, instead of isolating it, for a long-term political and diplomatic solution to the North Korean issue. It also maintains that the South should pursue phased denuclearization of the North and make efforts to bring the North to the table for dialogue.

Keywords

Diplomatic policies of the Trump administration, International cooperation in East Asia, International order in East Asia, Korea-U.S. ties, U.S. policies on the Korean Peninsula



Policy Implications

- Solid relations among the parties involved based on mutual trust are required for stabilization of the Korean Peninsula. The new South Korean president should pursue Six-Party Talks with the North. As it is difficult now to make a diplomatic agreement in the region, the countries should create a common vision of East Asia based on what they share with each other. The political leaders of Korea, China and Japan should take a long-term approach toward the peace and prosperity of East Asia by deviating from nationalism and exclusive regionalism prioritizing national interests.
- The Northeast Asian people do not have trust in each other. To improve bilateral ties, they should acknowledge and respect the interests and values of their counterparts. Peace in East Asia will be possible when the parties involved embrace and draw the North to the table for dialogue as a long-term political and diplomatic solution to the North Korean issue, instead of isolating the North from international society.