


Commission and Workshop Speeches

INTERRELIGIOUS DIALOGUE: A WAY TO PROMOTE PEACE AND HARMONY IN ASIA

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Though all the religions of the world teach love, preach sympathy for others and encourage human beings to exercise utmost self-restraint and have most profoundly been a source of inspiration for the highest good of humanity, the world today is torn by conflicts, enmity and religious hatred. In this predicament, a lasting and peaceful society is impossible unless different faiths are understood in their proper perspectives. Therefore, it is necessary that people belonging to different faiths understand each other better. This necessitates a constant dialogue and effort to generate *moral* and *heartly* religious thinking. The advocates of all the religions of the world emphasize the importance of certain virtues and moral values. Only these can foster unity and cohesion of mankind. But the moral and religious values cannot be invoked by force. This can be achieved through the exchange of words and dialogues.

It is unfortunate that the present-day methods to resolve differences tend to be more militant and martial than ever before. These methods often shed oceans of blood but cannot conquer a single heart. As a result, peace seems only to be apparent, but not real. Thus, in the present day world it has become imperative for human being to accept as an article of faith that in resolving conflicts, if one needs any armament at all, then this armament should not be made of gun-power or nuclear fission. It should be made of words and dialogues that can reach the deepest fathom of the heart.

In fact, it is not war but dialogues can solve most of the problems the present world is facing. Dialogues of different kinds from family to the United Nations levels have very often failed. But these have failed because of the lack of *warm hearts*. Parties or persons concerned lack proper knowledge, sincerity, honesty and an unbiased attitude to the problem. They pretend but do not intend. Indeed a warm heart can never shed blood. But unfortunately, the worms of hypocrisy, hatred, enmity, malice, jealousy, selfishness, mistrust etc. have been eating into our individual as well as national characters. In order to get rid of this, we must, through words and dialogues, do our best to form public opinion, and awaken public conscience to take a firm stand against the illusory hope of peace through military victory.

There is no religion without peace. In fact, religions are meant for peace. We must admit that peace and religion are complementary to each other. When the good of all is desired with an undivided mind peace will definitely be ours. But people belonging to different faiths, in most cases, have betrayed religious ideals and commitment to peace. The time has come when this betrayal must be corrected. And this can be and should be done through knowledge, dialogue and demonstration of the fact that love, compassion, selflessness and the inner force of truthfulness ultimately have greater power than hatred, enmity and self-interest.

There was a time when various religions, precisely because of their own convictions, were unable to cooperate and were even antagonistic to each other. But the time has changed to a great extent. Improvement in the means of transportation has made the earth smaller. Now religions, in spite of historic differences, must seek to unite all human beings for the attainment of world peace. Unless the peoples of faith come closer to each other the irreligious and anti-religious forces will gain the upper hand. And this may lead to the further breaking up of the moral fiber of the human society. But at all cost we must preserve the moral aspect of the texture of human society and transform the Planet Earth *from a house to a home*.

Religious people represent a vast majority of the peoples of the world. But, unfortunately, we are a confused, divided and silent majority. The religious people of the world have been quite silent for long, and their silence has worked against human welfare. That is why Ralph David Abernathy remarks, “our division, our timidity and our silence left the mighty forces of racism, poverty and war unchallenged. Our silence has been paid for by the suffering of millions, for whom we should have been the advocates, the friend and the spokesman.”² The time has come when religionists, instead of antagonizing each other because of what we once thought was a religious conviction, should cooperate with each other in order to contribute to the cause of peace for mankind. Because, as Rev. Nikkyo Niwano rightly remarks, ‘in the final analysis all sectors of religion can be bound together by the common aspiration for human happiness and salvation.’³

In the past, we could live in isolation, but now, we are forced to live in One World. We are increasingly living in a Global Village. Until the edge of the present era, humans lived in the Age of Monologue. That age is now passing and we are now poised at the entrance to the Age of Dialogue.⁴ Quite a huge number of people travel all over the globe, and large elements of the entire globe come to us. There is hardly any big city in the world that does not echo with foreign accents and languages. Our homes are filled with foreign products and through our television sets, we invite into our living rooms myriad people of strange nations and religions. Thus, we can no longer ignore the *other*. We cannot look at them with fears and misunderstanding or hate them. This way of encounter can easily lead to hostility and eventually war and death. In this connection Leonard Swidler and Paul Mojes, two pioneers and living legend of interreligious dialogue in the western world, remark: “Today nuclear, ecological, or other catastrophic devastation lies just a little farther down the path of monologue. It is only by struggling out of self-centered monologic mindset into dialogue with the other as she or he really is, and not as we have projected her or him in our monologues, that we can avoid such cataclysmic disasters. In brief we must move quickly from the Age of Monologue to the Age of Dialogue.”⁵

Now comes the question: what is meant by dialogue? Dialogue is a conversation between two or more persons with different views. We enter into any dialogue so that we can learn, change and grow. Dialogue is not any kind of debate. In dialogue each partner listens to the other as sincerely, sympathetically and respectfully as possible with an end in view to understand other’s point of view. Interreligious dialogue is not simply a series of conversations, it is the whole way of thinking, seeing, feeling and reflecting on the religious traditions of the partners concerned. Swidler and Mojes, want to go one step further and give emphasis on ‘Deep-Dialogue’⁶ which means to stand on our own position, and at the same time seek self-transformations through opening ourselves to those who think

differently. If we want ‘socially beneficial, peace-fostering and Earth friendly ways of life, there is no alternative to this Deep- Dialogue.

However, interreligious dialogue neither means analysis of analysis, nor does it mean synthesis of analysis. Through these dialogues we have unity without unanimity, diversity without division and inner change without conversion. Our goal in a dialogue is not a unity but understanding, not dominance but development— to create in the heart of every individual a place for every other. Raimundo Panikkar, who is considered as the ‘apostle of interreligious dialogue’ rightly remarks: “The aim of the interreligious dialogue is understanding. It is not winning over the other or to come to a total agreement or a universal religion. The ideal is communication in order to bridge the gulfs of mutual ignorance and misunderstanding between the different cultures of the world, letting them speak and speak out their own insights in their own languages.”⁷ He further contends that the aim of an interreligious dialogue is not a unity or a reduction of all the pluralistic variety of man into one single religion, system, ideology or tradition.⁸ The purpose of the dialogue is not to settle abstruse philosophical questions about God. Rather it is to show the kinds of considerations — the reasons which are relevant in religious discussions and to make an honest effort to see every religion at its best.⁹

Interreligious dialogue is not an end in itself but can result in interreligious cooperation at many levels. These dialogues are necessary and helpful in creating an atmosphere of better understanding between the believers of different religions and different codes of conduct and create an ‘aura of peace and understanding.’ All religions should dialogue and cooperate with one another if they are to make any genuine contribution to the society. Interreligious dialogue is necessary for revision, development, refinement and correct interpretation of different religions. We must know others in order to know who and what we are. To know others is a necessary condition to know ourselves and vice versa. Therefore, F. Max Muller, who is one of the founders of Comparative Religion, rightly remarks, “What our great poet once said almost prophetically of languages, may also be said of religions—He who knows only one knows none.”¹⁰ Joachim Wach also holds that the proper attitude of religiology is that we can claim to know one only if we know all religions, however superficially.¹¹

To make interreligious dialogues meaningful and effective partners must follow certain rules.¹² Some of these rules are as follows:

- *In dialogue one must be ready to learn from partners.* The primary purpose of dialogue is to learn. Through learning the participants will change and grow in the perception and understanding of reality and then work accordingly.
- *Dialogue cannot be one-sided; it has to be both-sided.* As interreligious dialogue is corporate and as its primary goal is for all the partners to learn and change themselves, it is essential that all the participants enter into dialogue not only with their partners across the faith-line but also with their co-religionists, to share the fruits of interreligious dialogue.
- *Participants must be true to the ideals of dialogue.* All participants must come to the dialogue (whether it is interreligious or intra-religious or inter-ideological dialogue) with complete sincerity and honesty. If the participants come with certain ulterior motive, the purpose of the dialogue will be vitiated. In other words,

lack of sincerity will prevent dialogue from happening. We must remember, ‘false fronts have no place in dialogue.’

- *Participants must come with open mind.* Each participant must come without any preconceived idea of the other. For example, if a Muslim views Hinduism as inferior, or a Hindu views Islam to be inferior, there cannot be any genuine dialogue between them. Participants should come to dialogue with no hard and first assumption as to where the points of differences lie. Both the partners must listen to one another with total openness and sympathy and must try to agree as far as possible, while maintaining integrity with the tradition of their own.
- *Dialogue must take place only between equals.* Participants must come to learn from one another. If we learn only from one, that will be a monologue, not dialogue. For example, there cannot be any meaningful, fruitful and authentic dialogue between a learned scholar and an uninformed person. In order to have a genuine and authentic dialogue between Muslims and Hindus, for instance, both partners must come primarily to learn. Then and only then, they will speak *equal with equal*. There can be no such thing as a *one way dialogue*.
- *Dialogue should take place only on the basis of mutual trust.* The first pre-supposition of any dialogue is mutual trust among the partners. Each partner must remember that if *there is no trust, there is no dialogue*. It is fundamentally true that only *persons* have the right to enter into dialogue and any dialogue among persons can be built only on personal trust.
- *Participants must be ready to be self-critical and accept genuine criticisms from others.* Any lack of such self-criticism will imply that our own tradition has all the correct answers. This kind of attitude is bound to make dialogue unnecessary and even impossible. Participants in an ideal interreligious dialogue should stand within a religious tradition with integrity and conviction, but their integrity and conviction should include healthy self-criticism.

There are some other important assumptions and preconditions for interreligious dialogues. As partners in interreligious dialogue we must come as persons who significantly identify with a religious community. For examples, if I were neither a Muslim nor a Sikh, I could not participate as partner in Muslim-Sikh dialogue even if I listen attentively, ask intelligent questions and make helpful observations. We should not make hasty value judgments on our own religions as well as on other religions. We should not make any hasty distinction nor indulge in any kind of over-simplification and illicit generalization. Rather, we should recognize both differences and similarities. Giving emphasis to similarities alone will lead to an empty universalism, which ignores all uniqueness of every religion. Again, emphasizing only the differences will lead to a narrow provincialism, which ignores all common elements of all religions. Philip H. Hwang points out: “A genuine meeting between religions should go beyond a comparison between systems, such as realism and nominalism, intellectualism and intuitionism. For religion is a total activity including all these different modes of actions. No general conceptualizations alone can bring about a genuine dialogue as far as religions are concerned.”¹³

We must set the houses of religions in order, i.e., we must practice what we preach, and we must preach what we practice, for the blind cannot lead the blind and the lame cannot help others walk. We must have to avoid thinking that our religion alone is true and the rest are false. Any sincere study of other religions will show that they are as true as our own. Therefore, it is a must that we entertain the same respect for people of all faiths. Anthony K. Chirepannath opines that when such an attitude becomes the law of life, the conflicts based on the differences will disappear from the face of the earth.

We must be aware of the fact that truth is like the fire at the heart of a many-faced jewel, each angle of which shows a different color and due to our imperfection we can see truth only in figments and act according to our limited vision.¹⁴ We must feel that we are all members of one great family of great Beings, having different forms of work. We must remember that we are all marching towards the spiritual realization of truth and love. Ramakrishana's view in this regard deserve special attention: "People partition off their lands by means of boundaries, but no one can partition off all embracing sky overhead. The invisible sky surrounds all and includes all. So, common man in ignorance says: 'My religion is the only one, my religion is the best'. But when his heart is illumined by true knowledge, he knows that above all these wars of sects and sectarians presides the one indivisible, eternal all-knowing bliss."¹⁵ In fact, the different faiths are like spokes of a wheel in which God forms a hub. Therefore, let us – all the religionist – radiate towards that hub and find peace and solace.

The Sikh Gurus perceived that there was lack of real love among the people and, therefore, they always laid great stress upon spiritual practices and preached the philosophy of one God, the supreme Reality. They realized very well that differences in conventions and customs and modes of worship made religion as such to lose its vital character. They understood that a new strength and vigor had to be imported into the field of religion and religious practices, it had to be brought home to the minds of the people that there really existed no differences in places of worship resorted to men of different faiths. That is why Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth and the last Guru states: "The temple and the mosque are the same, the Hindu worship and the Muslim prayer are the same, all men are the same; it is through erroneous judgment that they appear different All men have the same eyes, the same ears, the same build, a compound of earth, air, fire and water. . . . Let no man, even by mistake suppose there is a difference."¹⁶

Thus the need for unity in the family of humanity is being brought home with an increased sense of urgency. And indeed, religion in the truest sense of the term can provide the motive power to create a peaceful world, not through *war-armaments*, but through *word-armaments*, i.e., through dialogues. For the resolution of disputes and maintenance of peace among various sections of people irrespective of caste and creed we should agree to use *word-armaments* or dialogues in assuaging all fears, dispelling all doubts and even agreeing to disagree on some points. The crying need of the hour is to give a clarion call to all to lay utmost importance on the moral development and hearty religious thinking as dialogues to establish peace in the world.

Notes

1. "Mankind is incurably religious. Wherever on the face of the earth man is found and at whatever level of civilization he may happen to be, he commonly has his

- religious beliefs and practices.” G. Wattas Cunningham. *Problems of Philosophy: An Introduction*. (Henry Holt and company. London. 1924). p.399
2. Ralph David Abernathy, “An Appeal to the Religious Peoples of the World and to all Men of Goodwill.” *Religion for Peace*. (Proceedings of the Kyoto Conference on Religion and Peace, Homer A. Jack ed., Gandhi Peace Foundation, New Delhi, 1993). p.124. Abernathy also remarks, “It is religion that can overcome our barriers, that can cause our timid tongues to speak. That can give new hope to our painting hearts and fresh ideas to our tired and confused minds”. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
 3. Rev. Nikkyo Niwano, “The Will of God and the Spirit of Buddha. *Religion and Peace*, p.31.
 4. Leonard Swidler and Paul Mojes, *The Study of Religion in an Age of Global Dialogue*, (Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 2000), p.145.
 5. *Ibid.*
 6. *Ibid.*, p.151.
 7. Raimundo Panikara, *The Interreligious Dialogue*, (Paulist Press, New York, 1978), p. xiv.
 8. *Ibid.*
 9. Cf. Pritibhusan Chatterjee, *Studies in Comparative Religion*, (Das Gupta and Co Private Ltd., Calcutta, 1971), p. 426.
 10. Max Muller, *Studies in Buddhism*, (Susil Gupta (India) Ltd., Calcutta, 1953), p. 50.
 11. Joachim Wach, “Introduction: The Meaning and Task of the History of Religions”, Joseph Kitagawa, ed. *The History of Religions* (University of Chicago Press. Chicago, 1967) pp. 7—8. Also cf. Philip H. Hwang, “An Interreligious Dialogue: Its Reasons, Attitudes and Necessary Assumptions” Henry O. Thompson ed. *Proceedings of the Global Congress of the World’s Religions*, The Rose of Sharon Press, New York, 1982), p. 74.
 12. Leonard Swidler has put forward ten rules of dialogue. See, *After the Absolute: the dialogical reflection*, (Fortress Press, Minneapolis, 1990), pp. 42-46.
 13. Philip H. Hwang, Op. Cit., p. 80 Cf. P.T. Raju, *Introduction to Comparative Philosophy*, (Southern Illinois University Press, 1962), pp. 82-83.
 14. Anthony K. Chirapannath, “Gandhi’s Approach for World Unity through Religion.” *The Proceedings of the Global congress of World’s Religions*, p. 167.
 15. “The devotee who has seen God in one aspect only, knows Him in that aspect alone. But he who has seen Him manifold aspects is alone in a position to say: All these forms are of one God and God is multiform. He is formless with form, and many are His forms which no one knows.” Ramakrishna. Cf. Huston Smith, *The Religions of Man*, (Perennial Library. Harper and Row, New York, 1965), p. 87.
 16. *Ibid.*

UNDERSTANDING PEACE AND HARMONY FROM THE CULTURAL POINT OF VIEW

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Dear colleagues and friends,

It is my great pleasure to exchange thoughts here with everyone on the topic of “Peace Education and Reconciliation”. Today, I would like to talk about understanding peace and harmony from the cultural point of view.

In my opinion, peace and harmony is a basic premise. It brings about a peaceful and stable social order and it is a requirement for humankind to survive and develop. A world bereft of peace and harmony certainly will fall into disintegration and return to the era when the law of the jungle prevailed.

Peace and harmony is a fundamental interest. It is owned and shared by all humankind. On this basis, the creative potential of the individuals can be brought into full play, the economy and culture of a nation will see sustainable development, and the long-lasting prosperity of human societies will be substantially guaranteed.

