



# Asia's New Order and Cooperative Leadership

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아시아의 새로운 질서와 협력적 리더십

**JEJU FORUM 2016**  
FOR PEACE & PROSPERITY

## **Asia's New Order and Cooperative Leadership**

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아시아의 새로운 질서와 협력적 리더십

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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. 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](http://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](http://www.jpi.or.kr)

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# JEJU FORUM 2016

FOR PEACE & PROSPERITY

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[ Opening Remarks ]

## 'Silk Road of Peace' to Common Prosperity

**WON Heeryong** Chairman, Organizing Committee of the Jeju Forum  
Governor of Jeju Special Self-Governing Province

It is my pleasure to welcome all participants in the Jeju Forum for Peace and Prosperity 2016. Especially I am honored to welcome, the dignitaries who have contributed to world peace and prosperity.

To Secretary-General of the United Nations Ban Ki-moon, Prime Minister of the Republic of Korea Hwang Kyo-ahn, former Prime Minister of Japan Tomiichi Murayama, former Prime Minister of Malaysia Mahathir Mohamad, former Prime Minister of New Zealand Jim Bolger, former Prime Minister of Singapore Goh Chok Tong, and, former Prime Minister of Italy Enrico Letta, I would like to express my gratitude for your participation in this forum. I would also like to extend thanks to all other distinguished guests.

The Jeju Forum, launched in 2001, has firmly established itself as a public diplomacy platform for exploring the future of Asia. For the past fifteen years, the agenda of the forum has expanded from peace on the Korean Peninsula and Asia to one encompassing economic, culture, tourism, gender, environment and energy issues. The achievement of the Jeju Forum thus far, I believe, is due to the experience and wisdom of global leaders as well as esteemed scholars and experts, who have successfully led the discourse on peace and prosperity at this forum; it is also attributable to the efforts of Jeju residents to transform this island into a gateway for peace in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. I would like to express, on this occasion, my heartfelt thanks for all their endeavors.

The theme of the 11<sup>th</sup> Jeju Forum is "Asia's New Order and Cooperative Leadership." Asia is a region consisting of many countries, peoples, cultures, histories and languages. The nations in Asia have made progress and respected one another, but are continuously faced with newly emerging elements of crisis and conflict.

Environmental damage and climate change, unemployment and economic inequality, and the threat of supranational terrorism are global issues that cannot be resolved by the efforts of any single party, alone. This means that, for a new sustainable future of Asia, we must look beyond national borders and make efforts to overcome such crises on a global scale. Improving and expanding cooperative ties among Asian countries is not an option, but an obligation. And cooperation must be based on a firm belief in



coexistence for all.

I believe that coexistence means a condition under which nature and humans, every people and every country, enjoy equal rights and freedom together. A shared value of coexistence and its order would help us to overcome differences and result in substantive cooperation and authentic peace.

Toward this order of coexistence and substantive cooperation, Jeju Island actively explores a new concept of peace.

As introduced in last year's Jeju Forum, new peace pursued by Jeju Island is "healing peace" given by Mother Nature on this island, "peace of tolerance" by which we may embrace all differences and transcend individual interests, and "peace of energy," or the complete process of producing and using energy for peace.

This new peace is based on the assumption that it can be put into practice. It entails the task of expanding peace while generating economic profit, and making profit while spreading peace.

Jeju Island has already taken steps to "peace industry." Our project of "Carbon-Free Island Jeju," characterized by electric cars and driven by clean wind, represents a Jeju model for peace industry. It will generate no zero-sum result, with everyone sharing the profit derived from peace. Our peace bolsters the peace of our neighbors, and their peace in turn guarantees our peace. Productive peace will uphold the value of coexistence and pollution-free environment.

The Island of Peace, Jeju, will be reborn as a valuable asset of Asia by sharing with Asian countries its experience and technologies as well as its trials and errors.

In this regard, I would like to make a suggestion. I propose a Silk Road of Peace, leading to a future of coexistence and cooperation. I suggest a Silk Road of Jeju Island, compatible with the maritime and overland Silk Roads Project ambitiously pursued by China. The Silk Road of Jeju for peace industry will play a role of threading veins which spread peace from Jeju to all Asian countries.

At the same time, I pledge that the Jeju Forum will faithfully play its role as an intellectual melting pot for peace discourses, an incubator of peace praxis, and a peace entrepreneur generating capital from peace.

We need a cooperative leadership now, more than ever. I look forward to the in-depth dialogue at this forum on Asia's new order for peace and leadership, and hope that you savor to the fullest the serene beauty of this island of peace. Thank you.



[ Keynote Speech ]

## Towards a New Era of Asia

**HWANG Kyo-ahn** Prime Minister of the Republic of Korea

On this beautiful and peaceful island of Jeju, I would like to extend my sincerest congratulations on the opening of the 11<sup>th</sup> Jeju Forum for Peace and Prosperity.

I am pleased to warmly welcome so many distinguished visitors to this meeting, including Secretary-General of the United Nations Ban Ki-moon, former Japanese Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama, former Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad, former New Zealand Prime Minister Jim Bolger, former Singaporean Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong, and former Italian Prime Minister Enrico Letta. I would also like to express my deepest appreciation to Governor of Jeju Special Self-Governing Province Won Heeryong, and Chairman of Jeju Peace Institute Moon Tae-young, as well as the citizens of Jeju.

The theme of this year's forum is "Asia's New Order and Cooperative Leadership." Asia is growing its presence and role in the international arena with each passing day. Cooperation among Asian countries is no longer solely a regional issue, as now an increasing number of non-Asian countries are showing a keen interest in the region. The International Monetary Fund, IMF, predicts that by 2030, about 60 percent of the world's population will live in Asia and the region's share of the global gross domestic production, GDP, will rise to around 40 percent.

Asian countries are moving quickly towards regional economic integration, examples of which include the Trans-Pacific Partnership, TPP, the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership, RCEP, and the ASEAN Economic Community, AEC. The slowdown of the global economy, however, and the subsequent move by the global financial market to avoid risks are affecting Asian economies. Recently, the Asian Development Bank, ADB, forecasted that the Asian region's economic growth rate for this year will be the lowest it has been in fifteen years.

Additionally, it is true that Asia is facing challenges posed by aging populations, income inequality, and the infrastructure gap between countries in the region. There also exist disputes over history, territory, and maritime security in the region. Signs of conflicts of strategic interests, changes in regional security frameworks, and related moves driven by rivalry and containment can be seen.

Transnational threats such as terrorism, the refugee crisis, and infectious diseases, among other things, also still exist. North Korea's nuclear and missile development programs pose a serious threat not only to the Korean Peninsula and its neighboring Asian countries, but also to the broader international community. To address these issues and achieve mutual peace and prosperity, Asian countries must seek to turn their competition and selective cooperation, currently dependent on the region's geopolitical landscape and the political and economic interests of each country, into a collective effort to nurture positive energies for a better and more stable future.

To that end, it is essential for the Asian countries to overcome their conflicting national interests, respect universally recognized principles, and coexist in mutually beneficial relationships. I believe that the theme of this year's forum, "Cooperative Leadership," should be understood in this same context.

Through its Trustpolitik, the South Korean government is set to contribute to the development of cooperative relationships within the international community. History shows that sustainable cooperation always corresponds to the level of trust in the relationships between states. Our government will build sustainable peace and cooperation on the Korean Peninsula and in Northeast Asia, and South Korea will seek to have its diplomatic horizons expanded globally and play an active role in addressing the diverse global agenda.

Maintaining a strong commitment to "nuclear nonproliferation on the Korean Peninsula," Seoul is working closely with the international community to create an environment to promote change in North Korea. This is to bring about positive changes in the behavior and mindset of Pyongyang, which has turned a deaf ear to Seoul's calls for talks, and to initiate a sincere trust-building process on the Korean Peninsula.

As far as Northeast Asia is concerned, South Korea is deepening its strategic coop-



eration with its neighboring countries in the region. The security alliance between the United States and South Korea is developing into a strategic partnership on a global scale for the sake of space exploration and other New Frontier programs. South Korea, while strengthening its strategic and cooperative partnership with China, is working closely with China to apply pressure on North Korea. As for Japan, South Korea reached an agreement late last year to resolve the comfort women issue, the most inflexible dispute in past history, thus creating an opportunity to move towards a new era of cooperation.

South Korea is continuing a variety of collaborative efforts, including not only bilateral but also trilateral and multilateral dialogues, to enhance cooperation in the Asian region. South Korea set the long-stalled South Korea-China-Japan Trilateral Summit back on track last year, and is now seeking to broaden the restored trilateral cooperation this year into areas such as North Pole route development, education, and public diplomacy.

South Korea will continue to move forward with the Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative, NAPCI, which aims to build mutual trust between countries through cooperation on soft security issues. We will also seek to broaden our contribution to the international community through greater global leadership. South Korea, which transformed itself from a country that received aid to a country that gives aid, will live up to the world's expectations.

In particular, South Korea intends to lend its strength within the education, health-care, rural development, and peacekeeping sectors. I think President Park Geun-hye's trip to Africa will be especially meaningful in that respect.

I was at the World Humanitarian Summit held a few days ago in Istanbul, Turkey. The South Korean government is also giving top priority to humanitarian diplomacy. As the chair of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, IPCC, and the host country of the United Nations-backed Green Climate Fund, GCF, as well as the Global Green Growth Institute, GGGI, South Korea is ready to play an active role in global efforts to address climate change.

A clock can tell the correct time only when the second hand, the minute hand, and the hour hand move exactly the way they should. If each part does not fulfill its proper role, the clock will not be able to function. I hope all of us will join hands to open the era of a new Asia.

Once again, I offer my congratulations on the kickoff of the Jeju Forum. I hope this important forum will serve as momentum for promoting greater harmony beyond the Asian region, as well as cooperation and common prosperity around the world.

## [ Keynote Speech ]

# Global Progress Depends on Solidarity

**BAN Ki-moon** Secretary-General of the United Nations



Thank you for your very warm welcome. And I would like to take this opportunity to express my deepest appreciation to Governor Won Heeryong of Jeju Special Self-Governing Province, and the citizens of Jeju for their warm welcome and hospitality.

I am happy to be back in Jeju for this important Forum today. I am pleased to see so many high-level government officials, business executives, activists, academics and especially young people participating in this very important meeting. When the Jeju Peace Institute was founded, I was serving as Foreign Minister of the Republic of Korea. My focus at that time was constructive engagement across Asia and beyond. When I left to assume my duties as Secretary-General of the United Nations, I promised to the Korean people that I will bring Korea to the world and the world to Korea.

Every day, I proudly draw on my Korean and more broadly Asian heritage. I appreciate the warm support of the Asian leaders and people. And I look forward to Asia for global leadership.

This powerful continent is critical for prosperity and security around the world. Today I will examine four key themes. They are: global action, regional cooperation, stability on the Korean Peninsula, and human rights for all.

Tackling these interconnected issues will benefit all Asians and our world. First: global action for peace, people and planet.

I have just come from the World Humanitarian Summit in Istanbul in Turkey. I had a very good bilateral meeting with Prime Minister Hwang of the Republic of Korea. The Summit made solid commitments to improve the global response to emergencies. The world's leaders forged a Grand Bargain to better protect people, close the funding gaps, and open new paths for humanitarian action. Many factors today drive crises, from governance failures to human rights violations.

Climate change remains a major concern. Asia is critical to climate action. Asia accounts for nearly a third of all global greenhouse gas emissions. It is also a source of solutions. China has the world's largest wind and solar power capacity. And now, China is a leader in addressing the climate change phenomenon.

Solar power is growing in India and Bangladesh. Companies across Asia are launch-



ing innovative green technologies.

I call on all Asian countries to quickly ratify the Paris Agreement on climate change. We need 55 countries and representing 55 percent of global greenhouse gas emissions. We have already 177 countries signed this Paris Agreement and 16 countries already ratified. I would urge the Korean Government to ratify, and all Asian governments, to ratify this Paris Agreement on climate change as soon as possible, preferably by the end of this year. Asia's robust economic growth helped the world cut poverty by half – and achieve the first Millennium Development Goal. But two out of every three of the world's poorest people live in Asia – a total of 450 million individuals. The continent faces major threats related to freshwater, land and pollution. That is why Asia must embrace the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Global progress depends on solidarity.

The United Nations appreciates Asia's global contributions. Four of our five top contributors to UN peacekeeping operations are in Asia. And I deeply appreciate those contributions. The Asia-Pacific region continues to be a centre of economic dynamism and influence. It is also home to political progress and greater democratization.

These are many hopeful things. Sri Lanka is overcoming political conflict. Myanmar is undergoing a peaceful democratic transition. Last November's elections opened the potential for an inclusive, harmonious multi-ethnic and multi-religious democracy there. The new leadership of Myanmar must now overcome discrimination, ensure equality and promote inclusive development with full respect for human rights. The United Nations will continue to support democratic reforms across Asia.

Global action depends on regional cooperation – my second theme today. I applaud the work of ASEAN, the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, APEC, and the East Asia Summit.

I welcome the Republic of Korea's Eurasia Initiative and the Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation initiative. And I commend renewed plans by the Republic of Korea, Japan and China to hold more regular high-level meetings. The Seventh Trilateral Summit should be held as soon as possible this year – as the leaders agreed. The United Nations is encouraging all concerned parties to work closely for mutual trust and future-oriented cooperation.

The United Nations is your partner in expanding peace and prosperity across Asia. Progress will depend on confronting challenges.

A number of Asian countries claim the same territory and maritime areas. I have consistently called on all parties to resolve their disputes peacefully. They must engage in dialogue in accordance with universally recognized principles of international law, including the United Nations Charter.

I have also consistently expressed hope for the expeditious conclusion of an agreement between ASEAN and China on a Code of Conduct under the framework of the "Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea." Transnational organized crime, piracy terrorism and other security threats are spreading in Asia. Asian countries must do much more to respond as a region. Asia is diverse. But Asia must expand commonalities. It would be tragic for this continent to let the past hold it back.

Asia must resolve longstanding differences. It is time to agree on borders that are now disputed. And Asian countries must rise above conflicting interpretations of history.

By squarely and humbly addressing the unfortunate past historical issues, they can



focus on the future.

I have seen this work on other continents. Latin America, Africa and Europe have successful agreements and organizations. They helped ease tensions and prevent conflicts. There are many fast-growing nations on this dynamic continent. Some of their ambitions may clash.

I call on all Asian countries to deepen dialogue and engagement. Expand cooperation. Nurture partnerships and solidify collaboration. There are no winners in violent conflict – only lost generations, greater poverty and deep bitterness.

We should take pride in our countries. But we need patriotism, not nationalism. I am Korean through and through. And I am also an active global citizen. Whenever I meet young people I call on them to look beyond their country's borders and care about our world.

These national geographic borders do not mean much these days. We must make sure that our young generation become global citizens with global vision. Look beyond your national borders what other people are doing, how they are doing. That spirit drives progress.

One of the great challenges to global action and regional cooperation is the deeply troubling situation here on the Korean Peninsula. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has recently taken worrying actions. The international community responded with resolve.

After the DPRK's nuclear test and missile tests earlier this year, the Security Council unanimously tightened sanctions with Council Resolution 2270. I hope its implementation will advance denuclearization on the Korean Peninsula.

The world must hold on a firm line. The DPRK's pursuit of nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles only undermines its own security and hurts its citizens. Military spending remains high while children are wasting. Human rights are systematically abused. The authorities of the DPRK must correct these wrongs.

We must find the path back to dialogue. I encourage the DPRK to cease any further provocations and return to full compliance with international obligations. The rise in tensions on the Korean Peninsula could cast a shadow across Northeast Asia and beyond. I welcome all efforts to move forward. And I stand ready as Secretary-General of the United Nations and also personally to contribute in any way that might be helpful. Good relations between the two Koreas are essential for lasting peace – not only on the Korean Peninsula but throughout the region.

There has been progress in Asia on human rights, my fourth focus. But countries and the region as a whole must do more. The countries of this region are important trading partners. Now they should expand regional cooperation to include human rights.

There has been progress. I welcome the establishment of the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on human rights and the development of an ASEAN human rights declaration. Many countries across Asia have engaged with the Human Rights Council's Universal Periodic Review. These advances show Asia's potential to confront and end abuses. Success demands freedom for civil society organizations. I am deeply concerned about shrinking democratic space in a number of Asian countries.

I also worry about rising intolerance, hate speech and violence in parts of Asia. Countries must end violations against religious minorities, migrants, refugees, women and girls as well as lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender persons. Many Asian countries show great compassion. When it comes to refugees, Pakistan has been among the world's top host countries for decades in Asia.

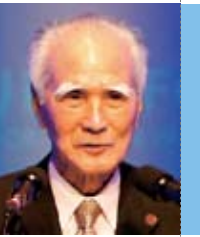
Let us remember that there are Asians in Diaspora communities around the world. They have worked hard, often in tough jobs. They have overcome racial prejudice. They have risen to high ranks in their new societies. They are leaders in business, entertainment and politics and more. These eminent Asians abroad prove the value of embracing others. Migrants and refugees here can enhance Asia.

I call on Asian countries to give new arrivals the chance to make a difference. I treasure Asian culture so much, I study as an amateur calligrapher. One saying I frequently practice writing is “上善若水” which means, “The highest virtue is to act like water.” Water represents wisdom, flexibility and soft power. Asia has the potential to manifest these invaluable qualities. Let us join forces to enable this continent to create a better future, and a better future for all the people around the world. I thank you very much for your leadership.

## [ Keynote Speech ]

# A Genuine Apology for Reconciliation

**Tomichi MURAYAMA** Former Prime Minister of Japan



For the sake of regional peace and cooperation, the East Asian countries need to bury their legacies of colonial rule and wartime aggression and reach reconciliation amongst themselves. Japan was reborn as a peaceful state after losing the war in 1945. Unfortunately, it did not have enough time to reach a correct historical understanding of its wartime past. In 1995, while serving as the Prime Minister of Japan, I issued what is known as the “Murayama Statement” on the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of World War II. In the statement, I acknowledged Japan's responsibility for the past, stating, “During a certain period in the not too distant past, Japan, following a mistaken national policy, advanced along the road to war, only to ensnare the Japanese people in a fateful crisis, and, through its colonial rule and aggression, caused tremendous damage and suffering to the people of many countries, particularly to those of Asian nations.”

Japan took over Taiwan from China's Qing Dynasty after winning the 1894-1895 Sino-Japanese War and colonized Korea after winning the 1904-1905 Russo-Japanese War. The Murayama Statement offered apologies for the entire history of Japan's 50 year colonial rule over its neighbors, which started with the wars against China and Russia.

The Murayama Statement, which settled as Japan's national policy after I resigned, has been succeeded by prime ministers of the conservative Liberal Democratic Party. In 2010, Prime Minister Naoto Kan of the Democratic Party further acknowledged Japan's responsibility for the past in his statement on the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty.

The suggestion for a reconsideration of the Murayama Statement, however, by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, who took office in late 2012, raised concerns both at home and abroad. I was also deeply worried. The Abe government finally issued a statement last August, on the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of World War II, promising that the Murayama Statement will be respected.

The Abe Statement is lengthier and more complicated than the Murayama Statement. Abe's statement says, “after the Great Depression, Japan lost sight of the overall

trends in the world and after the Manchurian Incident, Japan gradually became a challenger to the new international order. ‘Japan took the wrong course and went on a path to war.’” He recognized Japan’s responsibility for the 15-year-long war following the Manchurian Incident. The Abe Statement additionally assesses, “the Russo-Japanese War gave encouragement to many people in Asia and Africa.” The statement did not, however, mention the Sino-Japanese war. In other words, the Abe government refused to reflect upon the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars. Without such reflection, the statement did not contain an apology for Japan’s colonial rule over Taiwan and Korea. I might say that the Abe Statement confirmed only half of the Murayama Statement. It is regrettable that the statement showed little considerations for the Korean people.

The Abe Statement, of course, cannot take the place of the Murayama Statement. I assure you that the Murayama Statement will continue to remain as Japan’s national policy.

Being responsible for the wrongdoings of the past is not only about awareness, but also about continued apologies and efforts of penance for Japan’s aggressions and colonial rule. For the last 25 years, many people paid attention to and called for the resolution of the comfort women issue. While running for the Liberal Democratic Party presidency in 2012, Abe pointed to the “necessity for a new statement” to replace the Kono Statement, which is “misunderstood as admitting to the forcible recruitment of comfort women.” Abe’s remarks raised suspicions of a hidden intention, invited strong criticisms from both South Korea and the United States, and drove Japanese-Korean ties into a crisis.

Last December, however, thanks to the continued efforts of South Korean President Park Geun-hye, the foreign ministers of the two countries reached an agreement to resolve the comfort women issue. They determined that the Abe government will apologize to the surviving Korean comfort women and offered to entrust one billion Japanese Yen to the Korean government. I welcome that Prime Minister Abe acknowledged the Japanese government’s responsibility for the comfort women issue and apologized to the Korean victims who suffered as comfort women.

I hope that the accord will be fully implemented and accepted by the Korean victims and activist groups, thus solving the issue and allowing the two countries to move towards reconciliation. To that end, I propose that Prime Minister Abe’s apology, as expressed in the agreement between the two countries on Dec. 28, 2015, be delivered in a letter to the comfort women victims in person. In the past, a letter of apology signed by Ryutaro Hashimoto, Keizo Obuchi, Yoshiro Mori, and Junichiro Koizumi was sent to the Korean victims via the Asia Women’s Fund, which was established when I was in office, but it was unfortunately rejected by most of the Korean victims. I think it is now appropriate for Prime Minister Abe to have it delivered to each victim via the Japanese ambassador to Seoul. I hope that the surviving victims, many of whom are elderly and sick, accept the letter and take it as a sign of a heartfelt apology.

I recently met with Foreign Minister Fumio Kishida to propose this apology letter. I also hope that the discussions in Seoul and consultations between Seoul and Tokyo proceed towards solutions.

I would like to additionally stress the efforts to prevent another war, an essential condition for the peace and common prosperity of the Asian region. Already torn apart by Japanese aggression for 50 years, Northeast Asia was damaged again by a succes-

sion of wars, including the Chinese Civil War, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War, for another 30 years. Today, 40 years after the Vietnam War’s end, North Korea is causing tensions to rise in Northeast Asia. North Korea’s nuclear arms tests and missile launches are followed by repeated sanctions by the United Nations Security Council, led by the United States and Japan. As North Korea is driven towards adverse conditions, and stronger sanctions are imposed, the situation cannot but turn for the worse, and North Korea must be increasing its stock of nuclear weapons. If the young leader of North Korea misjudges the situation, it is likely to end in military conflict.

When a war breaks out on the Korean Peninsula, Japan has no choice but to join because North Korean missiles are capable of reaching Japan. This situation would be a fatal catastrophe for South Korea, North Korea, and Japan. This is why military conflict must be avoided at all costs, and why North Korea should also refrain from provocative actions.

North Korea does not have diplomatic ties with the United States and Japan. Moreover, North Korea is the only country with which the United States and Japan have no diplomatic relations. Japan has to resolve the colonial rule issue with North Korea. The United States is independent, but Japan cannot afford to live in conflict its neighbors. Japan should consider improving relations with North Korea through whatever means it takes. If Japan wishes for North Korea to abandon nuclear ambitions, Tokyo needs to start by establishing diplomatic ties and building a friendly relationship with Pyongyang.

As trade between Japan and North Korea was terminated, maritime traffic between the countries is not allowed. This means, in fact, that Japan is hostile towards North Korea. Opening diplomatic ties between Japan and North Korea will help the two Koreas improve their relationship as well.

Another Northeast Asian issue is the Senkaku Islands dispute between China and Japan. Although tensions over the island eased recently, China and Japan have experienced tense moments regarding the islands. The Abe government is making efforts to solicit United States forces’ cooperation in cases of contingencies, as the Self-Defense Forces of Japan are primarily designed to defend its remote islands. Japan and China are both making territorial claims that directly clash over the islands. In my opinion, Japan has to acknowledge that the territorial dispute is inevitable as both sides have their own rationales for making the claims. When it was reborn as a peaceful state, however, Japan pledged to not stage war against China. With that in mind, there should never be an armed conflict over the Senkaku Islands. I suggest that Japan and China join hands and develop the Senkaku Islands into an island of peace.

My speech has focused on Northeast Asia and issues involving the region. The views expressed today, I believe, are in line with the principles of the Japanese Constitution. Japan has chosen for the last 70 years to stay away from war. It is now time for Japan to open a path to peace. Today, Japan is seriously divided over Abe’s remarks on revising the country’s pacifist Constitution. The path to peace is a long and winding road. We desperately need the understanding and cooperation of each country in East Asia.

Last year I had a chance to visit Beijing. I had a meeting with President Xi Jinping at Tiananmen Square. He told me, “China will never pursue imperialism under any circumstances. China, if possible, would like to team up with Japan to contribute to Asia’s peace and prosperity.” His remarks greatly impressed me. Let’s join hands and march towards peace together.





[ Keynote Speech ]

## Being Civilized Means Making Peace Not War

**Mahathir bin MOHAMAD** Former Prime Minister of Malaysia

Firstly, I would like to thank the organizers for this invitation to speak in this forum. We regard this forum as one of those forums which are working towards the world peace.

Peace means the absence of war, but war is still with us. We are still killing each other in order to resolve conflicts between us. Somehow there is a conflict. It is contradictory in that we find killing one person is a crime. You cannot murder a person. For whatever reason, it is a crime.

But, on the other hand, we think that war is not a crime, that it is all right to kill even a million people. In the last great war, we successfully kill seventy million people. Somehow there is a great contradiction here. If we regard killing one person as a crime, surely if you kill more, it is a greater crime.

But we accept war as legitimate. That is why, in Malaysia, there is a movement today to make war a crime, to criminalize war. War should not be resulted to in finding solutions to conflicts.

There are other ways of solving our conflicts between nations. But sadly war in our age does not seem to be sure that we have made progress in terms of what is crime and what is not. That is why we have this movement in Malaysia where we aim to make war a crime.

Now a lot of people think this is ridiculous. You cannot make war a crime. We have been fighting wars for seven thousand years. But today we are still fighting wars. Yet, if you look at the history of slavery, there was a time when slavery was accepted throughout the world. Every country, every nation, and every community would accept slavery as a normal thing.

It is not criminal until someone begins to campaign to make slavery a crime. And today slavery is indeed a crime, although there maybe some slavery in other forms carried out in some countries. It took years for the world to accept slavery as a crime. But will the world accept that war too is a crime because war is worse than slavery?

You can see the effects of war on the TV every day. Not only were people killed, but whole country would be devastated. And yet, we still accept that if there is a conflict



between nations, one solution is to go to war. I think that is almost inhuman. Human being should avoid killing each other.

If killing one person considered a crime, surely killing more people would be a greater crime. But if you don't have war, what do we have? We have other means of settling disputes between nations. We can have negotiation between the nations' concerns. We can have a third party settlement, arbitration. We can also go to an international court of law, and try and seek a solution through these three processes.

Malaysia is in the middle of the Southeast Asian countries now organized as ASEAN countries. This concept of working together among ASEAN countries, among the Southeast Asian countries was not because of trade. It is not like the European Union. It is because we wanted to avoid war in Southeast Asia.

Malaysia had problems with all her neighbors. This is quite natural. There would be overlapping claims between neighbors. But to settle these claims, to find out who owns what, we did not go to war. That is why we form ASEAN, so that the leaders of ASEAN countries will know each other and we respect each other.

In the case of Malaysia we had conflicting claims in the sea between Thailand and Malaysia. We settled that. After long time, we settled that through negotiation, in which both countries agreed that anything that you produce in that area should belong equally to both countries, fifty-fifty division. In effect, the joint development area within Thailand and Malaysia is already producing gas and the gas is shared within Malaysia equally with Thailand.

Then we had conflicts with Indonesia over two islands off the coast of North Borneo of Sabah. After long negotiations, both countries decided that we should go to



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 38<sup>th</sup> 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 20<sup>th</sup> century. Similar views are back to haunt the world in the 21<sup>st</sup> 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 11<sup>th</sup> 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 2<sup>nd</sup> 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-



ship.

So, let us look at what has happened in the last decade - certainly the darkest since the end of the Second World War- in Europe.

First, the great economic crisis has hit, above all else, sovereign debt and then the Euro, businesses and employment. It has profoundly shaken our society and fractured a model of wealth and social protection that had seemed impregnable.

Generally, national leaderships were unable to react promptly to the tempest. The first authoritative response came only in 2012 when Mario Draghi's "...whatever it takes..." speech opened the way to a succession of programmes of quantitative easing which injected liquidity into the system and fostered the most fragile of European recoveries. In short, only the ECB, the sole supranational institution truly legitimised

by a cooperative leadership and thus equipped with the most effective powers was in a position to furnish an adequate response.

Second, the dramatic refugee crisis. Every day – in some months of the year, every hour- men, women and children lose their lives in the Mediterranean Sea. They are fleeing from war and famine in Syria, Libya and Sub-Saharan Africa. It is an unstoppable and unprecedented phenomenon which is overrunning the whole of Europe and not just its periphery. Yet, the whole of Europe, lacking shared leadership, has remained until now defenceless or has expressed itself only through token compromises on the management of migration.

The call for mutual solidarity among member states has been minimal, the temptation for states to give in to the push towards convinced or opportunistic nationalism and erect new barriers, rather than face together at the Community level this epochal emergency, has been strong. Directive leadership has been and remains, in this case, beyond obsolete and ineffective but is also tragic in its humanitarian consequences.

Third, and last, the crisis caused by terrorism and the war against Daesh. In Europe, this may be symbolised by the slaughter at the Bataclan Theatre in a Paris gutted by bombs. Young and prevalently European people killed by other young Europeans. A model of integration both weak and in need of reform exposed by the message, mortal yet compelling, of the jihadists. Also in this crisis, national leaders laboured to make common purpose over responsibility and decision-making in security and intelligence, foreign policy and the re-modification of the identity of the European Union itself.

In order to beat terrorism, the European Union is in desperate need of rediscovering its own soul. This can only be done given cooperative leadership which requires, before all else, further surrender of sovereignty and greater shared policies. Otherwise - and the risk is very high –the Union will expire under the weight of its own inability to recapture a vision that is both “communal” and long term. The risk of Brexit effectively encapsulates this critical regression.

### Three Responses to Fragmentation: Multilateralism, Participation and Education

Could the world withstand the implosion of the European Union? Naturally, no. It would mean only fragmentation and chaos. Rather, in this period of international relations as never before we need shared responsibility, forums of discussion and exchange and, whenever possible, the widest possible form of multilateral decision-making.

Think of the G20, which must return to the concreteness of its early years, and, with greater realism, take note of the centrality of the new actors on the global stage. Think of the set of multilateral and bilateral trade agreements of recent years. Think, finally, of the good results of the Paris Climate Change Conference achieved thanks to the common sensitivity of various Asiatic and European states to questions of environmental sustainability and the protection of territories from damage caused by man (even before those caused by natural disasters). We could continue with examples. Certainly only through agreement, within a boundary defined by regulations, is it possible to forestall the extreme fragmentation of those spheres of influence which nourish global disorder.

It is a process to be understood also as an enlargement of participation. This is true between states and is even more true within our societies. It is the Internet and the extraordinary revolution it has brought about in the life of peoples which is the place for sharing par excellence. And it is the Net which now imposes and will impose on contemporary leaders on all continents the requirement to demonstrate authoritativeness and the ability to work within the rationale of community. Whoever fears this evolution or does not understand it undervalues the formidable power of the circulation of ideas, the sharing of experience and the demand for participation. Those, however, who view the ongoing transformation as a real opportunity cannot but recognise the potential for opening up and achieving progress in the lives of states.

I fall into the second category. And today I intend to bring here, first and foremost as an ex- prime minister of one of the founding states of the European Union, a degree of “European hope.” The hope of those who believe, despite the new walls and the multiplicity of difficulties, that only a truly common and unified vision can save the countries of the old continent from themselves and from a return to a past of division and conflict whose numerous repercussions made themselves felt even on the history and destiny of Asia.

But I speak - and I conclude – in my role as Dean of the School of International Affairs at Sciences Po in Paris, a role which permits me to work daily in cooperation with universities and graduate schools all over the world. These are the places in which the ruling class is formed and leadership is built. The best among these institutions act to promote a spirit of cooperation, comprehension of the ideas of others and attitudes of openness and change.

So education, education, education. I had an opportunity recently to reconfirm this at the United Nations in an extraordinary simulation of the work of the General Assembly conducted by 2,000 young people coming from every country in the world. I would like to repeat here and to you: we may discuss leadership, we can even disagree over the methods through which it may be exercised, but we all know that nothing is as important as education. This aspect – and in particular the principle by which the elevation of people in any community happens chiefly through culture and study – is doubtless found in the common outlook of European and Asiatic civilisation of which I spoke earlier. It the first of our shared values. Cooperative Leadership? The key, above all else, is education.





[ Dinner Speech ]

## A Journey to Peaceful Unification

HONG Yong-pyo Minister of Unification of the Republic of Korea

Your excellencies, and distinguished guests, it is my great honor and pleasure to host the dinner and make a speech to you all.

Today, I would like to talk about the questions regarding the unification of the Korean Peninsula with some pictures which look seemingly beautiful. The first one is a picture of sparkling fireworks. What do you usually feel when you see fireworks like this? You may feel romantic and excited. But it is not always the case for Koreans. Last August, when fireworks went off in the city of Gimpo, just North of Seoul, people rushed out of the house in a panic, instead of excitement. As this TV scene shows, when they heard the fireworks, they thought it was the boom of cannons from North Korea. In fact, that was the day when tensions ran highest in Korea in the aftermath of the landmine attack and shelling from the North. So, a symbol of festival gave fear to Gimpo residents. That is the reality of the Korean Peninsula.

Let me show you the next picture: A very pretty pair of flower shoes. But they carry a sad story. 66 years ago, a father promised his little girls to earn money and buy them flower shoes. He went out for work, but could not return home. because of the outbreak of the Korean War.

After 65 years of separation, they met last October when the family reunion took place in Mount Geumgang. The father, 98 years old now, gave the flower shoes to his daughters from the North, who now turned almost 70, and finally kept his promise. But only three days later, they had to part again. And they will probably never be able to see each other any more. In this peninsula, hundreds of thousands of people still suffer from such pain caused by the war and the division.

The next picture shows a piano that usually makes beautiful sound. But again, it is not just an ordinary piano. Its name is “the piano of unification.” And its strings are made with wires of the demarcation line, the symbol of confrontation. It is amazing that these rusty wires can still make sound. Please listen! As you heard, it really makes gloomy sound, as if it reflects the difficult situation we face in the Korean Peninsula.

Indeed, as you all know, inter-Korean tension has increased dramatically since North Korea’s nuclear test and long-range missile launch, early this year. Until the end of

last year, the ROK government took various measures to improve inter-Korean cooperation. But Pyongyang has paid back with nuclear threats. Moreover, in the party congress, North Korea declared that they would never give up nuclear development, ignoring the warning from the international community, and the UN sanctions. Then, they began to suggest military dialogue with the South.

I am sure all of you here agree that the biggest threat to the peace on the Korean Peninsula right now is Pyongyang’s nuclear ambition. But Pyongyang bluntly refused to set nuclear issue as dialogue agenda. That’s the reason why my government called for North Korea to express its willingness for denuclearization first if it really wanted peace in the Korean Peninsula.

Let me add one more fact. Pyongyang insisted yesterday, proposing talks again, that this was not the time to discuss the cause and the responsibility for the tension. North Korea suggested the same logic to when I met them in the high-level meeting held last August. At that time, the North Korean delegate told me, “Let’s forget the past to move onto the future.” I responded that Pyongyang’s provocation is not past. the very cause of tension, and my government and people will never pass it over.

Finally, North Korea acknowledged and apologized for the provocation, and promised to take steps to ease tensions. However, Pyongyang broke its own word. Moreover, even at the moment of inter-Korean talks, weapons of massive destruction were being developed in North Korea. That is why we should first confirm North Korean willingness for denuclearization. Otherwise, any talk will only provide Pyongyang with more time to develop WMD skills further, as they did in the past. Given the fact, I’m sure that this is time for us to stand together and stand more firmly to make North Korea change and give up nuclear program. Only then, we can make genuine peace.

The theme of this year’s Jeju Forum is “Asia’s New Order and Cooperative Leadership.” It is a very timely and meaningful subject. Unfortunately, Pyongyang is far away from the new order, and its leadership is not cooperative at all. As a result, the country is isolated and its people are suffering, as you can see from the last photo: The Korean Peninsula at night, taken from a space satellite.

North Korea is invisible in the photo. It looks as if South Korea is an island. I dream of the northern part filled with shining lights for prosperity, instead of weapons for destruction, and hope the lights spread to entire Asia to make everyone in the region live happily, and peacefully.

I hope all families live together, or at least meet whenever they want. I hope all Koreans enjoy the beauty of fireworks without worries, and North and South Korean play the piano and sing together with joyful sound. That is a new Korea I dream of. Please join us in our journey toward peaceful unification of the Korean Peninsula.





[ Closing Remarks ]

## Jeju Forum to Continue Promoting Peace

**MOON Tae-young** Chairman, Executive Committee of the Jeju Forum  
President of Jeju Peace Institute

Excellencies, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, I am pleased to announce that the Jeju Forum for Peace and Prosperity 2016 is coming to an end. I would like to take this opportunity to thank all the participants who have made this forum a remarkable success.

In particular, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to His Excellency Ban Ki-moon, Secretary-General of the United Nations for his attendance and insightful speech at the opening ceremony. My special thanks also go out to His Excellency Jim Bolger, His Excellency Tomiichi Murayama, His Excellency Mahathir bin Mohamad, His Excellency Goh Chok Tong, and His Excellency Enrico Letta, His Excellency Yukio Hatoyama for their contributions to the forum.

This year's theme, "Asia's New Order and Cooperative Leadership," has proved relevant and meaningful in view of new challenges and visions for a new Asia.

With the advent of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Asia has emerged as the engine of the world's economic growth. It marks an era in which there exists a paradox of rising tensions over political and security affairs amid widening economic interdependency among Asian countries.

As demonstrated over several sessions, the world is in dire need of cooperation among countries and regions to tackle new challenges and new norms. Asia's role and its commitment are crucial to cope with the new order.

Now is the time for us to work together to build a trust-based, harmonious and cooperative Asia. The Jeju Forum will continue to be a platform for mapping out Asia's future and sharing visions of peace and common prosperity with the full support of the Korean government.

During the past three days, more than 4,000 government and business leaders, as well as experts from over 60 countries gathered to discuss politics, security, economy, environment, culture and sustainable development. Through keynote speeches, plenary sessions, concurrent sessions, and bilateral meetings, we have examined existing ideas and visions for new growth.

I would like to extend my heart-felt gratitude to Governor of Jeju Special Self-Gov-



erning Province Won Heeryong for his dedication to the forum. I would also like to express thanks to Chairman of the JDC Kim Han-wook, the host of tonight's farewell dinner for his generous support.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea, the East Asia Foundation, and Joongang Ilbo are greatly appreciated for their contributions to the forum. Last, but not least, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to residents of Jeju Island for their interest and support. Once again, I would like to thank all sponsors, partner organizations, and the Jeju Forum Secretariat staff, who worked so hard to make this year's forum a successful one. Thank you all for your efforts.

I hope that, despite your busy schedules, you can still find time to enjoy the natural beauty of Jeju, UNESCO World Heritage Sites. I wish each and every one a safe and pleasant trip home. I look forward to seeing you at the Jeju Forum 2017.





Chapter **ONE**

P E E A C E

[ World Leaders Session ]

# Asia's New Order and Cooperative Leadership

## Jeju Peace Institute

MC	<b>AHN Chak Hee</b> Director of Global Affairs Team, JoongAng Ilbo
Moderator	<b>HONG Seok-hyun</b> Chairman, JoongAng Ilbo / JTBC
Discussant	<b>Tomiiichi MURAYAMA</b> Former Prime Minister of Japan
	<b>Mahathir bin MOHAMAD</b> Former Prime Minister of Malaysia
	<b>Jim BOLGER</b> Former Prime Minister of New Zealand
	<b>GOH Chok Tong</b> Former Prime Minister of Singapore
	<b>Enrico LETTA</b> Former Prime Minister of Italy
Rapporteur	<b>HAN Seung-soo</b> Former Prime Minister of the ROK
	<b>Darren SOUTHCOTT</b> Visiting Professor, Jeju National University of Education

### HONG Seok-hyun

Rising geopolitical tension between the US-China and US-Russia alongside regional disputes means cooperation has weakened in recent decades. How can we mitigate these issues through cooperation and leadership across Asia? Can we find an opening to diffuse tensions and is there a role for multilateral cooperation such as ASEAN, the East Asia Summit or APEC?

What is the role of free trade in realizing regional peace? Is the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) an opportunity for increased cooperation and integration to tie the US, China and the wider region together?

### Tomiiichi MURAYAMA

Japan's painful experience of war means the people are determined not to be involved in military conflict again. Violence may bring a temporary victory but it will lead to further violence. We should focus on mutual economic development of disputed

territories such as the Senkaku Islands to bring the greatest benefit to all and lasting peace. Force always begets retaliation and further conflict.

### Mahathir bin MOHAMAD

Asian countries should not seek dominance in Asia or the world. Rather than military strength or economic power, relationships between Asian countries should be based on trade, diplomacy, negotiation, arbitration and international law. It is therefore essential that Asia helps formulate and support such international law and trade agreements.

Although conflict is unavoidable, what is most important is our attitude toward resolution. The belief that war is an appropriate response to conflict is the biggest threat to us all. We must seek resolution through negotiation, arbitration or a court of law. Southeast Asia has many conflicts, but we found some form of peace through seeking settlement through dialogue. If you believe war is legitimate, there is always the possibility of war.



HONG Seok-hyun

Tomiichi MURAYAMA

Mahathir bin MOHAMAD

Jim BOLGER

GOH Chok Tong



Enrico LETTA



HAN Seung-soo

### Jim BOLGER

Cooperative leadership can overcome division as seen in the Northern Irish Good Friday Agreement in 1998. A similar cooperative approach is needed for global nuclear disarmament and it must be acknowledged that 95 percent of all nuclear weapons are still possessed by the US and Russia and they are upgrading their arsenals rather than disarming.

Although cooperation through balanced free trade agreements, trade, dialogue and negotiation is the most effective road to peace, corporations themselves must also be ethical in their practices. We must not rely solely on market forces to moderate corporate behaviour; appropriate regulations must ensure corporate behaviour meets high ethical standards.

Although we now have nuclear weapons, our attitude toward boundaries is the same as when we had only clubs as weapons. Boundaries are historical accidents and we must look at barriers to trade in this way. The TPP will remove most of these barriers so there is uniform success across the whole region. It will increase collaboration and tackle rising nationalism which is growing everywhere. I think

that trade is a very powerful weapon and you can see people engaging with each other and sharing through trade and cooperation.

We must no longer glorify the heroes and heroines of war, and recognize the death and destruction of families. Only by challenging this romanticism can we truly find peace.

### GOH Chok Tong

For Asia to achieve its potential in the "Pacific Century" we need a shared common vision of Asia's new order and collective political leadership, which is the cornerstone of peace. The once fragmented and unstable Asia-Pacific region is now a vibrant community thanks to intergovernmental cooperation and we must build a bold regional architecture to fulfil common aspirations rather than safeguard national interests alone.

Small states depend on an open, transparent, rules-based international system and therefore proactive foreign policy and regional cooperation are essential. Singapore has done this through APEC, the UN's Forum of Small States, the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) and the Forum for East Asia-Lat-

in America Cooperation (FEALAC). ASEAN and ASEAN+3 with China, Japan and the ROK can be the “cohesive glue” to bring former foes together as partners to achieve common goals, reduce poverty, narrow developmental gaps and improve overall well-being.

Collective wisdom and open-minded leadership are crucial for states to overcome the challenges of history. Leaders must take bold steps as seen in the “comfort women” agreement between Japan and the ROK last December. Such determination to turn the page on history can build trust and reconciliation. We not only need strong leaders but strong cooperative leadership to overcome barriers and build a new and prosperous new order for Asia.

As it rises and becomes more assertive, China must be careful not to impinge on other states. The U.S. should also not enflame tensions in the region. The two should come together and enlarge their shared space so there is room for all. This is the Asia-Pacific century: Don’t blow it!

#### Enrico LETTA

The European Union allowed the region to overcome millennia of fratricidal war yet it has faced three serious problems over the last decade: 1) Financial crisis 2) Unprecedented refugee crisis 3) Home-grown terrorism. The European Union needs to rediscover its soul through cooperative leadership, a further surrendering of sovereignty and greater shared policies.

To ensure it does not fall into fragmentation and chaos, European leaders must respond by: 1) Broadening multilateralism to increase shared responsibility, discussion and exchange on the model of the G20 and the Paris Climate Change Conference 2) Increasing participation by realizing the power of the Internet and the circulation of ideas and shared experiences for a common and unified vision 3) Promoting a spirit of cooperation, understanding, openness and change to create a new ruling class to lead the project which is founded on the shared value of cooperative leadership through education.

The European Parliament in Strasbourg is in a city which changed hands numerous times during wars between Germany and France. Millions

lost their lives in European wars, yet we face a generational problem as the new generation is not completely aware of what happened 70 to 80 years ago. They take European integration and peace for granted and don’t appreciate that it is a day-to-day victory that must not be taken for granted.

Asia is the center of the world in this Asiatic Century. It must recognize this and solve domestic and international problems with a global perspective. It must also take more responsibility on the global stage in resolving global issues and finding solutions.

#### HAN Seung-soo

FTAs are a major source of peace in the world and we should welcome agreements such as the TPP which bring our nations closer together. Regional multilateral organizations such as ASEAN and APEC should also be more involved in drawing up such agreements.

Although Francis Fukuyama said in 1992 that we had come to the end of history, I see in Asia the beginning of history as increasing rivalry stokes tensions. We need the normalisation of relations between the U.S. and China, and the two countries should come together again for meaningful dialogue to build regional peace. If that is achieved, I think Asia’s peace will be guaranteed.

#### Policy Implications

- The U.S. and China should find avenues towards dialogue to diffuse tensions and a military build-up.
- Support FTAs between ASEAN and ASEAN+3 nations to promote trade and exchange.
- Territorial disputes should be tackled through negotiation and creative development policies to benefit the region.
- Pursue regional Asian dialogue towards robust business ethical principles such as the UN Global Compact to ensure businesses operate ethically.
- Shared Asian values should be promoted alongside creativity and leadership in education policies to foster the next generation of Asian leaders.
- Asian nations should seek common cause in eradicating poverty, conflict and climate change through dialogue and negotiation.

# Geopolitical Tensions and Nuclear Temptations in Asia-Pacific

## East Asia Foundation

<b>Moderator</b>	<b>Gareth EVANS</b> Honorary Convener, Asia Pacific Leadership Network (APLN) / Former Foreign Minister, Australia
<b>Presenter</b>	<b>CHEN Dongxiao</b> President, Shanghai Institute for International Studies, China <b>Tatsujiro SUZUKI</b> Director, Research Center for Nuclear Weapons Abolition (RECNA) / Professor, Nagasaki University <b>G. John IKENBERRY</b> Professor, International Politics, Princeton University <b>SONG Minsoon</b> President, University of North Korean Studies / Former Foreign Minister of the ROK
<b>Rapporteur</b>	<b>CHO Sookyung</b> Program Officer, APLN

The session began with a brief introduction of the status quo regarding geopolitical tensions from Evans. Much turbulence has been seen in recent days – Northeast Asia has been struggling with the nuclear issue of the DPRK, South-east Asia has seen tensions between Pakistan and India, and Russia and the United States of America are no longer discussing arms control. Asia as a whole is seeing increased nuclear stockpiles. Despite Obama’s visit to Hiroshima, the Cold War era thinking may be coming back to the region.

#### Gareth EVANS

Introduced three questions to be discussed in the session. First, are geopolitical tensions creating new nuclear temptations in Asia-Pacific region? Are there growing temptations in states with no nuclear weapons to develop them, or are they leaning toward the direction of acquiring more protection from a nuclear umbrella? Second, if those temptations are real, what are the dangers? Would it mean that Asia-Pacific is growing closer to danger or would the growing reliance on nuclear weapons lead to more stabilization? Finally, if the risks are growing, what can be done to diffuse the tensions

and get back on track to disarmament again?

#### CHEN Dongxiao

Explained that nuclear development issues are interrelated to strategic tensions in a cycle of mutual feedback. However, it would be clearer to state that nuclear temptations are making the situation worse. For example, while the DPRK is making nuclear weapons to improve its regime’s security and management, the development has instead increased uncertainty.

Chancellor Evans followed up with another question: How could China control this nuclear temptation when other neighboring countries are wary of its own assertive rise? President Chen answered that China has always had a consistent nuclear strategy to maintain missile capability at a minimum deterrent level. China can play two roles to mitigate tensions. First, it can continue to assume a role of bridge-builder among conflicted interests among the DPRK, and the U.S. and the ROK. China is always open to multilateral dialogue. Second, it can be a facilitator of peace and stability in the region as a whole by creating more favorable conditions for





Gareth EVANS

CHEN Dongxiao

Tatsujiro SUZUKI

G. John IKENBERRY

SONG Minsoon

more general reconciliation. For example, China's implementation of UNSC Resolutions is strictly carried out to the letter. However, President Chen was concerned that there was too much emphasis on sanctions over the process of moving back to dialogue.

**G. John IKENBERRY**

Emphasized the necessity of solving the nuclear issue through a broader security dilemma perspective. Nuclear weapons have not been the root factor of instability, but rather a complicating factor between the U.S. and China. The cause of instability is rather the centralized power politics in the bilateral relations. The balance of power has become unstable due to the rise of China and growing insecurity about the U.S.'s position in East Asia with the coming presidential election. There is a competition for modernization of various capabilities including military, and both countries see the other as the source of their problems. As such, one way to avert the dilemma could be bilateral nuclear talks as a Track I dialogue is a cornerstone of bilateral relations. The potential agenda for that dialogue may include transparency, establishment of restraints and reciprocal constraints, and mutual recognition of strategic interest.

**Gareth EVANS**

Questioned the appropriateness of the topic for a Track I high level dialogue. Professor Ikenberry replied that there had already been 10~15 years of Track II dialogue. Also, the entry barrier for strategic dialogue would be small – the dialogue would only clarify the other's position and share knowledge. An expanded use of that dialogue could be

containment of the DPRK.

**Tatsujiro SUZUKI**

Discussed possible contributions from Japan for a safer nuclear environment in East Asia. Currently, there is little chance for Japan to take the nuclear option despite growing concern among Japanese policymakers – the public do not want the option. The professor believed that the government should in fact establish new policies not depending on nuclear deterrence. RECNA has been going further to direct the situation towards a nuclear free zone. Professor Suzuki's proposal is a Northeast Asia nuclear weapon-free zone - Japan, the ROK, and the DPRK should not possess nuclear weapons, and the U.S., Russia, and China will provide nuclear protection. Japan and the DPRK should work together for mutual assurance that nuclear weapons are unnecessary and seek to reduce the nuclear umbrella. Second, Japan should introduce a more flexible nuclear recycling policy and reduce its surplus plutonium stockpiles. Third, there should be a multilateral verification system for civilian nuclear programs in Northeast Asia.

**SONG Minsoon**

Stated that the ROK is concerned in regards to two levels: upper tier and lower tier. The upper tier is strategic balance between the U.S. and China. However, geopolitical tensions between them are giving more burdens to the ROK. The Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) is a good example of the ROK being pushed to stand at the frontline of a strategic divide. At a lower tier, the inability to stop the DPRK's nuclear program has had such great effect that public opinion is now more



open towards the idea of the ROK taking care of its own security. The ROK is concerned that there is no serious engagement in regards to the nuclear development of the DPRK. There is a popular perception that the latter's nuclear weapons target the ROK. President Song believed that the lack of synchronization of actions taken by the DPRK, ROK and Japan led to bad implementation to what otherwise would have been good agreements throughout history. Russia, China and the U.S. should all combine their efforts to enforce the DPRK to follow up on its promises.

Finally, there was a debate regarding a more comprehensive solution for the nuclear diffusion in the DPRK. President Chen stated that China is all on board with the UNSC Resolution, but other countries should recognize that sanctions are not the main goal and the DPRK should ultimately come back to the table for dialogue. As such, other countries should also not give up on diplomacy. Howev-

er, President Song said that China should negotiate for dialogue between the U.S. and the DPRK, and in the meantime suspend the latter's nuclear program to fully guarantee compliance. Otherwise, the U.S. will not believe that any talks with the DPRK will succeed. President Chen, however, argued that the DPRK is an independent sovereign state with its own decision-making process. Also, external factors such as the tension between the U.S. and the DPRK during the Bush administration have worsened its views towards the former. For China to succeed in a role as bridge-builder, others will have to help.

Professor Ikenberry argued that more sanctions should be implemented as the DPRK has not yet suffered high level sanctions in comparison to Iran. However, President Song said that the situation in the DPRK and Iran is different as the former has never been exposed to the international society.

# Trilateral Views: Promoting Nuclear Safety Cooperation in Northeast Asia

## Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat (TCS)

Moderator	<b>Akima UMEZAWA</b> Deputy Secretary-General, TCS
Presenter	<b>ZHANG Ou</b> Project Manager & Engineer, Nuclear and Radiation Safety Center, Ministry of Environment Protection <b>KIM Kyun-tae</b> Director, Division of Emergency Preparedness, Korea Institute of Nuclear Safety <b>Kenich FUJITA</b> Director, International Affairs Office, Nuclear Regulation Authority, Japan
Rapporteur	<b>HWANG Ye-eun</b> Political Affairs Officer, TCS

### ZHANG Ou

With the number of nuclear power plants soaring, the Chinese government is putting a top priority on nuclear safety. China's nuclear industry has huge potential for growth because: Firstly, China's economy remains strong and China is committed to overhauling its energy industry, energy security and environmental protection; secondly, China has set up a long-term nuclear power development plan; and thirdly, China has accumulated enough experience in plant design and operation, and management of engineering personnel for stability of the facilities.

China has been constantly promoting and publicizing nuclear safety since China's National Nuclear Safety Administration (NNSA) and National Energy Administration (NEA) jointly announced a policy statement for nuclear safety in 2014. On the other hand, the safety of nuclear power plants in operation has emerged as the most pressing challenge. Beijing should improve the safety of planned plants and seek public understanding of the nuclear power and radioactive waste treatment.

China has made remarkable achievements through bilateral (MOUs and co-hosting of semi-

nar on nuclear safety) and trilateral cooperation in nuclear programs. The latest developments in the three country's nuclear industries have been shared and discussed at the Top Regulators' Meeting (TRM) on Nuclear Safety and other high-level policy conferences. On top of cooperation with Korea and Japan, China seeks broader ties with other countries on nuclear safety.

### KIM Kyun-tae

Korea launched safety programs to effectively respond to serious nuclear accidents after the Three Mile Island disaster took place in 1979. The regulations for building new nuclear power plants were improved during the 1990s. Korea has been continuing efforts to comprehensively strengthen nuclear safety capabilities since 2001. The country beefed up nuclear safety after the Fukushima accident in Japan by implementing 50 additional measures to respond more effectively to emergencies. These additional measures, specifically designed not only to respond to natural disasters, but also to prepare post-accident action plans, upgraded the level of emergency preparedness while promoting the independent status of the regulatory body of

Korea.

Calls were raised for parliamentary actions in the wake of the Fukushima accident. Last year, Korean lawmakers passed a revision to the Nuclear Safety Act, aimed at strengthening nuclear safety rules in the case of emergencies like the Fukushima accident. The revision provided rules on all situations, including serious nuclear accidents, and made it a rule for all existing and new plants to submit accident management reports to the government to maintain a high level of emergency readiness.

The Korean authorities are actively exploring ways of cooperating with Japan and China on all kinds of nuclear issues. Their cooperation covers all regulated fields. Enough opportunities to promote technological cooperation should first be given to their respective nuclear regulatory authorities.

### Kenich FUJITA

Last April, the Kumamoto region of Kyushu was struck by a strong earthquake. The Japanese authorities were quick to share the emergency information with their citizens, quickly informing them of the earthquake's possible impact on the nuclear power plants in the affected area. They played a crucial role in letting the people know what was happening regardless of the severity or scale of the disaster. They are still keeping their citizens informed of the status of the nuclear power plants in Kumamoto through websites, emergency texting services, and social and other media.

Japan's nuclear regulatory body was positively evaluated by the Integrated Regulatory Review Service (IRRS) of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) last January. Japan's nuclear regulator was praised by the IAEA team, particularly for being swift in establishing a transparent regulatory body and effective rebuilding work within the regulatory framework after the Fukushima accident. Meantime, the IAEA suggested that the Japanese regulatory authority improve human resources, amend relevant laws and continue to promote safety culture. The mission's final report was released to the public.

Japan is prepared to strengthen cooperation with China and Korea on the basis of the TRM mechanism with a view to building trust in the safety of



Akima UMEZAWA

ZHANG Ou



KIM Kyun-tae

Kenich FUJITA

nuclear power not only among the Northeast Asian countries but also among the rest of the world.

