

fundamentally. They must squarely face the reality of their bilateral ties to further them. It is also necessary that they have a clear understanding of the relations between South Korea and the U.S. South Koreans see America as a savior because American soldiers fought for them during the Korean War. The Korea-U.S. alliance has been the basis for South Korea's foreign relations, having a far-reaching effect across the country. However, I think South Koreans should also recognize that China is recently having a great influence on Korean society. North Korea-China relations also deserve attention just as they are. It is true that their relations have been built over a long time just as South Korea-U.S. relations have, but China has a limited say about what North Korea does just as the U.S. does in South Korea. Therefore, I do not think it is proper for the Chinese government to be criticized for not exerting influence on North Korea. Concerning the issue of Korea's unification, China has stood by its commitment to supporting the independent and peaceful unification of the Korean Peninsula. Here "independence" refers to the absence of coercion, pressure or interference by external forces, and "peace" comes naturally when there is no violence or war. Besides, the Chinese government disfavors abrupt unification of the Korean Peninsula, but hopes the relations of the two Koreas will go as natural as water flows. More emphasis should be put on efforts to exclude chauvinistic nationalism from the realm of public diplomacy as well as to engage a broader group of partners, based on a better understanding of the counterparts to reinforce bilateral relations.

Keywords

Public diplomacy, Korea-China relations, Bilateral relations, Bilateral cooperation, Role of think tanks, THAAD



Policy Implications

- Public diplomacy has a positive effect on bilateral relations between South Korea and China. They should promote their public diplomacy by maintaining existing exchanges at the top level while diversifying channels of public diplomacy. There is no question about the need for enhancing public diplomacy through cooperation between think tanks.
- Participants from South Korea and China share views that their relations have rapidly improved in every way possible, particularly in the sector of economic cooperation, over the last 25 years. We expect that the latest obstacle to their bilateral relations, THAAD, will be cleared up as soon as possible and the two countries will see their ties improve.

Regionalism after Liberalism: Challenges and Future in Asia



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— **KIM Cae-One** The EU member countries will continue discussions on the changes they expect from the fallout of Brexit. It will consequently lead to bilateral trade deals between the U.K. and the member countries. It is likely that the U.K. might hold renegotiations with non-EU members, as well. During the renegotiations, unfair trade deals may be made. In addition, the Trump administration in the U.S. will give rise to unfair trade agreements, while it upholds its "America First" policy. Failure to reach fair deals will lead to a pile-up of complaints from less advantageous countries. Amid these circumstances, the policy to prioritize national interests is spreading, encouraging economic regionalism. President Trump's withdrawal from the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) agreement has clouded the prospects of the trade deal becoming a reality. However, some are speculating that Trump's decision to walk out from the trade pact might pave the way for other countries to seek alternatives to the TPP. Some expect that the withdrawal from the TPP may help strengthen the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN),

but cultural differences may interfere with negotiations involving ASEAN.

— **Takashi TERADA** Recent discussions are going on whether the era of bilateralism has arrived in response to the recent developments in multilateralism. A world-wide phenomenon, regionalism has emerged as an alternative to the crisis of multilateralism. More notably, President Trump's trade policy symbolizes the return of bilateralism, which by no means strikes us as new in the light of free trade agreements. South Korea and Japan have yet to join the TPP. Japan gave up negotiating a free trade deal with China because their differences were too great to overcome, while China does not plan to participate in the TPP either, a situation calling on Korea to think deeply about which path it should take.

— **Yves TIBERGHIE** The world stands now at a very crucial point in terms of both multilateralism and bilateralism. We have to ensure that the global liberal order, traditions of different regions and their relationships to one another be discussed at the same time. To that end, it is necessary to put systemic mea-

sures 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