

Morocco–Korea Forum for Amity and Cooperation
Under the Theme

Morocco–Korea: towards a model partnership
in co–development and security

2014. 05. 23 15:00 ~ 18:00

Host : Embassy of Morocco & Korean National Strategy Institute

Sponsor : World Culture Open Korea

〈Timetable〉

Time	Event	Contents
3:00 ~ 3:20	Welcoming Remarks	<p><i>H.E. Mr. Mohamed Chraïbi,</i> Ambassador of the Kingdom of Morocco</p> <p><i>Professor Sun Song Park,</i> Vice Executive of KNSI/Dongguk University</p>
3:20 ~ 4:00	Panel one	<p>Morocco and Korea: Assessment of the bilateral relations and the way forward</p> <p><i>Speakers</i> H.E. Mr. Mohamed Chraïbi, (Ambassador of Morocco) <i>Morocco–Korea: Current Status of the Bilateral Relations and the Ways to Reinforce Them</i></p> <p>Professor Sun Song Park, (Dongguk University) <i>Korea’s Perspective on Cooperation with African Countries: Morocco as an Example</i></p> <p><i>Moderator</i> Professor Jong–kun Choi (Yonsei University)</p>
4:00 ~ 4:25	Discussion	Q&A session and discussion with the audience
4:25 ~ 4:35	Break	
4:35 ~ 5:15	Panel Two	<p>A Reading into the Regional Security Dynamics in North Africa, the Sahel and Sahara and North East Asia</p> <p><i>Speakers</i> Dr. Mohamed El Bouchikhi <i>Regional Security Dynamics in North Africa and the Sahel and Sahara</i></p> <p>Professor Joon–hyung Kim (Handong University) <i>Regional Security Dynamics in North–East Asia</i></p> <p><i>Moderator</i> Professor Jung Min Suh (HUFS)</p>
5:15 ~ 5:40	Discussion	Q&A session and discussion with the audience
5:40 ~ 6:00	Closing Remarks	<p><i>H.E. Mr. Mohamed Chraïbi,</i> Ambassador of the Kingdom of Morocco</p> <p><i>Professor Sun Song Park,</i> Vice Executive of KNSI/Dongguk University</p>

Welcoming remarks from Embassy of Morocco

**H.E. Mohammed Chraibi,
Ambassador of the Kingdom of Morocco to the Republic of Korea**

Good afternoon everyone,

It is my distinct honor as Ambassador of the Kingdom of Morocco to the Republic of Korea to welcome you all to this forum organized with our partners the Korea National Strategy Institute and the World Culture Open Korea to ponder on issues of common interest to our two countries, mainly the evolution of our bilateral relations and the security challenges we have to live up to in our respective regions.

I want to seize this opportunity to thank all of you for taking the time from your busy schedules to join us for this occasion. I hope our panels will prove to be rich in instructive thoughts on the different facets of the excellent bilateral relations between Morocco and Korea and will provoke some new insights into the ways to strengthen our cooperation in different fields that are vital to our common goals in providing more economic prosperity, reassuring security and stability and coordinated actions for the well-being of our peoples.

I would like also to thank the Korea National Strategy Institute and the World Culture Open Korea for their kind support and cooperation to make this event happen and for their commitment to the development of enduring ties and sustainable relations with my country, the Kingdom of Morocco.

I hope this forum will be the right opportunity to introduce our Korean friends to an understanding of the great relations between our two countries and to involve them in a process of brainstorming on the best ways to push these relations forward and bring forth new ideas to make them even stronger.

Thank you very much for being here today.

Welcoming Remarks from KNSI

Prof. Sun Song Park
Vice President of Korean National Strategy Institute / Dongguk University

Until now, Morocco was not a familiar country to Korean people as Korea is at the far-east side of Asian continent and Morocco at the far northwest side of African continent. Also, the fact that Korea's diplomacy was centered on 4 countries surrounding Korean peninsula, United States, China, Russia and Japan, adds another reason.

Global community has already been getting smaller and interdependency grew higher. This led to international community's higher interest in Korean, and exchange and cooperation between global citizens and Korean people are getting more active. To hold Morocco-Korea Forum at this point is very meaningful. Above all, Morocco's geographical characteristic in northwest of Africa is very similar to that of Korean peninsula in northeast Asia; being surrounded by powerful countries. Sharing these similar geographical experiences will be a good opportunity for Korean and Moroccan people to be more familiar with each other. Still, we have quite a lot of differences derived from far distance between the two countries. Understanding and respect toward the differences will allow Korean and Moroccan people to have broad experience and participation in international community.

Understanding and respect to diverse cultures and living is the foundation of peace and coexistence among countries in this global community. Korea and Morocco has no factor to cause conflict or discord. Once we develop our understanding about different culture between us, our friendly relations will prosper, and we will leave a legacy toward peace and coexistence as global citizens living in 21st century.

I would like to say special thanks to His Excellency Mohamed Chraibi and Counsellor Rhazoui who made today's forum possible. This meaningful start will be a precious stepping stone to build understanding between Korea and Morocco. I also thank all the audience for participating in the very beginning of various exchanges and cooperation on various agendas 21st century requires, such as economy, culture, human rights, environment starting with cultural exchange night for youth. Lastly, I would also acknowledge all the speakers and moderators of today's forum, and World Culture Open Korea who sponsored us with this location. Thank you very much.

First Panel

Morocco and Korea:

Assessment of the Bilateral Relations and the Way Forward



H.E. Mohamed Chraibi (Speaker)

He is the Ambassador of Kingdom of Morocco to Republic of Korea. He has previously filled various positions in Moroccan delegations successfully including mission to UNGA, UNHCR, and UNEP, and was decorated with a number of orders. His term as the Ambassador to Korea started in 2009.