## Policy Implications

- It is important to promote trilateral cooperation for nuclear safety regulation through the TRM mechanism. It is possible to formulate proactive and specific policy guidelines within the trilateral framework. The TRM, which pursued cooperation of the three countries for more than eight years, is significantly affecting the improvement of nuclear safety regulations of the countries.
- The three countries have tried very hard to strengthen the safety of nuclear power plants. The safety culture is contributing to the enhancement of awareness of the need for higher safety standards.
- The TRM, the key platform for cooperation among China, Korea and Japan, has made remarkable achievements, particularly since the 2012 Fukushima nuclear accident. Panelists of this session agreed on suggesting that the trilateral partnership for nuclear safety be strengthened and upgraded on the basis of the TRM system.
- Discussions in this session have reassured us that implementation of and experience in safety regulations, particularly including the guarantee of nuclear power safety for the promotion of safety culture, is part of sustainable progress. Also, high level of nuclear safety measures are taken in each country. The trilateral cooperation in nuclear power safety contributes to nuclear safety not only of Northeast Asia but also the rest of the world.



# The Past Achievements and Future Directions of the UN GGE in Information Security

## Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) / Korea University Cyber Law Centre

Moderator	<b>YOO Dae-jong</b> Director-General for International Organizations, MOFA
Presenter	<b>Eneken TIKK-RINGAS</b> Senior Fellow, International Institute for Strategic Studies
Discussant	<b>PARK No-hyoung</b> Professor, Korea University School of Law <b>Mika KERTTUNEN</b> Director of Studies, Cyber Policy Institute <b>John C. MALLERY</b> Research Scientist, MIT Computer Science & Artificial Intelligence Laboratory <b>William BOOTHBY</b> Former Deputy Director of Legal Services, Royal Air Force
Rapporteur	<b>PARK Joo-hee</b> Researcher, Korea University Cyber Law Centre



This session held a discussion on the achievement of the Group of Governmental Experts on Developments in the Field of Information and Telecommunications in the Context of International Security (UN GGE) and its prospects, as well as its implications for Korea.

### ■ UN GGE Discussion: 2009-2015

- In 2003, Russia proposed a gathering of a group

of government experts to cope with international peace and security issues in the context of Information Communication Technology (ICT). The group is operated on the basis of the agreement of its members. The chair country of the first UN GGE from 2004 until 2005 was Russia. But no agreement was reached. Russian Ambassador to the UN GGE, Andrey Kurbsky, said, "It is hard to reach an agreement as all the member countries have different backgrounds and interests, using different languages."

- In the UN GGE conference in 2010, 15 countries reached an agreement. In the conference, they agreed that the risk in the field of information security might be most serious threat in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. They also noted that the misuse of ICT, which assists e-commerce, may threaten world peace and national security. In 2010, the UN GGE advised that the countries focus their efforts on confidence-building measures and cyber security capacity building. There was an opinion that called for additional measures on the norm for the use of ICT by the states, but they failed to discuss the norm in the conference, because Russia and China opposed it on the grounds that there were not enough standards for it, while the U.S. and countries which shared views with the U.S. claimed that existing international law can be applied to ICT.
- The discussion on the norm started at the conferences of the UN GGE in 2012-2013. The article 19 of the 2013 report contained the experts' conclusion that the international laws, particularly the UN Charter, are applicable to ICT, and vital for creating an environment for the peaceful use of and open and safe access to ICT. In article 16 of

the report, they also concluded that there should be joint research on how the norm should be applied to the use of ICT by states and additional norms might be set in consideration of the unique characters of ICT. Also, there was a heated discussion on the possibility of the application of the International Humanitarian Law to the norm. The U.S. tried to conclude that the agreement on the application of the international laws to the norm covers the International Law of Armed Conflicts, but Russia and China cast doubts if such an interpretation was compatible with the deliberations of the expert group.

- Finally, the 2013 UN GGE report divided the discussions on the responsible action of the states into two categories, with the first category on how to apply international laws to the use of ICT, and the second on the issue of how to develop additional non-binding norms in consideration of the complexities and uniqueness of ICT.
- The discussions of the UN GGE in 2014-2015 paved the way for a discourse on international law and norms on the use of ICT. The discourse on the norms and rules for responsible acts of the state confirmed the need for voluntary agreement on non-binding norms for security and safety of the global ICT environment. The discussions were designed to deal with the norms, rules and principles that do not check or ban the activities incompatible with international law. As to the application of international law, the 2015 report illustrated numerous existing norms and rules whose application to ICT use of the states is under the deliberation of the expert group.

#### ■ Prospects for the UN GGE

- The discussions of cyber powers indicate the agenda of future UN GGE sessions.
- As for one issue, cyber stability, the U.S. understands that it refers to an environment in which all states can enjoy the benefits of cyberspace – the space in which every state is given the incentive to cooperate and avoid clashes and has no need to sabotage and attack other states.
- The countries sharing views with the U.S. proposed that the discussion focus on the norms on sovereign rights and state responsibility, called

peacetime norms. However, China refused the additional discussion on International Humanitarian Law, and Russia, while agreeing to the discussion on rules of engagement, called for the discussion to focus on prevention of cyber accidents, instead of the discussion on Clause 4 in Article 2 and Article 51 of the UN Charter, thus adding uncertainty to the next UN GGE conference. As to the non-binding norms, the Netherlands calls for a norm on inviolability of the Internet infrastructure and more detailed discussion on the duty of due diligence.

#### ■ Implications for the Republic of Korea

Korea should maintain a balance between international and domestic norms, rules and principles on cyber security and discuss due diligence procedures.

#### ┌ PARK No-hyung

In the third UN GGE, an agreement was reached that existing international laws (including the UN Charter) are applicable to cyberspace, and in the fourth UN GGE, discussions were focused on how to apply international law to cyberspace. Though the GGE of the UN GGE means governmental group of experts, the UN GGE session is seen more as a discussion among government agencies than among experts. The fourth UN GGE was joined by 20 countries, but part of the discussions went awry as some participants had no expertise in cyberspace. After the fourth UN GGE, the membership countries increased from 20 to 25, raising the possibility of a third voice which might influence the activities of the UN GGE.

#### ┌ Mika KERTTUNEN

I would like to discuss three tasks of the UN GGE. First is the issue of exclusion. The membership countries expanded to 25 from 20. Amid the growth of this organization as a regional one into an international one, however, there is controversy over which country is entitled to membership. Second is the representation issue. The UN GGE should cope with the issue of how to address civic affairs and how to deliver conclusions to each country. Third is the exhaustion issue. The procedure

of making a draft at the UN GGE is too long, and it would take too much time to implement the UN GGE agreement in each country.

Lastly, I would like to make a suggestion to Korea. The UN GGE is not about legal affairs but a venue for political discussion. A country's dream has to be identified, first, and legal, political and technological objectives should be set based on that dream. As a think tank, the UN GGE also has to maintain neutrality.

#### ┌ John C. MALLERY

The cyber infrastructure is mostly in the charge of the private sector. There are few incentives to have business enterprises strengthen the cyber security. Therefore, it may lead to crimes using ICT. In the case of Korea, there is the possibility of a cyber attack by North Korea via China. How to deal with this kind of case and how to reduce the risks should be discussed at the UN GGE. Also, considerate decisions should be made as the countries have different cyber systems and different anti-cyber attack systems. I think it would be difficult to discuss how to reduce the criminal use of ICT using the private sector, because the UN GGE is an inter-state organization.

#### ┌ William BOOTHBY

The primary considerations of the next UN GGE conferences are as follows. First, it should look forward, instead of the past. Second, the UN GGE agenda needs more detailed discussion. More detailed agreement is required on the application of international law to the use of ICT. Third, the UN GGE should listen to the membership countries, including the voices opposing a certain issue.

#### ┌ Eneken TIKK-RINGAS

I would like to answer the question asking about the possibility of a third voice amid the expansion of the UN GGE membership from 20 to 25 and how such a voice would affect the UN GGE activities. The third voice will not be raised by a single country, only, and there will also be other countries to oppose it. Through the expansion of the UN GGE membership, it may secure an opportunity to augment its rationale.

We operate the discussion with patience, as the cyber security requires inter-state understanding. The UN cannot settle all issues. More discussions among the expert groups are required.

## ■■■ Policy Implications

- South Korea should foresee the agenda of the UN GGE, set up its positions and prepare for the agenda. According to the overall views of the experts who joined the UN GGE forum, there is a possibility that its next session would deal with accountability of a third party and due diligence procedure.
- South Korea should prepare a measure to cope with a possible cyber attack by North Korea via a server in China and present its opinions about such a case at the next UN GGE session.



# Nuclear Security and Safety in Asia-Pacific: Old Issues and New Thinking

## East Asia Foundation

- Moderator** **KIM Sung-hwan** Former Foreign Minister of the ROK / Convener of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Nuclear Security Summit
- Presenter** **Nobuyasu ABE** Former UN Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament  
**John CARLSON** Senior Advisor, Nuclear Threat Initiative  
**Pervez HOODBHOY** Distinguished Professor of Physics & Mathematics, Formal Christian College, Z. Z. Ahmad, Pakistan  
**SHEN Dingli** Associate Dean, Institute of International Studies, Fudan University
- Rapporteur** **MIN In-young** Doctoral Candidate, University of Southern California

### ■ Nuclear Security Summit

The main achievement of the Nuclear Security Summit (NSS) process was to focus high-level political attention on nuclear security and ensure that governments began to give this subject priority.

While there was some disappointment that it did not set mandatory commitments, participants in the summit offered various voluntary commitments including reduction in holdings of weapons-usable materials, hosting peer reviews, consolidated reporting on nuclear security implementation and establishment of Centers of Excellence.

A particularly important achievement was to secure the number of ratifications needed to bring the Amended Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material (CPPNM) into force.

One of the drawbacks of the NSS is that some key states such as Russia and Pakistan refused to participate in the summit. Also, it did not touch upon the fundamental problem of the difficulty in monitoring clandestine nuclear weapons programs due to their opaque nature.

### ■ International Cooperation for Nuclear Security

Conditions for better international cooperation for nuclear security include training of customs personnel through, for example, Centers of Excellence.

Peer reviews are also a very important mechanism in nuclear safety, and we must aim to make them as widespread as possible.

Tangible progress on international cooperation also depends on:

- 1) whether national leaders can give sustained and personal attention to the issue,
- 2) developing a format capable of eliciting commitments from nuclear powers and
- 3) developing a set of agreed protocols and procedures that would specifically keep nuclear materials away from terrorist groups.

The 2016 summit resulted in five action plans (UN, IAEA, Interpol, GICNT and GP) to achieve the goals of the summit. What is essential to nuclear security and safety is mandatory international standards, but there is strong resistance to this.



KIM Sung-hwan

Nobuyasu ABE

John CARLSON

Pervez HOODBHOY

SHEN Dingli



### ■ Nuclear Security Cooperation in Northeast Asia

One of the ways in which countries in the region can work together toward nuclear security is to share knowledge of inherently secure technology for storing nuclear materials.

In order to promote nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation, it is critical to improve the international security environment and the two nuclear superpowers bear special responsibilities.

The negative cycle of action-reaction will not be of help in international collaboration on nuclear disarmament, nonproliferation and the peaceful use of nuclear energy, as well as nuclear security and safety.

### ■ Nuclear Terrorism

The key concern is whether all national authorities take the threat seriously enough and put in place strong measures against possible terrorist activities.

Greater international cooperation is needed on sharing intelligence information, and reviewing performance and best practices, among others.

International cooperation in eliminating materials should also remain a high priority.

### ■ Security of Military Nuclear Materials

It should not be missed that many military materials are not in weapons or weapons components, but are bulk materials in storage or processing.

## ■■■ Policy Implications

- For nuclear safety, the Northeast Asian Nuclear Safety Council could be created so that there is an inter-state mechanism to promote regional safety standard enhancement and implementation.

- For nuclear security, experts and security staff in the region could use various facilities at Centers of Excellence in the region to work on scenario-based nuclear security simulation and training.

- In order to prevent nuclear terrorism, we need to shift our attention from nuclear material to human agencies.



[ Dialogue with Johan Galtung ]

# Northeast Asia in Tension, Seeking for Peace

## Jeju Peace Institute

**Keynote Speaker** Johan GALTUNG Founder, Peace Research Institute in Oslo  
**Interviewer** KIM Young-hie Editor-at-Large, JoongAng Ilbo  
**Rapporteur** MIN In-young Doctoral Candidate, University of Southern California



### ■ Causes of Conflict

It is absolutely natural for human beings to feel incompatible with others. Thus, conflict will remain part of our life as long as the human species survives.

### ■ Democratic Peace

While Immanuel Kant developed the idea that democracies do not fight against one another, what really matters is who they are and what their beliefs are. Statistical data show that the top four countries who have been engaged in conflicts in modern history are the U.S., Israel, the U.K. and Turkey. It is notable that they share Abrahamic religions whether it is Christianity or Islam. Surprisingly, Japan and Germany are very low on the list of the most belligerent nations in the modern history. The U.S., in particular, has regarded itself as the country chosen by God ever since the Puritans landed on American soil, and this kind of belief is the key determinant of belligerency.

### ■ The Korean Peninsula

In contrast to the commonly held view, North Korea is a Confucian country, not a communist one. In fact, South Korea and North Korea have many things in common including strong influence of Confucianism, filial piety, and diligent work spirit among others. If South Korea and North Korea can start cooperating on non-military issues where they can agree, it would be possible to overcome the current obsession with the North's nuclear weapons program.

We should not demonize the North Koreans and their leaders. If a person travels to the North and really see how people live there, they will find the North Korean people surprisingly normal.

### ■ North Korean Nuclear Weapons

There could be various motivations behind North Korean nuclear weapons program such as regime security, bargaining chip and pride. But the most important point to remember is that there is no way to peace without having serious dialogue with North Korea. Peace must be sought in peaceful ways and should be built on equal terms. Those who want to talk to North Korea to address the



Johan GALTUNG

KIM Young-hie

nuclear issue should first recognize North Korea as an equal partner.

### ■ Sanctions on North Korea

Economic sanctions against the North Korean nuclear weapons program are unfair given that many other countries did not face such sanctions when they were developing nuclear weapons against the international norm.

The U.S. has been orchestrating sanctions against North Korea in the hope that it will collapse if it is pressured hard enough. But there will be no collapse of North Korea as there was no demise of South Korea in the 1970s when it was faced with multiple challenges and many predicted its collapse. The collapse of "collapsism" is the best we can hope for.

### ■ The Fall of the U.S. Empire

The prediction that the U.S. empire will not last longer than 2020 has been largely fulfilled at the moment.

The U.S. is increasingly losing its grips on its key allies as European countries refused to fight with it in Ukraine and it is also being isolated in the Western hemisphere. President Obama's capitulation to Cuba is just one sign of that. Thus, the U.S. has started to do the killing by itself because others have refused to participate in dirty wars. In the past, the allies of the U.S. have done the most of the killing for the U.S. empire.

# Korean Unification and the Role and Future of the ROK-US Alliance

## Korea National Diplomatic Academy (KNDA)

<b>Moderator</b>	<b>SHIN Dong-ik</b> President, Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security, KNDA
<b>Presenter</b>	<b>KIM Hyun-wook</b> Associate Professor, Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security, KNDA <b>Scott SNYDER</b> Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations <b>CHENG Xiaohe</b> Associate Professor, Renmin University of China <b>Junya NISHINO</b> Associate Professor, Keio University, Japan
<b>Discussant</b>	<b>IN Nam-sik</b> Director-General, Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security, KNDA
<b>Rapporteur</b>	<b>JEONG Hye-yeong</b> Researcher, KNDA

### Scott SNYDER

The United States and South Korea announced the “Joint Vision for the Alliance of the Republic of Korea and the United States” in June 2009, in which they expressed their commitment to the peaceful reunification of Korea on the principles of democracy and market economy. The U.S. reaffirmed its support for the South-led reunification, emphasizing that the security of Korea as well as the region’s stability is its top priority.

The U.S. puts the stability of the Korean Peninsula before anything else, although relations could become uncomfortable if Korea pushes for reunification too actively.

Washington believes that maintaining the alliance even after the two Koreas are reunited is desirable in terms of its strategic interests. The future of the alliance appears to depend on the necessity of guaranteeing stability on the Korean Peninsula and neighboring region as well as the ROK-US (Republic of Korea – the U.S.) alliance.

The U.S. intervention in reunification brings controversy over its legitimacy, but the ROK-US

alliance will likely continue to be crucial, because Korea expects the U.S. to get involved in rebuilding projects after the two Koreas reunify.

From the long-term perspective, Northeast Asia’s political climate is expected to be influenced by changes in intra-regional relations, but the two countries will continue to maintain their security alliance by organizing multilateral mechanisms.

### CHENG Xiaohe

Beijing is holding an antagonistic view on the ROK-US alliance, although it has strategically cooperative ties with Seoul and Washington, respectively. This makes it probable that the rivalry between the U.S. and China will continue even after two Koreas reunify. China is deeply concerned about the future ROK-US alliance.

A reunified Korea will likely go through a transition period for over a decade before it becomes stabilized. It is also expected to be in turmoil, providing justification for the presence of U.S. troops on the Korean Peninsula.

The defensive role of the ROK-US alliance is to



SHIN Dong-ik

KIM Hyun-wook

Scott SNYDER

CHENG Xiaohe

Junya NISHINO

IN Nam-sik

protect most cities in South Korea, which are well within range of North Korean missiles. It is also capable of intervening in the inter-Korean affairs in case of contingencies resulting from the implementation of sanctions on North Korea by the United Nations Security Council and follow-up measures to apply pressure on North Korea.

I do not think Washington will pull out the U.S. troops from the Korean Peninsula if the process of reunification continues to be deadlocked, but Beijing is expected to insist on the pullout of the U.S. soldiers from Korea.

It seems unlikely that the ROK-US alliance will collapse even after the U.S. and China improve relations further after Korean reunification, because it has been built to meet their shared security needs and is the result of decades of friendly relations between the two countries.

### KIM Hyun-wook

In the event of a North Korea contingency, it will not be so easy for Washington to opt to intervene in it, given the circumstances of Northeast Asia, in which Washington and Beijing are maintaining the balance of power.

The future the ROK-US alliance after Korean reunification depends on how the two Koreas will be reunited. It is desirable that South Korea lead the unification process for the continued presence of U.S. Forces on the Korean Peninsula.

The two Koreas are divided over how to reunite themselves. South Korea calls for an economic unity and confederation formula, while North Korea favors a federal system.

After Korean reunification, other regional or global factors than North Korea would be perceived as

a threat to the ROK-US alliance, and South Korea will no longer consider China a threat.

The U.S. and South Korea need to draw up a post-unification roadmap to retain their alliance. The scale and deployment of the U.S. troops, strategic flexibility and the authority of military command will top the agenda of their discussions.

After reunification, the ROK-US Combined Forces Command will be dissolved, and the command’s operational control over South Korean troops is not expected to be transferred to U.S. Forces Korea, but turn into the parallel command structure as seen in the U.S. Forces Japan and the Japanese Self-Defense Forces.

Various changes are expected from the reunification, including a shift in U.S. military strategies, the dissolution of North Korean threats and the reduction of U.S. Army troops in Korea. Given the possible relations between a reunified Korea and China, it would not be possible to relocate the U.S. Forces Korea to the North. It appears reasonably possible for the armed forces of a reunified Korea to be stationed on the northern part of the Korean Peninsula.

### Junya NISHINO

What matters most to Japan is that the Korean reunification is achieved peacefully. Ultimately, however, I support South Korea-led reunification, no matter how it is achieved.

If a contingency arises on the Korean Peninsula, Japan has no control over it, but South Korea does. South Korea should take the initiative in managing the situation.

North Korea’s repeated nuclear tests and long-range missile tests are providing an excuse for



Japan to beef up its capabilities to respond to the North Korean threats. Tokyo is holding close discussions on this issue with Seoul and Washington.

Trilateral cooperation between Korea, Japan and the U.S., which is central to deterring North Korea's provocations, has greatly contributed to engaging with North Korea since the 1990s.

Given Seoul's sensitive reaction to Tokyo's move to boost its self-defense capabilities, Japan should increase the transparency of its policy through security cooperation with South Korea.

Japan believes that the ROK-US alliance will provide a foundation for peace and prosperity on the Korean Peninsula during and after reunification.

#### IN Nam-sik

Common threats must be identified to maintain the ROK-US alliance after reunification. China's rise to superpower status might be seen as a threat, but it is important that we strike a balance between the threat and economic opportunity that China poses.

What counts in the discussion on the future of the ROK-US alliance is mutual understanding of each other. It is important for us to precisely predict the future, as the U.S. leadership and foreign policies are standing at the crossroads amid the Trump phenomenon.

As the ROK-US alliance after reunification may develop into a trilateral security alliance between Korea, the U.S. and Japan, or a trilateral cooperative mechanism for regional cooperation, Korea should prepare its vision for the multilateral relations.

#### Jim BOLGER (former Prime Minister of New Zealand)

It is important to have long-term and short-term goals for reunification so that it may be possible to achieve the goals stage by stage.

It will also be important to set goals for South and North Korea to live on together sustainably.

A positive role of a third party in inter-Korean talks should be considered.

#### [ Q & A ]

**Q. Jim BOLGER** It is a worry that Donald Trump's "America First" policy could push America backward. Do you think it will have a great effect on the ROK-US alliance?

**Q. PARK In-kook (Secretary-General, Korea Foundation for Advanced Studies)** China said it would put "maintaining peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula" before "denuclearizing the peninsula," when it unveiled its policy on the Korean Peninsula in 2009, which I believe has led North Korea in the wrong direction. Isn't it about time for Beijing to readjust its policy priorities to focus on the denuclearization of North Korea?

**Q. SHIN Dong-ik** Professor Cheng Xiaohe said a unified Korea will experience a transition period for about ten years, during which the withdrawal of U.S. troops will not be necessary. Is there any reason for giving it ten years?

**A. Snyder** History shows, as Trump claimed, that Seoul and Washington have discussed on and off the issue of pulling U.S. troops out of Korea. I think they will reach a point sometime in the future where they should conclude this discussion. According to opinion polls in the U.S., more Americans are showing a tendency of sticking to conservatism, which I believe is indicative of internationalism, not isolationism.

**A. Cheng** In China's policies on the Korean Peninsula, there are some underlying contradictions between three factors: peace and stability, denuclearization and settlement through dialogue. Not only China but also other countries should find ways to achieve both goals on the Korean Peninsula - peace and stability and denuclearization of North Korea. I personally believe denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula is a precondition for peace and stability. Priorities will be readjusted over time, but China's stance on the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula won't change. The transition period after the reunification can last over ten years or fifteen years. They are given for the sake of convenience with no particular reason.

# Towards New Cooperative Leadership in Asia: Theory and Practice

## East Asia Foundation

Moderator	<b>PARK Cheol-hee</b> Professor, GSIS, Seoul National University
Presenter & Discussant	<b>WANG Yong</b> Professor, Center for International Political Economy, Peking University <b>John NILSSON-WRIGHT</b> Head of Asia Programme, Chatham House <b>John DELURY</b> Professor, GSIS, Yonsei University
Rapporteur	<b>CHOI Ha-eun</b> Fellow, East Asia Foundation Global Asia

Strategic dialogue among national leaders constitutes a critical platform for peace and stability in Asia. However, conflicts in security interest, and diverging economic interests and cultural values produce conflicts among national leaders, thus making diplomatic situations uneasy and unstable. This session looks at realistic ways of enhancing cooperation among leaders in Asia under newly-unfolding strategic contexts.

- **Park** This session will discuss sub-topics under the main theme of the Jeju Forum, "Asia's New Order and Cooperative Leadership," with three distinguished experts. In fact, regional cooperation in Asia is a frequently discussed subject at the Jeju Forum, which means it is such a significant issue and, at the same time, an abstract one that eludes a clear answer. In today's session, we will explore concrete ways to forge cooperation in the region amid the rise of China, Japan's military and security alliance with the U.S. and North Korean provocations.
- **Wang** There has been a lot of discussion about the rise of China, but many are misguided by exaggerated facts. It is right to call it a rise of all of

Asia, not China, alone. The rise of Asia is one of the most important developments in international relations over the last 20 years after the end of the Cold War. Major Asian countries, including Korea, China and Japan, share more common interests and are integrated on a higher level. On the other hand, the region faces diverse challenges such as territorial disputes, history issues and competition in security affairs, resulting from the changes in the regional order due to the sudden rise of China after the financial crisis of the world in 2008. Therefore, we should recognize the new order in Asia and seriously consider how to restructure this after setting common goals. Departing from the legacies of the Cold War and pro-U.S. lines, we should realize that Asia is divided into the Pivot to Asia strategy and the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). Without repeating the past, such as ideological confrontation, we should be more open and tolerant toward each other, and make concerted efforts to build a new regional order. China, too, has to be more responsible as a rising state, approach other countries more cautiously, and listen to them. Recent Chinese foreign policies, like the Asia Infrastruc-

ture Investment Bank and the “One Belt, One Road” initiative, represent the will to contribute to regional peace and prosperity. Regarding some sensitive issues such as the territorial disputes over the South China Sea or Diaoyudao Islands, political leaders of the region need to have frank talks.

• **Nilsson-Wright** I would like to add one thing from the perspective of a European and a British viewpoint. To say my conclusions first, I see the cooperative leadership in Asia in a negative light. Let me illustrate the challenges the region faces; the first is the hegemonic rivalry (The U.S. and China develop the rivalry into an arms race and this impacts security alliances in the region); the second is the territorial disputes (the competition for resources resulting from economic expansion in Asia foments instability); the third the difficulties in claiming legitimacy (In Austria, a presidential runner almost became the first extreme rightist president in Europe, recently, and in the Philippines, Rodrigo Duterte, called “The Punisher” for his excessive abuse of the law enforcement power, was elected as president, indicating a symptom of quasi-fascism in Asia); the fourth the rise of nationalism; the fifth the growing distrust between the elite and the masses; the sixth rapid economic growth (economic growth may somehow help resolving conflicts, but its pace is too fast to reduce the gap between the rich and poor); the seventh unpredictable natural disasters and man-made mishaps; and the eighth, institutional fatigue (a situation in which too many systems require the choice and concentration approach).

If so, why do the challenges arise now? After the Cold War, hostile confrontations drew to an end, and the structural aspects of many problems have changed. Corresponding to the extent of the intervention of the U.S. in the region, geopolitical instability is getting serious, and Chinese President Xi Jinping and Japanese Prime Minister Abe actively engage in diplomatic activities.

Judging by the moves of the two countries over the South China Sea issue, they are not confined to the unipolar order anymore, and the relations between major players are being reshaped. Amid the growing tension, what kind of actions

would the countries take? They can revert to the traditional ties of alliance or unilaterally make a new approach as Japan does, or remove (hedge) the risk through China to ease the tension as South Korea does. These changes are explained by technological advances. Technologies enable countries to strengthen their military capabilities that make it impossible to respond to the enemy’s attack in time. In the case of North Korea, if technological development leads to its capability in ballistic missile launch, it may create a serious situation. Another factor fanning the tension in the region is the shrinkage of orthodox political elites. The support of the Chinese Communist Party for President Xi Jinping is weaker than in the past, and the Japanese political elite have lower support rates due to the economic recession. And as the results of the South Korean general election show, the anger of people, particularly the younger generation, is being unleashed on politics. The political situation makes it impossible for politicians to survive just by relying on traditional supporter groups.

There are also many local and national issues of unrest. In Asia, there are efforts to reestablish a national identity. In Japan, territorial disputes turn into political issues, and a possible amendment of the Constitution remains a Pandora’s Box, with Abe expected to embrace inclusive foreign policies in the future. Korea also has the government-designated history textbook issue, while China sees new discourses promoting political change. Given this, it is doubtful that the numerous ideas on cooperation in Asia will produce any result.

• **Delury** It is impossible to discuss the regional cooperation in Asia without referring to the role of the U.S. In fact, most Asian countries know that individual pursuit of interests will not help regional cooperation. If so, why have the domestic conditions of the Northeast Asian countries worsened? Which country wants cooperation and prosperity in Asia most in terms of strategy?

The U.S. policy of rebalance, designed to move its pivot of security to Asia, is seen here as a strategy of the U.S. to balance the rise of China. This rebalancing strategy of the U.S. enables some countries to remove their risk factors by using

the tension between the U.S. and China. Actually, many countries in the region are strategically utilizing the U.S. policy, with South Korea opting for the strategy to get economic gains from China and to have its security guaranteed by the U.S. In the position of second tier states or middle powers, it would be better for them to seek gains amid the tensions and misunderstandings between the U.S. and China than to seek regional cooperation.

From my perspective as a Chinese history researcher, the most serious concern is the historical identity and education issue. The historical identity of Northeast Asia is closely related to historical narratives. Recently, this region has shown a tendency to use nationalistic narratives to instill an identity among the next generation in a bid to build nation states. So to speak, the history education itself is to promote nationalism. From a single viewpoint, they instill national pride among their people and even imbue the historical accounts with moralism. North Korea is the extreme example of this. Though being less extreme, three Northeast Asian countries - South Korea which was embroiled in a history textbook controversy, Japan which distorts history for national pride and China which prohibits some historical interpretations - are no exception to the nationalistic move. Not only Asia, but also the U.S., which is witnessing the “Trump phenomenon” exposes nationalism in a different shape. In Northeast Asia, they are aware, at least, that what they do is nationalism; but the Trump case shows that nationalism was fanned by major press in the U.S.

Political leaders consider the public reaction, first of all, in their decision-making. Therefore, the public should more actively ask their leader for regional cooperation if they wish for a higher level of cooperation. As Prof. Nilsson-Wright mentioned, what raises more concern is that the public does not recognize the problematic feature of historical identity, paying no heed to the need of inter-state cooperation.

• **Park** We don’t have to be pessimistic about the present situation. When I teach students at college, I tell them that Asia hasn’t seen a big war since 1979 and managed to maintain a peaceful



PARK Cheol-hee

WANG Yong



John NILSSON-WRIGHT

John DELURY

state of affairs without massive massacres or terrorism, while expanding its international influence gradually. Though a global recession is underway, economic growth in the Asian region still continues, and countries, except for North Korea, are somehow doing well. Upon this assumption, I would like to ask Prof. Wang Yong, who mentioned an “open and tolerant Asia,” what he meant with open order and what the region expects about the role of the U.S.

• **Wang** First of all, we need a theoretical approach to the question about what stands in the way of regional cooperation and what kind of challenges we face. We should understand that there is a gap between countries, they utilize alliances to overcome the gap, and such moves are tied with the rise and fall of superpowers. We also live in a period of a new transition in the regional order. The transition is progressing so fast that we cannot catch up with it, but we should more objectively watch the realities and more seriously consider our common interests.

The statistics of human exchanges in Asia shows a steep increase in tourists and students studying in different countries, in particular. I have an optimism that the growing exchanges will lead to a pursuit of common interests and to regional cooperation. The talks on intractable



issues such as history or territorial disputes, too, might lead to a key to resolution, if the dialogue deals, first, with the economic and cultural ones, which can be easily negotiated on. Furthermore, the relations of the U.S. and China would not promptly worsen, as they heavily depend upon each other in the economic sector. Therefore, it helps us having an optimistic expectation about the regional cooperation.

To form a regional community by excluding a certain state may bring a more serious problem, as seen in the European precedent of the blockade against Russia. A more open and tolerant policy is needed.

- **Park** Can the U.S. play the role of promoting regional cooperation in Asia?
- **Wang** The U.S. can play a constructive role in creating a new Asian order and a collective security system.
- **Park** Prof. Nilsson-Wright cited distrust as an obstacle for regional cooperation. Then, what could resolve the security dilemma? As seen in Europe, could mini-lateralism for trust-building, though incomplete, work for regional cooperation? If so, what kind of concrete result could it make?
- **Nilsson-Wright** The European case cannot be applied to the East Asian situation. In the case of Europe, they could create a collaborative system because they were faced with a common threat, the Soviet Union. Actually, Europe does not have a completely cooperative system, either. Cooperation could be started in Europe as German leaders have shown a sincere attitude of repenting the past on their knees, and other countries sympathized with the action of German leaders and agreed to move forward. The recent visit of U.S. President Obama to Hiroshima is viewed in similar vein. One problem with East Asia is that they do not have this kind of sympathy. Recently, both Korea and Japan are shedding lights on the past again, but the seriously problematic feature here is that the leaders are making unilateral decisions on it. In the case of Europe, they have the principle that they should collectively deal with the past.

Middle powers tend to weigh their interests in the background of the tension between superpow-



ers. One example of it is public diplomacy. In the case of Japan, it actively solicits the intervention of the U.S. in the region by annually expanding its budget for public diplomacy activities. However, public diplomacy has limitations in advancing the regional cooperation; and it is necessary to go beyond such an unproductive zero-sum competition.

- **Park** Listening to the panelists here, I was reminded of Yoshibumi Wakamia, chief editorial writer of the Asahi Shimbun, who passed away recently. He was respected not only in Japan, but also in the East Asian region, because of his outstanding capacity of compassion. He was known as a man with a strong will for cooperation. I believe the East Asian region needs his compassion,

above all, in this era.

A question that I would like to ask Prof. Delury is if it is possible to depart from the unitary view of history and teach regional history of East Asia (not the histories of Japan, Korea and China), based on national identities.

- **Delury** To answer it with American optimism, it is a top-down approach. The reason why such a suggestion always ends up with a mere idea that cannot be realized is because the message delivered by the leadership was imbued with national pride. It is a social phenomenon, not a citizenship issue. Researchers like us, NGOs, the younger generation would have to play a more active role. A government initiative cannot work it out.
- **Nilsson-Wright** Social scientists tended to rely on

quantitative (empirical) methodology during the Cold War era, but history tells us what counts is the narrative. The narrative on history can change flexibly without being exclusive. There should be more researchers with flexible views, and other frameworks than sociological ones should be developed.

#### [ Q & A ]

#### Q. **MOON Chung-in (Professor, Yonsei University)**

One point missing in this session on cooperative leadership is the fact that Chinese President Xi Jinping, Japanese Prime Minister Abe, Korean President Park Geun-hye, U.S. President Obama

and presidential candidates Trump and Hillary are all captives of domestic politics. As long as they are preoccupied with the need to minimize the dynamics of domestic politics, it is hard to expect cooperative leadership. It makes a comparison with the case of leaders of France and Germany, which used to be locked in antagonistic rivalry, but reached reconciliation in broader points of view after World War II for co-prosperity. French president Charles De Gaulle and German Premier Konrad Adenauer led public opinion to reconciliation, despite popular resistance and protests. Without being overwhelmed by public opinion, they persuaded people into reconciliation for a greater cause. As a result, the two countries became leaders of Europe, as well as achieving reconciliation. Can the leaders of Asia, Xi Jinping, Abe and Park Geun-hye change their minds and exercise real leadership? What kinds of influence would domestic politics have on cooperative leadership?

**A. Delury** Not only leaders but also the public counts. It is necessary to find out what the public want from their leaders. Even the dictatorship of North Korea needs to meet the demands of the people. Leaders have to give what people want and listen to them.

**A. Nilsson-Wright** I agree with Prof. Delury. Prime Minister Abe heeds people's opinions. When it comes to security policy, however, he always

judges everything in the context of the U.S.-Japan relationship, against popular wishes. He is uneasy with thorny issues, hates traditional dynamics and pursues a rational independent line. Therefore, he would unlikely suggest new solutions. In Britain, too, the public does not trust their institutions, as the Brexit vote showed.

**A. Wang** Domestic politics is also important in international relations. In terms of the relation of political leaders with the public, Prime Minister Abe is different from Prime Minister Hatoyama. President Xi Jinping is also different from his predecessors, Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao. The power of influence political leaders have differs according to their characters, political system and beliefs. The character of the masses is a complicated issue, varying by industry, interests and political inclination. As political leaders are elected through the support of a certain united group, they can hardly represent all groups.

**A. Park** It is a problem that political leaders pay more attention to the opinions of cabinet members, the press and some political consultants than to the public. There is also the case of a mismatch in which political leaders insist on their own agenda without toeing the popular line, thus widening the gap between them and people. The public have negative and skeptical views on politics, as they do not know what politicians are about.

the relations because of their high economic interdependency upon each other in the region.

• Recently, in particular, the countries in the region show a tendency to strengthen the nationalistic narrative for the next generation to the end of building nation states through the education of national identity.

• As the messages of the leadership are imbued with national pride, researchers, NGOs and the younger generation should study history for regional integration, departing from the unitary view of the subject.

• An emotional sympathy should precede the institutionalization of cooperation to establish cooperative leadership.

• If talks start with economic or cultural affairs, which are easier to negotiate on, this could lead to a solution of the intractable history issues or territorial disputes.

## Policy Implications

• In recognition of the new Asian order formed over 20 years after the end of the Cold War, the countries in the region have to be open and tolerant toward each other and create a new regional security order with concerted efforts.

• Some of the most challenging issues in the region are competitions for influence on hegemonic power; territorial disputes; difficulties in claiming legitimacy; the rise of nationalism; distrust between political elites and people; too rapid economic growth hard to adapt to; unexpected natural disasters and human mishaps; and institutional fatigue.

• Second-tier states or middle powers seek to remove risks or economic gains using the tension between the U.S. and China, but the superpowers are unlikely to unilaterally worsen

# East Asian 'History Issues' and Political Leadership

## Northeast Asian History Foundation

**Keynote Speaker** **YOO Euy-sang** Ambassador for Geographic Naming, Northeast Asian History Foundation

**Moderator** **KIM Min-kyu** Research Fellow, Northeast Asian History Foundation

**Presenter** **Mindy KOTLER** Director, Asia Policy Point  
**Reinhard ZOELLNER** Professor, University of Bonn  
**Junro ITO** Professor, University of Tsukuba

**LEE Jong-guk** Research Fellow, Northeast Asian History Foundation

**Discussant** **KWAK Jino** Research Fellow, Northeast Asian History Foundation

**LEE Won-woo** Research Fellow, Northeast Asian History Foundation

**Rapporteur** **KIM Min-kyu** Research Fellow, Northeast Asian History Foundation

### KIM Min-kyu

As evidenced by the “comfort women” issue, the three countries of Korea, China and Japan are embroiled in long-standing conflicts over history. These conflicts are posing a serious threat to peace and prosperity in East Asia. In this session, we will discuss what kind of leadership is called for to resolve the history disputes in East Asia and thus to pass on a “sound historical views” to the next generation.

### YOO Euy-sang

Recently, the historical and territorial disputes between Korea, Japan and China have worsened so much that they are threatening the peace and stability of East Asia. Many factors and backgrounds are said to be behind these rows. Various ways are also presented to solve them, but it is becoming more difficult to properly cope with the issue. The reason why history and territorial disputes are escalating is probably because internal or external factors have fanned nationalism, providing an opportunity for

the region's political leaders to use history or a certain interpretation of history for domestic political purposes.

That is why it is timely and meaningful for us to discuss the theme of East Asian history issues and political leadership in this session. I hope the three presenters here will help us look deeply into the backgrounds and roots of East Asia's history disputes and propose solutions to the issue. Experts from the Northeast Asian History Foundation are also expected to offer insightful views as discussants.

### History Textbook Issue

#### Junro ITO

In Japan, all textbooks for elementary, middle and high schools are written in accordance with the “instruction manual” published by the Ministry of Education and Science. The draft textbooks are submitted to the ministry for approval, that is, to the Textbook Screening Council before they are eventually adopted by schools nationwide. Therefore,





YOO Euy-sang

KIM Min-kyu



Mindy KOTLER

Reinhard ZOELLNER



Junro ITO

LEE Jong-guk



KWAK Jino

LEE Won-woo

the history in the textbooks of Japan is the “official history” authorized by the government.

In January 2014, the ministry revised the textbook screening guidelines as well as the instruction manual for textbook to strongly demand that history textbook authors make changes on sensitive issues concerning Dokdo and Senkaku islands so that they might be described as Japan’s sovereign territories. It led to the growing voices calling for more descriptions of the national territory and removal of the part on Japan’s wartime sexual slavery out of the history textbooks.

These circumstances make it necessary to write a unified history textbook as well as to start a project to analyze and examine current history textbooks.

**LEE Won-woo**

Authors of history textbooks for elementary through high school students are strongly influ-

enced by the historical view of the government because the country’s history textbooks are written in accordance with the government’s instructions and approved by the government’s textbook screening system. Besides, each local education committee has the authority to adopt textbooks among the authorized ones, which means double or triple regulations. Therefore, inter-state exchanges of teachers should be promoted as part of the measure to redress the biased textbooks.

**A Way to Overcome Historical Conflicts**

**Reinhard ZOELLNER**

“War over history” arises usually because the countries involved insist on interpreting history in their favor. The same history, however, can be seen differently from the perspective of local history. Looking back on the history, Korea and Japan have often had uncomfortable relations with each other,

but it is also true that they share a good history of exchanges.

For instance, there is a bronze statue symbolizing “comfort women” in Tateyama of Chiba Prefecture, which is not far from Tokyo and frequented by local students. They visit the statue in the city’s public park to remember and pay their respect to the “comfort women” victims.

On Tsushima Island, there is a Buddhist temple, where a portrait of Confucian scholar Amenomori Hoshu is housed. He played an important role in improving ties between Korea and Japan sprained after the Japanese invasion of Korea in 1592. It is necessary that we pay attention to these provincial histories to enhance the relations of the two countries.

**KWAK Jino**

There are many stories in the local histories of

Korea and Japan that are similar to those Prof. Zoellner spoke of. But the problem is real politics. In particular, it is most obvious that Prime Minister Shinzo Abe’s historical revisionism and revisionist foreign policy have apparently been blocking the two countries from building future-oriented relations, as evidenced in professor Zoellner’s presentation.

**Lack of Leadership on History Issues in East Asia**

**Mindy KOTLER**

The second Abe government is bolstering its leadership by bidding to redefine the history of Japan and, more broadly, East Asia. Abe strongly believes history is about building political legitimacy, not about justification or apology, responsibility or aspiration. Such clear-cut understanding of history is behind his policies and actions.

By contrast, China and Korea are calling on

Japan to “correctly understand history” by “truly acknowledging its historical responsibility” and “squarely facing its past history.”

Knowing well that the moralizing speeches are no more than mere talks, Japan is having its historical stories incorporated into carefully arranged unique programs and strategies to spread them at home and abroad.

The Abe government is leading the history issue, as seen in its trial use of the issue in diplomatic affairs and in the harangue of a Japanese diplomat in front of the officials of the UN.

Abe actively gets involved in issues other countries remain aloof from. Abe does not back away when others seek truth from his country. A good example is found in the Abe government’s successful campaign to designate as a UNESCO World Heritage a private academy, a coal mine and steelmaking sites, which Abe called the intellectual birthplace of Japan’s modernization, in the vicinity of the Shoka Sonjuku Academy. The private academy was run by Yoshida Shoin, a famous intellectual who supported the Japanese invasions of Manchuria and Korea. It was because the Abe government knew very well that UNESCO is globalizing history.

#### KWAK Jino

I appreciate your explanation about what the Abe government is doing with history issues in Washington. East Asia also needs to create a European style, peace-building heritage for the future. Any comments from presenters would be appreciated in this regard.

#### Globalization and Leaders’ Awareness of History

#### LEE Jong-guk

It matters how leaders view history at a time when global historical views are called for. The issue of history emerged as a globalization progressed. American leadership managed to function effectively during the Cold War. But East Asia has found itself embroiled in disputes over historical issues between Korea, China and Japan since the Cold War ended in 1989, due to the rise of China and the lack of leadership of the region’s political leaders. The civic sector should gather strength, and

their networks should be activated to solve the conflicts in East Asia. It also requires active discussion on ways to build an East Asian community.

#### LEE Won-woo

History issues in East Asia have escalated into full-blown conflicts as political leaders of the region exposed their limitations in catching up with this globalization era. To redress the conflicts, civic networks were formed and started exchanges and discussions on how to build an East Asian community, but suffered setbacks from the beginning. Therefore, it is more important to incorporate the histories of East Asia into a common East Asian history than to build a regional community with each country still holding on to its own history.

### Policy Implications

- It is important not only to correct biased school textbooks, but also to enhance teacher training programs and further promote exchanges of teachers who actually use these textbooks in the classroom.
- As a way of helping resolve their history disputes, it is necessary to compile good examples (of exchanges) of Korea and Japan into books or videos for distribution. Exchanges of visits or classes between their citizens and students should be considered to help them see the history in the position of their counterparts.
- We need to do more than criticize the Abe government for using history for strategic purposes. For example, we need to develop basic and systematic ways to thwart the Japanese government’s activities in Washington justifying and glamorizing its wartime aggression.
- Political leaders of each country should recognize that East Asian history should not be viewed from the perspective of individual countries or nationalism, but as the history of the East Asian community,

# Rethinking Nuclear Disarmament in Asia-Pacific

## East Asia Foundation

Moderator	<b>Ramesh THAKUR</b> Co-convenor, APLN / Former UN Assistant Secretary-General
Presenter	<b>LEE Hong-ko</b> Former Prime Minister of the ROK <b>Carlos SORRETA</b> Ambassador, Embassy of the Philippines in Russia <b>John TILEMANN</b> Director of Research, APLN
Rapporteur	<b>KIM Gawon</b> Fellow, East Asia Foundation

#### Ramesh THAKUR

We have moved from the 1<sup>st</sup> nuclear phase to the 2<sup>nd</sup> nuclear phase. The 1<sup>st</sup> phase during the Cold War was centered on the Atlantic Ocean according to bipolar great power rivalry between the U.S. and USSR. A mechanism was in place for maintaining strategic stability. The current 2<sup>nd</sup> phase is centered on the Pacific Ocean. There are fewer nuclear weapons, but multiple nuclear powers and complex deterrence relations (e.g. India and Pakistan are conceptually, politically and strategically intertwined with China). Nuclear war is more likely, especially between India and Pakistan. Boundaries between nuclear and conventional warheads are being eroded.

There are three different categories of nuclear states in Asia. The first is an NPT recognized formal nuclear powers, China, which has a legal obligation of disarmament as stated in Article 6 of the NPT. The second are non-NPT states: India and Pakistan. Lastly, a former member of the NPT, now withdrawn: North Korea.

#### LEE Hong-ko

The biggest concern is the relations between two

superpowers: China and the U.S.

The US had always considered itself an Atlantic power until World War II. In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it has shifted economically and politically from the east coast to the west coast. With Hawaii and Alaska becoming formal US states, it has become constitutionally drawn closer to the Pacific. President Barack Obama from Hawaii considers the Pacific his home, and has unsurprisingly announced a “pivot to Asia.”

During the Cold War, the U.S. and USSR had different economic systems that were isolated from each other. However, China has decided to become part of the U.S.-led global market, which was the only way for it to become a superpower. This is qualitatively different from the Cold War. Hopefully, a rational market economy will be a sufficient force to create relationships of accommodation. Both Americans and Chinese have a commercial culture, which are the foundations of their strengths.

China, Japan, and South Korea need to have an amiable relationship; otherwise, their future destinies are uncertain. This is directly related to peace in East Asia. However, with North Korea, it is hard for China to run a coherent foreign policy.





Ramesh THAKUR



LEE Hong-koo



Carlos SORRETA



John TILEMANN



Since Asia is so big, there is no serious consideration as a continent to deal with the nuclear issue. We tend to be preoccupied with our own problems in our immediate neighbor, North Korea. The current nuclear crisis in North Korea is a result of North Korea's exceptionalism and tendency to go against global and regional trends.

South Korea is in the center of two circles: the U.S.-China circle and the China-Japan-South Korea circle. President Park's decisions to join the AIIB (and not the TPP) and participate in Beijing's victory celebrations on the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of World War II are not perceived positively by Koreans and Americans. We need to bring these two circles together and involve all parties in dialogue for a realistic resolution.

If only looking at East Asia (including Australia), there is not that much difference between the two

nuclear phases. All states except North Korea accept China as the only nuclear state in the region, as the USSR once was in Europe.

Because Donald Trump's rise was so unexpected, we have not been prepared to react intelligently to his arguments that South Korea should go nuclear. However, Koreans do not want nuclear capabilities, with many suffering from the atomic bombs dropped in Japan, and such suggestions are not taken seriously. In the 1991 agreements between North and South Korea, it was declared that the peninsula would be kept nuclear free.

**Carlos SORRETA**

In the Atlantic and the Middle East, there is great tension between Russia and the U.S. There is least tension between Russia and the U.S. in the Pacific. However, this does not mean there are good

prospects for nuclear disarmament. There needs to be greater confidence building. Russia has been conducting naval exercises with China and some ASEAN countries. Meanwhile, Russia is reluctant to be actively involved in the North Korean issue unless Putin is sure that it is a winning game.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> nuclear phase is much more complex than the 1<sup>st</sup>, with the U.S. engaged in different relations with China and Russia in different regions of the Asia-Pacific: in North Korea, cooperation; in South East Asia, competition; and in the South China Sea, confrontation.

**John TILEMANN**

Nuclear umbrellas have helped establish and maintain nuclear security. States agreed to participate in confidence building measures because they received security assurances by nuclear umbrellas.

For example, Australia gave up its nuclear capabilities because it was assured of support under the NPT, and perceived security benefits in reducing the number of nuclear states in the region.

The umbrella can be formal, as in the case of the Republic of Korea and that of the NATO states. It can also be informal as in the case of Australia and Japan, where the evidence of such an arrangement is to be found in the statements of the governments concerned.

New thinking is needed for disarmament in the Asia Pacific. Non-nuclear states under the U.S. umbrella can contribute to these efforts, because they rely on nuclear credibility for their own security, and have intimate relationships with the U.S. For example, Australia has been a leader in the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and International Commission on Nuclear non-Proliferation and Disarmament. Unlike NATO in the Cold War, Asia currently does not have confidence building infrastructure.

■ ■ ■  
**Policy Implications**

- A creative new thinking for nuclear disarmament in Asia region is needed.
- Because the 2<sup>nd</sup> nuclear phase is young, considerations of nuclear issues are underdone. There needs to be different sets of arrangements as there are in the Atlantic, as well as more intellectual effort for Track 1.5/Track II arms control ideas.
- The ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) was not designed to deal with nuclear issues and has no mechanism to deal with those issues. Meanwhile, the South East Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone is stuck in progress. There needs to be committed confidence building measures as there are in the Atlantic.
- With the US presidential election, all leaders in the region need to rethink the dangers. There is a strong case for us to work together.

# Building Track 1.5 Network for the Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative

## Sejong Institute

Moderator	<b>JIN Chang-soo</b> President, Sejong Institute
Presenter	<b>LEE Sang-hyun</b> Director, Center for Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Studies, Sejong Institute <b>KIM Kyun-tae</b> Director, Division of Emergency Preparedness, Korea Institute of Nuclear Safety <b>CHU Jang-min</b> Senior Research Fellow, Korea Environment Institute
Discussant	<b>Kim Tae-hwan</b> Professor, Korea National Diplomatic Academy <b>KO Jae-nam</b> Professor, Korea National Diplomatic Academy <b>KIM Su-in</b> Deputy Director, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Rapporteur	<b>AN A-ram</b> Researcher, Sejong Institute

### ■ The History of the Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative (NAPCI) and Its Achievements

#### The NAPCI Forum and global society's understanding and support

- In 2014 and 2015, the NAPCI forum was held twice and made ostensible progress by promoting the global society's understandings about and supports to it, as well as strengthening its functional cooperation with global partners.
- In spite of the growth, there remains a problem of the delay in implementing the initiative, doubts about the possibility of functional cooperation amid the tense security situation in Northeast Asia, and a question about its sustainability after the term of the incumbent government.

#### The advance in discussions on private-public sector cooperation and functional cooperation

- For the safety of nuclear power in Northeast Asia, the government initiated a pilot project to organize a nuclear safety consultative body and hosted

a symposium on Northeast Asian cooperation on nuclear safety, the Top Regulators' Meeting (TRM) of Korea, China and Japan, and the third TRM Plus (TRM+).

- For cooperation on environmental issues, the government hosted the Tripartite Environment Ministers Meeting (TEMM), the Peace and Biodiversity Dialogue, the East Asian Biosphere Reserve Network (EABRN), the Northeast Asian Sub-regional Programme for Environmental Cooperation, and an international workshop on Biodiversity-Based Industries.

### ■ Establishment of a Private-Public Network

#### Organization of Northeast Asian epistemic community and shared narrative

- To bring the diverse specialized scopes under the umbrella of the NAPCI, the government needs to suggest a clear narrative that reflects the mutual awareness and interests shared in the Northeast Asian region.

#### Human and knowledge exchanges and activation of



JIN Chang-soo

LEE Sang-hyun

KIM Kyun-tae

CHU Jang-min

Kim Tae-hwan



KO Jae-nam



KIM Su-in

#### private-public cooperation programs for the NAPCI

- By designating concrete roles and functions, and allocating financial resources, the government should produce visible results of exchanges such as workshops and research in each field, and activate private-public cooperation programs for the NAPCI, based on them.

#### Institutionalization of the NAPCI based on private-public consortium

- A private-public consortium, consisting of working level officials, should be set up to discuss financing and action plans for the NAPCI to the end of ultimately expanding it into an overseas network.

#### Designation of private research institute as overseas focal point and establishment of country-specific strategy

- The government should designate a private institute in each country which plays a role (NAPCI Secretariat) similar to Sejong Institute and set up a focal point at ad hoc institutes for each issue.
- The Institute for National Strategy of Mongolia has made an official proposition to the NAPCI, but the government could not advance the talks

due to the absence of concrete means and a mechanism of cooperation.

#### Publicity campaign for the public

- As the NAPCI is not properly recognized by the press and scholars, to say nothing of the public, there should be a publicizing strategy.
- There should be a publicity mechanism to mention and register the NAPCI at conferences on regional cooperation.

## Policy Implications

### ■ ■ ■ Suggestions to establish a private-public network for the NAPCI

- The government should help in raising mutual awareness to make the NAPCI a long-term agenda and make a gradual approach to regional cooperation.
- To help the NAPCI make a meaningful advance amid the unstable security environment of Northeast Asia, governmental support and cooperation should be accompanied by the civic efforts.



# New East Asia Regional Order and the Role of the UN

## World Federation of United Nations Associations (WFUNA)

Moderator	<b>CHO Chang-Beom</b> Vice President, WFUNA
Welcoming Remarks	<b>PARK Soo-gil</b> President, WFUNA
Keynote Speaker	<b>KIM Won-soo</b> Under-Secretary-General and the High Representative for Disarmament Affairs, UN
Presenter	<b>Alexei BORISOV</b> Secretary-General, UNA-Russia <b>NAM Ju-hong</b> Professor, Graduate School, Kyonggi University <b>KWAAK Young-hoon</b> Chairman, World Citizens Organization <b>YOO Dae-jong</b> Director-General for International Organizations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Discussant	<b>Bonian GOLMOHAMMADI</b> Secretary-General, WFUNA <b>PARK Heung-soon</b> Professor, Sunmoon University
Rapporteur	<b>Joseph LIM</b> Partnerships Officer, WFUNA

### PARK Soo-gil

This year is the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the establishment of the World Federation of United Nations Associations. It witnesses unprecedented challenges on the global and regional levels, thus requiring a strengthened role of the United Nations and multilateralism.

East Asia, in particular, is faced with great challenges arising from the emerging new order characterized by structural shift in the regional power balance, the nuclear armament of North Korea, nationalistic and more assertive foreign and security policy of major countries in the region and their intensified confrontational competition, an arms race, and eroding commitment to UN principles and international justice.

The UN stands for universality, legitimacy and soft power. East Asia has to more actively utilize the UN and strengthen regional cooperation to guarantee peace and prevent conflicts in the region and particularly on the Korean Peninsula.

### KIM Won-soo

The Northeast Asian region has no comprehensive regional security cooperation system. The UN has a great potential role in maintaining peace and strengthening security in East Asia. The UN is willing to actively support the institutionalization of security talks and a cooperative system in the region. Chapter 8 of the UN Charter encourages the establishment of regional agencies for cooperation.

Inclusivity and pragmatism are required for the talks on regional security. North Korea should be invited to these talks. It is desirable to build trust by addressing such soft issues as drug control, health-care, disaster management and energy security, before dealing with hard issues.

To resolve the North Korean nuclear and missile issue, sanctions against North Korea are a crucial means, and the global community should take a firm stance on this. However, as sanctions alone cannot work to bring about the desired result, the international community should bring North Korea



CHO Chang-Beom

PARK Soo-gil

KIM Won-soo

Alexei BORISOV

NAM Ju-hong



KWAAK Young-hoon

YOO Dae-jong

Bonian GOLMOHAMMADI

PARK Heung-soon

to the dialogue table.

Cyber attacks, Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear Arms (CBRN) and terrorism are major threats to security. The UN can support the efforts of Northeast Asian countries to respond to these threats.

### YOO Dae-jong

The East Asian order faces challenges from intensified competition among countries in the region, the return of geopolitics, the fourth nuclear weapon test by North Korea, socio-economic inequality, violent extremism, historical issues and territorial disputes.

The UN is at the center of global governance over international standards and universal values. The legitimacy of the UN is based on the universal membership of the world, and it is the most universal, democratic and legitimate organization that resolves the challenges global society faces.

The UN contributes to the stability of the Northeast Asian order by offering opportunities for multilateral cooperation. It also provides an effective mechanism to maintain peace and stability through universal standards. Sanctions by the UN Security Council to resolve the North Korean nuclear issue are a good example. The UN regards the North Korean human rights issue, which raises global

concern, as a sin against humanitarianism and treats it by the standards of universal values.

The UN can contribute to regional prosperity by encouraging regional cooperation and multilateral initiatives. In this respect, Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the Paris Agreement on climate change offer new opportunities for regional cooperation.

Korea is bolstering the foundation of regional peace through the Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative.

### Alexei BORISOV

East Asia needs a regionally integrated security system in which member countries have an equal footing. Exclusive military and political alliances cannot solve problems. Russia has proposed multilateral talks to establish new security cooperation system at the East Asia Summit (EAS).