Peace and harmony is an ideal path. It signifies the handling of disputes and resolving of conflicts in a fair and appropriate manner by applying the principle of Equilibrium and Harmony as well as the Middle Way, thus improving the welfare of each individual as well as the wellbeing of humankind as a whole.

Peace and harmony is a long-lasting value. Most of the numerous cultural achievements attained since the emergence of human civilization had only lasted briefly and fallen into oblivion in history due to being either one-sided or confined to its time. Of all the ideologies that have passed down to the present and continue to have important impact, peace and harmony occupy the most dominant position.

Peace and harmony is a profound wisdom. It is the height of wisdom that determines the breadth of vision, the depth of exploration, the extent of progress, and the limit of transcendence. All major religions and cultural traditions in the world today invariably love peace and pursue harmony.

Peace and harmony of humankind should be integral and comprehensive. They consist of the following six aspects. The first is to build an international political order with equality and mutual trust and to maintain security and justice in the world through political cooperation. The second is to have a global economic system with balance and mutual benefit and the gap between the rich and the poor as well as regional imbalances are thus extensively eliminated through economic development. The third is to create a global cultural atmosphere of diversity and integration, so that friendship is consolidated and enhanced and historical prejudices are dissolved through dialogues and exchanges. The fourth is to set up a natural ecological ethic to resolve environmental crises. The fifth is to

realize scientific and technological progress and the scientific and technological results are thus promoted to ultimately serve the long-term happiness of mankind. The sixth is to achieve a healthy and moral state in mentality and spirituality, so that peace, harmony and happiness of every individual are thus acquired both physically and spiritually by applying traditional wisdoms.

In the areas mentioned above, cultural peace and harmony are the foundation. Culture is a value system and the collection of its correspondent codes of conduct. There is not a single kind of human activity that is not the actual manifestation of its value. Since the 21st century, cultural issues have aroused worldwide discussions. People of deep insight have become increasingly aware that without global cultural harmony, mutual political trust and economic benefit of all parties concerned would merely be unsubstantial or even impossible, and it is getting even harder to conduct effective international cooperation when confronted with multifaceted global challenges. Therefore, the profound harmony of global cultures is the top priority of human society. In my opinion, we should make efforts in the following three aspects:

First, efforts should be made in achieving the integral combination of overall plurality and localized plurality. Under the current circumstances of increasingly frequent exchanges and interactions, “plurality” is not only a description of the world’s overall situation but a reflection of the realities in most countries. Cultural plurality of the world as a whole has its roots in the cultural plurality of each region. In some places, people pursue unitary dominance with a one-sided approach and fail to achieve pluralism and integration of cultures, so a great number of confrontations and social conflicts among ethnic groups have erupted, which not only affects their own stability, but also produces elements of instability in neighboring regions. If the ethical requirements of a particular cultural tradition are taken arbitrarily to judge the normal ways of life of other cultural traditions, some conducts irrelevant to morality will also be colored as right or wrong, virtuous or evil, which will certainly result in incorrect value judgments, and even directly cause emotional overreactions. Therefore, every cultural tradition must promote the spirit of tolerance and reconciliation in order to dissolve excessive tensions within society by mutual sincerity.

Second, efforts should be made in achieving the integral combination of ideological consensus and diverse modes. Concerning the ideas of value, we should help promote major cultural traditions to reach certain universal consensus under the premise of mutual respect. Although various cultural traditions have been nurtured and molded in different living environments, they still share many common ideas based on universal values. Concerning the modes of practice, we should encourage all cultural traditions, in light of their own needs and circumstances, to adopt diverse and localized methods of practice based on general consensus. Cultural traditions, without exception, have been shaped through long-term exploration and endeavor so as to adapt themselves to the living environments. It, therefore, is a unique manifestation of the shared ideas of humankind. Thus, there is no optimal cultural mode that can fit all situations.

Third, efforts should be made in achieving the integral combination of absorbing and contributing value. Absorbing value means to comprehensively examine the fabric of other cultures and to turn their virtues into assets that are beneficial to perfecting one’s

own culture. Contributing value means to make an in-depth summary of the values of its own culture and to offer constructive inspirations to other cultures. The more positive values one culture contributes to other cultures, the more respect and recognition it can gain from them, and the more contributions it can make to the culture of mankind as a whole. The underlying driving force of the elevation and progress of human culture comes exactly from the convergence and consolidation of the positive values of all cultures.

Peace and harmony of all humanity means peace and harmony among all nations, ethnic groups and religions. Religious cultures are the concentrated expression of the core of wisdom in human culture, and all major religions regard grand selfless love of all humankind as their fundamental tenet. Promoting the peace and harmony of the entire mankind is the noble mission and great cause shared by all religions. We should keep devoting our efforts to it and call on religions from all countries and regions in the world to take their responsibility and make concerted efforts in fulfilling the moral obligation of care and concern for the world and mankind. May the peace and harmony among religions guide and propel the entire humankind towards a supremely perfect state of peace and harmony!



HUMAN RIGHTS AND WELL-BEING FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF RELIGIONS

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The topics of the keynote addresses raise few questions. Have the human rights existed in the human consciousness having emanated from the natural law when the societies were in primitive stage of their development? Have they evolved with the evolution of human society across time with the emergence of social laws? Are the religions part and parcel of the evolution of human society in its pursuit to understand the natural phenomena by developing philosophical construct? Human rights have been present in the form of natural rights in the process of social development as the civilization grew. There are numerous species in the world that are subjected to obey the natural laws operating in their ecological niche. The species survive through self-propagation, natural selection, succession and competitions. They are also subjected to the principle of age and area. Meaning thereby their population increases with time and reduces after attaining the climax. The human beings have the advantage of being able to invent and use technology and thus able to move from the stage of 'necessarily' to the stage of 'freedom.' Besides realization of basic needs, human beings also felt their higher needs as they do not live by bread alone but as active agents of change try to understand the natural phenomena, develop philosophy and expend their capacity of expression. In the process they develop language for communication. But they realized that language is an incomplete medium of expression, thus they search for different channel of expression in the form of music, panting, art, dance and drama as the media of expression.

Human beings developed economically, socially and culturally simultaneously by developing their scientific and technological capabilities. Development as a process has never been class-neutral. It also creates competition leading to conflicts. The exploitation and conflict among the human beings caused by human beings themselves brought forth the question of equality, equity and rights of individuals in the societies. All the human beings are equal as they are supposed to be the best creation of the Creator. There is none superior or inferior racially. Everyone is endowed with similar capabilities. The color of the skin is an ulterior element that should not be the basis of discrimination. The statement in Quran very aptly conveys the idea of oneness of humanity. It says, *"O mankind! We created you from a single (pair) of a male and a female and made you into nations and tribes that ye may know each other (not that ye may despise each other), Verily the most honoured of you in the sight of God is (he who is) the most righteous of you."*

In this backdrop it is important to place religions in their proper perspective. It is a well known fact that religion has been perceived in many ways in different societies. The Latin word 'Religio' means 'to bind together'. It means that the religion creates a community of people bound together by shared common beliefs and common deities. The community of devotees believes in some authority named in many ways, which commands the life

of beings as He is the creator. The term religion, in Sanskrit, is *Dharma* which has been derived from the root *dhr.* meaning, upholding, supporting, nourishing and sustaining. *Dharma* is defined as '*dharayati iti dharmah,*' which means the faith carried in one's deepest inner self and held steadfastly. Religion in Arabic is *Deen*, which can be understood in two ways: first, it is the judgment to come, the responsibility in the moral and spiritual world, for all actions done by human being. The second is faith, the principles of right and wrong in spiritual matter, which often conflict with selfish desires or predilections. (The Holy Quran, translation by A. Yusuf Ali, pp. 1798). Thus, these terms convey meaning of connectedness between natural with supernatural and finite with infinite.

The basic question is whether human beings invented religion or religion existed prior to the emergence and evolution of human beings. God, as the creator of the universe did exist as believed by the followers of different religions. Obviously, religions developed by human beings as the social need and thus religion is also a social construct and not a natural phenomenon in spite of taking sustenance from understanding of natural elements. It is also a fact that religions have similarities and commonalities in spiritual content but are different in rituals which have been influenced by local natural factors.

The most important aspect of all the religions is that they have developed certain common values in spite of their so many differences in their practices. Truth, love, compassion, non-violence, accommodation and charity are the value systems, which are common across the religions. Though these value systems are not absolutes but are relative. The normative aspects of values are similar but the pragmatic and practical necessities cause distortion and these are obliterated as per need of the situation.

The religions have a long history in which they have evolve in some regions and have been adopted in far away regions from the core of its origin as the philosophies and the thoughts attracted different societies over time. There have been adaptations as well as resistance. The plural societies have developed with accommodation of ideas but tragedies have also occurred due to the ambition of leaders to expand their territories. Religious conflicts have caused more bloodshed than many wars fought in the world at different times. Religions present normative view of human rights and well-being of individual and society. No religion preaches hatred, violence, isolation and non-connectedness. In all the prayers across the religions well being of creatures is wished as religions foster brotherhood because it is free from envy and jealousy. The people free from the considerations of 'we' and 'they' protect the rights of each other. It has been ordained to the followers of Islam that they should be free from envy, jealousy and indifference and should behave like brothers and sisters with each other as children of God. The prayer says, "*La tahasadu, la tabaghzu, la tadabaru wa kun ibadallah ikhwana.*" A similar prayer in *Kathopanishad* refer to accommodative coexistence. "*Om sahananavatu, sah nau bhunaktu, sah veeryam karvavhaiy, teajssvi na adhitamastu, ma vidveshvahai.*" (We have to live together, we will get nourished together, we will increase our physical power and sharpen our intellect together and in this process we will not be envious towards each other and remain conflict free.)

Basic sources of the understanding of religious tenets are the texts which are available to the people. The revealed Semitic Religions such as Judaism, Christianity and Islam have Torah, Bible and Quran respectively as revealed texts. Hinduism has rich sources of knowledge in

Vedas, Upanishads and Geeta. It is difficult to delve in detail with all the intricacies of the role of religions as source of the protection of human rights and well-being. Hence, it will be endeavored to anchor the arguments with examples from the universal value systems fathoming the religions wherever it is appropriate. It will be convenient for the author to talk about the Islam by seeking parallels from some other religions. In such presentations selectiveness becomes necessary because one is neither capable of handling such a vast subject or one has the competence and capacity to do that.

Human rights, as understood after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Paris by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948, may not be discerned in its present form but it does not mean that there were no such considerations in the religious parlance. The rights of individuals in the context of religion emanated through their moral values. Religions do not have codified human rights concerns as we have in almost all the countries after the adoption of the universal declaration of human rights by the U.N. General Assembly, though the concerns are built-in in the religious texts.

One of the common traits of almost all the religions is the concept of charity. The religion addresses the welfare of the deprived, poor and marginalized through the institution of charity. *Zakat* in Islam, *Daan* in Hinduism, *Bhiksha* in Buddhism and charity in Christianity have the same commutation. It has been emphasized in Quran at numerous places, “*waqemussalati waatuzzakat* (establish prayers and pay *zakat*). The amount paid as *zakat* goes to *Baitul Maal* and from there it is used for the welfare of the poor people in order to ameliorate their deprivation. Those who care for the poor and deprived performed their obligation towards human beings by faithfully paying their *zakat*. Quran declares, “*so owe to the worshippers who are neglectful of their prayers, those who (want but) to be seen (of men) but refuse (to supply) (even) neighborly needs*” (107:4-7).

“You shall love your neighbor as yourself. There is no other command than these.” The command is very easy to understand but it is so comprehensive that it accommodates the whole basis of moral law. The human connectedness makes all the human beings as neighbors though they may be living far apart. The noble thoughts of each one of us bring closeness among all of us. Thus it is enjoined upon us to respect and protect the rights of everyone and to help them to the extent, it is possible. The indifference of human beings from the sufferings of others may bring disaster to all of us and disturb our wellbeing.

In Hinduism also the prayers are highly inclusive. People pray for the welfare of all: “*sarve bhavantu sukhinah, sarve santu nira mayah, sarve bhadrani pashyantu, maa kashchid dukh bhag bhavete*” (May all beings be happy, may all beings be healthy, may all beings be kind, may all beings be free from pain and suffering).

This is one of the many examples which reflect the noble thoughts about the well-being of not only human beings but of all the creatures. Buddhism believes that our sufferings are because of the gap between what one wants and what one really gets. The four principles of suffering, causation, and cessation are to be managed by oneself. It recommends the following eight-fold paths which are right understanding, right thought, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right concentration and right mindfulness.

All these paths lead to well-being and happiness. The *yamaka vaggio of Dhammapada* states “for hatred does not cease by hatred at any time, hatred ceases by love, this is an

eternal rule.” The *magga vaggio* states “that all created things perish, he who knows and ceases this becomes passive in pain, this is the way to purity.” This clearly reflects that pure thoughts bring purity to the actions. Consequently, the human beings become more accommodative. Less possessive and greedy, and become free from violence and exploitation. Likewise the five principles of Jainism such as *achauryam* (non-stealing), *abhayam* (fearlessness), *asteyam* (simple living), *ahimsa* (non-violence) and *aprigrah* (non-accumulation of wealth) have been propagated for peace and well-being.

Humanity is the essence of all the religions hence one has to rise above narrow sectarian considerations to be able to protect the rights of different segments of the population. Dr B.R Ambedkar, one of the architects of Indian Constitution has remarked, “Rights are protected not only by law, but by the social and moral conscience of society. If social conscience is such that it is prepared to recognize the rights which law chooses to enact, rights will be safe and secure. But if the fundamental rights are opposed by the community, no law, no parliament, no judiciary can guarantee them in the real sense of the word.” (Dr B.R Ambedkar in *State and Minorities*).

The humanity is the essence of all the religions; hence one has to rise above differences among people. Muslims are ordained not to differentiate between Prophets. Quran says “*La noffarreqo baina ahadim mirrosolihi.*” Muslim children are taught “I believe in God with all His names and qualities and also believe in all the commandments which were given to human beings from Him in the past.” They are also taught to believe in God, all the angels, all the revealed texts, all the prophets, the day of judgment, and life after death. Thus the belief should be so inclusive that there is no justification for differentiation between the people also. The path shown by the Sufis, saints and prophets all over the world may be the hope for future. The path of spiritualism is inclusive and accommodative. Spirituality is experiential and gets strengthened by rendering service to suffering humanity. While the religious institutions like temples, masjids, churches, etc. may be exclusive places of worship by the followers of different religions but the *khanqah*, *aashrems* of the sufis and saints are open to persons of all denominations. Sikhism and Bahaism are deeply rooted in the spiritual development of their founding fathers, i.e. Guru Nanak and *Baha’ullah*. These organizations, normatively, emphasize upon the service of the people particularly marginalized sections of the society.

The world has entered a stage of development through networking that the whole world has become a global village. The humanity has become interdependent. Communication has made the world barrier-free. The information technology has enabled us to become aware of all the happenings and events across the globe. The violations of the rights of the women, minorities and marginalized groups happening anywhere in the world is known in far away areas also and people protest for protecting these rights. Nothing can happen in isolation in the modern times. We have to respect and protect the rights of the persons of any denomination under persecution and try to render help to the extent it is possible.

Unfortunately contradictions between the normative and the pragmatic are glaring. While all the religions propagate peace, love, non-violence, good conduct, good neighborly relations and accommodation, conflicts are also rampant in many regions of the world, sometimes in the name of clash of civilizations and sometimes for grabbing

the natural resources of other regions through economic dominance. It means that the cause of conflict lies somewhere else and religion is manipulated to justify the conflict. Discussions, debates and dialogue enrich our experiences. But it is not enough to talk about human rights and sensitivity about the social well-being of people in the world with such a vast diversity, glaring disparity and rampant discrimination. Can this body of scholars intervene at the level of the ruling classes in making them aware and sensitive and making them aware about the rights of people in their respective territories and making people aware of their rights as social beings? Can one expect a convergence of all the good elements of all the religions? Can we think of status of humanity with full autonomy of all the existing religions? We may subscribe to our religious beliefs but at the same time do not transgress the elements of humanity, i.e. the assemblage of the human values.

