

### [ Introductory Remarks ]

**HAN Sungjoo** Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea



## Avoiding the “Thucydides Trap”

I am honored to chair this session under the theme of “Sharing a Common Vision for Asia’s Future.” I think it is appropriate that today we are having this session as Asia has both sources of instability and stable progress. Today we are seeing disruptions and changes in our way of life at an unprecedented rate and at all different levels. Much of this has to do with things that we associate with globalization—free trade, advanced technology, and instantaneous digital communication methods. These developments were facilitated and supported by the post-World War II liberal world order. But, unfortunately, in the aftermath of the Brexit vote, the recent U.S. election, and in the midst of growing nationalist movements around the world, we can also see more clearly that there are large groups of people who feel negatively affected by the changes brought about by globalization, liberal order and multilateralism.

The subject of this session is: “Sharing a Common Vision for Asia’s Future.” There are reasons for being both pessimistic and optimistic. Some people talk about the Thucydides trap,” which explains the likelihood of conflict between a revisionist power and a status quo power. Others talk about the Kindleberger trap, which makes the rising power either unwilling or unable to assume the burden of keeping the region stable. In addition, there is the problem of North Korean threat of nuclear weapons and missiles. There are also problems arising from the rise of nationalism, arms race, and territorial disputes.

But there are also sources of optimism, reasons to have a brighter vision for the future. For the most part, Asian countries are economically vibrant and regional cooperation is making slow but steady progress. There is also a remarkable growth of economic inter-dependence, people-to-people exchanges and cultural cooperation. So, although with our sight, we see with our eyes possible problems and obstacles for Asia’s future; however, in our mind, we can see much brighter and optimistic vision for the future of Asia.

### [ Keynote Speech I ]

**Megawati SOEKARNOPUTRI** 5th President of Indonesia



## “Pancasila” as a Stepping Stone for Peace and Diversity

This time, my attendance to Jeju Island is shrouded with grief. Only a few days ago, a suicidal bombing in Jakarta, Indonesia, took the lives of several people. This was, however, not the first attack that our country had to bear. Attacks driven by religious bigotry. Similar attacks also took place in Bangkok, Thailand. It is also sad to say that, even until today, the city of Malawi in the Philippines is fighting the attacks and invasion done by a group claiming to be affiliated with the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria(ISIS). In fact, such terrorism has not only spread to Asia, but also in other parts of the world, including England as a victim of recent Manchester bombing.

Is this the modern civilization? Let us make a comparison to the one of the most important events in the 20th century. That is the Asia-Africa Conference held in Bandung, Indonesia. Imagine. It was in 1955, the leaders of Asian and African nations with all their limited access came and convened in Bandung City, Indonesia. They removed the barriers of their various different races, ethnic groups, religions and beliefs. Their presence also represented various political and economic streams that they could use all differences as their power. It was not merely for their nations’ benefit that the differences have been the power to build new civilization that was the independence of African, Asian and even Latin American nations. We live with the event. We think about it. Compare this with various conflicts today. It breaks my heart to see the bloodshed as the impact of different understanding toward religious thought. Allow me to quote from President Soekarno’s speech, which was delivered at the opening of the Asia-Africa Conference on April 18, 1955.

“I know that in Asia and Africa, there is greater diversity of religions, faiths and beliefs than in the other continents of the world. Asia and Africa are the classic birthplaces of faiths and ideas, which have

spread all over the world. There are perhaps more religions here than in other regions of this globe. But must we be divided by the multiformity of our religious life? It is true, each religion has its own history, its own individuality, its own “raison d’être,” its special pride in its own beliefs, its own mission, its special truths which it desires to propagate. But unless we realize that all great religions are one in their message of tolerance and in their insistence on the observance of the principle of “Live and let live,” unless the followers of each religion are prepared to give the same consideration to the rights of others everywhere; unless every state does its duty to ensure that the same rights are given to the followers of all faiths; unless these things are done, religion is debased, and its true purpose perverted. Unless Asian-African countries realize their responsibilities in this matter and take steps jointly to fulfill them, the very strength of religious beliefs, which should be a source of unity and a bulwark against foreign interference, will cause its disruption, and may result in destroying the hard-won freedom, which large parts of Asia and Africa have achieved by acting together.”

