

平成 26 年度 日中韓協力ダイアログ  
**The 1st CJK Cooperation Dialogue**

**報 告 書**

2014 年 11 月 13 日（木）  
（韓国 ソウル開催）

一般財団法人 国際経済交流財団

平成 26 年度 日中韓協力ダイアログ 2014 年 11 月 13 日（木）（於：ソウル）



日本代表 日下一正会長



中国代表 ZHANG Yunling 教授



韓国代表 GONG Ro-Myung 会長



会議全景



会議の様子



深川 由起子女史



塩田 誠氏



浦田 秀次郎氏



ランチョンスピーチ CHOO Mi-Ae 女史



会議の様子



会議の様子



山口 光恒氏



井深 成仁氏、原岡 直幸専務理事



会議の様子

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## 1. 開催趣旨

国際経済交流財団（日下一正会長）は2014年3月26日（水）、韓国・ソウルにおいて、China Foreign Affairs University（中国代表 ZHANG Yunling 教授）、並びに East Asia Foundation（韓国代表 GONG Ro-Myung 会長）の3者間で会合を開き、東アジアでのコミュニティ意識の醸成と地域の平和と繁栄に貢献することを目的に日中韓3か国による対話の年次会合を開催することを決めた。また、年次会合は3か国がそれぞれ持ち回りで開催し、2014年（第1回）は East Asia Foundation が韓国で、2015年（第2回）は China Foreign Affairs University が中国で、そして2016年（第3回）を当財団が日本で主催することも決めた。



（2014年3月26日ソウにて）

当ダイアログのねらいは、日中韓の間には track 1（政府間レベル）と track 2（民間レベル）での会合はさまざまなものが存在しているものの、更なる発展を目指してこれらレベルの中間の track 1.5（政府関係者、民間有識者が一同に会す）レベルにおいて、各国が直面する共通的な課題や、3か国の国境にまたがる課題（例えば大気汚染、酸性雨、海洋汚染など）の解決に向けた協力などをテーマに議論し、各国政府の施策に貢献することである。

これを受け、2014年11月13日（木）、ソウルにおいて、第1回日中韓協力ダイアログが開催された。ダイアログは、2つのセッションの公開シンポジウムと出席者のみによる非公開会合の形式から成っており、公開シンポジウムでは「セッション1：自由貿易協定の政治経済学」、「セッション2：北東アジアの環境問題と日中韓協力」の2つのテーマについて議論した。



## 2. 開催概要

1. 開催日時： 2014 年 11 月 13 日（木）  
09:30～15:30 公開シンポジウム  
15:50～14:20 非公開会合（出席者のみ）
2. 開催場所： 韓国・ソウル（会場：プラザホテル 4 階メイプルホール）  
Maple Hall on the 4th Floor at the Plaza Hotel  
119 Sogong-ro, Jung-gu, Seoul 100-864, South Korea
3. 主催者： 韓国 East Asia Foundation  
（共催者）日本 一般財団法人国際経済交流財団／Japan Economic Foundation (JEF)  
中国 外交学院／China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU)
4. テーマ： Session 1: Political Economy of FTAs  
自由貿易協定の政治経済学  
1) Who are the winners and the losers? : Actual impact on growth and welfare  
FTA がもたらす勝者と敗者は誰か？そして、成長と社会保障への影響は？  
2) Government responses: Challenges and limitation of compensation mechanism  
政府の対応に関し、代償措置の課題と限界は？  
3) Long-term effects: economic, political, and social implications  
長期的観点での影響に関して、経済面、政治面、社会面での意味は？  
  
Session 2: Emerging Environmental Concerns and Trilateral Cooperation  
北東アジアの環境問題と日中韓協力  
1) Identifying trans-boundary pollution problems  
国境をまたがる汚染問題  
2) Economic, social and ecological consequences  
汚染問題が及ぼす経済面、社会面、生態系への影響  
3) Devising trilateral cooperation  
3 か国間の協力を構築
5. 出席者： 日本、中国、韓国より計 29 名（オブザーバー含む）
6. 形式： 公開シンポジウム（聴衆約 40 名）、及び非公開会合（出席者のみ）
7. 使用言語： 英語

### 3. 詳細日程

## The 1st CJK Cooperation Dialogue



- ◆ Co-hosted by  
China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU),  
Japan Economic Foundation (JEF) and  
East Asia Foundation
- ◆ Sponsored by  
National Research Council for Economics,  
Humanities and Social Sciences (NRCS)
- ◆ Date: November 12~13, 2014
- ◆ Place: Seoul, Korea



**“The CJK Cooperation Dialogue,”** which the representatives of the China Foreign Affairs University, the Japan Economic Foundation, and the East Asia Foundation agreed to launch at the preparatory meeting in Seoul Korea on March 26, 2014, is an annual 1.5 track trilateral conference, starting from 2014 in Seoul Korea, to find together co-operative measures for common problems facing each country as well as shared problems of trans-boundary nature, and to disseminate them for policy impact, which will promote a sense of community in East Asia and lead to peace and prosperity in the region.

Wednesday, November 12, 2014

**18:30-20:30** Welcoming Reception & Dinner  
Hosted by the East Asia Foundation



Thursday, November 13, 2014

**Public Symposium**

**Venue: Maple Hall on the 4th Floor at the Plaza Hotel**

**09:00-09:30** Registration

**09:30-10:00** Opening remarks and Introduction of each delegation by

- **ZHANG Yunling**, Professor and Director of International Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)
- **KUSAKA Kazumasa**, Chairman and CEO, Japan Economic Foundation (JEF)
- **GONG Ro-Myung**, Chairman, East Asia Foundation / former Minister of Foreign Affairs

**10:00-12:00** **Session 1: Political Economy of FTAs**

- 1) Who are the winners and the losers?: Actual impact on growth and welfare
- 2) Government responses: Challenges and limitation of compensation mechanism
- 3) Long-term effects: economic, political, and social implications

**Moderator: ZHANG Yunling**, Professor and Director of International Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)

● **Chinese panelists:**

- **QU Bo**, Associate Professor and Deputy Director of the Institute of International Relations, China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU)
- **SHEN Minghui**, Associate Professor and Director of the Research Division of National Institute of International Strategy, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)
- **ZHU Caihua**, Professor and Dean of School of International Economics, China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU)

● **Japanese panelists:**

- **FUKAGAWA Yukiko**, Visiting Fellow, Center for Development Studies/ Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, Cambridge University
- **SHIOTA Makoto**, President, SME support, Japan (Organization for Small & Medium Enterprises and Regional Innovation, JAPAN)
- **URATA Shujiro**, Professor of Economics, Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies, Waseda University

● **Korean panelists:**

- **CHOO Mi-Ae**, Member of the 19th National Assembly Republic of Korea, New Politics Alliance for Democracy Party / Trade, Industry and Energy Committee
- **KIL Jeong-Woo**, Member of the 19th National Assembly Republic of Korea, Saenuri Party / Trade, Industry and Energy Committee
- **AHN Choong Yong**, Chairman, Korean Commission on Corporate Partnership / Distinguished Professor, Graduate School of International Studies, Chung-Ang University
- **AHN Dukgeun**, Associate Dean of International Affairs / Professor, GSIS, Seoul National University

**12:00-13:30 Luncheon**

Venue: Ruby Hall on the 22nd Floor

**Key note speech by CHOO Mi-Ae**, Member of the 19th National Assembly Republic of Korea, New Politics Alliance for Democracy Party / Trade, Industry and Energy Committee

**13:30-15:30 Session2: Emerging Environmental Concerns and Trilateral Cooperation**

- 1) Identifying trans-boundary pollution problems
- 2) Economic, social and ecological consequences
- 3) Devising trilateral cooperation

**Moderator: KIM Sang-Hyup**, Visiting Professor, Graduate School of Green Growth, KAIST / Chairman, Coalition for Our Common Future

● **Chinese panelists:**

- **HUAN Qingzhi**, Professor, School of Marxism, Peking University
- **WANG Xuedong**, Professor, Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, Sun Yat-sen University

● **Japanese panelists:**

- **YAMAGUCHI Mitsutsune**, Visiting Professor, Komaba Organization for Educational Excellence (KOMEX), College of Arts and Science, The University of Tokyo
- **IBUKA Shigehito**, Executive Director, Japan Environmental Management Association for Industry (JEMAI); Division Manager, Environment and Safety, Quality Management Center, HORIBA

● **Korean panelists:**

- **SHIN Eui Soon**, Professor of Economics, Yonsei University
- **JEON Eui-Chan**, Professor of Environment and Energy, Sejong University
- **CHUNG Suh-Yong**, Professor, Division of International Studies, Korea University

**15:30-15:50** Coffee Break

**Closed Session**

**15:50-18:20** Closed Session: Setting Future Agendas (\*only for the delegations)

**Moderator: KUSAKA Kazumasa**, Chairman and CEO, Japan Economic Foundation (JEF)

**18:30-20:30** **Dinner**

Keynote speech by AHN Se-Young, Professor, GSIS, Sogang University /  
Chairman, National Research Council for Economics, Humanities and Social Sciences

## 4. 出席者

計 29 名（アルファベット順／敬称略）

【日本：7 名】

**FUKAGAWA Yukiko**（深川由起子）

ケンブリッジ大学経済開発センター・アジア中東学部 客員研究員

Visiting Fellow, Center for Development Studies/Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern  
Studies, Cambridge University

**HARAOKA Naoyuki**（原岡直幸）

一般財団法人国際経済交流財団 専務理事

Executive Managing Director, Japan Economic Foundation (JEF)

**IBUKA Shigehito**（井深成仁）

一般社団法人産業環境管理協会 理事

株式会社堀場製作所 品質保証統括センター 環境安全担当センター長

Executive Director, Japan Environmental Management Association for Industry (JEMAI);

Division Manager, Environment and Safety, Quality Management Center, HORIBA

**KUSAKA Kazumasa**（日下一正）

一般財団法人国際経済交流財団 会長

Chairman and CEO, Japan Economic Foundation (JEF)

**SHIOTA Makoto**（塩田誠）

独立行政法人中小企業基盤整備機構 副理事長

President, SME support, Japan (Organization for Small & Medium Enterprises and Regional  
Innovation, JAPAN)

**URATA Shujiro**（浦田秀次郎）

早稲田大学大学院アジア太平洋研究科 教授

Professor of Economics, Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies, Waseda University

**YAMAGUCHI Mitsutsune**（山口光恒）

東京大学教養学部附属教養教育高度化機構 環境エネルギー科学特別部門 客員教授

Visiting Professor, Komaba Organization for Educational Excellence (KOMEX), College of Arts  
and Science, The University of Tokyo

【中国：10 名】

**GUO Yanjun**（郭延軍）

Associate Professor and Deputy Director of Institute of Asian Studies, China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU)

**HUAN Qingzhi**（郇慶治）

Professor, School of Marxism, Peking University

**QU Bo**（曲博）

Associate Professor and Deputy Director of the Institute of International Relations, China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU)

**SHEN Minghui**（沈銘輝）

Associate Professor and Director of the Research Division of National Institute of International Strategy, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)

**WANG Xuedong**（王學東）

Professor, Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, Sun Yat-sen University

**ZHANG Yunling**（張蘊嶺）

Professor and Director of International Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)

**ZHU Caihua**（竺彩華）

Professor and Dean of School of International Economics, China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU)

（オブザーバー）

**JIN Meihua**（金美花）

Researcher/Center for Northeast Asia Studies of Jilin Academy of Social Sciences

**MA Ke**（馬克）

Professor of Economics, Jilin Academy of Social Sciences

**SHI Youmei**（石友梅）

Professor in Science-Technology, Jilin Trilateral Cooperation Studies Center of China Council for the Promotion of International Trade Jilin Provincial Committee

【韓国：12 名】

**AHN Choong Yong** (안충영/安忠榮)

Chairman, Korean Commission on Corporate Partnership / Distinguished Professor,  
Graduate School of International Studies, Chung-Ang University

**AHN Dukgeun** (안덕근/安德根)

Associate Dean of International Affairs / Professor, GSIS, Seoul National University

**AHN Se-Young** (안세영/安世英)

Professor, GSIS, Sogang University / Chairman, National Research Council for Economics,  
Humanities and Social Sciences

**CHOO Mi-Ae** (추미애/秋美愛)

Member of the 19th National Assembly Republic of Korea, New Politics Alliance for  
Democracy Party / Trade, Industry and Energy Committee

**CHUNG Suh-Yong** (정서용/鄭瑞溶)

Professor, Division of International Studies, Korea University

**GONG Ro-Myung** (공로명/孔魯明)

Chairman, East Asia Foundation / former Minister of Foreign Affairs

**JEON Eui-Chan** (전의찬/全儀燦)

Professor of Environment and Energy, Sejong University

**KIL Jeong-Woo** (길정우/吉炡宇)

Member of the 19th National Assembly Republic of Korea, Saenuri Party / Trade, Industry  
and Energy Committee

**KIM Sang-Hyup** (김상협)

Visiting Professor, Graduate School of Green Growth, KAIST / Chairman, Coalition for Our  
Common Future

**MOON Chung-in** (문정인/文正仁)

Professor of Political Science, Yonsei University

**SHIN Eui Soon** (신의순/申義淳)

Professor of Economics, Yonsei University

(オブザーバー)

**HONG Hyung Taek** (홍형택/洪亨澤)

Secretary General, East Asia Foundation; Associate Managing Editor, Global Asia



## 5. 略歴

計 29 名（アルファベット順／敬称略）

### ***JAPAN***



#### **FUKAGAWA Yukiko**

**Visiting Fellow, Center for Development Studies/Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, Cambridge University**

Yukiko Fukagawa is currently a Professor, School of Political Science and Economics, Waseda University and a Visiting Fellow, Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies/ Development Center, Cambridge University. After undergraduate program at Waseda, she studied at Yale University for MA in International Development Economics, and finished Ph.D program at Waseda Graduate School of Business Studies. Her major interest lies in economic development in East Asia, especially Korea, including their industrial/trade policies. She worked for Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO) and Long-Term Credit Bank Research Institute (LTCBR) before joining the faculty member of Aoyama Gakuin University and the University of Tokyo before coming back to Waseda.

She engaged in many consultation and advisory activities for the government, such as the Committee for Foreign Exchange in the Ministry of Finance, the Committee for Industrial Structure in the Ministry of Economy and Industry etc... She served as the Chairman of Economic Section in "Japan-Korea Joint Study for the New Era" project opened in 2013. Her recent publication includes Northeast Asia and Japan-Korea Relations in Post Financial Crisis (2013), co-ed with Yul Sohn, Institute of Asia Studies, Waseda University, and "Converging Institutions in Integration in Asia" (2012), in Urfa ends, Globalization and Regional Integration in Asia, Keiso Shobo 2012.



## **HARAOKA Naoyuki**

**Executive Managing Director, Japan Economic Foundation (JEF)**

Born in Tokyo in 1955. After graduating the University of Tokyo in 1978 (Bachelor of Economics), he joined MITI (Ministry of International Trade and Industry) of Japanese government. Having been posted in the industrial policy section and the international trade policy section for a few years, he was enrolled in a two year MPA (Master of Public Administration) programme at Woodrow Wilson School of Princeton University in the US on a Japanese government sponsorship. After having acquired MPA at Princeton, he rejoined MITI in 1984 as an economist. Since then he had been posted as Deputy Director and Director of a number of MITI divisions including Research Division of International Trade Policy Bureau. He was also posted in Paris twice, firstly, Principal Economist of Trade Bureau of OECD (Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development) from 1988 to 92 and secondly Counselor to Japanese Delegation of OECD from 1996 to 99. After coming back to MITI from his second stay in Paris, at the occasion of the government structural reform in 2001 when MITI was remodeled as METI (Ministry of Economy Trade and Industry) he joined the efforts to found METI research institute, Research Institute of Economy Trade and Industry as its Director of Administration. He became Chief Executive Director of JETRO San Francisco in 2003 and stayed in San Francisco until 2006. He was Director-General of METI Training Institute from 2006 until July, 2007 when he left METI permanently and joined JEF as Executive Managing Director.



