

How can the ROK avoid such a scenario? And can the ROK be solely dependent on the US’ security umbrella, important as it is? These are important questions that the ROK leadership, both present and future, will have to think about.

History has shown that collective wisdom and open-minded leadership can bring about extraordinary outcomes. Many leaders before us have led the way in demonstrating how to break free from the burden of history for a better future. These leaders may be criticised for taking a bold step or for not pandering to domestic expectations, but history will be the judge of whether this is the right move. One recent example of such bold leadership is the agreement between Japan and the ROK last December to resolve the long-standing “comfort women” issue. This has been a difficult problem, and understandably so because it is an emotional one, but both sides showed great determination and will to turn the page on history and build trust and reconciliation. This will benefit not only Japan and the ROK, but also enhance peace, stability and cooperation in the region.

Conclusion

In conclusion, while we have strong leaders in Asia, it is insufficient for leaders to only exercise leadership within their respective countries without looking at the larger regional canvas. It would be all the more a pity if we have such strong national leaders, but weak cooperative leadership between them. To fully realise the vision of a “Pacific Century” and a new peaceful and prosperous new order for Asia, we need to reach out to one another; go past the confines of history; and build an order that will enable our future generations to live harmoniously and prosper together. It is Singapore’s hope that our region can realise this vision together. Thank you.

[Keynote Speech]

Education, Key to Cooperative Leadership

Enrico LETTA Former Prime Minister of Italy



May I begin by saying hello to everyone here today? It is a great privilege for me personally to be here before such a prestigious audience and alongside such authoritative figures, figures who, in their respective fields of activity – in politics and culture, in business and academia – are distinguished by their leadership, never solitary or self-absorbed but always aimed outwards toward dialogue and constructive interaction between individuals, societies and states.

Alongside my personal sense of privilege, I have the honour of being permitted to bring to your attention my point of view as an Italian and a European. That is to say the point of view of one who has lived and experienced the growth of the European Union and its process of integration; a process which has guaranteed to that area of the world decades of peace and stability after millennia of fratricidal war and devastation. So, obviously it is from this position that I will describe the subject of the cooperative leadership of the new world order.

I will focus my analysis in particular on the impact of the three great crises which have shaken Europe in the last decade: the economic and financial crisis; the refugee crisis and the crisis of terrorism with the war against Daesh.

How much do each of these affect international relations and intersect with expectations for the so called “Asiatic Century?” From the answers to these questions I hope there will emerge a fact; in regard to the challenges they bring the distance between my and your outlook is only geographical.

Between the European and Asiatic civilisations – both fruits of a millennium of evolution and of noble philosophical and cultural traditions – there exists a common objective towards peace and dialogue between nations. It is the same objective that the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Ban Ki-moon, has patiently followed for the collective and sustainable management of global problems. This objective itself, when seen clearly, is aimed at the reduction of inequality between peoples through change and innovation as the successes of the country which hosts us – South Korea is at the forefront of the global technological revolution – efficaciously bear witness.

The three great crises of the “black decade”: why the EU needs cooperative leader-



ship.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Three Responses to Fragmentation: Multilateralism, Participation and Education

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

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

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

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

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

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