Prof. Sun Song Park (Speaker)

He is a professor at Dongguk University and is teaching the relationship between two Koreas, North Korean Economy, the unification policies of two Koreas. He has filled various leadership position in think tanks such as Korea National Strategy Institute and Institute of Democracy and Policies of the Democratic United Party.



Prof. Jong Kun Choi (Moderator)

He is Associate Professor and Director of Graduate Studies at the Department of Political Science and International Studies at Yonsei University. He specializes in International Relations theories, Northeast Asian security, political psychology and public opinions on national identity and foreign policy attitudes.

Morocco and Korea: Assessment of the Bilateral Relations and the Way Forward

H.E. Mohammed Chraibi,
Ambassador of the Kingdom of Morocco to the Republic of Korea

It is my pleasure to be with you here today to share with you thoughts on the status of the Korea–Morocco relations and to explore together the ways and means to reinforce them and make them live up to the expectations of the leadership of the two countries.

Let me start by underlining the fact that relations between the Republic of Korea and Morocco are excellent given the shared values and interests that bring our two countries together, the long–standing cooperation in diverse fields, the constant coordination in multilateral forums and the perfect understanding of the priorities of each other when it comes to territorial integrity, regional peace and security and sustainable development leading to economic prosperity and balanced trade exchanges.

Morocco's economic assets

Morocco is in fact one of the most promising countries in Africa and the MENA region. Not only has it been able to showcase its political stability through the events of the Arab Spring of 2011, but it has also managed to maintain a dynamic economy and generate growth even when its most important economic partners are experiencing economic slowdown.

Morocco registered an average growth rate of 5 percent in 2011. This growth slowed to 3 percent in 2012, but has since been slowly picking up and growth is promising for the future with the kingdom expected to register a rate of 4.5 percent in 2014.

This success has not come without work. Morocco has put considerable effort into reducing its dependency on a single market by diversifying its partnerships and developing new markets in other regions such as Asia, North America and Africa.

Morocco's attractiveness for investors

Morocco enjoys a diversified and open economy. There are different reasons why investors would consider Morocco as a favorable destination: cost competitiveness, strong and stable macroeconomic performances, free trade access to one billion consumers, world class infrastructure, qualified labor force, sectorial plans and a constantly improving business climate.

A number of preferential and free trade agreements are currently in effect with several countries, including Arab states, the United States and Turkey. We have also recently started negotiations with the EU for an advanced FTA, given that we enjoy an Advanced Status within this Union. The kingdom has also a number of preferential agreements, mostly with countries in sub-Saharan Africa, west and central Africa which open wider markets for investors who choose Morocco as a platform and gate way to this huge market.

A number of strategic plans have been adopted by Morocco to strengthen, modernize and diversify its economy. We can cite here the Emergence Plan which sets the strategic objectives of the country's industrial policy focusing on Morocco's world class activities: FDI (Foreign Direct Investment) oriented activities such as aeronautics, automotive, electronics, near-shoring and traditional activities (agribusiness, textiles and leather). There is also the Vision 2020 aiming to enhance the overall attractiveness of the country and develop further the tourism industry.

While the Green Morocco Plan aims at valorizing the great potential in agricultural development, Morocco launched also a huge renewable energies investment worth 20 billion US \$ to accompany the country's development strategies in this sector up to 2020.

Also, by investing heavily in its infrastructure and bringing ports, airports, highways and railway systems to international standards, Morocco aims at becoming a global platform for processing and transit and at positioning itself as a gateway to Africa, the Middle East and Europe.

Not only can we provide great service for investors, we are able to accompany them abroad as well. Our banking system is one of the most resilient and efficient on the continent. Moroccan banks are present in 20 African countries and many Moroccan companies are African leaders in sectors such as insurance, telecom, engineering and construction. We thus serve as a natural extension for businesses that wish to extend

their activities to new markets.

With the steady economic reforms meant to open new perspectives for trade with its diversified partners, Morocco intends to position itself as a production and export platform.

Korea–Morocco Bilateral Relations

Let me now move to the assessment of our bilateral relations and try to figure out some recipes to make them stronger.

Morocco and Korea have established diplomatic relations in 1962. Since then, the two countries deployed every effort to strengthen their bilateral relations as they share a number of common values such as the entrenching of democracy, respect of public liberties, commitment to international security and peace, peaceful resolution of conflicts and non-interference in internal affairs of States. In 2012, the two countries celebrated the 50th anniversary of their official bilateral relations.

Bilateral trade remains below the expectations of both countries. Although commercial exchange has witnessed a steady progress in the last years, the trade balance is largely in favor of Korea due to the nature of imported and exported products.

Morocco exports are mainly phosphates, semiconductors and digital devices, oils and petroleum oils, textile, leather, clothing and clothing accessories, seafood, grains of spices, waste and scraps of aluminum and copper.

The main imported products from Korea are mostly appliances, cars and auto parts, telecommunications equipment and synthetic fibers and filaments.

Bilateral relations between our two countries have been strengthened through the signing of a number of agreements including the Agreement on technical, scientific and economic cooperation in 1976, the agreement on scientific and cultural cooperation in 1977, the MOU on political consultations between the Ministries of foreign affairs in both countries signed in 1998 and the agreement on tourism cooperation in 2006, to mention but a few.

In the cultural field, the cultural and educational joint commission adopts regularly

action plans which aim to encourage higher education exchanges, scientific research, organization of cultural days, youth exchange and cooperation in sports, arts and the preservation of the cultural heritage.

Since 1992, more than 400 Moroccans participated in different training programs organized by KOIKA in various fields such as ICT, E-government, small and medium enterprises promotion, international trade, water resources management, vocational training, maritime fisheries, martial arts, etc.