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THE ROLE OF RELIGIOUS LEADERS IN THE PROTECTION OF VULNERABLE GROUPS IN THE CONTEXT OF 21ST CENTURY ASIA

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Today we live in a world of greater risk, limited controllability and uncertain predictability, exemplified most recently in the crash of Malaysian Airlines MH 17 brought down precipitously by a missile over the eastern Ukraine. At the same time, the 21st century is said to become the Asia-Pacific century. And well it may. But what form will it take? Certainly in recent decades most Asia Pacific nation states have made significant economic progress. The Asia-Pacific region also contains a plurality of spiritual and religious traditions, languages and ethnicities but it also contains a plurality of poverties despite the very considerable progress Asia has made in overcoming extreme poverty. But there are hotspots impoverished countries as there are hotspots in every country like some rural village poverty in China and India, the Aboriginal communities in Australia.

The Pew Religious Diversity Index shows that the most religiously homogenous countries such as Afghanistan, Timor Leste, Papua New Guinea and Cambodia are far from being the most peaceful whereas multireligious countries are generally, but not always, at peace. In this presentation for this Commission with its focus in human rights and human well-being, I want to focus on the role of religious leaders and their faith communities in the protection of at-risk and vulnerable groups, most notably women and children, together with migrants and refugees, within the broader transformations of the global growth of cities and global population movements.

Global indexes measuring national performance have become very popular over the last ten years. Such mathematical analyses, based upon a range of social and economic indicators, can never be precisely accurate but they are certainly indicative in their ratings. And they can be powerful tools for promoting dialogue and providing guidance for action.

Let us examine the following four global indexes (Tables One and Two) and see what they tell us about Asia:

- *Global Peace Index (GPI)*
- *Human Development Index (HDI)*
- *Gender Inequality Index (GII)*
- *Global Youth Index (GYI)*

Global Peace Index

The latest 2014 Global Peace Index (GPI) in its survey of 162 countries encompassing 99.6 per cent of the world's population and based on 22 indicators such as open conflict, terrorist activity, violent crime and relations with neighboring countries is grouped around three dimensions: (i) level of safety and security in the society; (ii) the extent of domestic or international conflict; and, (iii) the degree of militarization. In the last seven years since 2008 there has been a notable deterioration in levels of peace. While only 51 countries have improved, there has been a deterioration of peace levels in 111 countries caused, in the past twelve months, by the rise in terrorist activity, especially Islamist terrorism, rise in the number of conflicts fought and the increased number of refugee, displaced and stateless persons.

The most peaceful countries are Iceland, Denmark, Austria and New Zealand, and the least are Syria, Afghanistan and South Sudan. The area or region with the least peaceful nations is South Asia. According to the 2014 GPI Report, trends in peace are shifting from hostility between states to a rise in the number and intensity of internal conflicts.

Human Development Index

The U.N. has developed its Human Development Index which over the years has shown the rise up the index of the Asia-Pacific countries while the African countries have continued to remain in the lower ranks of the index. In 1980, the index was at 0.559, whereas in 2013 it had risen to 0.702. Within the Asia-Pacific region, the worst performer in terms of human development has been Afghanistan which is the worst overall performer on all indices, followed by Pakistan.

Table One: *Asia-Pacific Nation States: Indices for Peace, Human Development and Gender Inequality*

Nation State	2014 Global Peace Index Measure (Range 1.0 – 4.0)	UNDP Human Development Measure (0.001 – 1.000)	UN Gender Inequality Index (0.001 – 1.000)
Afghanistan	3.416	0.468	0.712
Australia	1.414	0.933	0.115
Bangladesh	2.106	0.558	0.518
Bhutan	1.422	0.584	0.464
Brunei	n.a.	0.885	n.a.
Cambodia	2.201	0.584	0.473
China	2.207	0.719	0.213
India	2.571	0.586	0.610
Indonesia	1.853	0.684	0.494

Japan	1.316	0.890	0.131
Kazakhstan	2.150	0.757	0.312
Korea Nth	3.071	n.a.	n.a.
Korea Sth	1.849	0.891	0.153
Krygyzstan	2.382	0.628	0.357
Laos	1.723	0.569	0.483
Malaysia	1.659	0.773	0.256
Mongolia	1.778	0.675	0.328
Myanmar	2.473	0.524	0.437
Nepal	1.989	0.540	0.485
New Zealand	1.236	0.910	0.164
Pakistan	3.107	0.537	0.567
Papua New Guinea	2.066	0.491	0.617
Philippines	2.456	0.660	0.418
Singapore	1.545	0.901	0.101
Sri Lanka	2.197	0.750	0.402
Taiwan	1.558	0.890	n.a.
Tajikistan	2.395	0.661	n.a.
Thailand	2.395	0.772	0.360
Timor Leste	1.947	0.620	n.a.
Turkmenistan	2.093	0.698	n.a.
Uzbekistan	2.179	0.661	n.a.
Vietnam	1.792	0.638	0.299

Other countries with poor human development scores in the Asia Pacific region are Papua New Guinea, Myanmar, Pakistan, Nepal and Bangladesh. Across the world, 1.2 billion people, according to the 2014 UNDP Report, entitled *Sustaining Human Progress: Reducing Vulnerabilities and Building Resilience*, live on US\$1.25 a day. Despite the progress in poverty reduction, more than 2.2 billion people are living either near or in multidimensional poverty. As some report comments, “preparing citizens for a less vulnerable future means strengthening the intrinsic resilience of communities and countries.”

Table Two: *Asia-Pacific Nation States: Indices for Peace, Human Development and Gender Inequality according to Rank Order*

Nation State	2014 Global Peace Index Measure (30 countries)	UNDP Human Development Measure (30 countries)	UN Gender Inequality Index (25 countries)
Afghanistan	30	30	25
Australia	3	1	2
Bangladesh	12	25	21
Bhutan	4	22	16
Brunei	n.a.	6	n.a.
Cambodia	16	22	17
China	17	11	6
India	28	21	23
Indonesia	20	13	20
Japan	2	5	3
Kazakhstan	13	9	9
Korea Nth	29	n.a.	n.a.
Korea Sth	19	4	4
Krygyzstan	23	19	11
Laos	8	24	18
Malaysia	7	7	7
Mongolia	9	14	10
Myanmar	27	28	15
Nepal	22	26	19
New Zealand	1	2	5
Pakistan	30	27	22
Papua New Guinea	10	29	24
Philippines	26	17	14
Singapore	5	3	1
Sri Lanka	15	10	13
Taiwan	6	5	n.a.
Tajikistan	24	15	n.a.
Thailand	25	8	12
Timor Leste	21	20	n.a.
Turkmenistan	11	12	n.a.
Uzbekistan	14	15	n.a.
Vietnam	18	18	8

According to the U.N. Report, the global threats to human development are financial instability, food price volatility, natural disasters and violent conflict.

Gender Inequality Index

The latest gender inequality index which includes 25 Asian countries has been produced by the United Nations alongside the Human Development Index (see Tables One and Two). It is based on the three measures of reproductive health measured by the maternal mortality rate and the adolescent fertility rate, the female empowerment rate measured by female share of parliamentary seats and women's higher education attainment levels and the labor market participation rate of women. Across the world, there is no Asia Pacific country in the top ten in the gender equality index led by the Netherlands, Sweden and Denmark. Afghanistan is the only Asian country in the lowest ten, led by the Yemen, Afghanistan, Niger, Saudi Arabia and the Congo. In the Asia Pacific Basin, the six best performers were Singapore followed by Australia, Japan, South Korea, New Zealand and China, while the six worst were Afghanistan, Papua New Guinea, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Indonesia.

Global Youth Index

Today, across the world we have 1.8 billion young people aged between 10 and 24, the largest youth generation in human history yet nearly half are unemployed or underemployed. Perhaps the most influential young person on the global stage today is Malala Yousfzai fighting for human rights and the education of girls. The inaugural Global Youth Index, sponsored by the International Youth Federation and the Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, was published in April 2014. Based on 40 indicators covering (i) citizen participation, (ii) economic opportunities, (iii) education, (iv) health, (v) information and communications technology, and (vi) safety and security, the index covers only thirty countries, including eight Asia Pacific countries. Australia was ranked no. one of all 30 countries, followed by South Korea (ranked 3), Japan (7), Vietnam (11), China (14), Indonesia (19), the Philippines (22) and India (26).

A large majority of the world's youth are experiencing lower levels of human well-being. Even when they are doing relatively well, they still face specific challenges and limitations. In particular, they may not necessarily benefit from a country's strong economic growth with sufficient employment opportunities, being unemployed or underemployed. Russia and South Africa are held up at the exemplars where there are reasonable levels of income but insufficient economic and employment opportunities for young people.

Before examining the role of religious leaders and their communities, let us look at two major transformations that are occurring across the world regarding global population movements and the global growth of cities.

The Global Growth of Cities

Especially pertinent to Asia has been the global growth of cities. The last decade has seen a very historic tipping point – for the first time in human history, more

people are living in cities than in rural areas. By 2050 70 per cent of all people on this earth will live in urban areas. Asia is presently home to half the world's urban population, and to 66 of the 100 fastest growing urban areas, of which 33 are in China alone. While most growth will occur in cities and towns, there is also the fact of the megacities (10+ million people) – there are currently 21 with 10 in Asia: Tokyo (36.5M), Delhi (21.7M), Mumbai (19.7M), Shanghai (16.3M), Kolkata (15.3M), Dhaka (14.3M), Karachi (12.8M), Beijing (12.2M), Manila (11.4M) and Osaka-Kobe (11.3M).

According to UNICEF's 2012 *Report of the State of the World Children* which focused on *Children in an Urban World*, more than a billion children live in urban areas, many enjoying the advantages of urban life. But there are too many who are living in marginalized urban slums, vulnerable to violence and exploitation as well as to injuries, illness and death. Too many children are denied such essentials as clean water, electricity and appropriate health care. The key question is: how do we make our cities more liveable and more sustainable? How can we harness the new knowledges and the new technologies to make the cities cleaner, richer and less dangerous, more connected and more cohesive? Religious communities are now centered more in cities than in villages yet how do they work to improve urban living?

Global Population Movements

The second transformation concerns population movements. Across the world, people are on the move. They are on the move, carrying not only the heavy bags of their belongings but also their cultural and religious baggage in their heads and their aspirations to succeed in their new chosen country. According to the 2013 World Migration Report of the International Organization of Migration, 214 million people are living either permanently or for the temporary long-term basis usually longer than 6 – 12 months. The Report states, "Throughout the history of mankind, human beings have migrated in search of greater opportunities and a better life. While migration is driven by many complex factors, most migrants want to earn a better living, to live in a more agreeable environment or to join family or friends abroad. Many, however, do not move of their own free will but are forced to do so – refugees escaping persecution, for instance; people devastated by conflict or natural disasters; or victims of trafficking. But those who willingly choose to migrate are largely driven by the desire for greater happiness, prosperity and well-being" (International Organization of Migration 2013: 23).

Migration experts usually distinguish between permanent and long-term temporary migration across international borders. The main permanent migration types are (1) economic and business migration, (2) refugee migration, (3) intermarriage migration, and (4) retirement migration while the major examples of long term temporary migration are (5) international contract worker migration, (6) business executive migration, (7) international student migration, (8) international agency and government migration, and (9) non-government personnel migration. Three examples of these global mobilities are: (a) In 2012, 3.4 million young students were studying in universities and colleges outside their own country, including 160,000 from Saudi Arabia, (b) Many Asian retirees are moving to warmer climates and cheaper accommodation in such countries

as Thailand, Malaysia and the Philippines, (c) The international contract workers have sent, in 2012 across the world, US\$529 billion back to the source or home countries as financial remittances to their families.

At Risk Groups: The Situation of Migrants and Refugees

The 2013 World Migration Report gives three sets of estimates as to the breakdown of the 214 million migrants but almost half are from the poorer countries of the South migrating to the rich countries of the North, while well over a third are moving between countries of the poor South.

The financial situations of migrants in the North are worse than those of the native-born, but their situations improve with time as they achieve relative success and financial independence. Long-term North–North migrants, however, achieve the same levels of financial well-being as the native-born. South–South migrants are less well off financially than the native-born, and their expectations do not improve with time. For example, long-time South-South migrants are half as likely to say that their standard of living is getting better (32%) than the native-born (55%). Compared with what their situations would have been like if they had remained in their country of origin, North–North migrants gain in terms of objective and subjective economic indicators. South–South migrants, by contrast, appear to lose out relative to matched stayers, with long-timers being less able to afford housing. North–North migrants are less likely than South–North migrants to be struggling to meet their basic needs. South–North migrants also experience less improvement, over time, than North–North migrants. While migrants in the South are better able to afford food after being in the country more than five years, there is no such improvement with regard to shelter. In fact, they find it more difficult to afford shelter, compared with matched stayers in their home countries (International Organization of Migration 2013).

Regarding refugees and asylum-seekers, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees has recently reported over a quarter (26.8%) of the world's 10.497 million refugees and asylum seekers are located in the Asia-Pacific region with South-West Asia (which includes Iran and Iraq) unfortunately leading the way. As well, there are another 17.670 million internally displaced persons of whom 10.85 per cent (almost 2 million) reside in the Asia Pacific region, again South-West Asia and, to a lesser extent, South-East Asia.

Another much overlooked problem is statelessness, and virtually no Asian country has signed or been a party to the 1961 UN Convention of the Reduction of Statelessness. Statistics are very vague. The UN estimates that there are more than 10 million stateless people but it has only identified 3.336 million, with the three leading countries having stateless people being Nepal (800,000), Myanmar (797,000) and Thailand (542,000) with others in Malaysia, Kyrgyzstan, Brunei, Turkmenistan and Vietnam.

All these people movements have led to the formation of very fluid or “liquid” multicultural and multi-faith countries, even in countries whose population profile has historically been very monocultural, but driven to have migrant intakes usually because of low birthrates below the replacement level of about 2.2 children per fertile woman or the

need for skilled and unskilled labor. Secondly, it has led to the creation of transnational or diasporic communities linked across the world and back to the home country by the new technologies and mass air transportation.

However, it must be recognized that migration is always a risk. Research suggests that in migrating to develop countries between 4 – 10 per cent do not achieve success. In all migrant and refugee movements to developed countries, there is always a small group for whom the decision to migrate ends in disappointment, if not personal or family disaster. Expectations may not have been met. The support may not have been enough. Opportunities may not have been available. They may not have had the psychological resources or the key adaptability attributes to cope. The specter of the defeated migrant who has lost control of his or her life haunts all migration movements.

At Risk Groups: The Situation of Children and Women

Whilst the situation of women and children in Asia has been improving as a result of its economic growth, there are still very significant issues. On the positive side, in Asia the under 5 mortality rate has fallen from 147 for every 1000 live births in 1970 to 48 in 2010, including from 194 to 67 in South Asia. But the hotspots remain the countries of Afghanistan (149 deaths), Pakistan (87), Myanmar (66), India (63) and Tajikistan (64).

The UN Special Envoy for Global Education has drawn attention to the 58 million out-of-school children, but the other concerns are:

- child labor
- child sexual abuse
- child marriage
- child trafficking and
- the discrimination against girls

Each year, approximately 1 million children are trafficked. Child labor remains a serious problem, led by India which with 29 million has the highest number of child laborers. But it is child marriage that particularly is relevant to the work of religious communities. According to the International Center for Research on Women, the following facts are of note:

- One third of the world's girls are married before the age of 18 and one in nine before the age of 15;
- Over the next decade, if present trends continue, 142 million girls will be married before their 18th birthday;
- Whilst the highest prevalence of child marriages are concentrated in Western and sub-Saharan African countries led by Niger (75% of girls are married before 18), the largest number of child brides reside in South Asia, led by Bangladesh (66%), India (47%) and Nepal (41%);

- Girls living in poor households are almost twice as likely to marry before girls from higher income households;
- If married, girls are much more likely to drop out of school – in fact, educating adolescent girls has increased their marriage age as has been seen in Indonesia and Sri Lanka;
- Women married as child brides are more likely to experience domestic violence than their older sisters, more likely to die in child birth, and more likely to contract AIDS from their older much more sexually experienced husbands; and,
- Fortunately, female genital mutilation, condemned in a 2012 UN Resolution, is not as major an issue in Asia as it is in Africa.

The issue of child marriage obviously comes within the parameters of human rights and the right to marry freely but it also comes within the perimeters of religious law. Religious leaders worldwide have a poor understanding of the role of government in the governance and management of religion. In the pursuit of interreligious harmony and social cohesion in any country, in respecting human rights and improving human well-being, every country needs quality-trained religious leaders who know how to give community leadership in a religiously pluralist country and how to interact with other religious bodies. We need quality religious leaders across Asia who understand that religious law, whether it is Catholic canon law or Anglican church law or Muslim Shari'a law or Jewish religious law, is always subservient to the civil and criminal law in a civil society. Hence, religious law can never predominate over civil and criminal law. For example, religious leaders should never allow the marriage of under-age children.