The situation on the Korean Peninsula has been seriously aggravated due to the nuclear and missile tests of North Korea. Pyongyang should refrain from reckless behavior. The actions of Pyongyang are incompatible with efforts to maintain strategic stability and the nuclear non-proliferation regime and the resolutions of the UN Security Council. Russia understands the need of North Korea to safeguard its sovereign rights to peacefully use its

nuclear power for its security and space exploration, but cannot accept the status of North Korea as a nuclear power. It should also be opposed by other countries.

The moves of certain countries to build up arms by taking advantage of the adverse conditions of the Korean Peninsula raise concerns. One of them is the plan by the U.S. to deploy the Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) missiles in South Korea.

The six-party talks should reopen. The agreement of September, 2005 should be implemented, and talks on a Northeast Asian peace and security mechanism should be resumed. To restore the six party talks, the parties involved should promise efforts to stabilize Northeast Asian security; the U.S. and North Korea should respect each other's sovereign rights and express their willingness to pursue peaceful coexistence and to normalize diplomatic ties; and a statement should announce a compromise measure admitting to the need for peaceful use of nuclear power such as the experimental light water reactor project as a preliminary measure to resume the six-party talks.

There is the possibility of "Peace Talks on the Korea Peninsula" to discuss a wide range of issues such as the establishment of diplomatic ties among the parties involved in the six party talks, the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, disarmament, inter-Korean economic cooperation and economic aid to North Korea. These talks may be joined in by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, UN Security Council members, the two Koreas and countries that the two Koreas agree to as participants.

#### NAM Ju-hong

There is an indication that North Korea might be suffering from a serious problem in assessing and coping with risk.

The continued isolation of North Korea, systematic exits out of the North, defections of high ranking officials, extreme disorder due to the shortages of food, energy and foreign exchange, and confusions inside the power elite group are potential elements that might bring about the collapse of the Pyongyang regime.

China does not want the collapse of the North

Korean regime, nor for the North to opt for nuclear weapons. China has its own "Contingency Plan for North Korea" and holds on to the position that changes in the North should be discussed at the UN

Northeast Asia should brace for the worst situation and consider measures to change the North in line with UN sanctions. A pressing task for now is to set up a more concrete plan and strategy for risk management, not a pursuit of political rhetoric or vain slogans for unification.

#### KWAAK Young-hoon

Following the 1988 Olympics, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) implemented the Tumen River development project jointly with Russia, China, North Korea, Mongolia and South Korea. The Silk Road development project, initiated at the same time, and the peace project for metropolitan centers to cope with increases in urban population paved the way for the establishment of the Silk Road Cities Cooperation Forum, comprising 53 cities.

Under the goal of regional peace and co-prosperity, the projects in the name of Unipeace City of District of Harmony and Reconciliation (DHR) and Lumbini of Peace and Harmony District (PHD) were implemented with the participation of citizens from diverse countries and proposed as environmental city projects for regional peace. This is a good example of the UN's role.

As communism has collapsed, capitalism now faces a crisis. The World Federation of United Nations Associations, which bridges the UN to civic society, should cooperate with civic organizations such as the Silk Road Cities Cooperation Forum and open the United Nations Association in North Korea to the ultimate end of peacefully realizing peace.

#### Bonian GOLMOHAMMADI

Given the European experience, regionalism and regional cooperation have in many cases failed and shows the limitations in solving the world's problems. So, multilateral cooperation is the best option for now.

The SDGs Goal 16, "Promote just, peaceful and inclusive societies," stresses the importance of

peace regimes for development and emphasizes that solutions to social problems promotes development.

As Secretary-General of the United Nations Ban Ki-moon emphasized, narrow-mindedness and exclusive nationalism should be excluded, and that world citizenship based on understanding of world affairs, empathy with other people and new actions for change are essential for attaining peace in Asia.

#### PARK Heung-Soon

It is necessary to utilize a negotiation model similar to that used to solve the Iranian nuclear issue. A framework of five-party talks might be an alternative.

### Policy Implications

- As the UN has great potential for significant role in strengthening peace and security in Northeast Asia, the region should more actively utilize it. Countries in the region can benefit from the enhanced role of the UN Secretary-General as an arbitrator of issues involving the Korean Peninsula, including the North Korean nuclear program. It is suggested that the UN Secretary-General visit North Korea at an early date.
- The greatest challenge East Asia faces now is the North Korean nuclear issue. To resolve this, a new attempt based on out-of-box thinking is needed to avoid "Einstein's insanity." It was suggested that the parties involved should consider a new negotiation format beyond the existing six-party talks formula, such as the Iranian model or the five party talks, or an expansion of the five or six party talks to eight-party talks which includes the UN and IAEA.
- Sanctions are necessary for resolving the North Korean nuclear issue, and the UN and the international community should show solidarity over this. However, sanctions alone cannot bring about the desired results, and so it is necessary to bring North Korea to the negotiation table. Talks on regional security should also be joined by North Korea. It is desirable to build trust with discussions on soft issues before dealing with hard ones.
- At the same time, a concrete plan or strategy is needed to cope with the possible collapse of the North Korean regime or a change in the power structure of the North.
- The role of the UN is not confined to multilateral cooperation among the governments, and there have been many cases of success with the participation of civil society. Therefore, the UN is needed to closely cooperate with the global civil society to achieve the SDGs and successfully implement the Paris Agreement on Climate Change.





# Northeast Asian Maritime Order and Regional Security Cooperation: Looking for 'Cooperational Spirals'

## Korea Institute for Maritime Strategy (KIMS)

Moderator	<b>LEE Seo-hang</b> President, KIMS
Presenter	<b>Geoffrey TILL</b> Professor, Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University <b>Euan GRAHAM</b> Director, Lowy Institute for International Policy <b>CHOI Kang</b> Vice President, ASAN Institute for Policy Studies
Discussant	<b>PAIK Jin-Hyun</b> Judge, International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea <b>ZHENG Ji-yong</b> Professor, Fudan University / Director, Center for Korean Studies <b>Shigeo IWATANI</b> Former Secretary-General, TCS
Rapporteur	<b>YOON Suk-joon</b> Director, International Cooperation Programs, KIMS

- This session under the title of “Northeast Asian Maritime Order and Regional Security Cooperation” discussed the connectivity between the region’s maritime security situation, which has become worse recently, and the Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative (NAPCI) proposed by President Park Geun-hye in 2014.
- The panelists expressed concerns that the region’s tensions and conflicts are growing mostly due to the differences of viewpoints on maritime issues, the claims based on historical sovereignty, and the rivalry between the United States and China. They were particularly worried about disputes leading to small-scale competition to build up naval capability. To resolve these problems, they agreed on the need to set up crisis-managing and confidence-building mechanisms for countries pursuing regional peace and prosperity.
- In particular, the region does not have any systematic solutions, be they strategic or practical, to settling recent maritime conflicts and disputes between countries in some sensitive parts of the South China Sea. The panelists reached a consensus that peaceful and specifically-defined mechanisms for managing the situations in the South China Sea should be developed to maintain maritime order and peace in the region. They went further to point out the need to develop ongoing low-level military cooperation, including existing hotlines between defence authorities in the region; the agreement on the avoidance of accidental maritime clashes signed in 2014 by naval chiefs of 21 countries; and increased teamwork in joint search and rescue drills, into broader and high-level collaboration on non-military affairs such as law enforcement and measures to prevent accidental clashes in the sky and other trust-building measures.
- These proposals, as shown in South Korea’s non-military approaches to promoting security and maritime cooperation between Northeast Asian countries, are seen as relatively standard solutions to building regional maritime confidence



LEE Seo-hang

Geoffrey TILL

Euan GRAHAM

CHOI Kang

PAIK Jin-Hyun



ZHENG Ji-yong



Shigeo IWATANI

practically and effectively. The Korean model is aimed at addressing critical military issues and ensuring the region’s peace and stability by giving priority to the environment, energy security, nuclear safety, disaster and humanitarian relief, and cybersecurity. They agreed to the suggestions by some experts that maritime issues should be examined not just in the context of maritime affairs, but in a broader context involving non-maritime affairs.

- They suggested that the recent territorial disputes in the South China Sea should not be regarded as

a bilateral issue but as a comprehensive security issue for the region and agreed that it should be deliberated in accordance with international law and in respect of maritime security regimes. They concluded that Northeast Asia should eventually pull out of the ongoing conflicts in the South China Sea, in which tension is growing between China, Asian coastal states and the United States, and develop a spiral of cooperation and build trust, based on international laws and security regimes, in order to enhance maritime security for peace and stability in Northeast Asia.

[ Ambassadors Roundtable ]

# Asia's New Order and Cooperative Leadership

## Jeju Peace Institute

### Chair

**JU Chul-ki** Former Senior Secretary to the President for Foreign Affairs and National Security

### Presenter & Discussant

**Rolf MAFael** Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to the ROK

**Eric WALSH** Ambassador of Canada to the ROK

**John Aristianto PRASETIO** Ambassador of Indonesia to the ROK

**OH Joon** Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the ROK to the UN

**SHA Zukang** Former UN Under-Secretary-General for Economic & Social Affairs

### Rapporteur

**Darren SOUTHCOTT** Visiting Professor, Jeju National University of Education

### JU Chul-ki

The biggest problem on the Korean Peninsula is the North Korean nuclear program. The second is growing tension between existing supreme powers such as the US and China. The third is the economic challenges of TPP, APEC and other free trade initiatives and the dichotomy between global trade and regional issues. The fourth is the lack of a multilateral, sub-regional structure for dialogue. The region has been a historical hotspot of conflict so we need to find a structure to enable the region to avoid such situations in the future.

It is time for Asia to take up the responsibility for its growing role in the world. We must seek to resolve the North Korea nuclear problem alongside large powers such as ASEAN and the EU and seek paths toward peaceful unification.

We should explore the possibility of a Northeast Asia peace initiative as proposed by President Park to formalize security dialogue mechanisms in the region to resolve the nuclear problem in North Korea.

### Rolf MAFael

Francis Fukuyama wrote in 1992 that we had reached the end of history, but that looks completely wrong today. On the one hand we have seen positive globalisation in terms of trade, an information society, education and science, but we have the challenges of global threats to security and health such as the 911 terrorist attacks and the Ebola Outbreak.

We must also deal with the security ramifications of non-state actors on security, terrorism and destabilisation. The consequences of failing states are global challenges being exacerbated by climate change and water shortages.

We must realise our increasing interdependence and increase bilateral and global cooperation in the international order to increase its legitimacy and effectiveness particularly in facing new challenges such as climate and cyber threats.

In this framework we see Korea's role as increasingly important. Secretary-General of the United Nations Ban Ki-moon said this morning to bring Korea to the world, and bring the world to Korea. It



JU Chul-ki

Rolf MAFael

Eric WALSH

John Aristianto PRASETIO

OH Joon

SHA Zukang

is notable that the country has taken on many high profile positions within international organizations showing it has taken more responsibility and expectations are rising.

Korea is one of our strongest partners in security, trade and much else. Germany has strong links in also having been a divided country and we have offered advice to the Korean government. We have been supportive of the trust politics policy of Park Geun-hye with regards to North Korea and we hope the UN Security Council measures are implemented by all member states to send a strong message. A united Korea would be the strongest contribution to peace in East Asia and the globe.

### Eric WALSH

The role of middle powers such as Canada is to formulate new and creative ideas that are then picked up when the time is right by the big powers. We have to be constructive and creative to work behind the scenes to and come up with ideas for the future.

From a peace and security point of view, Asia is where many future issues will be resolved. Asia is the center of the world and Canada's FTA with South Korea was a big deal in Canada as it remains our only FTA with an Asian Pacific country. Canada has signed the TPP but we have not yet ratified it. So this is "Canada's game in Asia".

Nuclear proliferation is a central concern for us and controlled engagement is our official policy to try and bring North Korea back to the table by making it clear there are no rewards for their behaviour.

Canada and Korea are both orphans in that we don't really have a regional network to work with. We have only the US. Korea is in a similar position

– you have China and Japan and Russia, but no natural group of countries. Koreans and Canadians can work well together as we have similar views about key issues such as shipping, climate change and free trade. We are natural partners in multilateral contexts.

We are very interested to see trilateral cooperation on the Arctic Council as energy and the environment are non-controversial that can lead to further efforts towards more trilateral cooperation.

### John Aristianto PRASETIO

The theme of this Forum is Asia's new order and cooperative leadership. When I was invited the first question I asked myself was why do we need to have a new order and architecture. The simplistic answer is we face a number of new dynamics and we must respond to them.

These include:

- The so-called assertive posture and territorial claims of China
- The election in the U.S. and the new president's position on engagement in the region
- The aggressive regime in North Korea
- Increasing military spending in the region such as by Japan, Indonesia and Australia
- The growth rate of China is currently leveled at 6 percent, which has decreased from double digits.

Despite the slower "new normal" growth in China, Asia will still outperform the rest of the world economically and continue the shift east. By 2050 Asia's share will be 50 percent of the global economy.

With regards to dialogue with North Korea, the prerequisite is geopolitical cooperation. The prog-



ress seen between the U.S. and Iran, and the U.S. and Cuba, shows that agreements can be reached. The key is it must not be major powers alone but a multilateral effort. The middle powers must take the charge such as through ASEAN and ASEAN+3.

#### OH Joon

Asia should be playing more of a leading role in the world. As the economic powerhouse of the world, with 30 percent of GDP and half of all people (54 percent), Asia countries only provide 15 percent of ODA assistance. In addition, the Asia-Pacific accounts for 46 percent of carbon emissions.

Asia should also play a stronger role within the UN. Unlike other regional blocs, the Asia Pacific does not have any common or substantive positions on issues. With 54 countries, more than one quarter of UN membership, they should be more organised and should be doing more as a group.

If you look at these cases in Asia, China is rising, but it still doesn't have political prowess that other regional leaders have. Japan is a traditional economic powerhouse, but it is declining in economic and other areas of competitiveness. India is rising very fast, but it is burdened with widespread poverty, so that constrains what it can do.

Right now, Asia is the only region without a regional cooperation mechanism. President Park Geun-hye has made efforts to initiate a Northeast Asia security cooperation mechanism, but this is difficult in the current circumstances. We have ASEAN, and there needs to be more work along the lines of the European example. However, that will take time.

#### SHA Zukang

Korea performed a miracle in its development. Why did the South succeed and not the North. You have to work hard to develop your country. There are many reasons – but blame yourself if you fail.

Although we have some problems, relatively speaking we have been enjoying peace and stability. In our part of the world we have had no wars. Korea, China and Japan have not been in any big wars or conflicts. Look at Africa, Central Asia, where they are fighting all the time and remain undeveloped. Peace and security is the key condition for any economic and social development.

We have problems with our neighbours. But we have 15 land neighbours and we have solved all of our land disputes except the one with India. We solved our border issues without the notice of the outside world. Because of this we are able to focus on development.

China is working on two dreams: one is to be a mid-level developing country by the year 2020. The other is to be a developed country like Korea by 2050. Our foreign policy is oriented to facilitate the realisation of those two dreams.

Don't exaggerate our problems with the U.S. We have a love-hate relationship with the U.S. China loves the U.S. and many Chinese think even the moon in the U.S. is smoother and brighter. As well as good relations with the U.S. we want to have good relations with our neighbours. Let's work together. We all use chopsticks. Order is relatively good after 70 years of peace.

Lastly, I agree with Ambassador Oh as I noticed jealously how when Africans have problems they come together and work for solutions. Only Asians can't agree. Yet we have proved that Asia can be the driving force for the economy. We need to improve our internal coordination. They say one mountain cannot contain two tigers. But I don't know what mountain you are talking about. We are in the same boat, like it or not.

### Policy Implications

- Increased trilateral cooperation on key neutral issues such as the environment, climate, science.
- Increased Asian coordination on policies.
- More Asian global engagement in security and ODA.
- Creation of an Asian architecture for conflict resolution and dialogue.

# Denuclearizing North Korea - Agenda for Action

## East Asia Foundation

Moderator	<b>MOON Chung-in</b> Co-convenor, Asia Pacific Leadership Network (APLN) / Editor-in-chief, Global Asia
Presenter & Discussant	<b>NYAMOSOR Tuya</b> Former Foreign Minister of Mongolia <b>PAN Zhenquiang</b> Senior Advisor, China Reform Forum / Former Major General, People's Liberation Army, China <b>Peter HAYES</b> Founder & Director, Nautilus Institute for Security & Sustainability <b>HWANG Yong-soo</b> Senior Researcher, NCNCP
Rapporteur	<b>CHO Sookyung</b> Program Officer, APLN

Faced with continued the DPRK defiance on nuclear weapons and missile provocations, the international community seems at a loss to know what to do next. Most likely the UN Security Council condemnations and sanctions will continue to be applied, but with no appreciable impact. The six-party talks have stalled seemingly indefinitely. Is there scope for better and more directed sanctions and other pressures from neighbours? And might it be time to try again with carrots (after the disastrous failure of KEDO)? Might there be room for track-II diplomacy?

#### How Should We Handle the North Korean Issue?

- **Hwang** There should be a creative solution. While the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO) failed, many lessons were learned.
- **Hayes** Kim Jung-un is preparing for change in the DPRK. He outlined his vision for the next few decades based on youth power, or a generational shift, in his New Year's speech. His repeated use of the words "youth power" signals that he is going through internal change in the DPRK. It would be a turn for the worse if the DPRK strengthens

its nuclear power in the context of change. The DPRK should be presented with a viable option to lose nuclear weapons. One possibility is a nuclear weapons free zone in Northeast Asia.

- **Pan** As each country has a different threat perception, it is too difficult to find a solution that all countries could agree upon. Meanwhile, the DPRK is updating its capabilities. As such, we should try to search for a method that combines our common goal. For China, two things are important. First, as denuclearization for the DPRK is an issue concerning all surrounding countries, there is an obligation to make an environment that enables it to feel comfortable abandoning its nuclear capabilities. Second, a dual approach should be tried. Sanctions are necessary, but they should serve as a window to open up a new opportunity for peace. It should not be a tool to crash the regime. Negotiations based on mutual respect and trust will give solutions. New creative ideas for this issue are unnecessary.
- **Nyamosor** There were two failures regarding the DPRK nuclear issue. First was the failure of the DPRK to abandon nuclear weapons. The second



MOON Chung-in

NYAMOSOR Tuya

PAN Zhenquiang

Peter HAYES

HWANG Yong-soo

involved a failure of mutual compromise that could have been acceptable. More diplomacy is the key – sanctions have not worked and they may continue to do so in the future. The Iran deal took much time and effort to solve. Likewise, we need more time and effort to solve the issue of the DPRK. In that context, Mongolia has been trying to provide setting for dialogue for the DPRK through channels such as the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue.

#### Will Sanctions be Effective in Changing the Behavior of the DPRK?

- **Pan** There is always a dilemma regarding the implementation of sanctions. Sanctions should be meaningful if they are to be implemented. It should damage the DPRK and make it feel that continuing to pursue nuclear weapons will hurt its rule over the population. On the other hand, sanctions should not hurt the people. China does not want regime collapse. Sanctions should be proportionate to the problems that are faced. It should not lead to destabilization of the Korean Peninsula.
- **Moon** The South Korean government believes that sanctions are working. Now the American government is concurring with that opinion.
- **Hwang** Sanctions worked for the Iranian case. However, there are many technical and political problems for the North Korean case. It emphasizes the importance of peace talks among all concerned parties. There should be a creative package that will stabilize the region.
- **Moon** The South Korean government thinks that there should be more damage forced on the North Korean regime. It believes that the North Korean

government will come back for a more acceptable deal then.

- **Hayes** That will not work because the DPRK has already been through famine and worse situations. Also, states do not want regime collapse because the cost is too high. In fact, current sanctions on the DPRK are not exceedingly strong. Sanctions regarding financial markets would be a strategic strangulation of a regime.
- **Nyamosor** A regime collapse would not be welcomed by China. China will not be cooperative.

#### What Do You Think about the Argument That the Regime Is Collapsing Right Now? Or Will They Even Collapse Later?

- **Pan** It is difficult to understand the sudden enthusiasm of the South Korean government regarding sanctions. The ROK should not want regime collapse as well as it is counter-productive. Sanctions should only be used to express the firm attitude that the parties will not back off.
- **Hayes** The actual definition of regime collapse is the absence of the Kim family. It may be possible to achieve that by stopping all supply of oil, including kerosene. However, there will be chaos and military action. In the end, neighboring countries will have another family to contend with. A military alliance is not effective. There is not enough intelligence on North Korea.
- **Moon** There are many interpretations of regime collapse – change of government, policy, leader, system, or the collapse of the DPRK as a sovereign state. But the last one is not doable. As such, we should freeze, roll back, and then have negotiations to solve problems. While this incremental approach is not wanted by the U.S., the DPRK

will not throw away its nuclear weapons overnight.

- **Pan** This issue should not be approached from a worst case scenario. The ROK should not follow the position of the U.S. The ROK is playing into the DPRK's hands when it is much stronger than the DPRK. China is burdened with the current leadership role. The ROK should pursue leadership and its own independent policy. The sunshine policy's intention was laudable.

#### What Feasibility Is There in a Solution through Dialogue?

- **Nyamosor** There were hopes that Japan, the DPRK and the ROK could come to Mongolia to talk about abandoning nuclear power. Other states would provide nuclear weapons protection. However, this is challenging. There is geopolitical tension as each country faces a different situation.
- **Moon** Suspension of the ROK and the U.S. joint military exercises may make the DPRK listen. However, the two countries refuse to give up on this option. As joint military exercises are easier to give up than others, I do not understand the failure to pursue this option. We need to declare that joint exercises will be suspended next year, and see what the DPRK offers in turn. However, such a direction would be challenging given President Park's lack of trust towards the DPRK and her strong commitment to the ROK-US alliance. The U.S. also does not trust the DPRK. Also, the pre-condition of the South Korean government for dialogue with the DPRK is very vague. It only repeats that it wants proof of authentic intention.
- **Hayes** Cancelling a joint military exercise would not be an effective method as the option has already been tried and failed before. General nuclear management rather than just that of the DPRK is needed. This should be addressed at the leadership level, not at the bureaucratic level. The negotiation method should be flexible: that nothing is agreed until everything is agreed. Then it may be possible to have a deal that encompasses the whole range of nuclear threats from the DPRK, from nuclear states to non-nuclear states, and nuclear states to other nuclear states. The DPRK leadership should be legitimized.



Otherwise the regime will respond appropriately. For the pre-condition of the U.S. government for dialogue with the DPRK, a statement containing information such as a new uranium facility and its location would fulfil those criteria.

- **Hwang** Letting the DPRK have nuclear power on the condition of international verification is very difficult. As the DPRK has been developing its program for many years, they may not have information even among themselves. The verification process needs strict procedures, so it could incite difficulties among the U.S., ROK and DPRK. There should be new ideas for managing nuclear energy of the DPRK. There should be negotiations between the IAEA and the DPRK to implement technical solutions for managing processing plants.
- **Hayes** The Non-Proliferation Treaty recognizes nuclear weapon free zones as a very valuable mechanism. The DPRK should undergo the usual inspection process in addition to a regional inspector. The ROK and Japan should have their own inspector rights. The verification process should be more extensive because the international community has to gauge the real intentions of the DPRK.



# Building A New Tripartite Cooperation of Korea, China, and Japan

## Korea National Diplomatic Academy (KNDA)

Moderator	<b>CHUNG Sang-ki</b> Director, Center for Chinese Studies, IFANS, KNDA
Keynote Speaker	<b>YANG Houlan</b> Secretary-General, Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat
Presenter & Discussant	<b>GUO Yanjun</b> Deputy Director, China Foreign Affairs University
	<b>Hajime IZUMI</b> Professor, Tokyo International University
Rapporteur	<b>CHO Hee-yong</b> Director, Center for Japanese Studies, IFANS, KNDA
	<b>SHIN Bong-kil</b> Visiting Professor, Yonsei University
	<b>KOO Ja-seon</b> Visiting Professor, Center for Chinese Studies, IFANS, KNDA
	<b>PARK Myung-Hee</b> Visiting Professor, Center for Japanese Studies, IFANS, KNDA

### YANG Houlan

The cooperation among Korea, China and Japan has made remarkable progress since 1999. They gradually accumulated achievements in non-security affairs such as disaster management, nuclear safety and cyber security, with the trade volume between the three increasing two fold over 2006. The Tripartite Environment Ministers Meeting (TEMM) for sustainable growth has held 18 sessions since being institutionalized. To promote understanding of each other, the three countries have set the goal of 30 million visitors by 2020, operating the East Asia Culture City, Korea-China-Japan Cultural Exchange Forum and Campus Asia programs. Close to each other geographically and culturally, they still mark a low economic interdependency rate at 10 percent, thus indicating potential growth of economic exchanges.

Meanwhile, there still exist bilateral issues on history and territory, with the North Korean nuclear issue standing in the way of regional peace. The three countries should explore ways to enhance popular understandings of those issues and make efforts to

find common features they share.

### Hajime IZUMI

The tripartite cooperation is mainly focused on how to cope with the North Korean nuclear issue, but the three countries should cooperate for Korean unification in the long term.

There should be a peaceful coexistence system in the process towards unification of the two Koreas, and I propose two formulas to that end. First, the two Koreas should make efforts to implement the Inter-Korean Basic Agreement of 1991, the 1992 Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and the June 15 Declaration of 2000; and China and Japan need to support this. A discussion to examine the validity of the agreements and the need for new accords might precede the implementation of the existing accords. Second, a summit meeting among Korea, China and Japan should be held on a regular basis. Previously, the summit was joined by the top leaders on the part of Korea and Japan, but by the prime minister on the part of China. Unlike the past when China had to



CHUNG Sang-ki

YANG Houlan

GUO Yanjun

Hajime IZUMI

CHO Hee-yong



SHIN Bong-kil



KOO Ja-seon

make that kind of political move in consideration of North Korea, it is high time now to initiate a tripartite summit.

### GUO Yanjun

The tripartite cooperation should be based on improvement of bilateral ties. The Diaoyudao (Senkaku) Islands and comfort women issue were factors that have worsened the bilateral ties. Relations between two countries are supposed to lead to an agreement through rational dialogue, and understanding and acceptance of each other. For mutual understanding of the three countries, not only political leaders but also civic groups should understand the bilateral issues and ties.

By expanding a Free Trade Agreement(FTA), they can promote economic cooperation. Political will is required to that end. Japan is cautious about an FTA with Korea and China due to the political pressure of the US. Japan's move is crucial for ne-

gotiations on an FTA agreement. Generally, the FTA and Trans-Pacific Partnership are seen as incompatible but they do not exclude each other. Political obstacles should be removed first for realization of the TPP and an FTA among the three countries.

Regional cooperation is being strengthened through APEC and TPP, while the mechanism of ASEAN+3 goes into operation. While the U.S. is playing a significant role in Asia-Pacific cooperation, ASEAN's role is waning. It is desirable that ASEAN assumes a leading role in East Asia while Korea, China and Japan support it.

The reason why Korea and Japan were not included in the One Belt, One Road initiative was because their industries were more advanced than those in China. China wants more countries to participate in it. The creative economy of Korea, the innovative economy of China and the reform policy of Japan are inter-related. They can make strategic ties with each other that suit their own industrial

structure. They can also conduct joint research on the Internet, smart cities and big data.

Human exchange, particularly among the younger generation, is needed to promote East Asian values, and think tanks can provide the results of research on these. It is proposed that the three countries set up a network of think tanks and offer the results of research to the political leaders of the three countries.

#### CHO Hee-yong

I agree with the proposal that the three countries expand the scope of their cooperation. Even though there were conflicts between them, they have continued cooperation and exchanges and are expected to do so in the future. But they have to make a strategic decision, as their diplomatic resources are limited. The three countries should note the following points. First, they should utilize the presence of the U.S. in this region to make it contribute to peace and prosperity. Second, it is desirable to concentrate their cooperative efforts on soft and non-security issues, instead of disputes on history and territory. Third, the expansion of civic exchanges and summit meetings on a regular basis are more important than anything else. Fourth, the governments of the three countries should empower the Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat to beef up their cooperative ties.

#### KOO Ja-seon

The three countries have different views on the new Asian order. Japan feels a threat from the growing military and state power of China, while China thinks that Japan is trying to change the regional order established after World War II. Korea is more concerned with the North Korean issue than the rise of China. As the current regional order is expected to be maintained in the future, they should pay heed to the status quo so that extreme conflicts do not break out. To that end, they should, first, explore common interests, second, set up a dialogue channel on security affairs, in addition to talks of the top leaders, and third, transform the Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat into an independent think tank with more functions.

#### SHIN Bong-kil

To strengthen tripartite cooperation, first, summits

of the Korean, Chinese and Japanese leaders should be held on a regular basis. Second, the Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat should have more functions by expanding the cooperation fund for exchanges. Third, China, Korea and Japan should get down to a solution of the North Korean nuclear issue in the absence of an international platform on the issue. Fourth, the disputes over their histories should be settled.

### Policy Implications

#### To Strengthen Korea-China-Japan Cooperation

- The three countries should normalize the Korea-China-Japan summit meeting on a regular basis and expand dialogue channels.
- The Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat should be more empowered through the expansion of the cooperation fund and a greater role for its Secretary-General in exchanges.
- Korea, China and Japan should play the role of international platform for solving the North Korean nuclear issue.
- The creative economy of Korea, the innovative economy of China and the reform policy of Japan are inter-related. They can make strategic ties with each other that suit their own industrial structure. They can also conduct joint research on the Internet, smart cities and big data.
- Human exchange, particularly among the younger generation, is needed to promote the values East Asian countries share, and think tanks can provide the results of their research on these. It is proposed that the three countries set up a network of think tanks and offer the results of their research to the political leaders of the three countries.

# Sustainable Development Goals and East Asia

## Korea National Diplomatic Academy (KNDA)

<b>Moderator</b>	<b>SHIN Sung-won</b> Director-General, Department of International Economy and Trade Studies, IFANS, KNDA
<b>Presenter</b>	<b>Tomonori SUDO</b> Associate Professor, College of Asia Pacific Studies, Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University & Japan International Cooperation Agency
	<b>Wirya ADIWENA</b> Head, Department of International Relations, The Habibie Center, Indonesia
	<b>KANG Seon-jou</b> Professor, Department of International Economy and Trade Studies, IFANS, KNDA
<b>Discussant</b>	<b>PARK Enna</b> Minister to the People's Republic of China, Embassy of the ROK
<b>Rapporteur</b>	<b>RO Yoo-kyung</b> Researcher, Department of International Economy and Trade Studies, IFANS, KNDA

- The new paradigm for cooperative development with 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and 169 targets, divided into three scopes of welfare, infrastructure and natural environment, can be implemented after confirming various common targets which have greater influence and are inter-connected.
- The aims and methods of implementation of the goals varying by country affect the development of each nation, and the procedure of achieving the SDGs also influences such global issues as climate change.
- Intra-regional cooperation can facilitate the mutual achievement of SDGs by all countries and prevent one country from hindering others.
- By reshaping its Official Development Assistance (ODA) Charter into the Development Cooperation Charter, Japan is preparing for implementation of the Post-2015 Development Cooperation Agenda focused on non-military cooperation, civilian security and equal partnerships. Japan is set to suggest the development cooperation policy of a new era, which is focused on development conducive to economic growth and universal values such as the rule of law, good governance and human rights, as well as enhancing the quality of development cooperation by pursuing its inclusiveness, sustainability and flexibility.
- ASEAN countries made advances with political stability and economic, social and cultural development by including the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in their prime tasks for regional integration. Accordingly, they succeeded in achieving the 25-year-old goal to reduce extreme poverty rates, but economic inequality still remains, with the gap between urban and rural areas worsening.
- In the Southeast Asian region, SDGs are supported by the "ASEAN Vision 2025," but they suffer from political limitations in achieving them due to the problematic operation of its implementation systems, while MDGs still remain pending tasks.
- Based on the review of ASEAN's role in assisting membership countries in attaining MDGs,



SHIN Sung-won

Tomonori SUDO

KANG Seon-jou

PARK Enna

ASEAN's role as well as that of civic society to achieve SDGs should be emphasized.

- East Asian regional cooperation can define its goal as the mutual achievements of the targets under the SDGs. Intra-regional cooperation can be promoted by the collaboration of government-level organizations such as the Tripartite Environment Ministers Meeting, the Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative and ASEAN+3, and joint research by academia, business networks, and Civic and Social Organizations (CSOs).
- East Asia and the Southeast Asian countries share development tasks such as disaster prevention and recovery due to their economic and environmental connectivity. The development tasks can

be effectively achieved by fundamental changes in financing and financing sources, and scientific and technological innovations. The financing for development can be maximized by a various mix of sources by ODA donor countries and recipients, as well as other collaboration partners. A cooperative partnership among stakeholders is a prerequisite for this. Also required is South-South cooperation through the sharing of information, knowledge and model cases pertaining to the achievement of SDGs by developing countries in the region on different levels of scientific and technological innovations as well as systematic regional cooperation engaging third parties.

### Policy Implications

- Universal, comprehensive and concrete plans are required for regional cooperation by East Asian countries, which have similar challenging tasks. In addition, measures should be sought to complement the lack of connectivity between existing cooperative networks.
- Concrete plans should be set up to implement SDGs, and national plans and budgets should be set for the targets under these. Political drive and support are vital for this. At the same time, SDGs should be readjusted in accordance with the economic, social and environmental tasks of each country. It presupposes active research on the relationship between domestic policies and SDGs.
- In the course of planning, implementing and assessing the cooperative system, the contribution of each country to the achievement of SDGs should be identified, and an effective monitoring and reporting system should be set up so that systematic measures to follow up and examine the results of the development cooperation might be introduced on

global and local levels.

- Comprehensive and fair development should be the aim of the private-public cooperation and collaboration between the local governments and NGO-CSO on development cooperation.
- The procedure of implementing MDGs should be examined, and inefficiencies identified to the end of completing pending tasks and effectively achieving SDGs. Quality data and review procedures are the prerequisites for this.
- The norms of each country and the issue of participation of civic and private sectors should be considered in the course of setting up a regional cooperation system to reduce the development gap in East Asia and Southeast Asia.
- To achieve SDGs, countries in the Asia-Pacific region should cooperate to establish a financially stable environment for sustainable development. Based on the means to implement a development cooperation plan, private-public and inter-state cooperation should be sought. Financing by the private sector should be facilitated through measures such as strengthening the capital market to the ends of assisting developing countries achieve SDGs.

# Future of the NPT

## East Asia Foundation

<b>Moderator</b>	<b>Ramesh THAKUR</b> Co-Convenor, Asia-Pacific Leadership Network (APLN) / Former Assistant Secretary-General, UN
<b>Presenter &amp; Discussant</b>	<b>Jayantha DHANAPALA</b> President, Pugwash Conference on Science & World Affairs <b>Rakesh SOOD</b> Former Ambassador for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation of India <b>Marty NATALEGAWA</b> Former Foreign Minister of Indonesia <b>SHA Zukang</b> Former UN Under-Secretary-General for Economic & Social Affairs
<b>Rapporteur</b>	<b>Darren SOUTHCOTT</b> Visiting Professor, Jeju National University of Education

### Ramesh THAKUR

What is the role of the UN in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and can the organization be blamed for the failure of the review conference? If so, what can the UN do to restore the momentum for the NPT policy agenda?

Indonesia has long been an active promoter of nuclear arms control and disarmament, and has pursued these goals through ASEAN, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), and the UN. Now it is also a member of the G20, and the only ASEAN member of the G20. In your view, should we explore the advantages of "forum shopping" in promoting the remaining NPT agendas?

Despite Article VI, nuclear powers have not disarmed and states often perform Olympic-level verbal gymnastics to justify this. There is also the problem of non-signatories - Israel, India, and Pakistan - and how can we apply the NPT norms to them.

Given the challenges we face, has the NPT run its course and normative potential? If so, how do we complete the agenda outside of its framework with-

out jeopardising the security benefits of the treaty?

### Jayantha DHANAPALA

The UN supports the principles and objectives of the NPT (1968) which now has 189 stated parties, the most of any multilateral disarmament treaty. The UN Office of Disarmament Affairs services the Review Conferences every five years where all decisions are taken by states parties although the UN may encourage consensus decisions implementing the provisions of the Treaty.

The proposal to make the Middle East a Weapons of Mass Destruction free Zone proposal was proposed at the 2010 NPT Review Conference with the co-sponsors of the 1995 Resolution to convene a regional conference in 2012. Although the UNSG cannot be blamed for the failure, it was among the principal reasons for the collapse of the 2015 NPT Review Conference.

Through its criticism of the NPT alongside Israel and Pakistan, India has been trenchant and with the help of the U.S. has damaged the fundamental NPT principles and compromised its moralistic stance





Ramesh THAKUR Jayantha DHANAPALA Rakesh SOOD Marty NATALEGAWA SHA Zukang

against nuclear weapons.

The NPT was drawn up by the U.S. and Russia and favours nuclear weapons states. However, the NPT has achieved many things thanks to its five-year review, which was indefinitely extended in 1995, and its three main pillars of non-proliferation, disarmament, and peaceful use of nuclear technologies.

The prospects for 2020 are very bleak unless there is a drastic change in multilateral disarmament and improvement in the situation in the Middle East. Rather than step-by-step implementation, I would also like to see a blanket, immediate ban on nuclear weapons such as we have seen for chemical and biological weapons.

**Marty NATALEGAWA**

The fact we have seen such a long period of campaigning reflects the lack of international progress on this issue. Indonesia has tried to promote the objectives of the NPT and other instruments in a multifaceted way at the regional level.

Although there is no overt opposition to NPT in ASEAN, there are different positions on nuclear arms control and disarmament – at most, simply benign neglect and possible disinterest. Although we do not speak for ASEAN, we have tried to cajole them on this matter. I personally tried to start discussions on the Southeast Asia Nuclear Free Zone while minister although these were not realized.

I am a firm believer that progress is dependent upon dynamics and momentum and the traditional NPT process – while it must remain central – is in inertia due to these challenges. Progress cannot be made if discussions constantly repeat the well-worn arguments within the NPT review confer-

ence process only. There is a need to externalize the issue beyond the established constituencies. We need to provide new momentum for the agenda of the NPT, rather than undermine it.

In the future I would like to see the UN taking a more ambitious and opinion-shaping role such as it did in tackling climate change as we should not underestimate the shaping and molding potential of the UN.

**Rakesh SOOD**

Few people realise that India was not a dissident to the NPT – when it was introduced India was a cosponsor. But India felt the disarmament component was too weak as it did not put any time-bound conditions on states. India continues to pursue many NPT goals outside of the treaty such as the non-first-use principle, nuclear-free zones, elimination and many more.

We are aware of the limitations, and the question is how to deal with nations within and outside the NPT. For example, we have no way of dealing with North Korea within the NPT. All of the solutions are outside of it as was the 2015 Iran nuclear deal framework. Nevertheless, it has served a useful purpose as the most successful disarmament treaty with the widest possible adherence.

Due to the weaknesses, there is a need to find another instrument. We don't need to have all states on board from the outset, as they can join later as with the NPT. India would welcome a treaty dealing with nuclear weapons that treats them similarly to the use of chemical weapons.

With the power shift towards Asia, there is a need for a more stable nuclear equation such as a non-first use agreement to create the ground for



the elimination of nuclear weapons. India would welcome a nuclear weapons convention but there is a complete absence of dialogue and security architecture for discussion of nuclear matters.

**SHA Zukang**

China joined the NPT in 1992 and we officially registered our reservations due to the perceived weaknesses such as nuclear disarmament which was vague and imprecise. We acceded in the end because of outside pressure as China was opening to the outside world.

Despite its weaknesses, the UN is the best inter-governmental organisation we could have as it provides a platform for countries big, small, rich and poor to be heard. It is only weak in the sense that it is as good as the member states wish. Don't blame the secretariat.

There has been progress in the three pillars of the NPT such as in peaceful uses of nuclear technologies. The weak leg is nuclear disarmament. When China first exploded a nuclear weapon in 1964, we made a statement saying we are for general and complete nuclear disarmament. I don't think it is feasible or practical to demand complete banning so the best approach is step by step.

China appreciates India's non-first use principle. There is a need for a non-first-use convention. It is

on record that we tried this, but the US, UK, and France are all against it.

India has not violated any international law as a non-party to the NPT by developing weapons. Although it is not popular, legally there is nothing wrong. As a superpower and nuclear power, the U.S. should take the lead on disarmament. The biggest guys should take the lead and others should follow. Why not strategic dialogue between China and the U.S.?

**Policy Implications**

- New life needs to be breathed into the NPT to avoid it becoming irrelevant. Its recommendations must be implemented in a balanced manner across all states.
- There is a need for the pursuit of a non-first use treaty to further norms against nuclear weapons.
- As the major nuclear powers, the U.S. and Russia should take the lead in disarmament.
- The remaining the NPT agenda must be promoted in a multi-tracked and multi-forum manner to overcome arguments over the NPT review conference process.
- ASEAN should take a stronger stance on nuclear arms control and disarmament through collective efforts on nuclear arms control and disarmament as seen in its experience in the Southeast Asian Nuclear-Weapon-Free-Zone (SEANWFZ).



# Korean Unification and International Community: Role of International Media



PARK Heung-Soon

LEE Si-hyung

KIM Jae-chun

Michael HOWERTON

Stephane LAGARDE

## Korea Foundation

Moderator	<b>PARK Heung-Soon</b> Professor, Department of International Relations, Sunmoon University
Welcoming Remarks	<b>LEE Si-hyung</b> President, Korea Foundation
Presenter	<b>KIM Jae-chun</b> Professor, GSIS, Sogang University
Discussant	<b>Michael HOWERTON</b> Editor-in-chief, San Francisco Examiner <b>Stephane LAGARDE</b> Grand Reporter, Asia Desk, Radio France International
Rapporteur	<b>PARK Min-hee</b> Program Officer, Korea Foundation

### Benefits of Korean Reunification as Public Goods

#### KIM Jae-chun

President Park Geun-hye's "reunification is a bonanza" remark, referring to economic effects from reunification, aroused great public interest. It also triggered a debate on if Korea's reunification will serve the public good of international society.

Reunification of the Korean Peninsula is said to function as public goods in that firstly, it can push North Korea away from nuclear weapons; secondly, it can promote human rights in North Korea; and thirdly, it can provide environmental benefits. Beneficiaries of reunification may comprise not only Koreans, but also Northeast Asians and stakeholders in the region.

But Korea should overcome a number of hurdles before reunification provides economic benefits for the country and the public good for the rest of the world. North Korea's repeated provocations, including its fourth nuclear test on Jan. 6, 2016 and its long-range rocket launch on Feb. 7, 2016 are escalating tensions between the two Koreas.

Sanctions against North Korea could involve 1) stronger international pressure on it and 2) strength-

ening surveillance over its nuclear activities. Many different forms of dialogue and a diplomatic alliance of Korea, the United States and China are also called for.

Under these circumstances, the role of international society and international media are becoming more important. Reunification will be the most effective way to hold North Korea's nuclear ambitions in check. Resolution of the nuclear issue is the prerequisite for the reunification of the two Koreas.

### The Roles of International Media

#### Michael HOWERTON, Stephane LAGARDE

International media have great interest in North Korea's nuclear issues. The international media's role is crucial for adding pressure on North Korea.

I agreed with UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon when he called on the international community for firm action against North Korea in his keynote speech at this year's Jeju Forum. It is my belief that international society should share the pain of the division of Korea.

Despite South Korea's friendly policies toward it, North Korea has never stopped conducting nuclear



tests and missile launches, which consequently worsened their relations. I think the lack of transparency in the North Korean regime is one of the problems of the issue.

The role of the international media under these circumstances should be to encourage journalists to speak the truth and take up their pen to help protect the human rights of North Korean people.

#### Tasks for Reunification

Citing how Washington negotiated with Iran over its nuclear program, journalists who participated in this session questioned the possibility of Washington engaging with Pyongyang the way it did with Tehran. Korea should note that Iran remains a threat to the United States, although their relations have improved, they warned.

This suggests, in a related context, that three questions would be the major subjects of the discussion on Korean reunification. They are: Is Washington really willing to apply pressure on Pyongyang? Will sanctions threaten the North Korean regime? Will trade between North Korea and China decrease?

Sanctions on North Korea are important, but it also should be considered that unbearable sanctions can lead to unintended consequences. As a related example, the United States-Iraq War was triggered by Washington's stronger than expected sanctions against Iraq. Sanctions on North Korea should be considered in the light of this case.

#### International Cooperation for Korea's Reunification

##### Oman (Managing Editor of business news at *The Oman Daily Observer*)

Oman is an important trading partner of South Korea. Their key trading items include oil and energy. Oman believes it can greatly contribute to international cooperation for Korea's reunification.

##### Zimbabwe (Managing Editor of world news at *The Herald-Zimbabwe*)

I heard President Park Geun-hye will visit Ethiopia. African people's views are as much divided over Korea's reunification as over North Korea. It is important to explain South Korea's position well to some Africans who believe North Korea helped some African nations become independent. I hope

President Park will take her state visit to Africa as a good opportunity to explain South Korea's policies for reunification.

#### PARK Heung-Soon

It is a recent development that South Korea shifted its focus to African countries. North Korea has maintained such good relations with the continent that it has strong defense ties with many of them. It is about time that South Korea strengthened its relations with Africa to dispel misunderstandings about the country.

## Policy Implications

- Channels of dialogue with North Korea should be diversified to include preliminary and Track 1.5 meetings in addition to the established six-party talks.
- For Korea's reunification, some panelists mentioned the importance of international media as a watchdog for the North Korean regime. It is important for international media to look into what is happening in North Korea and how well human rights are respected there and continue to let the world know about the country's reality.
- It is important for South Korea to not only promote cooperation with regional countries, but also with the rest of the world. Journalists from Oman and Zimbabwe pointed to the importance of broadening a consensus on Korea's reunification with expanded cooperation with Africa and the Middle East. In particular, it is important that South Korea improve ties with Africa to enhance the continent's understanding of the South, because pro-North Korean sentiment is prevalent there due to military and trade relations with the North.

# Possibilities and Conditions of East Asia Peace Community I

## Jeju Special Self-Governing Province / Korean Council for Reconciliation and Cooperation (KCRC)

Moderator	<b>LEE Seung Hwan</b> Co-Chair, Civil Peace Forum
Welcoming Remarks	<b>HONG Sa-deok</b> President, KCRC
Keynote Speaker	<b>WON Heeryong</b> Governor, Jeju Special Self-Governing Province <b>LEE Hong-koo</b> Former Prime Minister of the ROK <b>Yukio HATOYAMA</b> Former Prime Minister of Japan
Rapporteur	<b>Katharina HANSEN</b> Intern, Friedrich Naumann Foundation

#### WON Heeryong

The Cold War confrontation came to end with the reconciliation of East and West along with the breakup of the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, now the Korean Peninsula is facing a new Cold War era, with North Korea expanding its nuclear weapons program.

Security threats are expanding to new types of terror such as cyber-attacks, GPS disruption and more; followed by non-traditional conflicts such as climate change, terrorism, religious conflict, energy, the gap between the rich and poor, culture, and other factors.

For this reasons, new security strategies are needed to keep humankind safe from these threats. But one nation alone cannot handle all of them. Therefore supranational efforts are required to cope with it through multilateral security cooperation.

Multilateral security cooperation is a strategic initiative for a new Asian future, and for peace and welfare in Northeast Asia. However it is weak, unlike European countries and Southeast Asia.

Jeju Province has endeavored to resolve these

problems at the level of the local government. Since 1991, it has developed sustainable ways of exchange and cooperation with North Korea and Northeast Asia countries through several peace talks.

The Jeju Forum, established in 2001, and Jeju Peace Institute show the efforts made to promote international peace exchange and cooperation beyond borders.

The result of these efforts was the "Jeju Process" proposed at the Jeju Forum 2007. It aimed to get away from historical hostility and the Cold War thinking and it is further connected to the peace cooperation plan in Northeast Asia, which is now being carried forward by the Park Geun-hye government.

For security means, the North Korean problem needs a solution, as without one there will be no secure peace on the Korean Peninsula, and without peace and security on the peninsula it is not possible to realize multilateral security cooperation in East Asia.

Jeju has endeavored for the sustainable develop-





LEE Seung Hwan

HONG Sa-deok

WON Heeryong

LEE Hong-koo

Yukio HATOYAMA

ment of inter-Korean relations, such as the Jeju's move to send mandarins to North Korea.

There are new concepts of peace proposed last year; one of them was "energy peace." Jeju's new energy ecology and its experience will give the invaluable opportunity for "energy peace" to North Korea which has an energy shortage.

Jeju will continue enthusiastically contributing to the end of the Cold War to increase inter-Korean cooperation, spread the expanded concept of peace, and actively endeavor to restart multilateral cooperation in Northeast Asia.

**Yukio HATOYAMA**

Following World War II, Germany and France, two nations plagued by relations of mutual hatred came together as key forces in establishing the European Coal and Steel Community, which evolved into the European Union. With this Europe has effectively emerged as a peace community - with the desire to raise the bonds of trust throughout the entire region, and thereby keep that area peaceful and free of war. Following this example, the East Asian Community can create a similar peace community and become an antiwar zone.

East Asia should start to propose greater cooperation between the nations of the region working from the spirit of "Fraternity" in culture, education, economic endeavor, trade, the environment, energy, disaster prevention, healthcare and other important fields.

With regard to the economy, it is important for Japan, China and South Korea to promptly enter into an FTA, while also pursuing potential for a Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership. For education, the Campus of Asia vision is at last

getting off the ground for real, and the plan is to energize the exchange of students between the three nations. Concerning the environment and energy, the realization of the Asian Super Grid - a concept aimed at linking the enhanced electric power systems to supply Asian nations, including Mongolia and Russia, with natural energy - is near.

It is preferable to discuss political and security matters after mutual trust and confidence have been formed. With talks across wide-ranging sectors, the need will emerge for a consultation body, the East Asian Community Council.

The single greatest challenge lies with the North Korea issue. There is no limit to the doubts we can embrace with regard to the North. However, promoting meaningful cooperation in fields such as sports, culture and the environment, and steadily fostering bonds of trust and confidence, potentially we will be able to carry this into the realm of economic collaboration, and then when the timing and the environment are right, it will be possible to change the Korean War Armistice Agreement between the U.S. and North Korea.

Likewise, historical perceptions between Japan-China and Japan-Korea must be resolved. The key here lies in what responses are adopted by Japan. Japan should continue to apologize to the ROK, China and other nations, and accept responsibility for its actions during World War II until the other sides declare that no more apologies are needed.

Territorial issues must be resolved peacefully through dialogue.

Going forward, preparation must be advanced to launch an organ, like the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, in which the focus is placed on issuing early warnings and preventing the



outbreak of conflict.

It is important to realize that genuine peace will never be reached through military force. The bolstering of military power can easily act to undermine the potential for effective deterrence.

The East Asian Community must not be allowed to become an exclusive group. Our goal is to achieve peace, and so a flexible approach can be taken to nations serving as members.

We are confident that sometime in the future, the

number of such communities will come to overlap and interlock, and our world will truly be liberated from war and conflict, once and for all.

**LEE Hong-koo**

The world faces momentous changes and challenges at different times throughout history and the Asia-Pacific region is facing such a challenge today, with the Korean Peninsula at its center.

These challenges and tensions are the result of

different choices made throughout history and by multiple parties in the region.

The end of World War II in 1945 was a major milestone in modern history. First, the age of imperialism ended. Second, the desire of humanity for world peace brought birth to the United Nations, and humanity retained a hope for a truly global era as it greeted the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The European Union became a model of regional cooperation for peace and common prosperity.

In Asia, cooperation among ten ASEAN member countries has shown that regional cooperation has become a global trend.

However, by far the most important change in the Asia-Pacific is the emergence of the U.S. and China as the two superpowers with pivotal roles to play towards peace and prosperity in the region.

Such a reorganization of international leadership in the region has signaled the possibility of a new power dynamic in Northeast-Asia.

The U.S. is seeking to form a circle of tripartite cooperation with South Korea and Japan on the basis of well-established ties and at the same time South Korea, China and Japan - geographic neighbors who share a common cultural heritage - are institutionalizing their own special cooperative relationship.

It is most urgent to make these two circles to forge productive and mutually cooperative, not exclusive relations to bring peace to Asia.

The North Korean nuclear issue has become the largest obstacle in the US-China relationship and the linkage between two tripartite circles. The nature of the problem is related to the history of the North Korean regime.

Both Koreas developed in different directions, and with the end of the Cold War, South Korea established diplomatic relationships with Russia and China, and at the same time a new formula of unifying Korea.

Peace and prosperity can be achieved by giving priority to restoring the unity of a homogenous Korean people, and their safety through denuclearization.

Joining an effort to seek ways to achieve peace through discussion is the best way for the strong, not the weak to choose.

Now is the time for the global community and the two Koreas to work harder to open the doors to discussions and negotiations.

### ■ ■ ■ Policy Implications

- Jeju proposes a tourism exchange project between Halla Mountain and Baekdu Mountain, a joint project for environmental preservation on the two; and the opening of a "peace cruise" between Jeju and North Korea. If these and others are realized it will be an opportunity to break the strained relations between the two Koreas.

- Preparation must be advanced to launch an organ, like the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, in which the focus is placed on issuing early warnings and preventing the outbreak of conflict.

- Peace must be achieved through negotiations and discussions.

## [ Former Foreign Ministers Meeting ]

# New Order in Northeast Asia and Diplomatic Tasks

### Jeju Peace Institute

Moderator	<b>CHUN Young-woo</b> Chairman & CEO, Korea Peninsula Future Forum / Former Senior Secretary to the President for Foreign Affairs and National Security
Presenter & Discussant	<b>SONG Min-soon</b> President, University of North Korean Studies / Former Foreign Minister of the ROK <b>YU Myung-hwan</b> Chairman, Sejong University / Former Foreign Minister of the ROK <b>KIM Sung-hwan</b> Distinguished Professor, Division of International Studies, Hanyang University / Former Foreign Minister of South Korea
Rapporteur	<b>KANG Hyunhee</b> Research Coordinator, Jeju Peace Institute

- **Chun** Northeast Asia has witnessed notable changes in diplomatic and security affairs over the last year. To be more specific, the region is facing new challenges that includes an advancement in North Korea's nuclear program, following the country's fourth nuclear test and subsequent sanctions by the UN; a new phase in South Korea-Japan relations in the wake of their landmark deal on the comfort women issue; strategic security issues surrounding the disputed South China Sea; and the upcoming U.S. presidential elections and their implications for relations with South Korea. Today, this panel will share views on Northeast Asia's new order as well as the diplomatic challenges facing Korea.

#### ■ North Korea's Nuclear Threats vs. Sanctions against North Korea

##### Solution to North Korean Nuclear Issues

- **Song** Addressing North Korean issues is usually about choosing between sanctions and engagements. We should maintain sanctions and yet we also need to try to engage with the North to help its people change their reclusive country by them-

selves. We should engage with it to help it change itself. Meanwhile, there is a possibility that North Korea may face an unexpected crisis in the process of a change from within. It should be noted, however, that the chances of a Pyongyang crisis being managed are higher when the country is being engaged with than when it is not.

- **Yu** Engagement-only policies excluding sanctions will not lead to any change in the North Korean regime. The engagement policy of the past governments helped North Korea gain time to prepare for nuclear tests, which eventually allowed the country to conduct its fourth one this year. That means we need to consider additional sanctions against North Korea to push the country into making a life-or-death choice between its collapse and its nuclear weapons program. To that end, the international community needs to cooperate closely. Particular efforts should be made to talk China into effecting change in North Korea, the superpower's long-time neighboring ally.

- **Kim** A situation must be created in which the only option for North Korea is to abandon its nuclear program. What is urgent for us now is to





CHUN Young-woo

SONG Min-soon

YU Myung-hwan

KIM Sung-hwan



overcome “defeatism” that says North Korea will never choose to give up its nuclear ambitions. So far, we have only resorted to verbal sanctions on North Korea. The psychology of defeatism took hold because we failed to have them pay the appropriate price for what they have done. We need to discipline them with something they could hardly imagine. With international society’s sanctions expected to be prolonged, North Korea will come to the negotiating table eventually if the country keeps getting penalties. Sanctions on North Korea do not aim to punish the country only, but to push it to abandon its nuclear ambitions. That is why Seoul, with a strong commitment to North Korea’s denuclearization, should be ready to have talks with Pyongyang.

#### Severity of Sanctions

- **Chun** Undoubtedly, the policy of engagement with North Korea is important. But the nature of incentives to lure the country back to the negotiating table will depend on the severity of sanctions. To many experts, the current level of sanctions on North Korea doesn’t seem enough to bring it to the table for nuclear negotiations. Do you think full-scale sanctions, as imposed on Iran, will be more likely bring about a change in North Korea’s behavior?
- **Yu** The nuclear program is the one and only means for Kim Jong-un, the beneficiary of North Korea’s three generation hereditary power transfer, to maintain his domestic legitimacy. So Kim will never give up his nuclear ambitions no matter what incentives are presented to him. Sanc-

tions against North Korea should be reviewed in the light of the possibility of change in the North Korean regime.

- **Song** Pressuring North Korea with sanctions is not the only option here. We need to consider pressuring it into talks as another option. China’s role is important in the negotiating process, as evidenced by the fact Pyongyang, which has pushed ahead with nuclear tests against Seoul’s will, refrained from conducting the tests while the six party talks on its nuclear program were under-way.
- **Kim** I agree with the view that China is in the most influential position to cause change in the North Korean regime. South Korea should properly coordinate different interests between the United States and China and promote cooperation among related parties to better address the North Korea issues.