More than 300 volunteers and experts have similarly participated in development programs in Morocco including in ICT projects, agriculture, machinery, automobile maintenance, pedagogy, urbanism, civil engineering, architecture, etc. It is worthy to note that since 2006, KOIKA reserves 2.5 M\$ each year for development projects in diverse fields.

The establishment of the Joint Commission was a milestone in the efforts aiming at reinforcing bilateral relations. The last session was held in Rabat in November 2012 and was the opportunity to discuss the means to reinforce sectorial cooperation particularly in trade, renewable energies, technology and sustainable development projects. The two parties agreed also to adopt more proactive approaches liable to create more opportunities for partnership between Moroccan and Korean enterprises operating in the fields of electronics, automobile and fisheries.

The presence in Morocco of Samsung electronics (number 1 in Morocco in audiovisual equipment, smart phones and tablets), LG electronics, Hyundai, Kia, Daewoo construction, POSCP engineering could be a further stimulus to other enterprises who wish to benefit from the advantages provided by Morocco's economy and its positioning as a gateway to a huge market in Africa, Europe, the US and Arab countries.

There is also the need to reactivate the agreements and action plans established between trade agencies in both countries including the AMDI (Moroccan agency for investment promotion), CGEM (General Confederation of Moroccan Enterprises), Morocco Export with different Korean counterparts including KOTRA, FKI, KOIMA, KITA.

Perspectives of development

As we are thinking on the ways to reinforce this partnership, we need to go back to the recommendations of the last Joint Commission session and recall some of the measures to be taken urgently for a better exploitation of the great trade potential. In this respect, both countries need to:

- Identify support programs for the benefit of SME's and provide the necessary technical and financial funding for their implementation;
- Promote cooperation in the field of new technologies (biotechnology, microelectronics), ship-building and ship maintenance;
- Encourage cooperation among governmental bodies in charge of promotion policies to develop clusters' partnership between Morocco and Korea;
- Examine seriously the possibility of developing an industrial zone for Korean major industrial groups and small and medium industries willing to develop or reinforce their activities in Morocco;
- Examine opportunities for developing a partnership in the industrial sector related to renewable energy and energy-saving technology, environment protection, green growth and water resources management;
- Work to materialize more added-value projects such as the ones already put in place thanks to Korean government assistance programs led by KOIKA. A leading project in this respect is the one conceived to reinforce capacity building in research and development in relation to the efficiency of solar energy in Morocco.
- Increase technical cooperation including in vocational training related to income-generating activities, agriculture, economy and trade in addition to volunteer dispatch programs within the program « World Friends Korea », making the upgrading of human resources at the heart of development policies ;
- Reinforce triangular cooperation between Morocco and Korea for the benefit of African sub-Saharan countries especially in human resources management and development through providing specific trainings at the centers financed by the Korean government.

With all this being said and given the assets Morocco enjoys in terms of political and economic stability, favorable and business-friendly legal environment, tax breaks and financial incentives and a diverse economy with multiple opportunities of rewarding investment, I would like to call Korean businesses to come explore the investment opportunities available in Morocco in different fields including the automobile industry, aeronautics, information technology, textile, electronics, mining, bio industry, renewable energies, agro-industry, services like off-shoring and out-sourcing.

Thank you so much for your attention

Korea's Perspective on Cooperation with African Countries: Morocco as an Example

Prof. Sun Song Park
Vice President of Korean National Strategy Institute, Dongguk University

It is my great honor to speak at this small but important forum to contribute to the reinforcement of Morocco and Korea's bilateral relations. First of all, I would like to express my gratitude to Counsellor Lhoucine Rhazoui from Embassy of Morocco at Seoul and Director Chang-soo Kim from Korean National Strategy Institute(KNSI), and all other personnel from World Culture Open Korea, Embassy of Morocco Seoul and KNSI who spared no efforts to prepare for this forum. Also, I thank H.E. Mohamed Chraibi who gave us meaningful remarks today, Dr. El Bouchikhi and Professor Joon Hyung Park who will give us excellent presentations and all of you who came to today's forum.

Today, I would like to present you with three thoughts on Morocco and Korea's exchange and development of relations. Since I am not yet fully familiar with Morocco and bilateral relations between Morocco and Korea, I am very cautious. I wish my sincerity and good will touches your heart rather than my ignorance and misunderstandings.

First, Morocco and Korea's relationship will show both countries where they came from, where they are standing and where they are heading. Exchange between Morocco and Korea will reveal the two countries' history are not so different from one another and are going through massive transition of global community started in 19th century.

In the human history's point of view, Europe-centered economic development, European-culture-centered globalization started in full-scale during mid-1800s left painful wounds around the world. Imperialistic expansion of colonies and repressive regimes tore down traditional political/economic/social community in Africa, Middle East, Central Asia, India and East Asia. Colonialism destroyed colonized people's culture

and dignity. Where tradition was gone, now new civilization blossomed and economic development for people did not occur.

According to self-determination theory, various people from colonies established their own independent country after the World War II. Establishment of an independent country is never given by other people. Upon ordinary people and remarkable political leaders' sacrifices were independent nations founded. Morocco and Korea were also founded upon those sacrifices.

Exchange between Morocco and Korea make us contemplate exchanges and cooperation in Africa and Asia, in the world without repression or dominance, between peaceful and equal people. It makes us dream of diverse and free globalization where every member of global community can contribute to the development of human civilization with their own tradition and values preserved.

Secondly, exchange between Morocco and Korea brings light to geopolitical locations of both countries. Korea is a peninsula. Located on the eastern corner of giant Eurasian continent, Korea is a peninsula country connecting continental powers and maritime powers. Morocco is not a peninsula in geographical sense, but in political sense, it is as good as a peninsular located in northwestern part of Africa. For long period of history, Morocco acted as a bridge between the civilizations of European continent and African continent.