However, this process has to be underpinned by the principle of accommodation. Accommodation implies a change in a program or law to accommodate a particular cultural or religious custom that does not contravene basic human rights and is not in accord with right reason. Burial and cemetery regulations may have to be changed to accommodate Islamic or Hindu or Christian burial practices; criminal justice laws have to be adjusted to accommodate the Sikh wearing of turbans rather than helmets on motorcycles and the carrying of the ritual *kirpan* or dagger in contravention of the laws on offensive weapons. Police dress code may have to be changed to accommodate female Muslim police officers wearing the *hijab*.

The Role of Religious Leaders in a Globalizing Asia-Pacific Region

The relationship of religious leaders with the pursuit of peace and human well-being is a vexed one. What is the role of religion, religious communities and their faith leaders regarding peace and human well-being? What is their role in improving our cities? What is the role of religion in the protection of women and children? What is its role in the welcoming and integration of migrants and in creating a culturally, linguistically and religiously diverse society? What then is the role of religious communities and their leaders in meeting the different spiritual, emotional, welfare and physical needs of immigrants arriving and recently arrived in a destination country and in helping to maintain a socially cohesive and interreligiously harmonious country?

It seems that religious communities and their leaders have seven functions in addressing the challenges and complexities of 21st century Asia in the pursuit of human well-being within the human rights framework regarding at-risk and vulnerable groups. It also seems that they serve the spiritual welfare and pastoral care of their religious communities, including those who have arrived as migrants, refugees, asylum seekers and as stateless people.

Religious leaders throughout the world are highly experienced in ministering to their community members through their churches, gurdwaras, synagogues and temples. But they have a special responsibility for those on the move. As the first priority, religious communities in the receiving countries need to provide the spiritual and community support for their migrant co-religionists in overcoming the very considerable stresses of the adaptation or adjustment process. In the area of believing, religious traditions have the capability to interpret religiously the migration experience to the believing migrant and to provide the religious rituals of the particular tradition. For example, within the three Abrahamic religions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam, migration is at the very core of each tradition when Abram migrated from Ur of the Chaldeas in modern Iraq to the promised land of Israel. In Christianity, the child Jesus and his family were both refugees and return refugees when they fled to the safety of Egypt. And the flight of the Prophet is central to Islam.

As part of the bonding and belonging process, religious leaders in the host countries can establish special places of worship in mosques, churches, synagogues and temples especially for individual immigrant and refugee communities so as they can be spiritually ministered in their own languages. Then they can feel the sense of belonging to a transhistorical and transnational group that solidifies their collective self-esteem and identification with a group of compatriots undergoing the same stresses of adaptation and integration.

In the adjustment process there are very significant hurdles to be jumped into in finding accommodation, finding furniture, finding employment and finding a suitable school for any children. There are the issues of becoming proficient in the language of the new country and overcoming the cross-cultural misunderstandings that inevitably occur. Religious communities can be very helpful during the first months and initial years of settlement in providing the emotional, social and financial support and helping to find things like a home, a job and so on.

Ensuring that the spiritual and pastoral needs of their national co-religionists residing outside the home country are met

Religious leaders in the sending countries have a pastoral responsibility to care for their migrant fellow nationals who have departed for a new country, whether permanently or temporarily, in co-operation with religious leaders in the receiving countries through their transnational links. Most religious groups have strong transnational links. The migrant needs the strength and consolation of the religious faith and its practices, preferably in his or her own language, for his or her own spiritual and psychological well-being. In fact, this usually is done quite well. For example, the Turkish government sponsors at some considerable cost Muslim chaplains to work in the Turkish diaspora in countries such as Germany and Canada. In Australia, Buddhist monks are brought in from Viet Nam, Cambodia, China and Taiwan to serve their communities as well as specialist craftsmen to help build temples.

To collaborate with governments and their own communities in working for peace in their own country, monitoring and critiquing government actions or lack of action in constructing a civil society

Religious leaders and their communities have another very important role to work for peace within their own country. Analysis of the Global Peace Index data suggests that there are eight key indicators of a peaceful nation called ‘the eight pillars of peace’:

- a well-functioning government
- a sound business environment
- an equitable distribution of resources
- an acceptance of the human rights of others
- good relationships with neighboring nations
- free flow of information
- high level of human capital and
- low levels of corruption.

This implies advocacy by religious leaders in pressuring governments to develop appropriate policies and practical programs. One aspect of religion is to be counter-cultural in the sense of challenging governments and societies to respect human rights, to ensure freedom of religion where the government treats all religious traditions equally and with positive neutrality and to implement good practice towards migrants and refugees. As we well know, governments may be slow or lazy in responding to the needs of migrants or children, or it may not be in their political interests to show care.

Such program initiatives for migrants need to be framed within a broader policy framework. What does a pluralist social and economic policy look like? Such a policy would be built within the framework of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights upon the two principles of (1) commitment to one’s own country, and (2) equality of opportunity for all, and the three underpinning dimensions of (a) maintenance and development of one’s cultural, linguistic and religious heritage, (b) equal and equitable access to the nation’s social and economic resources, and (c) economic efficiency or productive diversity in utilizing and improving the knowledge and skills of all for the social and economic well-being of the nation.

To work for social cohesion and interreligious harmony within multireligious societies

Religious leaders have a special responsibility for social cohesion and interreligious harmony. Management of multifaith diversity is aiming at social cohesion. Religious leaders in particular need to be well-educated and trained in how to exercise quality leadership in culturally, linguistically and religiously diverse societies. There is no agreed definition of social cohesion but generally descriptions revolve around a shared vision

held by a well-functioning core group or community that acts in a continuous and interminable process of achieving social harmony. Scholars across the world base their notion of social cohesion on five dimensions:

- Creating a sense of belongingness incorporating shared values, trust and psychological identification with the nation state and with the religious group. Here, the issue of citizenship is important – citizenship should be made reasonably easy to obtain after 3 – 5 years for immigrants and refugees.
- Ensuring social justice and equity in terms of access to government services and funding, including special programs to meet the special needs of at-risk, vulnerable groups, including multiple opportunities to develop themselves and their talents through educational and occupational pathways.
- Encouraging participation by all majority and minority at-risk groups in civic, political and social life as part of creating this sense of belonging. Another aspect is that civic leaders as well as members of parliament need to attend the many varied ethnic and religious community functions as part of creating the sense of welcoming and participation that lie at the heart of social cohesion and as part of interfaith hospitality.
- Bringing about acceptance of newcomers and minorities and working against racism and discrimination. Religious communities ought to be “welcoming agencies” reaching out to migrants.
- Forging a sense of worth incorporating people’s general happiness, life satisfaction and future expectations, all having a sense of their personal worth as individuals, generally happy that hard work has brought rewards, generally satisfied with their lives and with achievable and realistic expectations.
- To have a special responsibility for vulnerable groups, particularly women and children in their protection and education, including to help facilitate the formation of self-help organizations for these at-risk groups

Authentic religion, if it remains committed to its own beliefs and behaviors, must always remain protective of the most vulnerable. Women and children are among the most vulnerable in every society as victims of patriarchalism, criminality, sexual attacks and under-education. In their sense of care, religious leaders must insist on the human rights of women and children, resisting patriarchalism even within their own ranks, and insisting on the protection and full education of women and children.

Religious leaders, working with political and academic leaders, ought ask themselves: How can my religious community help deal with out-of-school children? How big a problem is child labor in our country and what can be done about it? To what extent is child sexual abuse a hidden problem in our society? Are there any females under 18 being married in our society, being forced into marriage with older men? To what extent is child trafficking present in our society? To what extent is there discrimination against women and girls in our society?

To educate one's own religious community and to help educate the general community about the situation and needs of at-risk, vulnerable groups and about the danger and damage caused by racism, discrimination and social and physical neglect in terms of human rights and human well-being

Community education, even through the media, is also an important element of the protection of and advocacy for at risk groups and for the integration process of migrants and refugees. The first responsibility of religious communities is to educate themselves about the issues regarding at risk groups, including the commissioning of research studies as well as about the incoming migrants and refugees, their countries of origin and their cultural and religious practices as well as the realities of adjustment and adaptation.

But beyond each religious community, there is the requirement to educate the broader community. One special aspect of this is to see that the police are well-trained in interacting with minorities and at-risk groups, including newcomers, perhaps through the formation of a police interfaith advisory council.

To help change the self-image of the nation as a growing diverse nation in cultural, linguistic and religious terms, seeing well-cared for and well-educated women and children as national assets and seeing the migrant and refugee newcomers also as assets

Because of the improved social and economic progress achieved in most Asia Pacific countries as measured on the various indexes and the unprecedented movement of peoples on the move, nations are changing, and changing quite quickly. As this occurs, the national self-image has to evolve and expand to be inclusive of at-risk groups such as the disabled and the aged as well as the women and children, migrants and refugees. There will always be resistance to this as core heritage groups defend the nation's past and its core historical legacy. Essentially this task means re-interpreting the nation's past where there will always be some diversity contained in a nation's history and reframing its self-image in terms of authentic human values and regard for at risk minorities as well as in terms of greater diversity and cultural and spiritual richness as well as linking it into the global village.

The reframing process for any nation will evolve slowly over several decades. The wise person does not hurry history but history does have to be pushed in the right direction implying that there are many different and additional ways of being Korean or Australian or Indian or Indonesian. Linked to this is to portray immigrants, not primarily as problems or intruders, but as positive assets. Religious leaders, trained in how to conduct themselves in a multifaith society, have a key role to play in their speeches and statements to help the nation evolve in its self-understanding as a more humane and diverse nation.

Conclusion

Religion is about believing, bonding, behaving and belonging, reflecting its cognitive, emotional, moral and social dimensions. All religious groups, drawing from the deep wells of their own spiritualities and rituals, must forge their own understanding of helping the poor, marginalized and the helpless in the 21st century. To address most of the issues regarding vulnerable groups, it probably will be necessary to cooperate with

other religious groups through interfaith dialogue as a prelude to dialogue with political parties. Our spiritualities animate the best that is human, making ourselves channels of peace for great compassion, love and service as proclaimed all the world's great traditions. Contrary to secularized Europe, Asia in all its diversity has an essentially religious and spiritual vision which is built around dialogue. Rational, creative and constructive dialogue leads to progress and reconciliation and understanding.

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THE PEACE DIVIDENDS FROM THE BANGSAMORO ENTERPRISE

Alex Bangcola

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This year, the Philippine Government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) signed the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro, the peace agreement that both parties hope to finally end the more than forty years of Muslim insurgency in Mindanao.



The signing of the CAB is witnessed by Malaysian facilitator Tengku Dato Abdul Ghafar, MILF Chair AJ Haj Murad Ebrahim, Malaysian Prime Minister Dato' Sri Haji Mohammed Najib bin Tun Haji Abdul Razak, President Benigno S. Aquino III, and Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process Secretary Teresita Quintos Dela.




It is hoped that the Peace Agreement will yield a Peace Dividend for the entire country.

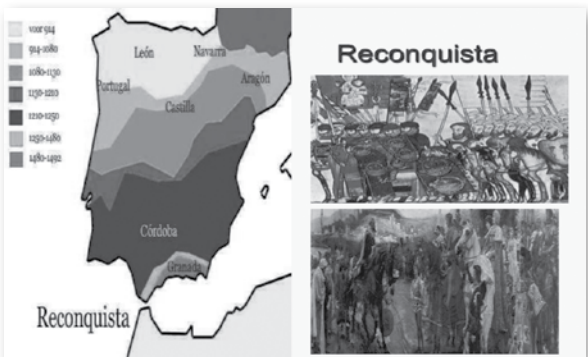




HISTORY

- The Spanish people called their foreign overlords **MOROS** and like any colonized people, they hoped that one day they will be free of these foreign masters. The Spanish struggle for freedom was to last for eight hundred years until they finally overthrew the yoke of the Moors in what was known as the **RECONQUISTA**.





Less than a hundred years after Spain became free of the MOROS, a Spanish explorer named Ferdinand Magellan reached what is now the Philippines by mistake. His original destination was the Moluccas or Spice Islands but since navigational tools were not accurate during those times, he landed in the central islands of the Philippines instead.


Ferdinand Magellan




That was in 1521 and for the next four hundred years, Spain ruled most of the Philippines, except for the Muslims of the southern island of Mindanao who continued to resist the Spaniards. Upon learning that these people have the same religion as the Moors, they were promptly called MOROS as well. The natives who were ruled by the Spaniards were called INDIOS to distinguish them from the MOROS.










INDIOS











WHAT IS A PEACE DIVIDEND



Dividend is a business concept that pertains to the income or return derived by shareholders from an enterprise where they have a stake.


A Peace Dividend would refer to the benefits derived by stakeholders or interested parties in an enterprise or undertaking where they are concerned.

Such is the Bangsamoro Enterprise where several countries have been involved in mediation, conflict monitoring and economic aid.



If successful, various stakeholders will benefit:

1. Bangsamoro people -peace and prosperity
2. Philippines-economic benefits from a prosperous part of the country
3. International community-peace and stability in an important part of Asia





RFP IN THE BANGSAMORO REGION

Religions for Peace tacitly acknowledges that people can live peacefully even if they subscribe to different religions. The Bangsamoro region has 3 main religions, namely:

1. Islam
2. Christianity
3. Traditional Religion

This is because the Bangsamoro people have over the years, adhered to Islam since the 1300's, and Christianity since the 1500's, while some still retained their traditional ways of worship.

RFP would therefore, feel quite at home in the Bangsamoro region.

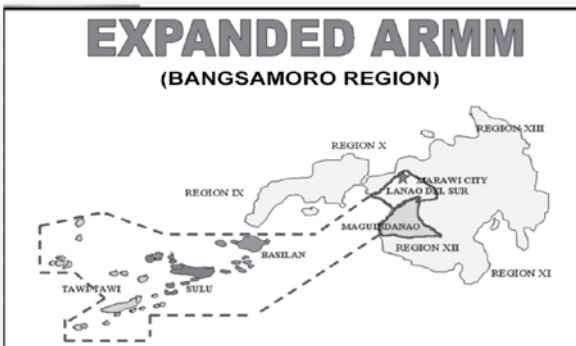


THE CASE FOR MICROFINANCE

Over forty years of conflict in Mindanao has seen people leaving the countryside to take shelter in the cities. Without the requisite education and technical skills, a majority of them supported their families through micro enterprises, which basically involve buying and selling.



Since these economic refugees lack the necessary residences and properties in the cities, they are usually unable to access credit facilities from banks and other financial institutions to expand their businesses. Hence the perpetuation of an economic underclass in the Bangsamoro Region.

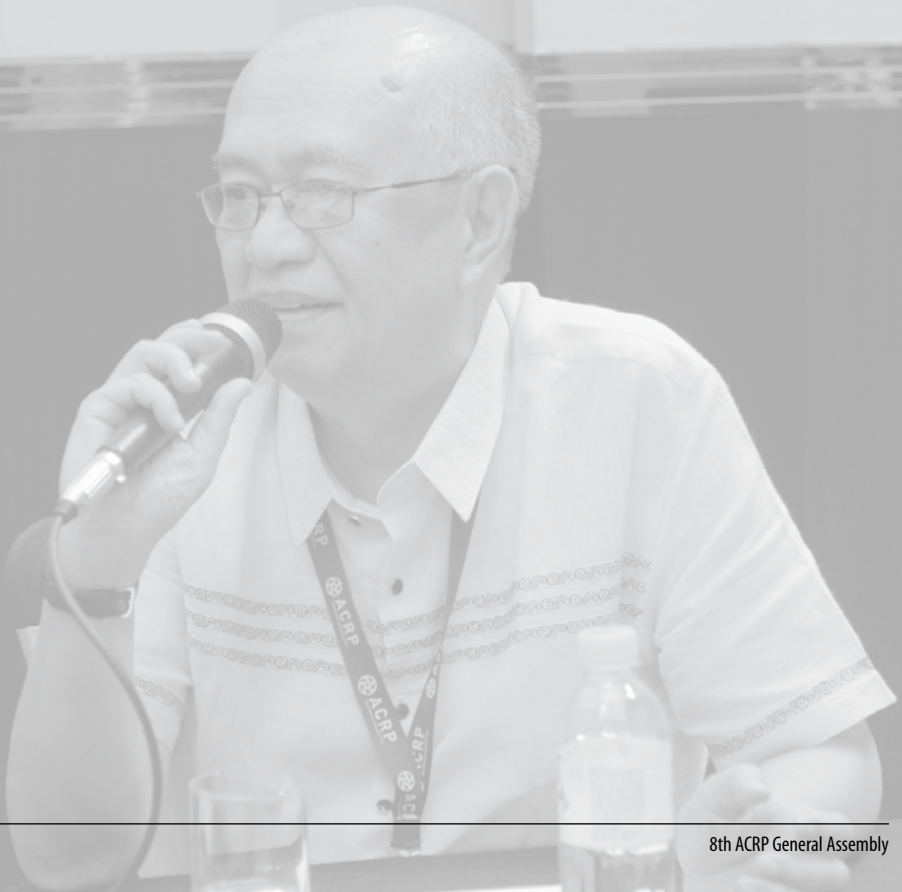




Grameen Bank

The success of the Grameen Bank in alleviating poverty in Bangladesh through microfinance offers a template for economic intervention by the international community in the Bangsamoro region. To succeed however, the operations of any microfinance entity should be based in the area. This will insure easier monitoring and reduce operational costs. There are non-government organizations in the Bangsamoro region who are willing to partner with international fund providers for such an undertaking.