## **IBUKA Shigehito**

**Executive Director, Japan Environmental Management Association for Industry (JEMAI); Division Manager, Environment and Safety, Quality Management Center, HORIBA**

Born in city of Mishima, Shizuoka prefecture in 1952. After graduating the University of Waseda in 1975 (Bachelor of Science and Engineering), he joined SHARP which is one of home electronics manufacturers. He worked for process and factory engineering for semiconductor device fabrication. He moved to TEL (TOKYO ELECTRON Limited) in 1984. TEL is one of major semiconductor manufacturing equipment suppliers globally. Firstly, he became the leader of construction of R&D center and process engineering center with leadership. Secondly, he became the leader of contamination control and analytical technology development. Thirdly, he experienced several project leaders for semiconductor manufacturing equipment development. In 1992, he was extraordinarily ordered to take a leadership for EHS (environmental, health and safety) activities. Until his retirement from TEL at 60 years old, he continued EHS activities

globally. Through his activities TEL's EHS had tremendously improved. In addition to TEL's activities, he contributed to EHS of global semiconductor industry, various environmental fields of JEMAI (Japan Environmental Management Association for Industry), EcoDesign symposium planning and practices and collaboration to JEITA EHS activities. In 2011, he became an Executive Director of JEMAI. He received various awards for his industry contribution. In 2012, he moved to HORIBA LTD. He is now working for HORIBA the Division Manager, Environment and Safety, Quality Management Center and very active with global leadership for HORIBA EHS.



**KUSAKA Kazumasa**

**Chairman and CEO, Japan Economic Foundation (JEF)**

Kazumasa Kusaka has been Chairman and CEO of the Japan Economic Foundation (JEF) since April 1, 2013, and is also a Professor at University of Tokyo Graduate School of Public Policy. He previously served for 36 years in Japan's Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI), rising to become vice-minister for international affairs in the reorganized Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI) in 2004. During his long career in public service, Kusaka was seconded to the International Energy Agency (IEA)/OECD and was Japan's senior official for Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). He played a central role in Asia's economic integration, promoting FTAs in the region as well as serving as a senior official negotiating the Doha development agenda of the WTO. He was head of Japan's Energy Agency and held director-general positions in technology and environmental policy in addition to trade and investment-related areas within METI. He was also instrumental in finalizing the Kyoto Protocol, and developing Japan's energy and environment policies. Among many other posts Kusaka has held are Special Adviser to the Prime Minister on Global Warming, senior vice president of Mitsubishi Electric, executive adviser to Dentsu Inc., and president of the Japan Cooperation Center for the Middle East.



**SHIOTA Makoto**

**President, SME support, Japan (Organization for Small & Medium Enterprises and Regional Innovation, JAPAN)**

After graduating the University of Tokyo (Bachelor of Law) in 1982, he joined MITI (Ministry of International Trade and Industry) of Japanese Government.

He majored in the management program in French National Graduate School of Public Administration (ENA; Ecole National d'Administration) from 1986 to 1987. He was posted in Paris as the Counselor, the Permanent Delegation of Japan to the OECD during from 1999 to 2002. After being posted in a wide range of policy planning divisions such as industry, trade, energy, finance and intellectual property rights, he was Director of the North-East Asia Division and Director of the Trade Policy Division in METI (the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry). He was also seconded to Cabinet Secretariat for policy coordination twice.

Before taking office at SME Support, Japan, he was Deputy Director-General for International Regional Policy, METI, in charge of APEC and trade affairs with ASEAN, European Union and Russia. He was the APEC Senior Official of Japan, which hosted the APEC Economic Leaders' Meeting in Yokohama, Japan in 2010.



### **URATA Shujiro**

**Professor of Economics, Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies, Waseda University**

Shujiro Urata is Professor of Economics at Graduate School Asia-Pacific Studies, Waseda University. He is also Research Fellow at the Japanese Centre for Economic Research (JCER), Faculty Fellow at the Research Institute of Economy, Trade & Industry (RIETI), and Senior Research Adviser for the Executive Director of the Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia (ERIA) in Jakarta. Professor Urata received his B.A. in Economics from Keio University in 1973 and his M.A. and Ph.D. in Economics at Stanford University in 1976 and 1978. He is a former Research Associate at the Brookings Institution, an Economist at the World Bank. He specializes in International Economics and Economics of Development. He has held a number of research and advisory positions including senior advisor to the Government of Indonesia, consultant to the World Bank, OECD, the Asian Development Bank and the Government of Japan. He published and edited a number of books on international economic issues and is an author and co-author of numerous articles in professional journals. His book publications in English include *Multinationals and Economic Growth in East Asia*, co-editor, Routledge, 2006, *Free Trade Agreements in the Asia-Pacific*, co-editor, World Scientific, 2010, *Economic Consequences of Globalization: Evidence from East Asia*, co-editor, Routledge, 2012, and others.



## **YAMAGUCHI Mitsutsune**

**Visiting Professor, Komaba Organization for Educational Excellence (KOMEX), College of Arts and Science, The University of Tokyo**

Prof. Mitsutsune Yamaguchi is an Environmental Economist focusing mainly on climate change and energy. He graduated Keio University in 1962. In 1996, he became a professor of economics at Keio University. Thereafter, he has been a professor at several universities including University of the Air and The University of Tokyo. He has also been a lead author of Working Group III of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) for the 3rd, 4th and 5th assessment reports for past 20 years, and a Vice Chair of the Joint Working Party on Trade and Environment, Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and also had hold prominent positions such as a member of several committees on climate change of the Government, and was invited several times as speaker/panelist for international conferences and forums. The most recent one is a speaker at Innovation for Cool Earth Forum (ICEF) conducted by Japanese Prime minister, Shinzo Abe this October. He has published many books and papers. The recent publication (as editor and co-author) is “Climate Change Mitigation, A Balanced Approach to Climate Change” published in 2012 from Springer, London, and Japanese translation version was released in 2013. His articles have regularly been posted on Nikkei Newspaper. Recent articles are “Redesigning Japanese FIT scheme” October 17, 2013, and “IPCC 5<sup>th</sup> assessment reports and their impact on future negotiations”, May 6, 2014.

## ***China***



## **GUO Yanjun**

**Associate Professor and Deputy Director of Institute of Asian Studies,  
China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU)**

Dr. GUO Yanjun is an associate professor and the Deputy Director of the Institute of Asian Studies at China Foreign Affairs University. He got his doctor's degree in International Studies at Shandong University in 2007. He was a postdoctoral research fellow at Peking University from 2009 to 2011. His research interests focus on Mekong subregional cooperation and transboundary water resource management. His recent publications include Security Governance: China's National Capacity Building on Non-traditional Security Issues (Economic Science Press, 2011), “Mekong Water Security Cooperation: Multi-Governance and China's Policy Choice” (Foreign Affairs Review, 2012) and “Mekong Water Resources Exploitation and

Environmental Protection: Lower Mekong Countries' Concerns and Basin Governance" (World Politics and Economy, 2013).



**HUAN Qingzhi**

**Professor, School of Marxism, Peking University**

Dr. HUAN Qingzhi is professor of comparative politics at Research Institute of Marxism, Peking University, China. His research areas focus upon environmental politics, European politics and left politics. Among others, he was a Harvard-Yenching Visiting Scholar of 2002/2003 at Harvard University, a Humboldt Research Fellow of 2005/2006 at the MZES, University of Mannheim, and a CSC High Research Fellow of 2010 at the ANU. He is the author of many monographs such as International Comparison on Environmental Politics (2007) and A Comparative Study on European Green Parties (2000). His main publications in English include: Eco-socialism as Politics: Rebuilding the Basis of Our Modern Civilisation (ed.) (Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Springer, 2010).



**QU Bo**

**Associate Professor and Deputy Director of the Institute of International Relations, China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU)**

**Research:**

International Political Economy, Political Economy of East Asian Cooperation, Global Economic Governance, and China's Foreign Policy

**Education:**

Ph.D. Peking University 2007

Visiting fellow, Niigata University Japan, 2004-2006

M.A. Nankai University 2003

B.A. Nankai University 2000 (with honor)

**Working Experience:**

Institute for International Studies, China Foreign Affairs University, 2007-

Post-doctoral fellow at Oxford and Princeton, 2008-2010



**Other professional activities:**

Member of Global Agenda Councils, World Economic Forum, 2010-2014

Research Fellow of Center for China and International Relations, University of International Studies, Beijing

**Selected publications:**

Choice at crisis: domestic politics and foreign exchange arrangement, (book 2012)

International Relations Theory: Thoughts, Paradigms, and Arguments, (book, co ed., 2013)

Dynamic engagement: China's Participation in International Monetary Institutions, In Jan Wouters, et al, China, the EU and Global Governance, 2012

China and Global Economic Governance after the Financial Crisis, Foreign Affairs Review, 2010

Cooperation Problem, Power Structure, Governance Dilemma and International Institutions, World Economy and Politics, 2010

**Teaching:**

International Relations History (1500-1945);

Globalization and Governance;

Introduction to International Relations;

International Relations Theory

**SHEN Minghui**

**Associate Professor and Director of the Research Division of National Institute of International Strategy, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)**

Dr. Shen Minghui is an associate professor at the National Institute of International Strategy (NIIS), Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (2009- ). Also, he is now the chief of the Dept. of Emerging Economy, NIIS (2012- ), the Secretary General of the Center for APEC and East Asian Cooperation, CASS (2009- ) as well as the member of council at Center for Youth Humanity and Social Sciences, CASS (2013- ). Dr. Shen has been a council member of several national associations including the Chinese Association of Asia-Pacific Studies, China Society of World Economics, China Society of Emerging Economies and standing council member of Youth Committee under China Society of Emerging Economies. His research focuses on regional integration and FTA issues. He has published a variety of articles in Chinese and in English. Some of his articles are reprinted and indexed by the Xinhua Digest and Information Center for Social Sciences, Renmin University. In addition, Dr. Shen has published some articles in the People Daily and Economic Daily.



## **WANG Xuedong**

**Professor, Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, Sun Yat-sen University**

### **Personal Information:**

Xuedong Wang (Edward Wang/王学东), Ph.D., the Associate Professor of International Politics, School of the Asia-Pacific Studies, Sun Yat-Sen University, Guangzhou, China.

Subject of Research:

The Politics of Climate Change: Cooperation and Governance, Environmental Politics and Policy, Chinese Foreign Policy.

### **Academic Exchange:**

September 2013-January 2014, the visiting scholar of the Department of Politics and International Relations at University of Sydney, Sydney, Australia.

June-July 2010, the visiting scholar of SACS (Special Award for Canadian Studies, Canadian Government) in the program: Global Warming and Governance: Study on Canadian's Policy and Project Activities in Carbon Capture and Storage (CCS).

July 2008-June 2009, the Freeman visiting Professor in the Program: A comparative Study on American and China's Climate Change Policies, the center for Asia-Pacific studies at University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, USA.

June-July 2007, the Fulbright Visiting Scholar in the program, Study of the United States Institute on U.S. Foreign Policy, in the Richard L. Walker Institute of International and Area Studies at University of South Carolina, USA.



## **ZHANG Yunling**

**Professor and Director of International Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)**

ZHANG Yunling was born in 1945.05.08, China, Professor, Academy Member and Director of International Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Science (CASS since 2006), President of China Association of Asia-Pacific Studies, Director of Center of Regional Security, CASS, Member of National Committee of Chinese Political Consultant Conference (since 2002). He is also vice Chairman of China Committee of PECC, Vice president of China-ROK Friendship Association, Board member of ERIA.

He was Director of Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies from 1993-2007. He served as a member of East Asia Vision Group (2000-2001, EAVG II, 2012-2013), member of Official Expert Group on China-ASEAN Cooperation (2001), member of ASEM Task Force (2003- 2004), Chairman of Joint Expert Group for Feasibility Study on EAFTA (2005-2006), member of Joint Expert Group of CEPEA (2006-2009), Executive Chairman of China-Republic of Korea Joint Expert Committee(2010-2013), Member of China-Japan 21st Century Friendship Commission (2003-2008).



### **ZHU Caihua**

**Professor and Dean of School of International Economics, China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU)**

Prof. ZHU Caihua is a professor in Economics and Dean of School of International Economics. Prof. Zhu was once a Fulbright visiting research scholar at Columbia University (New York). She is now one of the chief researchers of China's working group for Network of East Asian Think-tanks (NEAT) and an academic fellow of the Research Center of Peace and Development. Her research interests cover international trade and investment, East Asian economic cooperation, and Sino-US economic relations. Her typical publications include the books like FDI Externalities and China's Industrial Development, Foreign Direct Investment and China's Economic Growth.

### **Educational Background**

Sept, 1990-April, 1997	Northeast University of Finance and Economics, Bachelor's (1994) and Master's (1997) Degree
Sept, 2004-July, 2007	Beijing Normal University, Ph.D. Degree (2007)

### **Working Experience and Positions**

Dec, 201 –now	Dean, School of International Economics, China Foreign Affairs University
Dec, 2013-now	Professor, School of International Economics, China Foreign Affairs University
July, 2011-Dec, 2013	Vice Dean, School of International Economics, China Foreign Affairs University
Sept, 2009-July, 2010	Visiting Research Scholar at Barnard College, Columbia University, New York
Dec, 2007- Sept, 2009	Vice Dean, School of International Economics, China Foreign Affairs University

Dec, 2005- Dec, 2012	Associate Professor, School of International Economics, China Foreign Affairs University
July, 2000 -Dec, 2005	Lecturer, School of International Economics, China Foreign Affairs University
April, 1997-July, 2000	Assistant Teacher, School of International Economics, China Foreign Affairs University

### **Courses Taught and Other Services**

World Economy

International Economics

Macroeconomics

Money and Banking

International trade Practice

China's Foreign Economic relations

Study of Foreign Direct Investment

Marketing

I'm also a master supervisor.

### **Research Interest**

International trade and investment

East Asian economic cooperation

Sino-US economic relations

(オブザーバー)



**JIN Meihua**

**Researcher/Center for Northeast Asian Studies of Jilin Academy of Social Sciences**

JIN Meihua, associate researcher, holds a post of Vice Secretary-General of the Center for Northeast Asian Studies of Jilin Academy of Social Sciences.

The specialty is Regional Economy in Northeast Asia, Trade and Economic Cooperation between China and ROK. She is now studying for Ph.D at the DPRK Academy of Social Sciences. JIN Meihua has several published several papers in China Daily, World Affairs, etc. and has visited Korea and Japan to attend international academic conferences and do research for advanced studies.



### **MA Ke**

**Professor of Economics, Jilin Academy of Social Sciences**

MA Ke, Professor of Economics, currently holds the following positions as President of the Jilin Academy of Social Sciences, Vice Minister of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Jilin Provincial Committee, Vice Chairperson of the Jilin Provincial Economics Research Association, and Guest Professor of the Jilin Institute of Socialism. She is also a CPPCC member of Jilin Province and Changchun City.