#### Korean Nuclear Program and Deployment of Tactical Nuclear Weapons

- **Chun** In the wake of North Korea’s fourth nuclear tests, some claimed that South Korea should consider its own nuclear program and the deployment of tactical nuclear weapons here. Do you think they would be effective ways to deter North Korean threats?
- **Kim** I don’t think it would be an effective idea to possess our own nuclear weapons, as the now-defunct Soviet Union has shown. The socialist country ended up a failed state, regardless of its nuclear capability. I think it would be better to strengthen our nuclear umbrella, instead.
- **Yu** It is not possible, nor desirable to possess our own nuclear weapons or to deploy tactical nuclear weapons on the Korean Peninsula.

#### Negotiations on Comfort Women Issue and Korea-Japan Relations

- **Chun** There are conflicting opinions about the agreement on the comfort women issue made last year by South Korea and Japan. What are your views on the prospects of the deal, the controversy over the statue of a comfort woman in Seoul and its implications for future relations of the two states?

• **Yu** I don’t think the comfort woman statue, the removal of which Japan allegedly insists on, has anything to do with the prospects of implementing the deal on the comfort women issue. Japan will be very unlikely do so because it knows well that its moral status will be seriously threatened if it derails the agreement by asking for the removal of the statue. The accord on the comfort women issue and the statue issue should be dealt with separately. I think it’s too early to talk about this at a time when the proposed foundation is not even established yet.

- **Kim** Relations between Korea and Japan should be improved, and we need to try to cooperate with each other to that end. In particular, we should realize how important it is to team up with Japan in the face of the possibility of Korean unification.
- **Song** If the statue is removed, the consequences will be disastrous. Among the issues involving two countries, there are some that can never be resolved. It is a short-sightedness to seek to hurriedly resolve the long-standing comfort women issue before the few surviving victims pass away. The government did not have to hurry the political deal in the absence of enough considerations. Diplomatic issues should be approached on the assumption that political commitments are subject to change with a change in governments.

#### Policy Implications

- To address North Korea’s nuclear issue, we not only need to seek sanctions, but also to attract them to the negotiating table.
- International cooperation is important for denuclearizing North Korea. China’s role is crucial in particular.
- The objective of the sanction against North Korea is not the sanctions themselves, but the denuclearization of North Korea.
- South Korea’s possession of nuclear arms and the deployment of tactical nuclear weapons appear untenable.
- The implementation of the Korea-Japan agreement on the comfort women issue and the comfort woman statue issue require more consideration and discussions.



# Recent Court Decisions on the Territorial and Maritime Boundary Issues and East Asia: New Challenges and Development

## Korean Society of International Law

Moderator	<b>KIM Boo-chan</b> Professor, Jeju National University Law School
Presenter	<b>Ted L. McDORMAN</b> Professor, University of Victoria Faculty of Law <b>LEE Chang-wie</b> Professor, University of Seoul Law School
Discussant	<b>PAIK Jin-hyun</b> Judge, International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea <b>PARK Young-kil</b> Researcher, Korea Maritime Institute <b>LEE Chang-youl</b> Researcher, Korea Institute of Ocean Science & Technology
Rapporteur	<b>LEE Seu-yeun</b> Director, Korean Society of International Law



■ The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), also called “a Constitution of the Oceans,” was adopted in 1982. The International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea (ITLOS) was established by the UNCLOS. That means we have compulsory dispute settlement mechanisms, but concerns have been raised that they failed to have a desired effect in reality due to various circumstantial factors. In particular, it is true to say that maritime disputes are unlikely to be resolved judicially as far as territorial ones are concerned. This session will review the latest precedents of the ITLOS to offer policy implications for the maritime territories in Northeast Asia.

■ Professor Ted McDorman of University of Victoria mentioned the South China Sea arbitration case initiated by the Philippines in January 2013 against China, the ruling of which will be released in July this year. Its implications are expected to be drawn from the pending ruling because the legal and political issues over the territorial and border disputes in the South China Sea overlap with the regional issues of Northeast Asia. He said the decision on whether rocky protrusions above water will be classified as “islands” or “rocks” under the UNCLOS will play a decisive role in the development of the maritime judicial system. He particularly elaborated on the controversies over Beijing’s “non-appearance” at the proceedings, saying that it will not affect the final verdict by the tribunal unless China drops out of the UNCLOS because, under the UNCLOS, parties are obliged to resort to the compulsory dispute settlement procedures if they fail to reach a settlement peacefully.

■ Professor Lee Chang-wie of University of Seoul reviewed two cases the International Court of Justice (ICJ) dealt with. Regarding the first case on the settlement of the much-discussed territorial dispute between Malaysia and Singapore over Pedra Branca, he said that the ICJ awarded the island’s sovereignty to Singapore. But the ICJ ruled in Malaysia’s favor on Middle Rocks. Secondly, Lee looked closely into how effectively the ICJ responded to the territorial dispute over Sipadan Island between Malaysia and Indonesia. He stressed the importance of the efforts to peacefully sustain the status quo in the Dokdo issue, saying that the territorial disputes between Korea and Japan is likely be settled in accordance with precedents.

## Policy Implications

- With territorial disputes rising in Northeast Asia, panelists in this session discussed ways of resolving them in the light of the latest rulings of the ITLOS. In particular, they noted the implications and effects of the ITLOS’s recent position on maritime territories to the conflicts over Dokdo Island between Korea and Japan.
- The panelists had different views about if Seoul has legal rights to unilaterally claim “Dokdo is not a disputed island.” The ICJ has given an authoritative interpretation that a dispute is subject to arbitration only when all parties involved in the dispute agree on it.
- After all, it becomes very important to decide whether these maritime issues should be addressed legally or politically. But it is impossible to resolve the disputes in the court unless the two countries agree to bring them to the ICJ. Therefore, many agreed to the proposal that the status quo of Dokdo be maintained peacefully until they find political ways to straighten out the issues.

# Seeking a New Forum for the Remaining Issues from WW II

## Korean Society of International Law

Moderator	<b>CHUN Soon-shin</b> Professor, Dong-A University Law School
Presenter	<b>Asif QURESHI</b> Professor, Korea University School of Law <b>KANG Pyoung-keun</b> Professor, Korea University School of Law
Discussant	<b>IM Han-taek</b> Visiting Professor, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies <b>LEE Ham-joon</b> CEO, La Mer et L'île <b>OH Seung-jin</b> Professor, Dankook University College of Law
Rapporteur	<b>SEO Jin-ung</b> Researcher, Sungkyunkwan University

- Northeast Asia is still involved in a debate about how to settle the unresolved issues of World War II, including legal disputes between the countries. Seoul and Tokyo signed a landmark agreement on the comfort women issue on Dec. 28, 2015, but they have yet to take concrete steps to follow up on the accord, including specific compensation plans for the surviving comfort women. Experts from home and abroad took part in this session to discuss various ways of addressing the remaining post-World War II issues.
- It is not proper to rely on legal measures only, when dealing with the unresolved issues of World War II. They are the cases in which what we call “correctional justice” should be considered. Approaches from the perspective of correctional justice, which is different from justice as we know it, can help solve the historical disputes.
- In addition, we should consider the principle prohibiting retroactive application of rules on past actions when trying to resolve historical disputes. International law generally prohibits rules from having a retroactive effect, which in fact remains a topic of contention. Some claim that common-law principles are free from the prohibition of the retroactive effect of laws, while others cite the exception of state action from prohibition in their wide differences on the interpretation of international laws.
- In regards to the creation of forums to resolve historical disputes, a principle of dialogue may be considered as seen in the case of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).
- There is a limitation in resolving historical disputes by retroactive actions. There is a need to consider a way to resolve historical disputes through a tripartite dialogue at the Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat.
- The International Law in Northeast Asia Forum (ILNEAF) is working on the documentation of international rules related to the trilateral issues. The accumulation of these data will help us make an approach to the fundamental issue of historical conflicts, which will lead to solutions of issues in a cooperative way.



CHUN Soon-shin

Asif QURESHI

KANG Pyoung-keun

IM Han-taek

LEE Ham-joon

OH Seung-jin

- It would be most desirable to resolve the historical disputes through the bilateral negotiations of Korea and Japan. If this way has a limitation, it would also be a good idea, as professor Asif Qureshi proposed, to seek talks through the trilateral cooperation mechanism and the forums. A third-party mediation mechanism should be considered if these approaches do not work.
- According to international law during the 1910s, mutual consent must be given “freely and voluntarily,” as seen in the Lotus Case. But the Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty of 1910 was extremely politically motivated and lacked specificity. The San Francisco Peace Treaty of 1951 articulated that Japan should recognize the independence of Korea and Korea’s rights to seek reparations. These provisions have strong implications for the interpretation of the stipulations in the Korea-Japan Claims Settlement Agreement of 1965.
- In fact, it would be inappropriate to address the

historical disputes between Korea and Japan in the 1900s in the perspectives of the 2000s. From this perspective, the historical issues of Northeast Asia seem to remain unsolved. We should not only continue to resort to international settlement mechanisms over these issues, but also try resolving them through a third-party settlement, the forums and other mechanisms.

## Policy Implications

- The rise of China is a factual change, but it will inevitably lead to a legal change. It will change the existing legal system, which makes it necessary for us to find ways to make the legal changes peaceful. China’s rise to superpower status is supposed to bring attentions to the new Chinese perspective on the existing order in Northeast Asia. This non-European approach to international law should be incorporated smoothly and peacefully into the established framework of international rules through mutual talks and negotiations.
- Approach to peaceful settlement through mutual dialogue is a feasible option for China and Korea. By contrast, Korea and Japan under the influence of the 1965 Claims Settlement Agreement have limited chances of solving bilateral issues.

It appears unlikely that Japan will find it a practical idea to settle these issues with Korea through dialogue because the country is unreasonably responding to the conflicts with its Northeast Asian neighbors. It appears highly possible to resolve them gradually by strengthening and expanding the function of the forum joined by Korea, China and Japan.

• Japan used international law in starting colonialist and imperialist wars. This historical fact prevents Korea and Japan from getting to the core of their long-standing historical disputes. And yet, Korea and Japan need to cooperate with each other for a better future. However, historical issues should be separated from bilateral cooperation. Korea might be suspected of using a double standard in dealing with the territorial dispute over Dokdo and the comfort women issue. Therefore, political approaches should be sought to resolve the past history and Dokdo issues.



# International Law Aspects of Countering Terrorism in East Asia

## Korean Society of International Law

Moderator	<b>CHOI Seung-hwan</b> Professor, Kyung Hee University Law School
Presenter	<b>John YOO</b> Professor, UC Berkeley School of Law
	<b>Laurent MAYALI</b> Professor, UC Berkeley School of Law
	<b>LEE Keun-kwan</b> Professor, Seoul National University School of Law
Discussant	<b>SHIN Yong-ho</b> Professor, Jeonju University Department of Law
	<b>KIM Sung-won</b> Professor, Wonkwang University Law School
Rapporteur	<b>LEE Seu-yeun</b> Director, Korean Society of International Law



CHOI Seung-hwan

John YOO

Laurent MAYALI

LEE Keun-kwan

SHIN Yong-ho

KIM Sung-won

- Terrorism, which has existed in varied patterns in each era, is today a serious threat to world peace and security. Terrorism has evolved into a completely new phase of large-scale attack since the Sept. 11 Attacks that destroyed the World Trade Center in 2001. The United States went to war against Afghanistan and Iraq to prevent and fight terrorism. These developments indicated a possibility of a new international law order, drawing attentions of international law experts.
- Professor Laurent Mayali reminded us that the Islamic State group has recently posed a greater threat than al Qaeda, while pointing out that their pattern of terrorist activity has changed since the attacks on Sept. 11. It should be noted that recent trends point to the growth of homegrown terrorism, which is notably emerging as a threat to the regional security of Asia.
- Professor John Yoo said that the Islamic State's objective is not to create a regular army, but to close ranks in spreading terrorist networks worldwide to conduct surprise attacks and other stand-alone assaults. The allies of the United States and United Kingdom should aim to bring these terrorist networks down and deter these new forms of terrorist attacks, he advised. Accordingly, the U.S. and its allies have started using surveillance, such as wiretapping and hacking, to suspend cash flows to the terrorist group, interrupt their maneuvers, or employ the mosaic theory to locate the hidden terrorist leadership.
- Professor Lee Keun-kwan introduced the recent trends toward the adoption of the Draft Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism, pointing to the difficulty of defining terrorism. He said Northeast Asian countries are actively

engaged in taking legal measures to fight terrorism although they are divided over how to define it. He also elaborated on Korea's enactment of a controversial anti-terrorism law, the Act on Anti-Terrorism for the Protection of Citizens and Public Security, in March this year, saying that the law sparked a backlash from the opposition and human rights activist groups because of its Clause 2, which broadly defined terrorism.

## Policy Implications

- Terrorism has by far been variably defined by international law. Amid recent changes in the pattern of terrorist activity, there arose an issue of how to define its "universal" character. In particular, it remains to be discussed whether or not to define the military activities of the nationalist groups to exercise their right to self-determination as terrorist acts. More debates are also needed on the collective enactment of anti-terrorism laws by the states.
- Amid the heightened risk of new forms of terrorism worldwide since the recent attacks in Paris and Brussels, claimed by the Islamic State group, the international community is drawing up or strengthening anti-terrorism bills. It is difficult for the International Criminal Court (ICC) to deal with new types of terrorist acts as international crimes, so it is about time to seek cooperation on regional level to respond to the new patterns of terrorism under the "universal jurisdiction" principle.
- What counts in anti-terrorism and regional cooperation is the efforts to prevent the clash between national security as a public good and basic human rights. There should be a procedure to prevent the violation of human rights and efforts to harmonize national security and the protection of human rights, based on the assumption that the two should not conflict with each other.



# Asia's New Security Order and the Role of ROK-Japan-US Relationship

## Korea Foundation / Maureen and Mike Mansfield Foundation

**Moderator** **Scott SNYDER** Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations  
**Presenter & Discussant** **Shihoko GOTO** Senior Associate, Woodrow Wilson Center's Asia Program  
**Ellen KIM** Adjunct Fellow, Center for Strategic & International Studies  
**Weston KONISHI** Visiting Lecturer, Johns Hopkins University  
**Andrew YEO** Associate Professor, Catholic University of America  
**Rapporteur** **CHO Sunyoung** Program Manager, Maureen and Mike Mansfield Foundation

### Context of ROK-Japan-U.S. Relations in the Broader Northeast Asian Order

#### Andrew YEO

In the early 1990s, Asia was considered under-institutionalized compared to Europe. However, the institutional architecture of Asia today is defined as a “complex patchwork.” Asia consists of overlapping bilateral, trilateral, and multilateral institutions layered on top of each other. The United States support for Asia’s institutional order also has shifted. In the early 1990s, the United States was reluctant to engage in negotiations involving multilateral initiatives, but the United States has been providing support above and beyond the traditional hub-and-spoke system in recent years. The United States encourages its allies to expand their network and to forge closer ties within the region. In this context, it is obvious that the ROK-Japan-U.S. should work together as South Korea and Japan, both democratic countries, are close allies of the United States. Issues such as North Korean nuclear proliferation require the three countries to coordinate policies and to share information. Most importantly, a strong ROK-Japan-U.S. relationship signals to the region

and to the global community that such trilateralism is critical in maintaining the liberal international order.

### Current ROK-Japan-U.S. Trilateral Cooperation

#### Weston KONISHI

ROK-Japan-U.S. defense cooperation is on the upswing, with ongoing dialogues since the 1990s. The three countries signed the trilateral information sharing arrangement in December 2014. Moreover, the three sides will engage in joint missile defense exercises on the sidelines of the biennial Rim of the Pacific (RIMPAC) exercises in June 2016. While this momentum seems to be crisis driven, a change in the trilateral relationship is not expected in the absence of more provocations. This is important, because trilateralism is beginning to become a proxy for bilateral relations. The scope, the range and the speed of trilateral cooperation largely depend on South Korea’s willingness, because of unresolved tensions between Tokyo and Seoul. Japan, on the other hand, is likely to focus more on the ROK-Japan-U.S. trilateral relationship compared to its trilateral relationships with Australia and India. It



is important to continue the momentum because the trilateral relationship is only as strong as its weakest bilateral ties. ROK-Japan-U.S. trilateral cooperation, if strengthened, can function as a platform for broader cooperation in the region.

### The Role of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP)

#### Shihoko GOTO

The TPP is an important framework for economic security, especially at a time of global economic decline. The partnership is an open forum with 12 countries that represent nearly 40 percent of global GDP. The TPP will bring great efficiencies to trade, standardization of rules and tariff reduction, and it will only become stronger if South Korea joins.

The Peterson Institute estimates the growth rate for joining TPP will be an average of 1 percent in the next 10 years. Considering that Japan and Korea are growing at about 2 to 3 percent at best, it is a sizable increase. Japan and Korea are still robust economies but eventually the two will face a limit in domestic demand. This creates a need for new ways to do business and to carve out new markets. The TPP will bring new rules to new agendas, such as intellectual property, financial services, environmental issues, dispute mechanisms, labor laws and more.

However, the TPP has limits in addressing complaints from those left behind in the trade negotiations. There is no direct correlation between the



Scott SNYDER

Shihoko GOTO

Ellen KIM

Weston KONISHI

Andrew YEO

security reality and the economic environment in Asia, but this may not continue to hold true, because economic stability hinges on social stability. Therefore, the United States, Japan, and eventually South Korea will need to provide a roadmap to those who will be left behind as a result of the TPP. The limitations and challenges of the TPP should be seen as an opportunity for promoting structural changes and for creating common ways to address common challenges.

#### ROK-Japan-U.S. Relationship and the Rise of China

##### Ellen KIM

The United States, South Korea and Japan have strategic limits and challenges in regard to China's rise, because of the fundamental gap in each country's perception of China's rise. Korea has pursued active engagement with China, while Japan and the United States view China as a regional competitor and a competitor on a global scale, respectively. South Korea is especially vulnerable for several reasons. First of all, South Korea is a smaller country in terms of its land size, population and military capabilities compared to China. Furthermore, South Korea's economy is heavily dependent on China. Finally, South Korea's policy priority of unification requires China's cooperation. South Korea's reality leads to extreme caution in its foreign policy towards China. However, South Korea's expectation of China's abilities has been shattered recently given China's reaction to North Korea's provocations. China's reaction to any contingency on the Korean Peninsula and any compromise of South Korea's sovereignty, therefore, will become an important pre-condition for South Korea's engagement with China. Given the complexity of South Korea's

position, the United States, the Republic of Korea and Japan need to understand the misalignment of priorities and policies; a robust trilateralism will be important in dealing with China.

#### Policy Implications

- The ongoing TPP debate should be more comprehensive and focus on national growth strategy. Negotiations for entry into the TPP zone should be seen as an opportunity for ROK-Japan-U.S. to pursue social change focusing on structural reform.
- Policy makers in Seoul should make efforts to enter the TPP as it will bring great efficiencies in cross-border trade and business for all members.
- The United States and Japan need to understand South Korea's strategic dilemma and address policy mismatches in regard to China.
- An Asian version of NATO is very unlikely and would require careful thinking in regard to China.
- The three countries should promote joint efforts and trust-building mechanisms between South Korea and Japan with US support.
- South Korea must understand that there is danger in heavily engaging with China without also engaging with the U.S. and Japan. A deeper alliance with the United States would strengthen its position with China.

# US-China Relations for Peace and Prosperity in East Asia

## Jeju Peace Institute

### Moderator

**KIM Sook** Former Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to the United Nations

### Presenter & Discussant

**KIM Bonghyun** Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to the Commonwealth of Australia

**Sergey SEVASTIANOV** Professor, Far Eastern Federal University, Russia

**YAN Xuetong** Dean, Institute of Modern International Relations, Tsinghua University, China

**KIM Woosang** Professor, Yonsei University

**Hisashi HIRAI** Visiting Professor, Ritsumeikan University, Japan / Former Chief, Kyodo News Seoul Bureau

### Rapporteur

**Katharina HANSEN** Intern, Friedrich Naumann Foundation

### YAN Xuetong

Officially the government of the U.S. and China describe their relationship as most important. But this does not imply that their relationships are the best. Being the most important means the impact of their bilateral relationship has an impact on more countries.

One thing people really need to understand is the change of the international environment. Many scholars have argued that the world is moving toward a multilateral order, but if this were the case we would not hold the Jeju Forum on the topic of U.S. and China relations, as instead the world is moving toward bipolarization.

The second part we should talk about is if the world is moving toward becoming a bipolar order, how can other countries change their foreign policies to survive this? Their first option would be, by implication, to take a neutral stance. The other option would imply choosing between super powers. In the East Asian Region, we already experience nations being stuck between two super powers. Russia and Japan have made their stand - Russia

with China, and Japan with the U.S.

In the case of South Korea, the U.S. provides cover in the security sector, with their military present in the country, and annual military maneuvers. On the other hand, China is the largest trading partner of South Korea, which leads to interdependency. South Korea is currently trying to find a balance between these two.

### Sergey SEVASTIANOV

I will contribute the Russian perspective toward the U.S. and China relations and the tripartite between Russia-China and the U.S.

Recent events in Syria, Ukraine, the South China Sea and the East China Sea have been indicative of a world that has become more polycentric. China has become more active in negotiating partnerships within the East Asian region.

Beijing is opposing American hegemony in the Asia-Pacific, but it is more cautious in constructing relations with the United States. Also deep and diversified economic and financial ties between the two countries represent a critical stabilizing factor





in bilateral relations, preventing serious political crises and the escalation of military tension.

Beijing has launched several integration projects on a transregional scale and also on the regional level, however it is not making a frontal challenge to the Washington-led system of intergovernmental agreements and financial institutions in the Asia-Pacific. The New Silk Road proposed by Beijing is

likely to face geopolitical and other challenges.

Russo-American ties are worsening and this leads to a stronger “Turn to the East” from Russia’s side. Russia, trying to strengthen its ties with its nearest neighbors, is interested in increasing its role in investing into oil and gas projects in Eastern Siberia and the RFE, and in transferring modern technology. But due to Western sanctions, Russia’s politi-



KIM Sook KIM Bonghyun Sergey SEVASTIANOV YAN Xuotong KIM Woosang Hisashi HIRAI

cal and economic ties with Japan and South Korea are weakened and it limits Russia’s opportunity to provide more relevant input, supporting peace and prosperity in East Asia.

Russia is concerned about the impact of the U.S. presence in the region. Even more, Russia began to perceive the U.S. alliance in Asia as the main destabilizing force in the region. Russia concerns over the U.S. attempts to strengthen its military and political clout in the Asia-Pacific and called for establishment of a collective regional security system.

The integrated missile defense system involving the U.S., Japan and South Korea led to the harsh reaction to plans for THAAD deployment on the Korean Peninsula.

In the economic sphere, the U.S. is blocking the participation of American global companies in developing new profitable oil and gas projects on Sakhalin Island. Japanese and Korean firms have suspended their investment plans in Russia’s Far East.

It might be a good time for the U.S. to implement out of the box thinking and stop pressing its loyal allies in Northeast Asia on the issue of anti Russian sanctions to create better international conditions for securing peace and prosperity in East Asia. Russia is willing to proceed with the six-party talk; and in terms of prosperity, much more can be done.

**KIM Woosang**

Today’s world faces a transition in its order. From multilateralism towards bilateralism; countries have to try to adapt to the new world order. The question for South Korea is what changes can be done for the country’s survival.

Within the international framework, small countries need to find a way to survive between bigger ones.

While they might not equal or surpass the impact of larger powers, they can nevertheless influence the working of the international system when they form alliances with each other, and therefore can play a significant role.

The question is whether China and the U.S. can escape Thucydides’ Trap. The Greek historian’s metaphor reminds us of the attendant dangers when a rising power’s self-determined supremacy, Athens challenging Sparta in ancient Greece mostly ended badly for both nations.

The U.S. is in the region, according to some scholars, to prevent China’s hegemony. China and the U.S. both need to cooperate and be cautious of not falling into the same trap. Both countries have to cooperate, because security matters in recent years cannot be solved by only one of them. Challenges for the world like climate change or the North Korea issue cannot be solved by the U.S. alone. Both powers need to cooperate and engage in joint policies.

The U.S. has a nuclear umbrella over South Korea and Japan, and that cannot be removed from the region. But China is growing remarkably, although the regional structure is not perfect. Korea should engage with other smaller countries such as Indonesia, or Australia to raise their voices and change or form a regional structure.

**Hisashi HIRAI**

Japan’s role within the region has become significantly smaller.

In the past, Japan was a superpower, and as time

went by it has been losing its influence. But Japan, like other countries, needs to survive within the rise of China. The presidential election in the U.S. is concerning the region. The U.S. is not leading in international policy making.

Tensions within the region, like Taiwan's new party, or over the Southern China Seas can lead to confrontation and changes within China's policies.

Japan and Korea are in similar positions. As mentioned previously, both countries rely on China's economic power and on the other hand on U.S. security power.

Japan and Korea should cooperate together and get beyond their history, to make their voices heard, balance the super powers, and work together to handle various international issues.

As for the North Korean issue, the East Asian region needs to prevent a domino effect and should work together for denuclearization in the region.

Korea and Japan cannot abandon the left or the right side for their survival, but should interact to build a regional community.

#### KIM Bonghyun

The most important question for the Asian region is how to secure peace in this area, which is currently facing challenges. In the past, the U.S. has been the leader, but China's rise has challenged the Asia-Pacific region. Professor Graham Allison of Harvard University found that since 1500 AD, out of 15 cases where a transition of power has taken place, 11 involved wars.

Some scholars argue, due to statistics, that a power transition leads to war, but after 1945, a World War never occurred. A reason for this might be the development of nuclear weapons and the high cost of wars. On the other hand, the power transition between China and the U.S. could be peaceful. The U.S. and China, due to common economic interests, are involved in several dialogues - one important dialogue would be strategic. President Xi Jinping has presented the "Chinese Dream," but what is meant by this is unclear. And this raises concerns.

China's rise is a reality, and there is a need to find a way to adapt to it. One would be for middle power states to work together as a counterbalance; further establishing a system where China is need-

ed, but with a political regime that is predictable, allowing everyone to live in harmony. We need to formulate a friendly countries council to facilitate dialogue between China and the U.S.

#### Policy Implications

- China's rise is a reality and there is the need to find a way to adapt to the new order.
- Korea and other middle powers should cooperate to counter balance the superpowers in the region.

# A Search for New Green Peace Cooperation in East Asia

## Jeju Special Self-Governing Province / Korean Council for Reconciliation and Cooperation(KCRC)

Moderator	<b>LIM Kang-taeg</b> Senior Research Fellow, Korea Institute of National Unification
Presenter	<b>CHO Han-bum</b> Senior Research Fellow, Korea Institute of National Unification <b>CHU Jang-min</b> Senior Research Fellow, Korea Environment Institute
Discussant	<b>CHUNG Sung-heon</b> President, Korea DMZ Peace-Life Valley <b>Tetsunari IIDA</b> Executive Director, Institute for Sustainable Energy Policies, Japan <b>AHN Byung-min</b> Chief Director, Korea Transport Institute
Rapporteur	<b>LEE Hyun-hee</b> Team Leader, KCRC

This session examined the Northeast Asian security environment in terms of military security and from ecological perspectives, and explored the possibilities of regional cooperation for environmental protection and peace in East Asia.

#### CHO Han-bum

In the assessment of the security environment of the Korea Peninsula, it was emphasized that the San Francisco system should be dumped, and that a new Northeast Asian system, centered on China, Korea and Japan, needs to be set up.

The conditions for reunification of the two Koreas have worsened due to the North Korea's improvement of its nuclear capability and its brinkmanship with nuclear arms. The Kim Jong-un regime shows signs of political, economic and social destabilization, while the Northeast Asian order is witnessing the escalation of tensions due to the conflicts between the U.S. and China, and China and other Asian countries, thus heavily bearing on South Korean policy toward the North.

After the communization of China in 1945, the U.S. allied with Japan without punitive action against it under what is called the San Francisco system. This post-war policy of the U.S. established a divisive order in Asia, which still continues, but should be lifted.

The Northeast Asian countries, China, Korea and Japan, should make efforts to forge a new cooperative system, departing from the U.S.-Japan alliance, which was used to apply pressure on China. The Eurasia Initiative of South Korea which calls for the social, economic, cultural integration of the Northeast Asia is expected to be a new Northeast Asian vision.

#### CHU Jang-min

This session has examined the environmental issues and their status quo, while exploring ways for environmental cooperation in Northeast Asia.

Functional cooperation, like the one on the environmental issue, has been underway, but it fails to develop into cooperation on security and history





matters. To overcome this limitation, Korea, China and Japan need to strengthen their cooperative ties on environmental issues and expand the cooperation by engaging Mongolia, Russia and North Korea.

There should be a consultative body for a substantial reduction of pollution and a contingency cooperation system to cope with disasters by pollution. A regionally integrated cooperation system is also required to respond to the environmental disasters, including those in North Korea.

As regards the regional cooperation on climate

change, if the six party talks establish a new team to address the climate change issue of North Korea in its working group meeting on economic and energy affairs, it would help tiding over the Northeast Asian paradox and creating the opportunity for environmental cooperation leading to security cooperation in Northeast Asia. It is proposed that the greenbelt project for Northeast Asian peace start from the areas along the lower Tumen River.

**CHUNG Sung-heon**

Explaining the cooperation project with North



LIM Kang-taeg

CHO Han-bum

CHU Jang-min

CHUNG Sung-heon

Tetsunari IIDA

AHN Byung-min

Korea in Gangwon-do province since 1996, Chung stressed the importance of the cautious approach to inter-Korean environmental cooperation.

Climate change is a reality as evidenced by the drought on the Korean Peninsula. As North Korea suffers from severe drought, we need cooperation on water resources and forestation projects to jointly overcome drought. This environmental cooperation has nothing to do with ideology and should be recognized as a common issue for the Korean people. It is not only helping the North, but also us. Inter-Korean environmental cooperation should be pursued in the belief that to save human lives is to save humanity and ultimately oneself.

As the forestation project takes a longer time, the government should help the North plant trees as well as preparing for forestation work in the North. The government should start the forestation project now as it requires preparation for three years at least.

South Korea, which has planted 10 billion trees, is one of the most successful forestation cases. But North Korea would need to plant 30 billion trees, at least. The assistance in forestation has nothing to do with nuclear arms or missiles. As the U.S. gave us flour when we planted trees, we should have the mindset that we can give rice to the North, if they plant trees.

**Tetsunari IIDA**

The possibility of natural energies shows an alternative to environmental cooperation.

When it comes to environmental issues, industrial pollution or household wastes are usually discussed. However, it is necessary to consider the energy issue first. In this dynamic era, renewable energy

production has made explosive growth over the last 10 years. During the last year alone, wind and solar power use posted a steep growth, with 1.5 million watts of renewable energy, including biomass and hydroelectric power, being produced.

Natural energy has grown 100-fold over the last 10 years. This is the only case of success among environmental efforts. The energy production system is changing to local production and network production models, with advanced countries introducing local production systems and energy sharing. China, which has successful wind power plants, is reducing coal energy use, even though nuclear power production is on the rise. Japan also shows a change in the recognition of energy after the accident at a nuclear power plant five years ago, with more than 80 percent of its people wanting the closure of all nuclear power plants. East Asian energy cooperation among China, Korea and Japan should be expanded to include Taiwan and North Korea. The expanded cooperation on the energy issue may lead to the settlement of inter-Korean confrontation and other conflicts in the region.

**AHN Byung-min**

Infrastructure construction projects in Northeast Asia, one of the obstacles for green peace cooperation, was assessed from the environmental perspective.

Thus far, more attention has been given to growth engines in this low growth era, and has emphasized the construction of infrastructure such as railways and highways, as regions connected to the Trans-Siberian Railway (TSR) or Trans-Chinese Railway (TCR) see high growth. As regards logistics cooperation in Northeast Asia, discussions about coop-

eration among China, North Korea and Russia on the development of the Tumen River area had been suspended, but the three countries recently resumed talks on logistics cooperation, drawing attentions on whether they deal with the connection of the three northeastern provinces of China to the Far East region in Russia.

The Chinese-North Korean border suffers from pollution, with the Musan area near Tumen River seriously polluted by discharges from mines and the Tumen River bed being dug up. North Korea also suffers natural disasters like landslides due to deforestation, which result in a decline of agricultural production, a case that highlights the need for environmental cooperation with North Korea.

The transportation network of the Korean peninsula was formed in the pattern of X-axis, during the Japanese colonial rule, but after the national division, maritime transportation remains the only transit means. China is making efforts to integrate transportation means with multiple transit networks, also planning to develop triangle axis linking Seoul, Pyongyang, Dalian, Shenyang, Changchun and Harbin. But it raises concern as the development ignores environmental impacts.

As the North Korean transportation network relies heavily on railways, it should pay heed to environmental impacts when developing a transit system, especially when joining the Eurasia development

project through the international cooperation system. It also would be better to start with smaller transit development projects, because it has no concrete model.

### ■ ■ ■ Policy Implications

- Currently, hegemonic rivalry between the U.S.-Japan alliance, formed under the San Francisco system, and China continues in Northeast Asia, and the region should overcome it.
- While maintaining the ROK-U.S. alliance, Korea, China and Japan should make efforts to form a new cooperation system in the region. Korea, China and Japan live in an economic, social and cultural community, with only diplomatic and security issues standing in the way of the regional community. The three countries should cooperate to resolve the issues.
- For a new future of Korea, China and Japan, they should engage North Korea. As North Korea has developed nuclear weapons because of its distrust of the Northeast Asian community and concerns over its own security, the three countries should create a culture of peace in the region.
- Recently, the Northeast Asian region has been constructing

infrastructure for economic growth, as well as strengthening Eurasian cooperation, as seen in the cooperation between North Korea, China and Russia, and the Korean proposal of the Eurasian Initiative, now being materialized. However, there should be an effort to make the development cooperation compatible with the ecological environment, as it tends to ignore environmental impacts.

- Mindful that military means cannot bring peace, Korea, China and Japan should set up a new cooperation system based on reflections on their history. They should recognize that the environmental field serves as basis for cooperation. To that end, they should organize a consultative body to jointly cope with disasters and invite North Korea to it. The new regional community requires the active role of enlightened people, and the activities to introduce a new community culture may start in this Eco-Peace island, Jeju Island.

# Rethinking Middle Powers and Public Diplomacy: Opportunities and Constraints

## East Asia Foundation

<b>Moderator</b>	<b>KIM Tae-hwan</b> Professor, Korea National Diplomatic Academy
<b>Presenter &amp; Discussant</b>	<b>Paul EVANS</b> Professor, Institute of Asian Research and Liu Institute for Global Issues, University of British Columbia
	<b>Evelyn GOH</b> Shedden Professor, Strategic Policy Studies, College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian National University
	<b>SOHN Yul</b> Professor & Dean, GSIS, Yonsei University
	<b>Scott SNYDER</b> Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations
<b>Rapporteur</b>	<b>CHOI Ha-eun</b> Fellow, East Asia Foundation

• **Kim** Public diplomacy and middle powers are somewhat ambiguous concepts. There exist interacting forces (mega-force), and the countries having influence on each other create a movement in the world. Geographical and spatial competitions have intensified, and diplomatic policies is shifting its objective from diplomacy based on military power to one compatible with the international order, based on balanced interstate relations. Meanwhile, the digital revolution has emerged thanks to technological development, which made geopolitical factors less important. With the technological advances, diverse protagonists gained influence as actors on the international stage, with terrorists no exception to it. A supranational political phenomenon has appeared on the international stage. The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and other religious groups are producing international issues and have a pan-national identity. Local boundaries are blurred, and spatial integration is underway. With the expanded Internet, national territories become meaningless even in the traditional security field.

In line with the phenomenon, soft power emerged as a new power, using relationships, and it creates a new pattern of power by joining existing forces. There should be a research on this new phenomenon arising from technological advances and changes in geopolitical factors. It might be said that a new chapter opened in the international politics, and it is the research subject of public diplomacy. Public diplomacy is administered towards people, not governments, and deals with policy itself, as well as the governments. Its means to attain its goal are based on software, unlike conventional diplomacy. Public diplomacy makes growth not only in academia but also in the field of actual diplomacy, and the U.S., China and Russia are also actively utilizing it. This session is to hold an in-depth discussion on this issue with Paul Evans, founder of the middle power theory, a new eminent scholar, Evelyn Goh, Prof. Sohn Yul, who published the book, “Junggyeon Gukka Jungsim Dongasia Gonggongogyo-ui Ihae (Understanding East Asian Public Diplomacy Based on Middle Power),” last year, and Scott



Snyder, who published “Middle-Power Korea.” First, I would like to ask Prof. Evans from the first-generation middle power about the definition of middle power and how he evaluates the achievements of middle powers.

• **Evans** Middle power is divided into two generations. The first-generation middle powers emerged after the Cold War in the 1950s. The common features of the countries were 1) moderate power of influence upon international society, 2) support of the domestic and international rule-based system 3) keen interest in multilateral organizations. These countries sought to mediate conflicts and find agreements based on rules, and paid attention to peace, stability and resolution of conflicts.

The second-generation middle powers are the present countries. They suffer great difficulties in settling pending issues. Competition with foreign countries became harder, and countries have interests conflicting with each other. The middle powers face the same tasks as before, but there were changes in the elements of the tasks. The challenging tasks of the second-generation middle powers are how to maintain the system based on rules different from the previous ones, how to settle conflicts and how to accept power transitions. The superpower order is subject to change due to the rise of China and Asia, while attention is focused on how to establish a rule-based system over the South China Sea issue and how to ease other tensions in the region. The G-2 is unlikely to play a stable role afterwards, nor an ideal role. The integration of the world economy is another factor to be considered. Therefore, the middle powers have to find their own positions between the superpowers and may form a group with the countries with which they share interests. Canada has played the role of a middle power for the last 10 years, but deviated from the line, raising its own voice now in its efforts to outgrow middle power status. Canada faces the questions: If it wants to be a middle power or power shift, how it has to engage with China and what kind of system it has to set up.

• **Kim** In fact, middle power is defined by the state’s physical power and economic competitiveness as

compared to the world powers. What other criteria to define middle power exist?

• **Evans** First, contribution to international society and global influence is one of the criteria. Middle powers have a moderate level in this respect. The next criterion is the attitude towards international order, and middle powers have the will to maintain it. The wish to change or replace international systems is another factor to judge a certain country as a middle power. In fact, the term, middle power, referring just to the states caught between the two different international orders around the U.S. and China, is hard to define. Therefore, many countries wonder if they could be middle power.

• **Kim** What do you think of the view that Japan is a middle power?

• **Evans** An eminent Japanese scholar, Prof. Soeya said that Japan dreams to become a middle power. However, Japan has no element to be a power in international society, because it has no coercive military force such as nuclear arms. Therefore, Japan is in a position different from Canada and Australia. According to Prof. Soeya, Japan is a rule-based middle power of the highest-level, playing a role in leading multilateral organizations and disarmament. However, Japan’s ties with the U.S. remain an obstacle for the country to become a middle power. As the alliance is so strong, Japan can hardly raise an independent voice in international society. As Japan’s dream of middle power depends on whether it can depart from the alliance, it has to wait longer to realize the dream. Rather, South Korea stands more of a chance to become a middle power.

• **Kim** What kind of influence do the continued interactions of the U.S. and China exert upon middle powers and what does that mean?

• **Goh** It influences expansion of the category of the middle power. The first-generation middle powers were born based on concrete historical contexts. After the end of the Cold War, states were divided into the winners and the defeated, with allies of the U.S. rising as middle powers. They observed rule-based, U.S.-centered international order. So, the other states, including China, had to join the existing world order without any options and had



KIM Tae-hwan

Paul EVANS

Evelyn GOH

SOHN Yul

Scott SNYDER

no need to change the rules. However, middle powers today have to consider the geopolitical interdependency. Such considerations were not necessary in the past, but today’s middle powers have to choose between the economic reliance upon China and the dependency upon the U.S. for their security.

• **Kim** Do you think that the relations of the U.S. and China are diversified amid their interactions? What does this mean to middle powers?

• **Sohn** I agree with Prof. Goh. Current international politics show a much complicated system, as new politics of network have emerged to replace existing geopolitics. Network politics means the political domain where more actors interact with and depend upon each other in a network. Power does not emerge from economic or military force, but from the networking ability, that is, the ability to manifest one’s own opinion and win over countries that agree with it. It is a very complicated time with conventional and network politics being inter-connected. In the economic domain, the U.S. and China fiercely compete against each other on the surface, but cooperate with each other in many areas due to increased dependency upon each other. In the security aspects, too, the two states exert greater influence thanks to the linkage of conventional and network politics.

The definition of middle powers is changing. Amid the changes in the world system, their roles are re-defined. In the context of international politics, South Korea is a middle power state, judging by its military capability, but not in the position to play the traditional role of middle power, because it is geopolitically caught between four major powers. In other fields, however, more

states are engaging in politics through networks and helping producing multilateral organizations and agreements. Korea can play a role of middle power in non-traditional fields where knowledge and experience count, and an institutional framework is in the making.

• **Kim** Could you suggest specific cases in which South Korea can utilize the current situation of international politics?

• **Sohn** South Korea can assume three kinds of roles. First, it can gather people and establish a link among them. Like Singapore and Chile, that play the role of a network hub well, Korea can play the role of a bridge in trade affairs. Second, as two parallel networks exist on the Korean Peninsula, South Korea can play the role of bridgehead for the Asia-Pacific trade network and Asia network. Third, Korea can harmonize the two networks into a single one or participate in the network design. But, as the work of establishing a network can be done by a world power, only, South Korea can intervene in the reconstruction of the network, in cases of cooperation of multiple organizations.

• **Snyder** As a middle power, South Korea is given an evidently challenging task. If Korea has been an observer of a chess game in the past, it is now a player. It depends on South Korea whether it can find its role and perform it properly. Middle powers cannot decide their fate, but can play a role autonomously.

As a middle power, South Korea has to perform a complicated role. There are many countries that have more Internet assets and financial resources than South Korea. It has to respond to dynamic situations in the absence of a fixed system or rule.

Many of the assets South Korea has as a middle power come from its alliance with the U.S. South Korea does not differ from first-generation middle powers in that respect. Actually, South Korea has benchmarked those countries like Canada.

To become a middle power means that it has to cooperate with other middle powers. The history of Korean diplomacy shows that South Korea has always faithfully played a balancing role, due to the geopolitical characteristics of the country. The pursuit of the ideal of a middle power would help South Korea have its own state identity. Its national identity is transforming from the negative one characterized by anti-communism and anti-imperialism into a future-oriented one.

- **Evans** To return to the subject of definition of middle power and public diplomacy, I would like to say that they are closely inter-connected, due to the diverse relationships in the diversified society of today. Public diplomacy has two aspects - the government's direct influence upon the public and the public influence upon the government. The existing middle powers properly use public diplomacy. For example, the Canadian government directly communicated with the people over the anti-personnel mine issue and staged an anti-mine campaign with NGOs, instead of the government, thus achieving its goal. This is a case in which the government has resolved its agenda by utilizing civic networks. As to the nuclear issue, Australia maintains its status as a neutral state with its alliance with the civic society.

Currently, most ASEAN countries are middle powers. So there is a possibility of a new cooperative measure addressing the various conflicts over maritime pollution and marine resources. To summarize, the 21st century middle power is characterized by its function to gather people. Experienced people, even if they are not government officials, can join the network, and the government can also involve itself in a certain issue and prevent the issue turning for the worse.

- **Kim** It is interesting that most of the actors in public diplomacy are from NGOs, and public diplomacy is pursued beyond national territories. What kind of "niche issues" other than those of human rights, anti-personnel mines and climate



change can middle powers resolve through public diplomacy? Can public diplomacy resolve human rights, war and climate change issues?

- **Goh** The contemporary world is so complicated that it is hard to define "niche" clearly. Traditional niche issues may not be that anymore. For instance, the South China Sea issue is not niche anymore. So is the issue involving fishery. The South China Sea issue turned more serious as the demands for fish grew due to population growth

and now precludes a peaceful resolution.

One of the recent niche issues is one about financial affairs. Middle powers and second-tier states have higher dependency upon international society and financial networks. Therefore, middle powers can exert substantial influence upon financial issues through public diplomacy, with tighter regulation on financial institutions remaining a pending issue.

- **Sohn** Middle powers can play more roles in tra-

ditional security and economic affairs. One thing that should be clarified, however, is that South Korea is not qualified as a middle power judging by its status and power. The role of middle power has been defined by Canada and Australia, and the real position of South Korea is different from theirs. South Korea should focus on more substantial issues such as security. In the face of the security dilemma arising from its position caught between four major powers, it should



make more efforts to secure room for diplomacy. The incumbent government of South Korea tries to utilize middle power diplomacy only in the global governance issue, but it may end up isolating itself from international society. South Korea should have its own definition of middle power and specify its role based on the definition for its diplomacy.

- **Kim** Does the physical power issue among world powers have nothing to do with public diplomacy?
- **Sohn** International politics has two dimensions which do not contradict each other, with the politics of world powers being intermingled with new factors.
- **Snyder** One of the issues involving middle power is the branding issue. As to the issue, a middle power should first brand itself in consideration of its competitive edge. It has to find out the field where it can play a leading role. Second, it should consider its national priorities. In the case of South Korea, there have been many occasions in which the government has set the agenda and played the role of host country such as G20 Summit, Nuclear Security Summit and the conference of OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development). Third, it should consider sustainability. South Korea diffused its efforts while producing its own brand, thus failing to publicize its competence.

#### [ Q & A ]

**Q.** I would like ask about the dream of Japan to become a middle power. Considering the high gross domestic production of Japan and its international influence from its alliance with the U.S., Japan is not deemed to be a middle power. What do you think about this? What do Canadians think of their role as a bridgehead in terms of international relations? Personally, I am doubtful about the role of Canada to mediate the U.S. and China, but think that Canada can play more role in public diplomacy, as it is a neighbor of the U.S. Would it be possible for Canada to make a diplomatic proposition to China?

**A.** I think that the concept of middle power cannot be established. It is theoretically possible, but it has no actual meaning. Middle power may have many definitions and developed countries might be defined as such. I think that the concept of middle power is meaningless unless the term is more narrowly defined and the concept is based on in-depth analysis.

**A.** There are two problematic features in defining South Korea as a middle power. First, if the South Korean leadership tells its people that their state is called a neutral state, or has a neutral nature, it might make South Korea seem an ambiguous gray state with duplicate identities. Second, it might bring complacency. When it is content with being a middle power, it may check its further growth and make its responsibility, principle and leadership ambiguous. Therefore it might end up delivering the wrong message to its people.

**Q.** I would like to ask a question about China. There have always been disputes over the criterion for defining middle power, because the category of states varies depending on the criterion, be it the size of a state, gross domestic product, role or power. Middle power is a relative concept. How can we define the role of middle power in connection with the UN, financial order, anti-terrorism and environmental issues under the current international system? For instance, China plays only a meager role in environmental issues. France is a middle power in terms of economic power, but plays a greater role in other international issues.

**A. Evans** The concept of middle power has ample room for controversy. Being caught in between world powers might mean “nothing.” However, it is crucial for middle powers to clearly understand the interactions of world powers. To add one more, it is hard for the middle powers to form an association. The association on a certain issue may be possible, but it is difficult to create an alliance. The most advanced form among the associations is the G20.

Canada discarded its identity as a middle power 10 years ago, because the identity might give the impression of “doing nothing” and “remain-

ing ambiguous.” Being a middle power should be re-defined as playing a role of bridgehead. In contrast, China prefers the existing definition of middle power. During the Cultural Revolution, China wanted to continue diplomatic exchanges with Canada because it held the position that the Cold War should be drawn to the end, even though it was geographically close to the U.S. Therefore, China must have been attracted to the concept of middle power. China wants to form a new association of countries, using the image of middle power.

**A. Goh** I agree with Prof. Evans. The category of middle power requires a more analytical approach. As regards public diplomacy, I would like to add that South Korea has the best conditions to utilize public diplomacy. It has economic, technological and cultural competitive edges in Asia and higher reliability. Therefore, South Korea is expected to perform a significant role in the international stage, based on the new images.

**A. Sohn** It is necessary to assume that there is no concept to comprise all the states which are not world powers, nor small and weak states. The middle power concept makes South Korea re-examine its position. Middle power is not a sustainable concept, nor represents all the orientations of countries in that category. With discussions on it, we can just read the dreams and visions of South Korea. In this context, the alliance with the U.S. is a very important factor for South Korea. As it depends on the U.S. in almost every aspect, it has to have a new thinking in order to make further growth. To that end, Korea needs both international recognition and changes in domestic affairs, and in the course of the changes, public diplomacy is expected to play a crucial role in mapping out the proper position of Korea and persuading people to join the changes. South Korea should implement consistent policies, while performing the role that suits its international status.

**A. Snyder** There has been a discussion on whether South Korea is a middle power or not. One interesting point is that the discourse on middle power has appeared again in Korea. Personally,

I believe that South Korea can play a meaningful role in its position in-between world powers.

#### Policy Implications

- International politics is faced with new phases with the revival of geopolitics and technological innovations, and this poses new challenges and opportunities for middle powers.
- Whereas the first-generation middle powers, formed in the concrete historical context after the Cold War, have observed the rule-based, U.S.-centered world order, second-generation middle powers of today are faced with the challenging tasks of how to maintain the rule-based system, solve conflicts amid intensified competition and inter-state conflicts of interests, and how to accept the power shift in the international society.
- Second-generation middle powers have to find their own positions among the world powers and form a group with the countries that they can share their interests with.
- In terms of economic resources and military capacity, South Korea can be called a middle power, but it is hard to play the traditional role, as it is caught between four neighboring powers. It might plan a role of being a network hub in non-traditional fields where knowledge and experience count.
- Due to the various relationships in the diversified society of today, middle power and public diplomacy are closely interconnected. The diverse networks and public diplomacy in which the government directly engages the public or the public brings a change to the position of the government may prevent situations from worsening.

# Theory and Practice of International Relations in East Asia

## Jeju Peace Institute

Moderator	<b>EUN Yong-soo</b> Professor, Hanyang University
Presenter	<b>Yves TIBERGHEN</b> Professor, University of British Columbia, Canada <b>HOO Chiew-Ping</b> Professor, National University of Malaysia <b>Chanintira NA THALANG</b> Professor, Thammasat University, Thailand <b>Makmur KELIAT</b> Professor, University of Indonesia
Discussant	<b>Cheng-Chwee KUIK</b> Professor, National University of Malaysia
Rapporteur	<b>MO Chun-heung</b> Research Professor, Hanyang Peace Institute

### The East Asian Economic Order at a Turning Point: Integration vs. Competition

#### Yves TIBERGHEN

Intense interactions are going on in East Asia. In particular, the two superpowers of China and the U.S. are heavily involved in both competition and cooperation with each other. The regional market or regional cooperation in East Asia will not work without stable systems in the region. It is very important to create a new normal or a new order, and creative ideas are sought for more than ever to that end.

Asian Paradox continues to be evident in East Asia. Specifically, it means that division is growing while integration is expanded. The coexistence of integration and division is found in the multi-dimensions of East Asia. A systematic remedy to overcome the paradox in East Asia should be urgently explored.

Conflicts over new rules between countries in the region may worsen at this unusual time. But it is also true that calls are mounting for a hopeful and creative order to be formulated. I think middle pow-

er countries in the region can play a very significant role in making it a reality.

#### Strategic Stability in East Asia

#### HOO Chiew-Ping

Today, East Asia remains vulnerable to a number of threats, including military provocations. In terms of “strategic stability,” this may be interpreted as the so-called balance of power. The notion of “strategic stability” is very useful and explains a lot, but it is not the best tool for analyzing political phenomena in real life.

Domestic politics of the countries in the region have a great influence on changes in the region. Conversely, these changes also greatly influence domestic politics. “Strategic stability” can be defined as “a form of conscious management of risks” not only from the perspective of East Asia but also from a global viewpoint.

To give an easy example, “strategic stability” was employed in the face of North Korea’s provocative actions as a means to trigger a change in its behavior. Such approaches have been proven effective in



many aspects. These tendencies are also evident in the ongoing territorial disputes in the South China Sea.

“Strategic stability” is a concept frequently used in the past and still a valid one and crucial in managing the risks of the North Korean issue and the

territorial disputes over the South China Sea.

#### Responding to Security Threats in Southeast Asia

#### Chanintira NA THALANG

We need an ASEAN perspective to have a better look at Malaysia’s role in ethnic-based conflicts.



That is because tensions of this nature are not confined to a single country and have a strong possibility of spilling over to the region or the rest of the world.

Constrained by numerous political and other systematic factors, ASEAN has not proven itself as a role model for settling conflicts in the region. That means domestic politics are affecting international politics, and vice versa.

After all, the borders of ASEAN should be more open than they are to better address ethnic tensions. Countries in the region should increase exchange to foster regional cooperation.

#### ASEAN and Security Issues on the Korean Peninsula

##### Makmur KELIAT

Inter-Korean disputes are not only a matter of a clash between different political systems but also structural problems. On top of that, the conflicts between the two Koreas have historical background, thus exposing the complicated nature.

A change in the North Korean regime, an issue hotly debated in the wake of the reckless provocative actions taken recently by the country, seems possible through a revolution from the bottom up or a collapse from within. Many other factors may bring changes. As a consequence, North Korea could end up with either a hard or soft landing.

A variety of scenarios have been presented to forecast the North Korean regime's future, and different action plans for different scenarios have been explored by ASEAN.

It is true that ASEAN countries have different views on how to respond to the issues of North Korea or the Korean Peninsula. Nevertheless, ASEAN on the whole gives priority to treaties of friendship as well as engagement and negotiation. In addition, ASEAN prefers the gradual dissolution of the North Korean regime. In short, ASEAN seems to prefer diplomatic to military solutions on this matter.

To conclude, ASEAN is opposed to a military response to North Korea in favor of diplomacy to bring about change in the country. But the problem is that ASEAN countries do not have a uniform view on how to prepare for change in the North Korean regime, with some countries siding with the United States and others China.

### Policy Implications

- It is not desirable to regard the factors behind East Asia's uncertainty only as a threat.
- Regarding the strategic stability of East Asia, countries may share a single "conscious" management formula or a single value, but their interests inevitably vary.
- It is not necessary to analyse risks and threats separately when it comes to North Korean issues.
- More discussion is needed to explain the uncertainty evident today in East Asia from the perspective of "strategic stability."
- Detailed analysis is needed to explain the fact that the well-known friendly ties between North Korea and China turned sour recently in terms of strategic stability.

# Possibilities and Conditions of East Asia Peace Community II

## Jeju Special Self-Governing Province / Korea Council for Reconciliation and Cooperation (KCRC)

Moderator	<b>KIM Young-hie</b> Editor-at-Large, JoongAng Ilbo
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Discussant	<b>Shingo FUKUYAMA</b> Chairperson, Peace Forum, Japan <b>CHUNG Hyun-back</b> Professor, Sungkyunkwan University <b>Seishiro FUKUDA</b> Secretary, Rikken (Constitutionalism) Forum, Japan <b>PARK Ihn-hwi</b> Professor, Ewha Womans University
Rapporteur	<b>KWON Ji-yeon</b> Secretary, KCRC

#### KIM Young-hie

My constant belief is that the reunification of the two Koreas is impossible without the existence of the East Asian community. I came to further strengthen the belief, while writing a book on German unification. Thus far, we used to pay attention to the German situation in the 1980s and 1990s only, but if we see German unification now, about 20 years after it, we get to know that external factors, that is, the European situation influenced it a lot much.

Likewise, peace on the Korean Peninsula is impossible unless the Northeast Asian peace is guaranteed, and vice versa.

#### Japanese Peace Constitution and Northeast Asian Peace Community

##### Haruki WADA

#### Northeast Asia - the first-grade danger zone ridden with multi-layered conflicts

Currently, East Asia and Northeast Asia face

crises. The first factor is the North Korean issue. Opinions about its root cause may vary, but personally I think it is because North Korea did not establish diplomatic ties with the U.S., thus failing to secure its international status, whereas South Korea has stabilized its status by opening its ties with China and Russia after the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s. There have been improvements in the ties of the two Koreas, but they seem to have failed to achieve authentic cooperation. Stronger sanctions have been imposed against the provocations by North Korea, but failed to have the desired effect, only heightening tension.

The second factor of the crisis is Japan. The problem lies in the fact that Japan, as a responsible state, should have maintained a consistent position, based on correct historical understanding, but has not done so.

The third factor is China. It achieved capitalistic economic growth under a communist system. Chinese economic success bolsters not only the Asian



KIM Young-hie Haruki WADA LEE Bu-young Shingo FUKUYAMA CHUNG Hyun-back

economy but also substantial parts of the world economy. In the process, China pushed for nationalism, which replaced its communist ideology, aggrandizing itself, and was embroiled in territorial disputes with neighboring countries as well as exposing diverse domestic problems.

The fourth and last factor is the Okinawa Island issue. The island was under the occupation of the U.S. after World War II, and the residents have endured the rule of U.S. forces for 70 years and are locked in conflict over the military base there.

**The inception of the Japanese Peace Constitution**

Japan calls itself as a country with a “Peace Constitution.” It is necessary to examine what ‘peace state,’ based on the Peace Constitution, means.

After defeat in the war, the Japanese people had aspirations and visions to become a “peace state,” and intellectuals translated them into a pursuit of demilitarization and an anti-war state, thus producing “peace state discourse.” Based on this principle, Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution was made. It was not forcibly introduced, but produced out of the wishes and opinions of the Japanese people.

After the outbreak of the Korean War, the U.S. forces which were occupying Japan at that time, requested Japan to join the war, but Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida refused, with the opposition agreeing with him in compliance with the Constitution. The decision came from their recognition, based on the wartime experience, that war can bring no solution.