Microfinance in the Bangsamoro region will go a long way in contributing to the realization of a Peace Dividend from this Enterprise.



DEVELOPMENT AND THE ENVIRONMENT: ROLES OF RELIGIOUS LEADERS AND WAYS TO FULFILL THEM

Rev. Minoru Sonoda
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Professor Emeritus, Kyoto University

Introduction: “Look Back at Future”

Before discussing roles of religious leaders concerning “Development and the Environment” in the vast region of Asia, we must first recognize the broad diversity of the region’s natural and social environment. There is a great difference, for instance, between West Asia, Central Asia, and East Asia in terms of topographical features and climate. Looking back into the regional history, Mesopotamian civilization flourished in western Asia, while the Indus Valley civilization and Chinese civilization thrived in southern and eastern Asia, respectively. From the viewpoint of religions, western Asia is basically home to Muslims, whereas South and Southeast Asia primarily belongs to Hindu civilization, and Northeast Asia is home to Buddhists, Confucians, and Taoists. From the Korean Peninsula to Japan and to Southeast Asia, however, diverse religions are followed, including Islam and Christianity.

Just as the term “Asia” involves multiple ideas, the single word “development” implies diverse meanings. This term does not simply refer to the so-called “modernization,” in other words, global propagation of the monolithic science and technology-oriented civilization (industrialization and secularization). The term also implies various forms of pre-modern regional development pursued by local residents in their respective regions. At present, we see the former type of “development” being dynamically pursued throughout Asia. This type of “development” is characterized by mass-production and mass consumption. The global propagation of such a materialistic civilization has contributed to the ongoing destruction of the global environment, which in turn leads to diverse forms of social devastation. In the face of the worsening environmental destruction caused by the former type of development, we, religious leaders, must learn and propagate the spirit and wisdom of the latter type of development, which stemmed from pre-modern local traditions in respective Asian regions. To confront the global propagation of the current materialistic civilization, we must study the regional development that is designed to preserve, restore and even enrich the natural environment.

In Japan, amid the deadlock of the modern scientific civilization, we sometimes hear the phrase: “*Furimukeba Mirai* (Look Back at Future).” This phrase means we should review the past in order to open up the future.

Today, on behalf of the Religions for Peace Japan, I would like to introduce a few examples of traditional regional development, which is being reevaluated in the face of worsening environmental problems in Japan.

Japan, Land of Forests

Nearly a decade ago, an NPO, the Association for the Study of Sacred Forests, held an exhibition at Expo 2005 Aichi, Japan. The theme of that exhibition was “Japan, Land of Forests.”

For the exhibition, five high-definition video programs were produced under the said theme. One of these programs contained an episode about a tree-planting campaign held around a river-head area. I would like to introduce this episode by showing several still images.

This episode concerns the development of rice paddies at the foot of Mt. Aso, an active volcano in Kumamoto Prefecture on Kyushu Island. From the 17th to the 19th century, several generations of local farmers planted trees in a river-head area on Yoshimuta Plateau, part of the somma, or the walls of a volcanic caldera of Mt. Aso. The local farmers passed on the project to several succeeding generations, until they turned the volcanic field in the lower reach of the river into the vast area of rice paddies.

Currently, Japan’s national land area measures approximately 37.8 million ha. In terms of land area, Japan comes 61st out of the 201 countries in the world, and eighth in Asia. In terms of the percentage of the forest area, however, Japan is ranked second place in the world with 25.1 million ha of forest area, which accounts for 68.2% of the national land area. By the way, Finland has the highest forest rate, 73.9%, followed by Japan. Next to Japan, Sweden is ranked in third place with 66.9%, and the Republic of Korea is at the fourth with 63.5%.

As you are well aware, Japan belongs to a temperate, humid monsoon climate zone. The plentiful precipitation nourishes forests on the mountainous archipelago. In addition to this natural factor, there are human factors contributing to sustaining forests. Since ancient times inhabitants of the Japanese archipelago have grown and preserved forests with special care. In Japanese mythology, there are stories of tree planting. For instance, one of the powerful deities, known as *Susanowo*, turned his own hair and beard into trees; he also told his divine children to plant trees across the country.

Rice cultivation was introduced to Japan from the Asian mainland during the third century B.C. Ever since rice cultivation has served as the backbone of Japanese culture. Since prehistoric times, Japanese farmers have carefully protected forests in river-head areas, since protecting water sources was vital for developing rice paddies. In addition to growing forests in mountains, our ancestors built shrines in forests to worship the deities of mountains and water and to thank them for their blessings.

Currently, there are some 80,000 Shintoist shrines in Japan, each dedicated to the guardian deity of each respective community. Local residents observe rituals of their respective shrines, which are legally designated as religions’ corporations. Almost all these shrines retain forests in their precincts. The forests, known as *chinju-no-mori* or the sacred forests of village shrines, are carefully maintained by local residents. This is because since ancient times Japanese people have believed that deities dwell in deep, lush green forests. Accordingly, village shrines represent Japanese inherent religious culture, and their sacred forests symbolize the abundant natural blessings of the mountains, rivers, and the sea.

Development after Japan's Modernization

After the Meiji Restoration (1868), however, nationwide efforts have been focused on promoting full-scale modernization. Assimilating scientific civilizations from advanced Western countries, along with their modern systems and inventions, Japan rapidly grew into a military power. Although its imperialistic expansion ended with its defeat in World War II in 1945, throughout the post-war period Japan has constantly sought to develop into an economic power.

However, the rapid economic development and industrialization, particularly after the 1950s, led to various forms of pollution and environmental issues. A few decades ago, for instance, the national government adopted a national development plan, commonly known as the “plan for remodeling the Japanese archipelago.” As part of this plan, thousands of flood control projects were implemented across the country. In these projects, huge dams were constructed in upper reaches of rivers. They were designed to fulfill multiple functions, including flood control, power generation and irrigation. However, because of the extensive scale of the civil engineering works, these projects often resulted in a worsened local environment and destruction of ecosystems. The projects also destroyed time-honored lifestyle cultures of local residents. Before dams were constructed, rivers constantly carried nutrient-rich soil from the upper reaches to the lower reaches and to the sea. However, the dams interfered with this supply of nutrients, leading to the extinction of seaweed species that grew on the seabed close to the shore. This further led to a decline in marine life in coastal waters. This phenomenon, known as rocky-shore denudation or sea desert, is currently recognized in coastal waters nationwide. Meanwhile, the forestry, agriculture, and fisheries, which were once leading industries in Japan, also began to decline, leading to the destruction of local communities that once depended on these primary industries. The village communities, which used to observe rituals of village shrines and preserved river-head areas, along with habitats of diverse ecosystems, are now on the verge of extinction.

These are only a few examples of environmental destruction caused by development projects. Such rapid environmental degradation, resulting from industrialization and development, has also affected traditional lifestyles. Because of the rapid outflow of rural populations to large cities, many village communities have fallen apart. Moreover, in the face of the country's aging population and the declining birthrate, Japanese society at large has become increasingly vulnerable to various social problems, which are primarily caused by the desolation of the spirit.

I am afraid that as a result of environmental destruction, many Asian societies will also experience various social problems sooner or later. They will experience social instability and a desolation of spirit similar to those which Japan is currently experiencing. I imagine that some Asian societies are already suffering from these problems. In this regard, I truly hope that we, Asian religious leaders, exert our leadership to correct this course of the development. To this end, I truly hope that we can learn from each other the wisdom of pre-modern religious cultures in our respective countries, the wisdom that helps us preserve and enrich our natural environment.

Japanese Believe that Everything Has Spiritual Life

Finally, I would like to discuss the backbone of Japanese religious culture, which is shared by most Japanese people even today. It is the belief that all things, both living and non-living things, have spiritual lives.

Before the introduction of Buddhism from the Asian mainland, Japanese people believed in Shintoist deities. During the eighth century, however, Japanese people began to believe in the co-existence and syncretistic fusion of Shintoist deities with various forms of Buddha. In the mid-19th century, the national government enacted a law to separate Shintoism from Buddhism. The general public, however, continued to worship both Shintoist deities and Buddha, without distinguishing them from each other. This custom is inherited even today. The term “*shinbutsu*” which literally means gods and Buddha, is a common word used daily. If I have to distinguish Shintoist deities from Buddha, I would say that the former, which we call *kami* (gods/goddesses), represents spiritual lives that dwell in natural objects or phenomena, while Buddha, or *hotoke* in Japanese, represents the spiritual life or Buddha-nature of human beings. In actuality, however, Shintoists worship spirits of deceased human ancestors as deities, and Mahayana Buddhism, which is the mainstream type of Buddhism in Japan, teaches that the Buddha-nature dwells in natural objects, such as grasses, trees, insects and fish. Based on this belief, Japanese Buddhists hold memorial services for deceased natural objects so they can attain Buddhahood.

Even today, medical schools observe religious services for donated bodies and lab animals to console their spirits. Such services are also held for exterminated termites and other insect pests, plants, livestock, fish, and various other creatures. In addition to human and other life forms, Japanese people have a feeling that artificial objects, such as tools and toys that have been treasured, have spiritual lives. It is not rare that memorial services are held for agricultural tools, needles, dolls and so forth at the end of their service life. Regarding both living and non-living things as spiritual beings whose lives were sacrificed for the benefit of human beings, Japanese people observe memorial services to console their spirits and show gratitude for their sacrifice.

Conclusion: “Deep Ecology” Movement; Greening Campaigns to Ensure the Coexistence of All Living Things

I have thus far explained the backbone of Japanese religious culture. I do not believe that this is unique to Japan, but common with many Asian countries. As indicated by the tenet of *ahimsah* (not to kill, not to injure) in ancient Indian religious thought, many Asian people, at least people living in India and the regions south and east of India, share such an animistic view of life.

Amid the global propagation of modern Western civilization, Asian people have been dynamically pursuing industrialization and economic development. Under the pretext of humanism, we have begun to exploit various life forms and other natural objects on the Earth, regarding them as mere materials and a means to satisfy our desire. This attitude, however, has led to serious environmental destruction. In consideration of the present environmental crisis, I cannot but believe that it is the mission of religious leaders to

remind people of the existence of the spiritual side of all things in the universe, and to inspire people to protect the natural environment, habitats for diverse ecosystems, so as to ensure coexistence of all living things.

Finally, I would like to introduce another episode from the video programs “Japan, Land of Forests.” This episode concerns a tree-planting campaign around Kesenuma Bay in Miyagi Prefecture, Tohoku region. I hope that this episode will inspire you, religious leaders, to exert your leadership to grow forests in your respective regions, in order to stop forest destruction and desertification, a key factor behind global warming.



INTER-KOREAN EXCHANGE AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION OF NORTHEAST ASIA

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Why is Inter-Korean Cooperation important?

Less productivity keynote of Korea's economy is becoming constructive. How can growth power be expanded? It is the important task of our generation. If we achieve industrialization by marine economic right, it is time to use Northern economy to open to wider horizons. North Korean economy is an amalgamative plan to which it is approached by inter-Korean cooperation and economic cooperation with other continental countries.

First of all, minor enterprises should be given new opportunities. Inter-Korean cooperation is the only hope of labor intensive minor enterprises that had lost their economic power both at home and abroad. But after the Chun-an vessel incident in 2010, all inter-Korean cooperation were stopped by the May 24 measures except for Gaeseong industrial complex. Inter-Korean trade and processing of brought-in materials, which both started in Taewoo Noh's term, had been suspended. The symbolic project of inter-Korean relationship, Mount Geumgang business, stopped too. Gaeseong industrial complex still operates but its wound is intense. Because of the prohibition of a new investment through the May 24 measures, late sales in lot companies are holding a deep breath while first sales in lots percent merely 40 percent.

Also, regional balance perspective is needed. Frontier area should be developed. We should seek regional balanced growth through formation of economic bloc in Hwanhang Sea and Hwandong Sea. From Gangwon-do to Busan and Gyeongsangnam-do, east sea areas strongly hope for the cooperation of Northern economy in terms of minerals, energy, and agricultural. At the same time, from Incheon to Mokpo, west sea areas, too, suggests a partnership between Korea and China for the new regional development. Northern economy is one of the plans, which we had ambitiously suggested as development of country at least from Taewoo Noh's term. Why can't it be realized until now? We have to cross a bridge called North Korea but inter-Korean confidential relationship has not been supported. Economic cooperation between North Korea and China has been appearing as real from a plan. China now has land transportation network to utilize Najin port independently. China has realized old dream of having east port through land transportation from Hunchun to Najin. North Korea's economy is labor intensive while China's economy on goods. From now on, economic cooperation between North Korea and China will be more progressive. We should not miss opportunities like the realization of cooperation over boarders from northeast region, which surrounds the Korean peninsula.

May 24 Measures' Exit and Inter-Korean Trade Cooperation

May 24 Measures, What is the Problem?

The current fundamental issue of the inter-Korean trade cooperation is the May 24 measures where Lee Myeong-bak's government has stopped all economic cooperation concerning military reasons regarding the Chun-an vessel incident. Usually in international relationships, economic sanction has a definite goal and objective. The U.N. Security Council's sanction to North Korea is not giving sanction to the whole trade relationship. It is limited to weapons of mass destruction. In that point, the May 24 measure is stopping the whole trade or processing of brought-in goods. It applies also to Gaeseong industrial complex. After the prohibition of new investment, latecomers' business after it encountered so much error. It is Lee Myeong-bak's government who first started curfew and the lists of punitive actions toward Gaeseong industrial complex are too many to mention.

What is the result of political and economical ties policy? Did political military situation improve through economic cooperation? No it did not. Rather, economic cooperation stopped and political military situation aggravated.

In that point, we must reestablish rules of separation in terms of political and economic affairs even though separation is not easy. When we say separation of political and economic affairs, it includes trade, procession of brought-in materials, and investment business in a good meaning. And in broad meaning, it includes humane support, economic cooperation of private enterprises, and official cooperative business in government level. Humane support too has pure private support and government level support.

We call it separation of political and economic affairs but its technical division is difficult. For Gaeseong's industrial complex, it is a combination of private enterprises and official cooperative business in government. The government manages social overhead capital such as electricity and communication. It also operates curfew and law system. It applies the same to Mount Geumgang's tour business. The government manages personal security of tourist that is why applying rules of separation in political and economic affairs to both businesses has limit.

What we need in current situation is laws of private-public separation. We are in a need to distinguish government level and private level and at least separate trade and cooperation in the private level with political military situation. To follow this law, there is no justification to stop humane support, trade, and processing brought-in materials in private level. The concern about exclusive use of the military can easily be solved by carrying out an approve policy. If conditions aggravate, it means worsening investment situation. We must not give risk in the management of private business.

There are debates about the exit of May 24 measures. But what is important is a proper level of sanction. A paradox is that our minor enterprises receive greater sanction than North Korea and this must be stopped. Our governments' will to develop Gaeseong industrial complex is also related to May 24 measures. If we need activation of Gaeseong's industrial complex, prohibition of new investment must naturally be eliminated.

Evaluation about Trade Cooperation Policy of Park's Regime

President Park's regime arguments against North Korea are generally contrary to actual inter-Korean relationship. Because substantial policy against North Korea follows a hardline policy while only arguments are future oriented. This includes a great unification idea, making world peace park at DMZ. Also, Eurasia plans including land railroad connection in their long term goals. The important thing here is a procedure to execute goals.

How can we proceed to future goals from this current situation? Policy must be supported by a roadmap. And also, for policy to become specific, initial implementation steps must be suggested to be solutions of arguments and it is remarkably important to resolve this current issue.