MA Ke has long been engaged in teaching and academic research in economics and sociology. She has studied on major theories and practical issues of local economic and social development, which have significant application value in academic achievements. Her research interests include economic system transition and regional economic transformation of entrepreneurs, revitalization of regional economy, development of small and medium-sized enterprises, income distribution, transformation of state-owned capital operation, development of resource-based city in the old industrial bases of Northeast China, and development of cultural industry.



### **SHI Youmei**

**Professor in Science-Technology, Jilin Trilateral Cooperation Studies  
Center of China Council for the Promotion of International Trade Jilin  
Provincial Committee**

Dr. SHI Youmei, Professor in Science-Technology, holds a position of secretary of Jilin Trilateral Cooperation Studies Center of China Council for the Promotion of International Trade Jilin Provincial Committee (Expo Affairs Bureau of Jilin Province), China. She is also a senior fellow of Jilin Provincial Government, Jilin Provincial Association's Standing Committee, Jilin Province Youth Federation, and adjunct Professor at International Economics and Trade College.

SHI Youmei studies on major theory and practical issues of regional economy in Northeast Asia and trilateral cooperation. She has done a series of researches on transnational, industrial organization, international trade and industry security, and has published some valuable academic papers. Her current research focuses on economic growth and development of non-governmental organizations, and especially interested in national security, and non-military security issues.

## KOREA



### **AHN Choong Yong**

**Chairman, Korean Commission on Corporate Partnership /Distinguished Professor, Graduate School of International Studies, Chung-Ang University**

**Present:** Chairman, Korean Commission for Corporate Partnership (August, 2014 to date)

**Position:** Distinguished Professor, Graduate School of International Studies, Chung-Ang University

**Education:** Ph.D. (1968-1972): Ohio State University M.A. (1966-1968): University of Hawaii  
B.A. (1959-1963): Kyung-Pook National University, Korea

**Experience:** (1974- 2006) Professor, Dept. of Economics, College of Political Science and Economics, Chung-Ang University, Seoul, Korea  
(2007-2014) Foreign Investment Ombudsman, Korea Trade and Investment promotion Agency (KOTRA)  
(2010-2012) Chairman, Presidential Regulatory Reform Committee  
(2002-2005) President, Korea Institute for International Economic Policy (KIEP)  
(2000-2004) Chair, APEC Economic Committee  
(2002-2009) Chair, APEC Education Foundation  
(1998-2002) Member, Presidential Economic Advisory Council  
(1997-1998) President, Korean Association of Trade and Industry Studies  
(1993-1994) Chairman of the Board, Chohung Bank  
(1992-1993) President, Korea International Economics Association  
(1993-1995) UNIDO Chief Technical Advisor to the Economic Planning Unit of Malaysia to work on Manufacturing Sector Development  
(1990-1993) President of Korea Econometric Society  
(1978-1988) Consultant to the World Bank to work on development Issues of LDCs on 7 different occasions





### **AHN Dukgeun**

**Associate Dean of International Affairs / Professor, GSIS, Seoul National University**

Dukgeun Ahn, is Professor of International Trade Law and Policy at the Graduate School of International Studies (GSIS)/, Seoul National University. He currently works as Director of Center for International Commerce and Finance in GSIS and is listed in the panel rosters for WTO, Korea-US FTA and Korea-EU FTA dispute settlement systems. Professor Ahn worked at the 18th Presidential Transition Committee and currently works, among others, as Member of National Economic Advisory Council, Commissioner of Korea Trade Commission, Member of Trade Negotiation Advisory Council. He taught at many universities, including the World Trade Institute in Switzerland, University of Barcelona in Spain, University of Hong Kong, National University of Singapore and the KDI School of Public Policy and Management in Korea. Professor Ahn holds both Ph. D. in Economics and J.D. from the University of Michigan.



### **AHN Se-Young**

**Professor, GSIS, Sogang University / Chairman, National Research Council for Economics, Humanities and Social Sciences**

AHN Se Young is a full professor of the Graduate School of International Studies (GSIS) at Sogang University and he is a chairman of the National Advisory Committee for Trade Negotiation and a President of the Korea's Trade Policy Forum founded with the assistance of Ministry of Trade, Industry, and Energy.

Prior to joining the faculty of the Sogang University, he had been working in the Korean government for 24 years. Also, he served as an Assistant Secretary for Trade Policy in the Office of President (Blue House) and an Investment Promotion Officer in the United Nation's Industrial Development Organization (Washington IPS, U.S.A). His major job in the government agencies was to negotiate with Korea's trading partners and coordinate trade policy in Korea. He retired as the Director General of the Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy in 2000, and joined the faculty of the Sogang GSIS. He served as a dean of Sogang GSIS and a member of the 'Presidential Committee on Economic Policy'.

His major academic concerns are trade policy and economic integration in the Asia- Pacific region as well as the China-Korea FTA and Japan-Korea FTA.

He was graduated from the Seoul National University and received a Doctor degree from the PANTHEON-SORBONNE (Paris I) University in France.

Professor Ahn was a Visiting Scholar at the East-West Center in Hawaii in 2006 and he was a Visiting Scholar at the Waseda University in 2007.



### **CHOO Mi-Ae**

**Member of the 19th National Assembly Republic of Korea, New Politics Alliance for Democracy Party / Trade, Industry and Energy Committee**

#### **Electoral district**

Gwangjin-gu (Eul), Seoul

#### **Academic background**

- 2004 M.A., Economics, Yonsei Graduate School of Economics, Seoul, Korea 1985  
Completed Judicial Research & Training Institute Course
- 1981 B.A., Law, Hanyang University, Seoul, Korea
- 1977 Gyeongbuk Women's High School, Daegu, Korea

#### **Professional experience**

- 2012-Present Member, 19th National Assembly
- 2012 The Head of Presidential election planning group, Democratic Party 2012  
Member, Supreme Council, Democratic Party
- 2008-2012 Member, 18th National Assembly
- 2008-2010.5 Chairperson, NA Environment & Labor Committee
- 2004-2006 Visiting scholar, Columbia University, U.S.
- 2000-2004 Member, 16th National Assembly
- 1996-2000 Member, 15th National Assembly



### **CHUNG Suh-Yong**

**Professor, Division of International Studies, Korea University**

Dr. Suh-Yong Chung is Professor in the Division of International Studies at Korea University and the Director of Center for Climate and Sustainable Development Law and Policy (CSDLAP) of Seoul International Law Academy. Currently, he is also a Member of the Council (governing body) of the Global Green Growth Institute, a new intergovernmental organization to address climate change. For the Korean government, Dr. Chung is currently a Member of Policy Advisory Board of Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He also served the Presidential Committee on Green Growth and

the Honorary Committee to Host Green Climate Fund as a Member. His research focuses on governance and institution building in various fields. Regarding the environmental issues in Northeast Asia, Dr. Chung has extensively worked on regional environmental institution /governance building focusing on numerous institutions such as NEASPEC, TEMM, UNDP/GEF YSLME Project, and UNEP's NOWPAP in the areas of air pollution, natural disaster, marine environment and sustainable development both at academic and policy levels. Dr. Suh-Yong Chung holds degrees in law and international relations from Seoul National University, the London School of Economics and Stanford Law School.



### **GONG Ro-Myung**

**Chairman, East Asia Foundation / former Minister of Foreign Affairs**

A distinguished former Korean Foreign Minister and the chairman of the East Asia Foundation, Ro-Myung Gong has been a chair professor in the Division of International Studies of Dongseo University in Busan, Korea, since 2007. He is also the advisor of the Korea-Japan Forum since after serving as Chairman from 2003 to 2012.

He was born on February 25, 1932. He is a graduate of the Law College, Seoul National University and studied at the London School of Economics and Political Science. He entered the Republic of Korea's Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1958 and served at various overseas diplomatic missions of Korea, including in Washington DC, Tokyo, Canberra and Cairo.

He was the Republic of Korea's Ambassador to Brazil from 1983 to 1986, Consul-General in New York (1986-89), Ambassador to the then-Soviet Union (1990-92), Director of the Institute of Foreign Affairs and Security(IFANS) (1992-93), Ambassador to Japan (1993- 94), and became Minister of Foreign Affairs from December 1994 to November 1996. After retiring from government, he served as a member of the Presidential Advisory Council on Unification in 1997.

In 1997, he served as the Chief Representative of the preliminary meeting and main talks for the trilateral confidential talks between South Korea, North Korea, and Vietnam for releasing the then detained South Korean diplomats in Vietnam. He also led the negotiation with China as the government representative for the return of the Chinese passengers to their homeland following the emergency landing incident of the hijacked Chinese Hawker Siddeley Trident civil aircraft at Camp Page, a US army base in Chuncheon, South Korea in 1983. In 1992, he was also the representative of the 6th, 7th, and 8th round of high-level inter-Korean talks and chairman of South Korea for the South-North Joint Nuclear Control Commission.

He was chairman of the 2010 PyeongChang Olympic Winter Games Bid Committee (1992-93), chair professor of Dongguk University, Seoul (1997-2004) and of Hallym University in Gangwon (2004-07), and chairman of the Sejong Foundation/Sejong Institute (2008-11).



## **JEON Eui-Chan**

**Professor of Environment and Energy, Sejong University**

### **Professor Eui-Chan Jeon**

Dean of The Graduate School, Sejong University

Dept. of Environment & Energy, Sejong University

### **Education**

Ph.D. Seoul National University, Graduate of Environmental Sciences 1996

M.S. Seoul National University, Graduate of Environmental Sciences 1987

B.S. Seoul National University, Dept. of Mechanic, 1980

### **Present Position**

President of KSCC (the Korean Society of Climate Change Research

Member of National Committee on Green Growth (2009~2010, 2013~)

Vice Chair of Governmental Committee on Regulatory Reform (2014~)

Director of Academic Committee, The Korean Academy of Environmental Science

Co-President of National Assembly Climate Change Forum

Chairman of Greenhouse Gas Verification Infrastructure development forum (Ministry of Environment)

Member of National Statistics Committee

### **Research interests**

1. Development of Greenhouse Gases Emission Factors and Inventories
2. National and Local Authority Strategies for Climate Change
3. Management of Air Pollution and Hazardous Air Pollutants
4. Control of Malodorous materials and VOC
5. Environmental Education

### **Lab website**

<http://climatechange.sejong.ac.kr/>

## **Major Research Projects**

"Graduate School of Climate Change", 2009~2014, Ministry of Knowledge and Economics,  
Korean Government



### **KIL Jeong-Woo**

**Member of the 19th National Assembly Republic of Korea, Saenuri Party/  
Trade, Industry and Energy Committee**

Dr. Jeong-Woo Kil is an elected member of the 19th National Assembly of South Korea, and is affiliated with Trade, Industry and Energy Committee. He majored in international relations at Seoul National University and received Ph.D. in political science from Yale University.

He started his career in 1987 as a diplomat at the Korean Embassy in Washington D.C. After four years of serving the country, Dr. Kil joined the Research Institute for National Unification, a Korean government think-tank and worked as a Director of Policy Studies. In 1995, Dr. Kil shifted his career to journalism. He worked as a diplomatic correspondent and columnist to Washington D.C. of JoongAng Ilbo, one of the major newspapers in the nation, and experienced significant positions in the company as an editorial staff writer and a Publisher of the English Newspaper, JoongAng Daily.

He also had an experience in business. He had successfully run JoongAng M&B, the book and magazine publishing company of JoongAng media group, and has worked as a vice chairman of the Woonsan Group before getting elected.



### **KIM Sang-Hyup**

**Visiting Professor, Graduate School of Green Growth, KAIST / Chairman,  
Coalition for Our Common Future**

Sang-Hyup Kim is a visiting professor at Graduate School of Green Growth, College of Business, KAIST and chairman of Coalition for Our Common Future. Prior to joining KAIST, he worked at the Office of the President of the Republic of Korea in 2008 as the Secretary for National Future and Vision, where he contributed in setting the historic "Low Carbon Green Growth" vision for Korea. In 2011, he became the Senior Secretary to the President for Green Growth, coordinating the planning, development and implementation of Korea's Green Growth strategy. Through collaboration with the Presidential Committee on Green Growth and relevant ministries, his agenda ranges from national implementation of Green Growth policies to international climate

change negotiations and promoting global cooperation for making Green Growth a truly global asset. He also serves as a member of the Global Agenda Council.

Kim was formerly the Washington correspondent for Maeil Business Newspaper and a Founding Member of the World Knowledge Forum and Vision Korea Project. He has also worked at SBS, Seoul Broadcasting System, during which he set up the Future and Vision Project Team in 2004, in addition to founding and serving in the capacity of the Executive Director of the Seoul Digital Forum. Kim has a B.A. and M.A. in International Relations from Seoul National University. He has been recipient of numerous awards during his career, including: Broadcaster of the Year; Korean Broadcasters Association (2007); Hongjo Order of Service Merit (2010); Hwangjo Order of Service Merit (2013)



### **MOON Chung-in**

**Professor of Political Science, Yonsei University**

Chung-in Moon is a professor of political science at Yonsei University and editor-in-chief of Global Asia, a quarterly magazine in English. He served as Dean of Yonsei's Graduate School of International Studies, Ambassador for International Security Affairs at the ROK Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, and Chairman of the Presidential Committee on Northeast Asian Cooperation Initiative, a cabinet-level post. He has published over 40 books and 230 articles in edited volumes and such scholarly journals as World Politics, International Studies Quarterly, and the World Development. His recent publications include The Sunshine Policy: In Defense of Engagement as a Path to Peace in Korea (Yonsei Univ. Press, 2012), Exploring China's Tomorrow (Samsung Economic Research Institute, 2010 in Korean, 2012 in Chinese), and the United States and Northeast Asia: Issues, Debates, and New Order (Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), co-edited with John Ikenberry. He attended the 2000 and 2007 North-South Korean summit as a special delegate. Dr. Moon served as a long-time policy advisor to South Korean government agencies such as the National Security Council of the Office of the President, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the Ministry of National Defense, and the Ministry of Unification. He was a fellow of the Woodrow Wilson International Center in Washington, D.C. He served as Vice President of the International Studies Association (ISA) of North America and president of the Korea Peace Research Association. He is currently a member of the Pacific Council on International Policy (Los Angeles), the Institute of International Strategic Studies (London), and fellow of the Club of Madrid. He is an ARF-EEP representing South Korea and served as co-chair of the first and second AFR-EEPs meetings in June 2006 and February 2007. He is a board member of the East Asia Foundation and The Asia Research Fund.





## **SHIN Eui Soon**

**Professor of Economics, Yonsei University**

Professor Eui-Soon Shin received Ph.D. in economics from the University of Washington in 1980 and has been with the School of Economics at Yonsei University since 1981. He visited Caltech, University of Hawaii, Brown University, and Harvard University as a visiting scholar. He also worked at the East-West Center and World Bank as a fellow and consultant. He was the president of the Korean Association for Resource Economics and the Association of Korean Economic Studies. He was a member of the Presidential Committee on Future and Vision and the Green Growth Committee. He established the Korean Association for Green Campus Initiative (KAGCI) in 2008.

(オブザーバー)



## **HONG Hyung Taek**

**Secretary General, East Asia Foundation; Associate Managing Editor,  
Global Asia**

Hyung Taek Hong is Secretary General at the East Asia Foundation (EAF) in Seoul, where he oversees planning and implementation of various programs and activities decided by the board of trustees of the EAF. He is also Associate Managing Editor of Global Asia, a quarterly publication of the EAF. He is a graduate of the Department of Political Science at Korea University in Seoul and holds an MA in political science from the University of Texas at Austin. From 1992 to 1997, he was a lecturer of Korean language at the Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures at Columbia University. Prior to joining the EAF in May 2005, he undertook advanced graduate studies in Political Science at Columbia University in the City of New York, majoring in comparative politics, international relations and Russian area studies.