For countries positioned to play a key part in exchange of civilizations between major powers, people always prosper and suffer at the same time. Countries in the middle sometimes blossom new culture adopting both civilizations developed by two powers, and other times, they are ruled and drafted by strongly militarized power to dominate the other. Fate of countries in the middle and the people of the countries rise and fall with surrounding powers as a whole. When Morocco and Korea rested in peace, Europe, African and East Asia also rested in peace.

Morocco and Korea is enjoying age of peace since the end of 1990s. However, there are still threats to peace and wounds from colonization. Wounds from division and separation have not been healed yet. Morocco and Korea is putting their best efforts to

accomplish peaceful integration and unification. Two countries need to share their wisdom and seek cooperation in this respect.

Division between Morocco and Korean peninsula is not just problem of two respective countries. Peace and integration of Morocco are crucial factors for cooperation and development of Northwest African region, and peace and unification of Korean peninsula are crucial factors for cooperation and development of Northeast Asian region. Also, cooperation and development between Northwest Africa and Northeast Asia are crucial factors for peace and development of Morocco and Korea. In this respect, we once again realize that Morocco and Korea are positioned in similar geopolitical location. Lastly, Exchange between Morocco and Korea will enable us to develop more prosperous culture by providing us with taste and experiences of new cultures. In fact, exchange between African civilization and East Asian civilization, exchange between Islam and Confucianism/Buddhism is not unprecedented. I am not sure whether Morocco was directly involved in it, but even during Shinla dynasty and Korea dynasty, exchange between Korean peninsula and Islamic civilization never ceased.

Cultural exchange starts from respecting being different and discovering one's true identity through the difference. When we respect others and realize our true identity, our egos are developed and richer cultural community is formed. Though Korean culture is spread worldwide under the name of 'Korean Wave', we cannot say that we truly found out who we are yet. I hope cultural exchange between Morocco and Korea does not stop at discovery and understanding of each other. I believe it will bring us to discovery of new Morocco and new Korea.

Also, cultural exchange will place upon economic exchange. Cultural live and economic life is interrelated with daily lives of community members as a basis. Especially, bountiful exchange between Morocco and Korea which will build up new experiences will open up new economic opportunities and new perspectives.

In cultural exchange and economic exchange, government cannot always be the main actor. It is when civil society's various members and businessmen take proactive roles that true exchange happens.

In this respect, I think this forum hosted by Moroccan Embassy and KNSI means a lot as a non-government diplomacy transcending inter-government diplomacy. When public diplomacy develops, when deep understanding and trust are formed mutually through cultural and economic exchange, diplomacy of Morocco and Korea will take one step further historically and politically. Furthermore, development of Morocco-Korea relations will contribute to the peace and prosperity of global community.

I wish this small gather of today will steadily progress with people's interest and help so that it becomes a role model of public diplomacy between Morocco and Korea.

Thank you.

Second Panel

A Reading into the Regional Security Dynamics in Northeast Asia and North Africa and the Sahel and Sahara



Dr. Mohamed El Bouchikhi (Speaker)

He is currently a media political analyst working on North East Asia issues. He specializes in Arab Spring, Korean foreign policy towards the Arab world, and non-traditional security threats. He did his Ph.D. degree in International Relations from Sogang University Graduate School of International Studies.



Prof. Joon Hyung Kim (Speaker)

He is Professor of the International Studies Department, Handong Global University. His areas of specialization and interest are international relations, US-Korea Relations and North-South Korean issues. He is involved in a couple of renowned think-tanks specialize in diplomacy, peace and security such as Korea Institute of Future Strategies (KIFS).



Prof. Jeongmin Seo (Moderator)

He is a professor at Middle East/Africa Department of Hankuk University of Foreign Studies. He specializes in Middle Eastern politics, economics, human rights and civil society. He also served as a correspondent in Middle East

Security Dynamics in North Africa & Sahel-Sahara

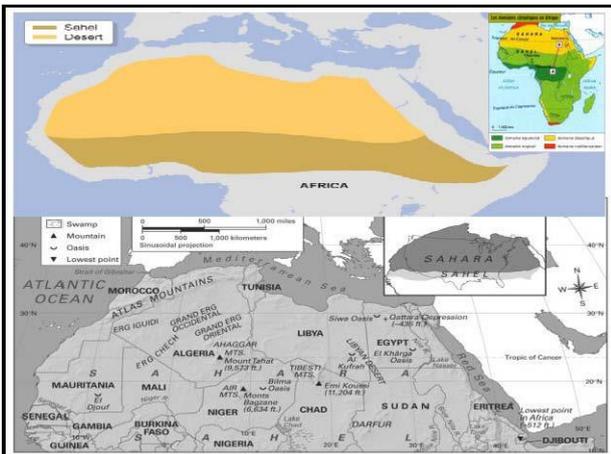
Mohamed Elbouchikhi

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Introduction

- North Africa & Sahel-Sahara are two interconnected regions mutually affecting each other.
- Both regions have emerged as major sources and main targets of threats.
- What are these two regions? How do they interact?
- What are the perils facing both regions?
- What are their drawbacks?