But from Park's government, its basic position or direction of policy towards the issue about inter-Korean relationship is hard grasp. An example is the May 24 measures. This action actually conflicts with arguments which Park's government stands for. Such issue of South Korea enterprises, which both countries agreed in summit with Russia, is participating in Najin-Seonbong region's logistic business. The May 24 measure prohibits new investment to North Korea. And shipping logistic in all inter-Korean port including Najin port and between ports is prohibited. The reason why a Korean enterprise, like the POSCO, is investing on this business, is that they can import minerals easily from North Korea and Russia through the Najin port. This business and May 24 measures conflicts.

The actualization of a Great unification idea is similar. To maximize economic benefit during unification process, we must preferentially expand economic cooperation in a field where a lot can benefit from it. And to achieve that, the May 24 measures must be canceled. It goes the same for the development of Gaeseong industrial complex.

A lot of these issues must be solved in the process of establishing world peace park at DMZ. Paradoxically, DMZ is the most militarized area right now. After the Korean War, both South and North established a demilitarized zone 2 kilometers from the military demarcation line. But as the cold war continues, checkpoints moved forward. Arms were carried in and it became an armament place. That is why a lot of experts consider changing area named DMZ with arms as real DMZ.

In Park's regime, a lot of proposals have been made and instances, which followed-up the measures disappeared even if they have been repeated many times. It is hard to gain internal and external trust if discourse and policy are incompatible and even in conflict on some occasions. It means to say that while the South-North relations are getting degenerated, how would future reunification discourses be optimistic? The bonanza in Park's regime aggravates the South-North relations in practice. The present and the future is contradictory, collided and repeats continuous vicious circle.

The most important is that assertive manner to resolve the pending issue of two Koreas economic cooperation. Above all, Exit Strategy of May 24 measures must be found. And about the Gaeseong Industrial complex, the first step of work should be finished as soon as possible and at the same time, the second step which is its development work needs to be actively pushed forward. A package settlement is necessary for institutional pending problems including labor supply issue based on objective understanding and assessment in respect of Gaeseong Industrial complex condition.

Remedy for the tour of Mt. Geumgangsan is also required. There is a need to focus on symbolic meaning of the Mt. Geumgangsan tour in the history of South-North economic cooperation and bargaining power has to be exhibited for the resume of Mt. Geumgangsan tour. Since considerable days had passed from the death case of tourist, examination does not have much meaning. And due to the fact that North Korea already expressed his apology by mediating channel and manner, forwarding Mt. Geumgangsan tour to resume on the assumption of foundation of institutional strategy about guarantee of personal security hereafter is the realistic alternative.

North Economy Tasks: Railroad, Energy and Agriculture

Transcontinental Railroad Design

As the result the inter-Korean summit talks, two of Korea's railway were connected and put to a test run. It was expected that the day would come soon to travel North Korea, China and Russia through the railroad. Every road connecting South and North Korea were interrupted with the deterioration of South-North relations. Northeast strategy which connects the Korean peninsula were challenged and continental state plan was discouraged and the evanishment of railroad revival opportunity.

The prospering of two of Korea's railway is possible if the South-North relation will improve. The railways could be used preferentially for Gaeseong Industrial Complex's workers, Mt. Geumgangsan train travel and the transportation mode concerning Gaeseong Industrial Complex.

Though Park Geun-hye's administration emphasizes on the Eurasia railroad dream, there are still problems to be faced. The Eurasia railroad plan has to be pushed ahead having association with domestic railroad policy. It is contradictory to emphasize the importance of railroad in transportation policy while rail privatization is forwarded locally. After the division, railroad has been lagged in domestic transportation policies. However, if the Eurasia railroad plan is to be actualized, railway logistics will able to attain economic feasibility and restore competitiveness. Therefore, the structure of domestic transportation policy and a policy, which could raise statue of the domestic railroad needs to be complemented to stress the Eurasia railroad plan. In other words, domestic transportation policy, which is road centered, has to be switched to rail centered rather and metropolitan subway, trans East-West railway, harbor entrance railroad and a blueprint of investors about various fields take actualizing the Eurasia railroad plan.

Russo-Korean Energy Cooperation: PNG

The Russo-Korean gas pipeline project which imposes natural gas of Russian Far East from Vladivostok through pipe passing North Korea to South Korea has a long history. Directly after the 1990 Russia-South Korea relations, railroad and gas pipeline project was a core issue for both countries. When the Deputy Prime Minister Kim Dal-Hyeon visited Seoul on July, 1992, South Korea, North Korea and Russia gathered sympathy on forwarding the project, but was not realized henceforward. Until the middle of 2000, South Korea had examined participation on the PNG project in Irkutsk, however, it was

changed to Sakhalin gas fields in the process of formation of Unified Gas Supply System (UGSS) of Russia.

Currently discussing Russo-Korean gas pipeline project is a plan that is introducing natural gas produced in the Russian Far East yearly about 750t for 30 years. When MOU was signed in 2008, it was expected to be introduced in the beginning of 2015. However it had a tentative agreement to supply starting on 2017 as a result of Korean-Russian summit talk in 2011. The overall length of the pipeline is estimated 1,100 kilometers and North Korean section out of these is about 700km. the total investment costs are around 30-40 billion dollars and operate expenses are estimated about 15 billion dollars for 25 years.

Economic feasibility is an advantage of the natural gas import through the pipeline. LNG costs for liquefaction and also requires a grand scale of storing place, but PNG adjusts supply according to consumption. At present, we import liquefied LNG form from the Middle East and the Southeast Asia more than 90% of the natural gas. Transportation expenses of LNG reached at total of 226 billion dollars standard for 25 years. In comparison, PNG through pipeline costs 48 billion dollars, and that LNG transportation expenses could be reduced more than half even adding North Korean customs duty which is 150 million dollars per year.

And PNG project is able to contribute for the peace settlement in the Korean Peninsula. In the case that North Korea is supplied spot goods which is relevant to transit fee as the passing country, could set electricity which is important to surmount energy shortage. During the Cold War, pipeline was not conflict but the power of peace and cooperation. Russia, the former Soviet Union and the Europe's PNG project already started during the Cold War. It started with Austria in 1968 and links to West Germany in 1973.

The PNG project strengthens the Russo-Korean energy's mutual contact and is a core project designed for power grid centered northeastern China, Russian Far East and the Korean Peninsula. It is desirable that South Korea is the one who participate in construction of passing section in North Korea to be an active role in the Northeast Asia power grid establishment project.

The Significance of North Korean Agriculture

Why is North Korean agriculture sector including South Korean agriculture cooperation significant? The speed of climate change in South Korea progresses faster than in anywhere else in the world. Crop moves northward by 81 kilometer when temperature increase to 1 degree celsius. Psychrophilic products like apples and grapes are moving fast to the northward. For example, fruits which are sensitive to temperature especially possible producing area of apples, are gradually going northward. Currently Pocheon is the major producer of apples and Yeongwol, Gangwon-do Province began to emerge as the grape land. By 2040, there is a forecast that apples produced in that area will disappear in South Korea except few mountain regions in Gangwon-do. Products for special purpose like mushroom, ginseng and red ginseng which are suitable for cold district slowly moving northward.¹ Even in aquatic products fields, fishing species changes are accelerating caused by the temperature rise.

1 About the Strategy towards agriculture fields due to the climate change in the Korean Peninsula, Korean Environment Agricultural Association workshop source book, Kim, C. (2010). *Effect Analysis and Confrontational Strategy about Agriculture Fields due to the Climate Change*.

Therefore, South-North Korean agriculture cooperation has to be pushed ahead to prepare the climate change henceforward. Meanwhile like the example of Samilpo cooperative farm, it is true that method of South-North Korean agriculture cooperation has developed from simple support to collaborative system. But from now on, there is a need to seek a plan to transfer producing places for fields which the competitiveness will weaken by the climate change like fruits, products for special purposes to North Korea.

Second, it is for food security dimension. Degree of food self-support of South Korea is the lowest among the OECD-member countries. As of 2011, the degree of self-sufficiency of wheat was 2.2%, 3.3% for corn and a mere 22.5% for bean. It deserves attention because the rapid decline of the degree of self-sufficiency. Rice was once became the cause of anxiety in terms of the disposal of surplus. All the same, emergency alert is put on the rice. By the start of Lee's regime, absolute farmland decreased as regulation and about only for farmland was lifted. Production also decreased affected by climate change which became ordinary work.

The increase of international price of corn is not temporary. Production had decreased by climate change and export controls about corns are made. It is food nationalism tendency. At this situation, speculative demand of corns are increasing. The rise of international price of corn is a deathblow to domestic stockbreeding farmhouses. The corn, which is the main material of feed imports is almost at the 100% import level. Thus, the time has come to start for active overseas agricultural investment. It is worthy to be considered that Japan has been already obtaining feed and processing from overseas agriculture station since 30 years ago.

The government needs an aggressive volition about the Russo-Korean triangle agricultural cooperation plan in Russian Far East. This will also be realized through systematic support. The central government also needs to support actively overseas agriculture investment for material to procure stockbreeding farmhouse in a district dimension including Gangwon-do province and Gyeongsangnam-do.

Third, solution to resolve the food problem of North Korea must be found also in agriculture cooperation. In the past, aid projects to North Korea was the easy work for rice supply since it was abound abnormally in South Korea. However, there are no remaining rice anymore. Even though it is wanted to support unilaterally, it is impossible. South Korea and North Korea have to cope with the climate change together and make cooperation of coexistence and reciprocity.

Would Bonanza be Successful without Inter-Korean Cooperation?

Unification needs not to be accomplished only in economic field. If we don't manage unification process, war could occur like that in Yemen or could lead to the separation of independence like that in Sudan. Like in a relationship between expense and benefit, we have a lot of task to meet at the moment when benefit overcome expense. That is why we must deliberate time, form, terms, and environment of unification.

Professor Shin Chang-min, who presented bonanza as economically challenging expected that during after 10 years of unification, things will cost more or less 7% of the GDP. However, only South Korea will have 11% economic growth annually. After 10 years of unification, income level of South is expected to be 77 thousand dollars

and income level of North is expected to be 38 thousand dollars. It is an argument that benefit to dominate expense².

Will it be true? There were a lot of discussions about unification cost but they show wide variation. The difference is sometimes more than 100 times from 50 billion dollars to 5 trillion. The cost varies widely depend on the time of computation of income differential between South and North or the standard of income differential settlement. To that point, we can say that “to compute accurately the cost about the future unification which cannot be estimated concretely is impossible”³ is correct.

Of course, we have to be careful with exaggerated claim about unification cost. The cost is not necessarily linked to finance. We can minimize finance spending of government by encouraging investment of domestic private enterprises and abroad. From that point, having all cost from finance and computing that as personal allotment of each people is not advisable. Also, cost is not necessarily composed of consumption cost⁴. Investment cost may seem as cost in short term but it may become benefit in long term.

It is more difficult to make unification benefit measurable. In unification benefit, there are number of shapeless values that cannot be measured as something economical. Together with political diplomacy benefit, sociocultural benefit is never less but is simply hard to measure. Certainly, there are number of issues to be reviewed about economic benefit. Expand effect of growth potential cannot be neglected. But what is important is support of appropriate growth strategy.

And there is a number of exaggerated argument about discussion of economic benefit of unification. One example is the economic value of North Korea’s underground mineral resources. Some people raise optimistic view that many benefit can be yielded from North Korea’s mineral resources can apply much of unification cost. But although North Korea’s mineral resources are plentiful, there are various evaluation of its detailed deposits and economic efficiency. In case of anthracite and iron ore have less economic efficiency due to low grade (rate of valid iron compare to total weight). There are evaluation that also shows that copper, magnesite, and zinc do not have high economic efficiency compared to extraction cost.

In conclusion, in order to achieve unification in the future, we must reduce its cost and maximize its benefit. That is why its processes are important. What is the way to decrease the point where its benefit overwhelms its cost or the valley of transition?⁴ The solution is establishing mutual benefit structure through the process of coexistence and mutual prosperity. Reducing income differential between South-North Korea before the

2 Shin, C. (February, 2014). *the Reason why Unification is Jackpot*, The National Unification Advisory Council, Period of Unification

3 Cho, D. (2011). *Unification Benefit is Bigger than Unification Cost*, Institute for Unification Education

4 In the case of East-West German, cost for migration of West German to East German is mostly social welfare expenditure. It is kind of consumption transfer payment. Kim, S. (March, 2014). *Reillumination of Unification Cost and Benefit Debate* KDI North Korea Economic Review

unification is reducing its cost after it. In the same sense, relieving policy difference before the unification is a shortcut to less conflict cost after it. In order to do that, inter-Korean exchange and cooperation must be promoted without discontinuance.⁵

5 About relationship between unification cost and unification benefit and so called 'valley of transition', Lim, H. & Jeong, Y. (2011). Beyond Valley of Transition: Unification Benefit, Unification Cost, and Unification Advantage Critical Review of History, winter issue (total 97series)



ABOUT THE PEACE AGREEMENT

Do Sang Chung

Novelist

Truth of Armistice agreement

The problem with the Korean Peninsula negotiation is that it avoids the essential elements and pursues only the minor aspects of peace agreement. The Korean Peninsula problem appears to be the complicated relationship of the 6 Party-States involved in the negotiation, however, in reality, it is mainly the issue between United States of America and North Korea conflict.

During the past 59 years, North and South Korea have been very dependent from United States of America in order to keep and maintain the armistice agreement. It is already 61 years since the Korean War ended (June 25, 1950-July 27, 1953). The Armistice Agreement was the unilateral decision of China, North Korea and the United Nations but not as an initiative of the directly involved countries (South and North Korea). At first, South Korea did not want to sign the Armistice Agreement. It is because South Korea wanted to continue the war until it completely conquered North Korea. The United Nation, however, was against with the on-going war at that time. Barely five (5) years after the end of World War II, and the difficulties posed by the geographical features of the Korean Peninsula, South Korea finally decided to sign the Armistice Agreement.

Today, the biggest issue of the Korean Peninsula peace negotiation is about the nuclear weapon of North Korea. The main focus of the Korean Peninsula peace negotiation is the elimination of the North Korean nuclear weapon. The nuclear weapon issue has dominated the discussion for the past 20 long years already.

If that is the case, then why were they not able to conclude the peace treaty after 40 years when we were certain that North Korea did not have nuclear weapon from 1953 to 1993, or even after the succeeding 11 years (1994-2005) when the existence of nuclear weapon in North Korea was based entirely on assumptions and doubt.

Violation

United States of America was the first one to violate the Armistice Agreement. According the articles of the Armistice Agreement, all foreign troops (Non-Korean soldiers) must be evacuated out of the Korean Peninsula within the first three months after the signing of the agreement as a necessary precondition to end peacefully the war. However, 2 months after its conclusion, USA violated the agreement by forcing South Korea to sign the Mutual Defense Treaty allowing permanent presence of US military in South Korea. While all Chinese troops have withdrawn from North Korea as early as 1958, the US military is still in South Korea until today with a strong 6 thousand armies and nuclear weapon. From then on, both Koreas have violated the rules of the Armistice Agreement escalating conflict and deepening hatred against each other.

Recommendations and Challenges

Since 1960, North Korea consistently asked to South to comply with the treaty and implement the withdrawal of foreign troops in the country. South Korea, however, did not agree with these conditions because of the suspicion that the North conceals an ambition of unification under communism. The suspicion was not entirely baseless though. In 1974, North Korea declined the South's offer of a Non-Aggression Pact. Instead, North Korea recommended a peace agreement to be reached between them and the United States of America because they thought that South Korea does not have command authority and operational control of its military. In 1978, the United States of America pushed for the bilateral talks between the two Koreas first and then later to a tripartite negotiation, which will include United States. North Korea presented its peace treaty with United States and Non-Aggression treaty version with South Korea in 1984. However, both countries rejected the North's proposal as they doubted the sincerity of the North in complying and in implementing the terms of the agreement.

In 1991 North and South Korea both join the United Nations. North Korea proposed to the United Nations to deactivate the UN command and US forces in South Korea, the withdrawal of US army, and a peace treaty between USA and North Korea. In 1992 North and South Korea adapted the "Agreement about reconciliation between the North and South Korea and non-aggression." As a result, the United States announced that they have removed their nuclear weapon in South Korea. However, they have retained around 3 million US army, nuclear-powered submarines and nuclear bombers frequenting South Korea. In 1992 North Korea continued to build its nuclear power plant. USA responded by increasing its military threat against North Korea. Finally, in 1993 North Korea announced its decision to withdraw from the NPT (Nuclear nonproliferation treaty). With this development, South Korean policy can be summed up by the Government statement that said we "cannot shake hands with the person who has the nuclear weapon" and declared to boycott the North Korean nuclear problem negotiation. From then on, the North's nuclear problem became an issue between United States and North Korea.