The anti-war position was maintained for 60 years, but Prime Minister Shinzo Abe made a proposition to amend it last year, touching off a controversy.

**Japan should pursue “peace diplomacy” based on its Peace Constitution**

To play a positive role amid the East Asian crisis, Japan should go against the policies of Prime Minister Shinzo Abe. This means that Japan has to do “positive peace diplomacy,” based on the principle of the Peace Constitution, and it is a different kind of “peace diplomacy” from that of ordinary countries. Article 9 says that the Japanese people forever renounce war as means of settling international disputes. To observe the Peace Constitution means conducting “peace diplomacy.”

If doubts are continually cast over the effects of the stronger sanctions on North Korea, a radical change to the policy should be considered. The diplomatic achievement recently made by the U.S. and Cuba might be used as a reference for the North Korea case. If a military clash breaks out on the Korean Peninsula, it would directly damage South Korea and Japan.

Therefore, Japan should bring a change to the current situation with peace diplomacy.

Japan and North Korea may open embassies in each other’s capital and start discussions on three issues as follows: 1) unconditional establishment of diplomatic relations 2) mutual trade 3) operation of a shipping service between the two countries. As a matter of course, the UN embargo on some items must be observed.

**Two concrete tasks for the East Asian community**

For regional security, the East Asian community should be set up, but there are two tasks prior to this. One is to create a cooperative system to cope with disasters, such as earthquakes, in the region. The other is a joint move to address environmental



Seishiro FUKUDA PARK Ihn-hwi

issues. Air pollution in Beijing is so severe that it affects Korea and Japan. China has to make efforts to solve the problem in recognition of pollution as an issue for the entire region.

The discussions on the East Asian community should be joined by the U.S. Without its presence in the talks, it will be impossible to create the community.

**Realization of a big dream**

A big dream may come true. If we pursue an ambitious dream with strong determination, it may be realized. If East Asia makes concerted efforts to realize the big dream of the East Asian Community, conflicts and tension might be resolved.

**Conditions for East Asian Peace**

**LEE Bu-young  
East Asian countries’ future policy toward North Korea**

The crisis of the Korean peninsula was worsened due to improvements in North Korea’s nuclear weapons. As South Korea insists that it will not hold talks with North Korea, as long as it possesses nuclear weapons, U.S. State Secretary John Kerry and Assistant Secretary of State Daniel Russel expressed their willingness to negotiate a peace treaty between the U.S. and North Korea. Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi proposed to the U.S. that denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and the peace treaty be negotiated simultaneously.

The Korean government’s position not to respond to North Korea’s proposal for military talks is expected to change somewhat with the opening of the 20th National Assembly. A change in the government position is more likely to come with the

reopening of Kaesong Industrial Complex, regularization of the reunion of separated families and a start of South-North dialogue.

In the case of Japan, considering the Japanese people’s strong will to safeguard the Peace Constitution in opposition to the security bill, ahead of the Upper House election, it is doubtful that the Japanese will permit the Abe Cabinet to secure enough House seats to amend the Constitution.

As regards the U.S., I think that the U.S. might change its policy toward North Korea, which has been characterized as strategic neglect, as North Korean nuclear weapons have emerged as a real threat with their upgraded capability. There is the possibility of a change in U.S. policy such as an agreement on negotiations for a peace treaty.

**Sanctions and a blockade cannot resolve the North Korean nuclear issue**

The six-party talks and the U.S.-North Korea talks have produced meaningful statements and agreements for the last 20 years, but they were annulled just as many times. Even though many predicted the collapse of the North Korean regime, it has endured isolation and sanctions for the last 20 years, just to upgrade its nuclear weapons. This means that a blockade or sanctions cannot thwart the development of nuclear arms.

If the U.S. calls for denuclearization at this point as a precondition for reopening the six party talks, North Korea has to abolish its nuclear technologies and achievements all together, for the talks; but this is a condition the North can never accept. This means that the nuclear issue has reached a dead-end.

**Time for complete shift of viewpoint – start of “Korea Process”**

It is time now to be disillusioned with the wish for a collapse of North Korea, and to encourage Washington and Pyongyang to make a compromise, that is, the normalization of the armistice system. For instance, it is necessary to consider suspending South Korea-U.S. joint military drills if North Korea puts a halt to its development of nuclear arms. As the Joonggang Ilbo suggested in the name of a “complete shift of viewpoint,” it is the time for us to change





our mindset.

First of all, South Korea should independently judge and act. Dialogue and negotiation do not harm the national interest. Nevertheless, some still play an antagonistic role against the North and are confrontational. To be a protagonist of a new paradigm, we should pursue a new “Korea Process.”

The Korea process over the short term might be aimed at 1) the restoration of inter-Korean talks 2) the reopening of the Kaesong Industrial Complex and resuming Mt. Kumgang tours 3) the reunion of separated families and exchange of letters 4) the implementation of the agreements of the June 15 Declaration of 2000 and Oct. 4 Declaration of 2007 5) the start of the project to reconnect the inter-

Korean railways and roads as already agreed.

Over the long-term, the Korea process should pursue 1) the establishment of South and North Korean missions in Seoul and Pyongyang 2) the agreement to and promotion of the normalization of the relations of the U.S. and Japan with North Korea 3) a readjustment of the U.S.-Korea alliance with the abolition of North Korean nuclear arms and a peace treaty 4) discussions on the Trans-Siberian Railway and Trans-Korean Railway, and the project to establish gas pipeline from Sakhalin to Korea 5) discussions on the linkage of the Shandong gas pipeline to Korea.

These projects will be achieved by the establishment of an East Asian cooperation organization,

which might start with “the East Asian peace conference” suggested by former Japanese Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama.

**PARK Ihn-hwi**

At the heart of the uniqueness and instability of the Northeast Asia region lies the North Korean issue. Korea has a strong identity as a “Northeast Asian state.” So, the stable development of the Northeast Asian region is a key factor for Korean development.

Unlike other regions, Northeast Asia is characterized by two regional orders in operation. Being inter-dependent, though, they distrust each other in security and political affairs. North Korea utilizes

this duality for its survival, well, and South Korea has to cope with this situation with limited diplomatic resources.

I have two questions about the presentations today. First, the Wang Yi initiative which seeks simultaneous pursuit of denuclearization and a peace treaty is actively being discussed among experts, but no one talks about concrete ways of integrating the two objectives. There should be an insight to this matter. Second, while Korea always has to grapple with the question of what kind of position it has to take between the U.S. and China, Japan seems to have no such task. As regards the North Korea issue, in particular, I wonder what kind of position Japan should take between the U.S. and China.

**Haruki WADA**

North Korea is the only country which has no diplomatic relations with the U.S. To remove North Korea’s nuclear weapons is a daunting task, taking a long time, but I think that there should be negotiations on measures to give the opportunity of economic cooperation to the North when it gets rid of its nuclear arms.

Japan, still under the influence of the U.S., wants to be on a par with the U.S. and I think Korea has the same wish. A country, beset by the U.S., China and Russia, has to behave independently.

**Shingo FUKUYAMA**

The Abe Cabinet evidently wants to abolish Article 9 of the Constitution and dreams of a state capable of war in connection with the U.S. military strategy. It will eventually raise military tension in the Asian region. The peace movement is very important to counter it. As the peace movement in Japan has a crucial role in deterring dangerous acts by the Abe Cabinet, it should be strengthened.

Recently, the peace movement reveals three characteristics. First, a full-scale peace movement with the slogan “no more war” started in December, 2014. The peace movement thus far has been divided into the communist line and non-communist line, but it is now being organized into one group. Many people from various fields stage peace movement, along with specialized committees, across the

country, an unprecedented phenomenon.

When the “security bill” was proposed in March, about 37,000 assembled in front of the National Diet and called on the Abe government to step down, and about 50,000 joined the campaign to safeguard the Constitution at more than 200 places.

The campaign to safeguard the Peace Constitution secured 12 million signatures, which means that Japanese society is changing.

Second, the opposition parties formed a united front against the “security bill,” pledging to cooperate to repeal the bill and dismiss the incumbent government. A significant change is expected in the Upper House election, with the opposition parties agreeing to field a single candidate. Therefore, it is expected to bring an upset result in the election. I think that the National Diet of Japan would see a result similar to the Korean elections in which the opposition won the majority seats in the National Assembly.

Third, the support rate for Abe’s administration is still high, but supports for individual policies such as the security bill, construction of a U.S. military base in Okinawa and the economic policies of Abenomics are declining, with a majority opposing one of them. The support rate remains high only because there is no alternative to the incumbent administration.

#### Seishiro FUKUDA

The Rikken (constitutionalism) Forum that I belong to is a consultative body of 48 Upper and Lower House members of the opposition, excluding the Communist Party. The Abe government is peculiar in that it won the election with the slogan “Retake Japan.” Abe’s highest goal as well as his government’s task is constitutional amendment. Given the fact that Abe’s term is to last just two years, he is trying to mobilize every means to amend the Constitution.

In fact, the Liberal Democratic Party has proposed a dreadful Constitution draft called the “Military Constitution,” when it was an opposition party. This is the reason why we call our forum “Rikken.” More than 700 local councilors are forming networks joined by prominent scholars. Japan has to recognize that it faces a post-war Con-

stitution crisis.

#### CHUNG Hyun-back

With the North Korean nuclear arms test and declaration of its possession of nuclear arms, I had the fear that a war might break out in the form of local conflict on the Korean Peninsula. Korea should raise its sensitivity about war, and civic groups have a crucial role to that end. It is important that citizens know about the security issue and manifest their right to make a decision on it.

For the Korea process, Lee Bu-young suggested, South and North Korean governments have to play more important roles. The situation has changed, and South Korea has more initiatives in improving inter-Korean relations and realizing East Asian peace. We should explore ways to implement the June 15 Declaration of 2000 and Oct. 4 Declaration of 2007.

The achievement of the 2015 International Conference for Peace in East Asia was the consensus shared by all from conservatives to progressives that the armistice treaty should be replaced by a peace treaty. Based on the consensus, another forum, the Korean Peninsula Peace Conference was organized.

As to the question of Prof. Park Ihn-hwi about the concrete means to pursue both denuclearization and a peace treaty, I would like to say that it is time to propagate discourse on a peace treaty itself, before trying to find out the means. We should make more efforts to disseminate voices for a peace system on the Korean Peninsula.

## Strategic Diplomacy in Northeast Asia

### East Asia Foundation

<b>Moderator</b>	<b>MOON Chung-in</b> Professor, Yonsei University / Editor-in-chief, Global Asia
<b>Presenter</b>	<b>Jochen PRANTL</b> Associate Professor & Director, Asia-Pacific College of Diplomacy, Australian National University <b>Evelyn GOH</b> Shedden Professor, Strategic Policy Studies, College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian National University <b>PARK Cheol-hee</b> Professor, GSIS, Seoul National University <b>HUANG Jing</b> Professor, Lee Foundation / Director, Centre on Asia and Globalization, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore
<b>Rapporteur</b>	<b>Kim Gawon</b> Fellow, East Asia Foundation

#### Jochen PRANTL

It is becoming difficult in a globalized world for states to achieve their desired outcomes. There is no manual to solve complex problems. To address this problem, strategic diplomacy looks at international issues from a system-based perspective, not state-based (e.g. addressing global finance within the larger international system).

German reunification was possible through understanding of the larger European security system, not just bilateral relations.

Instead of a “Master Idea” that dominates the international system, there are competing concepts today: the U.S. vision of a liberal world vs. the Chinese understanding of how the world should be organized. China is trying to shape the system and take a strategic narrative to make a difference.

Various policies can take place under a strategic narrative/ master strategy (e.g. War on terror and middle power diplomacy).

#### Evelyn GOH

Strategic diplomacy serves the greater purpose of

national interest or regional order rather than day-to-day issues. The global war on terror is a successful strategic label put forward by one hegemon and powerfully impacted various states’ policies.

The strategic narrative of the U.S. rebalance to Asia is global strategic re-prioritization to make Asia its primary region of interest. However, the U.S. is pursuing uncontested goals in the rebalance:

- Goal 1** Reassure U.S. allies in the region about its commitment.
- Goal 2** Deter China and encourage its peaceful integration into the U.S.-led system.
- Goal 3** Preserve U.S. leadership in the region.

Goal 1 had the unintended consequence of making allies such as the Philippines take riskier actions than before, which hindered achieving Goal 2 and made the U.S. take stronger measures than originally intended. Goal 3 was the most problematic. It is impossible to persuade the rising power to accept the status quo of U.S. hegemony without strategic





MOON Chung-in Jochen PRANTL Evelyn GOH PARK Cheol-hee HUANG Jing

diplomacy. Also, China's response to these goals may be non-linear and disproportional to U.S. actions, which requires a strategic diplomacy perspective to be understood.

We need to equip ourselves on how to deal with today's complex system. Government agencies are separated into different realms (security, economics, etc), but this does not tackle problems as strategic diplomacy can.

New Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD): The U.S. standard of living and democracy depends on China's ability to keep financing U.S. debt.

In order to tailor its strategic narrative, Korea needs to understand its diverse audience: Domestic, American, Chinese, and etc.

**PARK Cheol-hee**

South Korea has pursued consistent diplomatic goals, despite through different means. From the peninsula scope, South Korea aims to solve the North Korea question and change the status quo to its own advantage to denuclearize and peacefully reunify the peninsula. From the regional scope, it seeks to maintain regional peace and prosperity by preventing a revisionist state or a single dominant power on the basis of its alliance with the U.S. From the global scope, South Korea seeks to feature itself as a globally important power in different realms (e.g. security, military, economics and soft power).

South Korea faces several geopolitical challenges. One is the rise of China, a sometimes assertive gradual modifier. Others are Japan's quest to become a "normal" country and a nuclear North Korea.

The Park administration has made risky choices,

such as making the impression of tilting too much toward China at the expense of Japan, which is undesirable considering economic relations and Japan's role in dealing with the North Korean problem. The broken dialogue with Japan despite U.S. encouragement for better relations created a weak strategic link in the Korea-China-Japan trilateral triangle, jeopardizing South Korea from achieving its own goals in NAPCI (Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative). Park has also abandoned the Korea Peninsula Trust Process and is currently only promoting the reunification narrative. However, the Park administration is now slowly gaining momentum for balance and is trying to correct past mistakes, starting from last autumn. One example is the agreement on comfort women with Japan by reaching a mutually agreeable point with Prime Minister Shinzo Abe.

South Korea needs to realistically recognize China's lack of will to cooperate in solving the North Korea nuclear problem, and with business relations with China getting more competitive than complimentary, it cannot remain complacent. Also, South Korea should temporarily pressure North Korea as a penalty for recent provocative behavior.

The Park administration faces the challenges of changed domestic politics after the general election and a weakened global position.

Strategic diplomacy requires a clear control center, but it is not clear who is leading, and there is no serious debate in the Blue House about strategic diplomacy. The government lacks dialogue with the public to help it understand the language.

Korea can do better in strategic diplomacy with its various assets, such as flexible dynamics in diplomacy, internationalized human resources and



soft power.

**HUANG Jing**

The U.S. and China are engaged in different relations in two current global trends. In international economic integration, they have common interests, while in increasing diversity and multi-polarity, they have conflicting interests.

While China promotes an infrastructure-led development model (e.g. OBOR, AIIB), the U.S. wants to maintain its dominant role and hegemony of the dollar (e.g. TPP, TTIP).

China is promoting three dimensions of strategic diplomacy. First, by proclaiming a new type of relationship between "major countries," it seeks equal footing in global agenda-setting and rule making, and the institutionalization of its relationship with the U.S. Second, it is letting the economy take command in the development of a "community of common destiny" to develop joint economic development to promote "same-boat" common interests (OBOR, AIIB and etc.), and establish a collective security mechanism based on these common interests. Third, it is pursuing a Global Strategic Partnership Network (GSPN).

China's propaganda tries to promote the difference between the U.S. and China, stating that the U.S. alliance system is ideologically driven, militarily confrontational, exclusive, unequal and with a dominant role; meanwhile, China's GSPN is driven by interests or by value, but for cooperation and not confrontation, and is inclusive (e.g., SCO, APEC, ASEAN), thus having equal footing.

China has much more No. 1 trading partners than the U.S., many of which are the latter's allies. This serves the argument that China should be more powerful. However, even though Japan, South Korea and Australia have China as their No.1 trading partner, they align policies with the U.S., which is a sign of U.S. hegemony. Therefore, China pursues a circumventive hegemony strategy instead of confronting the existing one (China has a long history of pursuing this strategy).

China, governed under a single party rule, can make decisions easily, but experiences difficulties in implementation. On the other hand, Korea, in which strong political opposition is prevalent, finds it difficult to have bipartisan agreements in decision making, but once agreed upon, policies are implemented consistently.

# Globalization before Neoliberalism: The Silk Roads and Global Asia in the Ancient World

## Jeju Peace Institute / The New School / Nanyang Technological University

Moderator	<b>L.H.M. LING</b> Professor, International Affairs, Milano School of International Affairs, Management, and Urban Policy, The New School
Presenter & Discussant	<b>LIM Tai Wei</b> Senior Lecturer, Singapore Institute of Management
	<b>Naoko KUMADA</b> Research Fellow, S.Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore
	<b>Payal BANERJEE</b> Professor, Smith College, U.S.
	<b>Alan CHONG</b> Associate Professor, S.Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore
	<b>DOH Jong-yoon</b> Research Fellow, Jeju Peace Institute
Rapporteur	<b>LEE Young-joo</b> Doctor of Philosophy, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies

### L.H.M. LING

The Silk Road Ethos means learning from others in the world. The Silk Road is significant not only in its relevance to China's "One Belt, One Road" initiative but also from ancient perspectives. Globalization today, as it becomes neoliberalized, denies diversity, only believing in a uniform standard, and its hegemony reigns over all others. The ancient meanings of the Silk Road include difference, pluralism, mutuality, respect and responsibility. The Silk Road is about travelers getting together in an oasis town along the Silk Route to rest and socialize with each another. We need a global oasis that will help us reflect on differences, not deny them. It can serve as a platform of integration where people will learn from each other. The ancient Silk Road has many implications. The exchange of food through the Silk Road means the exchange of knowledge as well as the trade of goods across different borders. The ancient Silk Road lay the groundwork for a political culture from the bottom up. Play and performance are also important from the political perspective. Silk Road projects are capable of creat-

ing a new world. Fear and denial can be overcome by learning. Relational oases were formed along the ancient Silk Road. They need to be explored if that will be possible in the future.

### LIM Tai Wei

Cheng Ho, the greatest Chinese admiral-voyager of all time, was a pioneer of the "Maritime Silk Road." In particular, it is important to identify the implications of the legacies of the "Maritime Silk Road," as shown in Cheng Ho's artifacts in the Maritime Museum Melaka, for the contemporary world. Many of Cheng Ho's historical records have been lost. Interest in the Silk Road has grown enormously since former President Hu Jintao announced China's "One Belt, One Road" initiative. A spatial review of the arrangement of collections in the Maritime Museum Melaka plus interviews of related persons are necessary for the study of Cheng Ho. The warehouse-turned Maritime Museum Melaka features five narrative themes. Cheng Ho's expedition to the west was not just for plundering or occupation. It was also conducted for peace-



ful purposes. The size of the Maritime Museum Melaka and its collection is a proof of how large and advanced Cheng Ho's fleet was.

### Naoko KUMADA

An examination of a new order formed in the periphery, or the process of creating something new, is also a study of the transformation of something outside into something central. In this context, a study to rediscover the Silk Road gives various meanings to the response to, and acceptance of, political and economic differences. The way something from the outside has been transformed into something new

and replaced existing models is also related to the metaphor of the Silk Road. In this respect, we studied an ethnic group in the conflict-torn Kachin State in northern Myanmar. The ethnic group, forcibly relocated by the state, were scattered to the seven regions of Myanmar. East Asia used to be perceived in the past as the area between China and India. The Kachins living in a mountainous region, are a political minority, and were deemed less civilized. A scholar, Edmund Leach, described the Kachin area and its people as uncivilized. The Kachin area refers to a region lying to the south of Silk Road. East Asia is set to play a central role now that Myanmar



has opened up to the outside world, and China has risen to a superpower status.

**Payal BANERJEE**

The Silk Road Ethos suggests various ideas and directions. The effectiveness of the Silk Road Ethos will help scholars develop alternative perspectives for their research, be it political or historical. But the Silk Road Ethos does not justify us in seeing the past as ideal. It is difficult to understand the Silk Road Ethos from the perspectives of Eurocentrism or Orientalism. The Silk Road Ethos may create new narratives about relations among countries in the region. China and India has been in manifold relationships from the perspective of the Silk Road Ethos. The Silk Road ethos is significant not only from a traditional, but also a contemporary viewpoint. We are doing research into current relations between India and China by using this methodology. In a departure from traditional research, focused on the relationship between countries' transnational relations, the research based on the Silk Road Ethos produces more diverse conclusions by paying attention to the shared experiences of China and India.

**Alan CHONG**

I will introduce to you a book, The story of Abdullah's voyage to Mekah, written by Malayan writer Abdullah Bin Abdul Kadir to criticize globalization. The book is written from ethical, political and economic viewpoints. The perspective of an ethical political economy deals with the ethics of a political economy, so to speak, the question of whether the increase of colonial trade would destabilize the life of citizens. The book also looks into prosperity through social contracts. Abdullah pointed out to Malay leaders the merits and demerits of the British system. Abdullah warned of the possibility of the decline of the Malay civilization. Abdullah's book has various implications for the present.

**DOH Jong-yoon**

In the past, the Maritime Silk Road reached as far as the Korean Peninsula. Legend has it that Heo Hwang-ok, the wife King Suro of the ancient Gaya kingdom, was a princess of a distant Indian kingdom called Ayuta. Shilla, another Korean ancient

kingdom, was also frequented by Arab merchants. Trade between East and West was active through the Silk Road on the sea that extended to the Korean Peninsula.

■■■  
**Policy Implications**

- Unlike traditional research methods, the Silk Road Ethos-based research looks into various relationships.
- The Silk Road Ethos provides new ideas and perspectives.



Chapter **TWO**

PROSPERITY



[ Dialogue with Joe KAESER, CEO of Siemens AG ]

# A Unified Korea Finds Its Future in Business Enterprise

## Jeju Peace Institute / Korea Human Development Institute

MC **PARK Sang-mi** Professor, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies  
 Keynote Speaker **Joe KAESER** President & CEO, Siemens AG  
 Interviewer **YEOM Jae-ho** President, Korea University  
 Rapporteur **KIM Jong Hyun** Student, George Mason University

- Very few countries have prospered as greatly as South Korea and Germany have since the end of World War II with the period being referred to as the “Miracle on the Han River” and “Miracle on the Rhine,” respectively. The South Korean economy grew 400 times larger during that period.
- As for Germany, the unification took 40 years, happening in 1989 at a time when no one was expecting it to occur. The fall of the Berlin Wall marked the end of an era, but also the beginning of real substantial work. Along with the solidarity tax, large enterprises took responsibility and leadership in rebuilding East Germany. As a result in 1991 less than nine months after the fall, Siemens had already hired more than 20,000 former East Germans. However, the rebuilding process has had many challenges, and it is a continuing process as the area of former East Germany still lags behind economically.
- Siemens currently operates in over 200 countries around the world, which gives the company a fairly good idea of why some countries prosper and some do not. Those who adapt to change will prosper, and those who do not will fall be-

hind. Along with adaptability, a strong industrial base is needed in order to create jobs. Manufacturing accounts for 70 percent of global trade. In turn, South Korea has adapted greatly due to its manufacturing industry.

- In the digital age, a country or a company can adapt to change through robust education and innovation. Talent is not enough. Skills have to be developed through discipline. Digital skills have to be taught as immediately as early kindergarten.
- The way to foster and manage innovation is also a key. Companies have to combine the stability and know-how of a big company with the flexibility and speed of a startup.
- The most important prerequisite of adaptability is the mindset. Switzerland for five years in a row has been ranked number one in global innovation. That is due to the ability of Swiss people to adapt to change. They have been adapting to change all of their lives.
- The last thing is to create an ownership culture. Owners act differently than employees. They work hard to make the company a whole and successful. They think about the long-term



Joe KAESER



YEOM Jae-ho

aspects. They are willing to go the extra mile. More than 90 percent of 350,000 employees in Siemens by becoming shareholders of a global company have said, “We are willing to go the extra mile.”

- An ownership culture is what we need. We do not know how digitalization will affect the rest of society in the long term. The internet has no boundaries. The regulations have to be supranational.
- Changes coming our way will require us to reinvent our business and do things differently from how we have done them in the past. We need to be robust with our education. We need the mindset of owners, reasonable people who will bring peace and prosperity to the future. They care about the environment. Everyone must know why they have to get up in the morning.

## Policy Implications

- Countries and companies need to adapt to change in order to prosper.
- Unification of the two Koreas will take generations in terms of time, billions of dollars, and a complete rebuilding of the infrastructure.
- The focus has to be put on education. Digital skills have to be taught starting at an early age. Also, the focus should not just be on facts, but creating innovation and fostering it.
- Innovation has to be fostered through cooperation and interaction.
- The way to interact with teams and people is analog. Communication is not digital.
- Communicating to get something to work is an intense dialogue. Social intelligence to get something done will make the difference.
- An adaptable mindset is a necessity. Individuals have to own up to change and own up to responsibility.

[ Dialogue with J.B. STRAUBEL, CTO of Tesla Motors ]

# Revolutionary Changes EVs Will Bring to Our Lives

## Jeju Special Self-Governing Province / Jeju Peace Institute

MC **PARK Sang-mi** Professor, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies  
 Keynote Speaker **J. B. STRAUBEL** CTO & Co-Founder, Tesla Motors  
 Interviewer **WON Heeryong** Governor, Jeju Special Self-Governing Province  
 Rapporteur **Darren Southcott** Visiting Professor, Jeju National University of Education

### WON Heeryong

Tesla is pushing for the popularization of electric vehicles with its affordable Model 3 and even investing in self-driving cars. My understanding is that Tesla's Gigafactory now under construction will be powered completely by renewable energy sources, such as solar, geothermal and wind energy. Would you tell us about Tesla's plans for the future (the renewable energy and EV market of 2030) and basic strategies to carry out the plan?

The future Tesla is envisioning seems to be almost the same as Jeju has. Mr. Straubel, you have noted the crucial impacts of climate change and emphasized the importance of the mission to reduce carbon dioxide emissions. Jeju Island is also pursuing "energy for peace." As a pioneer of the Green Big Bang, would you give us advice on the Green Big Bang and Carbon-Free-Island projects and how to make the island a smart one with clean technology? Did you know about Jeju's plans? What are your views on reducing carbon emissions on Jeju and in Korea?

We now see the fourth industrial revolution taking more concrete shape with the remarkable development of artificial intelligence. What do you expect about cars with artificial intelligence? What do you

think about the self-driving cars of Google and Apple? Can it bring a revolutionary change to our lives? And how can Jeju and Korea adapt to this new age? How will it influence the evolution of cars and automobiles? Is full automation possible? The Model 3 has an autopilot function – can you comment on strategies Tesla has and its relationship with Google?

Tesla is known to have received more than 400,000 pre-orders for the Model 3. I know that Model S and Model X are soon to be introduced in Korea. The Korean government and the Jeju Provincial Government are making strenuous efforts to distribute electric vehicles and expecting concrete results, soon. As a global pioneer of the EV market, what kind of policies would you like to suggest to the Korean government and Jeju Island for the wider distribution of EVs?

To my understanding, Tesla is using batteries supplied by the Panasonic Corporation. I guess that Tesla has a great demand for batteries. In connection with battery supply, do you have any plans for cooperative ties with Korean firms such as LG Chem and Samsung SDI?

I think Tesla and Jeju Island have a lot to collaborate on in the future. What would you say if I sug-



J. B. STRAUBEL



WON Heeryong

gest Jeju Island as a Northeast Asian hub of Tesla's EVs? Do you have anything planned for cooperation with Jeju?

In March every year, Jeju Island holds the International Electric Vehicle Expo (IEVE), in which EV producers discuss new possibilities and ideas, and exchange information. Many people look forward to an opportunity to find out about the new products of Tesla and its futuristic high technologies at the Expo. Do you have an intention to join the fourth Expo in 2017?

### J. B. STRAUBEL

CO<sub>2</sub> levels are now the highest they have been for a million years and 2016 is the hottest year on record. This is not a deviation but a worrying trend that is caused by burning fossil fuels and leading to not only rising temperatures but many currently unknown negative consequences.

Tesla is directly involved in how we can decarbonise and this is what inspires Tesla. We want to accelerate the world's transition to sustainable transportation and energy. We defined our brand from the beginning by our focus on performance - we have convinced people that EVs could compete head to head with gasoline on handling, range and power. That changed people's perceptions leading to the resurgence of interest in EVs around the world.

The advances were based on battery and technology development. In the mid-2000s, battery energy was 330 watt-hours per litre, but ten years later it had roughly doubled to provide twice the energy in the same space. This enabled EVs to compete with gasoline, increase EV range from 100 to 200 miles and improve handling and performance.

Our innovations includes being the first to use lithium ion batteries in the Roadstar, a consumer





electronics technology we were told would never work in vehicles. Our Model S has the battery as the core component creating a low center of gravity, improving handling and safety significantly. The Model S has a touchscreen in the cockpit to control windows, seats and lights as well as maps and music like a consumer electronics device. Wireless software updates means we can add features to improve performance and remotely service problems. The Model S surprised even us - we set out to build the best car in the world and achieved it.

We want to change energy use and bringing the cost down is essential to that. The Model S was half the Roadstar cost, and the Model 3 is half again at US\$35,000 with a 215 mile range. The launch reception has been amazing with unprecedented

interest showing that there is massive demand for EVs as people want clean and green tech.

Key to lowering costs is the Gigafactory 1.0 which will have 50 gigawatt-hours in annual battery production by 2020, enough for 500,000 Tesla cars. The factory is powered by renewables and has net zero carbon emissions. The Gigafactory enables production from supply scale raw materials to finished battery packs in one factory, reducing logistics and overheads.

It is the largest in the world and will contribute towards creating a new economy for new energy products. We have already adapted this technology to different energy storage products such as the Powerwall (residential) and Powerpack (Commercial and industrial) which enables people to store

unused energy at home rather than sell it back to the grid and use fossil fuels at night. We can also do that with cars by intelligently storing energy and feeding back to the grid. This is not science fiction. It exists today.

As the process costs for renewables decline, we are seeing renewables contracts that are cheaper than coal and electricity. In Kauai, Hawaii, we are developing a utility scale solar storage system to deliver fixed energy at times of low solar energy to the grid at a cheaper cost than fossil fuels equivalent. Solar plus battery is cheaper than incremental fossil fuel generation. There is no reason we cannot scale this up. We can eliminate 100 percent of US fossil fuel use just by using this amount of land for solar energy. This is an exciting time even com-

pared to five or ten years ago. Storage technology has allowed this to happen.

Jeju's carbon-free vision is compelling and the island is a unique case of a test-bed that can be replicated across the world. Improvements in energy storage mean there is massive potential in renewable energy and we have to combine renewable energy, storage and electric vehicles as you can't do it with just one piece of the puzzle.

AI and self-driving are going to have a huge impact on society. Computers have not done very well historically at interpreting images, but the software is improving at an incredible rate as algorithms allow us to look at large data sets. Perhaps one of the biggest benefits is safety as automated driving can alert people to accidents. We already see a 50 percent improvement in safety and the end vision is a vehicle that does not allow itself to crash. It is natural that software companies are jumping into AI and there is definitely a race, but it is an exciting time. Progress is even faster than in renewable energies.

In Korea, there is fairly good and growing EV infrastructure, but I cannot say much more about Tesla's plans in the Korean market for now. We work with a diverse supply base across the world and there is great capability in Korea. We have companies all across the world seeing how they can get involved. They have the same vision and they want to participate in EV growth.

### ■ ■ ■ Policy Implications

- Improve charging infrastructure for more convenient EV use.
- Incentivise Tesla's entry into the Korean market.
- High performance and low cost are crucial to market success.
- Ensure smart energy infrastructures are fully integrated with EVs and renewable energies.
- Ensure EVs are running on renewable energies by installing latest energy storage systems.
- Provide subsidies for households and businesses to take advantage of renewable technologies.



# The Future of Asian Startup Ecosystem

## Jeju Special Self-Governing Province / Bigbang Angels

Moderator	<b>KIM Seok-ki</b> Partner, Bigbang Angels
Presenter	<b>Joeri GIANOTTEN</b> Partner, AccelerAsia <b>Jeffrey LIM</b> Head, Google Campus Seoul <b>David LI</b> Director, Shenzhen Open Innovation Lab <b>JEONG Ji-hoon</b> Managing Partner, Bigbang Angels
Discussant	<b>HWANG Byung-sun</b> CEO, Bigbang Angels
Rapporteur	<b>SOHN U-rim</b> Communication Manager, Bigbang Angels

### Joeri GIANOTTEN

In Southeast Asia including Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam, about 600 million people actively use social media. As 480 million more people in the region are expected to use the Internet by 2020, there could be many business opportunities in the Southeast Asian market. Startup businesses have to realize their potential and overcome obstacles at the same time. When I started AccelerAsia six years ago, it was hard even to find talented people, but now, we have secured many promising enterprises worthy of investment and expanded funding sources on top of Series A Funding. Most of the CEOs of the enterprises are not Singaporean nationals. Redmart was founded by a Briton, and Grab by a Chinese person. I think that the Singaporean government made a good decision in inviting foreign entrepreneurs.

### Jeffrey LIM

Google Campus Seoul, which opened last year, is a place where business entrepreneurs gather to develop their businesses. Google Campus Seoul

regards community as an important factor for business opportunity and has arranged a space for exchanges among these entrepreneurs. It is making efforts to give them substantial support and help them advance into the global market. The number of those who have joined the Google Campus Seoul surpassed 13,000 for the last year, and it has offered more than 450 programs and events. Nine entrepreneurs have graduated from the campus so far, and seven startups are nestled in it. They have succeeded in attracting 12.1 billion Korean Won in investments and have graduated from the campus after increasing their business size by 2.3 times. There are six Google Campuses around the world, and another one is to open in Sao Paulo.

### David LI

According to a Gartner report, 5 billion devices are connected to the IoT(Internet of Things), and 25 billion connected things are expected to be in use by 2050. What counts here is that half of the connected things will be produced by new enterprises to be created in the next two years. It is intriguing to



imagine what kinds of new IoT companies will be born. People are exploring new fields of business with new visions. As they can share many things through the Internet, many more people joined it, achieving huge growth in the industry. The older operators of Internet businesses know that failures in market entry have been vastly reduced. Startups are open to everyone, and all of them can accomplish something.

### JEONG Ji-hoon

Korea does not have favorable conditions for starting new businesses. As there is little risk capital, unlike the case of Silicon Valley, startups are locked

in a vicious circle. There are many steps startups have to take in order to grow. A task lying ahead is to redress malpractices and assist the promising businesses. It might be rational to assist the larger scale ventures to advance to the global market and help smaller ones to survive the startup ecosystem. The incubators of startups, D. Camp, MARU 180 and Google Campus Seoul have helped them a lot, with other accelerators supporting them. Venture capital is starting to produce meaningful results, and there are more cases of entry of foreign venture capital into Korea. The industry is expecting a second venture business boom.



## [ Q &amp; A ]

**Q.** Please tell us what merits and demerits your countries have from the perspective of a startup ecosystem.

**A. Jeffrey LIM** The merits of Korea are as follows. First, it has a market favorable to startups. I think the application, content and commerce markets are big enough. They have an environment for a startup to survive, at least. Second, it has good conditions to start a business. Third, the startups have willingness to go abroad, with some trying to advance to Chinese and European markets.

**A. Joeri GIANOTTEN** I think Singapore has merit, in that they have an outstanding infrastructure and communicate in English. It is the best place for startups, as it has technological experts and mentors.

**A. David LI** China's merit is that there are many of those hungry. This explains why the entrepreneurship emerges in China. There are many startups which do not receive supports of venture capital in China, and only 0.05 percent of the startups strive to grow into a dominant company.

**A. JEONG Ji-hoon** The market size of Korea is neither big, nor small. It is not a small market for those who prepare for entry into the global major market, but it is a small market for those who target niche items. The current policies for the ecosystem should be improved, as there are too many regulations on the market. A new business should create greater value by destroying the existing one. It is important to create an Asian or global startup ecosystem for those who have good business items but have to make a direct advance to the global market due to the adverse conditions of the local market.

**Q.** Please explain about the business conditions and environment of each country.

**A. David LI** In the past, attention was focused on the American and European markets but there are now more opportunities in Africa and the Middle East. In the past, the startups had to go abroad, but the situation has changed much. As the barriers in the international market have

been removed, it is the time to consider how to cooperate.

**A. JEONG Ji-hoon** There are many international students in Korea, but they have very limited space to play their roles. Everything depends on people, after all. If the people with different nationalities make exchanges and share ideas with each other, it would expand the market. It is necessary to activate the human exchanges and provide more exchange programs for the startup industry. In this respect, the central and local governments have much to do for the startups.

### ■■■ Policy Implications

- So far, attention has been focused on the entry of Korean startups into foreign markets, but from now on, Korea should be a hub of startups that can attract foreign entrepreneurs.

- To produce global-level startup company, all of those in the startup ecosystem should make a concerted effort. Now that the barriers in the international market have been removed, we should consider measures for international cooperation. Startups should also examine how the older generation made economic development and learn lessons from this.

# National Action Plan on Business and Human Rights

## National Human Rights Commission of Korea (NHRCK)

<b>Moderator</b>	<b>CHO Young-ho</b> Director, Human Rights Policy Division, NHRCK
<b>Opening Remarks</b>	<b>LEE Sung-ho</b> Chairperson, NHRCK
<b>Presenter</b>	<b>SHIM Sang-don</b> Director-General, Policy and Education Bureau, NHRCK
<b>Discussant</b>	<b>LEE Sung-hoon</b> Executive Director, Korea Human Rights Foundation <b>JE Cheol-ung</b> Professor, Hanyang University School of Law <b>Ana Beatriz MARTINS</b> Vice Ambassador, Delegation of the EU to the ROK <b>Lea Stubbe TEALBJAERG</b> First Secretary, Embassy of Denmark to the ROK
<b>Rapporteur</b>	<b>JO Gyeong-jae</b> NAP Officer, NHRCK

### ■ Background of Establishing NAP and Its Necessity

As the social influence of business enterprises grows and more attention is given to human rights management, there are increasing calls on businesses worldwide to protect and respect these rights. At the same time, countries around the world are institutionalizing human rights-oriented business operations, acting on a consensus on the universal value of the respect and protection of human rights, and on the necessity of measures to address risks that compromise them. Business enterprises also declare their will to practice human rights management under their own human rights policies.

Especially after the UN announced guidelines on National Action Plans (NAP) on Business and Human Rights in 2011, governments, corporate enterprises, civic groups and international organizations accepted them, thus settling it as an international norm on business and human rights. As a result, the attention of international society and advanced countries were directed to how the guidelines will be implemented.

It was suggested that countries develop the NAP

program and implement it as a measure to put the guidelines into practice and spread them. In 2013, the EU advised its member countries to introduce their own NAP on businesses and human rights, and in 2014 the UN issued guidance on the development of national action plans. Since then, many countries have set up NAP on businesses and human rights or plan to do so. Thus, it has become an obligation to comply with the norm of international society.

The G-7 meeting (in Germany on June 7-8, 2015) issued a statement that supported NAP on businesses and human rights, after acknowledging the efforts to introduce it.

Previously, Korean governments have initiated various policies on businesses and human rights through revisions of the laws on commerce, labor, labor unions, consumers and the National Commission of Human Rights of Korea, but failed to maintain consistency in their policies. The NAP on businesses and human rights was designed to assist countries in maintaining consistency and improving the effectiveness of their policies on businesses



CHO Young-ho LEE Sung-ho SHIM Sang-don



LEE Sung-hoon JE Cheol-ung Ana Beatriz MARTINS Lea Stubbe TEALBJAERG



and human rights so that corporations may make sustainable growth by strengthening their global competitiveness based on human rights-friendly business activities.

#### ■ Objectives of NAP on Businesses and Human Rights

The objective is to contribute to the improvement of human rights in our society by preventing violations by business corporations, and helping businesses engage in human rights-friendly activities.

The NAP on businesses and human rights is aimed at encouraging the former to implement human rights management. According to the guidelines, human rights management means that enterprises should declare their human rights policies, fulfill their obligations to put the declaration into practice, monitor whether it is observed and provide remedies for the victims of human rights violations.

- Business corporations should express their commitment to the protection of human rights in their declarations. They should make promises in public that they will implement human rights management.
- Business corporations should fulfill their obligations of due diligence on human rights conditions. The obligations encompass the activities of businesses to identify risks of human rights violations, to take preventive and remedial measures and to share all the due diligence processes with stakeholders.
- Business corporations should ensure access to a remedy for human rights violations.

The ultimate purpose of NAP on businesses and human rights is to help the former establish their own human rights management system.

#### ■ Major Tasks of NAP on Businesses and Human Rights

For business corporations to establish a human rights-based management system, they should take a strategic approach to the issue in consideration of the business line and its size.

#### ■ Institutionalization of Human Rights Management at Public Agencies

The government should directly ask the heads of

public institutions to implement human rights management and make public the results.

The performance of the management of the public agencies established by or operated by central and local governments should be evaluated by the criteria on human rights management.

As businesses have no legal responsibility for respect of human rights, it is impossible to enforce them to implement human rights management.

Various programs to promote human rights management should be developed. For instance, they include provision of information and guidelines; educational and publicizing efforts, jointly with consumer groups and businesses, to forge a public opinion in favor of the companies initiating it; activities to publicize model cases of human rights management and to support them; the introduction of the obligation of businesses to make public their non-financial information; and measures to weigh human rights aspects in evaluating bidders in public procurement.

There should be a plan to monitor whether a policy indirectly encouraging human rights management has actually changed the practices of larger businesses, and the individual policies should be improved based on the results of monitoring.

### ■■■ Policy Implications

- The government should institutionalize human rights management at the public agencies to the end of having them declare policies for this; fulfill their duties to implement and monitor it; and make the results public.
- The Korea Trade Insurance Corporation, the export credit agency of Korea, is required to evaluate human rights impacts in screening applications for assistance for exports.
- Public financial institutions such as the Korea Development Bank and the Industrial Bank of Korea are required to establish criteria to evaluate human rights impacts in their decisions on the provision of public funds.
- The Export-Import Bank of Korea and Korea International Cooperation Agency should assess human rights impacts when engaging in Official Development Assistance projects.
- The National Pension Service and Korea Investment Corporation should consider human rights impacts when deciding on investment in a certain business corporation.



# New Horizon for Northeast Asian Tourism: Increasing Inbound Flows through Trilateral Cooperation

## Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat (TCS)

Moderator	<b>Akima UMEZAWA</b> Deputy Secretary-General, TCS
Presenter	<b>KIM Jin Hwal</b> Director, Overseas Marketing, Korea Tourism Organization (KTO) <b>Eiichiro OISHI</b> Director, Overseas Promotion Division, Japan National Tourism Organization (JNTO) <b>LI Baorong</b> Director, Seoul Branch, China National Tourism Administration (CNTA) <b>LEE Gye Hee</b> Professor, Tourism Department, Kyunghee University <b>Bradley BRENNAN</b> Professor, Business Department, Inha University
Rapporteur	<b>Hyemin KIM</b> Socio-Cultural Affairs Officer, TCS

- Speakers introduced the current state of inbound tourism in China, Japan and Korea. In Korea, the percentage of inbound tourists from North America and Europe is less than 10 percent. Similarly, most visitors from China and Japan are from within the region. Through tourism cooperation, the three countries are exploring potential marketing tools for increasing the number of visitors who come to China, Japan and Korea from outside East Asia.
- The session reviewed policies for inbound tourism in China, Japan and Korea. For example, the Japanese government will strengthen the content of tourism products and expand “Low Cost Carriers (LCC)” and cruise routes to meet the goal of attracting 30 million visitors to the country by 2020.
- During the session, the main purpose for inbound tourists’ visits to China, Japan and Korea was described. In the case of Japan, for instance, most visitors from neighboring countries made the trip for shopping, while the objective of long-haul visits were mainly for experiencing culture and

history. For Korea, world cultural heritages and K-pop culture were a few of the major sources of attraction.

- The impact of tourism on general society and the region as well as its significance as a high value-added industry were mentioned. The tourism industry is a driving force of the creative economy, as it contributes to economic development, creates jobs, generates added value and enhances the quality of life for the general public.
- The session suggested the possibility of attracting a large body of inbound tourists from North America and Europe in alignment with large-scale international events like the forthcoming Winter Olympics, Rugby World Cup and Kansai World Masters Games.
- Developing a unique and distinguishable brand of regional tourism and improving visa and transportation systems are significant issues for facilitating trilateral cooperation in tourism among China, Japan and Korea.
- Unlike in the instances of regional tourism cooperation in Europe, Central America and the U.S.-



Akima UMEZAWA

KIM Jin Hwal

Eiichiro OISHI

LI Baorong

LEE Gye Hee

Bradley BRENNAN

Canada, cooperation among China, Japan and Korea has challenges such as different languages and physical separation by the ocean that needs to be overcome through developing innovative strategies.

- Visit East Asia Campaign, a follow-up measure of the 7<sup>th</sup> Trilateral Tourism Ministers Meeting, was discussed as a measure to increase multi-

destination visits to China, Japan and Korea.

- China-Japan-Korea trilateral cooperation in tourism is difficult to achieve within a short time-frame, and consistent efforts are called for.

## Policy Implications

- Visit East Asia Campaign* has much potential to increase inbound tourism to China, Japan and Korea by creating a synergy effect. Specifically, trilateral cooperation in tourism through regional block-marketing would reduce the burden on the budgets for all three countries.
- Promotion of theme-oriented tourism products would help attract inbound tourists from North America and Europe. One example of such theme-oriented tourism would be education and youth tourism which has a growing pool of consumers and may serve as a niche market in the three countries.
- There are on-going efforts among CNTA, JNTO and KTO overseas branches to strengthen trilateral cooperation in the tourism industry (e.g. signing of MOUs between National Tourism Organization overseas branches, joint promotion activities, and operation of FAM tours).
- The session suggested selecting representative tourism products from China, Japan and Korea for co-promotion and con-

ducting a survey on customer demand. Other ideas such as creating a pre-paid card system that can be used in all three countries were also brought out. In addition, it was noted that tourism cooperation among local cities is called for.

- Information acquired online and via first-hand trip reviews in social media during the initial stages of planning trips has become critical for travelers, and this is closely connected to developing successful marketing strategies. In this light, conducting data mining research can help determine where customer demand lies in the context of East Asian tourism industry.
- The session proposed developing common cruise routes among the three countries to overcome the obstacle of geographic separation by oceans.
- Developing a mechanism to enable communication between CNTA, JNTO and KTO overseas branches and headquarters would help enhance cooperation and avoid overlaps.
- There is a need to develop technical plans and strategies for trilateral cooperation in tourism among China, Japan and Korea, through existing mechanisms and at the Trilateral Tourism Ministers Meeting.

# Government Innovation: Collaborative Governance and Open Government

## Korea Institute of Public Administration (KIPA) / UN Project Office on Governance (UNPOG)

<b>Moderator</b>	<b>KIM Shin</b> Director, Center for International Public Cooperation, KIPA
<b>Presenter</b>	<b>EUN Jaeho</b> Research Fellow, KIPA
	<b>Nick FOBIH</b> Professor, Central University College, Ghana
<b>Discussant</b>	<b>LUONG Thu Hien</b> Vice Director of Department of International Cooperation, Ho Chi Minh National Academy of Politics
	<b>Kherlen BADARCH</b> Professor, Mongolia Academy of Management
	<b>KIM Sangmook</b> Professor, Seoul National University of Science and Technology
	<b>PARK Hee Bong</b> Professor, Chung-Ang University
<b>Rapporteur</b>	<b>YUN Chang Rok</b> Associate Capacity Development Expert, UNPOG

- Government innovation, by enabling efficient and effective public service delivery and promoting citizen engagement, can play a pivotal role in achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).
- As the world assesses progress in the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals and looks ahead to the implementation of the 2030 agenda for sustainable development, the discussion around building effective, accountable and inclusive public administration is receiving ever growing attention.
- As a critical means for promoting effective and transparent government, governance should be recognized as: 1) a leadership strategy 2) a decision making tool 3) a strategy for promoting citizen consultation, participation and empowerment 4) a catalyst for effective delivery of public services 5) a crucial means for responsible and accountable public administration and 6) a management strategy for ensuring efficiency & effectiveness.
- Developing countries around the world, including Ghana, are confronted with various challenges in the state's institutional framework such as:
  - Corruption
  - Ineffective organization structure which has a high chance of resulting in corruption
  - Lack of consultation with or participation from citizens in the policy making process
  - No serious effort to strengthen democracy
  - Lack of policy continuity
- Due to widespread corruption and abuse of power in developing countries, donor countries must pay attention to monitoring transparent use of donated funds.
- According to research on citizen's participation in government policy-making in Korea, it was found, at the central level, that the lack of a related legal framework and low motivation of appointed officials are likely to result in a low



KIM Shin

EUN Jaeho

Nick FOBIH

LUONG Thu Hien



Kherlen BADARCH

KIM Sangmook

PARK Hee Bong





degree of delegated power and citizen participation. However, at regional and local levels, it was found that citizens have more chances to participate than at the central level, because legal frameworks are comparatively well established and appointed officials are exposed more often to citizen's requests and complaints.

- Considering the importance of civil participation and relatively low degree of actual participation in Korea, the government needs to make more consistent efforts to change civil servants' perceptions.
- A citizens' participation strategy needs to be sharply tailored to each level of government. In the case of Korea, government officials at the central level prefer citizens' indirect engagement in government policy-making, through consultation meetings to direct engagement in citizens' voting. In this respect, it would be more effective

### Policy Implications

- Though it is true that democracy is promoted with active civic participation, democracy without the support of economic development and social stability may result in unfavorable social unrest, as seen in the case of Korea. Therefore, when countries design national development strategies, they should take into account political, economic and social development in a balanced way.
- When governance is viewed in light of collaborative and harmonious decision-making among the government, private sector and the public, one of the greatest challenges in ensuring good governance is that officials should recognize themselves as supervisors of the other two sides in the decision-making process. It is essential to have a correct understanding that all three parties are complementary in making effective citizen-oriented policies.
- For successful research on collaborative governance in developing countries, the following prerequisites in society should be fulfilled or at least be considered in drawing up final results:
  - Information asymmetry among members of society brings about social inequality, which acts as a significant impediment to collaborative governance. Therefore, a minimized information gap between the haves and have-nots should be ensured.
  - Citizens, to some extent, should be seeking the public interest, and not be just obsessed with private interests.
  - Members of society should have shared visions and goals

in reflecting citizens' actual choices if members of consulting committees are recommended by civic groups rather than by government officials.

for national development, even in the midst of seeking profit for themselves.

- Key actors in decision-making should share the understanding that collaboration will lead to a higher success than working in bunkers.
- Strengthening the constitutional, legal and institutional frameworks are hallmarks for promoting responsible governance and accelerated development.
- A combination of home-grown solutions and international best practices is the best remedy for advancing democracy in developing countries.
- Because countries around the globe are faced with similar problems, success stories of some countries can be easily replicated to other countries. In this respect, cooperation among countries should be more actively encouraged, particularly South-South Cooperation.
- The government must consider how to incorporate citizen participation into policy from the initial stages of development, and which type of citizen participation is more appropriate for a certain policy.
- In order to enhance the public-private partnership, citizens need to distinguish a civil servant's attitude problem from a bureaucratic problem, and to be more familiar with government behavior. In addition, they should be ready to take on a similar level of accountability as civil servants prior to asking for equivalent influence in making public policies. As for governments, they need to secure participation of diverse stakeholders and reveal information selectively, based on a consensus and prior consultation with citizens. They also need to make efforts to ensure an enabling environment for mobilizing the resources of society at any time; for instance, by establishing the appropriate legal framework.

[ Korea-China-Japan CEO Roundtable ]

## Creating Common Value through Cooperation

Jeju Peace Institute / Korea Human Development Institute / Korea China Regional Economy Association

Moderator	<b>YOO Sang-chul</b> Editorial Writer, JoongAng Ilbo
Presenter & Discussant	<b>LIM Soo-kyung</b> CEO, KEPCO KDN <b>LI Rong</b> President, Hubei Quanyi Group <b>Shizuo SUZUKI</b> President, Livlan
Rapporteur	<b>LEE Je-yeong</b> Administrator, Civil Peace Forum

### LIM Soo-kyung

KEPCO KDN is pursuing stable and efficient power supply by introducing ICT (Information and Communication Technology) and making efforts to create new energy industry through the integration of energy and ICT.

International response to climate change and the Korean policies: to overcome the limitations of the Kyoto Protocol in the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions, global society has made the Paris Agreement. Korea can reduce one third of its national target under the agreement by controlling its energy consumption. To that end, the government has shifted its focus from energy supply to control of energy demand and set up new policies for energy industry.

KEPCO KDN participates in most of the new energy fields, such as smart grids, electric vehicles and micro grids.

It pursues realization of low carbon society through smart grid technologies.

### LI Rong

Hubei Quanyi Group improved its competitiveness

by introducing the point management system in 2003, a new human resources management system. Tens of thousands of companies in China and other countries have adopted the system, which can be utilized by any firm.

The point management system is to quantify the general performances of a worker and his ability by point, record it using software and utilize it for research. Its primary purpose is to encourage workers to show an active performance.

The greatest merit of the system is its function to objectify all aspects of workers. The software clearly presents all the information quantified by points which is also used as a criterion to determine fringe benefits for the workers.

### Shizuo SUZUKI

As an organization for social movement, the business corporation can change Asia and the world by changing its point of view.

Asian cities and housing: Most multi-dwelling facilities turn into high rise buildings which make people mentally and physically ill.

The problems of the plan to remake the Japanese



YOO Sang-chul

LIM Soo-kyung

LI Rong

Shizuo SUZUKI



Archipelago: The problems are the price that Japan has to pay for high economic growth.

Ethical management: An ethics institute established 35 years ago pushes for ethics-based business operation, staging a campaign to solve the problems of capitalism.

### Policy Implications

- The power industry is a conservative sector, in which new energy is hardly realized without a demonstration model. As Korea secured many demonstration models, its cooperation with China and Japan may introduce low carbon society earlier.
- Innovation of business management is urgently needed, as the business management model remains outdated in spite of the progress of society.
- One important task is to transform Asian cities into ones like Jeju Island where people and nature coexist in harmony.
- Korea, China and Japan may reign in the world market in a positive sense by bringing a change to the business management of the world. It would benefit them all.
- Young adults have to play significant roles in restructuring Asia and having the business corporations fulfill their social responsibility.

# Trans-Pacific Partnership: an Assessment of Its Political Economy

## Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom (FNF) / Economic Freedom Network Asia (EFN Asia)

- Opening Remarks** **Lars-Andre RICHTER** Resident Representative, FNF Korea Office
- Congratulatory Remarks** **Rolf MAFAEL** Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to the Republic of Korea
- Moderator** **John DELURY** Associate Professor, Graduate School of International Studies, Yonsei University
- Discussant** **Sethaput SUTHIWART-NARUEPUT** Executive Chairman, Thailand Future Foundation  
**KWON Tae-shin** President, Korea Economic Research Institute  
**Keisuke IIDA** Professor, University of Tokyo Graduate Schools for Law and Politics
- Rapporteur** **Pett JARUPAIBOON** Program Manager, Regional Office for Southeast and East Asia, FNF

- The Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), the biggest free trade bloc covering 40 percent of global GDP and one-third of world trade, was launched last October. Amidst both hopes and skepticism, it poses economic opportunities as well as political and social challenges to both participating members and non-participants, the latter of which include South Korea. In addition to removing traditional trade obstacles at an unprecedented level, the agreement goes much broader to embrace contentious issues including the environment, intellectual property and the investor-state dispute settlement. Also, as often is the case with Free Trade Agreements (FTAs), there are important US geopolitical objectives towards Asia.
- All discussants are liberal economists and are in favor of free trade in general. However, their stances on the TPP are different. It is worth mentioning that the WTO plays a significant role towards the progress and acceptance of the TPP. In brief, while all discussants are in favor of the

- WTO, Mr. Kwon and Dr. Iida were critical of it in terms of a lack of progress, and supported the TPP. In contrast, Dr. Sethaput expressed reservations toward the TPP and argued that preferential trade agreements like it would undermine the progress of the WTO.
- According to Mr. Kwon, TPP members will enjoy an increase in exports and income from an enlarged market size, and more consumer welfare due to a decrease in import prices and intensive competition. According to a recent study by the Peterson Institute for International Economics, if the TTP takes effect in 2017, the GDP of TPP members is likely to increase by 0.5~8.1 percent in 2030, compared to the GDP forecast in an event of non-adoption of the TPP.
- Dr. Iida mentioned that President Barack Obama emphasized the rule-making aspect of the TPP. Certainly, what kind of rules we have in international relations and who gets to write these rules are very important issues, and hence, this rule-making aspect of the TPP is certainly important.





Lars-Andre RICHTER      Rolf MAFAEL      John DELURY      Sethaput SUTHIWART-NARUEPUT      KWON Tae-shin      Keisuke IIDA



For the United States, joining the TPP is part of a larger strategy of “Pivot to Asia” or rebalancing to Asia. There was recognition that the United States was preoccupied with the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and was not paying enough attention to Asia. Therefore, the TPP was part of the toolkit to achieve this new policy for the Obama Administration. For Japan, which has to rely on the United States for security, the TPP meant mending the fences with the United States following a series of recent frictions, including those arising from the planned relocation of one of the most important marine bases in Okinawa.