## 6. 議事要旨

(日本語)

以下のサマリーは、韓国の East Asia Foundation で作成した英文サマリーを当財団で仮訳したものである。

### 平成 26 年度 日中韓協力ダイアログ サマリー (仮訳)

2014 年 11 月 13 日 (木)

ソウル

#### 歓迎の辞

East Asia Foundation の HONG Hyung Taek 事務局長が、会議の冒頭に日本、中国、韓国それぞれの代表を紹介した。

※中国、並びに韓国代表のスピーチは、英文サマリー Annex A に掲載

#### 国際経済交流財団 日下一正会長 挨拶 (要旨)

日下会長は、最初にこの第 1 回目の日中韓協力ダイアログの開催にあたり、韓国代表 GONG Ro-Myung 会長、中国代表 ZHANG Yunlin 教授、及びすべて参加者と聴衆、East Asia Foundation のスタッフ、そして韓国主催をサポートしてくれる National Research Council for Economics, Humanities and Social Sciences に謝辞を表した。次に、昨年 11 月に豪州キャンベラで開催した JEF Asia-Pacific Forum の際、公式行事の終了後に友人である中国と韓国からの出席者として、私たち 3 か国で対話ができないか相談し、それが East Asia Foundation の尽力で今年 3 月ソウルでの準備会合に繋がり、今日の立派な会議へと至った経緯を説明した。

日本の出席者 5 名の紹介を済ませたあと、日下会長は次の 5 点の討議ポイントと問題意識を提示した。

- 1) どんなに遥か遠く離れていても、世界中の国のすべては外交関係を通して互いに関係がある。私たち 3 か国においてもこの点は同じだが、私たちの関係はそれだけではなく、それを越え隣人として幅広い繋がりを共有している。しかしながら、私たちはそれに甘んじることなく、手入れの行われない芝生には雑草が生えることに注意を払うように、私たちの関係にも回復不能なダメージが生じる前に良好な関係を維持するために努力と育成が必要である。
- 2) 貿易、投資、経済、技術、エネルギー、環境など、それぞれの分野の専門家が私たちの地域のことにもっと関心を注ぎ、産・官・学という異なった立場から多様性を持って社会貢献し、集うことに意味がある。多様性の例として、日本では社会と経済の活性化を

支えるのは、女性のエンパワーメントを推進することが鍵だとみられている。同様に、限定された地域に特化した専門家だけでなく、できるだけ多様な専門知識をもつ多くの人々がプロセスに従事することがこれまでより重要である。

- 3) 多様性の異なる側面は世代的なものでもある。日本も長寿社会であり、年長者を敬う社会であると知られているが、もしシニア世代が若い世代を抑制しているようならば、私たちは将来のために種を蒔いていることにはならない。シニア世代の役割は、より若い世代が活躍できるように助けることである。私たちの対話も、若い世代への引継ぎの観点のみならず、異なる世代間の多様な利益が反映されるように、偏りのない世代間の代表で行われるべきである。若い世代が私たち地域の課題により高い関心を持つことが、この地域のダイナミズムを創り出すための推進力になると考える。
- 4) 今回のテーマ、貿易投資の自由化については、経済・社会・地域 (local community) ・中小企業がどのように対応してきたのか、成功事例と失敗事例から学ぶことが私たち地域の経済統合を進めていく上で必要なプロセスである。政府間の交渉担当者の発想と交渉上の対立点に目を奪われていると、水面の上に出ている氷山の一角を見ているのに過ぎない。実態の政治がどの様に利害関係者の抵抗を飲み込み、如何にその国が目指す社会実現のために FTA を活用し構造改革を進めてきているか、ダイナミズムな理解が私たち地域の成長戦略を成功に導くために必要である。変革に対する事前の懸念が杞憂に過ぎなかったというケースも明らかにされるであろう。
- 5) 地球温暖化に関する国連交渉会議、また様々な利害関係者間との国内調整に長く携わった経験上、環境問題についても、“環境”だけの切り口で見るのではなく、エネルギー、経済、そしてしばしばトレードオフの関係にある複数の政策目標の実現を可能にする技術革新、これらを総合的に見て取り組むことなしには問題解決に至らないと考える。今回は、二酸化炭素 (CO<sub>2</sub>) 問題でなく、大気汚染、水汚染という伝統的な公害問題に焦点を当て、それぞれの国において今までの取り組み、教訓がある。各分野の専門家、国ごとに分かれた専門家と分断されていて解決できなかったことが、これらを共有し、協力することで解決可能になることを期待する。

## セッション 1：自由貿易協定 (FTA) の政治経済学

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### モデレーター

【中国】ZHANG Yunling (ジャン・ユンリン氏)

**Professor and Director of International Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)**

FTA は市場や企業についての経済案件だが背景に政治がある。中韓 FTA も交渉中は課題が山積み、提案から妥結までに 10 年を要す等両国首脳とも FTA 交渉を進める際の意思決定には苦慮した。FTA プロセスに対する一般市民の理解を促すには、政治の他に強力な社会的要因も必要だ。政府間交渉について一般市民の認知は低く、何がどうなり、自分たちにどう影響するのか知らない。北京でアジア太平洋経済共同体 (APEC) 会議が開催された折に

中国のテレビ局の取材を受け、中国人がアジア太平洋自由貿易圏（FTAAP）から得る恩恵は何かと質問された。私は、実現はまだまだ先と答えたが、人々の関心は高いようだ。

#### パネリスト

【中国】QU Bo（チュイ・ボー氏）

**Associate Professor and Deputy Director of the Institute of International Relations,  
China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU)**

経済協定と北東アジア地域の安全保障問題とを結びつけつつ、FTA の政治側面に注目しながら同地域の FTA 交渉の根底にある政治的な論理を見つけ出すとの観点から、以下の発表があった。

東アジア地域の FTA 拡大はこの 10 年程の現象であるにも関わらず、妥結した FTA はこれまで 100 以上にものぼる。FTA は以前と比べてより制度化され、ルールに基づいた協定、ハイレベルでの条約となっているが、理にかなっていないと考えている。1960 年代以降、東アジア経済は正式な協定ではなく、米国との同盟体制のような非公式な協定や日本の多国籍企業活動や華僑ビジネスの海外での繋がりといった形での統合が見られている。それにも拘らず、なぜ FTA は拡大しているのか。相互依存的な貿易の自然的な発展、グローバルな貿易協定の失敗、世界に広がる地域間の競争、パワー・ポリティクスなど、理由は様々である。

安全保障と FTA の力学という観点から、この 30 年間で新しい現実の台頭を目の当たりにしてきた。中国が経済規模で日本を抜き、世界第 2 位の経済大国となった。こうした新しい状況にどのように対応すべきか、また安全保障にどのような影響があるかを検証しなければならない。世界経済は中国の経済成長に大きな役割を果たした。貿易が経済成長を促したのだ。しかし諸外国は、中国の経済成長が諸外国への脅威になるのであれば、中国の貿易への参加を抑制、限定することもできた。東アジアの FTA の拡大の背景にはこうした経済潮流の安全保障への影響についての考え方が存在する。

大国（great powers）の見方について論じたい。東アジア地域では FTAAP の他に米国主導の環太平洋パートナーシップ協定（TPP）や東アジア地域包括的経済連携協定（RCEP）といった交渉中の貿易自由化の枠組みが存在する。大国は貿易協定を戦略的に妥結しており、これは経済的な恩恵のみならず、安全保障や政治面からもその役割を見捉えていることによる。FTA の性質は市場アクセスへの優遇措置である。FTA に署名することで自国市場への特恵アクセスを供与することであるから、中国の参加していない TPP に米国が署名することは米国市場への中国のアクセスを制限することだと見ることもできる。

日中韓 FTA については、中韓 FTA が 3 か国間 FTA 交渉を進める大きな後押しとなる。日中韓 FTA は経済の相互依存を高め、自由貿易の恩恵を享受することで政治関係を改善するための対話を後押しするものとなる。自由貿易協定は 3 カ間の信頼性を高め、相互信頼の関係を築くこと繋がる。他国に経済的に依存しているのであれば、信頼関係を重視し、関係改善に真剣に取り組むものである。

【中国】SHEN Minghui（シェン・ミンホイ氏）

Associate Professor and Director of the Research Division of National Institute of International Strategy, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)

東アジアの FTA と中国の課題について次の発表があった。

アジア太平洋地域の中で、とりわけ東アジア諸国が締結している FTA の数が 2001 年以降急増している。中国は対 ASEAN の FTA をはじめ、他の 8 つの FTA プロセスに当初から関わっている。しかし、地域経済のハブ拠点争いのための FTA 交渉の増加は、東アジアの経済活力上重要な生産ネットワークにむしろ打撃を与えていることに気づき始めた。例えば、「スパゲッティボール」（あるいはアジア麺）効果といった障壁が生じ、いくつもの重複する FTA があるためにひとつの商品が異なる関税率、関税削減軌道、特惠取得のための原産地規制（ROO）の対象となっている。

FTA が増えることで国際貿易システムは混乱状態になる可能性があり、煩雑な事務手続きや通関業務のため取引費用もかさむ。中国社会科学院はアジア開発銀行研究所（ADB I）とアジア開発銀行（ADB）の助成により、2008 年から 2009 年にかけて調査を実施し、その結果、最も活用されているのが ASEAN-中国 FTA であることがわかった。活用率は 29%、つまり 100 社中、29 社近くが最低でも年 1 回は ASEAN-中国 FTA の特惠関税を活用したという結果であった。FTA についての情報が少ないために FTA を知らない企業も多く、活用率は低い。また FTA の特惠関税率と最恵国待遇関税率の差異がわずかということや原産国証明書の取得にかかる企業の費用も活用率の低さに影響している。

翌 2010 年に実施された同様な調査でも ASEAN-中国 FTA の活用率がもっとも高く、また、29%から 35%へと上昇していた。金融危機の影響や中国商務部主導の広報活動の結果である。商務部は 1 年かけて FTA についての情報を中国国内に周知し、企業が FTA を活用することを推進した。しかし活用率は依然低く、それは中国の FTA 相手に主要貿易相手国がないことが原因と考えられる。米国、EU、日本、韓国のいずれとも中国はまだ FTA を妥結していない。その間、中国の貿易相手国はメガ FTA 交渉に乗り出し、TPP、TTIP、TISA、日-EU FTA、日-EU EPA 等において東アジアワイドや世界共通のルール作りに乗り出している。だが中国はこうしたメガ FTA と無関係のままである。

メガ FTA に参加する場合に中国が直面する課題を考えると、メガ FTA に参加したり、TPP に取り組んだりする前に、中国は先ずは米国と二国間の投資協定交渉を開始することが最善策だろう。日中韓 FTA も、貿易ルール作りにも追いつくことができ、日本市場へのアクセスも可能になることから極めて重要である。しかしこうした FTA を遂行するための包括的な戦略が中国にはない。中国はこれまでは主に、市場アクセスに特化した伝統的な FTA を求めていた。しかし現在交渉中である TPP の潜在的な影響や圧力に鑑み、中国も FTA への態度を変え始めている。

中国は、内国民待遇とネガティブリスト方式というアプローチを基本とした米国との BIT（二国間投資条約）交渉に同意した。また中韓 FTA 交渉でもまとまった成果が達成されている。サービスや投資の分野での今後の交渉において内国民待遇とネガティブリスト方式を採用することが初めて合意されたのだ。残る課題は日中韓 FTA の進展だ。中韓 FTA 交渉が合意に達したことからそろそろ日中韓 FTA 交渉を開始すべき時期であり、中韓 FTA は

今後の日中韓交渉の良い基盤となる。現在交渉中である TPP は、中国にはプレッシャーとなるだろうがそれは中国にとって良いことであり、TPP が成功裏に締結されれば、日中韓 FTA が前進する良いインセンティブとなろう。

**【中国】ZHU Caihua（ジュウ・ツァイホウ女史）**

**Professor and Dean of School of International Economics, China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU)**

日中韓の政治関係と経済関係における二元性パラドックスについて以下の発表があった。

日中韓 FTA は東アジア地域全体、中でも北東アジア地域にとっても 3 か国にとっても重要であり、地域統合を進め、地域の政治的安定を図る際にも要となることを確信している。日中韓の 3 か国は経済的互惠関係については固い信念が揺らがない一方で、政治的な信頼関係は欠如しており、懸念される。こうした二元性パラドックスは東アジアの入り組んだ FTA 事情で説明できる。すなわち、東アジアの地域統合を主導しているのは地域の GDP の 85%を占める日中韓 3 か国ではなく、残りの 15%を占める ASEAN だということである。東アジアではこれまで ASEAN10+1、ASEAN10+3 といった多くの二国間、複数国間 FTA が妥結されているがとりわけ ASEAN と RCEP に注目する必要がある。ASEAN のみが主導する ASEAN 中心主義が ASEAN の特徴である。北東アジアにおける二国間あるいは三国間 FTA が不在な一方で、日中韓経済が東アジアの地域協力の核を構築していることは疑いもなく、RCEP が近い将来大きく進展するとは考えにくい。

もうひとつの二元性は、各国内の産業に存在する。理論上、貿易の自由化によって恩恵を受ける産業と敗退する産業が出てくる。例えば日本と韓国では鉄鋼業、運輸機械製造業、自動車産業、電機機器産業は恩恵を受けるものの、農業や中小企業は FTA に反対である。中国も FTA 交渉において同じジレンマに直面している。中国は日本と韓国に比べれば農産物の比較優位を維持してはいるが、鉄鋼、機械、化学品、自動車、更には繊維において劣勢である。中国のサービス分野も課題がある。投資、政府調達、知的財産権、環境、労働問題も課題になっている。それらは中国ではより一層の国内改革を要する。こうした 2 つの二元性パラドックスに直面する日本と中国と韓国は日中韓 FTA を練り上げていくために多分野でより一層の努力をしなければならない。

二元性を克服するためには日中韓それぞれの二国間関係の改善が必要だ。中国と日本は最近、日中関係を改善し外交・安保対話を再開するための 4 項目に合意した。これは大変良い兆しではあるが、氷がほんの少し溶けただけだ。双方の国で適切な社会セーフティネットを確立する必要がある。自由貿易は国全体にとっては好ましいかもしれないが、産業間での損得配分が公平でない。国を発展させるための手段として FTA 活用するのであれば、FTA で排除される人々からの強い反対を避けるためにも、FTA 合意によって苦しむこととなる人々のための社会セーフティネットを確立する必要がある。また、物理的、制度的、更には人と人との交流といった連結性の達成に優先的に取り組むべきである。

今回の APEC サミットでは、参加国が 2025 年までに東アジアの物理的、制度的、人的連結性を強化するという目標を設定している。この目標が達成されれば、APEC 域内での経済活動を今よりも 25% 安く、早く、容易に行うことができるようになる。APEC 会議ではシルク・ロード基金への 400 億ドルの出資に中国がコミットした。また、中国は他の 21 か国と共同でアジアインフラ投資銀行の設立を準備している。残念ながら近隣の日本と韓国は創立参加国ではないが、日本と韓国も中国やその他諸国と共に東アジア地域との連結性のため、更には東アジアのより良い将来のために財政・技術支援提供を行うべきだ。