2. Nuclear weapon in North Korea

In 2012 North Korea specifically wrote in their constitution their possession of nuclear weapons. After sometime, they launched an earth satellite that went into orbit. North Korea ignored the restrained of the UN Security Council. In fact, in spring of 2013, in response to the UN Security Council, North Korea conducted its 3rd nuclear experiment. Slightly angered by this situation and with the assumption that North is already in the advanced stage of developing a hydrogen bomb, China was threatened and joined the restrain. United States conducted bombing exercises to North Korea and broadcasted it live. As a result, North Korea immediately declared 'nuclear vs. nuclear fight.' The Armistice Agreement was rescinded and the Declaration of Denuclearization of Korean Peninsula invalidated. The UN gave new restrictions but North Korea remained unshakable. China cannot control the North too.

Basic agreement between North Korea and USA

For the past 20 years, the United States has continuously ignored the proposed peace agreement by North Korea. However, in 1994, the US entered into a Framework

Agreement with North Korea to interrupt the development of nuclear weapon. The main content of the agreement was to stop North from building a heavy-water reactor nuclear power plant and substitute it with a million KW light-water reactor. From this agreement, the US was to offer the heavy oil and relax the economic sanction during the construction of the 2nd light-water power plant. These initiatives were aimed at normalizing the diplomatic relations between the two countries.

But USA did not keep its promises. S. Bosworth, the president of KEDO (the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization), who controls the North Korea and USA basic agreement told that the “Agreed Framework was a political orphan within 2 weeks after its signature”. It is because, the US expected the collapse of North Korea soon just like other communist countries. That was the real intention of USA. The 1994 basic agreement between North Korea and USA indicated the hard work of United States towards peace, but at the same time their insincerity and inability to keep their promises. North Korea did not violate any sections of this agreement.

The major violation of North Korea is that they did not collapse like other communist countries. Because of the violation of the United States, North Korea launched a satellite missile in August 1998. It was a show of protest. It is notable that after his retirement, Clinton said that “North Korea did not violate anything in the 1994 agreement.”

Invasion of Iraq

In 1998, Dae jung Kim became President of South Korea. Dae Jung Kim initiated talk with Jung Il Kim’s government in North Korea and in June 15 2000, they have agreed on a Joint Declaration. After that they have exchanged in various categories. USA did not trust the Dae Jung Kim’s government. Bush’s government in USA recommended a highly enriched uranium development in North Korea and broke the agreement about ‘Framework agreement between North Korea and USA.’ During those 8 years, North Korea was deceived by USA by freezing its heavy water reactor power plant.

In 2003 North Korea withdrew from NPT. That year USA attacked Iraq through trumped-up information by CIA. Before the attack, USA resumed the weapon inspection and despite the uncertainty of the existence of the weapons of mass destruction, they have attacked Iraq. North Korea judged that having nuclear weapon is better than trusting the USA, so they become more aggressive in developing their nuclear capacity. This shows that the Arch-enemy of North Korea is USA and not the South Korea.

Six-party talk

In 2003 the Six Party Talks were formed by the following countries: South Korea, North Korea, USA, China, Japan and Russia. there were six party talks with the countries South, North Korea, USA, China, Japan, and Russia. This six party talk (led by China) came up with the September 19 2005 Joint Declaration which tackles the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. USA was internally embarrassed in this Joint Declaration because of their impression that the south government supported the North Korea and China. A day after the Joint Declaration, the USA froze the North Korea account in Macau bank because of suspicion of money laundering, which resulted also to the invalidity of the September 19 Joint Declaration. Because of the action of United States, North Korea responded by launching a long-range missile in July and October 2006, further

improving their experience of handling nuclear weapons. For this reason, negotiation was resumed and according to the February 13 and October 3 2007 Joint Declarations, North Korea will disable its nuclear reactor and explode its nuclear power plant cooling tower in 2008. It is now clear that USA incapacitated the Six Party Talk. Japan has also used the Six Party Talk to advance its native issues such as the abduction incidents inside Japan. South Korea sympathized with North Korea and China and, as a result, USA was isolated. These were some of the reasons for the delay or the incapacitation of the Six Party Talk.

Expectation of collapse of North Korea and beyond

President Myung bak Lee's government (established in 2008) had set aside the past 10 years of relationship between South and North Korea with his policy against North Korea. South Korea was expecting the collapse of the North due to the impending demise of Jung il Kim. And based on this assumption, they did not support the Obama administration's initiative to talk with North Korea. North Korea, in 2009, responded by launching a satellite in April and conducted nuclear experiment in May to press the agreement and normalization of the relations between the North and the USA. South Korea and the USA have worked together resulting to the UN Security Council adopting the second sanction for North Korea. Thus, the action of North Korea has failed to convince US to return to the negotiating table but its nuclear weapon has remained. North Korea and USA became more tough in their policies against each other, while South Korea suspended all talks with the North after the Cheonan warship affair. Then Jong Il Kim died and the power was inherited by his son. The expectation of the collapse of the North died down too.

Long Term Strategy

Who is to blame for the conflict in the Korean Peninsula and the abnormal state of the Armistice Agreement? North Korea said it is the United States fault, while USA said it is North Korea's fault.

To understand the attitude of the Americans to the North Koreans, Rice, Secretary of State under the Bush' Administration, said "moving the ball to the goal halfway." This means that US changes its side and policies in the middle of the agreement. North Korea forces US to an agreement by launching missiles or by conducting nuclear weapon tests. The US called this "brinkmanship." South Korea did not do anything in the Six Party Talk and also the US refused to participate in the Six Party Talk.

Despite the fact that it was USA that did not comply with the agreement, they remained consistent with their policy of "North Korea Provocation–sanction-compromise-reward connivance policy." Europe and Japan responded by getting out of the negotiating table. Lately, Bader, the director of a Bureau in the National Security Council, in his book said that "US policy is ultimately for the collapse of the political power of North Korea to be absorbed and unified with the South, and its fundamental solution is strategic patience until time wears out for North Korea."

L. Sigal said that US has aroused so much suspicion due to its tit for tat policy. It is because the US has been responsible in delaying and/or violating the agreement, while working for other agreements giving enough time and resources for North Korea to

develop nuclear power. Indirectly, therefore, it can be said that the United States has actually assisted North Korea to become nuclear-capable country and able to launch a missile.

Korean peninsula surplus

The Korean Peninsula has so many surplus issues and problems. Among them are on politics, development, ideology, discrimination, uniformity and religion. These surplus elements are complicating the controversies and processes of the peace talks. But there are also deficiencies. The deficiencies are on politics, variety, rationality, religion and others that create anxiety among Koreans. We must underline that the excessive hatred and deficiency of peace is the most serious one.

Excessive politics

When power becomes excessive, at any given period, will result eventually to a hostile and dangerous social situation. Excessive politics uses power and propaganda excessively. Since the end of World War 2 (August 1945), Korean peninsula has used excessive politics.

The media has reproduced excessive politics in South Korea which distorted public opinion, rules of the nation, market and society. On the contrary, North Korea has reproduced excessive politics through military means to organize and control the life of its people. This is the reason why both deepened their misunderstanding and pursue different reform, revolution and notion of justice. As a result, they are both a damaged nation and the life of their citizens interrupted. This is the main issue of division system.

Excessive hatred

Nowadays South Korea government has used excessive politics ideologically and culturally. The government, through the mainstream media, has divided the nation between the stigmatized leftist and those hardliners against North Korea taking security as their main agenda. Such an approach has deepened hatred. The biggest problem of sowing hatred is the denial of the objective fact that we can trust each other subjectively. Hatred arising from political authority is a serious threat to the society. Sad to say, even some Christian groups have amplified this culture of hatred among Koreans.

4. Towards Peace

There is no perfect peace in this world. Genuine peace is the absence of conflict. Quarrel and discord, no matter how small, can actually lead to violence and death, but with forgiveness and reconciliation we can finally achieve peace. If we are really serious in achieving peace, freedom, equality, justice and diversity, we have to be creative and culturally sensitive by first removing the mask of hypocrisy and let us be honest with ourselves. Peace starts with the act of acknowledging one's fault. The dichotomous thinking that one is right and the other is wrong and vice versa is the basic barrier which ruins our quest for peace.

True peace can be gained only between enemies and not with friends. It is because, on one hand, there is already good relationship between friends. On the other hand, between enemies there is only hatred, murderous intent, and quarrel, so peace is necessary between enemies.

Genuine search for peace starts by recognizing the hatred and murderous intent of the other. It will never be true peace if the one merely forces the other to come an agreement because the hatred and murderous intent remains although hidden. This is the hypocrisy of searching peace.

There is no peace without conflict. Conflict is not absolute but relative. Peace cannot be achieved without harmony and agreement. The most important is the will to achieve peace. Peace is the fundamental value of every human being beyond the mere representation of language.



GLOBAL FEATURE OF NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT AND WAY OF DENUCLEARIZATION OF THE KOREAN PENINSULA

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1. **D** **development of nuclear weapon in North Korea and local nuclear arms race in Northeast Asia**

The issue that North Korea is developing nuclear weapon has been persistent for the past 20 years. Intense public discourse led to issue-fatigue resulting to increase skepticism about the denuclearization in the Korean Peninsula. It must be made clear, however, that the denuclearization in Korean peninsula is the most important project for peace and prosperity.

20 years ago, when nuclear issue newly came out from North Korea, the main issue was about the possibility of plutonium production. Today, we are aware that North Korea has tripled its nuclear capacity and has successfully launched missiles. Thus, North Korea is officially a nuclear weapon state. In this situation, if we lose the way of denuclearization in Korean peninsula it might cause a local version of cold war similar to that of the cold war between the USA and Soviet Union.

North Korea employs coercive diplomacy with its nuclear weapon as its bargaining power. In fact, it is because of this situation that USA is able to justify its extended presence in as a deterrence of North Korea's nuclear weapon, missile, and conventional arms. Security in the Korean peninsula is balanced by USA's military capacity such as submarine, nuclear missile, strategic bomber and all kinds of strategic missile. However, this extended deterrence accelerates the confrontation between China and USA by Korean peninsula.

The frustration to press on the North Korea nuclear issue increases the prospect of North Korea to pursue nuclear development. Thus, it can be said that while the denuclearization issue of the Korean peninsula is possible, the way to do it is complicated and will be a very long way.

The issue is not as complicated as the NPT situation in countries like India and Pakistan, and Israel and Iran. There has been two inter-Korean summits organized for reconciliation and cooperation and peace and prosperity and through denuclearization talks make a rough sketch like 9.19 joint statement.

While there is a joint statement, it actually cannot apply to eliminate nuclear weapon like the countries of South Africa, Ukraine, and Libya to North Korea. It will be interesting to study the various factors and mechanism of negotiations in those countries in their denuclearization programs.

Nuclear disarmament in North Korea is harder than ever before because they have successfully developed the nuclear weapon already. But the issue cannot be neglected, and negotiation

should be reinforced to reduce tension in the Korean peninsula and the Northeast Asia. Even with the existing economic relation between the two Koreas, denuclearization requires sustained conferences, conversations and contact between the two countries.

There are two policy options left for USA and South Korea in addressing the North Korea nuclear issue: 1) To make use of the economic relation as a platform for continuing contact and conversation for the discussion of the North Korea's nuclear issue; and, 2) As USA and South Korea will continue to increase their nuclear capacity, subsequently, North Korea will also continue to develop and increase its nuclear capacity. (New U.S. Envoy to Talk With North Koreans, New York Times, 2011.10.20)

2. Reason for developing in nuclear weapon in weak states and North Korea

Generally, the internal and external security and leverage at the international level is the main reason for weak states to develop nuclear weapon. It was also the same strategy that USA used in the 60s. USA established the MAD (Mutual Assured Destruction) based on this logic. This theory is currently the basis of USA and Russia's nuclear strategy.

It is illogical to stop provocation of other countries with nuclear weapon. 'MAD' implies that if Soviet Union attacks the USA through nuclear weapon, USA has the right of full revenge against Soviet Union, and destroys the latter until it has no capacity to attack anymore. In that case Soviet Union will never try to attack the USA because of revenge-attack. This theory applies in both countries. In the end Soviet Union's nuclear capability will increase and also USA protects the country with nuclear weapon. Nuclear weapon in weak states is imitation of USA's strategy.

Ironically, North Korea imitates policies of nuclear deterrence of USA to justify its nuclear development. They assert that having nuclear power reduces the outbreak of war in Korean peninsula. (North Korea foreign office aide-memoire-Korean peninsula and nuclear, KCNA, 2010, 4, 21) It is mutual assured destruction strategy of North Korea.

The logic of North Korea is that they develop the nuclear weapon for negotiation between USA and South Korea and against the nuclear umbrella offered by USA. They believe that having nuclear weapon keep them safe and part of the global system. They claim that it also keeps the South Korea from nuclear war. North Korea received the impressions from the downfall of Iraq and Libya that possession of nuclear weapon could lead to USA attack. But even with the real presence of nuclear weapon in North Korea, USA did not attack North Korea.

Currently, USA is concerned about nuclear proliferation countries like North Korea, Pakistan, and Iran. Those countries are developing their nuclear weapon or trying to develop for their security. Meanwhile through the development of nuclear weapon, weak states gain internal unity in their countries. North Korea promotes their nuclear weapon as a symbol of military power. Having nuclear weapon for the weak states strengthens security, reinforces national pride but disturbs democracy. In fact, the possession of nuclear weapon is considered as the nation's symbol of identity and modernity.

North Korea already has nuclear weapon. Jong Un Kim's government adopt the parallel development of nuclear weapon as an official line. Of course international community does not accept North Korea as an official nuclear country. North Korea doesn't have authority like other nuclear nations, however convincing North Korea to denuclearize would require huge amount of money as we need to offer supplements similar to nuclear weapon. Fortunately, North Korea is consistent with denuclearization of the Korean peninsula and denuclearization is the death-wish of Il Sung Kim. In international society there is no case that countries possessing nuclear weapons promises denuclearization. So there is a possibility to denuclearize to suggest about Il Sung Kim's death-wish. For this reason, to worry about the denuclearization of the North Korea is not really to focus on North Korea but to be worried about the USA.

3. Make sure of India's position about nuclear power and North Korea

In March 2006, USA made an agreement with India, which is not an NPT member country, to recognize and accept India as a nuclear power nation. This agreement was the beginning of the collapse of the NPT system as it directly violates the nuclear non-proliferation policy. This model convinces North Korea that they can develop and later on be accepted as a nuclear country outside the

After the nuclear test explosion of China in 1962, India tried to develop the nuclear because of threat to its national security by China and military confrontation between Pakistan. After first nuclear experience in 1974 they had several extra experiences and then they declare their nation as nuclear power nation in 1998 and also they declare 'minimum deterrence' and 'negative security assurances'.

In 2006 India was worried that the North Korea's nuclear experience will affect the nuclear deal between USA and India so they criticized North Korea. India claimed that their country is different from Pakistan and North Korea, hence their use of nuclear weapon is justifiable. However, such insistence of country differences such as political and economic stability as a justification for nuclear possession is illogical, because whatever the reason, it is still nuclear proliferation, giving North Korea the right to do the same.

It is again ironic that USA also supports India as a nuclear power nation but works very hard at the international level promoting nuclear nonproliferation. But the main reason for USA to accept India is that they need India's help geographically to make a diversion of China. This is the reason why USA and India had an agreement and accept India as nuclear power nation. Of course USA said that India has the most number of people under democracy and hostile relation between Pakistan so it has low possibility to proliferation into other Muslim countries.

With these conditions where USA accepted India as a nuclear country, would mean that North Korea will never be accepted by USA. But North Korea might follow the India example to secure the nuclear experience and nuclear delivery system first and declare the minimum deterrence. Therefore even though North Korea is not yet accepted by USA as nuclear power nation, developing their nuclear weapon increases the bargaining power with USA.

4. Nuclear renunciation in republic of South Africa, Ukraine, Libya and North Korea

Republic of South Africa, Ukraine and Libya are the countries that have nuclear weapon or develop the nuclear weapon before are now denuclearized. They are important cases to pursue North Korea nuclear disarmament.

The republic of South Africa

Republic of South Africa is the first country to develop and discard its nuclear weapon. In 1970~1980s they developed around 6 to 7 nuclear weapons and in 1990 to 1991 successfully discarded all. Because of the collapse of the Soviet Union, hostile action ended in Angola with the withdrawal of 50 thousand army in Cuba, decreasing world security threat. Besides, rewards are given to those countries joining the NPT membership. It appears, however, that USA has pressed on this issue in order to prevent the rising power of the African National Congress.