■ From an economic perspective, the TPP will benefit Japan greatly as well. The economic benefits, which amount to 2.6 percent of GDP (accordingly

to the Cabinet Office), are a significant payoff to a country whose potential growth rate is a mere 0.5 percent.

■ Dr. Sethaput prefers a multilateral system with non-preferential treatment like the WTO to mega-regional trade regimes like the TPP and RCEP. He argued that when talking about the pros and cons of the TPP, it is important to distinguish whether we are talking about the region as a whole, or individual countries. While individual countries in the region can and do benefit from preferential access under the TPP, most countries in the region as a whole - especially the developing ones - would be collectively better served by greater progress in multilateral liberalization under the WTO. This is due to several

reasons. First, the TPP is a preferential trading arrangement, and therefore subject to the usual problems of trade diversion. Second, the TPP is not just about trade, but has a whole lot of other issues included (investor and intellectual protection, and labor and environmental standards), a lot of which are not necessarily in the interests

of developing countries. Third, they have less bargaining power, as reflected by the sequential bargaining approach taken by the United States in its negotiations as well as some of the features of the agreements on standards and dispute settlement.

## Policy Implications

- Undoubtedly, the TPP will highly increase trade between its members. However, it is worth noting that the benefits gained by each member country will be much different. The effects it has on non-members are also significant.
- For Japan, the TPP meant mending the fences with the United States. There were strains in the U.S.-Japan relations from 2009 to 2010, involving the relocation of one of the most important marine bases in Okinawa. This issue infuriated some policymakers in the U.S. government, and their bilateral relations faced a crisis. However, strengthening a relationship with an ally comes with some costs. Especially, the countries that are outside may feel that they are left out. Putin is said to be very critical of the TPP. China is at least skeptical, if not outright hostile like Russia.
- As far as trade is concerned, there is no inherent trade-off between different trading arrangements. Japan and ASEAN countries are still negotiating the RCEP in good faith, and no one has so far turned their back on it. Inevitably, the degree of trade opening through the RCEP will be lower than that achieved through the TPP, but still it is worth trying. Eventually, our ultimate goal should be the Free Trade Area of the Asia-Pacific (FTAAP), which includes all the existing members of APEC. And this could be achieved through either an expansion of the TPP or merging of the TPP and RCEP. At this point in time, it is hard to say which is more likely. Concerning the WTO, on the one hand, it has had a salutary impact on the global trading system. Legally, it is the most advanced. Also, the dispute settlement system it possesses is very valuable. On the other hand, the WTO has had a very poor track record in facilitating trade negotiations and how to bring the Doha Round to a satisfactory conclusion without incurring a reputation that it ended in a failure is a big question to consider.
- Thailand, according to Dr. Sethaput, has the unfortunate distinction of being the country that is usually estimated to lose out the most from not being in the TPP, but the losses are not that huge: around 0.9 percent of GDP cumulatively through 2030, or a CAGR of less than 6 basis points. Most of the potential gains from joining are on the trade front and improved market access for Thailand from the TPP is not that significant. First, Thailand already has FTAs in place for 75 percent of the trade it does with TPP countries. The countries Thailand does not have FTAs with include the United States, Mexico, and Canada, and these three collectively account for about 10 percent of its exports. Second, tariffs on many of
- the things Thailand export to the United States are not that high to begin with. Third, the reduction in tariff and non-tariff barriers in the United States under the TPP for key export categories for Thailand will not be that rapid, if what was offered to Malaysia is any indication (e.g. 0 percent in autos in 10 years). The possible indirect benefits to FDI are probably more important but also more difficult to assess.
- Dr. Sethaput is concerned the most with less visible costs, especially in the Investor-State Dispute Settlement (ISDS) mechanism. Under TPP, the ISDS provides international arbitration in the way that benefits US corporations. The US Trade Representative (USTR) notes on its website that “the United States has never lost an ISDS case.” Issues like fairness and equal treatment under the law are sensitive ones. Excessive corporate recourse to arbitration has already started to raise concerns in domestic court cases in the United States.
- Concerning the WTO, Dr. Sethaput argued that the world as a whole would be much better served by greater progress under it. But Mega-Regional Trading Agreements (RTAs) like the TPP or RCEP undermine the multilateral trading system. We decide to participate in RTAs because we cannot conclude Doha. Also, even if one believes that the WTO is dead and that RTAs are the only game in town, the RCEP is a better alternative. It is the one loaded with much less non-trade baggage and at the same time, making the best use of the best elements of the multilateral system (e.g. WTO dispute settlement, TRIPS). At the very minimum, this would help to enhance limited bargaining power that countries have under the TPP.
- Concerning Republic of Korea, according to Mr. Kwon, exports are an essential element to sustain the Korean economy. Korea’s dependence on exports (exports/GDP) was 53.9 percent as of 2013, nearly twice the average of the OECD, which stood at 28.7 percent. Its dependence on foreign trade ((exports+imports)/GDP) was also 102.8 percent as of 2013, which was significantly above the average of 57.7 percent for the OECD. It is necessary for Korea to expand its trade through international agreements such as the TPP. The negative effects of non-participation are greater than participation. Especially, it may possibly leave Korea behind in competition with Japan, which is a TPP member and one of Korea’s main rivals in various manufacturing industries. Additionally, the TPP pursues high standard FTAs, and it strictly complies with international norms including anti-corruption, institutional transparency, investment and the protection of intellectual property, and labor environment related rules. Those requirements actually make developing countries reform their local laws and institutions and accept global standards, which will become institutional strengths of those developing countries in the long run.

# The Globalization of Korean Beauty Industry

## Korea China Regional Economy Association

<b>Moderator</b>	<b>RHEE Sang-gi</b> President, Korea China Regional Economy Association
<b>Presenter &amp; Discussant</b>	<b>JIN Sun-mi</b> Member of the National Assembly, National Assembly of the Republic of Korea <b>JANG Hye-sook</b> President, Korea Beauty Planner Association <b>HAN Mi-young</b> President, World Women Inventors & Entrepreneurs Association <b>YANG Seon-gil</b> CEO, Ssangbangwool Inc. <b>YU Chende</b> CEO, New Hua Cheng A Travel <b>DU Deli</b> Chairman, Deli International New Energy Holdings Company <b>ZHAO Lei</b> Chief Executor, The Bo Holding Group <b>CHENG Shuqi</b> Manager, Beijing Global Alliance Trading
<b>Rapporteur</b>	<b>CHAE Ha-yun</b> Lecturer, Graduate School of Chung-Ang University

### JIN Sun-mi

As a lawmaker, I will make efforts to make policies to promote the Korean and Chinese beauty industry by gathering opinions presented here.

### The Consumption Trend of Chinese Tourists and the Value of Raw Materials of Cosmetics

#### YANG Seon-gil

An increase in arrivals of Chinese budget flight tourists from lower-tier cities is expected. An increase in the demand for clothing and low-priced goods and growth of duty-free shops are expected amid the increase of the tourists in their 20s and 30s who are attracted by the Korean cultural content (Hallyu).

The demands for cosmetic-medical products and anti-aging products need to be noted. As the demand for functionally specialized cosmetics grows, the competitiveness of raw materials for them carries more importance, and patented functional cos-

metics account for greater portion of the cosmetics products.

#### CHENG Shuqi

The health and therapy industry is drawing attention. It is hoped that the Korean beauty industry can grow through the platform of the newly established Beijing Global Alliance Trading.

### Relationship between Women's Beauty, Cosmetics and Intellectual Property

#### HAN Mi-young

The Korean cosmetics industry continues to grow thanks to the increase of cosmetics consumption amid the social and economic activities of more women; the greater demand for high priced premium products following the rise of income levels; and new products such as cosmetics for men, functional cosmetics and functional health products.

The major characteristics of the current cosmetic



industry are represented by the increase of functional cosmetics and popularization of the premium products thanks to a fall in their prices due to technological advances.

Cosmetics are the most sought after Korean products by Chinese tourists, as they are priced lower by 30-50 percent than Chinese ones and are more varied.

The popularity of "K-beauty" (Korean cosmetic products) among Chinese tourists is ascribed to the Korean wave (Hallyu), shared cultural background, reliability of Korean products, and the diversity of cosmetics for men.

As the cosmetic products for men show high growth in China, Japan and other Asian regions, Korean products are expected to occupy a larger market share amid the increase of trademarks of the men-exclusive cosmetics.

Korea is the largest market of men's cosmetics in the world, accounting for one fifth of total sales. The Korean cosmetics industry attracted men's attention with skin care cosmetics and all-in-one products.

Men's demand for cosmetics in Asian countries, including Korea which topped the world's list of the expenditure on skin care cosmetics, keeps growing, and men's greater attention to their appearance, their anti-aging needs and the emergence of sales

channels of men only products offer new opportunities for the industry.

As the design of cosmetic containers, a crucial component of cosmetics products whose material and design affect sales, is an intellectual property subject to protection of relevant laws. The container design may strengthen competitive edge of the cosmetics and serve as a means to dominate the market.

As more attentions are paid to the environmental issues and health over the world, it is expected to expand the market of organic cosmetics which restore skin health and enhance auto-therapy.

#### ZHAO Lei

The Internet platform of The Bo Holding Group pays attentions to women's health and beauty.

The Chinese Internet industry is now finding an opportunity to advance to the global market, and The Bo Holding Group is set to publicize many examples of Internet businesses through international organizations and Chinese press.

The online platform of Chinese cities and rural communities makes efforts to cope with overproduction and contributes to cooperative development of the manufacturing and financial sectors.

It is hoped that resources and wealth will be shared through the international chain of capitals





and industries.

**YU Chende**

The quality of the cosmetics of “eClasse” is recognized for its integration of cell research and therapeutic methods.

It released a new brand, Drassel, which has the optimal component to cultivate stem cells and outstanding skin permeation function developed by liposome-transmitting technology.

It is set to contribute to the development of the

beauty industries of China and Korea and make efforts to play a leading role in the industry.

It is also set to operate cruise businesses in China, Korea, Japan and Southeast Asian countries.

**Global Trend: Health, Anti-Aging and Networking**

**JANG Hye-sook**

The growing anti-aging needs arise from the increase of active senior citizens and their attentions to their appearances.

The economic effects of the anti-aging needs are

represented by the increased expenditure on anti-aging products amid the rise of income levels.

The industrial and technological factors behind the rise of anti-aging service are the improvement of anti-aging products and services through the new technologies and multi-service integration.

It is expected that the electronics and food industries for health and anti-aging services will emerge as new growth engines.

The anti-aging market is expected to see a rapid growth of spa services, integration of medical and

cosmetics services and new services for well-being.

The anti-aging services will also generate revenues through service networking and exchanges of marketing information.

■■■  
**Policy Implications**

- As the Chinese beauty and well-being industries see rapid growth, cooperation between China and Korea needs to be sought to make a synergy effect with Korean software and Chinese hardware.
- The Korean beauty and cosmetic industry should utilize the Chinese Internet services, online market and home-shopping channels.
- The anti-aging service and products are now on the initial stage of industrialization. If the anti-aging service expands to cover brain, blood vessels, muscles and bones, the industry is expected to grow by scores of times.
- There should be corporate and governmental strategies to effectively explore the anti-aging market in the future.
- As corporate activities are expanded to the global market, the business corporations should set up a global marketing strategy.
- The business corporations should standardize their marketing elements, as well as targeting a certain global niche market.
- The business corporations should select target market by segmenting the global market and readjust the marketing mix so that it may correspond to the political, economic, cultural and judicial environment of each country.



# Catalyzing Private Sector Engagement in Development Cooperation: Partnership Strategies of China, Japan and Korea

## Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA) / Korea Association of International Development and Cooperation (KAIDEC)

Opening Remarks	<b>KIM In</b> Vice President, KOICA
Moderator	<b>SOHN Hyuk-sang</b> President, KAIDEC
Presenter	<b>KWAK Jae-sung</b> Professor, Kyunghee University <b>Tatsufumi YAMAGATA</b> Secretary-General, Institute of Developing Economies Advanced School (IDEAS) <b>Artemy IZMESTIEV</b> Policy Specialist, UNDP Seoul Policy Centre
Discussant	<b>KIM Sung-gyu</b> Senior Researcher, Seoul National University Asia Center <b>KIM Tae-kyoon</b> Professor, Seoul National University
Rapporteur	<b>KIM Tae-kyoon</b> Professor, Seoul National University

Amid changes in international cooperation, including the establishment of sustainable development goals, many private enterprises are shifting their business focus to sustainable development projects, while playing a leading role in development projects as well as in securing the financial resources for them. As regards to the growing role of the private sector and the expanded financing by players other than public ones, there is a shared view that the participation of the private sector in development projects would be a key issue of international development cooperation. Against that background, this session examined how the private sector's engagement in development projects could help Korea, China and Japan pursue future-oriented cooperation.

### **KWAK Jae-sung**

Because the private-public sector collaboration in development projects still remains immature in Korea, it is more urgent for the government to prepare the institutional foundation for it than to encourage individual corporations to participate in

such projects.

### **Tatsufumi YAMAGATA**

The private-public cooperation in Japan recently started to pursue national interests. Japanese style collaboration is defined as "Japanese-Public/Japanese-Private Partnership (JPJPP)." There is the possibility of competition between aid countries involving private-public development projects in the Northeast Asian region.

### **Artemy IZMESTIEV**

The Inclusive Business (IB) program, implemented by the UNDP, plays a significant role of supporting the private sector in underdeveloped countries by extending substantial aid to the vulnerable in those countries. In Korea, China and Japan, too, the IB projects are implemented simultaneously.

### **KIM Tae-kyoon / KIM Sung-gyu**

As regards to the private-public sector coopera-



KIM In

SOHN Hyuk-sang

KWAK Jae-sung

Tatsufumi YAMAGATA

Artemy IZMESTIEV



KIM Sung-gyu



KIM Tae-kyoon

tion, there are such issues as how to manage the risks and who should be held accountable for the risk, and how to prevent competitions for development projects in East Asia, as well as the problematic feature that aid as global public function might be undervalued.

This session examined ways to encourage the private sector to finance and engage in development projects, while sharing the strategies, experiences and lessons of Korea, China and Japan. It also assessed the risks that the governments or Official Development Assistance (ODA) might face in their cooperation with the private sector and discussed a new strategy to promote the private sector's engagement in development projects.

## Policy Implications

- There should be institutional measures to manage risk when a development project is pursued by private-public sector cooperation.
- There should be politically favorable conditions to support the cooperation system of Korea, China and Japan.
- Private-public sector collaboration should be introduced in the project that can extend substantial aid to vulnerable people in underdeveloped countries.
- The governments of the Northeast Asian countries should take the initiative in promoting private-public sector cooperation.



# Corporate Ethics Leads the World

## Korea Human Development Institute / RINRI Institute of Ethics

Moderator	<b>CHANG Man-key</b> Chairman, Korea Human Development Institute
Presenter & Discussant	<b>CHOI Kyu-bok</b> CEO, Yuhan Kimberley <b>Shizuo SUZUKI</b> President, Livlan <b>Hushiki HISATO</b> Director, RINRI Institute of Ethics
Rapporteur	<b>HEO Jin-won</b> Manager, Korea Human Development Institute



■ Yuhan Kimberley, established 46 years ago, is one of the most respected companies in Korea. It is a joint venture of Yuhan Co., Ltd. and Kimberly-Clark. Born with the merits of both companies, it had the belief at its inception that ethics should be the basis for corporate activities. Looking back on the last 46 years of Yuhan Kimberley, it is clear that it has maintained the framework of sustainable management. With the slogan, “Keep Korea Green,” it started an environmental campaign for the public good in the 1980s for the first time in Korea. The campaign still continues and is being expanded worldwide.

■ Japan has an ethics institute. The keyword representing it is “Sustainable Management.” For the last 36 years, it has studied and propagated ethical management. In this era of rapid transition from capitalism to post-modernism, ethical management has significant roles and implications. Business corporations which pursue profits only can hardly survive long. Many cases of American and Japanese companies show that they cannot be sustainable if their ultimate goal is only profits. It should not be forgotten that what constitutes society or business corporations is human beings.

■ In the 2000s, Korea suffered a financial crisis due to the foreign exchange crisis, and Japan entered the era of low growth. They also experienced the paradigm shift to neo-liberalism. In this era when human dignity is ignored for the vulgar pursuit of profits, Yuhan Kimberley and RINRI Institute of Ethics have put greater value on human-oriented management. They also made efforts to introduce the family-friendly management. As a result, Yuhan Kimberley could grow even amid adverse conditions in the national economy.

■ The theme of this session is ethical management. Ethics here means a set of values or value system, not a law to be observed. Ethics should be internalized by the company and developed into the culture of the organization. Ethics can be internalized as a code of conduct by the members of the company, when the chief executive officer sets an example. Another task of ethical management is to realize the mutual growth of Yuhan Kimberley and its business partners by encourag-



CHANG Man-key



CHOI Kyu-bok



Shizuo SUZUKI



Hushiki HISATO

ing the latter to join in ethical management.

■ It is a matter of course that a corporation grows jointly with the society it belongs to. Yuhan Kimberley has introduced a new ethical system that can be explained by the terms, Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) and Creating Shared Value (CSV). As part of CSR, it staged a tree planting campaign with the slogan, “Keep Korea Green.” An example of CSV is the senior business promotion program. It was designed to create jobs for senior citizens so that they may engage in economic activities, which would eventually benefit not only the company but also the society. We also need to benchmark the senior industry of Japan, which is more advanced than Korea. When society continues to grow, business corporations can see continued growth and development.



# Policy Integration and Institutional Coordination: Localizing SDGs at National and Local Levels



Nisar ALI Yi Ding YOON Jong-Soo Vat CHUN Krishna Hari BASKOTA OH Kang Tak

## United Nations Project Office on Governance (UNPOG) / Korea Institute of Public Administration (KIPA)

- Moderator** Nisar ALI Managing Director, Pacific Technologies Ltd., Fiji
- Presenter** Yi Ding Associate Professor, Chinese Academy of Governance  
YOON Jong-Soo Head, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations Office for Sustainable Development
- Discussant** Vat CHUN Under Secretary of State, Ministry of Post and Telecommunications, Cambodia  
Krishna Hari BASKOTA Chief Commissioner, National Information Commission, Nepal  
OH Kang Tak Vice President of National Information Society Agency
- Rapporteur** Kim Hyunjung Associate Research and Policy Development Expert, UNPOG



- The implementation of the 2030 Agenda calls for an unprecedented level of policy integration and institutional coordination.
- Considering the inter-linkage of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), collaborative government is essential in strengthening horizontal and vertical policy coherence, as well as institutional coordination among national and local governments in support of the SDGs.
- Local authorities have a critical role in implementing SDGs by setting priorities, executing plans, monitoring progress and engaging with local communities.
- Taking SDGs as a development framework, the Chinese government has adopted the 13<sup>th</sup> Five-Year Plan to set out development priorities in the coming five years from 2016 to 2020, which is built on the five new development concepts of innovation, coordination, inclusiveness, green growth and openness.
- E-Government is an enabler to achieve SDGs by contributing to: 1) promoting economic growth through open government data and PPP 2) building a resilient infrastructure using cloud computing applications and M-government and 3) making cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable by providing a smart city management system, and efficient and customised public services.
- The integrated national online service platform of China will improve horizontal and vertical information sharing among national and local governments for provision of customised information and services to the public.
- The grid-style social administration of China enhances collection of community level information, the connection between relevant government systems and the collected information, and information sharing among governments, thus enables active public services delivery and its monitoring.
- The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development is an integrated plan of action structured in four main parts: 1) a vision, shared principles and



commitment for transforming our world as set out in the declaration 2) a results framework of SDGs 3) a means of implementation and global partnership and 4) follow-up and review.

- National sustainable development policies need to be designed in a coherent and integrated manner so that the SDGs are mutually reinforcing each other.
- Responding to requests from member states for coordinated support from the UN development system in implementing the 2030 Agenda, the United Nations Development Group (UNDG) has adopted a common approach for effective and coherent implementation support named MAPS, which stands for Mainstreaming, Acceleration and Policy Support.
- Mainstreaming means landing the 2030 Agenda at the national and local levels, and integrating it into national, sub-national and local plans for development, and subsequently into budget allocations. Acceleration refers to targeting resources at priority areas identified by respective countries, paying special attention to synergies and trade-offs. Policy Support is about making sure that the skills and expertise held in the UN development system are made available at a low cost and in a timely manner.
- The roadmap to mainstream SDGs in the context of localisation consists of eight steps within a plan-do-check cycle: 1) raising public awareness

### Policy Implications

- Effective implementation of the SDGs requires transforming institutional frameworks and mechanisms to effectively translate the development agenda into results at the local level.
- Implementation of the SDGs at the local level involves effective horizontal policy integration within governments and vertical policy integration through effective working relationships across government levels.
- The ability of local authorities to contribute to the implementation of the SDGs can be greatly enhanced through empowering them to formulate policy, strengthen institutional capacity and mobilise resources.
- Localisation of the SDGs can be facilitated through increasing

2) applying multi-stakeholder approaches 3) tailoring SDGs to national, sub-national and local context 4) monitoring, reporting and accountability 5) creating horizontal policy coherence 6) enhancing vertical policy coherence 7) budgeting for the future and 8) assessing risk and fostering adaptability.

the awareness of local authorities on them, sharing local-level knowledge, experience and best practices, and facilitating collaboration with other local stakeholders.

- One of the most critical success factors for the implementation of the SDGs is political will and commitment to them at the highest level to keep the focus on the overarching vision from the top, and to mobilise coherent efforts of various actors.
- As countries have different level of development, political systems and government structures, the national development policies and strategies for the implementation of the SDGs should be tied into the local context.
- Localising the SDGs calls for a cross-sectoral and multi-stakeholder approach in developing action plans, monitoring and engagement. Governments need to promote and institutionalise partnerships with the private sector, civic society and other stakeholders.

# The Changes in New Capital Markets and the Role of Analysts

## Hankyung Business

<b>Moderator</b>	<b>CHO Yong-jun</b> Executive Managing Director, Hana Financial Investment
<b>Presenters</b>	<b>IM Dae-ung</b> Korea Representative, UNEP Finance Initiative <b>CHANG Du-yeong</b> Executive Vice President, Quaterback Investments <b>KIM Kwang-hyun</b> Head of Center, D.CAMP
<b>Discussants</b>	<b>AN Byeong-guk</b> Head of Research Center, MiraeAsset <b>KIM Yeong-jun</b> Director, Kyobo Securities
<b>Rapporteur</b>	<b>LEE Hong-pyo</b> Journalist, Hankyung Business

### Sustainable Finance and the Role of Analysts

#### IM Dae-ung

The UN has announced Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which should be achieved by 2030. To reach the goals, \$180 billion are needed to prevent climate change, \$210 billion to reduce greenhouse gases and \$100 billion to adapt to climate change for 10 years, with a total of \$17 trillion seen as required to attain the goals. As a huge amount of financial resources are needed for the SDGs, financial institutions are paying attention to “Sustainable Finance.” Sustainable finance pursues the following goals:

- Change finance for sustainable development.
- Promote sustainable production and consumption. Basel III suggested concrete measures for it.
- Build sustainable cities.
- Respond to climate change.
- Promote biodiversity.
- Activate discussions on water.

These goals are pursued by international financial institutions, and it indicates that analysts have sig-

nificant roles to study them and develop concrete measures for them.

### Growth of Roboadvisor and the Role of Analysts

#### CHANG Du-yeong

Roboadvisor, a compound of robot and financial advisor, is an online wealth management service. In the U.S., the roboadvisor industry grows by 68 percent annually. Existing financial firms are developing a roboadvisor service through direct investment or contracts or merger and acquisition. In Korea, the quant-based hedge fund roboadvisor is interchangeably used, while banks and securities firms are introducing the service, with the government promoting it. Its growth is indebted to government policies and the growth of the pension fund market. A collaboration of roboadvisor with analysts is also possible. The existing analyst service, focused on evaluation of the fast growing firms or undervalued companies, may expand its scope in collaboration with roboadvisor to include asset allocations for investors.



CHO Yong-jun IM Dae-ung CHANG Du-yeong KIM Kwang-hyun



**The Trend of Korean Startups**

**KIM Kwang-hyun**

The Korean startup ecosystem is rapidly changing. The incumbent government is paying greater attention to ways to promote startups, a reasonable policy, considering the limitations of the Korean industrial structure.

Without innovations through the success of creative startups, the Korean economy would remain stagnant. So would the case of larger business enterprises. The larger companies of Korea have

had no interest in startups, just developing new businesses at their own research centers. However, market competition gets fiercer, and “destructive innovation” is restructuring the industry. The business corporations cannot catch up with the trend just with traditional R&D. So, the only way for the larger corporation to survive is to assist startups or take them over through a merger and acquisition.

For instance, Uber (online transportation reservation service) is planning an automatic transit service. In addition, urban farming at factories is

being fast introduced in cities. The O2O (Online to Offline) service for car washing is also popular, now. After all, growth would be possible only when “everything is re-imagined.”

China’s growth is another factor worth noting. China is witnessing such an enthusiastic drive to launch new businesses, surpassing the venture boom of Korea in the 2000s, that the Chinese technological venture businesses are seen to be ahead of their Korean counterparts. China got ahead of Korea in the fields of autonomous vehicles, drones, electric cars and many other new services.

The only way for Korea to catch up with China is to have “Creative Ideas.” Therefore, the older generation should lay the foundation for younger people to come up with creative ideas. This would be made possible by the cooperation of larger corporations with startups.

[ Discussion ]

**Q.** How much influence does governance have upon sustainable growth of business enterprises?

**A. AN Byeong-guk** Korean businesses keep pointing out the obscurity of governance. It made an improvement somehow, but still leaves something to be desired. The sustainability of corporations is more important than governance. For instance, the environmental issue such as Carbon Emission Reductions (CERs) may have critical influence in evaluating the companies of the energy, steel and petrochemical industries.

**Q.** It seems that roboadvisor is being exploited merely as a marketing tool of financial institutions in Korea.

**A. AN Byeong-guk** The roboadvisor service should be clearly defined. The high yield, high risk hedge fund based on quant is definitely different from roboadvisor with moderate yield and risk. Roboadvisor is a more popular service convenient to ordinary investors.

**Q.** How should the non-financial aspects of companies such as environmental moves be evaluated?

**A. KIM Yeong-jun** The CERs has already a fixed official price per ton and is traded in the Korean market. The authentic value of companies is

obtained only when such quantifiable factor is assessed. At the same time, financial institutions should positively consider the new green financing products such as the environmental infrastructure fund pushed in China.

**Q.** What kind of changes should the existing research institutions make, now that the roboadvisor is introduced?

**A. KIM Yeong-jun** Roboadvisor service also consults reports and analyses of financial analysts. In the case of financial investment, big data does not always guarantee good results. What counts is how to find out the data highly relevant to the prices of assets. When research institutions find such data, they can have a synergy effect with roboadvisor services.

■■■ **Policy Implications**

- Analysts have important roles in sustainable growth and sustainable management. There should be analysis of the quantifiable factors such as CERs.

- Analysts should study the asset allocation service such as roboadvisor. They can collaborate with each other and start their cooperative work at the research center at the financial institutions.

- The growth of startups is significant factor for economic growth in Korea. It is still in a fledgling state, but will see results soon, as the larger corporations have an interest in them. Attention on creative startups is urgently needed.



# Can AIIB expedite the RCEP and be Compatible with ADB?

## East Asia Foundation

**Moderator** **AHN Choong-yong** Chairman, Korea Commission for Corporate Partnership  
**Presenter** **Peter DRYSDALE** Emeritus Professor of Economics, Crawford School of Public Policy, Australian National University  
**ZHANG Yunling** Director, Division of International Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Science  
**Naoyuki YOSHINO** Dean, Asia Development Bank Institute  
**Rapporteur** **CHO Soo-kyung** Program Officer, East Asia Foundation



Trade and investment-related multilateral systems under global attention are the Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP). The emergence of the multilateral systems is often seen as a rivalry between the U.S. and China. The session moderated by Ahn Choong-yong, Chairman of Korea Commission for Corporate Partnership, has explored the issue of whether the AIIB would expedite the mega trade initiative and what kinds of relationships the multilateral systems have between themselves.

### Peter DRYSDALE

The AIIB, TPP and the RCEP do not have close relationship among themselves. The AIIB was established by the Chinese to utilize developing and newly emerging countries, while the TPP was organized at the initiative of the U.S. President Barack Obama to strengthen the relationship between the



AHN Choong-yong

Peter DRYSDALE



ZHANG Yunling

Naoyuki YOSHINO

U.S. and Asia. The RCEP is also the result of the initiative of China which has not played major roles in the existing multilateral organizations. As seen against the background of their births, the three have no major connectivity among themselves.

The AIIB and the RCEP organized by the Chinese initiative would not pose a threat to the existing multilateral organizations or the U.S. However, the negative views about the AIIB and the RCEP on the ground that they may endanger the U.S. interests in security are prevalent in the U.S. Congress, but the argument citing the negative views as the reason for the U.S. refusal to join them is not logically tenable. The RCEP would rather be a means of drastic reform and liberalization in East Asia, in that it is joined by many countries on different development levels. Emphasizing the need for the will to reform amid a world recession, Prof. Drysdale said that each country should seize the chance to reach the three percent potential growth target of the world economy.

### ZHANG Yunling

The AIIB stressed the need for member countries to join founding the AIIB fund, after explaining that the bank was founded to enhance the infrastructure in and around the Asian region. Disclosing that it

has cooperated with the World Bank in its inception stage, the AIIB said that it seeks to raise funds to improve infrastructure through cooperation with international organizations, accenting that it is not owned by China, as some claimed, but by all the member countries.

Prof. Zhang expressed skepticism about the possible membership of the U.S. and Japan in it, saying that the two countries suspect that China is trying to take over their roles. Contrary to such concerns, however, the AIIB is concentrating its efforts on infrastructure, he said, and there should be multilateral cooperation to that end. As there is no integration of the infrastructure projects amid the market integration now underway over the world, the AIIB or the “One Belt, One Road” initiative can play the role of establishing inter-regional connectivity. However, such efforts are being misunderstood as having a political intention, thus standing in the way of multilateral cooperation.

#### Naoyuki YOSHINO

Dr. Yoshino mentioned the possibility of collaboration of the Asia Development Bank (ADB) and the AIIB, as neither of them can achieve their desired results on their own. Equipped with its regional offices and evaluation system based on an index for analysis of the investment environment, the ADB can create jobs with its infrastructure investment, subsequently increase its revenues from the investment and expand its size. This may help the two banks collaborate with each other. The Japanese Cabinet led by Prime Minister Abe admitted that it cannot make a decision on it due to domestic affairs for now, but indicated, at the same time, the possibility of cooperation of the two banks, citing the necessity of the AIIB, aside from the political interests, and the ongoing collaboration of them through indirect channels.

#### [ Q & A ]

Prof. Drysdale, too, said that the ADB and AIIB have a relationship of wholesome and productive competition.

In regard to the negotiations on the RCEP, Prof.

Zhang said that China has a firm will to conclude the talks on the RCEP within this year and makes more efforts to reach a basic agreement on it before dealing with more complicated issues, unlike the TPP which requires its member countries to meet higher standards. Prof. Drysdale said that the RCEP is pursuing an open and integrated market and making efforts to the end, adding that a relevant network should be established.

As to the question about the feasibility of the 30-year-old proposal of the Northeast Asia Development Bank (NADB), Prof. Zhang said that a Korean Peninsula peace plan is more urgent. Talks on the NADB would be impossible without the participation of North Korea, and the economic development of North Korea should precede it, he said.

Prof. Drysdale also said that the NADB requires the agreement of North Korea on it. Dr. Yoshino said that the project to develop the Northeast Asian region can be pursued by the ADB-AIIB system, alone, adding that the North Korean interests in the border region may be utilized for the development of the region. However, Prof. Zhang stressed that the politically favorable condition should precede the regional development projects, referring to the absence of substantial results of the earlier Tumen River development project.

In closing remarks, Chairman Ahn expected that the TPP and the RCEP would be integrated within the next ten years, saying that peace and prosperity can be realized in the region, if China joins the TPP, and the U.S. and Japan joins the AIIB. On the other hand, Dr. Yoshino called for a close examination of the foreign exchange system and the environment of the capital market in the region, pointing out the absence of the references on capital market and exchange rates in the AIIB plan.

# Korea-China Business Channels to Success in Environmental Technology

## Korea Human Development Institute / Korea-China Technology Platform

<b>Moderator</b>	<b>WON Young-jae</b> Chairman, Korea-China Technology Platform
<b>Presenter</b>	<b>RONG Shili</b> Chairman, China Petroleum and Chemical Reconnaissance and Design Association
<b>Discussant</b>	<b>WANG Xin Xing</b> Editor-in-Chief, Bluestar Lehigh Engineering Institute Co. <b>JEON Hyeong-keun</b> Director, NIT Korea
<b>Rapporteur</b>	<b>KWON Hae-ran</b> Consultant, Korea Human Development Institute

### ■ Establishment of Business Platform through Exchanges of Environmental Technologies

The air pollution in Korea by fine dust should not be ascribed solely to pollutants from China, as about 50 percent of it is produced here. It is a matter that should be solved by cooperation of the two countries. On May 24, 2016, a Chinese official visited Seoul and explained about the Chinese environmental industry at the meeting of about 70 Korean and Chinese businesses as well as discussing cooperative measures with them.

China Petroleum and Chemical Reconnaissance and Design Association: This is an organization joined by agencies providing petrochemical reconnaissance services and supervising subcontracted reconnaissance projects, as well as a volunteer expert group (a legal entity established by about 300 member companies in 1985). It evaluates technologies, provides standardized consulting service on technologies, gives company credit ratings, and exchanges technologies with partners home and abroad.

The petrochemical industry, one of China's key industries, has contributed much to the growth of the Chinese economy. However, it failed to catch

up with the technological innovation and delayed its restructuring, thus suffering low efficiency and high costs, and worsening pollution. The Chinese government is now paying more attention to environmental issues, pushing for a reduction of energy consumption, green energy and low carbon power. Judging that its industrial structure and lifestyles are the root cause of pollutions, it also introduced stricter regulations such as a penalty for polluting activities and the order of suspension or closure of the facilities accountable for pollution as well as introducing a standard method to assess air and soil pollution.

In the face of the discharges of waste gases, waste water and other wastes by its 1.3 billion people, the Chinese government is making efforts to find out the exact sources of pollution, taking counter-measures against pollution, exchanging environmental technologies and developing environment-friendly products after establishing a circular economy service platform. It also set up plans to check and prevent air and water pollution, and to treat waste, as well as implementing pilot projects based on advanced technologies, promoting development of environment-friendly engineering and introducing





penalties.

The Chinese government is investing in R&D on waste processing technologies, promoting production of new environment-friendly products and introducing advanced environmental technologies. It plans, jointly with the Korea-China Technology Platform, field trips to Korean environmental facilities and the Jeju Forum to share environmental technologies in its efforts to expand exchanges and cooperation between research institutions of the two countries. It is expected that the Chinese industry could contribute to establishment of environment-friendly petrochemical industry over the world and to the international cooperation on the One Belt, One Road initiative of China.

#### ■ Chinese Needs for Environmental Protection and Changes in Chinese Environment

Environmental protection industry started to find its market in China, belatedly after 1988.

After three stages of development, the Chinese industry made steep annual growths by 10 to 15 percent after 2000, with the market size amounting to 4 trillion Chinese yuan. In 2011, a waste discharge standard was introduced and in January, 2015, new environmental legislation went into effect, increasing the cost for business corporations to discharge waste. New legislation to control the discharge of volatile pollutants and to prevent water pollution was enacted in April, 2015.

Currently, Chinese environmental protection industry has a greater market in the field of soil re-

silience, improvement of the environment in coastal areas and treatment of waste water. China has 4,682 facilities to treat waste water, with treatment rates of over 87.9 percent. The waste water treatment industry has potential for further growth due to the hidden needs of treatment. The industry has a plan to invest more than 2 trillion yuan in waste water treatment facilities.

#### ■ Demands for Pollutant Treatment Technologies

The Chinese industry has accumulated technologies to treat organic, ammoniac, heavy metal-contaminated and rural waste waters, as well as to monitor the quality of underground water. However, 70 percent of the air over 47 Chinese cities fails to meet the national standard. China is set to spend more than 1 million yuan to prevent air pollution.

#### ■ Technologies to Prevent Air Pollution

The pollution by volatile matters, dust, sulfurous acid, lead and heavy metals, ethylene, carbon dioxide and medical wastes are serious. China has spent 45 billion yuan for the burial of waste between 2010 and 2015, and 31.7 billion yuan for the treatment of toxic wastes. It expects a steep rise in waste treatment costs after 2020.

#### ■ Technology to Treat Solid Wastes

China has developed a technology to detoxify incineration facilities and to treat heavy metal wastes, as well as setting up a plan to relocate industrial plants away from agricultural areas.

#### ■ Soil Pollution

The soil resilience industry has a market size of 200 billion yuan. Half of the demands for soil resilience have something to do with restoration of soil health.

#### ■ Presence of Foreign Companies in China

The business corporations of the U.S., Germany, Israel, Norway and Japan have entered the Chinese market. They have advanced environmental engineering and provide standardized services, but their warranty service fails to meet expectations.

#### ■ Suggestions for Korean Enterprises in the Chinese Market

Korean companies in China are not well known due to the lack of publicity activities. They are required to demonstrate their own specialized technologies and to acquire information about the Chinese market in their field of operation.



WON Young-jae



RONG Shili



WANG Xin Xing



JEON Hyeong-keun

## Policy Implications

- The examples of successful corporations of the West show that they have cooperated with partners with advanced technologies. A total of 12,000 experts in environmental engineering from 9,000 companies provided consulting services on waste water treatment, petrochemical and chemical pollutants, food waste, and pollution in the steel industry.
- Korean companies should be equipped with precipitation technology and engage in marketing of the fine dust treatment facilities, as air pollution is a serious issue in China. Thermal power plants have precipitation facilities of surprisingly high quality worth 20-30 billion won, but the operation of the facilities remains ineffective. They need the assistance of an environmental engineering company with pollution monitoring solutions.
- Pollution from vehicles can be solved by the distribution of electric cars. The reduction of air and water pollution is not an option but an obligation. The Carbon-Free project of Jeju Island draws attention in that respect.
- Exchanges among companies with environmental solutions are expected to be further activated. Expanded cooperation on the platform of environmental technologies would lead to improved protection of the ecosystem. It is hoped that the cooperation between business corporations, governments and civil agencies of Korea and China would further develop the environmental industries of the two countries.



...  
Chapter **THREE**

SUSTAINABILITY



# Strategies and Global Cooperation for the Transition to a Low-Carbon Climate Resilient Economy

## Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA)

Moderator	<b>YOUNG Soogil</b> Director, UN SDSN-Korea
Presenter	<b>Rintaro TAMAKI</b> Deputy Director-General, OECD <b>Robert DAWSON</b> Deputy Director-General, GGGI
Special Guest	<b>Mark LIPPERT</b> US Ambassador to the Republic of Korea
Discussant	<b>Irena ZUBCEVIC</b> Acting Chief, Division for Sustainable Development of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs, UN <b>Kilaparti RAMAKRISHNA</b> Director, Subregional Office for East and North East Asia, UNESCAP <b>ZHU Shu</b> Regional Director, East Asia Secretariat, ICLEI <b>LEE Hyung-jong</b> Director-General, Climate Change, Energy, and Environmental Affairs Bureau, MOFA
Rapporteur	<b>OH Sungjun</b> Second Secretary, MOFA

- In order to tackle climate change and meet net-zero carbon emissions, there is a consensus that policies all across the board must be aligned. Tackling climate change-related issues individually will only have a limited effect. Alignment of policies at all levels is necessary for green and sustainable economic development, as recognized in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The Paris Agreement, with its participation by all countries, is a key step in this direction.
- An unprecedented effort is necessary at the national level to achieve the required infrastructure construction and technological innovation in such a short time. Only through aligning all relevant policies, including fiscal, city planning, public procurement and official development assistance, towards carbon-neutrality and green growth can we succeed. Policy alignment can only be possible through centralized decision-making, preferably with strong leadership, so that governments

- can focus on long term objectives.
- As climate change affects the international community as a whole, implemented policies should be aligned worldwide. The SDGs, Addis Abba Action Agenda and the Paris Agreement provide the specific goals for domestic policies. However, developing countries may lack the resources to fully implement and realize the goals into coordinated domestic policies tailored to their needs, despite their full commitment. Education of a new generation of leaders and experts for developing countries is necessary. International organizations, such as the GGGI, can assist developing countries in formulating and implementing policies, and educating the future generation.
- Given their concentration of population and emissions, cities and local governments, and civic groups should also be involved in formulating and implementing policies for the goals set by the Paris Agreement to achieve zero-emissions. Also, as expressed by key world leaders through



YOUNG Soogil

Rintaro TAMAKI

Robert DAWSON

Mark LIPPERT

Irena ZUBCEVIC

Kilaparti RAMAKRISHNA



ZHU Shu



LEE Hyung-jong

## Policy Implications

- mission innovation, there is a need to foster more research and development for technological innovation, especially for clean energy.
- Mobilization of financial resources is key in building a carbon neutral economy. It provides the necessary resources to build policies focusing on long-term goals, especially in developing countries. Also, it will provide the funds for technological innovation necessary to build a carbon neutral economy. Financial vehicles to mobilize resources, such as the Green Climate Fund, should be utilized and its role expanded.

- Economic development and a carbon-neutrality are inter-linked goals.
- Alignment of domestic policies is necessary to achieve the goals set by the Paris Agreement and for sustainable economic development.
- International cooperation is also necessary. Developing countries need assistance in building capacity for aligning and implementing climate-resilient policies.
- Climate finance, through entities such as the GCF, will be the key vehicle in achieving economic development and carbon-neutrality. Access to resources should also be open to local governments.
- High-level political commitment toward carbon-neutral developmental policies will attract even more resources from the private sector.

# Investment and Financing for Sustainable Tourism

## Jeju International Training Center (JITC)

**Presenter** Randy DURBAND CEO, Global Sustainable Tourism Council  
**Rapporteur** KANG Song-il Lecturer, Jeju National University

- The tourism industry plays an important role in creating jobs and increasing tax revenues for local governments, therefore increasing the need for the development of tourism programs. A detailed approach is needed when it comes to the decision on what should be the purpose of the program and how to implement it, because poor management of programs is highly likely to impose a burden on local communities.
- To maximize the economic benefits and minimize the negative effects of the program, local governments should approach tourism development in a strategic way. The involvement of a Destination Management Organization (DMO) in the development of tourism programs is essential in encouraging tourism agencies to cooperate with each other and utilize the resources of local communities more effectively.
- First of all, a scientific system for the management of local human resources and tourists should be introduced. A strategic approach is required for the following tasks; establishment of a guideline on the education and training of the tourism workforce, decision-making on tourism policies and introduction of legal-institutional framework; destination management with a roadmap for stakeholders; and establishment of marketing plans.



- Destination management and marketing planning presuppose pursuit of a value, and the value is represented by sustainability, community-based tourism and responsible tourism. Destination management has greater importance in developing countries or rural communities, in particular. The residents of local communities need to participate in management of destinations by organizing cooperatives. Also needed is a partnership between the tourism industry and private sector.
- Development of human resources is particularly important in local communities. Local residents engage in tourism business as operators of

small businesses or a single-person company. As various stakeholders are involved, a plan to develop human resources should be contained in the overall scheme to develop the tourism industry.

- As destination management involves the private sector as well as many stakeholders in the public sectors governing the tourism industry and investment-finance, transportation, labor, rural development and vocational training affairs, how to coordinate their conflicting interests is an important issue.



Randy DURBAND



## Policy Implications

- Sustainable tourism is more important than ever as a valuable means of sustainable economic development of developing countries or rural communities. To create sustainable tourism, a strategic plan for destination management should be set up, and the conflicting interests of stakeholders in the tourism industry need to be coordinated.
- It is necessary to recognize the importance of a quality-oriented evaluation index such as the length of stay, tourism revenue, revisit rates, expenditure per tourist and target market, instead of the quantitative index of the number of tourists. The quality-oriented index can properly estimate the achievement of sustainable tourism.
- There should be a shift in the philosophy or value system about tourism. The efforts to persuade stakeholders in the local tourism and the procedure to coordinate their interests have strategic importance for the success of the tourism industry on a long-term basis.
- As the local tourism businesses participating in sustainable tourism make less profit, it is necessary to explore new market niches such as luxury, short-stay tours by improving the quality of tourism service, instead of relying on low-priced tourism programs.



## [ Panel Discussion ]

# Sustainable Tourism for Environmental, Social and Economic Benefits

## Jeju International Training Center (JITC)

Moderator	<b>Randy DURBAND</b> CEO, Global Sustainable Tourism Council
Presenter	<b>LEE Jae-hong</b> Vice President, Jeju Tourism Organization <b>Denis TOLKACH</b> Professor, Hong Kong Polytechnic University <b>Hugua</b> Regent Mayor, Wakatobi Regency Government, Indonesia
Discussant	<b>Silvia BARBONE</b> Director, Foundation of European Sustainable Tourism <b>KANG Ho-sang</b> Professor, Seoul National University <b>KANG Mi-hee</b> Professor, Seoul National University
Rapporteur	<b>KANG Song-il</b> Lecturer, Jeju National University

### Growth of Jeju Tourism Industry and New Challenges

#### LEE Jae-hong

One of the major changes in the domestic tourism market is the growth of Chinese tourists. Jeju Province recognizes tourism as a key industry for the future and as a strategic industry to cope with the low economic growth of the island. The tourism industry of Jeju Island is recording explosive growth, and the island has emerged as a major East Asian destination, mostly thanks to the increase of Chinese tourists. Judging by the number of tourists, Jeju Island is a world-class destination, but still records shorter lengths of stay and smaller revenue per tourist than other tourist spots. New challenges to the island are reckless development, speculative investment in real estate, and environmental threats from the increase of waste, electricity use and water pollution. For sustainable tourism, Jeju Island is pursuing a balance between quantitative and qualitative growth, declaring “cleanness and co-existence” as its vision. Sustainable tourism of the island is financed by the revenue from the tax-free

stores operated by the Jeju Tourism Organization.

### Major Challenges Community-Based Tourism Has to Cope with

#### Denis TOLKACH

The tourism industry is making diverse efforts to improve the quality of life in local communities. As an alternative tour program, community-based tourism is reducing dependency on external factors and raising the awareness of local community-led tourism, thus accenting the importance of the competence of local communities. Local communities should be able to have an understanding of tourism, entrepreneurship, educational program in tourism services, partnership networks, a profit sharing system and the capability to cope with social issues. They also have to be empowered to check reckless development and have a stronger initiative in smaller development projects. However, if they contribute little to local development projects, it may lead to a continued dependence on external assistance. The case of East Timor in Indonesia shows



Randy DURBAND

LEE Jae-hong

Denis TOLKACH



Hugua

Silvia BARBONE

KANG Ho-sang

KANG Mi-hee



that the community-based tourism, pursued by a network of cooperatives, NGOs, the government and the private sector, faces the tasks to develop long-term training programs, a standard model of tourism, joint marketing methods and tools for lobbying with the government. There also exist the pending issues of how to manage human resources (issues connected with leadership, communicative skills and stakeholders' interests), to find funding resources (self-funding by local communities is impossible, while external funding deepens reliance on external assistance), to develop a community-based brand, to expand access to information, to control conflicts and to sustain enthusiasm for the community-based tourism.

#### Efforts to Designate Wakatobi Regency as One of Top 10 Destinations of Indonesia

##### Hugua

Wakatobi Regency is made up of four islands, with a population of 120,000. It has Wakatobi National Park and is located at the center of Coral Triangle (known for its marine biodiversity with 750 coral species). Bali is the most famous tourist destination in Wakatobi, and the government is seeking to find another version of Bali. Wakatobi is one of the candidates for new Bali projects and receiving subsidies for the improvement of airport facilities. Under the vision of "Target 2020," Wakatobi aims to be a central destination of the Coral Triangle region.

##### KANG Mi-hee

Considering the preceding examples, community-based tourism needs the sharing of a vision, effective leadership and government support for its success.

##### Silvia BARBONE

All of the issues involving how to share a core vision and create effective leadership depend upon the people at the working level. They should share a vision with their leader under the policies to extend short-term and long-term financial supports to the end. The stakeholders should maintain a cooperative relationship, based on the financial support system. A business model and a data storage system

(knowledge system) are needed to establish a cooperative network and to turn it into a sustainable organization.

##### KANG Ho-sang

Given the relatively smaller financial and human resources in local communities, the linkage of NGOs with academia is required for sustainable tourism. The private sector plays a more significant role in community-based tourism, for which the facilitation of communication among stakeholders is required.

### Policy Implications

- For its success, community-based tourism needs a systematic network among stakeholders and a mixing of various programs. The most important factor for the success of community-based tourism is vision-sharing, and a leadership should be established to that end.
- If a vision is shared through communications with local communities, it could lead to voluntary participation by them in the tourism program and resolve conflicts of interests among the stakeholders.
- The government support may guarantee the sustainability of the local communities. However, the communities with small human resources cannot implement all the government policies. Therefore, an intermediary organization (such as a community enterprise) should be organized to solve such problems.

# Cooperation between Asia and Korea in Sustainable Energy System

## Cheju Halla University

<b>Moderator</b>	<b>JUN Yong-wook</b> Vice President, Sejong University
<b>Presenter</b>	<b>JUNG Tae-yong</b> Professor, GSIS, Yonsei University
<b>Discussant</b>	<b>Kojima SATOSHI</b> Principal Researcher, Institute for Global Environmental Strategies, Japan
	<b>MOON Sung-sik</b> Director, Environmental Policy Cooperation Department, Korea Environmental Industry and Technology Institute
	<b>JEON Eui-chan</b> Professor, Department of Environment & Energy, Sejong University / Director, Climate Change Research Center
	<b>KIM Yong-min</b> Professor, Cheju Halla University
<b>Rapporteur</b>	<b>KIM Shin-hyo</b> Professor, Cheju Halla University

### JUN Yong-wook

The energy issue is one of the most important tasks that require global efforts for a paradigm shift to pursue low-carbon energy systems, a green economy, eradication of poverty and sustainable development. There should be serious discussions from this perspective on how to develop sustainable energy systems under the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the UN, on the role of Korea in establishing sustainable energy systems in Asia, on the goal of Korea to reduce greenhouse gases, and on the cooperation between Asia and Korea for sustainable energy systems.

### JUNG Tae-yong

Under the UN's SDGs and "Sustainable Energy for ALL (SE4ALL)," efforts are being made to reach the following goals in three scopes – access to energy, effective use of energy and renewable energy.

#### ■ Access to Energy

Guarantee modern energy service for all

#### ■ Effective Use of Energy

Increase effectiveness of energy use by twice the current level

#### ■ Renewable Energy

Double up the proportion of renewable energy among the global energy mix

For international cooperation on sustainable energy systems, the Korean government selected solar energy, fuel cells, bio-fuel (to replace fossil fuel), secondary batteries, power Information Technology (IT) (for effective use of energy) and Carbon Capture and Sequestration (CCS) as six core technologies to cope with climate change. The government has implemented R&D programs to the end of developing the core technologies by 2020.

To develop new business models based on sustainable energy systems, the Korean government has set up a three-year new energy business plan (until 2017). It is promoting the negawatt market, energy storage systems, solar energy rental services, electric cars, green energy towns, utilization





JUN Yong-wook      JUNG Tae-yong      Kojima SATOSHI      MOON Sung-sik      JEON Eui-chan      KIM Yong-min



of hot waste water at power plants, and zero-energy buildings as eight major projects. The government also established a consultative body for new energy projects, jointly with the Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy, state-operated companies including the Korea Electric Power Corporation, private enterprises and financial institutions.

**Kojima SATOSHI**

Multilateral sustainable energy systems are connected with many aspects of sustainability.

- **Environmental Sustainability in Regard to Climate**

**Change**

The energy sector is responsible for greenhouse gas emissions and carbon-intensive energy that worsens climate change.

■ **Economic Sustainability**

Failure to secure stable energy sources might weaken sound and competitive economies.

■ **Financial Sustainability**

It is an international norm to weigh risks of climate change in the decision of investment and recollect investments in carbon-intensive industries. The continued investment in carbon-intensive en-

ergy such as thermal power plants may lead to a financial crisis in a worst scenario when more austere policies on climate change are introduced.

The only measure to prevent the risks of nuclear power is complete closure of nuclear power plants.

The effort to satisfy energy demands and maximize welfare should be accompanied by a clear recognition of the “limitations of sustainability.”

With a paradigm shift, it is also possible to find the optimal level of energy demand and technological options within the limitations of sustainability.

**MOON Sung-sik**

In the Asia-Pacific region, 635 million people face water shortages and 800 million energy shortages, and the numbers are expected to grow with the increase of population, urbanization and industrialization. According to the ADB, the urban population in the Asia-Pacific region could increase from 1,600 million to 3,100 million, thus becoming the largest energy consumption area in the world. Therefore, it is an urgent task to improve the effectiveness of energy use and replace fossil fuels with renewable energy.

Korea is raising energy self-sufficiency rates by using renewable energy at basic treatment facilities, including sewage treatment sites.

Korea has overcome environmental challenges by introducing a variety of environmental legislations as well as by investing in the development of environmental technologies.

**JEON Eui-chan**

Asia has some examples of sustainable energy systems that utilize renewable energy. Clean energy management software, RETscreen, and biomass power investment model, BioPIM, which were designed to assess the economic feasibility of investment and financial support to renewable energy projects, have been developed.

Korea has developed the Sejong Climate Change Screen (SCCS), which is used to analyze potential capacity of developing countries to produce renewable energy, evaluate the feasibility of sustainable development systems in those countries and obtain the optimal renewable energy mix.

Using the system dynamics model, Korea has

suggested to the developing countries the policies and institutional frameworks for wider distribution of solar power plants.

**KIM Yong-min**

In line with Jeju Island’s future vision and its core values, “cleanness” and “coexistence,” Jeju Province is pushing the “Carbon-Free Island” project. As regards the project, it was suggested that the island should cooperate with the Asian countries on sustainable energy systems, based on the geopolitical and environmental characteristics of the island.

The role and value of Jeju Island were explored in connection with the cooperation between Asia and Korea on sustainable energy systems.

■ ■ ■ **Policy Implications**

- A new model of cooperation, integrated with the knowledge, technologies and financial system of Korea, is needed for international cooperation on sustainable energy systems in Asia.
- As Asian countries are located in various regions, from the Pacific and Commonwealth of Independence States (CIS) to Southeast Asia, and have diverse demands of energy, the Korean government has to transfer its experience in energy development to them after packaging them in accordance with their separate needs.
- The technologies of Korea for landfill gas collection, transformation of food waste into energy and treatment of microdusts from diesel vehicles as well as the integration of fuel cells for electric car with IT technologies would help Asian countries to develop renewable energy and cope with their urban environmental problems.
- As the Korean government has accumulated the experience in solving environmental problems, including those from climate change, with R&D investments in environmental technologies and introduction of basic treatment systems and new environmental policies, it looks forward to cooperation with the countries in the Asia-Pacific region on a wide range of environmental projects.
- Korea has suggested many ways to contribute to the establishment of sustainable energy systems in Asian countries, as well as to their introduction of renewable energies, based on BioPIM and SCCS, and system dynamics models.
- Korea suggested how Jeju Island can contribute to cooperation with the Asian countries as an R&D station for “sustainable energy system,” a training and education station for “sustainable energy”-specific workforce and a test-bed for experiments on “sustainable energy.”

# Strategic Approaches to CO<sub>2</sub> Sequestration Using Harvestable Algae Kelp Forest

## Korean Society of Phycology

<b>Moderator</b>	<b>KIM Jeong-ha</b> Professor, Sungkyunkwan University
<b>Presenter</b>	<b>Thierry CHOPIN</b> Former President of International Seaweed Association <b>CHUNG Ik-kyo</b> Professor, Pusan National University <b>KIM Jang-kyun</b> Professor, Incheon University
<b>Discussant</b>	<b>KIM Hyung-geun</b> Chairman, Korean Society of Phycology <b>HWANG Mi-sook</b> Director, Aquatic Plant Variety Center <b>KIM Myung-sook</b> Professor, Jeju National University <b>KIM Young-sik</b> Professor, Kunsan National University <b>YOON Hwan-su</b> Professor, Sungkyunkwan University <b>LIM Young-soo</b> Researcher, Korean Fisheries Resources Agency
<b>Rapporteur</b>	<b>CHO Ga-young</b> Researcher, National Institute of Biological Resources

### Thierry CHOPIN

Integrated Multi-Trophic Aquaculture (IMTA), implemented on the eastern coast of Canada, gains much attentions and popularity as a marine polyculture system, using organic matter and inorganic nutrients discharged from the salmon farm as nutrients for mussels and kelp, because it minimizes pollution by marine farms and increases revenue from the marine farming. The value of algae farming as an ecosystem service should be duly recognized, and new programs such as nutrient trading credits should be developed as an institutional tool to generate revenues. Multi-trophic aquaculture might be introduced at the inland flatfish farm on Jeju Island to prevent pollution of the coast and to reuse nutrients.

### KIM Jang-kyun

I would like to introduce a new environment-friendly farming method, called “nutrient bioex-

traction,” which effectively removes the nutrients from inland areas by cultivating algae and shellfish at Long Island Sound which suffered from eutrophication. This technology, designed to remove nutrient salts by cultivating or farming organisms, is suggested as a solution for removing the nutrient salts flowing from inland areas, which is regarded as the cause of the bloom of green lava off the eastern coast of Jeju Island.