### 【日本】深川 由起子女史

#### ケンブリッジ大学経済開発センター・アジア中東学部 客員研究員

日中韓 FTA について強調すべきポイントとして、先ず次の 3 点の発表があった。

- ① FTA は主要経済事項や政治関心事を反映して、既にそれぞれが多様である。したがって、日中韓 FTA はこうした多様性の調整が役割となる。
- ② FTA は終着点ではなく、より良い成長と社会保障のための手段である。世界経済が成長し続けていた間は FTA を締結しさえすれば自動的により良い結果を享受できるという楽観的な期待が多かった。しかし、実際は産業調整や改革なくして自動的に良い結果はもたらされない。他方で、FTA を締結すれば、いずれ良い結果がもたらされるというコンセンサスは一般市民の間に築かなければならない。
- ③ 日中韓 FTA は ASEAN、TPP、RCEP 等の異なる協定、多国間アプローチの進展と矛盾があってはならない。

日中韓 FTA が遅れを取っている背景には政治的な制約と、経済面での多様な利害を反映した重点面での差異が各国間にある。また、日中韓は経済規模がそれぞれに大きく、単独でも支障はないのである。これと比べて ASEAN は各国が小規模のため結束することで諸外国からの直接投資をより上手く招致できるようになるという共通認識を有している。日中韓の場合、かつて中国は海外からの直接投資を歓迎していた一方で、日本と韓国は 20 世紀の GATT 型産業化プロセスを重視してきた。「外国企業は所詮外国の企業であり、我々には自国の企業が必要だ」という考え方があった。背景にあるのは主権問題であり、産業政策という伝統がある。輸出が好ましく、輸入は好ましくない、したがって外国企業と競争しなければならないという考え方にとらわれがちである。

こうした構造的な要因の他、日中韓にはそれぞれの多様な経済面での関心事項がある。現在、日本の経済の大部分をアウトソーシングが占める。アベノミクスが本格稼働し、円安となっても輸出が伸びないのはそのためだ。また日本の貿易の中心は企業内貿易であり、貿易自体より海外直接投資への関心が高い。そのため、日本はより包括的かつ多国間の枠組みやルール作り、共通項重視の FTA に固執している。他方、韓国の関心事は日本とは異なる。韓国は輸出主導経済により金融危機を脱した。また、北東アジアの FTA のハブ拠点となることを望んでいる。中国はといえば、資源安全保障に必死のようだ。そのため中国は資源が豊富な国々との FTA を模索している。同時に、過去の貿易摩擦の解消も目指している。FTA は中国が抱える多くの貿易紛争を乗り越えるに相応しい交渉プロセスのようだ。

中韓 FTA が合意に達しおり、TPP も来年初めに合意に達すれば、日中韓 FTA を今後どのように形成していくか再考が必要となる。そこでまずは、韓国、特に韓国のジャーナリズムは、日本がもはやそれほど韓国との競争には熱心でない点を理解する必要がある。日本は直接投資を介して各国でのプレゼンスを高めている。そのため、多くの FTA を締結している隣国であっても、日本企業にとっては競争相手ではなくパートナーが存在するのである。もちろん、日本国内での価値創造や雇用の創出に繋がらないというマイナス面はあるが、日本の FTA のポートフォリオはバランスが取れているので、中国への依存度は高くない。

FTA は成長戦略の一部であることからして、一般市民にそれを理解してもらい、世論の一致を築く必要がある。他方、企業の関心事項と国のマクロ経済の関心事項とは乖離しがちである。日本企業の海外進出を止めることはできないので、日本の FTA アジェンダは日本の地理的な優位性を改善することである。一方、韓国のアジェンダは雇用機会の創出である。韓国企業は FTA の枠組み内で業績を伸ばしているが、必ずしも持続可能な程度の雇用創出に結びついていない。韓国は輸出、雇用創出、国内消費拡大の連鎖を創り出さなければならない。中国は 2009 年の世界的な金融危機の対応策として実施した大規模な財政出動後の構造改革のまだ途中である。中国の経済構造の質的転換のためにも FTA は健全な外圧となるだろう。

現在、様々な多国間交渉が実施されている。韓国と日本、最近では中国といった国々も情報技術協定 (ITA) のような WTO プラス・アプローチに関心を示している。ITA により、IT 機器に新しい関税は課せられることはほとんど無い。最近中国も参加に同意したところである。このように日中韓間の貿易における国家主権介入を最小限に留めるための良い代替アプローチであろう。

## 【日本】塩田 誠氏

### 独立行政法人中小企業基盤整備機構 副理事長

中小企業は日本の企業数の 99%以上を占め、日本の雇用者の 3 分の 2 が勤務し、国内で産み出される付加価値の 50%以上を産み出すことから、日本の経済活動の非常に大きな比重を占めていると述べ、日本の中小企業について以下の発表があった。

日本の中小企業は海外進出に熱心である。日本には多くのセンシティブな農業分野がある。しかし全体的に中小企業は海外での事業に前向き、あるいは切望している。海外への関心はビジネスのタイプによる。地元生産・地元販売の国内事業に拘る中小企業もある一方、最近では外向きの企業活動も増えてきた。「地元からグローバルへ」事業であり、地元生産、海外販売である。中小企業の輸出額は 10%に留まるが、今後改善の余地が大きい。

域内貿易の重要性については、事業モデルの多様性にもよるが伝統的には日本の中小企業は日本で部品を製造し、それらが用いられた完成製品が輸出されるというビジネスモデルに特化してきた。近年、中小企業は部品を中国や韓国へ輸出している。それらが用いられて現地で組み立てられ、更に第三国へ輸出されており、高度なビジネスモデルとなっている。また、中国、日本、韓国から輸出された部品が別の国で組み立てられ、中国、日本、あるいは韓国へ逆輸入されるというメカニズムもある。日本の中小企業が中国や韓国から輸



出されてくる部品を別の国で組み立て、更に第三国市場へ輸出するモデルもある。こうした事業モデルの変化に伴い、域内での協力の可能性が出てくる。日本の中小企業は中国や韓国などの海外で直接投資や事業展開を行い、その国に経済的な恩恵をもたらすことを好む。

最後に東アジアの中小企業が海外で直面し得る困難にどう対応していくのかという点について、中小企業には資金、人材、情報というリソース面の制約がある。しかし、中小企業は迅速に意思決定を下すことができる。「グローバル・ニッチ・トップ」と呼ばれる企業群があり、グローバルに競争するには産業規模や企業規模が十分でない場合でも、特定の製品分野で国際的にトップレベルのパフォーマンスを示す中小企業が日本にもある。先述のとおり、中小企業の資源は限られており、ROO や HS コードといった面倒な手続きを回避したい、また域内の知的財産権保護が十分なレベルに達することを望んでいる。中小企業は、こうしたプロセスや東アジア地域の情報ハブに関する詳細な情報入手を求めている。

#### 【日本】浦田 秀次郎氏

##### 早稲田大学大学院アジア太平洋研究科 教授

FTA が日本に与えるプラスとマイナスの影響について次のとおり発表があった。

FTA や貿易自由化の日本の反対派は、FTA が輸入の増加につながり、結果として国内生産の減少を引き起こし、失業をもたらすと主張する。また、FTA により農業生産が減少し、日本の経済と社会に大きくマイナスに影響すると主張している。農業が環境と景観の保全、文化維持、農村経済保護、食糧安全保障の面で日本経済と社会に多様な恩恵をもたらしているという理由からだ。FTA 反対派が主張するマイナス影響は、政府によって適切な政策が実行されない場合には現実となる。しかし、段階的な関税削減、社会セーフティネット要項といった適切な政策を適用すればマイナス効果は回避、もしくは軽減することができる。保護政策を維持することが最適な政策ではないことに気づくことが肝要だ。文化や環境の保護という観点であれば貿易政策ではなく文化や環境保護への直接補助金政策を採用すべきだ。

FTA には様々な恩恵がある。消費者はより安価で多様な商品を購入することができる。更に貿易自由化と FTA は労働資本のような生産資源を競争力の低い部門から競争力の高い部門へとシフトさせ、成長メカニズムを動かすこととなる。こうした成長メカニズムを実現、あるいは稼働させようとする政策担当者の課題は、いかに費用をかけずに転換を行うかである。この点から、国内向けの政策を改革することが非常に重要となってくる。

FTA の恩恵は貿易の自由化のみならず、経済のルール作りにもある。知的財産権、競争政策、政府調達等のルール設定は企業に恩恵をもたらす。

日本の農業は一般的に競争力の低い部門であると認識されているが、農業には様々な産品や分野がある。日本の牛肉の一部は競争力が高いが価格も高いことで有名だ。日本市場を開放することで海外への輸出を拡大することの重要性に農業関係者も気づかされる。

**【韓国】CHOO Mi-Ae（チュ・ミエ女史）**

**Member of the 19th National Assembly Republic of Korea, New Politics Alliance for  
Democracy Party / Trade, Industry and Energy Committee**

ジュウ・ツアイホウ（ZHU Caihua）教授の観点と FTA の二元性パラドックスに同感であり、FTA は大企業の繁栄には良い仕組みかもしれないが、社会保障にとっては良い仕組みではないと述べ、FTA について次の 3 点について発表があった。

- ① 勝者と敗者は誰か、成長と社会保障への効果— 丁度中韓 FTA が合意されたタイミングとなっているところであるが、これまでの FTA の効果を見るに、韓国と FTA 相手国との貿易量は韓国の総貿易量の 61%を占めるまでに上昇したが、残念ながら韓国・チリ FTA、韓国・EUFTA では共に締結前の韓国の貿易黒字から既に貿易赤字に転じている。米韓 FTA ではこの 2 年間の対米輸出は 5.4%増加している。しかし、FTA 対象外の製品の輸出がこれを上回る 5.7%で増加している。因みに、FTA 対象国の輸出増加は 4.9%でしかなかった。また、予想外の副作用にも苦しんだ。FTA の数を増やす一方、FTA で競争力を失った産業の労働者への影響を考慮しない政府に対して批判もあった。端的に言えば、政府が言うほど韓国にとって FTA はバラ色ではなく、FTA は両刃の刃のようである。
- ② 政府の対応、代償措置の課題と限界— 韓国の貿易自由化プロセスの最大の被害者は農業だ。農業市場開放の副作用に備えるため、韓国政府は農業法人を育成する政策を打ち出した。大規模農業を奨励することで規模の経済性と農業の競争力を高めることを意図したのだ。しかし、こうした政策は農村部において都市部の中よりも所得格差を拡大させ、農村部の高齢化を助長した。更に悪いことには、農民に割り当てられた米の補助金を巡って巨大違法社会スキャンダルも起きてしまった。貧弱な政府の政策では韓国農村部の農業競争力を改善することはできず、OECD 諸国の中でいまだ最底辺にいる。
- ③ 長期効果、経済的、政治的、社会的影響— 周知のとおり FTA は競争優位性論に基づく。比較優位性は低いが農業は重要な公共財である。競争優位性論だけでは測ることのできない、食糧安全保障、国土管理、環境保全、生態系保全といった農業の多面的な価値に新しく光を当てるべきだ。このことで持続的な成長は保証される。自由貿易を守ることとも大事だが、農業の存続を諦めてはいけない。二者択一でなく、いずれの目標も同時に達成できる。しかし韓国政府はまだこうした考え方を十分に認識できていない。中韓 FTA についての政府報告書によれば、農産物の市場開放は 40%に留まるとしている。しかし脆弱な韓国の農業が悪化するのには時間の問題だ。政府は農民の声を単に、苦境に陥った一部の農家の抵抗としか捉えておらず、短期的な対策を施しているだけで農業の競争力向上や環境保護についての長期戦略に至っていない。したがって、韓国政府は持続的な成長を確保するには、現在の FTA の概念的な枠組みから脱け出さなければならない。

【韓国】 KIL Jeong-Woo (キル・ジョンウ氏)

Member of the 19th National Assembly, Republic of Korea, Saenuri Party / Trade, Industry and Energy Committee

FTA や環境課題について、東アジアの国々としての観点ではなく、グローバルな観点から議論するのが望ましいと述べ、例えば米国や EU 諸国等、他国や他地域が日中韓の貿易に限らず環境等の非政治的課題に向けた協力についてどう捉えているか、また日中韓 FTA における韓国の役割について次のとおり発表した。

WTO や EU 委員会には時々出張することがあり、そうした国際機関の立場から日中韓協力を見ると、中国、日本、韓国ともそれぞれの国際経済における重要性を過小評価しすぎていることに気づく。あらゆる側面、特に経済課題における日中韓の重大性、重要性を認識する必要がある、これがアジア・パラドックスである。更に統合を深めていかなければならないが、そうしたことから軋轢も生じる。すなわち、協力の余地が大きければ大きい程、領土問題や歴史問題といった他の課題での対立も広がることを理解し、認識したほうがよい。

FTA の重要性が国際的にも重視されており、米国と EU 間の TTIP (環大西洋貿易投資パートナーシップ) が最終合意に向け調整中であり、また米国主導の TPP も来年には合意される予定だ。これまで FTA は価値観を共有する国同士の貿易協定だと言われてきたが、今後はそうでなくなる。経済協力関係の政治的側面、安全保障側面を無視してはならない。日中韓協定が提案された当初、各国が真の恩恵の実現に向けてどれだけ真剣に議論し、また、互惠関係のためにどれだけ真剣に取り組めるのかやや懐疑的であった。数日前に中韓 FTA が合意に達したとの発表があったが、日中韓 FTA の最終段階に向けたモメンタムとはならない。中韓 FTA は生煮えの協定であり、ローレベルの合意である。現実を細かく分析する真剣さが求められる。

韓国政府の関心が中韓 FTA から TPP へと移行していることもまた現実であり、貿易課題について政府のロードマップの次のステップは TPP へと移行することだろう。TPP の経済効果は日米 FTA と似ている。米国と EU は TTIP の最終合意段階にもある。日本と EU も EPA を交渉中である。韓国は既に米国とも EU とも FTA に合意している。日本は EU と交渉中かつ米国主導の TPP のれっきとした参加国である。では日本と韓国は日中韓 FTA からどのような経済効果を期待しているのだろうか。現実的に考えるべきだ。

韓国政府は日本との FTA 対話を再開する予定であり、おそらく同時に日中韓 FTA 対話も再開できるだろう。しかし FTA 合意に向けた日韓対話は日中韓 FTA 最終段階に向けた導入と捉えるのが現実的だ。そこで、中国の参加者への質問だが、「なぜ中国は米国との FTA や TTIP を提案しないのか？」を投げかけたい。望みは薄いかもしれないが、東アジアにとってモメンタムとなると考えたい。また、各専門家には、日中韓 FTA は RCEP を牽引するのかあるいはその逆となるのか、質問したい。日中韓 FTA が真に必要であれば ASEAN 諸国と中国が主導している RCEP の最終調整に韓国が一役買うべきだろう。そして自由貿易協定で被害を受ける可能性のある国内課題に前向きに対処しなければならず、国内世論を注視しなければならない。安定平和なくして東アジアの国々の持続的な経済繁栄が保証されることはない点についても合意すべきだ。

**【韓国】 AHN Choong Yong (アン・チュンヨン氏)**

**Chairman, Korean Commission on Corporate Partnership / Distinguished Professor,  
Graduate School of International Studies, Chung-Ang University**

中国、日本、韓国がそれぞれにグローバルな製造拠点であり、3か国の経済的繋がりを強化すれば、それぞれの経済目標の達成が可能である。日中韓は労働市場の成長に対応できるくらいに成長を続けられる。自由貿易協定が不在でも日中韓には国境を超えたサプライチェーンが存在していると述べ、日中韓 FTA 協力が下支えとなる日中韓の経済回復について次の3点の分析を指摘した。

- ① 日中間の経済的、政治的主導権を巡る対立、その延長線上でその先に起こり得る米国と中国の対立
- ② 今後米国がどのようにアジア政策への転換を作り上げていくのか
- ③ 韓国が経済面での費用と効果や南北の統一問題を考慮しながらいかに貿易戦略を策定するのか