The mechanism used to convince South Africa to denuclearize is difficult to generalize. However, it can be said that a strong factor in the nuclear disarmament of South Africa is the need to reduce security threat, promise of reward, and state normalization. These are the possible approaches that will lead us to nuclear disarmament in the Korean peninsula.

Ukraine

After the collapse of Soviet Union in 1991, the soviet has left Ukraine with 30,000 tactical nuclear weapons and strategic nuclear weapons. There were 1,900 strategic nuclear weapons and 2650 to 4200 tactical nuclear weapons in Ukraine. Ukraine in exchange of economic support gave up the nuclear weapon in 1992. In 1993 they were declared a provisional nuclear power nation. The Clinton's administration provided economic support to Ukraine as part of its nuclear disarmament program. Besides, Ukraine has improved its relationship with the Western countries. USA, Russia and Ukraine entered into a tripartite treaty that USA will not threaten or attack Ukraine with nuclear weapon and for Russia to respect Ukraine's territorial integrity. Followed by cooperative threat reduction program, USA and Russia will support nuclear disarmament process and provide technical experts in the denuclearization process. In this agreement, Russia will acquire monetary reward and security. It is easy for Ukraine to give up nuclear development because they didn't do it themselves. But Ukraine still tried negotiation with USA and Russia for reward and security. Therefore, in the case of Ukraine, reward and security are the key factors to its nuclear disarmament program.

But North Korea has a slim chance to be accepted in the NPT like Ukraine. There is a big difference between the intentions of Ukraine and North Korea in developing their nuclear weapons. North Korea thinks that national security is the most important reason. Besides, North Korea would interpret that Ukraine gave its nuclear weapon due to the pressure and threat of Russia.

Libya

In 2004, at the beginning of six-party talks, USA tried to apply the Libya-style abandonment of nuclear. In June of the same year, Condoleezza Rice, US secretary of state said that “it is time to strategically decide about denuclearization of North Korea in six party talk.” and then “if Jung Il Kim Chairman of national defense communities in North Korea talk with Qaddafi head of Libya and he will know about what we are saying.” At the same time John Bolton, US Ambassador to UN, visited Seoul and emphasized that “it is important that the lesson of Libya model and keep in mind in the next six party talk.” But North Korea said that solution of Libya style is not for reward but just denuclearization. North Korea denied this solution because the demand of the enemy is just disarmament within the state of war.

From Algeria, the Jasmine revolution started and expanded to Egypt and Libya so Qaddafi government collapsed. North Korea, which had repulsion about the solution of Libya, interpreted that the solution of Libya is after the disarmament of aggression. North Korea’s response to this method of denuclearization is that Libya is just a show about safety guarantee and resolution in relationship and if the other country trusts USA they invade the country. (KCNA, 2011, 3, 22)

The Libya solution is brought about by the UK, USA and Libya peace negotiation, forcing Libya to give up its nuclear weapon voluntarily. North Korea supports the “military first strategy” and restraint because it keeps the peace in Korean peninsula.

5. Process of transition of nuclear capability in North Korea and strengthening direction of nuclear capability

According to North Korea, they made nuclear weapon with plutonium in 2003 and started enrichment of uranium in 2009. They first mention about having nuclear power in April 2003, Keun Lee the ministry of foreign affair deputy director said “we have nuclear weapon but we can’t disarm it” and in February 2005, the North Korean Foreign Ministry officially announced their possession of nuclear weapon.

The nuclear disarmament confrontation with North Korea is due to the failure of USA to keep its promises. North Korea made another negotiation to settle disputes during the negotiation.

For the past 20 years, USA’s diplomatic effort is focused on justice and fairness and not on strategies. As a result, settlements and agreements are focused on shallow level issues while deficient in addressing substantive concerns, hence the problem becomes a vicious circle. North Korea develops nuclear weapon to keep the negotiation and compromises to continue.

For the past 20 years, North Korea has always been defensive and confrontational, and also very inconsistent in their negotiations. USA’s position has been very repulsive on the position of North Korea, so while they consider the negotiation important that they are not also very actively involved. Whenever USA is losing its consistency and relax in its policy against North Korea, ironically, this creates better leverage on the part of the North to ask for more concessions.

The Obama government doubted the agreement with North Korea, and stated on record that they will not negotiate until such time that North Korea provides confidence building measures. USA did not participate for a long time. The pattern of the past nuclear negotiation is crisis making for North Korea and a post-counter action on the part of the USA. It appears also that USA is just waiting for the North Korea to show its nuclear power. Meanwhile North Korea would declare possession of nuclear weapon as a leverage in the negotiation, then when negotiation starts, then that's the time they will prove the presence of their nuclear weapon.

USA is very much worried that North Korea has successfully developed light weight reactor making it possible to load missile, and used it as the basis of their leverage to seek minimum strategic deterrence. Minimum deterrence is to press attack to the enemy and to have oppressive diplomacy with South Korea and USA so that they can achieve whatever they want for their benefit. Actually it is both a threat to USA, first one is nuclear threat with missile by North Korea and second one is the increase of terrorist with nuclear weapon. USA judged that North Korea's capability and strategy go towards to this way.

The United States government realizes the situation and it is dangerous. But for Obama president North Korea is not priority to him.

6. Peace regime in Korean peninsula and complex channel of communication for denuclearization

North Korea prefers the direct talks between USA and North Korea rather than six party talk. Some analysts said that the power of the six party talks has been exhausted. But China is insistent on the six party talk. It has increased the skepticism about the validity of the six party talk adopted in the 9.19 joint declaration and 2.13 agreement.

It is impossible for all the relevant countries to agree about North Korea in using the carrot and stick policy. The UN sanction against North Korea is not effective because China does not participate. There are two ways to make China join, first, North Korea will keep on provoking China despite the latter giving carrot already. Second, it is in the main interest of China to get involve in process of achieving peace and defining the vision of unity in the Korean peninsula. In the latter case, there is a problem with US armed forces in Korea. China wants the withdrawal of US armed forces in Korea. While the process of resolving these double dilemma is in the process, the US armed forces carried on.

First, the security dilemma is the strong opposition of China to the presence and collaboration of US armed forces with South Korea. Second, to solve the security dilemma, which means the withdrawal of the US armed force from Korea would increase the influence of China increase as a threat to security in the Korean peninsula. The best way to solve the security dilemma is the for the two Koreas to enter into a peace agreement with the full support and cooperation of USA and China.

It is important to satisfy all parties, including China, in the six party talks for the denuclearization of North Korea and the unity of the Koreans. This is the reason why China cannot escape the responsible to get involve in the six party talks.

North Korea's nuclear proliferation is not helpful to China's national interest because of Japan and North East Asia's arms race. China has concern about nuclear disarmament in North Korea and denuclearization in Korean peninsula. China's aid-engagement project for North Korea requires a positive thinking to prevent sudden change of policy in the North, and to make it sure that they keep the current policies and framework. In others words, China's concern for security is the way to change North Korea.

If China joins the sanction, then there will be chaos beyond repair. It is important that China supports North Korea. It is necessary to change our strategic approach of the involvement of China. After the cold war, Korea has established national friendship with China. It is important that acknowledge that China cannot afford to stop supporting North Korea. If the six party talk operates well, Korea can do more intervention into it.

But the six-party talk has shown inefficiency in its process of operation. The inefficiency of the six party talk combines with south-north dialogue, has led to a meeting between the North Korea and USA and also four way talk settle in 9.19 join statement. It should keep the contact and conversation through the four way talk, six party talk, conference between the North Korea and USA and South-North dialogue. Through the South-North talk, it can build trust and confidence between the Koreans and establish better relationship. Between the North Korea and USA, USA plays a big role to smoothen all the talks. The four way talk can concentrate on the peace system and the six party talk discuss about denuclearization.

Meetings for peace structure and denuclearization concerns are to be alternately discussed and undertaken. If there is no connection between the two talks, then North Korea will use them as opportunities to pursue its own interest.

7. Denuclearization on the Korean peninsula and peaceful cooperation of East Asia

Unity, compared to European unity, is impossible to achieve because of the clear characteristics of East Asia. First, the collapse of the Soviet Union has led to European unity, but in East Asia, China is growing very fast. In Europe, Germany has expressed regret over its historical affairs, but in East Asia, Japan didn't. In Europe there are countries like Belgium and Luxemburg that pursue the path of peace. The challenge for East Asia then is for Japan to express apology about its past affairs and Korea should have a clear vision to achieve peace. Effort for peace should depend on our local autonomy in solidarity with other East Asia countries.

The denuclearization in Korean peninsula requires cooperation among East Asian countries to overcome confrontation. Actualizing this cooperation structure of East Asian countries is a big step in realizing the international key point for denuclearization. However, there are presently many confrontation structures in East Asia: between Russia Japan about northern territorial issue, east sea, Korean peninsula's ceasefire line, NLL, Senkaku-Diaoyu islands dispute and Taiwan strait. Thus, the denuclearization of Korea will become a powerful symbol of mitigating the big dividing line and reduce tension and conflict in East Asia.

Before we proceed to the peace movement, we need to complement few things. It is necessary to make USA understand the real issues and concerns of the Korean peninsula and East Asia's problems not only the fragmentary understanding like Korean wave, K-pop. Moreover, to reduce the confrontation structure, there is a need to revisit the understanding of history of China and East Asia.

Finally, a peace treat in East Asia should be enshrined in the constitution following the example of Japan. In this way, peace is guaranteed as a national policy and as a basis for future developments in the Korean peninsula.



THE NORTHEAST ASIA SITUATION AND PEACE IN THE KOREAN PENINSULA

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1. **D**etonator for Peace in Northeast Asia: North Korea Nuclear Problem

A. The Evolution of the North Korea Nuclear Problem: 1991-2014

- George W. Bush: Exposed the North Korean nuclear problem and demanded a Joint Declaration of the Denuclearization of the North Korea (helped by Tae-woo Roh former president in South Korea) and called for a special investigation regarding their NPT compliance. (March 1993)
- Clinton: Tried to solve the problem through negotiation (Young Sam Kim former president opposed it) demanding North Korea to accept the nuclear inspection on condition of safety guarantee and economic support (with the assurance of safety in North Korea system and economic support (South Korea supported light-water reactor and crude petroleum)
- George W. Bush: On suspicion of developing ‘high enriched uranium’, he oppressed and demanded North Korea to abandon its nuclear program (Dae jung Kim former president of South Korea was against it), tried to operate the Six Party Talk into ‘5 to 1’, and arrived at the September 19 Joint Declaration (supported by Roh Moo-hyun), as a result, a day after the agreement was signed, the US Ministry of Finance froze the account of North Korea. North Korea responded by conducting the first nuclear experiment. And whenever mutual agreement fails and the oppression is perceived, North Korea always responds through its nuclear development program. This problem has become a vicious cycle.
- Obama: Under the Obama Administration, Hilary Clinton US Secretary of State, approached the North Korea nuclear problem following the method of Bill Clinton (Myung bak Lee former president of South Korea against it). USA’s ‘strategic patience’ policy demands North Korea to take the initiative and act first (Geun hye Park, President of South Korea, cooperated with in)
- While South Korea and USA have differed in their North Korean nuclear policy, they have continued to exert pressure against the North. This kind of approach has angered the North resulting to 4 tests of nuclear lightweight war heads.

B. Geun-hye Park’s administration policy is for South Korea to show action first and actively involve USA instead of China.

- During the 5 years of Obama’s ‘strategic patience’ policy, which cut off the engagement, North Korea improve a lot in nuclear ability.

- During 5 years of Obama administration, North Korea has launched two nuclear experiment and announced it's a fourth nuclear experiment
- Geun-hye Park should suggest to Obama to change their 'strategic patience' policy so that the nuclear problem will not get worse, and that sex party talks should focus in its resolution.
- The resumption of the six party talk should find ways to implement the September 19 agreement.

2. Detonation of peace in northeast Asia: conflict and discord between USA and China

A. The sudden rise of China has increased the wariness of USA

- -Mark Jacques: When China rules the world(2009)
- Kissinger : In 'on China(2008)' it regulate that USA is declining country and China is rising country
- -Mark Jacques: When China rules the world (2009)
- -Ferguson: Before 2020 China GDP might be surpass the USA GDP
- Hú Jintào: during 2009.10.1 celebration of 60th national foundation day he declared that 'Revival China' is the goal for China's diplomacy. Revival China: it means recovery of the Ming, Qing dynasty in terms of China's global positioning
- Mr. Xi Jinping: He regulated the "revival of China" vision to that of "Dream of China." He requested Obama to acknowledge and form "The new power relations.' Thepacific ocean is enough for both China and USA'
- Mr. Obama : 2012.11, pivot to Asia, adapt the Asia policy for rebalancing Asia. but problem in Iraq, Ukraine and the reduction of national defense budget of USA has lessened its capacity to contain China

B. Policy in USA and Asia

- USA's trend of reducing in national defense budget (for 10 years ahead reducing 500 hundred million dollars) has led them to use Japan as an agent for containment for China.
- Japan's right of collective self-defense approval of conservative swing is by-product of containment of China.
- There is a declining influence of power and status of the United States due to its policies with the position of Japan regarding its past affairs and the regarding the territorial disputes issue (between Korea and China).
- USA wants to maintain its strong influence in Asia, however its dwindling economy cannot support this strategy. Moreover, the pivot to Asia is now

changing to the Iraq and Ukraine problem, thus making it difficult and complicated to actualize the ‘Rebalancing Asia.’

- Due to the weakening influence of USA, China is pursuing its “revival China” strategy as the new world power. But if China will continue to pursue its aggressive acts against its neighbors, then China-USA relation will become worst.
- If the relationship between USA and China become unstable, peace in Northeast Asia and Korea will be more remote than before.

3. Detonator of peace in Northeast Asia: Japan’s conservative swing

A. Role of Japan and how the USA keep supremacy strategy in Asia

- USA is using the USA-Japan alliance as leverage so that Japan makes a diversion to China.
- USA favors Japan in territorial issue (Senkaku-Diaoyutai), and supports Japan’s right of collective self-defense
- Also USA has taken a blind eye strategy with Japan’s conservative swing and its past affairs which continue to irk the China-Japan relationship.

B. ‘Is there any dream in Japan?’

- Japan prefers to satisfy USA’s demand so that under USA’s support they are able to maintain their status quo.
- How Japan work on to get back their dignity before the Pacific War?
- The article 9 Japan’s pacification constitution limits its armed forces exclusively for defense and security protection. Changing this law implies that Japan can already send its troops for military expedition to other countries. This will allow Japan to press on its territorial claims through military means.
- If it happened Japan will have an armed conflict dokdo-takeshima problem with South Korea and Senkaku –Diaoyutai with China.
- USA favors Japan which will result to the worsening ties between China and the USA, and as a consequence, negative impact to the security of Northeast Asia.
- Thus, the Senkaku- Diaoyutai, dokdo problem may lead to two possible results, namely both wrong or both right on the side of the USA.

4. Present state of the relationship between North and South Korea and necessary condition for peace in Korean Peninsula

A. Present state of the relationship between North and South Korea

- Because of Myung-bak government’s ‘nonnuclear-open-3000’ relationship was bad but they add action 5.24 so relationship became worst.

- While Gaeseong Industrial Complex is operating and a symbol of improving relations, but it has no expansion and development plans.
- if the North Korea didn't follow the requirement from South Korea first it is hard to solve problem about Tour Kumgang
- Geun-hye Park administration offer unification policy but some are hard to respond so that there is no improvement in past MB administration
- Private organization did not fully support North Korea initiatives in the MB administration
- Representative brand for North Korea called 'trust process in Korea is similar as nonnuclear-open-3000 with keypoints and philosophy.
- There has been a strong resistance against the liberal democracy unification theory that considers either collision or absorption as strategy with North Korea.
- To make matters worse North Korea did not agree with the Dresden Declaration \ on the other hand North Korea insists 6.15 joint declarations into 10.4 joint declaration from early this year
- If the Geun-hye administration shows a generous attitude to North Korea like supporting Asian games, cheering party not only for meeting of separated families project, in the future South Korea will take the leadership in the unification process.

B. We should make and keep the peace

- We should work hard for peace in Korea peninsula
- improvement of relationship between North and South Korea and their interdependence will be the start of peace in the Korea peninsula
- Only after improving the relationship between the South and North Korea and also USA and North Korea to have DMZ peace park
- it is impossible to plan and pursue peace in Northeast Asia without first addressing the issues and improving the relationship between the South and the North Korea.
- Improving relationship can start through the Eurasia railway and opening of road system. This will provide avenues for cooperation to both countries.
- we need to deal with the powerful countries and their relationship such as USA vs China, Japan vs China to solve detonator for peace in northeast Asia
- this power will help us to achieve 'cooperation initiative the Northeast Asia peace'