### CHUNG Ik-kyo

As the Paris Agreement was adopted at the 21<sup>st</sup> Conference of the Parties of the UNFCCC in December 2015, it is expected to increase the ability to adapt to the adverse impacts of climate change, foster climate resilience and lower greenhouse gas emissions, and make finance flows consistent with a pathway towards low greenhouse gas emissions and climate-resilient development. Accordingly, algae, the marine oxygen producer and CO<sub>2</sub> reducer,



KIM Jeong-ha

Thierry CHOPIN

CHUNG Ik-kyo

KIM Jang-kyun

KIM Hyung-geun

HWANG Mi-sook

KIM Myung-sook

KIM Young-sik

YOON Hwan-su

LIM Young-soo

are suggested as a means to cope with climate change. From 2005, Korea has been discussing measures to reduce CO<sub>2</sub> by using algae, jointly with 12 Asian countries, and expects that algae around Jeju Island under the greater influence of climate change would be an effective means to reduce CO<sub>2</sub>. I propose expanded farming of algae as a measure to cope with marine eutrophication and acidification.

### [ Discussion ]

- A continued public campaign, with a storyline, to raise the awareness of IMTA is necessary to cope with the negative reactions of the public toward the use of nutrient salts, regarded as pollutants, for multi-trophic aquaculture. At the same time, the government should make efforts to develop higher value-added products from marine farms, such as livestock feeds and beer, which might appeal to the public sentiment.
- Integrated multi-trophic aquaculture might be suggested as a solution to the bloom of sea lettuces in the coasts of Jeju Island, but more varied approaches should be developed through basic research to solve the marine environmental prob-

lem.

- Jeju Province is encouraged to employ IMTA in cultivating the seaweeds with higher economic value such as seaweed papulosa and callophyllis japonica, the major algae resources of the island. At the same time, the province should develop and establish more robust algae-farming facilities that can endure adverse conditions on the coast of the island.

### Policy Implications

- There should be continued research and efforts to apply IMTA to more algae species, and the central and local governments need to pay more attentions to and invest more in IMTA.
- As a carbon trading system was introduced to reduce CO<sub>2</sub>, a nutrient trading credit system should be considered for the reduction of nutrient salts in the sea and on land.
- The regulations on installation and operation of marine farm facilities should be eased for expanded implementation of IMTA.
- There should be continued attention to and research on the ways to utilize algae in coping with and adapting to climate change.
- The government should designate marine sanctuaries to utilize the diversity of algae in the coast of Jeju Island as valuable natural resources.



# Prospects for Environmental Technology Collaboration between Korea and China

## Korea Human Development Institute / Korea Environmental Industry & Technology Institute / Future Forest

**Moderator** GWON Byeong-hyeon Former Ambassador of the Rok to China / President, Future Forest  
**Presenter** KIM Yong-joo Director, Korea Environmental Industry & Technology Institute (KEITI)  
**JIAO Ping** Director, China Guanghua Science and Technology Foundation  
**Rapporteur** IM Jin-hyeok Director, Korea Entrepreneurship Center, Korea Human Development Institute

### Outstanding Cases of Environmental R&D

#### KIM Yong-joo

- Technology for concurrent treatment of nitrogenous compound and fine dust
  - The costs to secure sites and establish facilities were reduced by more than 30 percent, compared to existing ones.
  - Local commercialization basis was established through the verification of the demonstration plants, matched with cement production facilities in China.
  - The technology is deployed at cement plants and power generation companies.
- Technology to treat fine dust in processing petroleum coke
  - It treats acid gases and fine dusts resulting from the usage of petroleum cokes containing high concentration sulfur.
  - It uses wet electrostatic dust collector which combined washing and electric precipitation methods.
  - Dust collection efficiency was improved by the increase in durability and current density through improvement of discharge electrode.
  - It is applied to factories utilizing petroleum cokes such as cement and power plants.
- Development of real-time fine dust monitoring systems suitable for Chinese market

- Phase II development is underway for the hybrid system capable of measuring fine dust in real time and collecting samples simultaneously.
- Reliable data can be secured by establishing the temperature-humidity preconditioning system, which is adjusted to external environmental conditions such as high dust concentration, high temperatures, high humidity, and low temperatures.
- The real-time monitoring system is adapted to wired and wireless remote control and data storage functions.
- It is applied to the assessment of dust in the atmosphere, industrial complexes, and public facilities.
- Development of a mini-robot to clean up fine dust in ventilation shafts
  - The technology to clean up enclosed ventilation shafts using light mini-robot was developed.
  - Fine dust and pollutant in ventilation shafts of mass-use facilities are simultaneously removed.
  - Cleaning efficiency is improved by simultaneously cleaning four sides up.
  - Video cameras installed in the robot simultaneously conduct inspection and examination on polluted ventilation shafts.
- Exhaust filtering device using fuel additive catalyst
  - Plasma burner-applied Diesel Particulate Filter (DPF) tech-

nology was developed for vehicles.

- The DPF technology for off-road vehicles would reduce Particulate Matter (PM) by more than 80 percent and maintain the increase rate in fuel consumption below 5 percent.
- Post-processing device using burner-assisted HC dosing system for vehicles
  - Plasma burner is applied to DPF technology for vehicle.
  - The DPF technology for off-road vehicles would reduce PM by more than 80 percent and maintain the increase rate in fuel consumption below 5 percent.
- Production and application of biogas utilizing sewage sludge
  - Demonstration plant was developed to produce biogas from sludge.
  - The production of biogas out of the sludge from sewage treatment plants can reduce the amount of sludge and create new renewable energy.
- Anaerobic digestion facilities to treat organic waste resources
  - Organic waste resources are converted into new renewable energy.
  - Organic waste resources such as food wastes are used as a district heating source and automotive fuel.
- Gasification and electricity generation using household wastes
  - Demonstration facilities need to be developed for gasification sites that replace incineration facilities.
  - New renewable energy and high value-added chemical fuel can be produced by utilizing household waste resources.
- Technology for purifying fine soil polluted by hazardous heavy metal
  - Electro-dynamic purification technology is applied.
  - The electro-dynamic technology moves and removes pollutants with electrode installed in soil polluted by heavy metals (arsenic, etc).

#### JIAO Ping

China Guanghua Science and Technology Foundation is successfully leading global cooperation and charity project.

Korea-China Cultural Youth Association visited Inner Mongolia and launched a project dubbed "Green Sensibility."

Every spring, many students join the campaign to plant trees around deserts in China, and some 100 Chinese students visit Korea every autumn under



GWON Byeong-hyeon

KIM Yong-joo

JIAO Ping



the exchange programs.

China makes various efforts to improve the ecological environment. One example of this is the 8.4 million trees that have been planted in China.

Supranational cooperation is necessary to resolve global environment problems. In this respect, the KEITI has made great contributions.

China is raising public awareness about the environment by certifying environment-friendly products.

### Policy Implications

- Institutional measures should be established to continually pursue Korea-China exchange and cooperation on environmental protection.
- The authorities should recognize the importance of the input of resources and the efforts of experts to resolve environmental problems arising from economic development.
- Korea and China have to make joint measures to cope with the changes in China's environment issues. The people of Korea and China are required to recognize themselves as a climate community.

# Climate Change and Renewable Energy

## East Asia Foundation / Coalition for Our Common Future

**Moderator** **KIM Sang-hyup** Visiting Professor, KAIST / Chairman, Coalition for Our Common Future  
**Presenter** **KIM Hee-jip** Co-Chairman, New Energy Industry Association of MOTIE  
**SONG Kyung-yeol** Clean-Tech Leader, McKinsey & Company  
**Thomas LEHMANN** Ambassador of Denmark to the ROK  
**Rapporteur** **CHOI Ha-eun** Fellow, East Asia Foundation

- **KIM Sang-hyup** Situations have changed a lot since the signing of the Paris Agreement. The replacement of nuclear energy and fossil fuel with renewable energy is now being realized. Jeju Island, one of South Korea's great examples, is planning to convert all electric power to renewable energy by 2030 and to replace all gas cars with electric cars.
- **KIM Hee-jip** I am glad to speak here on Jeju Island, which is at the front line of the new energy industries coping with climate change. In the wake of the Paris Agreement on climate change, the United Kingdom announced an interesting policy. Its goals were to remove all coal power plants by 2025 and to reform regulations on the Energy Storage System (ESS) to meet demands for renewable energy. Thus, the prospects of industries all over the world are now changing. Four major factors - renewable energy, electric cars, rechargeable batteries, and the microgrid - are leading this change. The U.S. is providing wind and solar power, although gas is cheaper. Electric car technology has made great advances, too. Competition in the relevant industry is fierce. From the end of this year, GM will sell the Chev-

rolet Bolt, an electric car whose electric range has improved to 320 kilometers. The price is cheap, too. One can buy it at only 30,000 dollars with the federal government's support fund. Tesla Motors' new car has an electric range of 346 kilometers. Google is also developing an autonomous vehicle as well as an electric car. It is a revolution comparable to the smart phone in telecommunications industry. Google is co-producing the car with Fiat Chrysler Automobiles and preparing for the mass-production and distribution of the car to the public.

South Korea wants to be a pioneer in this industry. Its goal is to be the number one energy solution country, in terms of the system and solutions instead of sales, by 2030. South Korea will accelerate the adoption of electric cars and improve its industry structure for exports. The goal is to generate a sales revenue of 100 billion Korean Won and create employment for 500,000 people by 2030. Experiments for the microgrid or zero energy buildings will be conducted on Jeju Island. Infrastructure for charging electric cars will be established, and the investment will also be concentrated on a smart grid. The Ministry of

Trade, Industry, and Energy (MOTIE) and Korea Electric Power Corp. are moving together toward those goals.

Jeju Island's goal for conversion into a renewable energy-based system by 2030 is an important opportunity for South Korea and can also set a great precedent for the world. The coasts of Jeju Island are the optimal environment for wind power generation. Solar power generation capabilities will also be developed. The speed of the development of new energy industries is phenomenal. It is like the supply is running after the demand. The Energy Storage System (ESS) industry is also growing in Australia. It is aiming to create a 100 billion dollar-market by 2030 under optimistic conditions.

- **KIM Sang-hyup** With dependence only on renewable energy, sporadic production may emerge as a problem. Storage systems such as the micro smart grid system are important. These days, the price of oil has decreased, so eyes are on whether the utilization rate of renewable energy can go up.
- **KIM Hee-jip** Energy experts were also surprised at the continued low price of oil. They expected the supply rate of renewable energy to decrease due to the low price of oil, but that was not the case. Last year, wind and solar power generation accounted for 61 percent of energy used in the U.S., even though the prices of oil and gas in the U.S. are only about a quarter of the prices in Korea. That was because the prices of wind and solar energy have been lowered, too. When the Kyoto Protocol was adopted, the renewable energy was five times more expensive than traditional energy resources. Now, the price is higher than traditional energy by only about 10 percent, which means it has become a viable alternative for ethical reasons. I believe the price of the renewable energy in Korea will also decrease like this.
- **KIM Sang-hyup** It reminds me of the dialogue between Jeju Governor Won Heeryong and Tesla Motors' Chief Technology Officer JB Straubel. They said they will create a new industrial ecosystem through the use of renewable energy. We will now move on to Dr. Song who will talk about Jeju's Green Big Bang and the future of electric cars.



KIM Sang-hyup

KIM Hee-jip



SONG Kyung-yeol

Thomas LEHMANN

- **SONG Kyung-yeol** Jeju's Green Big Bang is comprised of four elements. They are renewable energy, an energy storage system, the smart grid, and electric cars. These four work together to create synergy and will fundamentally change society in the future. All are important, but I will focus on electric cars.

Many people are interested in electric cars because they can reduce carbon dioxide emissions. Some people, however, question if electric cars can actually reduce the exhaustion of carbon dioxide, as the electricity production comes from coal and nuclear energy. They say the electricity must also be created from renewable energy.

Let's look at the world's electric-power production. Wind and solar power generation account for small portions in the total production. Their production rate is high in Denmark, but less than 2 percent in Korea. Nobody knows how high the production rate will rise 20 or 40 years later. Even by conservative estimates, however, renewable energy will become a mainstream and this will happen within 10 to 20 years. Solar and wind power are expected to account for larger portions in the world's total power production. Some raise questions over whether the renewable energy market can grow in the low oil price era, but the two are different markets. Oil is utilized in the



transportation sector. The development of renewable energy is very fast.

It is necessary to look at the entire car market to understand the trend of electric car development. The size of the entire market is estimated at about 3.5 trillion dollars. This will grow to 7 trillion dollars for the next 15 years. The market also includes an aftermarket involving replacement parts, such as tires, as well as automotive accessories. On top of this market, new products such as electric cars and autonomous guided vehicles have emerged. This will change the paradigm of the car industry.

Let's look at the sales of electric vehicles between 2011 and 2015. In 2015, 90 million cars were sold, and 2.5 percent of them were electric cars, including not only fully electric cars such as Tesla's, but also hybrid cars. Most of the electric cars sold were hybrid cars. One important thing here is the increase rate of the sales volume. The growth rate of gasoline car sales was 4 percent, but that of electric cars was over 9 percent. McKinsey assesses that the market size is expanded by four factors: regulations, technology, user convenience, and infrastructure. Currently, electric cars are more expensive than gasoline cars, but their prices will be almost the same in about 20 years.

Regarding regulations, carbon dioxide emissions are being subjected to tighter restraint. In Europe, carbon dioxide emissions should be lower than 119 grams per kilometer. This will be less than 100 grams in 2020. Generally, gasoline cars discharge up to 140 grams of carbon dioxide per kilometer, but electric cars discharge 0 gram. This is a competitive edge.

Technological development improves the economic feasibility of electric cars. Electric car batteries were priced at 600 dollars five years ago, but the price has fallen to 400 dollars and is expected to come down to 200 dollars in the future. In this case, the economic feasibility of gasoline cars and electric cars will become equal. Surveys among customers show that many people want to buy electric cars for financial reasons. They are willing to buy them as long as the payback period is within four years.

When it comes to user convenience and infra-

structure, what counts most is recharging stations for the electric cars. There are few recharging stations in Korea, but Jeju Island is an exception. There are many recharging stations in Europe, China, and the US. The number of stations will gradually increase.

I talked about the positive aspects of Jeju Island's Green Big Bang project, but not all enterprises have succeeded in this industry. There were many that suffered failures. Competition is really fierce. Competition should be balanced with regulations.

- **KIM Sang-hyup** I will ask you a technical question. Electricity demand will be important for Jeju Island to have only electric cars by 2030. How many power plants do you think should be built? There are some concerns that Jeju Island will not be able to meet the electricity demand.
- **SONG Kyung-yeol** There are about 400,000 cars on Jeju Island. If we assume that they are all replaced by electric cars and driven 30 kilometers a day on average, the actual energy demand will not increase that much. The demand will increase by only 10 to 20 percent. But, if all 400,000 cars are recharged at the same time, big power plants will be necessary. We, therefore, need a policy to induce drivers to recharge at different times.
- **KIM Sang-hyup** There is a country whose energy consumption remained unchanged while its economy grew by 30 percent. It also succeeded in reducing greenhouse gas emissions by 30 percent. That country is Denmark. We have a lot to learn from them. We will now listen to Ambassador Lehmann.
- **Thomas LEHMANN** Climate change and renewable energy have emerged as important issues after the Paris Agreement. I would like to share the examples of Denmark and Jeju Island seeking green revolutions. Thanks to the characteristics of South Korean society, Jeju Island is changing even more rapidly than Denmark, but the phases of progress are similar to Denmark's path. It is establishing large-scale infrastructure for electric cars and a smart grid.

In the 1970s, Denmark was terrified by the oil shock. At the time, the small country, which marked a 100 percent dependency on fossil fuels,



keenly felt the instability of its energy supply. Politicians came up with plans for a change in energy use and made a decision to drastically reduce the emissions of carbon dioxide.

About 30 percent of Denmark's electricity is generated from renewable energy sources. There are various types of renewable energy, too. We use solid biomass rather than wind power generation. There is no nuclear power. Denmark decided not to build nuclear power plants through a referendum. Denmark hopes to be a Carbon-Free country by 2050.

One of our priorities is the issue related to the cost of renewable energy. We want to make consumers choose renewable energy for its high cost efficiency. We spent a lot of government funds to make the people select renewable energy sources. Our conclusion is that cheaper energy is needed even when there are no subsidies.

Denmark is maintaining or containing its energy consumption without lowering its growth rates. Even during times of economic growth, we decreased carbon dioxide and water use. Our enterprises are exporting green technologies, and

feeling the economic effects from doing so. Some would ask how it was possible. It is definitely possible to stimulate economic growth and provide welfare services while reducing energy consumption. You don't have to give up competition for the environment. People believe that green growth will be harmful for competitiveness. I would like to ask them to look at Denmark's example.

There is a substantial partnership between Denmark and South Korea regarding green growth. In 2011, the two countries formed a green growth alliance that calls for cooperation between the businessmen and politicians of the two countries. Academic and technical cooperation is also underway. Denmark's Bornholm is especially friendly with Jeju Island. Bornholm is smaller than Jeju, but a Carbon-Free island. South Korea possesses advanced technology and its pace of energy reform is surprising. Even Denmark, which earlier achieved a shift to green growth, has a lot to learn from South Korea, and this is leading to industrial and business partnerships. The public and private sectors, as well as universities and other research institutions, are also pursuing technological exchanges. We share the vision of green growth.

- **KIM Sang-hyup** I am glad to say that South Korea has been reducing its carbon emissions, although not as much as Denmark did, while maintaining its economic growth. What kind of lessons can Denmark share with South Korea?
- **Thomas LEHMANN** It is important to reduce energy consumption. Efforts by each household to refrain from using air conditioners can be a great help. It is also necessary to expand wind power generation. Denmark has had good results from onshore wind farms. As far as I know, Jeju Island is a good location for this.
- **KIM Sang-hyup** Denmark has pushed for environment-friendly development since the 1970s. I wonder whether this policy was affected by governmental changes and how the continuity of the policy can be maintained.
- **Thomas LEHMANN** It is essential to maintain the continuity of the policy. If the policy is influenced by politics, it is hard to attract investors and to

create a good business environment. Investors will never make an investment if they don't know what will happen four years later. Energy plans need to be established with long term goals in mind. There have been many governmental changes in Denmark over the last 30 to 40 years. Regardless of whether the government was conservative or progressive, however, its will to push for green policies has not been shaken.

#### [ Q & A ]

- Q.** You provided an optimistic view about the power supply. There could, however, be an inevitable failure of the power supply because of weather conditions. Is there any measure, like power storage, to cope with that possibility?
- A. SONG Kyung-yeol** There should be a coordinated effort to disperse charging demands. If many cars try to recharge at once, it raises the risk of a power shortage. Measures such as differentiating charging prices by day and night should be considered.
- Q.** The biggest difference between Denmark and South Korea is whether they operate nuclear power plants. As far as I know, Jeju Island has one in operation. I want to ask about the differences in efficiency among various power generation methods.
- A. KIM Hee-jip** Personally, I think nuclear power generation is a good method, but it is hard for me to say this in public. Gas is expensive in South Korea because the gas has to be liquefied as it cannot be supplied through pipes like in the U.S. Power generation costs are higher in South Korea, as it is hard to find sites for power plants due to high land prices. It will be possible for Jeju Island to make a complete shift to renewable energy by 2030, but nuclear power will inevitably play a major role on mainland South Korea, as it costs less.
- A. KIM Sang-hyup** Judging in terms of grid power, South Korea is an island like Japan. There is no way of exporting or importing electricity. We need to rationally choose power resources. Personally, I don't like nuclear power generation,

but in reality, it is impossible to give it up completely.

- Q.** This subject is very similar to what we research. Why do people not think about hybrid hydrogen batteries when talking about electric cars? I also wonder how a national consensus can be reached on policies regarding this issue.
- A. SONG Kyung-yeol** Hydrogen and lithium batteries always remain a hot topic. Hydrogen batteries have an infrastructure problem. Electric cars can be recharged at home if necessary. Hydrogen battery-based cars, however, need a completely new infrastructure. It might be the question of which came first, the chicken or the egg. If somebody aggressively builds the infrastructure for hydrogen refueling, the situation will change. However, it is hard to forecast. Who will be the winner in the market is not an easy question to answer, but I expect lithium batteries to win because of the infrastructure.
- A. KIM Sang-hyup** Hyundai and Kia are developing hydrogen cars.
- A. Thomas LEHMANN** You asked if there is will to forge a consensus on the policy. I think it is possible, at least on Jeju Island.
- Q. KIM Sang-hyup** Nevertheless, there are still criticisms against it. I would like to ask what kind of obstacles there are. Is it possible to realize the large-scale vision?
- A. Thomas LEHMANN** Once something is started, it is hard to retreat. It might not be achieved by 2030. It can be delayed. Electric cars will, however, be distributed rapidly. It should go along with the development of renewable energy sources. It is not a step in the right direction if we import electricity from somewhere else to operate electric cars. We need to persuade enterprises to make investments in shifting to electric car use, as it can turn a profit. Government officials and scholars should work together to realize it on Jeju Island. As all of them have the will to do this, I believe this plan will succeed.
- A. SONG Kyung-yeol** To be honest, there is no right answer. I have expertise in technology and economics, but not in politics. The important thing is that the politicians' leadership should be harmonized with the will of the people. If

the government cannot ask the people to reduce their energy consumption, an alternative would be to solicit their cooperation with subsidies. It might be difficult given the current budgetary conditions.

- A. KIM Hee-jip** Realizing the large-scale vision requires both effort and luck. It also needs technological development. Jeju Island is establishing detailed plans. It set up a budget and a policy aimed at selling 4,000 electric cars this year, 20,000 cars next year, and 28,000 cars the year after. Next year, the offshore wind farm project will kick off.

### Policy Implications

- Jeju will carry out a complete shift to electric cars to become a Carbon-Free Island by 2030.
- Because the distribution of electric cars should go along with the development of renewable energy, it is essential to develop technology and establish the necessary infrastructure.
- As it is hard to meet nationwide power demands with renewable energy alone, South Korea should continue to operate nuclear power plants, but it is difficult to reach a public consensus regarding this.
- Denmark's case shows that green growth and economic growth can be made concurrently.



# Cooperation for the Recognition and Conservation of Potential World Natural Heritage Sites in Asia-Pacific Region

## Jeju World Natural Heritage Center / Korea Institute of Ocean Science and Technology

<b>Congratulatory Remarks</b>	<b>LEE Soon-bae</b> Chief, Jeju World Natural Heritage Center
<b>Moderator</b>	<b>WOO Gyung-sik</b> Professor, Kangwon University / IUCN WCPA Geoheritage Specialists Group Member
<b>Presenter</b>	<b>Thomas CASADEVALL</b> United States Geological Survey / IUCN WCPA Geoheritage Specialists Group Member
<b>Discussant</b>	<b>YI Hi-il</b> Principal Research Scientist, Korea Institute of Ocean Science and Technology
	<b>MUN Kyung-o</b> Secretary General, South and West Tidal Flat WH Promotion Team / IUCN WCPA Geoheritage Specialists Group Member
	<b>CHO Woo-jin</b> Team Manager, Korea National Commission for UNESCO
<b>Rapporteur</b>	<b>HAN Hyoung-chol</b> Deputy Officer, Jeju World Natural Heritage Center

- The Asia-Pacific region has many valuable natural heritages such as volcanic topography and rare submarine topography centered on the Ring of Fire. Many of them are designated and conserved as the World Natural Heritages, with many other sites being designated as Biosphere Reserves for the sustainable coexistence of humans and nature. Hong Kong and Jeju Island are taking good care of their World Geoparks. Jeju Island is the only place whose three natural heritages were recognized by UNESCO. However, there is little attention on submarine volcanoes, black smokers, and undersea mountains, thus requiring more efforts to discover and preserve such natural heritages. Jeju Island is also a rich repository of mineral resources.
- It is hard to examine and research the ocean floor not only because it is under the sea, but also because of issues involving the territorial waters of neighboring countries. The Hantan River is an important geological resource that flows more than 100 kilometers along the territories of both South and North Korea. There are 1,031

world natural heritages, 802 cultural heritages, 197 natural heritages and 32 mixed sites. The standards for the world natural heritages include supernatural phenomenon, esthetic importance, geological features and the history of the Earth, ecological process, biological diversity, and the appearance of endangered species. Jeju has well-organized conservation programs, including an educational one. Among Jeju Island's World Natural Heritages, caves are especially precious natural heritages that carry universal value, as the lava tubes preserve stalactites and stalagmites that were created after lime components from the shell sands permeated into the caves.

- South Korea is also trying to list the mud flat on the southwest coast as a World Natural Heritage. The caves of Jeju Island are much older than those in Hawaii and have lots of geological value. There are other candidates for World Natural Heritages in South Korea, including the mud flat on the southwestern coast, which is a geological and biological heritage as an intertidal zone, similar to the Wadden Sea in Europe.



LEE Soon-bae

WOO Gyung-sik

Thomas CASADEVALL

YI Hi-il

MUN Kyung-o

CHO Woo-jin



- There are about 300 submarine topographical features, including lagoons and coral reefs, in the Asia-Pacific region. They are susceptible to climate change and extremely changeable, but not many places have been listed as world heritages. Because of this, it is very hard to preserve them. There is a serious shortage of scientific data, and a lot of expenses, effort, and time are required for their designation as world heritages. There are a number of coral topographies, including lagoons and barrier reefs in the area, referred to as the "Coral Triangle." It is extremely difficult to effectively preserve the natural heritages located across multiple countries due to the lack of understanding about natural heritages in underdeveloped nations and strong resistance from residents, who suffer difficulties from regulations placed on the natural heritages. These factors are obstacles to the efforts to recognize, designate, and preserve

the natural heritages in the Asia-Pacific region.

- So far, natural heritages have been concentrated only on overland features. Last year, a submarine volcano was discovered on Jeju Island's ocean floor, and there is a possibility that more valuable submarine topographies exist in the area. It is time to focus efforts on recognizing marine natural heritages, too.

## Policy Implications

- It is difficult to designate preservation areas in certain waters because of serious territorial disputes.
- Efforts are necessary to overcome the differences between scientific boundaries and actual boundaries.
- The designation of new heritages brings economic prosperity and stability to the region.
- It is urgent to launch new research into the submarine topography around Jeju Island. There should also be elaborate research into the geological environment of the continental shelf off of Jeju Island, in particular.
- Natural heritages will be unique geological and biological inheritances in the future. Central and local governments should engage in active research on them. It is suggested from a long-term view that a full-scale expedition into the

marine topography be pursued through the cooperation among the countries around the area.

- Designation of a certain site as a serial heritage corresponds to UNESCO's philosophy. South Korea's heritage may lack outstanding universal value, but it can be recognized as serial transnational property. Measures to carefully preserve the heritages are needed for the designation of other sites to be connected to the heritage as serial heritages.
- Geological diversity should be linked to biodiversity and preserved by locals. The sites of serial transnational properties will be improved if the preservation programs appropriate for each site are implemented.
- It is imperative to strengthen education regarding the preservation of the heritage sites. A balance should be maintained in implementing preservation measures in developed and developing countries, as underdeveloped countries suffer difficulties due to tight budgets. All countries should make all kinds of efforts.



Chapter **FOUR**

D I V E R S I T Y



[ Media Talk Show 2016 ]

# Concerns and Outlooks of the Younger Generation

## JoongAng Ilbo

**Moderator** CHUNG Kang-hyun Reporter, JoongAng Ilbo  
**Discussant** WON Heeryong Governor, Jeju Special Self-Governing Province  
**Performance** LEE Jung Singer  
**Rapporteur** RYOO Young-sun Global Affairs Team, JoongAng Ilbo

The Media Talk Show, launched last year in celebration of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of JoongAng Ilbo, features a so-called "New Type of Concert," a combination of debates on current issues and performances by the younger generation in their 20s and 30s. This year's concert, on the theme of "Concerns and Outlooks of the Younger Generation," was held on Jeju Island for the first time to commemorate the 11<sup>th</sup> Jeju Forum.

- **Chung** It is said that the results of this year's general election, which reduced the ruling party to a minority, reflects the outrage of the younger generation.
- **Won** It not only reflected the opinion of young adults who have few job opportunities, but also the sentiment of those in their 50s, who feel increasingly anxious about retirement as well as for the future of their children. Those issues are what politics and politicians are expected to address. At least, they should give the hope that things will get better in the future. But they seem only interested in lining their own pockets, and it is only too natural that voters feel enraged.
- **Chung** As a politician yourself, what do you think you should do for the younger generation?
- **Won** The current social malaise in South Korea

stems largely from structural factors. At the heart of the problems of those in their 20s lies job opportunities, while the older generation is concerned about housing. The two issues are closely connected. The older generation has spent their whole life securing a house, and a drop in housing prices would put their assets and life after retirement at risk. On the other hand, an increase in housing prices puts a heavier burden on the younger generation. We must find a fine balance between the two. Preaching words like the "youth is supposed to suffer" sounds so irresponsible in the face of these structural problems. Offering an umbrella to the young in the rain would be the best solution, but if that is not possible, we should at least get rained on together and seek a solution together.

- **Chung** The younger generation, too, should do something about this.
- **Won** Across all ages and places, the young generation always suffered and felt lost. They should have courage and the mindset to accept the suffering as their privilege. I sometimes feel heavy when some young people talk about the so-called "gold spoon theory" and simply give up trying. I do not mean to moralize that they need to make

more effort. While the younger generation exerts passion, politicians have to set the stage for them to prove their worth.

- **Chung** You were top in exam after exam, from the SAT to the bar exam, and it seems that this makes you have a hard time sympathizing with ordinary young people.
- **Won** I had ups and downs until I passed the bar exam. I engaged in student activism for about 10 years, and it was a hard time for me. When I was being chased by the police for staging anti-government protests, rumors were going around that I was drowned in Baengnokdam Lake on Halla Mountain. But the experience served as a basis for my growth. I feel grateful to my parents for trusting and waiting for me to rise up again.
- **Chung** Sometimes, we make unlikely choices at the crossroads. You also chose to become a prosecutor instead of a judge even though you graduated from the Judicial Training Institute with honors.
- **Won** I thought sitting all day as a judge looking into documents was not enough to consume my youthful passion. At the time, an anti-corruption campaign was in full swing under the Kim Young-sam government, and prosecutors spearheading a series of investigations seemed gorgeous to me. I found it exciting to find something out of nothing.
- **Chung** You made another unlikely choice when you entered politics as a Grand National Party member, instead of the opposition Democratic Party, even though you have a dissident background.
- **Won** My experience as a prosecutor and an attorney as well as the financial crisis changed my mind a lot. I used to be preoccupied with democratization in my 20s, but I started to think about state affairs and national policies, including economic growth. Besides, I found that Korean society can make progress not only through the struggles of the progressive line but also by reforming the conservative camp.
- **Chung** You ran for the presidential candidacy in the 2007 primary, despite a lot of hardship.
- **Won** I believe that the conservative party should not stand in the way of innovation, only to pro-



CHUNG Kang-hyun

WON Heeryong

LEE Jung

tect the vested rights of chaebol. By joining the primary race till the end, I wanted to make people aware that there are voices for the common people within the conservative party.

- **Chung** What are your plans after your term as a governor?
- **Won** Jeju Island is a kind of test bed for me. I used to be outspoken as a politician but I still have to prove myself as an able administrator. After that, I want to play a role of contributing to statecraft, possibly as President of the Republic of Korea if popular support gives me the chance to do so.

## Policy Implications

- A politician's job is to create hope for the future and make it come true. Therefore, they should keep challenging the status quo to accomplish their tasks.
- All public policies should be oriented toward job creation. In addition, it requires concerted efforts by society to establish long-term plans to create new job opportunities.
- Indiscriminate development of Halla Mountain by Chinese capital has been put on hold. The natural beauty of Jeju Island could be irrevocable, if destroyed by or handed over to Chinese capital.
- Developing a creative, culturally high-end tourism program will dispel the shoddy image of Jeju tourism. It will also help increase the capital of local residents.

# Cultural Diversity of Asia and Cooperative Leadership

## Cheju Halla University

Moderator	<b>PARK Mee-young</b> Professor, Cheju Halla University
Presenter	<b>HYUN Seung-soo</b> Director, International and Strategic Studies Division, Korea Institute for Korea Unification
Discussant	<b>PARK Joung-ho</b> Head, Russia & Eurasia Team, Korea Institute for Foreign Economic Policy
	<b>LU Wei</b> Professor, Shanghai Jiaotong University
	<b>Yuji HOSAKA</b> Director, Dokdo Research Institute at Sejong University
Rapporteur	<b>KIM Shin-hyo</b> Professor, Cheju Halla University

### PARK Mee-young

One of the biggest topics for humanity in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is how to achieve mutual recognition of cultural diversity and rapprochement among economically vibrant and fast-growing Asian countries.

The aim of this session is to explore the role of culture as an instrument of reconciliation in Asia, where violence, perpetrated in the name of religion and nationalism, sectarian conflict and strife are prevalent.

### HYUN Seung-soo

The toxic effect of the “Asia Paradox,” where conflict in security and political affairs persists, has become increasingly manifest in the East Asian region, particularly among Korea, China and Japan. Cultural exchange and cooperation resulting from political and economic interdependence in the short run will ease the crisis, while providing clues to Asian integration through spiritual sympathy and bonding in the long run.

The recent, fervent reception of South Korean TV dramas by Chinese people represents a possibility that popular culture can play the role of public

diplomacy. In contrast, the way the “Korean Wave” has produced an “Anti-Korean Wave” in Japan gives us a lesson that too much commercialism and lopsided cultural exports cause a negative reaction.

Complacency with the status quo and the absence of any strategy may destabilize even cultural exchanges and cooperation, which serve the role of a buffer zone for regional conflicts in the event of political, economic, cultural conflicts among Korea, China and Japan. Political support that can ensure sustained attention to and the practice of cultural exchanges is necessary for friendly relationships among the three countries.

It is important to search for a shared culture among the three countries. Awareness of a common cultural base should also keep pace with the acceptance of cultural diversity. In a similar vein, the discourse on Asian values from the 1990s should be resumed.

Korea, China, and Japan are supposed to share the idea of an Asian cultural community and turn Asia into a space of cooperation and coexistence based on cooperative leadership and cultural diversity, instead of amplifying competition and conflict



by feeding the sources of inter-state conflict into nationalism.

### PARK Joung-ho

The basis for Asian cultural community is to recognize cultural differences among Asians and rebuild trust with each other.

The recent universal phenomenon is globalization and multiculturalism. While the former is an economic matter, the latter is more of a cultural issue. Without culture, a network economy would not be possible. Culture is the core value, and the economy is nothing more than its by-product.

Issues such as continued nuclear weapons tests by North Korea, differences in historical interpretation, territorial disputes cause conflict in East Asia, im-

peding regional integration and higher connectivity.

A cooperative, future-oriented and sustainable regional cooperation to resolve the conflicts of the East Asian countries must be preceded by cultural exchange.

East Asian countries should overcome the “Asia Paradox,” based on cultural exchange and cooperation, thus creating a regional order for economic cooperation and peace. In addition, they should respond collectively to supranational threats arising from the environment, public health, energy and climate change issues.

### LU Wei

The younger generation should be provided with an environment and an opportunity to play a sig-



nificant role in overcoming inter-state conflicts and barriers through cultural exchange.

The three countries have tragic past and sensitive issues, but politicians still take advantage of and exaggerate these sources of conflict and negative aspects to win elections and advance their career path.

The conflict between the three countries should be resolved by their own hands, but the U.S. constantly intervenes in the conflict to maintain its control in this region as well as to promote its own political and economic interests.

Leaders in politics, industry and education should provide support to the younger generation so that they can acquire capabilities to play a role in the resolution of inter-state conflict.

A good example of the support is a student exchange program for undergraduate and graduate students between Sungkyunkwan University Institute of China Studies and Shanghai Jiao Tong University Institute of Korean Studies

#### Yuji HOSAKA

South Korea is at a crossroads whether they should seek closer cooperation with the U.S. and Japan or strengthen its ties with China and/ or Russia.

Continued development of friendly relations among the three East Asian countries should, ad-

mittedly, be supported by politics that continually engage these countries, but it eventually means that cultural cooperation will be subject to political relations.

The current autistic nationalism in Japan stems from Japan's apprehension about the growth of the South Korean economy and Korea's foreign policy placing Korea-China relations before Korea-Japan relations and Japan's opposition to it. The U.S. is behind this opposition.

Considering common values and geopolitics, it is imperative for South Korea to reinforce its ties with the US and Japan above all else. China, albeit an important partner with South Korea, still shares more common values with North Korea. US-Korea-Japan cooperation should take precedence to its cooperation with China.

#### Policy Implications

- Efforts on the government and the civilian level should begin to manage autistic nationalism.
- Mutual cultural exchange and communication should continue and expand. Unilateral cultural export or restrictions of imports instigate exclusive nationalism which, in turn, makes a vicious circle of regarding culture as a tool for infiltration. Based on cultural exchange and cooperation, Asian countries should pursue coexistence and cooperation on an equal footing, instead of competition.
- A trilateral research institute should be established by Korea, China and Japan to create an Asian identity that can be shared by the East Asian countries.
- If inter-governmental cooperation should prove difficult to manage and resolve conflicts among the three countries, a track 1.5 approach should be actively sought, jointly with the civil sector.
- An East Asian joint history textbook project should also continue with a long-term view.
- Based on solid economic ties between South Korea and China, cultural exchange programs among young adults should be developed. This will hopefully lead to the awareness that East Asia is a family.
- Individual research institutes and their publications in South Korea and China are under heavy influence from their respective governments, making it hard to overcome prejudices. Joint research projects by scholars of both countries should be promoted to produce unbiased and objective study programs.
- The expansion of trilateral cultural exchange is agreeable, but it requires a new measure, differentiated from past ones.

# The Role of Higher Education for Asia's New Order and Cooperative Leadership

## Jeju National University

<b>Moderator</b>	<b>KIM Ki-seob</b> Former President, Pusan National University
<b>Presenter &amp; Discussant</b>	<b>HUH Hyang-jin</b> President, Jeju National University <b>Ketut SUASTIKA</b> President, Udayana University, Indonesia <b>PHO Kaung</b> President, Yangon University, Myanmar <b>VO Van Sen</b> President, The University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam
<b>Rapporteur</b>	<b>KO Yun-ji</b> Student, Jeju National University

#### HUH Hyang-jin

In the age of the "New Normal," the role of universities is essential in creating a new order. The role should be based on the strategy of regionalism tailored to suit regional characteristics. Universities as higher educational institutes should concentrate on improving liberal thinking and values based on history and philosophy with a view to creating a new order, while putting in efforts to find new theories to solve small-scale problems arising across the globe.

Currently, Jeju National University is conducting a series of projects to keep up with the changing times. The university leads the local economy and industries by working with the local government to build effective governance on Jeju Island, by suggesting the future path of the island and by drawing up plans to innovate local communities as well as leading the Meetings, Incentives, Conferences and Exhibitions (MICE) and other specialized industries using subtropical flora and fauna, and maritime resources. By extension, the university provides training programs in specialized industries as well as raise talent that suits the needs of local society and

industries through the LINK project and on-the-job training. Also, we support English talents and have established international development centers on campus in cooperation with KOICA, promoting international exchanges by dispatching students overseas.

#### PHO Kaung

Education has its value in that it helps acquiring knowledge, talent and skills as well as improving quality of life. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, when localization and globalization are taking place simultaneously, it is necessary to discover and develop the values of higher education.

For the purpose of developing higher education, Yangon University is strengthening its educational basis by remodeling classrooms, acquiring training aids, establishing online libraries, and a ubiquitous network and Wi-Fi network. Also, it provides a larger faculty, helps students improve competence, and enhances the quality of education with field trip and overseas training program, sports and the arts program, as well as inter-disciplinary courses. In addition, the university helps the faculty to acquire



KIM Ki-seob      HUH Hyang-jin      Ketut SUASTIKA      PHO Kaung      VO Van Sen

competence in research and lecture through forums and exchange programs as well as providing them with chances to study at foreign universities.

**Ketut SUASTIKA**

Intercollegiate and international cooperation help reduce the knowledge gap and brain drain. If each region of the world shows excellence in a specific area, they can cooperate with each other in joint projects attended by several institutions. Universities should take the initiative.

Udayana University operates a program for foreign students as part of an international exchange initiative where students from abroad are provided with a variety of instruction ranging from Indonesian language to construction and business administration. At the same time, a number of Indonesian students participate in international exchange activities through student exchange programs. Udayana University is specialized in tourism, agriculture and renewable energy, and shares this expertise with other institutes.

Udayana University hopes to become a global-level university, while cherishing the traditional notion of happiness (harmony among people, people and gods, people and nature) as a means to improve the quality and quantity of international cooperation. These ideas can help facilitate international cooperation.

**VO Van Sen**

The rise of pluralism, along with globalization and localization, makes it imperative to study a global vision and to link it with education. In higher education, globalization and internationalization

must be implemented strategically, and cooperation among higher education institutes overseas is important. This will improve educational expertise and create cooperative culture among university leadership. In the end, higher education should adopt innovative culture and pursue sustainability. This philosophy will help operate a variety of joint projects as well as pursue a well-rounded education, brainstorming and more active debates.



**Policy Implications**

- Traditionally, universities' major role was to educate and research, but today's universities should make more contributions to local communities. As universities provide education to the local population, the two can positively interact with each other.
- In the age of globalization, universities should put in more effort to conserve traditional culture as well as to advance technology and information. Harmony and sustainability of technology and culture can only be achieved when cultural aspects are respected.
- Universities should continue cooperation with international organizations, including NGOs, on research and education.
- Higher education should play an important role of making innovative policies for New Asian order and cooperative leadership.
- It is important to continuously operate cooperative projects as well as forums and conferences for information sharing. Through these efforts, Asia can make positive changes towards a multiethnic and pluralistic society.

# Asia's New Order and Universities

**Jeju National University**

- MC** **BYEON Jong-heon** Director, Institute of Peace Studies, Jeju National University
- Moderator** **KO Seong-joon** Emeritus Professor, Jeju National University
- Presenter** **LI Maosen** Associate Professor, Renmin University, China  
**Tomoko OKAGAKI** Professor, Dokkyo University  
**Leif-Eric EASLEY** Assistant Professor, Division of International Studies, Ewha Womans University
- Discussant** **YANG Gil-hyun** Professor, Jeju National University  
**KIM Min-ho** Professor, Jeju National University
- Rapporteur** **KO Kyung-min** Research Professor, Jeju National University

**KO Seong-joon**

Asia is facing a new transition period amid dynamism and uncertainty. Asia should grow out of its past of tension and conflict into a new order of coexistence and cooperation for the future. To this end, universities should produce young leaders of integrity who will create and spearhead the new Asian order. We would like to explore the missions and tasks of universities in the era of a new Asian order.

**LI Maosen**

Spiritual legacies in literary classics play a pivotal role in leadership education at universities. Confucian teachings of morality have formed the basis of modern leadership.

The five virtues of Confucianism (benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and sincerity) represent the core content of Chinese moral philosophy. The Confucian thoughts on morality function as an important moral ideology among the Chinese.

Confucianism is a traditional thought shared not only by Chinese but also by Asians in general. Confucian morality needs to be revived for a new East Asian era. Despite historical disputes and political conflict, an East Asian moral community is necessary for the coexistence and cooperation of the East Asian states.

In times of globalization and localization, Confucian moral codes will serve as a spiritual mainstay for enhancing individual morality and transforming local communities into moral ones.

**Tomoko OKAGAKI**

Today, regionalism in Asia operates on a rationale different from that of Europe. In spite of tension and conflict caused by security issues, Asia rose as a center of economic growth in the post-WWII era. The reason Asian regionalism was able to develop through this historical process is ascribed to the regional diversity of culture, religion and political systems.





BYEON Jong-heon

KO Seong-joon

LI Maosen

Tomoko OKAGAKI

Leif-Eric EASLEY



YANG Gil-hyun

KIM Min-ho



Asian universities have operated with the perceived mission of serving the country and society. Amid the current regional volatility and uncertainty, they are still expected to meet practical needs, which threaten value free, scientific education and research. Considering the original nature and mission of universities, Asian universities have to address the questions of “academic freedom” and “scientific research.”

As globalization advances, it requires cross-border joint research and exchanges among academic communities. So far, Asian university education has been dominated by the needs of the state and the public sphere, while focusing disproportionately on the content and methodology of research and education, only. University education in Asia should be reoriented towards solid basic research as well

as stimulating students to think freely and analyze social phenomena in a scientific way.

**Leif-Eric EASLEY**

Today, East Asia is a vibrant as well as volatile region. Miraculous economic growth and continued strife originating from history and territorial disputes exist side by side in the region. The clash of nationalism among countries spread the exclusive pursuit of national interests and diplomatic disputes across the region. The need for a new Asian order and a harmonious community is greater than ever.

The prerequisites for an Asian community would be 1) an “open-ended regionalism” with continued exchanges with MIKTA (Mexico, Indonesia, South Korea, Turkey and Australia) as well as Asian countries 2) a “comprehensive regional order” embrac-

ing civic society, North Korea, Taiwan as well as universities other than prestigious ones 3) “freedom of ideas” for building a regional order.

Governments and universities of East Asian countries need to make efforts to create a safer and more peaceful region for the younger generation. Korea, China and Japan can get benefits from the construction of an East Asian community such as common security, economic prosperity, cultural innovation and prosperity. Some governments and universities in the region are already seeing the results of such cooperation.

**YANG Gil-hyun**

I agree to the argument that new values concerning human dignity and rights should be created and spread while the five virtues of Confucianism should be reinterpreted in a modern context. I also agree with the view that the Asian regionalism model differs from that of Europe in that the former suffers from the absence of policy coordination mechanisms as well as the dearth of trust. However, unlike the multinational governance well established in Europe, the Chinese subcontinent is governed by a single country, which makes multilateral approaches a more daunting task. Also, the U.S. preference for a bilateral approach in the East Asian region, such as U.S.-Japan and U.S.-Korean ties, as well as the political practices of the Korean and Japanese governments to comply with the bilateral

ties, further impedes East Asian multilateralism.

**KIM Min-ho**

As Asia, unlike Europe, varies in culture, religion and political systems, the sole emphasis of Confucian morality may ignore diverse cultural, religious traditions in the region and is feared to bring cultural hegemony. Asian universities need to explore ways that the Asian countries could overcome the Western modernization paradigm and develop diverse models of life, based on the national uniqueness and cultural, religious and political diversities of the region.

**Policy Implications**

- It is suggested that individual morality should be based on tolerant and open-minded Confucian ethics and moral philosophy, which will eventually help create an East Asian moral community of coexistence and co-prosperity.
- From a practical point of view, universities in East Asian region should not only absorb academic achievements of the West but also refer to the ERASMUS program (of the European Union) with a view to promoting English education, joint research and accreditation, and exchange programs among universities in the region.
- The governments and universities in the Asian region are required to explore ways how to promote cooperative partnerships and to enhance academic freedom in the face of persistent nationalistic strife among the three East Asian

countries and in the absence of a regional organization to take the initiative for East Asian regional cooperation.

- When constructing an Asian community, the function of civic education by universities as well as the respect for diversity and uniqueness of each state should be emphasized. Also, it is suggested that we should critically consider the possibility that diverse cultural and religious traditions of Asia might be transformed into a “unity within diversity” in the process of creating a new regional community.
- The idea of embracing North Korea in the framework of East Asian regionalism should be deliberated.
- An East Asian community has its significance in seeking new ways to deepen mutual understanding among the three countries and eventually to integrate the East Asian region. Governments and universities should take the lead in materializing this community, while more actively seeking measures to ease tension.

# Women's Empowerment and Corporate Sustainability

## UN Global Compact Network Korea

Moderator	<b>KWAK Guel</b> Associate Researcher, UN Global Compact Network Korea
Chair	<b>IM Hong-jae</b> Secretary-General, UN Global Compact Network Korea
Presenter	<b>Linda BACKTEMAN</b> Councilor, Economy & Trade Affairs, Embassy of Sweden to the ROK <b>YU Young-seon</b> President, BPW Korea <b>LEE Sun-joo</b> Head, CSV Center, KT <b>LEE Myung-hee</b> Executive Vice President, Pulmuone Foods Corporation
Discussant	<b>MIN Moo-suk</b> President, Korean Institute for Gender Equality Promotion and Education
Rapporteur	<b>SO Wan</b> Researcher, UN Global Compact Network Korea

- In the UN General Assembly held in September, 2015, 193 UN member states adopted the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), common goals for international community for the next 15 year from 2016 through 2030. In Goal 5 (Gender Equality and Women Empowerment) of the SDGs, they emphasized that gender equality is a prerequisite for realizing sustainable development and economic/ development plans.
- These days, a notion is spreading worldwide that women's active participation in the workplace, market and local community in general produces social and economic equality, and ultimately contributes to improving national competitiveness. While South Korea has also seen an improvement in women's status as a result of corporate responsibility for gender equality and social respect for diversity and gender equality, women still have to go a long way to enjoy equal opportunity in terms of access to higher posts, employment, promotion and wages both in the public and private spheres. According to a South Korean

business research institute, only 2.2 percent of the board members of the top 100 South Korea companies are female, while the country scored 25 points and ranked the lowest among OECD member countries in the Glass Ceiling Index published by the Economist in March, 2016. This session introduces the global trend of sustainable development of business enterprises which have implemented gender diversity and women empowerment, and shares the stories of the efforts and achievements of the companies.

### Linda BACKTEMAN

According to the Global Gender Gap Index of the World Economic Forum, Sweden has the highest gender equality with the first feminist government in world history. Gender equality and female empowerment are two priorities of the Swedish government in its decision-making and resource allocating process. Women account for half of the world population. The critical mission of women empowerment is to give them equal access to



health, education, leadership and political representation. The Swedish government, recognizing that female empowerment is what makes sustainable development and higher national competitiveness possible, carries out policies for gender equality, and equal wages and opportunities.

Women empowerment should not be simply confined to one of the SDGs, but should be taken as a priority for companies and corporate activities in general. There is no sustainable development if half of the population with higher education cannot participate in the labor market. Women's Empowerment Principles (WEPs) of the UN Global Compact are an expression of the resolution for gender equality on the part of businesses. It is time for compa-

nies to urge the government to make changes.

### YU Young-seon

Of all the 36 OECD member states, Korea has recorded the widest wage gap between the sexes for 14 consecutive years. This huge wage gap results partly from the glass ceiling and career suspension during maternity leave, but the root cause is the depreciation of "women's jobs" under sexist prejudices. The wage levels of female-dominated occupations are normally lower than the global average, while the glass ceiling and career suspension worsen the situation. In the belief that economic equality is the key factor of a gender-equal society, BPW is staging the "Equal Pay Day" campaign.





KWAK Guel



IM Hong-jae



Linda BACKTEMAN



YU Young-seon



LEE Sun-joo



LEE Myung-hee



MIN Moo-suk

Equal Pay Day refers to the day when female wages equal that of their male counterparts, which means that women now have to work more than a year to earn a man's yearly income. In order to reduce the number of the days, the government should set up an organization to analyze the gender wage gap and introduce a gender equality certificate system for business corporations, while the media and the civic society raise public awareness of the wage gap.

#### LEE Sun-joo

KT boasts of the longest years of service by female workers among Korean businesses, thanks to a variety of its programs and policies for gender equality. In particular, the company provides two years of maternity leave, and 99 percent of those who take the leave come back to work afterwards. KT analyzed the current female workforce distribution as part of a female talent promotion project and set the policy to cultivate its female workforce, based on the implications of a survey among women workers. Currently, the company is implementing three core strategies and 11 strategy missions, namely a systematic training for better use of female talent, to create a corporate culture for synergy effects between male and female employees and to prevent a career lag among female workers.

In conjunction with the UN's SDGs, the company plans to provide a large-scale investment and opportunities for female talent, while making efforts to spread KT's successful case throughout Korean society.

#### LEE Myung-hee

Pulmuone is a company aiming at LOHAS (Lifestyles of Health and Sustainability), and this makes the company one of the most family- and female-friendly companies in Korea. Businesses should enhance competitiveness by raising and retaining female talent. In particular, a female-friendly business should help them find a work-life balance. To this end, diverse programs should be developed to minimize career discontinuation during pregnancy and baby care, and help them focus on work, so that they can build up their careers and contribute to constant growth of the organization. With this in mind, Pulmuone has introduced a flexible work-hour system for employees with children and a differentiated performance assessment system for those who are on maternity leave to protect them from discrimination in promotion and compensation. In addition, pregnant employees have been automatically, without a request procedure, entitled to reduced work hours since 2013. The company aims to have female staff members account for 30

percent of its board members by 2020 under its detailed plan for gender equality.

#### MIN Moo-Suk

Compared to the OECD average, the socio-economic status of Korean women remains low and has yet to be improved. There have been many efforts to ameliorate the situation, including expansion and improvement of childcare systems and infrastructure, but the key factor standing in the way of women empowerment is the disproportionately long work hours and retarded corporate culture. In today's session, two companies presented a good example for other companies, but many companies still ask for individual sacrifice for the good of the company. A major shift on the societal level towards a family-oriented lifestyle is necessary for uninterrupted female careers and female representativeness, which can, in turn, reduce social costs. It is important to form a partnership with male spouses, co-workers and seniors to achieve gender equality.

#### IM Hong-jae

The key theme of the WEPs (Women's Empowerment Principles) is "equality is corporate competitiveness." Equality is achieved only when women are empowered and when corporate culture and public policy support and put it into practice. To this end, first, the WEPs need to be incorporated into every stage of corporate operation. In this regard, support of the CEO and the executive board is imperative. Second, female empowerment and the culture of gender equality should spread throughout the supply chain. Sustainable development of a business can only be ensured only when these conditions are met. Also, the sustainable development of business enterprises is made possible by the participation and contribution on the part of all stakeholders (investors, consumers, employees, business partners, government and local communities).

### Policy Implications

- Human rights are the top value in the 10 principles presented by the UN Global Compact, and female rights lies at the heart of international human rights issues. Women's empowerment and gender equality, Goal 5 of the SDGs, is a cross-cutting issue that is closely connected to all the other goals. Despite international attention and support, women's empowerment and gender equality still lag behind in South Korea in terms of both public awareness and practice.
- SDGs can be achieved only when women empowerment and gender equality are realized. Thus, companies should play a pivotal role in this regard.
- A country with higher female participation in economic activities and gender equality tends to attain steady economic growth, and a company with more female board members stands a better chance of growth. The UN stresses that a legislative body with more female members is more active in enacting legislations on issues such as health, education and human rights. Such awareness should spread across society.
- Company cases presented in this session show a lot of potential for gender equality and an encouraging sign of women empowerment and promotion of their rights. KT's strategy for female talent utilization, BPW Korea's equal pay campaign, Pulmuone's female-friendly policies and the 2030 goals all accord with the UN WEPs. It is highly appreciated that these local companies are making efforts to empower women and put the culture of gender equality in place.

[ Culture Summit of Youth Leaders ]

# What I Dream of for Our Better Future

## Jeju Special Self-Governing Province / World Culture Open

Special Performance	<b>KIM Dong-woo</b> Pianist
MC	<b>WOO Sang-im</b> Pianist, CEO of Birch Tree Wood Music, Cultural Planner
Welcoming Remarks	<b>WON Heeryong</b> Governor, Jeju Special Self-Governing Province <b>HONG Seok-hyun</b> President, World Culture Open
Moderator	<b>HAN Sang-yeob</b> CEO, Sopoong
Presenter	<b>Misaki IWAI</b> Event and Collaboration Manager, Impact HUB Tokyo <b>YANG Guanglei</b> Artistic Director, World Music Shanghai <b>Lauren SINGER</b> Founder, Trash is for Tossere & the Simply Corporation U.S.A. <b>KANG Kyung-ok</b> Haenyeo(Jeju Woman Diver) <b>Sokny ONN</b> Senior Manager, Epic Arts, Cambodia
Rapporteur	<b>JIN Eui-ryang</b> Culture Designer, World Culture Open

- All the eighty-eight keys on the piano make different sounds. Difference makes beauty.
- Culture is a language beyond languages. For Jeju Island to advance to a better future with “culture,” everyone should put in an effort to make this island a land of culture and art under the motto of “Jeju enhances the value of nature, culture and humanity.”
- We should strive to conserve the unique values of Jeju Island where pristine nature and culture coexist, everyone loves to be, and nature and humans coexist.
- Along with Nara of Japan and Ningo of China, designated as 2016 East Asian Cities of Culture, the World Culture Open collaborates with Jeju Island to develop it into a center of art and culture.
- Not only the local population but also people from abroad should interact and share a vision

with each other to create a culture city that can be the envy of the world, and a symbol of world peace and culture.

### HAN Sang-yeob

The ideal young person of Jeju is the one who crosses borders and brings down walls. I imagine Jeju city filled with the creative activities of young leaders and the hopeful shape of the city culture designers projected at the culture summit.

### Misaki IWAI

Culture is part of life, and vice versa. An “Impact Hub” is a network place to share ideas and visions through inter-cultural communication among various communities and businesses. It puts top priority on communication based on close networking among entrepreneurs, since the initiative is to sup-



KIM Dong-woo

WOO Sang-im

WON Heeryong

HONG Seok-hyun

HAN Sang-yeob



Misaki IWAI

YANG Guanglei

Lauren SINGER

KANG Kyung-ok

port start-ups that can innovate and change society. The most important job as a network manager is to create an environment for communications and perform constant maintenance work on the network. As valuable cooperation depends on the volume of communication, the chance of communication should be enhanced from zero to one.