韓国と中国は既に二国間 FTA に合意した。他方、TPP と RCEP の2つの地域メガ貿易交渉が協議中である。TPP は21世紀に向けた新しい貿易ルール作りを目指しており、伝統的な貿易自由化課題を考慮しつつ、知的財産権、衛生植物検疫措置の適用について等、更に新規の基準にまで踏み込んでいる。RCEP は統合市場を目指している。TPP は RCEP より広い範囲、視野を持ち、包括的かつハイレベルを目指している。

米国が目論んでいる TPP と、中国が前向きな RCEP との間で激しい主導権争いが起きている。TPP と RCEP 双方に参加している国が7か国あることから、TPP と RCEP はいずれ互いの基本的な貿易ルールや原則の合意を図らなければならない。また、そうすることで米国と中国との間の主導権争いだという俗論を黙らすこともできる。中国と米国は二国間投資条約を交渉中であり、中国では米中 FTA 交渉に前向きな意見も出ている。また、米国でも中国が参加基準を満たす準備が出来次第、中国の TPP 参加を歓迎するとの発言があった。これら2つのメガ貿易協定が今後収斂するような環境作りに努めるべきだ。

こうした観点から、韓国がなぜ中国との FTA 交渉に乗り出したかを見てみると、現在韓国の最大の貿易相手国は中国であり、韓国と中国との間の貿易量は、韓国の対日本・米国総貿易量をはるかに上回る。韓国と中国との貿易の繋がりは非常に重要である。更に中国は韓国最大の直接投資先である。また韓国の安全保障面、特に北朝鮮の核野望の対処において、中国は極めて戦略的かつ影響力の大きいパートナー国であり、こうした要因から、韓国は中国との二国間 FTA に取り組んだ。中韓 FTA の合意は日中韓 FTA のみならず、RCEP や TPP にも大きなモメンタムを与えることから大変喜ばしい。韓国は米韓 FTA 妥結後に TPP 参加を要請されたのだが、中韓 FTA 交渉中であることから参加が遅れ、TPP 創設参加国となる機会を失った。その後、韓国は TPP への参加意欲を表明し、現在、12の参加国との二国間協議を進めている。韓国が今後、TPP の創設12か国が合意する基本枠組みに参加できることを期待する。そうすれば韓国は TPP、RCEP、日中韓 FTA を結びつける要となり、それに向けて独自の役割と権限を活用できる。

中韓 FTA は両国の経済管理システムの向上に寄与でき、特に国営企業や国営銀行が中心の中国の市場経済システムにおいてその役割を果たすことができる。民間部門が経済の

圧倒的多数となる真の経済システムへ中国が調和する必要があり、中国の経済管理システムの向上が資本主義市場経済の基本原理に沿ったものであることを期待する。

自由貿易協定は物語のほんの始まりである。相互のクロスボーダーな直接投資を如何にして増やすかに注力すべきである。日中韓の貿易の流れを見ると、多くの場合が日本から韓国、日本から中国、あるいは韓国から中国、と一方通行である。韓国から中国、あるいは中国から韓国、日本といった貿易と逆方向の直接投資が望まれる。そうでないと日中韓の経済協力は生煮えである。

FTA や投資協定の他、日中間地域内の観光促進により草の根レベルで相互理解を深めること提唱したい。自由航空協定の早期版を導入し、例えば、韓国の航空会社がソウルから日本や中国の各都市へ飛ぶことができれば、3 か国の低所得層の人々も観光でお互いに都市を訪れることができる。

中国が提案している AIIB について、シルク・ロード沿いに大きな投資機会が存在し、中国は既に吉林、ハサン（ロシア）、図們江地域の共同開発プロジェクトを提案している。このプロジェクトは、北朝鮮を北東アジアで進行中の協力活動に引き込むきっかけとなることができる。しかし、AIIB は金融機関としての銀行統治と発行株式数の配分の国際基準を満たさなければならない。中国が発行株式の 50%以上を要求するのであれば、新たな参加国は見込めないだろう。更に貸付を管理する統治システムの透明性確保も重要である。統治と透明性において、中国が国際基準を採用することを期待する。

結論として、一番大事なものは、日中韓を含む東アジア経済が相互に信頼関係を構築するための基盤を築くことである。草の根レベルでの信頼関係を構築することは、いずれ日中韓の政治主導者間の空気に変化をもたらすであろう。

#### 【韓国】AHN Dukgeun（アン・トックン氏）

**Associate Dean of International Affairs / Professor, GSIS, Seoul National University**

TPP 交渉、ASEAN 中心の RCEP 交渉、日中韓交渉、TTIP（環大西洋貿易投資パートナーシップ）交渉がそれぞれに進行中で、アジア太平洋自由貿易圏（FTAAP）が直近の APEC 会議で取り上げられたこともあり、こうしたすべての貿易交渉が、EU 諸国以外の多くの国々（ロシアも含む）を巻き込んだ形で進んでいることがわかると述べ、グローバルな貿易交渉の動き、日中韓 FTA と TPP について次のとおり発表した。

近年、グローバル・サプライ・チェーンについての言及が多いが、最も統合が進んでいる経済体が北米自由貿易協定（NAFTA）である。10 年ほど前にはカナダとメキシコから米国に向けた輸出のための仕組みであり、最も統合されたグローバル・サプライ・チェーンであった。今日では、NAFTA は拡大を試みており、ベトナム、チリ、ペルー、日本といった生産拠点を巻き込もうとしている。TTIP は米国と EU との間の二国関係に焦点を当てているが、EU は 2000 年に既にメキシコと FTA を結んでいる。先月、カナダは韓国と FTA 協定を合意しているが、同時に EU との FTA も合意している。NAFTA 圏全体との統合は、その一部である米国だけでなく EU との間でも進んでおり、これが現実の動きである。

キル・ジョンウ議員の説明にもあるとおり、日本は EU との二国間 FTA の交渉を既に開始している。注目に値する FTA に TISA（サービス貿易協定）がある。これは当初ドーハラウンドのサービス市場自由化交渉の一環とされていたが、米国はこの交渉を放棄してしまった。現在は、共通の意識を持つ国々がサービスに特化した FTA を TISA という名の元で進めようとしているが、TISA 参加国は EU、TPP 諸国、韓国、台湾である。こうした経済圏に含まれない国は中国、ASEAN、ブラジル、インド、ロシアだ。こうした新興国はこのような次世紀型経済統合には参加できず、この点からも日中韓 FTA は非常に重要である。

本セッションで政治、経済両方の力学の重要性が強調されてきたが、産業の垂直的かつ水平的な再構築の観点からは、恣意的な歪曲を防ぐことが非常に重要だ。だが可能だろうか？日中韓 FTA は来年、最も重要な貿易政策上の協議事項となる。来年早々に TPP 交渉が決着すれば、我々は日中韓交渉に更に真剣に取り組むことができるが、TPP 交渉が決裂した場合には日本がすべての責任を負うこととなる。そうなれば、地域の経済統合を進める日中韓 FTA 対話に日本は参加できるのか？それは難しいだろう。TPP 交渉が来年なんらかの意味のある進展を見せない場合、日中韓 FTA の進展については悲観的である。

韓国が TPP 交渉に参加するという展望もある。韓国は TPP 参加の意思を既に表明している。あとはタイミングの問題だ。基本的に米国政府は、韓国に対して草案が終わるまで署名の待機を指示している。残念ながら、米の市場問題の影響でタイミングは今が最悪である。韓国では米の関税制度が導入されたばかりで、来年から 513% の関税が発動する。米の関税導入はこの 20 年近く延期されており、来年新しい関税制度が導入される予定なのだ。TPP 交渉では、日本は米の関税を撤廃はしないまでも切り下げると聞いている。韓国が TPP 交渉に参加する場合は同様に米の関税切り下げが必要となるということだ。もしも韓国の関税導入が更に延びる、あるいは TPP 参加がもう少し早ければ、韓国の状況はもっと良かったであろう。商業的、経済的には大きな問題はないが、政治的には韓国議会や政府が、TPP におけるこの難解なパズルを解けるかどうか疑問である。

## ランチョン

※CHOO Mi-Ae 女史のスピーチは、英文サマリー [Annex B](#) に掲載

## セッション 2：北東アジアの環境問題と日中韓協力

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### モデレーター

【韓国】KIM Sang-Hyup（キム・サンヒュップ氏）

Visiting Professor, Graduate School of Green Growth, KAIST / Chairman, Coalition for Our Common Future

オバマ大統領と習近平国家主席は温室効果ガス排出についてより踏み込んで取り組むことに合意し、特に習金平主席は 2030 年までの排出量に上限を設定することを確約している。世界で排出量の最も大きいこの両国だけで世界の温室効果ガス排出量の 45% 以上を占

めるが、中国、日本、韓国は世界で最も重要な集合体である。日中韓は、その総経済規模が世界の GDP の 20% 以上であり、エネルギー消費は世界の約の 25%、二酸化炭素排出量は約 35% を占めており、経済や貿易のみならず、環境・気候変動問題においても重要である。環境問題には国境がないと言われており、また右派左派を超えた共同体という意識を持ち得る課題であり日中韓の協働が正当化される。基本的に日中韓の環境問題は政治的に低い関心事と捉えられており、協力や連携が容易であると述べた。

#### パネリスト

【中国】HUAN Qingzhi (ホワン・チーンジー氏)

Professor, School of Marxism, Peking University

環境保護協力という分野において過去の事例から学ぶことが必要であると述べ、次の発表があった。

この 20 年の間に、地域統合という観点からヨーロッパで何が起こったかをみると、現在世界でもっとも統合の進んだ国際的、あるいは超国家機構は欧州連合 (EU) の設立である。EU 設立の根幹をなす基本理論は「新機能主義理論」だ。機能的な必要性が超国家機構の設立をもたらすというのがこの理論の基本的な考え方であり、市民の帰属意識や忠誠心は徐々に国から超国家へと移行していくこととなる。欧州の経験でこの理論を証明、確認できたと言える。問題は、「日中韓協力、あるいは北東アジア協力におけるこの理論の妥当性」、「超国家的な、あるいは国境を超えた課題をどのように見極めるのか」である。

狭義の超国家的な環境面での争点や国境を超えた環境面での争点は、マイナスの影響を包括的に地域にもたらす環境問題を指すと考えられ、例として中国の砂嵐や霧、もやの問題、2012 年の日本の原発事故が挙げられる。広義で考えると国境を超えた環境面での争点は地域に新しい機会を提供するものと考えられ、全ての国が享受できる共通の恩恵をもたらし、統合地域の創生につながる。

北東アジアの組織的な環境協力の可能性と展望については、現在 3 つの組織・メカニズム (仕組み) が存在する。ひとつは日中韓 3 か国環境大臣会合 (TEMU)。1999 年より閣僚会議が毎年開催されているが、単なる政策対話メカニズムとなっており、これを協力システムあるいは協力組織に昇格する必要がある。北東アジア環境協力プログラム (NEASPEC) などいくつかの地域協力メカニズムもあるが、こうしたどのメカニズムも調整と資源の面で課題を抱えている。またそれ以上に問題なのは、政府以外に参加機関がなく、他の機関も協力者として招かれていないために地域全体で共有できる政策コンセンサスを得られないのだ。また、ASEAN+3 や APEC のようなメカニズムは経済課題に特化しており環境問題は取り上げない。

結びに次の 3 点の政策を提案したい。

- ① TEMU の下に独立した組織・事務局と常設の作業部会を設置し、日中韓の閣僚会議で決められた行動計画などを実施する。
- ② 日中韓首脳会議の枠組みの中に環境分野の高官対話を設け、サミットで取り上げるべき新しい課題や政策について議論する。

- ④ 政策提言を盛り込んだ年次報告書を刊行するなどの活動をおこなう、EEA (欧州環境庁) のような地域機関を設立する。

**【中国】WANG Xuedong (ワン・ジュエドン氏)**

**Professor, Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, Sun Yat-sen University**

北東アジアの温室効果ガス排出量の削減について、次の発表があった。

中国、日本、韓国の北東アジア諸国は気候変動軽減に向けた協力を論じており、温室効果ガス排出量の削減、あるいは排出量の上限設定が求められている。海外でも国家の温室効果ガス排出量削減策は歓迎されるが、経済発展に上限を設定することは歓迎されない。雇用率の低下や生活の質の「制限」も嫌われており、温室効果ガス排出量の削減は難しい仕事である。

しかし、温室効果ガス排出量を削減しなければ地球温暖化といった重大な結末に直面することとなる。中国は環境保護策が弱いとして知られている。中国は石炭採掘国、石炭燃焼国であり、地球温暖化や環境汚染に貢献してしまっている。また海外へのエネルギー依存を削減するためにも温室効果ガス排出量を削減しなければならない。日中韓は海外からのエネルギー資源に大きく依存している。韓国のエネルギーの 97% が輸入であり、日本はほぼ 100% 輸入に依存している。中国はエネルギー資源を多く産出しているが、エネルギー効率がかなり悪い。中国は世界最大の石油・天然ガスの輸入国、世界最大の温室効果ガス排出国、そして世界第 2 位のエネルギー消費国である。日本は世界第 2 位の石油輸入国かつ第 5 位の温室効果ガス排出国である。韓国は世界第 4 位の石油輸入国かつ第九位の温室効果ガス排出国である。

輸入エネルギー依存の軽減という厳しい仕事が待ち受けている。他国への依存は悪いことではないとの考えもあるが、サウジアラビア、イラク、ベネズエラ、アンゴラ、ロシアから石油を輸入しているのだ。政情不安な中近東や予期せぬ行動をとるベネズエラに依存してよいのか？ロシアはいつもエネルギーを政治的な梃子に利用し交渉を展開する。そこで、「なぜ協力が必要なのか。単独ではだめなのか」という問いが我々のなかで生まれる。

中国の格言に、「早く行きたければついて行け」がある。深く入り込むために、一緒に行った方がよいとの意味で、習近平主席も近隣諸国を犠牲にして発展を成し遂げることはできないと明確に述べている。近隣諸国と協力することで波及効果が生まれ、中国も協力の見返りや恩恵に預かることができる。地球温暖化や気候変動を良い機会、刺激策と捉えるべきだ。

新しい代替エネルギーへの移行に関しては、原子力は選択肢の一つだが、残念なことに 2011 年の震災と津波以降、日本政府は原子力発電の稼働を停止している。その他の選択肢には再生可能エネルギーもある。実際のところ伝統的なエネルギーはゼロサムであり、ロシアの例でも明らかだが、政治的な梃子として悪用されてしまう。しかし、太陽を太陽光発電用に使うことを止めることはできず、風を風力発電に使うことも止められない。日中韓は近い将来、再生可能エネルギーに関する協力の可能性を探るべきだ。



「再生可能エネルギーは大丈夫なのか、費用負担可能か、アクセスできるのか」という懸念もある。ドイツは昨年、原子力と石炭の使用を停止し、風力と水力で代替することを表明している。残念ながら数日前に発表された国際通貨基金（IMF）の報告書は、ドイツのエネルギー事情は不況に直面すると予測している。再生可能エネルギーを商業化するための研究開発を日中韓間で協力し開始するには大変良い機会である。

## 【日本】山口 光恒氏

東京大学教養学部附属教養教育高度化機構 環境エネルギー科学特別部門 客員教授

地球温暖化と気候変動については多くの人、特に政治家が綺麗事を並べているが、現実とは大きく異なるとのことで、気候変動についての基本的な考え方が次のとおり発表された。