I think the ideas, principles and the ideals of the founding fathers of the Asian nations, members of Asia-Africa Conference should be the basis for the Asian collective, Asian Movement. It includes the response to the growing force of extreme movements in the name of religion. It is the right time to learn from our founding fathers, learn from the history of the Asia-Africa Conference that even the inherent diversity in all living creatures cannot survive, cannot be maintained without a collective effort.

In other words, diversity should be maintained by working together. Globalization has resulted in a seemingly borderless world without dividers. Various problems emerged and are interconnected across countries: Problems of human trafficking, drug trafficking, financial crime, up to terrorism. Which one of those problems, which are not interconnected and involved people across countries? Do not think that those problems only hit the so-called third world countries. Look at the multi-dimension crisis occurring in the developed countries.

In this occasion, with all due respect, I would like to thank the former U.S. Vice President Al Gore, who has tirelessly voiced his opinions on the issue of global climate change and its concomitant impact on our only planet earth and human civilization. I agree with His Excellency Al Gore’s stand at the recent Cannes Film Festival. Not even a president can stop the climate movement. Not a single power is capable to stop climate change. However, it does not mean that we just stay still, or being trapped into the commercialization of the climate change issue through carbon trade.

I personally looked at the international agreements of regarding global climate change, one of which is the 2015 Paris Agreement. This agreement changes the structure and patron emission reduction which was previously regulated by the Kyoto Protocol. It is the time for us to seriously drum up a global effort to achieve the target of the world emission reduction set by the Paris Agreement. I ask all of you to involve and actively participate in the movement of climate justice. We also should raise the awareness of the developed countries, which is indicated to have contributed largely to the destruction of the atmosphere through the decades of long accumulation of greenhouse gases. It is the time for them to solve their emission debt. Despite of this, we should actively push international agreements which consider another method to determine the emission and level the pace of emission per capita with the main principle. Each individual in any part of the earth has the same right to the atmosphere.

72 years ago today, President Soekarno gave a political speech on June 1 in 1945. The speech brought up Pancasila. Pancasila was later established as the fundamental principle of the Republic of Indonesia. Pancasila means five principles.



First, belief in God. All the people should culturally have a belief in God that is void of any religious egoism. A belief in God and being noble character that means respecting each other. Second, a just and civilized humanity. This second principle is wielding nationalism. Nationalism is a freedom movement. An answer to an oppression, and a great inspiration emerging from freedom. Through this principle, Indonesia commits itself to reach justice and prosperity, not only for the Indonesia but also for other nations. We nationalists love our nation and other nations. Third, Indonesian unity. This principle shows the necessity of holding tightly to each other. Because it could thus, also be interpreted as internationalism. There is no conflict between the idea of nationalism and internationalism. Internationalism can only grow and develop in the fertile soil of nationalism. Through the principle of internationalism, every nation respects and guards the right of all nations small or big. Through internationalism, a nation shows itself to be mature and responsible, leaving behind feelings of racial supremacy, shedding of chauvinism and cosmopolitanism. Fourth, discussion and consensus, democracy. Democracy is not the monopoly or the invention of Western social regulations. Democracy is people’s genuine condition, although it underwent changes in its implementation to adjust to specific social conditions. Fifth, social justice is interconnected, inseparable to social welfare. That is our Pancasila. Belief in God; nationalism; internationalism; democracy; and social justice. This is the way of life of the Indonesian nation.

Pancasila is a guidance in all the pillars of life: spiritually, politically, economically, socially and culturally which we fight for. Please consider Pancasila has a universal meaning and can be internationally implemented. It could be the spirit and principle to find solution for living together in the 21st century. I am sure and hope it would be our common conviction that we could take common action that chooses peace path for any conflicts and disputes because I believe none of us have the goal to transfer the hatred and conflict to the young generation. I humbly offer you the principle of Pancasila to become the way of life of the Asian nations, as a contribution to the world peace, as a serious endeavor to end poverty and oppression. With the spirit of Pancasila, I am confident that Asia is capable of fighting for justice and social welfare of the world now and in the times to come.