### YANG Guanglei

Our life changes very fast. My job is to discover unknown and almost forgotten music of the world and make it reach the audience worldwide. I am currently producing an album by Tibetan ethnic minorities, so that I can bring their life in the ancient Tibetan city and its beauty to cities all over the world. Performing music and beating drums is a way of discovering the primitive nature of humanity, and the pristine music heals people.

If there is a philosophy in “World Music,” it is to change life through it. China is made up of diverse ethnicities. A thousand-year-old music and the profound tunes it creates give peace of mind. Modern fusion version of the music will appeal to the younger generation. Although World Music sounds abstract, it is a way of seeking the root of humanity. The tunes may sound strange, but I will keep on trying.

### Lauren SINGER

For the past four years of a “zero waste” lifestyle, I could save money while having wholesome meals. Packaging of almost everything is waste. I minimized the use of disposable goods and used as many recyclable goods as possible to live a zero waste life. Also, I try as much as I could to make necessary items by myself. The mindset for recycling should spread across the globe, and business corporations should also take social responsibility when making products.

### KANG Kyung-ok

Amid the aging of Jeju Haenyeo (woman divers) and their decreasing numbers, someone still dreams of diving into the sea as long as she can. Her mother was also a diver, which was a source of her pride as well as shame. Asked why she dreams to be like her mother, she says “you never know what it is until you do it yourself,” suggesting that catching an octopus and picking seashells is incomparably blissful moment.

Swimming through seaweed in the deep, dark sea is such a grueling job that some say it is like “making money in hell to feed the kids on earth.” She says that “no one can do the diving work, alone.” It requires a teamwork since one might lose their life if





you have a cramp in your leg or it gets caught under an anchor or something else in the water.

Haenyeo's work is a team task. The rule of the Haenyeo community is to share and help each other. When she followed a senior Haenyeo into the deep, dark sea, she could not fill the basket since she could not find anything. But her basket was full of seafood on her way back. Sharing and working together paves the way to happiness.

#### Sokny ONN

People used to say to me, "You can't do that," because I am disabled. In the video clip, on crutches she sings, dances and enjoys time with her friends. All the people around her also enjoy the moment. She says culture can overcome disability and her dream is to make a better world. She is a performer of combined arts who tells people a message that each person has their own precious values. She sends us the slogan of "From peace of mind to peace of community," and quotes from Dalai Lama, saying that an unprejudiced look at the world and care about others are what matters.

We can be happy together only when we share our wisdom, change and heal our lives with music,

make our lives healthier and full by the zero waste campaign, and work together without prejudice against each other.

We can bring a better future into reality by the practice of young leaders who live a creative life in diverse areas of art, health, environment and culture. Culture designers who pursue common goals of humanity are those who make a sustainable future possible.

As they started with something that made their hearts leap and also had the perseverance to pursue their dreams, they could finally tell us of the dream of coexistence of humanity.

Everyone seeks a healthy, stylish and joyful life. Sometimes, exotic cultures cause fear, but we should open our hearts to embrace and understand things we are not familiar with, so that we can become an existence that others want to know and coexist with.

Thus, we feel the warmth of life through cultural exchange and sharing. A city of culture and creativity is where creative and attractive citizens design a better, happier life with their passion and talent. They are culture designers themselves.

#### [ Artist Panel Talk ]

## Searching for the Very Aspects of Jeju Arts and Culture

### Jeju Special Self-Governing Province / World Culture Open

Special Performance	<b>Jerajin</b> Jeju Children's Choir
MC	<b>WOO Sang-im</b> Pianist & CEO, Birch Tree Wood Music, Cultural Planner
Welcoming Remarks	<b>WON Heeryong</b> Governor, Jeju Special Self-Governing Province <b>HONG Seok-hyun</b> President, World Culture Open
Chair	<b>KIM Won</b> Architect & Principal, Architect's Group Forum
Presenter	<b>CHUNG Bo-won</b> Sculptor <b>KIM Suk-youn</b> Architect & Principal, Architect Kim's Atelier <b>KIM Joo-won</b> CEO & Architectural Coordinator, Hausstyle Co. <b>KIM Kai-chun</b> Professor of Spatial Design, College of Design, Kookmin University
Rapporteur	<b>JIN Eui-ryang</b> Culture Designer, World Culture Open

- We find global traits in the most indigenous aspects of Jeju culture. We share what artists define as "Jejuness" in a session joined by artists who love Jeju Island. We also explore artistic values and attractions of the culture of Jeju, which has the power to heal and move the hearts of all people.
- We take a glimpse of Jejuness in a pure song by Jerajin, a Jeju children's choir in traditional Jeju clothes, with lyrics written by poet NA Tae-ju that go, "You will find its beauty only when you look at it closely. You will find it lovely only when you look at it long enough. So are you."
- We should conserve the unique streets of Jeju Island, not the streets found everywhere else. Discussion should begin on which part of Jeju Island should be preserved and which part renovated for the benefit of the local population.
- We should ponder on how to create the core values of Jeju Island for the future and a lifestyle of

coexistence. We should rediscover the values of Jeju Island.

#### KIM Won

As is the case with all kinds of environment, that of Jeju Island is irretrievable. The indigenous scenery created by the wind and stones is a precious resource of the island and the roots of its nature. The reason the stone walls of Jeju are stronger than concrete walls is that the wind passes through the gaps between the stones. Thus, the uniqueness of Jeju's nature can preserve itself. Just as is the case with Venice, the global trend of architecture is to pursue sustainability in the form of a "floating airport," and "mobile" cruise ships, rather than buildings on land.

#### CHUNG Bo-won

When I designed the monument at Shinsan Park in Jeju commemorating the arrival of the Olympic



Jerajin Jeju Children's Choir



WOO Sang-im



WON Heeryong



HONG Seok-hyun



KIM Won



CHUNG Bo-won



KIM Suk-youn



KIM Joo-won



KIM Kai-chun

Flame in 1988, I focused on expressing “Jejuness.” The reason people marvel and admire humble stations in Corsica or Sicily is because they can still hear and see the sound of the nature and the traces of long history. People love to visit places where nature reveals its pristine state. Jeju would lose its Jejuness if it lost the sound of nature. When I was creating the monument, I aimed to conserve the indigenous characters of the island. Jejuness is not about simply replicating or reproducing outward features of the island but about blending the culture of Jeju into a genuine form of creation.

**KIM Suk-youn**

A building constructed within natural environment may ruin the environment. The indigenous nature of Jeju can be expressed in the “architecture of stone and wind,” since Jeju’s terrain and climate allows people to set up a building with those materials. Houses are built in craters (ompang), and each compartments of a house is built separately from each other, while walls are built with basalt.

**KIM Joo-won**

Jejuness is blended into the house as it was based on the indigenous characters of Jeju Island, instead of focusing on the form or materials. Buildings

should be designed in a way that wind can be felt and living space is minimized. The architecture of Jeju Island pursues simplicity that allows for the space of coexistence with nature with the distinction between inside and outside being blurred. Simplicity is not a result of frugality but of a minimalist style that embodies a larger form, where architecture encounters nature. Windows become a landscape, creating a new space.

**KIM Kai-chun**

A cultural and artistic lifestyle is one that is not bound by others. It is important to retain the unique aura of the island rather than seeking outward beauty. We should make inflection points of spaces with various compositions and arrangements of spaces. The small and simple architecture of Jeju has a hidden scale. It does not tell inside and outside apart, nor is it subject to anything. Rather, it is connected and related to the environment. The coexistence of nature and humans is all about Jejuness.



# Building a Creative Partnership among East Asian Culture Cities

## Jeju Special Self-Governing Province / World Culture Open

<b>Moderator</b>	<b>KIM Hyun-min</b> Director of Culture Policy Division, Jeju Special Self-Governing Province
<b>Chair</b>	<b>Akima UMEZAWA</b> Deputy Secretary-General, Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat
<b>Presenter</b>	<b>LYU Yong</b> Vice Director, Ningbo Municipal Bureau of Culture, Radio, Film, TV Press and Communication <b>Miyako NISHIZAKI</b> Director General, Civic Activity Department, City of Nara <b>FAN Zeyuan</b> Director, Public Culture Department, Qingdao Municipal Bureau of Culture, Radio, Press and Publication <b>SON Jung-yuen</b> Chairman, Hub City of Asian Culture Forum <b>PARK Cheol-wan</b> Director, Culture & Art Division, Cheongju City <b>LEE Jung-hwan</b> Director General of Culture, Tourism and Sports Bureau, Jeju Special Self-Governing Province <b>KIM Cheol</b> Coordinator, Minister of Culture, Sports and Tourism <b>CHUNG Dal-ho</b> Director General, Bureau of External Relations, World Culture Open <b>Rolf NORAS</b> Director, Cultural Affairs, Stavanger City, European Capital of Culture 2008, Norway
<b>Rapporteur</b>	<b>PARK Shin-young</b> Research Team Head, World Culture Open

Focused on the Culture City Initiative since 2012, discussions were held on measures to activate cultural exchange projects between Korea, China and Japan as well as to promote civic exchanges.

### Goals

- To create a sense of solidarity and mutual understanding within East Asia and to spread East Asian culture based on traditions to the world
- To develop local cities in a creative manner for peace, stability and prosperity in East Asia and to promote cultural cooperation among Korea, China and Japan.
- To broaden common ground among East Asian cultures and to create a fusion in the diversities of local cities.

### Summary of Presentations

Rolf Noras presented his experience and know-

how based on more than 30 years of cultural exchanges between cities. Presentations on the achievements of current East Asia “Culture Cities” and plans for “Culture Cities” in 2016. Discussions on the orientations and methodology to develop East Asian Culture Cities.

### Rolf NORAS

#### The Goal of the European Capital Culture

To publicize the rich culture of Europe, to celebrate cultural heritages shared by Europe and to promote the development of the cities.

#### The Benefits of the European Capital Culture

To contribute to socioeconomic development and to promote citizens’ participation in the creation of cultural expression.

#### The Successful Case of Stavanger City

While the city used to be a center of sea trade and shipbuilding in the 1800s and the oil industry in the



KIM Hyun-min

Akima UMEZAWA

LYU Yong

Miyako NISHIZAKI

FAN Zeyuan

SON Jung-yuen



PARK Cheol-wan

LEE Jung-hwan

KIM Cheol

CHUNG Dal-ho

Rolf NORAS

2000s, Stavanger lost its economic momentum before being reinvigorated by the culture, art and tourism industries thanks to its status as the European Capital of Culture. In accordance with the slogan “Open Port,” the city paved the way to a new era of culture through various cultural and artistic events, which invited people from all around the world. The city actively supports artistic activities, bearing a sense of solidarity and responsibility in mind. It reinforces the local identity through environment-friendly wooden architecture of NorwayWood, the lighthouse art program, support for creators’ work using a former beer factory.

#### The Orientation for Culture Exchange

The benefits of culture are everlasting, and it will prove successful when new demands and expectations about culture and art are met amid the constant emphasis on the importance of history, art and culture in the city environment.

### LYU Yong

#### The Orientation of Ningbo, East Asian Culture City

It reinforces public characters using its rich local history and cultural assets. The development of the city is promoted by linking different cultural projects.

#### Plans for East Asian Culture City Project

- The establishment of an East Asian modern

public culture.

- Modern public cultural system: improving public culture infrastructure.
- Distribute art to all citizens.
- The development of systems to conserve intangible cultural assets.
- Discovering and integrating local historical and folk culture resources.
- Linking technology and young, potential cultural talent.
- Preparing an action plan as part of the 13th five-year East Asian project.
- Promote Ningbo as a city of books, music and film.

### Miyako NISHIZAKI

#### City Overview

Heijokyo, Nara has 1,300 years of history and is an open, international city which introduced the culture of Korea and China.

#### Key Plans

- A series of events showcasing the characters of the old city of Nara set for September and October.
- An exhibition of Korean, Chinese and Japanese modern installation art is to be held at the historic temple of Todaiji in Nara: it is to project



# JEJU FORUM

## FOR PEACE & PROSPERITY 2016

아시아의 새로운 질서와 협력적 리더십  
Asia's New Order and Cooperative Leadership



the future, along with contemporary art, based on the past.

#### Future Paths for Cultural Exchanges

- Youth exchanges.
- Citizen-engaged exchanges.
- Exchanges of high-quality culture and art.

#### FAN Zeyuan

##### City Overview

Along with Cheongju in Korea and Niikata in Japan, Ningbo was named as a 2015 East Asian Culture City. It hosted and organized some 200 events and cultural promotion projects.

##### Plans ahead

The city plans to serve as an important platform for cultural exchange programs such as the Korea-China-Japan youth cultural ambassadors, ethnic music education, and civil exchanges led by Qingdao Owang citizens' art troupe.

#### SON Jung-yuen

The importance of exchange between Culture Cities should be emphasized by the successful case of cultural exchange such as Ypres in Belgium and Liverpool in Britain.

##### The Directions of Cultural Exchange of Cities

- Exchange of art works
- Cultural tourism projects
- City development and renewal
- Linkage of culture and welfare policies

##### Achievements so far

- The potential of sustainable development of East Asian Culture Cities has been confirmed.

##### Measures to Activate Cultural Exchange

- Discovering and spreading joint festivals (Asia Song Festival, The Light of Asia Festival, etc.).
- Exchange between cultural content industries.
- Expanding civic exchanges.

#### PARK Cheol-wan

##### The Achievement of East Asia Culture City

Korea has developed East Asia cultural content into a specialized global brand through events such as the Chopsticks Festival, Cheongju Art Festival, King Sejong and Chojeong Mineral Water Festival, Cheongju Folk Art Festival, Cheongwon Life Festival and the East Asia Creativity School. Korea has constructed a global human network through 10 mid- and long-term projects and sustainable cultural policies.

#### LEE Jung-hwan

Efforts to realize Jeju as a “No.1 tourist attraction” and eventually as “island of art and culture” are called for.

##### Suggestions

- The establishment of a consultative body and shared financial sources to constantly pursue projects.
- The provision of benefits to the participants of East Asia Culture Cities.
- The preparation of various ways to exchange cultures.

#### KIM Cheol

##### Suggestions for Culture Promotion Policies

- Strengthening competitiveness through cultural exchange: Enhancing sustainability of joint efforts to create an identity of East Asian Culture Cities
- Building a network for cooperation in a joint agenda development.
- Research for developing cultural competitiveness of East Asian countries: Support to exchanges for mutual development, and designation of a Day of Culture for Korea, China and Japan as a symbolic measure.
- Pursuit of joint projects and an art festival of Korea, China and Japan.
- Promoting a balanced development of the culture industry and the preservation of traditional cultural heritages in Korea, China and Japan.

#### CHUNG Dal-ho

##### World Culture Open Overview

A network of creative cooperation aiming at a

ubiquitous culture for a happier world for everyone

##### Key Activities

Cultural movements all over the world as well as on Jeju Island. Support for creative activities of local culture designers and the contribution to cultural development.

#### [ Q & A ]

**Q.** What are the merits, attractions and future of cultural exchange projects for East Asian Culture Cities?

**A. Lee** There are barriers to cultural exchange among Korea, China and Japan such as language and difficulties in expanding the scale and adopting proper methodology. But cultural exchange provides stimulus to local artists and cultural workers as well as the opportunity for their growth. It also gives a chance for the local population to participate in the exchanges.

**A. Noras** The most important point in cultural exchange is to welcome each other's vision, values and cultures, to create a sense of solidarity as a result and to create something new in the end.

**A. Kim** It is necessary to develop shared content with which Korea, China and Japan can make progress together.

**A. Chung** It is expected that the cultural exchange among the three countries will result in an encounter of the past and the future as well as turning the different cultures into cultural content, and this will spread across the world.

**A. Park** It is important to bring down the cultural and language barriers among the three countries.

**A. Son** The purpose of East Asian Culture Cities is to solve the love-hate relationship among the three countries through culture. It is necessary to carry out sustainable projects aimed at spreading a sense of solidarity and shared visions.

**A. Nishizaki** A culture grows and matures by encountering another culture. It is important to develop programs to introduce and exchange one's own culture with each other.

**A. Lyu** Cultural content that everyone can sympathize with improves the quality of culture and helps maintain friendly relationships.





Chapter **FIVE**

GLOBAL JEJU

# Future Direction of Jeju Free International City and Developing Infrastructure

## Jeju Free International City Development Center (JDC)

Moderator	<b>PARK Hyun-chul</b> Director General, Investment & Development Headquarter, JDC
Presenter	<b>PARK Jai-mo</b> Director, New Business Department, JDC <b>MOON Dae-seop</b> Principal Researcher, Korea Railroad Research Institute
Discussant	<b>LEE Yoon-sang</b> Director, Urban and Metropolitan Transport Division, Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport <b>KANG Chang-seok</b> Director, Design Architecture and Land Management Division, Jeju Special Self-Governing Province <b>LEE Jin-hee</b> Professor, Jeju National University
Rapporteur	<b>KIM Dong-hwan</b> Assistant Manager, JDC

- While a recent surge of migrants and tourists to Jeju Island functions as a key impetus for a boost in the local economy, creating a so-called “Jeju Rush” phenomenon, it is also bringing about housing scarcity, traffic jams, and environmental damage, thus standing in the way of sustainable growth of the island.
- For continued enhancement of the value of Jeju Free International City, with a goal of one million residents and 20 million tourists per year, urban infrastructure suitable for its magnitude of growth should be pursued aggressively and proactively.
- To this end, we should review the sustainable development plan for Jeju Free International City and discuss what kind of urban infrastructure needs to be built to enhance the quality of life and to improve visitor convenience, and how to implement the plan effectively.
- JDC exchanged opinions with experts in the relevant fields on what it has to do as a public enterprise under the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, and Transport to accomplish the policy goals of

the central and local governments.

### PARK Jai-mo

Continued investment in Jeju since the inception of Jeju Free International City resulted in considerable quantitative growth, yet unexpected problems arose, including land and housing price hikes and an increase in traffic accidents.

When developing a Jeju-type free international city in the future, we should pay more attention to public infrastructure for housing and transportation, closely related to the quality of life of residents, in order to establish a city model that embodies the value of sustainability.

### MOON Dae-seop

The traffic regulations of local governments succeed only when they reflect and comply with the laws and policies on transportation.

Jeju City is called a top-grade destination for tourism and vacations, but its traffic condition is a main cause of the decline in tourist satisfaction rates.



PARK Hyun-chul

PARK Jai-mo

MOON Dae-seop

LEE Yoon-sang

KANG Chang-seok

LEE Jin-hee



We need to figure out through a thorough study what is most appropriate for Jeju Island among the new transportation means and systems such as the low-cost and high-efficiency Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) and bimodal tram.

### LEE Yoon-sang

The introduction of an environment-friendly regional transit system is the most urgent issue for the “free international city” and “Carbon-Free Island” projects.

Jeju Province should build multimodal transfer stations at the airport and other major transportation nodes, and establish a regional intermodal transportation system centered on them to dramatically increase the modal split of public transit.

The BRT system with both punctuality and economy seems to be appropriate as Jeju’s new transit

system, since it requires relatively low construction costs and guarantees user’s satisfaction.

### KANG Chang-seok

As rising housing prices make it hard to own a home, Jeju Island has a desperate need for effective housing policies.

The prohibition of speculation in real estate is a prerequisite for successful housing policy.

Efforts should be focused on measures to prevent speculation in real estate with regulations on transactions of farmland and to crack down on illegal re-sales of housing purchase rights.

Jeju Province should continuously implement Jeju-type housing welfare policies by enacting a housing welfare ordinance and establishing a housing welfare support center.



**LEE Jin-hee**

The JDC Ocean Marina City project, a tourism development program making the most of the characteristics of Jeju Island, should be enthusiastically pursued as it offers a good opportunity to improve

## Policy Implications

**General Affairs**

- In order to redress the problems of quantitative growth, as seen in the course of the implementation of the Jeju Free International City project, and to create sustainable values, there should be a free international city model, compatible with the realities of Jeju Island.
- As a free international city known for its tourism and vacation destinations, Jeju should pursue "self-sufficiency in energy," based on a clean environment, and make more efforts to improve its infrastructure for its logistics and finance industry.
- It is time for Jeju to expand public infrastructure, above all, for its sustainable development as a free international city. By expanding the infrastructure for housing, transportation, culture, and tourism, Jeju Provincial Government should improve the quality of life for residents and enhance convenience for tourists.

**Transportation**

- The transportation infrastructure of the island should be dramatically improved by building an environment-friendly intermodal transit system around multimodal transfer stations.
- With the introduction of various new transportation systems, including BRT and Guided Rapid Transit (GRT), Jeju province should improve the efficiency of its transportation, while assisting facilities for vulnerable people, thus contributing to social welfare.
- Diversification of the development project by the multi-purpose development of a new transportation infrastructure in connection with the tourism industry could guarantee the economic feasibility of the project.
- Jeju province should develop new means of tourist transportation and improve traffic conditions by solving congestion problems at parking lots and roads around tourist spots, improving the public transit system for tourists and providing information about roads and tourist destinations.
- Along with streamlining the transit routes that serve as major paths for tourists, multimodal transit stations and tour trams should be deployed for tourists.
- In order to enhance the public transit service, the province should reorganize transit routes or open new routes, based on an analysis of transit card use through big data analytics as a short-term measure, as well as constructing multi-

marine tourism infrastructure.

Eco-friendly projects should be linked with tourist destinations so that they encourage the participation of local residents in the projects and benefit all of the JDC, investors and local residents.

modal transfer stations and introducing new transportation means as a long-term measure.

- To implement a multimodal transfer system at Jeju Airport, a close collaboration system should be operated by the Regional Aviation Administration, Korea Airport Corporation, Jeju Province and Jeju City.

**Housing**

- To alleviate the housing instability amid the boom and bubble in the real estate market on the island, housing policy should focus on the supply of more residential facilities. Public institutions on the island should closely cooperate with each other to implement a Jeju-type housing welfare master plan without fail.
- As a measure to increase housing supply, Jeju province may develop state- and province-owned lands and public enterprise-owned lands for housing purposes as well as designating other areas as residential sites.
- By introducing the housing welfare ordinance and establishing the housing welfare support center, the province should ensure that the Jeju-type master plan for housing welfare and other housing policies be implemented without fail.

**Others**

- The JDC Ocean Marina City project should be pursued with enthusiastic efforts, including one to benchmark the world-class yacht marina construction and yacht race operations in Hawaii, a competitor of Jeju Island as a tourist destination.
- The JDC Aerospace Museum should be included in the western Jeju tour routes for students and other group travelers as part of the science education program.
- The JDC projects should be pursued in a way that they benefit the JDC, investors, local residents and all other parties involved in them.
- The JDC should consider its participation in shopping outlet construction projects modeled after such renowned spots as the Ala Moana Center in Hawaii and the Okinawa Outlet Mall Ashibinaa.
- In connection with the new Jeju harbor development plan, the JDC should consider its participation in inner harbor development projects to establish waterfront facilities such as a marine amusement park, marina facility, recreational facility, aquarium and duty free shops in the pattern of the Aloha Tower Marketplace in Oahu, Hawaii, Marinoa City in Fukuoka and Port Barcelona.

# Today's Water Industry in Asia and Directions for Tomorrow

## Jeju Special Self-Governing Province Development Corporation (JPDC)

<b>Moderator</b>	<b>KIM Young-chul</b> President, JPDC
<b>Presenter</b>	<b>LEE Jin-myung</b> Executive Director, A.T. Kearney <b>CHEN Yuqing</b> Director General, Hydraulic and Irrigation District Bureau, Hainan Province
<b>Discussant</b>	<b>HYUN Seung-hun</b> Professor, Korea University <b>KO Kyung-soo</b> Chief Production Officer, JPDC
<b>Rapporteur</b>	<b>HYUN Eun-hee</b> Team Manager, JPDC

**LEE Jin-myung**

Based on the analysis of the status quo of the water industry in Asian countries and their policy orientations, I would like to suggest a future growth path for Jeju's water industry. In particular, we should pay attention to the case of Singapore, which by implementing government-led policy and strategy to foster the water industry and to turn it into a hub of the same, not only solved its domestic water shortage, but also emerged as a world-class water industry powerhouse. In connection with the Singaporean case, Jeju's future strategy might be suggested as follows:

- Explore the opportunity to export Jeju's spring water to the Middle East as potable water.
- It is necessary to promote a community-type tourism complex and foster the senary industry, utilizing the magma seawater and the tourism infrastructure.
- The global mineral water market has the greatest growth opportunity in the Asia-pacific region. Therefore, the island needs a global business strategy for Jeju Samdasoo, mainly targeting



China, Hong Kong and Singapore.

- On the basis of its ground water management technology, the water industry of Jeju Island needs to enhance its competitiveness by accumu-



KIM Young-chul

LEE Jin-myung

CHEN Yuqing

HYUN Seung-hun

KO Kyung-soo

lating technologies on a long-term basis through active technology exchange with Singapore and Israel for the introduction of surface water management technology of the former and desalination technology of the latter.

#### CHEN Yuqing

Hainan province is located in the southernmost area of China and has a subtropical oceanic climate. It has sufficient precipitation, with an average of 1,750 milligrams a year, though it varies much by region. The actual amount of water extracted from underground in the province totaled 4.92 billion

cubic meters in 2000, only 8.14 percent of the potential extraction capacity. It is used as household, industrial and agricultural water. The province is currently focusing its efforts on the development of bicarbonate water containing silicic acid and strontium. For sustainable development of Hainan's ground water resource, the province should improve its regulation system governing ground water, actively invest in infrastructure to treat ground water and develop a ground water compensation mechanism.

### Policy Implications

#### Creation of values by utilizing Jeju's various water resources

- It is necessary to explore future-oriented tasks to utilize and maximize the values of clean ground water, spring water and magma based seawater.
- The water industry needs to accumulate advanced technologies through exchanges with other countries.

#### Systematic improvement of the quality of Jeju's ground water

- It is necessary to prepare for potential contamination of ground water due to continued changes in land use in the middle mountainous area.
- To increase Samdasoo production and to make it a premium brand, it is necessary to improve the system to preserve water quality and develop a compensation mechanism.

#### Examination of water export project from a long-term perspective

- Jeju Island needs to study the changes in the ecosystem resulting from the extraction of spring water and measures to secure the reliable quality of spring water.

- Exports of spring water have to be considered in terms of the feasibility of SOC (Social Overhead Capital) establishment.

#### Expansion of the scope of the magma based seawater business

- It is necessary to weigh the potentials of the magma based seawater business using health items such as spa therapy, traditional Korean medicine and healthcare materials from Jeju Island.
- It is necessary to set up a primary plan to build a city of the senary industry with the constituent elements of a community-oriented city.

#### A strategy to produce global brand out of water industry of Jeju Island

- Prerequisites for globalization of Samdasoo are its brand strategy and development of new water sources.
- With differentiated quality, Samdasoo may be able to enhance its brand value.
- A premium brand strategy should be developed by studying the successful cases of global brands such as Evian and Volvic.

# The Future of the Carbon-Free Island, Quo Vadis?

## Jeju Development Institute (JDI)

- Moderator** LEE Ki-ho Professor, Environmental Engineering, Jeju National University  
**Presenter** KANG Jin-yong Senior Researcher, JDI  
**Discussant** KANG Hee-chan Professor, Economics, Incheon University  
 KIM Tae-yoon Senior Researcher, JDI  
 PARK Chang-seok Chief, Department of Climate Unite, Korea Environment Institute  
 BYUN Byeong-soel Professor, Social Science, Inha University  
 LEE Young-ung Director, Association of Environmental Movement in Jeju  
**Rapporteur** YUN Won-su Senior Researcher, JDI

### KANG Jin-yong

#### Background of the Pursuit of Carbon-Free Island

The global community's paradigm has shifted to a low carbon era, with both developed and developing countries calling for intensified climate actions. Countries have agreed to limit the average temperature increase of the world to below 2 degrees Celsius by upgrading the goal of each country every five years and to reach carbon neutrality in the latter half of the century.

It is expected that global competition to secure new growth power in response to climate change will intensify. Cities and local governments are required to play a greater role in responding to climate change.

#### The Status Quo and Conditions of Jeju Island

The population has kept growing since the 1980s and is expected to total 730,000 by 2030.

As the population and tourists increase, electricity use also keeps growing. Despite abundant renewable energy sources, the

province shows a pattern of consuming a great amount of energy with massive carbon emissions. Renewable energy sources are plentiful, including wind (yearly average wind speed of 6.2 meters per second at an altitude of 80 meters) and sunlight (yearly average sunshine of 1,960 hours).

#### Progress of the Project

In May, 2012, Jeju provincial government announced its "Carbon-Free Island 2030" project.

Three programs – electric vehicles, new and renewable energy, and smart grids – are being implemented. The province's distribution of electric vehicles and charging infrastructure is the highest in the country.

An upgraded plan of the "Carbon-Free Island 2030" was reported to the government in 2016.

- Based on the achievements thus far, the province will expand and diversify the coverage of its carbon reduction mandate and set up a specialized adaptation plan, ultimately to foster Jeju Carbon-Free Island as a Korean-type low-carbon success





LEE Ki-ho



KANG Jin-yong



KANG Hee-chan



KIM Tae-yoon



PARK Chang-seok



BYUN Byeong-soel



LEE Young-ung

model.

- Through the collaboration of relevant agencies, green-house gas reduction will be accelerated in all sectors, including homes, buildings and waste treatment facilities, as well as power plants and transportation means.

#### The Vision of Jeju and Carbon-Free Island

Carbon-Free, clean island that the world dreams of.

- Goal: zero net emission of greenhouse gas and global expansion of the vision

#### Implementation Plan for Each Strategy

The island of energy self-sufficiency that runs on renewable energy.

- Expand distribution of renewable energy
- Improve energy efficiency
- Expand use of waste resources as new energy source

Rise as the capital of the world electric vehicle industry.

- Expand distribution of environment-friendly transportation means
- Battery recycling support program
- Operation of regulation-free zones for electric vehicles

Safe Jeju and preservation of the beautiful ecosystem.

- Provide customized climate change information
- Build infrastructure for climate change
- Preserve natural resources of marine and terrestrial ecosystems

Develop a nature-friendly, Carbon-Free global brand.

- Develop an eco-tourism model of Carbon-Free type
- Establish international partnerships for Carbon-Free Island
- Expand the Carbon-Free Island project at home and abroad

A campaign of low-carbon practice with entire community.

- Expand management scope over energy demands
- Offer incentives for low-carbon practice
- Spread low-carbon corporate culture

#### Implementation Structure

Establish a collaboration system between central government ministries and the Jeju provincial government.

Monitor progress and retool the management plan and pass special legislation.

#### PARK Chang-seok

As the scope of climate change-related policy is quite large, a clear vision must be suggested. The



Carbon-Free Island project requires efforts to secure funding and a careful consideration of relevant policies and regulations for its success.

#### LEE Young-ung

Carbon-Free Island is a meaningful plan that promotes Jeju to the world. What is important is not the mere fact that the local government declared the plan but whether the plan is accepted by the local community as meaningful.

The project to distribute 370,000 electric vehicles by 2030 has no concrete plan (it is unclear whether the province plans to replace all existing vehicles with electric ones). The feasibility of the wind energy plan should be taken into account. Energy self-sufficiency involves a measure to realize the public good and requires the participation of local residents.

#### KIM Tae-yoon

The Jeju Carbon-Free Island program is very important. Jeju is a treasured island of the world whose environmental value is globally recognized. The current organization has a limitation in achieving the goals of a Carbon-Free Island. Therefore, there should be another organization that can steadfastly push the plan.

#### KANG Hee-chan

To achieve the planned goals, a specific rationale is necessary to win support from the central government and residents of the province for electric vehicles.

- Why should Jeju pursue an electric vehicle policy? Globally, the automobile market operates around electric vehicles, yet Korea is lagging behind its competitors (particularly, China's electric vehicle industry is growing).
- Jeju has perfect conditions to be a test bed for electric vehicles.
- Jeju Island needs a plan and a rationale to lead the growth of Korea's electric vehicle industry.
- There should be a government website that disseminates accurate and detailed information about the project.

#### BYUN Byeong-soel

There should be indices featuring the major characteristics of a Carbon-Free Island. With regard to the establishment of international partnerships, technology transfer to the least developed countries might be meaningful, but the plan should designate an international organization for technological cooperation.



Chapter **SIX**

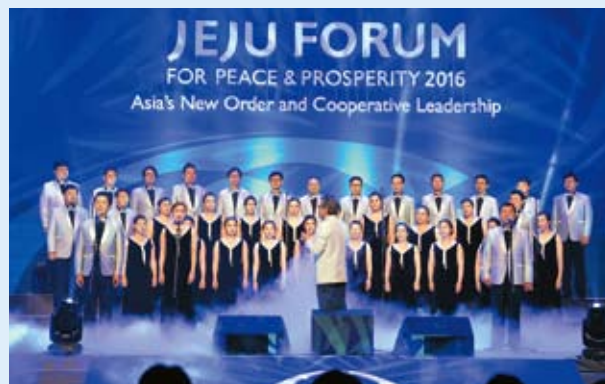
H I G H L I G H T





### Opening Performance

Time: May 25<sup>th</sup>, 20:00~21:30  
 Venue: Tamna Hall, ICC Jeju  
 Performer: **Paul POTTS** Opera Singer  
               **Insooni** Singer  
               **Jeju Provincial Seogwipo's Chorus**  
               **Jeju Children's Choir**  
 Participants: Over 2,500



### Official Dinners

#### Welcome Dinner Hosted by Minister of Unification

Time: May 25<sup>th</sup>, 18:30~19:50  
 Venue: Event Hall, ICC Jeju  
 Welcoming Remarks: **HONG Yong-pyo** Minister of Unification  
 Toast: **BAN Ki-moon** Secretary-General of the United Nations  
           **NA Kyung-won** Chairperson of Foreign Affairs and Unification Committee, National Assembly of the Republic of Korea  
 Performer: **Sue SON** Violinist  
 Participants: Over 830







### Gala Dinner Hosted by Chairman of Organizing Committee

**Time:** May 26<sup>th</sup>, 19:00~20:20  
**Venue:** Tamna Hall, ICC Jeju  
**Dinner Remarks:** **WON Heeryong** Chairman, Organizing Committee of the Jeju Forum  
**Toast:** **Tomiichi MURAYAMA** Former Prime Minister of Japan  
**Performance:** **South Carnival** Ska Band  
**Participants:** Over 850



### Farewell Dinner Hosted by Chairman of JDC

**Time:** May 27<sup>th</sup>, 19:00~20:20  
**Venue:** Tamna Hall, ICC Jeju  
**Closing Remarks:** **MOON Tae-young** Chairman of Executive Committee of the Jeju Forum  
**Dinner Remarks:** **KIM Han Wook** Chairman of Jeju Free International City Development Center(JDC)  
**Toast:** **Jim BOLGER** Former Prime Minister of New Zealand  
**Performance:** **Shine** Electric String Band  
**Participants:** Over 600





# Networking Events

## VIP Meeting & Photo Opportunity

Time: May 26<sup>th</sup>, 10:00~10:20

Venue: Ocean View, ICC Jeju

Participants: **BAN Ki-moon** Secretary-General of the United Nations / **Mrs. Ban Soon-taek** Spouse of the UN Secretary-General / **HWANG Kyo-ahn** Prime Minister of the Republic of Korea / **Tomiichi MURAYAMA** Former Prime Minister of Japan / **Mahathir bin MOHAMAD** Former Prime Minister of Malaysia / **Jim BOLGER** Former Prime Minister of New Zealand / **GOH Chok Tong** Former Prime Minister of Singapore / **Enrico LETTA** Former Prime Minister of Italy / **WON Heeryong** Chairman, Organizing Committee of the Jeju Forum / **GONG Ro-myung** Chairman of East Asia Foundation / **HONG Seok-hyun** Chairman of JoongAng Media Network / **MOON Tae-young** Chairman, Executive Committee of the Jeju Forum



## Bilateral Meeting

Time: May 26<sup>th</sup>, 11:00~11:30

Venue: Room 302, ICC Jeju

Participants: **BAN Ki-moon** Secretary-General of the United Nations  
**HWANG Kyo-ahn** Prime Minister of the Republic of Korea



## VIP Luncheon

Time: May 26<sup>th</sup>, 13:00-14:20

Venue: Ocean View, ICC Jeju

Participants: **BAN Ki-moon** Secretary-General of the United Nations / **Tomiichi MURAYAMA** Former Prime Minister of Japan / **Mahathir bin MOHAMAD** Former Prime Minister of Malaysia / **Jim BOLGER** Former Prime Minister of New Zealand / **GOH Chok Tong** Former Prime Minister of Singapore / **Enrico LETTA** Former Prime Minister of Italy / **LEE Hong-koo** Former Prime Minister of the Republic of Korea / **WON Heeryong** Chairman, Organizing Committee of the Jeju Forum / **GONG Ro-myung** Chairman of East Asia Foundation / **HONG Seok-hyun** Chairman of JoongAng Media Network / **MOON Tae-young** Chairman, Executive Committee of the Jeju Forum / **LIM Sung-nam** 1<sup>st</sup> Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea







### Korea-China-Japan CEO Networking Luncheon

Time: May 26<sup>th</sup>, 13:00~14:20

Venue: Halla Hall, ICC Jeju

Welcome Remarks: **WON Heeryong** Chairman, Organizing Committee of the Jeju Forum

Participants: Over 250 CEOs from Korea, China and Japan

### Korea-Japan Students Exchange

Time: May 27<sup>th</sup>, 17:20~18:40

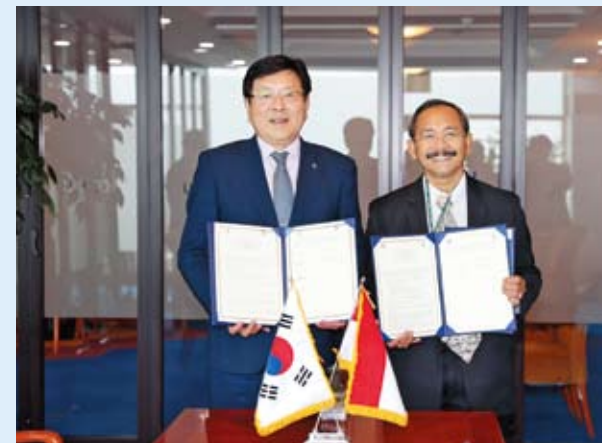
Venue: Halla Hall, ICC Jeju

MC: **CHO Woojin** Professor, Tama University

Participants: 100 Students and Faculties of Tama University and Cheju Halla University



### Partners Exchange





# Press Conference



## Korean Society of Phycology

Time: May 25<sup>th</sup>, 14:00-14:30  
 Venue: Press Room, ICC Jeju



## Asia Pacific Leadership Network

Time: May 25<sup>th</sup>, 15:10~15:50  
 Venue: Press Room, ICC Jeju



## Tomiichi MURAYAMA, Former Prime Minister of Japan

Time: May 25<sup>th</sup>, 16:15~16:45  
 Venue: Press Room, ICC Jeju

# Culture Program

## Pongnang Lounge

Jeju Forum Media Wall and Photo Zone  
 Korean Tea Tasting  
 Jeju Youth Orchestra Performance  
 Calligraphy on Folding Fan  
 Jeju Haenyeo through the Eye of Photographer Magnum



## Tour Program

**Peace of Tolerance**  
 Mt. Songaksan Coastal Caves - Aldreu Airfield  
 - Pacific Rim Peace Park



**Peace of Healing**  
 Seogwipo Healing Forest

**Peace of Energy**  
 Electric Bus Ride to "Carbon-Free Island," Gapado

**Jeju Geopark and Gotjawal**  
 Dragon's Head Coast - Gotjawal Provincial Park





# Jeju Forum 2016 Participants (7,436 from 68 Nations)

Nationality	Participants	Nationality	Participants	Nationality	Participants
Afghanistan	1	Georgia	2	Portugal	2
Angola	2	Germany	9	Republic of Cote d'Ivoire	1
Australia	12	Ghana	3	Republic of Korea	6,509
Azerbaijan	1	Honduras	5	Republic of South Africa	1
Bangladesh	1	Hungary	1	Russia	7
Belarus	2	India	6	Saudi Arabia	1
Belgium	1	Indonesia	21	Singapore	15
Bhutan	1	Ireland	1	Slovakia	1
British	1	Italy	5	Spain	2
Bulgaria	1	Japan	177	Sri Lanka	5
Burma(Myanmar)	2	Kenya	2	Sudan	6
Cambodia	3	Kuwait	2	Sweden	2
Canada	8	Malaysia	16	Switzerland	3
China	454	Mongolia	7	Thailand	6
Colombia	1	Nepal	3	The Arab Republic of Egypt	4
Costa Rica	2	Netherlands	1	Trinidad and Tobago	4
Czech	1	New Zealand	5	Turkey	1
Denmark	3	Nigeria	1	United Kingdom	12
Estonia	1	Norway	2	United States of America	55
Ethiopia	2	Pakistan	4	Uzbekistan	3
Fiji	1	Paraguay	2	Vietnam	4
Finland	1	Peru	2	Zimbabwe	2
France	3	Philippines	8	<b>Total</b>	<b>7,436 (Persons)</b>



## 5.25 Wednesday

# PROGRAM

Time	Organization	Session
13:00~13:30		등록 Registration
13:30~14:50	중앙일보 JoongAng Ilbo	[신문 콘서트 2016] 청년세대의 오늘과 내일 Media Talk Show 2016: Concerns and Outlooks of the Younger Generation
	외교부 MOFA	저탄소 기후탄력적 경제로의 전환을 위한 전략과 국제협력 Strategies and Global Cooperation for the Transition to a Low-carbon Climate Resilient Economy
	동아시아재단 EAF	아시아태평양의 지정학적 긴장과 핵보유 유혹 Geopolitical Tensions and Nuclear Temptation in Asia-Pacific
	한중일3국협력사무국 TCS	3국의 시각: 동북아시아 원자력 안전 협력 강화 Trilateral Views: Promoting Nuclear Safety Cooperation in Northeast Asia
	제주특별자치도·빅뱅엔젤스 Jeju Province-Big Bang Angels	아시아 스타트업 생태계의 미래 The Future of Asian Startup Ecosystem
	제주국제연수센터 JITC	지속가능 관광의 투자와 재정 Investment and Financing for Sustainable Tourism
14:50~15:10		휴식 Break
15:10~16:50	국가인권위원회 NHRCK	기업과 인권 국가인권정책기본계획(NAP) National Action Plan on Business and Human Rights
15:10~16:30	외교부·고려대학교 사이버센터 MOFA-CLC	유엔 정보안보 GGE의 성과와 전망 The Past Achievements and Future Directions of the UN GGE in Information Security
	동아시아재단 EAF	아시아태평양의 핵 안보와 안전: 오랜 쟁점과 새로운 사고 Nuclear Security and Safety in Asia-Pacific: Old Issues and New Thinking
	한중일3국협력사무국 TCS	동아시아 관광시장의 새 지평: 3국 협력을 통한 인바운드 관광객 증가 New Horizon for Northeast Asian Tourism: Increasing Inbound Flows through Trilateral Cooperation
	제주한라대학교 Cheju Halla Univ.	아시아-한국 간 지속가능에너지시스템 협력 방안 Cooperation between Asia and Korea in Sustainable Energy System
	제주국제연수센터 JITC	[패널토론] 환경, 사회, 경제적 이득 실현을 위한 지속가능 관광 방안 Panel Discussion: Sustainable Tourism for Environmental, Social and Economic Benefits
16:30~16:50		휴식 Break
17:10~18:10	제주평화연구원 JPI	'평화화 창시자' 요한 갈통 대담: 격랑의 동북아, 평화해법을 찾는다 Dialogue with Johan Galtung: Northeast Asia in Tension, Seeking for Peace
16:50~18:10	국립외교원 KNSA	한반도 통일과 한미동맹의 역할 및 미래 Korean Unification and the Role and Future of the ROK-US Alliance
	동아시아재단 EAF	아시아의 새로운 협력적 리더십을 향해: 이론과 실제 Towards New Cooperative Leadership in Asia: Theory and Practice
	인간개발연구원·타마대학교 KHDI-Tama Univ.	글로벌 리더십 철학, 감정과 지성의 융합 Global Leadership Philosophy, Conversion of Emotion & Intelligence
	한국행정연구원·유엔거버넌스센터 KIPA-UNPOG	정부혁신과 협력적 거버넌스 Government Innovation: Collaborative Governance & Open Government
	한국조류학회 KSP	이산화탄소 저감을 위한 해조류 이용 전략 Strategic Approaches to CO <sub>2</sub> Sequestration Using Harvestable Algae and Kelp Forest
18:10~18:30		휴식 Break
18:30~19:50		통일부장관 주최 환영만찬 Welcome Dinner Hosted by Minister of Unification
19:50~20:00		휴식 Break
20:00~21:30		폴 포츠·인소이 오픈닝 공연 Paul POTTs-Insooni Opening Performance

### 세션주관기관 List of Session Organizers

외교부	MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	우리들의미래	COCF	Coalition for Our Common Future
제주특별자치도		Jeju Special Self-Governing Province	한중일3국협력사무국	TCS	Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat
국가인권위원회	NHRCK	National Human Rights Commission of Korea	제주국제연수센터	JITC	Jeju International Training Center
제주국제자유도시개발센터	JDC	Jeju Free International City Development Center	세종연구소		The Sejong Institute
동아시아재단	EAF	East Asia Foundation	월드컬처오픈	WCO	World Culture Open
중앙일보		JoongAng Ilbo	민중화해협력범국민협의회	KCRC	Korean Council for Reconciliation and Cooperation
제주평화연구원	JPI	Jeju Peace Institute	유엔협회세계연맹	WFUNA	World Federation of United Nations Associations
국립외교원	KNSA	Korea National Diplomatic Academy	제주특별자치도개발공사	JPCD	Jeju Province Development Corporation
한국국제교류재단	KF	Korea Foundation	한국국제협력단	KOICA	Korea International Cooperation Agency
동북아역사재단	NAHF	Northeast Asian History Foundation	국제개발협력학회	KAIDEC	Korea Association of International Development and Cooperation
제주대학교	JNU	Jeju National University	유엔글로벌콤팩트	UNGC	United Nations Global Compact
인간개발연구원	KHDI	Korea Human Development Institute	아시아태평양리더십네트워크	APLN	Asia-Pacific Leadership Network
일본 타마대학교		Tama University	한국해양전략연구소	KIMS	Korea Institute for Maritime Strategy
한국국제교류재단(주)		Hankyung Business	세계자연유산센터	Jeju WNHC	Jeju World Natural Heritage Center
한중지역경제협회	KCREA	Korea China Regional Economy Association	한국조류학회	KSP	The Korean Society of Phycology
프리드리히나우만재단	FNF	Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom	싱가포르 난양공대	RSIS	S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies
대한국제법학회	KSIL	The Korea Society of International Law	뉴욕 뉴스쿨		The New School
유엔거버넌스센터	UNPOG	United Nations Project Office on Governance	한국해양과학기술원	KIOST	Korea Institute of Ocean Science & Technology
한국행정연구원	KIPA	Korea Institute of Public Administration	빅뱅엔젤스		Bigbang Angels
제주한라대학교		Cheju Halla University	제주발전연구원	JDI	Jeju Development Institute
맨스필드재단		The Maureen and Mike Mansfield Foundation	고려대학교 사이버법센터	CLC	Cyber Law Centre



# 5.26 Thursday

# PROGRAM

Time	Organization	Session
09:00~10:20		등록 Registration
10:20~11:40	제주평화연구원 JPI	[개회식] '아시아의 새로운 질서와 협력적 리더십' 기조연설 Opening Ceremony: Keynote Speeches on 'Asia's New Order and Cooperative Leadership'
11:40~11:50		휴식 Break
11:50~12:50	제주평화연구원 JPI	[세계지도자세션] 아시아의 새로운 질서와 협력적 리더십 World Leaders Session: Asia's New Order and Cooperative Leadership
12:50~13:00		휴식 Break
13:00~14:00		오찬 Luncheon
13:00~15:20	제주평화연구원· 인간개발연구원· 한중지역경제협회 JPI-KHDI-KCREA	한중일 경영인 교류오찬 Korea-China-Japan CEO Networking Luncheon [한중일 CEO 라운드테이블] 상호 협력을 통한 공유 가치 창출 Korea-China-Japan CEO Roundtable: Creating Common Value through Cooperation
14:00~15:20	동북아시아재단 NAHF	동아시아 '역사문제'와 리더십 East Asian 'History Issues' and Political Leadership
	동아시아재단 EAF	아시아·태평양 핵 군축의 재고 Rethinking Nuclear Disarmament in Asia-Pacific
	프리드리히나우만재단·아시아경제자유네트워크 FNF-EFN Asia	환태평양경제동반자협정: 정치경제적 평가 Trans-Pacific Partnership: an Assessment of Its Political Economy
	세종연구소 The Sejong Institute	동북아평화협력구상 민간네트워크 구축 전략 Building Track 1.5 Network for the Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative
	유엔협회세계연맹 WFUNA	동아시아의 새로운 질서와 유엔의 역할 New East Asia Regional Order and the Role of the UN
	한국해양전략연구소 KIMS	동북아 해양질서와 지역협력: '협력 상승의 장' Northeast Asian Maritime Order and Regional Security Cooperation: Looking for 'Cooperational Spirals'
15:20~15:40		휴식 Break
15:40~17:00	한중지역경제협회 KCREA	한국 뷰티산업의 글로벌화 방안 The Globalization of Korean Beauty Industry
	제주평화연구원 JPI	[외교관 라운드테이블] 아시아의 새로운 질서와 협력적 리더십 Ambassadors Roundtable: Asia's New Order and Cooperative Leadership
	동아시아재단 EAF	북한의 비핵화 - 실천 어젠다 Denuclearizing North Korea-Agenda for Action
	국립외교원 KNDA	새로운 한중일 협력관계 구축 Building a New Tripartite Cooperation of Korea, China, and Japan
	제주한라대학교 Cheju Halla Univ.	아시아의 문화적 다양성과 협력적 리더십 Cultural Diversity of Asia and Cooperative Leadership
	한국국제협력단·국제개발협력학회 KOICA-KAIDEC	한중일 개발협력의 민간부문 참여 확대 방안 모색 Catalyzing Private Sector Engagement in Development Cooperation: Partnership Strategies of China, Japan, and Korea
	제주대학교 JNU	아시아의 새로운 질서와 협력적 리더십을 위한 고등교육의 역할 The Role of Higher Education in Asia's New Order and Cooperative Leadership
17:00~17:20		휴식 Break
17:20~18:40	인간개발연구원 KHDI	윤리 경영이 세계를 바꾼다 Corporate Ethics Leads the World
	국립외교원 KNDA	지속가능개발목표와 동아시아 Sustainable Development Goals and East Asia
	동아시아재단 EAF	핵확산금지조약의 미래 Future of the NPT
	제주국제자유도시개발센터 JDC	제주국제자유도시 미래발전 방향과 인프라 조성 방안 Future Direction of Jeju Free International City and Developing Infrastructure
	한국국제교류재단 KF	한반도 통일과 국제사회: 국제 언론의 역할 Korean Unification and International Community: Role of International Media
	유엔거버넌스센터·한국행정연구원 UNPOG-KIPA	정책 통합: 지속가능개발목표의 지역화 Policy Integration and Institutional Coordination: Localizing SDGs at National and Local Levels
	제주대학교 JNU	아시아의 새로운 질서와 대학 Asia's New Order and Universities
18:40~19:00		휴식 Break
19:00~20:20		조직위원장 주최 공식만찬 Gala Dinner Hosted by Chairman of Organizing Committee

# 5.27 Friday

# PROGRAM

Time	Organization	Session
08:00~09:00		등록 Registration
09:00~10:00	제주평화연구원·인간개발연구원 JPI-KHDI	[특별세션 I] 조 케저 지멘스 회장 대담: 통일한국, 기업에서 미래를 찾다 Special Session I : Dialogue with Joe Kaeser, CEO of Siemens AG: A Unified Korea Finds Its Future in Business Enterprise
09:00~10:20	대한국제법학회 KSIL	최근 영토, 해양법 관련 국제 판례와 동아시아: 항후발전과 과제 Recent Court Decisions on the Territorial and Maritime Boundary Issues and East Asia: New Challenges and Development
10:00~10:20		휴식 Break
10:20~11:20	제주특별자치도·제주평화연구원 Jeju Province-JPI	[특별세션 II] 테슬라 모터스 공동창업자 J.B. 스트라우벨에게 듣는다: 전기차가 몰고 올 생활혁명 Special Session II : J.B. Straubel, CTO of Tesla Motors: Revolutionary Changes EVs Will Bring to Our Lives
10:30~11:40	대한국제법학회 KSIL	제2차 세계대전 관련 미해결 문제에 대한 새로운 논의의 장 모색 Seeking a New Forum for the Remaining Issues from the WW II
11:20~11:40		휴식 Break
11:40~13:00	제주특별자치도·민족화해협력범국민협의회 Jeju Province-KCRC	동아시아 평화공동체의 가능성과 조건 I Possibilities and Conditions of East Asia Peace Community I
	인간개발연구원·한국환경산업기술원·미래숲 KHDI-KEITI-Future Forest	한중 환경과학기술 협력 전망 Prospects for Environmental Technology Collaboration between Korea and China
	동아시아재단·(사)우리들의미래 EAF-COCF	기후변화와 재생에너지 Climate Change and Renewable Energy
	제주평화연구원 JPI	[전직 외교장관 초청 간담회] 동북아 신질서와 한국 외교의 과제 [Former Foreign Ministers Meeting] New Order in Northeast Asia and Diplomatic Tasks
	유엔글로벌콤팩트한국협회 UNGC	여성역량강화와 기업의 지속가능발전 Women's Empowerment and Corporate Sustainability
11:50~13:00	대한국제법학회 KSIL	동아시아 대테러 대응체제에 대한 국제법적 검토 International Law Aspects of Countering Terrorism in East Asia
13:00~14:00		오찬 Luncheon
14:00~15:20	제주특별자치도·월드컬처오피 Jeju Province-WCO	보다 나은 미래를 위해 내가 꾸는 꿈 What I Dream of for Our Better Future
	동아시아재단 EAF	아시아인프라투자은행이 역내포괄적경제동반자협정 추진을 가속화하고 아시아개발은행과 양립할 수 있을 것인가? Can AIIB Expedite the RCEP and be Compatible with ADB?
	한국국제교류재단·맨스필드재단 KF-Mansfield Foundation	아시아의 새로운 안보 질서와 한미일 협력의 역할 Asia's New Security Order and the Role of the ROK-Japan-US Relationship
	제주평화연구원 JPI	미중 관계와 동아시아의 평화와 번영 US-China Relations for Peace and Prosperity in East Asia
	제주특별자치도·민족화해협력범국민협의회 Jeju Province-KCRC	동아시아 녹색평화협력의 새로운 모색 A Search for New Green-Peace Cooperation in East Asia
	한경비즈니스 Hankyung Business	새로운 자본시장의 변화와 애널리스트의 역할 I The Changes in New Capital Markets and the Role of Analysts I
15:20~15:40		휴식 Break
15:40~17:00	제주특별자치도·월드컬처오피 Jeju Province-WCO	세계적인 예술로 승화되는 제주다움을 찾아서 Searching for the Very Aspects of Jeju Arts and Culture
	제주특별자치도·월드컬처오피 Jeju Province-WCO	동아시아 문화도시 간 교류활성화 방안 토론 Building a Creative Partnership among East Asian Culture Cities
	동아시아재단 EAF	중견국가와 공공외교의 재고: 기회와 제약 Rethinking Middle Powers and Public Diplomacy: Opportunities and Constraints
	제주세계자연유산센터·한국해양과학기술원 Jeju WNHK-KIOST	아태 지역 화산지형·해양환경 세계자연유산 발굴과 보전을 위한 국가 간 협력 Cooperation for the Recognition and Conservation of Potential World Natural Heritage Sites in Asia-Pacific Region
	제주평화연구원 JPI	동아시아 국제관계, 이론과 실천 Theory and Practice of International Relations in East Asia
	제주특별자치도·민족화해협력범국민협의회 Jeju Province-KCRC	동아시아 평화공동체의 가능성과 조건 II Possibilities and Conditions of East Asia Peace Community II
	한경비즈니스 Hankyung Business	새로운 자본시장의 변화와 애널리스트의 역할 II The Changes in New Capital Markets and the Role of Analysts II
17:00~17:20		휴식 Break
17:20~18:40	동아시아재단 EAF	동북아시아의 전략 외교 Strategic Diplomacy in Northeast Asia
	제주특별자치도개발공사 JPDG	아시아 물 산업 현황과 미래 발전 방향 Today's Water Industry in Asia and Directions for Tomorrow
	제주평화연구원·뉴스쿨·남양공과대학교 JPI-The New School-RSIS	신자유주의시대 이전의 세계화: 실크로드와 아시아 Globalization before Neoliberalism: The Silk Roads and Global Asia in the Ancient World
	제주발전연구원 JDI	카본프리 아일랜드의 미래, 퀴바디스? The Future of the Carbon-Free Island, Quo Vadis?
	인간개발연구원·한중기술플랫폼 KHDI-Korea-China Technology Platform	환경기술 교류를 통한 한중 성공 비즈니스 협력채널 구축 제안 Korea-China Business Channels to Success in Environmental Technology
18:40~19:00		휴식 Break
19:00~20:20		제주국제자유도시개발센터 이사장 주최 폐회만찬 Farewell Dinner Hosted by Chairman of Jeju Free International City Development Center

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## **Asia's New Order and Cooperative Leadership**

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