温暖化の大気温度上昇抑制目標は 2℃である。この目標値は 2009 年のコペンハーゲン交渉、2010 年のカンクン交渉の際に提出された文書の中で最初に言及された。簡単に言えば、大気の温度の上昇を産業革命以前から比べて 2℃以内に留めるということだ。しかし、現在までに気温は既に 0.8℃上昇しており、1.2℃しか残っていないという現実がある。

私はこの 20 年間、気候変動に関する政府間パネル（IPCC）の第 3 回、4 回、5 回の評価報告書に関わってきた。今月には第 5 回の評価の総合報告書を参加国が承認している。国連の潘基文事務総長も出席し、「2℃以内の上昇のためにがんばろう。コストは低い。必要なのは政治決断だけだ。」と述べた。IPCC のラジェンドラ・パチャウリ会長も同様の発言をしている。

しかし、現在ではこれがかなり難しい目標となり、2℃目標を達成するためには 2050 年までに（2010 年を基準年とする）世界的な排出量を 41%～72%の範囲で削減しなければならない。2050 年までに先進国の国民一人当たりの排出量を 80%削減できたとしても（つまり 13.9 二酸化炭素トンから 2.7 二酸化炭素トンまで削減するという、非常に困難な目標である）、途上国の国民一人当たりの排出量を 3.2～1.3 二酸化炭素トンに削減する必要がある。しかし、2010 年の一人当たりのその排出量は 5.5 二酸化炭素トンであり実行性が疑わしい（参考まで、2010 年の排出量は次のとおり：中国 8.1 二酸化炭素トン、韓国 13.4 二酸化炭素トン）。COP（気候変動枠組条約締約国会議）交渉が進展しない本当の原因はこの目標値にこだわっているからだ。

今世紀末までに 2℃以下の上昇に抑制する目標を達成するためには、世界的な排出量はマイナスでなければならない、それはつまりゼロ排出でも足りないということだ。マイナス排出を達成するには 2 通りの方法しかなく、ひとつは二酸化炭素を集めて地下に移すこと、もうひとつは大規模な植林だ。しかし、こうした土地があるのか、食糧安全保障は大丈夫なのかという課題が見え、2℃目標がなぜ非現実的なかわかる。にもかかわらず、交渉では 2℃の目標値が叫ばれ続けている。いずれにせよ、気候変動は深刻な問題であり、持続的な経済成長も重要である。気候変動枠組条約（UNFCCC）の第 2 条では気候変動への対応策の究極的な目的が明記されている。温室効果ガス濃度を安全水準まで抑制することだ。更にこうした水準を達成するためには経済の持続的な成長を犠牲にしなければならないとも記されている。やり過ぎても足りなくてもいけない、というバランスが問われる。「やり過ぎ」は持続的な

経済成長に打撃を与えるかもしれない。持続的に発展しつつ、気温上昇を 2℃以内に留めることが一番好ましい。しかし、これまで例示してきたとおりほぼ不可能であり、代替案を考えるべきだ。

2℃を上げる、例えば 2.5℃に、という選択もある。そうすると損害はさほど変わらなくても相当な費用抑制となる。もしも変更が無理な場合、2℃目標でも達成可能ではあるが、可能性自体が低くなり、抑制の速度も遅くなる。

米中協定を見ると、両国の総排出量が 2030 年まで上昇し続け、2℃以下の上昇抑制軌道に乗ることがないことがすぐにわかる。日中韓でもこの点を共有し、政策担当者にこうした現実を認識してもらわなければならない。私が好む協定はちょっと回り道でも多くの国が参加し遵守可能な条約（strong weak agreement）だ。理想的だが崩壊の危機のある条約（weak strong agreement）より良い。strong weak agreement は一見弱いように見えるが、実効性が高く強い。反対に京都議定書のように weak strong agreement は、法的拘束力があり、一見強固に見えるが実効性に乏しく弱い。

#### 【日本】井深 成仁氏

一般社団法人産業環境管理協会 理事／株式会社堀場製作所 品質保証統括センター 環境安全担当センター長

堀場製作所は 1953 年に世界的な製造、計測、分析企業として誕生した。産業環境管理協会は会員企業の環境保護活動の促進と支援を目的に 1963 年に東京で誕生している。それぞれについて次のとおり発表があった。

まず、環境への負荷軽減に貢献する堀場製作所の製品を紹介する。堀場製作所には、自動車測定、プロセスと環境、医療・診断、半導体、科学の 5 つの事業分野がある。自動車測定システム部門の排出測定システムは、自動車の排気ガス測定である。プロセスと環境部門では大気中の排出物と水中の廃物の測定を実施している。大気ガス測定システムは PM2.5 から PM10、塵、炭化水素の総計、SO<sub>x</sub>、NO<sub>x</sub>、一酸化炭素、二酸化炭素、塩化水素、酸化ジルコニウム、水銀、PFC 等を測定し、水質監視システムは海水、湖、地下水、雨水、水道水、再生水、淡水、廃棄水の水質を監視する。また水質監視システムでは濁り、伝導性、pH、COD、DO（溶存水）、NH<sub>3</sub>、窒素、水中のリンを測定可能である。大気監視システムと水質監視システムは韓国と中国を含む世界中の発電所、ガス製造所、エンジニアリングプラント、政府観測所、軽重工業の工場施設、実験施設、大学で採用されている。科学部門は物体の含有物質の特定を行う蛍光 X 線分析装置を取り扱っており、これは EU の特定有害物質使用制限（RoHS）指令、使用済車両（ELV）指令の遵守に大変役立っている。堀場製作所は大学、実験施設や政府組織との共同研究活動を重視している。配布資料には中国の大学との調印式の写真が掲載されている。堀場製作所は自社製品を通じて世界の環境保全に寄与すべく努め、現在アジアに重点を置いている。

次に、産業環境管理協会（JEMAI）を紹介する。JEMAI は化学物質管理、廃棄物対応、資源保護、気候変動保護、環境管理システムの促進、大気汚染管理や水質汚染管理に係る資格（ライセンス）取得に向けた研修など、環境保全に向けて様々な面で貢献している。また

環境規制研究やエコ製品関連の催しの企画・実施も行っている。環境問題がグローバル化するに伴い、活動範囲も EU や他のアジア諸国へと拡大している。JEMAI は特に環境協力において強固な歴史を誇る。近年の中国や韓国との連携の結果、化学物質の使用規制に向けた登録制度について理解を共有することになった。更に JEMAI では 2010 年以降開催されている日中韓化学サミットへ政府より招聘されている。2014 年は第 4 回サミットが上海で開催された。二国間研修活動では関係国の環境保全に寄与しており、参考まで配布資料に日中韓環境協力の歴史が掲載されている。日中韓における企業努力、企業間協力、企業・研究機関間協力、企業・大学間協力、産业内協力、産業間協力、産業を超えた協力が自然環境にインパクトを与えるグローバルな連携という面において重要だ。また日中韓協力では相互に活発な活動が大変重要であると述べた。

### 【韓国】SHIN Eui Soon (シン・ウィスン氏)

#### Professor of Economics, Yonsei University

日中韓のエネルギー消費量の合計は、現在世界の総量の 18% を占め、石油と天然ガスの輸入大国である。3 か国間の貿易や経済関係は大きく発展したものの、環境協力はあまり改善が見られない。日中韓は急激な経済成長の結果、似たような国内の環境問題を経験してきた。日本は環境問題を全て克服し、現在では環境対応では最も進んだ国である。韓国も環境問題改善に向けた政府、企業、社会の多大な努力と投資により、深刻な大気汚染、水質汚染問題のほとんどを克服している。中国は現在、深刻な環境問題に苦しんでいるが、改善を求める国民の声を受けて適切な政策と投資を行えば、様々な環境問題を日本や韓国と同様に解決することができると述べ、国境を超えた環境問題と日中韓の協働について次のとおり発表した。

国境を超えた課題は当該国だけでは解決不能な外部性という特徴に依拠しており、北東アジアでは次の 3 分野、①大気、②海洋、③生態系に分類できる。

- ① 大気— 最も有名な国境を超えた大気環境問題は酸性雨である。中国に由来する二酸化硫黄は風に乗って酸性雨という形で朝鮮半島や日本列島に影響を及ぼす。国際的な専門家チームが「アジアでの 酸性雨数値モデル研究プロジェクト」(RAINS-Asia プロジェクト)の中でこの国境を超えた問題について研究を行い、北東アジアの国々の団結した対応を呼びかけている。黄砂は春のモンゴル砂漠の粉塵に由来する。そして細塵濃度の上昇が大気研究者達の新たな懸念材料となっている。
- ② 海洋— 国境を超えた海洋汚染は中国と韓国の間の黄海、韓国と日本の間の日本海で起きている。最近まで海洋汚染は漁船の事故による原油流出や廃棄物投棄が主な問題であった。しかし 2011 年の福島県の放射能事故は、近隣諸国に対して原発事故がいかにおそろしい環境大惨事となるか警鐘を鳴らした。現在日中韓で 91 の原子力発電所が稼働しており、これは世界の原子力発電所の 20% にあたる。中国は 20 か所ある原子力発電所を今後 6 年間で 4 倍の 83 に増やすと見られる。原発事故は大気への放射線の放出に留まらず、地面や水にも漏れ出し、飲料水や農産物を汚染する。韓国の朴槿恵大統領

は市民の高まる不安に対応して、今年 8 月北東アジアの原子力安全協議機関の設立を提案している。

- ③ 生態系— 北東アジアの野生動植物には地理上の国境がない。例えば北東アジアに生息する魚や渡り鳥は海や空を自由に移動しており、保護には 3 か国の協力が必須となる。この 60 年間の北朝鮮と韓国との分断により野生動物は移動が困難となり、韓国に生息する多くの野生動物が絶滅した。今こそ野生動植物保護と復元のために協力し、北東アジアの生態系の多様性を維持すべきである。エコシステムについて 3 か国が共同調査を行うことは重要である。南北間の非武装地帯での環境保全はこうした取り組みを開始するにあたって重要な登竜門である。今年 10 月に名古屋議定書が発動し、各国における生物多様性保護に向けた取り組みが強化されている。

3 か国間の協力の取り組みという観点では、クリーン開発メカニズム (CDM) 排出権取引や共同実施といった柔軟なメカニズムがこれまでに開発され、地球温暖化を抑制すべく実施されている。優れた地域協力の事例に 1979 年の長距離越境大気汚染条約 (CLRTAP) がある。国際連合アジア太平洋経済社会委員会 (UNESCAP) の EU 版に相当する国連欧州経済委員会 (UNECE) 主導の同条約は、国境を超えた大気汚染問題に対応する最初の多国間条約であった。

CLRTAP は 1985 年のヘルシンキ議定書採択につながり、この議定書では硫黄排出または越境流動を最低でも 30%削減することが盛り込まれた。1989 年にはソフィア議定書で窒素酸化物削減が、更には 1999 年には揮発性有機化合物の排出規制が議定書で採択された。

一方、日中韓は東アジアでの環境協力に向けた様々な多国間、二国間枠組みを設けている。経済の仕組みや発展の度合いの違いから、北東アジアでの効果的な協力と合意はこれまで達成が容易ではなかった。しかし今日、中国は市場経済を掲げ、世界有数の経済大国に台頭している。平等と互惠を指針とした日中韓環境協力対話の開始は必須であり、市民が活発に参画する環境協力活動が実施されるべきだ。

国境を超えた公害を含め、公害対策として次の 3 つの対策が挙げられる。

- ① 直接規制、あるいは司令と制御式とも呼ばれる方法
- ② 公害税や取引許可制度といった市場ベースの仕組み
- ③ 道徳的説得に基づく自発的な削減

③に関連して市民社会や学校の役割が重要となってくる。先進国では 1990 年よりグリーン・キャンパス・ムーブメントが発生し、大学での教育や研究の経続性が向上した。韓国では 2008 年に韓国グリーン・キャンパス・イニシアチブ協会 (Korean Association for Green Campus Initiative, KAGCI) が設立され、中国では上海の同済大学主導で中国グリーン大学ネットワークが設立されている。京都大学は今年、キャンパス持続性ネットワークを設立した。こうして、日中韓共同グリーン・キャンパス・セミナーで 3 か国地域環境協力について議論が可能な下地が整った。

**【韓国】 JEON Eui-Chan (チョン・ウイチャン氏)**

**Professor of Environment and Energy, Sejong University**

北東アジアの大気汚染問題について次のとおり発表があった。

今年初め、ソウルで PM2.5 濃度の計測値が WHO の基準値を約 4 倍上回った。中国のスモッグ問題は日本や韓国と比べて深刻である。北京では PM2.5 濃度が WHO の基準値を 10 倍も上回っている。日本でも PM2.5 濃度が WHO 基準の 3 倍にもなる値が 8 県で観測され、日本気象協会によれば、PM2.5 公害は中国の公害が原因である可能性が高いとのことであった。

大気汚染の主原因はなにか。韓国の大気汚染の原因は急激な経済成長であると考えられており、1962 年から 2012 年の間に韓国の GDP は 500 倍にまで成長している。経済成長と共にエネルギー消費と自動車保有台数が増加し、深刻な大気汚染へと結びついた。中国でも同様と考えられる。過去 3 年間で中国は大きく経済成長を遂げた。特に中国の場合、スモッグの主な原因は旧式の自動車の排気ガス、エネルギー消費の 7 割を占める石炭消費の増加である。中国からの PM は東方へ流れ、更に韓国と日本の大気の質に影響する。ある研究によれば、韓国の微粒子の約 3 割から 5 割が中国から飛来したものと推定されている。

国境を超える大気汚染問題を解決するため、韓国では大気質監視と警報発令への PM の追加を実施し、様々な国内政策の導入や日本と中国との連携を進めている。2012 年には中国の環境保護部が主要省での大気汚染防止・制御計画 12 項目を發布した。中央政府として包括的な公害防止・制御計画を發布したのは初めてのことである。大気汚染が国境を超える性質を持つことから、効果的な政策・対策は日中韓の協力のもと実施されるべきだ。

日中韓は 1990 年代より大気汚染の軽減に向けた共同プロジェクトを開始している。こうした取り組みのひとつが大気汚染物質長距離越境移動プロジェクト (LTP) である。1996 年に設立され、韓国が主導的な役割を果たした。東アジア酸性雨モニタリング・ネットワーク (EANET) も 1996 年に日本の主導のもとに設立されている。しかし、それぞれの事業が国ごとに運営されている現状では、協力事業は効果的ではないと考えられ、情報公開も容易ではなく不十分である。事業に十分な予算は注ぎ込まれてはいるが費用対効果が低い。中央政府レベルでの協力に加えて地方レベルの協力が最近開始されている。山東省とソウル市役所との間で了解覚書 (MOU) が交わされた。しかし、地方レベルの協力体制は始まったばかりで成果はすぐには見えてこない。将来澄み渡る空を取り戻せるのか。前向きな答えは見つけにくい。どの国も工業生産の縮小や経済成長の停止は望んでおらず、前向きな答えは見つけにくい。中国から吹いてくる風をどう中国に吹き返すのか。第一歩は、北東アジアの公害問題に地域で対処するために日中韓の間で基礎的な情報・データを開示する必要がある。例えば大気汚染源の開示、それらがどこへどのように移動するのか、また汚染の影響等の開示である。北東アジア大気圏環境研究所がこうした取り組みの良い先例であり、日中韓での情報収集・情報共有を実施している。同研究所ではリアルタイムで大気汚染のデータ監視、公害警報発令と公害予測の共有を行っており、大気汚染の移動の監視と予測、大気汚染の低減技術や政策の共有が重要となる。