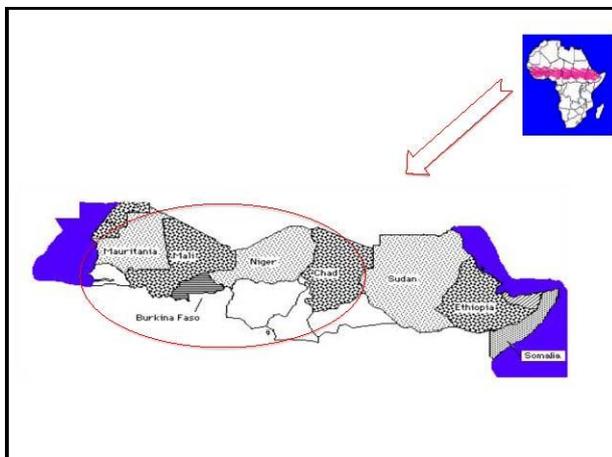


Regions Overview

- North Africa is the geographic region extending from Morocco to Sudan crossing Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt.
- Sharing the same religion, language, relatively the same historical background
- Diversity in population, economy, political regimes

Sahel & Sahara

- The Sahara is often considered as a separating zone between two distinct geopolitical fields, North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa
- The Sahel is a bordering line between Mediterranean sea and the Sub-Saharan Africa, which is organizing the transition between the North Africa and Subsaharan Africa
- Sahel is also a traditional trading road and a passageway of migration between Africa and Europe, as well as a grey zone beyond the control of the local governments.



North Africa: Current Situation

- Algeria: a boiling pot
- Egypt: an ongoing revolution
- Libya: a failed state
- Tunisia: a political transition under threat
- Morocco: a model?

**Sahel & Sahara
Drawbacks**

- Lack of education
- Lack of freedom
- Ethnic & Cultural challenges
- Poverty
- Demographic challenge

**Sahel & Sahara
Security Threats**

- Terrorism
- Narco-trafficking
- Arms trafficking
- Clandestine immigration

The Arab Spring: Menace Spillover

- The outbreak of the Libyan revolution attracted mercenaries from the Sahel and Sahara to support the old regime
- Widespread of arms throughout the country
- The downfall of Gaddafi's regime led the mercenaries to leave with arms and money
- Spread of arms, new uprisings

Mali: Libya's Effect

- Political repression
- Corruption and complicity of State officials
- Economic hardship
- Role of organized crime
- Marginalized Northern area
- Money & Arms in hands
- Time to rise up?

Regional Security Dynamics in North–East Asia

Prof. Jun Hyung Kim
Handong University

Korean Peninsula in raging waves

Asia Paradox is becoming the keyword of regional security of Korea and North East Asia. Park Administration emphasized this several times, but they did not coin the term; this is a well-known expression as a so-called paradox of globalization after the Cold War where economic integration and political separation coexist. Especially among Asian countries, though economic interdependency is growing every day, the level of cooperation in politics and security is pretty low and territory disputes, arms race, history disputes, nuclear weapons' development and other factors threatening the regional stability are increasing.

Defining current state of Asian international political affairs as a paradox is an accurate assessment to begin with and international community shares the sentiment. Based on that agreement, Korea, as a middle power, is taking a leadership role in diplomatic scene of Asia which is very meaningful. However, the political state Korean is facing is closer to much more complex dilemma and thus we need to assess the reality with more objective and strict views rather than idealistic diplomatic discussion. If it was a simple matter, the expression “paradox” would not have been used from the first place. For the actual resolution of problems, participating countries' practice will and voluntary dedication are crucial; however, it is difficult to drive these out in the field of international politics where selfish national interest rules. In addition, even if cooperation happens with soft issues, spillover to hard issues is a whole different level. Considering the fact that the term paradox itself derived from the difficult reality where cooperation at a soft issue of high economic interdependency is hardly shift to hard issues, we might risk circular reasoning.

Also, as Korea has prevailing urgent hard issues, it does not have much room to focus on soft issues. Not to mention North–South Korean relations which have been going steadily downhill since Lee administration, reorganization of North East Asian power structure that is proceeding with much urgency and severity is leading to fierce fight of

national interest between Korea, United States, China and Japan. Korea cannot risk leak of diplomatic power. This situation itself, where they only emphasize cooperation and peace while arms race, fight for superiority and threat of national security go on under the water, raises possibility of void diplomatic rhetoric rather than realistic alternatives. Even now, many of summit or international conferences are growing in number, but they hardly function effectively or easily waste diplomatic resources by augmenting only the number and the size of participating countries. Therefore, through understanding and assessment of the dilemma we are facing should precede the usage of Asian paradox just for the sake of making one's proposal stand out.

Trifold Paradox

The paradox Korea is facing is threefold; paradox in global level created by U.S.–China relations, Asian Paradox, and Korean Peninsula paradox. Certainly, there are many overlapping areas and closely connected to each other so that there is no clear-cut division of issues. But if we briefly examine each level's characteristics, it is as follows. First level is paradox of increased cooperation and intensified conflict in global level between the United States and China. Just as Asian Paradox, U.S.–China relations show deepening economic interdependency while the possibility of completion and conflicts are increasing in political and military aspects. United States policy toward the China so far has been fluctuating between containment policy based on 'China Threat' theory and public cooperation based on interdependency theory, rather than setting up a consistent policy.

While United States' status as a sole super power which dominated last 20th century is weakening, China is getting more influential. This competition of influence is developing rapidly. In the past history, when power transition happened a between hegemonic power and a challenger, instability of the system increased and it ended up in a war in many cases. Both United States and China is making efforts in various angles to avoid unfortunate outcomes, but due to the lack of intertrust and power diplomacy that defines international politics, it is very difficult to avoid conflicts. Voices calling for the cooperation are loud but differences between two countries are growing larger in various aspects. United States is contemplating between the choices; one is to bear a certain amount of weakened influence for stability and coexistence, and another is to

consolidate their dominance by igniting the hegemonic race against China. China's choice is also divide between the two; one is to adapt to United States-led order and be satisfied with being a cooperating second-in-command, and another is to challenge. Second level is aforementioned Asian Paradox. Despite the increase of economic interdependency and human interaction between Asian countries, diplomatic strife is intensifying due to not only historical and territorial issues but also power rearrangement between regional countries and domestic political reasons. While the entire world understands East Asia as a new engine for economic development and is turning eyes on it, paradoxically, the conflicts and confrontation between the main actors such as Korea, China and Japan are steadily growing. In early 1990s, confrontation structure between the United States and Soviet Union dissolved as the Cold War ended. This phenomenon, along with the Asian economic crisis in late 1990s expanded the concept of group identity as Asian countries. As a result, they actively sought for ways to systemize regional cooperation or multilateral cooperation. However, as United States and Europe's economic crisis in 2008 coincide with the rise of China, discussion to build community weakened and conflicts caused by reshuffled power were highlighted.

What aggravated this phenomenon was regional hegemonic race between China and Japan, and Japan's military growth and conservative swing. In the process of power rearrangement, Japan's recession was highlighted as the United States' did. Japan felt China's rise and military build-up as more serious and direct threat than it is to the United States. Furthermore, the dialogue between Chinese and Japanese leaders was cut off due to historical and territorial disputes, and the national sentiment toward each other does not seem to recover once it was deteriorated. On the contrary, Japan is outrightly seeking for rearmament citing North Korea's nuclear arms and missile threat and at the same time, is strengthening the tie with the United States to set up a power balancing strategy through allies. Also, Japan is strengthening ties with surrounding countries including South East Asian countries and thus forming a condition where Cold War diplomacy can be revived.

The third and last level of paradox is happening in this peninsula where we live in. Even though the end of Cold War had come and the North and the South's national power shows great disparity, the possibility of reunification or peaceful coexistence is actually receding and the conflicts and tension in the Korean peninsula is intensifying. They are

basically going back to age of division during the Cold War; paradox. Seizing the end of the Cold War as an opportunity, North and South Korea, on early stage, sought ways to overcome division of half century, to improve the relations and to establish peaceful regime, and even produced quite a result. Nevertheless, everything went void and currently, North and South relations is at its worst state. The structure of division is intensified, far from resolution, and mutual animosity increased. What is worse is the fact that North–South Korea relations are becoming Achilles heel of United States–China and Asian paradox. As North–South Korea relations are deteriorated, military factor dominates U.S.–Korea alliance which results in security dilemma and arms race in North East Asian region as a whole, not just between North and South Korea. Furthermore, regional countries’ governments are actively manipulating this within their domestic politics altogether. This gave rise to exclusive nationalism and security populism which results in vicious cycle by intensify United States–China and Asian paradox yet again.

United States–China Relations Scenario

Although North East Asian Paradox is threefold, China and the United States’ relationship building seem to be the most crucial factor. To elaborate, interaction between Pivot to Asia or rebalancing Asia, United States’ policy towards China as well as Asia, and ‘New Superpower Theory’, root of China’s diplomatic strategy for next 10 years after its launch, will dictate the future of Korean peninsula in 21st century.

As President Obama sworn in for his first term, he declared that he will be an Asian–Pacific president and will work with China as a strategy partner. He addressed the United States and China as G2 and called for responsible actions in the international community while they establish cooperative relations. It seemed to start off with this positive note to develop its partnership with China as such, but rupture grew as the time goes on. Not to mention exchange rate dispute over international financial crisis, they competed each other in the midst of North–South Korean conflicts and their hegemonic race regarding territorial disputes in North East Asia and South East Asia intensified. Within this context, in November 2011, then Secretary of State Hillary Clinton spoke of policy blueprint, Pivot to Asia. This strategy itself possesses both containment and cooperation aspect, but compared to the earlier stage where they were represented as G2,

aspect of containment is more emphasized relatively. Consecutively, in the 'New Defense Strategy Guidance' of January 2012, they made their intention clear that U.S. contains China's rise to keep its hegemony.

China needed to manage foreign relations stable as well as the domestic politics for continuous economic development as well. Thus, they have been making efforts to show that their rise is not a threat to the surrounding countries or the United States. However, in 2010 and 2011, as China showed quite aggressive behaviors and expressed their national interest very actively, the situation changed. China went into conflict with surrounding countries; in North East Asia, due to North Korea's nuclear power, sinking of Cheonan, and Yeonpyeong island attack; in South East Asia, due to territorial disputes. Xi Jinping administration which came to power while China gradually make moves that assure China is a stakeholder in entire Asian region as such advocated 'New Superpower Theory' and declared realization of Chinese Dream through Superpower Dream.

Despite this various changes, we cannot jump to a conclusion that China's strategy premised a conflict with the United States or that China started to challenge United States' global hegemony. In June 2013, during the very first summit with President Obama after his inauguration, Xi Jinping expressed his intention not to challenge United States' hegemony as long as they mutually respect each other's pivotal interests and do not infringe upon them. Obama agreed on this, but the problem lies on the fact that the definition of pivotal interests differs. Regional hegemony in Asia, including territorial disputes or arms race are pivotal interests for China, while United States interpret them as actions to create tension and destruct the status quo. As such, both United States and China wants to cooperate and avoid conflicts, and yet they cannot stop watching them with a suspicious eye. With the prospect of systematic variable, 'rise to power and recession' as a key factor, beyond each country's policy decisions, to define the relations of two countries, it is even more difficult to predict the trend of U.S.-China relations and Asia's political sate. Therefore, two contradicting scenario is possible at this point.

First of all, we could formulate U.S.-China cooperation scenario centered on U.S. and China's economic interdependency. Trade between U.S. and China actually reached 485 billion dollars in 2012 and China is the second largest trading partner of U.S. next to

Canada. U.S. is China's second largest trading partner next to E.U. as well. U.S. is the largest importer of Chinese products, and China is third largest importer of U.S. exports. Also, China holds 1,250 billion dollars of U.S. national debt and it accounts for 36% of Chinese foreign reserve. U.S. customers benefits from low-priced Chinese product and China accomplished economic growth within liberalist world order led by U.S..

For past 20 years, U.S.-China relations have been mingled between cooperation and confrontation, yet we have to take a note of the fact that it moved within certain range. This means that there are various points where both countries' interest collides, but they learned lessons not to let it reach danger level. Though it is true that they gradually became uncompromising toward each other, both country will not be able to take a risk of collision due to their need of intercooperation and built up domestic issues. Also, the fact that both country sought for active cooperation since Hu Jintao by systemizing strategic talk of highest level and that they maintained cooperative relations within a large frame of international organizations despite the difference in their views support this scenario.

Most of all, U.S.'s defense budget cut of 450 billion dollars for next 9 years caused by financial crisis will act as a factor that prevent vigorous containment strategy. China is highlighting its presence with New Superpower theory, but they also think that is premature to challenge U.S.'s global hegemony. China's emphasis on international responsibility as a world power and justice after Xi Jinping came to power can be interpreted as an intention to move forward to an equal relations with U.S.. At the same time, it can be interpreted as an attitude to approach surrounding countries rather conciliatorily.

However, confrontation theory caused by military distrust still has a high possibility. China perceive U.S.'s Pivot to Asia strategy as a containment strategy at the base, and thinks the ultimate target of missile defense system that U.S. is putting a lot of efforts into is China. As a response to this, China has been increasing defense budget for past 20 years by more than 10% each year and accelerated the development of advanced weapons such as nuclear submarine, stealth, aircraft carrier, anti-aircraft carrier missile, medium long-range ballistic missiles. U.S. and surrounding countries judge these movements as a threat to the regional security. Dominion issue of East China Sea and

South China Sea is another acute tension factor between U.S. and China. Chinese government is taking recent and rapid reinforcement of U.S.–Japan alliance very seriously. During last year’s U.S.–Japan Minister–level talk, U.S. officially supported restoration of collective self–defense of Japan and sided with Japan on the issue of Senkaku (Diaoyudao in Chinese), a disputed territory between China and Japan. In a response to this, China announced air defense identification zone (ADIZ) on its own with Senkaku included in it. U.S. criticized China’s one–sided announcement of ADIZ and made it clear that it will support South East countries including Philippines for territorial disputes. Especially in April 2014 during Asian tour, Obama became the first U.S. president to publicly announce his support for ADIZ and Senkaku. Accordingly, China criticized right away and replied that they will never yield on the issue of territorial protection and is willing to use military force if necessary. Obama also said that he can use military forces to protect allies.

Rise of tension with a mention of even accidental conflict can be interpreted as prelude to a power struggle created by the power shift from downfall of U.S. hegemony and the rise of China. The situation would not reach its extreme where the two countries involve in direct warfare, but aggravation of tension is more than possible. If China maintains actively responding strategy as they did in recent couple of years because they do not want to be pushed back at least in Asia where they consider as their home ground, the balance between cooperation and containment that U.S. is pursuing will break. Since China is already interpreting U.S. strategy as a threat to impede China’s rise, China will prepare itself by raising military budget and U.S. and Japan will respond to this once again, accelerating security dilemma.

Another reason that can aggravate U.S.–China relations is that it is a clash of fundamentally different ideology and identity. There is a high possibility of clash between American Exceptionalism and Chinese Nationalism nowadays. Falling after dominance of 20th century and being challenged by China itself are hard blows to American people, and China does not have enough composure to bear with U.S.’ provocative political rhetoric. The effect of Communist ideology that justified monopoly of power is waning and to make matters worse, nationalism is on the fast rise. Furthermore, it is very concerning that China’s growth rate which has been unstoppable is now showing signs of slowdown. Issue of corruption caused by prolonged monopoly of power along with

the gap between the rich and poor increased by 23 times over 40 years can explode with systematic dissatisfaction caused by slowdown of growth. In such a case, foreign policy will turn more conservative and it might accelerate conflicts between U.S. and China.

Korea's Counterstrategy

It is quite true that power rearrangement in North East Asia has momentum. Power rearrangement in international politics spawn instability, regional countries start to expand military budget and on the one side, fierce diplomatic warfare of making allies and enemies goes on. In the midst of all these, U.S.–China and Asian Paradox operate as a key variable to determine our future. Since Korea has China as the largest trading partner and U.S. as the largest security partner, the more tension U.S.–China conflict shows, the more dilemma Korea faces. What is worse is that aggravation of North–South Korea relations work as a strong fuel to promote entire North East Asia's Paradox. North Korea's nuclear development and belligerent provocation are largely at fault, but South Korea, not to mention U.S. and Japan, has done its part by putting pressure on North Korea rather than seeking solutions through a talk and using this to justify reinforcement of military partnership or ideological diplomacy.

In this complicated and unstable North East Asian circumstances caused by the rise of China and fall of U.S. which involve both systematic and geopolitical variables, the future of Korea people is at risk once again to be a hostage of upper class with vested rights domestically and of struggle for hegemony international politically. As the conditions and aspects are very different, it is hard agree with a statement conclusively mentioning the repeat of history. However, there is no room to differ to a statement saying we cannot sit and watch to be sacrificed once again as we suffered at the end of Joseon Dynasty due to power shift between major powers. Therefore, it is time for rather proactive diplomacy to avoid a situation where it forces us to choose as confrontation between U.S.–China settles deep. Most of all, restoration of North–South Korea relations and balanced diplomacy is the most urgent counterstrategy. It is the most desirable to act as a buffer when U.S.–China relations at its rough time, and as a catalyst when the relations at its best time.

President Park has been emphasizing Trust Building Process of Korean Peninsular and balanced diplomacy since her candidacy. Trust Building Process implied changes to Lee administration's hardline policies toward North Korea and balanced diplomacy implied changes to pro-American only policies. It would have been excellent if this did not stop as a strategy to win the presidential election and was actually put into place once she came into the office. However, after a year of presidency, consistency from Lee administration rather than change is stands out more. The government is still insisting changes from North Korea as a premise and being passive toward the talk, and improvement of North-South Korea relations remains as a dependent variable to U.S.-Korea relations. Global partnership and extensive strategic alliances both countries' leaders agreed upon celebrating 60th anniversary of U.S.-Korea alliance reassured deep bilateral relations. However, it could put pressure on North Korea and arouse military tension in North East Asia and raise the possibility of being drawn into U.S.-China's race for hegemony.

U.S.-Korea alliance is indeed important, but it is never desirable to emphasize military aspect too much or to have ideological Cold War diplomacy revived. In this respect, U.S.-Korea relations and U.S.-Korea alliance should be differentiated in terms of diplomacy toward U.S. U.S.-Korea relations should be promoted, but reinforcing military alliance does not benefit national interest. For the past 60 years, even social norm and identity were integrated beyond military and security area and U.S.-Korea alliance seemed not to be dealt in practical sense as if it became a myth or ideology. 60 years are long enough time for existing alliance to be valued much more than other alternatives by pro-American groups' institutionalization and pro-American sentiment's settlement and thus spawn strong inertia. Korea, addicted to U.S.-Korea relations, sanctified the alliance and intensified conflict structure between North and South Korea. However, no matter how important the U.S.-Korea alliance is, it cannot precede Republic of Korea's national interest or be sanctified. The alliance should be commercialized as soon as possible as a means to realize national interest.

Recent footsteps of U.S. and Japan are not ordinary. A very powerful solidarity has getting established based on sympathy about being in recession similarly and strategic calculation centered on China as a focal point. U.S. is conspicuously pushing its burdens to its allies citing financial difficulties and Japan is welcoming it with open arms. Japan

probably intends to fortify its status and check China by filling what U.S. is lacking. Furthermore, it seems that Japan intends to even promote aggravation of China–Japan and U.S.–China relations and utilize them. Even though the situation is this urgent, Korean government’s diplomatic focus is inappropriately focused on the inside issues. Other regional countries with newly launched government are bound to concentrate on consolidating domestic power, but they have highly strategic minds at diplomatic field. However, Korean government is only focusing on advertising how bad North Korea and Japan are and how highly U.S. and Europe think of Korea.

Of course, President Park is putting work on diplomacy and receives higher mark for diplomacy rather than domestic politics according to various polls. However, we cannot see an active diplomacy that tackles difficult problems trying to resolve them. She is postponing them or missing the very core of the issues. In this difficult situation of Korean peninsula which will suit ‘curse of geopolitics’ perfectly, she only meets with whom she wants and have void discussions. It does not mean summits thus far are not important. However, it is hard to find her using diplomacy to resolve problems we are facing at the moment and to actively gain practical benefits. Although the very key for North East Asian Peace and Cooperation Plan, railroad construction penetrating Eurasian continent, establishment of DMZ Peace Park, Unification Jack Pot Theory or other bigger proposals to have feasibility is an improvement of North–South Korea relations, she is not taking an active role in resolution of the issue blaming North Korea’s sincerely and lack of trust.

True diplomacy is to persuade the opposite party even within international politics where mutual trust between countries is hard to achieve. However, Park administration’s ‘Trust Diplomacy’ only choose those whom we can already trust. They maintain a stance that neither Japan nor North Korea can be trusted and thus we will not meet them until they change or bend to us. This is almost the lack of diplomacy which willingly gives up being a main actor in diplomatic stage. Behind the glamorous appearance of diplomacy to strengthen existing friendly relations, national interests are leaking. They said our status has been promoted after we reconfirmed solidity of alliance after U.S.–Korea Summit, but we have almost no voice in main issues between the two countries such as arms dealing, nuclear energy agreement, share of expenses for stationed army, or MD issues. Also, regarding Japan’s collective self–defense rights, Korea could not suggest any stance

in the process of U.S. approval. In addition, though they advertise it as a honeymoon of China–Korea relations, we still cannot utilize China as a key to deal with North Korea. Though we are in an awkward position between the U.S. and China, we are still looking at U.S. In the worst case, we could be pushed back in U.S.’ priority and also be suspected by China while we side with U.S. It is highly concerning that our diplomacy might be heading that direction.

Right now in 2014, the situation surrounding Korean peninsula is not amicable and Korean government responding diplomacy is helpless but opportunities remained. As I pointed out earlier, U.S.–China relations are not bound to confrontation scenario yet and Korea has not specifically chose a side. Though Japan already defined China as a potential threat and started to balance the power, Korea’s strategy is rather close to hedging strategy which is to seek resolution of North Korean issue through China’s cooperation and to share benefits through economic exchange. Delay in establishment of containment line though triangular alliance, which U.S. is hoping, due to aggravation of Korea–Japan relations or China’s certain level of expectation on Korea to work as a buffer allow Korea some latitude in diplomacy.

Ultimately, the key is a restoration of North–South Korea relations. First of all, the government’s Trust Diplomacy should move on to process–valuing Trust Building Diplomacy which transience premises to tame North Korea or principles. The fact that North Korea during earlier this year is actively seeking for a talk unlike its provocation during early 2013 is very positive. This might be a disguised peace, but Korea should resolutely accommodate them within a bigger frame and proactively make efforts to improve the relationship. Also, President Park’s Unification Jack Pot Theory should not remain as a repeat of unification–through–absorption theory or collapse–of–North–Korea theory which put pressure on North Korea, but be a political rhetoric equipped with will to implement and practical methods.

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