**【韓国】CHUNG Suh-Yong (チュン・ソヨン氏)**

**Professor, Division of International Studies, Korea University**

経済学者は政治学者に対して、「我々経済学者は優れた解決策を提供するが、政治学者の所為でそれらを実行できない」と言い、その一方で経済学者に対して自然科学者は、「経済学者は仮定が多すぎる」と言う。経済学を語る際、自然科学と社会科学とでは観点が違う。現実を見ると、国際関係は国家間で議論され、国家同士が合意しなければ誰も何もできない。したがって、学者であり、かつ政府や国際組織、NGO と組んで政策の検討を行っている自分自身の務めは、異なる学問分野間のギャップを埋められるような制度やその統治体制を設計することである。経済学者、政治学者の双方は正しいことを言っているが、共通の言葉で語られなければならない。

社会科学の目的は社会へ解決策を提供することである。山口教授は法的拘束力のある条約メカニズムについて言及されたが、こうしたメカニズムの遵守を強制できない現状においてその有効性について疑念が残る。UNFCCC 交渉において仮にカナダ政府が義務を遂行できないと主張しても、カナダにその履行を強制することはできない。北東アジアにおける現状は更に複雑である。地域統合というコンテキストによって更なる平和と繁栄を構築できるという考えを 3 か国は共有すべきではあるが、北東アジアではその作業は非常に困難であることを理解する必要があると強調したい。例えば北東アジアにおいて二国間条約はあるが、多国間条約は今までひとつも妥結されていない。この地域で多国間条約に合意するのはほぼ不可能なのが現状だ。EU には多くの地域条約があり、それが彼らのやり方だが、北東アジアはそうではない。北東アジアの国々は主権に拘るため、地域の安定を乱してしまう現在のような政治課題に直面してしまうのだ。

北東アジア独自の要因を反映させた考えが求められているが、異なった学問分野から出されるあらゆる意見を反映するため、以下 4 点を指摘する。

- ① 地域の環境問題に対して日中韓の首脳レベルに政治的関心を持ってもらえるようなアプローチを編み出すことが必要だ。驚くべきことに北東アジアには環境問題に対する協力の長い歴史がある。国連環境計画 (UNEP) の北西太平洋行動計画 (NOWPAP) の 20 周年記念行事がモスクワで開催された。NOWPAPA は北東アジアの海洋保護事業であり、韓国と日本が常任事務局を務めているが、ほとんど知られていない。ニューヨークに本部がある国連開発計画 (UNDP) では「UNDP/地球環境ファシリティ (GEF) 黄海大規模海洋エコシステムプロジェクト」という大変有名な黄海海洋環境プログラムを実施しているが、同事業について北東アジアでの認知度は低い。約 10 年前、韓国政府に対して環境問題はローポリティクスのアプローチをするべきと提案したが、ハイポリティクスへと格上げする時期が来ている。
- ② 環境のための国際的枠組みを構築するには経済的側面を見る必要がある。取り組みを進めるに際して、まずは規制メカニズムから手をつけたが多くの課題に直面したので、今日では環境問題への対応にむけて市場メカニズムを活用する方向へシフトしている。北東アジアの環境問題対策に向けた日中韓の政治的接点を構築するには、環境的に持続可能な成長過程を見出し、実務レベルで利用可能な解決策を見つける必要がある。

- ③ 日中韓は、独立かつ公正な仲介者としての役割を果たせる国際組織が実施している国際的、および地域的な事業の枠組みの中に既に存在している多国間協力を重視すべきである。
- ④ 地域の科学者間の協力関係を強固にすることは有用である。

(英語)

English summary drafted by East Asia Foundation

# Summary: The 1st CJK Cooperation Dialogue

Thursday, November 13, 2014

Seoul

## **Welcoming Remarks**

HONG Hyung Taek, Secretary General of the East Asia Foundation, opened the symposium by introducing each representatives of China, Japan and Korea.

\*The full text of opening remarks are available in [Annex A](#).

## **Session 1: Political Economy of FTAs**

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### **Moderate**

**【China】 ZHANG Yunling**

**Professor and Director of International Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)**

I think the FTA is about economics for market and businesses but there is politics behind. Let's take a look at China-Korea FTA. It took 10 years from the proposal to the conclusion and there have been so many problems during the negotiation. So the leaders of both countries went through difficult times to make a decision to get the process going. I also think there are very strong social factors which can lead people to understand the process. People have little knowledge about the negotiation. They do not know what will happen and how it will affect them. When APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation) was held this week in Beijing, I was interviewed by a Chinese correspondent on TV. One question they asked me is what the benefits for the Chinese people would be from the FTAAP. I said the FTAAP will not happen soon but that is what people are concerned.

### **Panelists**

**【China】 QU Bo**

**Associate Professor and Deputy Director of the Institute of International Relations,  
China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU)**

I would like to focus on the political implications of the FTA and try to find out the underlining political logic of the FTA negotiations in this region, connecting the economic arrangements with security concerns in this region.



What's been puzzling to me is that it's only been a decade since the proliferation of FTA occurred in this region but today we have over 100 FTAs reached conclusion of the negotiations. The FTA is much more institutionalized and rule-based agreement and a higher level of treaty. I think that it doesn't really make sense. Since the 1960s, the East Asian economy has been integrated not by the formal agreements but informal agreements like the US alliance system, the network of Japanese multinational corporations and overseas Chinese businesses connections. Then why are the FTAs are proliferating? Answers to this question can be abundant; natural development of trade interdependence, failure of global trade arrangement; regionalism competition at global level; power politics and etc.

From the security aspects and dynamics of the FTAs, we have been witnessing the new reality is emerging over the last 3 decades. China is overpassing Japan as the second largest economy in terms of economic size. How can we deal with this new situation and what is the security implications of this new situation? The global economy played a significant role to make China achieve economic growth. Trade could facilitate the country's economic growth. But if other countries worry about China's economic growth, they could constrain and limit trade access of China. Therefore, I think the underlying reason of the proliferation of FTA in this region depends on our thinking of security implications of the economic trend in this region.

I would also like to talk about the great powers. In this region, we already have trade architecture under negotiation such as FTAAP, the US-led TPP, and also RCEP. Why do we need these free trade agreements? The great powers sign trade agreements strategically. They do not just follow economic benefits but also consider these deals in the security and political perspective. The nature of FTA is the preferential market access. Signing the deal means giving a preferential access to your own market. The United States signing on the TPP seems to limit China's access to its domestic market.

Regarding China, Japan, Korea FTA, I think the China-Korea FTA is a great push for the negotiation for CJK FTA. CJK FTA could increase the economic interdependence between the three countries and would bring benefit from free trade which will support the dialogue to improve political relations. Free trade agreements will also increase the reliability among these countries, which is a way to build mutual trust among the three countries. When you are economically dependent on other countries, it means you want to trust you and improve the relations seriously.

**【China】 SHEN Minghui**

**Associate Professor and Director of the Research Division of National Institute of International Strategy, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)**

We may notice that there is a big surge in the number of original FTAs in the Asia-Pacific, especially in East Asia since 2001. China has been involved in the process of the original integration such as the ASEAN-China FTA and other eight FTAs. However, we noticed that the

competing efforts in negotiating more FTAs for a hub status by the regional economies may hurt the regional production network, which is essential for East Asian economic dynamism. For instance, it may create new barriers like "Spaghetti Bowl" effect (or Asian Noodle Bowl), which reveals that one same commodity is subject to different tariffs, tariff reduction trajectories, and ROOs for obtaining preferences due to the multiple, overlapping FTAs.

With a growing number of FTAs, the international trading system is likely to become chaotic and transaction costs will increase correspondingly due to cumbersome red tapes and cross-border procedures. The Chinese Academy of Social Science, with the sponsorship from the ADBI and ADB, conducted a survey for 2008-2009 and found that the highest utilization rate is the ASEAN-China FTA. The utilization rate is about 29%. That means in any 100 firms, there are almost 29 firms who used the preferential tariff of ASEAN-China FTA at least once a year. This rate is fairly low because most firms do not know about the FTA due to a lack of information on the FTA and with some other reasons like small margins of the FTA between preferential tariff rate and the preferential MFN (Most Favored Nations) tariff. The business costs coming from the certificate of origin also contributes to this problem.

The survey conducted again one year later showed that the ASEAN-China FTA still had the highest usage rate. It increased from 29% to 35%. The reason behind it may be due to the financial crisis and campaign engaged by the Chinese Ministry of Commerce. They distributed information about the FTAs throughout China for a year to help the firms to use the FTA. However, the problem is that the utilization rate is still quite low. The low usage rate of China's FTA derives from an absence of the major trading partners. Until now, China hasn't concluded any FTAs with the US, EU, Japan, or ROK. Meanwhile, several of China's important trading partners nowadays have been under negotiations of mega-FTAs aiming to set rules in the region or globally, including TPP, TTIP, TISA, Japan-EU FTA, Japan-EU EPA, and so on. However, China is still absent from these mega-FTAs.

Considering many potential challenges in participating in such mega-FTAs, it may be a good choice for China to negotiate a bilateral investment treaty with the US prior to joining mega-FTAs or focusing on the TPP. At the same time, CJK is so important for China because China can catch up the pace of rule-setting and access the Japanese market. Honestly though, there is no comprehensive strategy for China to pursue such FTAs. China used to pursue traditional FTAs focusing mainly on market access. However, considering the ongoing negotiations of the TPP and its potential impact as well as pressures, China is changing its attitude towards FTAs.

China agreed to negotiate BIT (Bilateral Investment Treaty) with the United States on a basis of national treatment and negative list approach. And substantial outcomes have been achieved in negotiating with the ROK-China bilateral FTA. For the first time, national treatment and narrative list approach is agreed in pursuing the future of such trading negotiations of services and investment chapters. The task left is how to promote the CJK FTA in the future. I think that it is high time we negotiate the CJK FTA after negotiating the China-Korea FTA. I think the Korea-China FTA sets a very good ground for the future CJK negotiations. With the ongoing

negotiations of TPP, China will feel pressure which is good for China. If TPP is successfully concluded, I think the CJK FTA will get an incentive to go forward more successfully.

**【China】 ZHU Caihua**

**Professor and Dean of School of International Economics, China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU)**

From the regional and national level, we all believe the CJK FTA is a very good thing in East Asia and Northeast Asia because it is crucial in advancing regional integration and promoting political stability in the region. What's concerning is that the three countries firmly believe in mutual economic benefit while lacking trust politically. This dualism paradox is better explained by the complex FTA phenomena in East Asia as we have seen that the regional integration in East Asia has not been led by CJK which account for 85% of the regional GDP, but led by ASEAN who account for only 15% of the regional GDP. We have seen in East Asia a lot of bilateral and plural-lateral FTAs like 10+1, 10+3. Among them, the ASEAN and RCEP require a closer look. ASEAN was characterized by ASEAN centrality only led by ASEAN. And RCEP, with the absence of bilateral or trilateral FTAs in Northeast Asia, could hardly make a substantial breakthrough anytime soon because nobody can deny that CJK build the economic core of East Asian regional cooperation.

Another dualism comes in across industries within countries. Theoretically speaking, some industries will gain while others will lose from trade liberalization. In Japan and South Korea, for example, such business interests as steel, transport machinery, automobile, and electronic sectors will gain while the sectors like agriculture and SMEs tend to oppose the FTA. China is also facing such a dilemma when negotiating the FTAs. Compared to Japan and South Korea, China maintains a competitive advantage over agricultural products but a disadvantage over some manufacturing sectors such as steel, machinery, chemical, automobile, and even textile. The service sector is also facing challenges in China. Other issues like investment, government procurement, intellectual property rights, environmental and labor issues all have to be addressed on the Chinese side because they call for deeper domestic reforms. Facing these two dualism paradoxes, I think CJK still need to work harder in many areas in order to hammer out the CJK FTA.

To overcome the dualism, we need to improve bilateral ties among the three countries. Recently, China and Japan reached a four point agreement to improve bilateral ties agreeing to resume diplomatic and security dialogue. This is a very good sign but the ice began to melt just a bit. We also need to establish a very appropriate safety net in each country. We know free trade is good for a country as a whole but gains and losses are unevenly distributed across industries. In order to avoid strong opposition from those who are dislocated by the FTAs, all the countries taking FTAs as a development tool need to establish a safety net for those who suffer from the

FTA arrangement. Last but not least, priorities should be given to connectivity which includes physical, institutional, and person-to-person exchange.

During this APEC summit, the members set a target of enhancing physical, institutional, and person-to-person connectivity by 2025. If this target is fulfilled, it will help APEC economies become 25% cheaper, faster, and easier to do business within this region. During this APEC meeting, China has committed to contribute \$40 billion to set up the Silk Road fund. China is also preparing for the establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank with other 21 countries. Regretfully, the neighboring Japan and South Korea are currently absent from the list of founding member countries. Personally, I think it would be better if Japan and South Korea join and work with China and other countries to provide financial and technical support for the region's connectivity and for the better future of the region.

**【Japan】 FUKAGAWA Yukiko**

**Visiting Fellow, Center for Development Studies/Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, Cambridge University**

I would like to stress three things. First, in reflecting major economic interests as well as political interests, the each of FTAs have already been very much diverse. Therefore, CJK FTA means coordinating the diversities. Second, FTA is not a goal; FTA is a measure to have better growth and welfare. When the global economy continued to grow, there were a lot of optimistic expectations that the FTAs will bring better results almost automatically. However, the results are not actually automatic without industrial adjustment and reform. Moreover, we have to ratify the pact and build a confidence consensus among the general public that the FTA is going to work. Third, CJK FTA has to be consistent with the proceeding of different pacts such as ASEAN, TPP, RCEP, and other plural-lateral approach.

Why are CJK lagging behind? The reasons are that it's because of the political constraints and a lot of diversions in the economic terms due to the different economic interests. Moreover, CJK are large in economic size enough to be independent. ASEAN seems to share the common sense that they've got to get together since they are the minority so that they can better host the foreign directed investments. When it comes to CJK, China used to welcome foreign directed investments but Japan and Korea were very much based on 20<sup>th</sup> century GATT type of industrialization process. There has been a way of thinking that "foreign companies are foreign after all, and we have to have our own." What's behind this idea is the sovereignty issue, where the tradition of industrial policies exists. At the same time, we tend to be trapped in the idea that exports are good and imports are bad so we have to compete with foreign companies.

Besides these structural factors, we have many different economic interests. In Japan, outsourcing accounts for a large portion of its economy right now. That's why the Japanese export never picks up even after the Abenomics is in action and Yen got so cheaper. In addition, the Japanese trade is very much driven by intra-company trade. So FDI is a bigger concern than

trade itself. That's why Japan has been sticking to more comprehensive, plural-lateral base-making, rule-making, common-oriented kind of FTA. Korea might have very different interests. Korea got out of the financial crisis as an export-driven economy. Koreans have had desires of being the FTA hub in Northeast Asia. And China seems to have been desperate about resource security to target more FTAs with resource-rich countries as well as to solve old trade frictions with major markets. FTA might be a good negotiation process for China to overcome a lot of trade disputes.

Now that China-Korea FTA is agreed and TPP is hopefully going to be concluded at the beginning of next year, we need to review how CJK FTA is going to be made after that. First of all, Korea, especially the Korean journalism, should understand that Japan is not competing with Korea so desperately anymore. We are more insider of every different country through FDI. So neighbors having lots of FTAs are not the competitors but the partners for Japanese companies, though it may not have a positive impact in creating values and jobs insider Japan. And Japan's FTA portfolio is very well balanced and is not so much dependent on China.

Considering that FTA should be a growth strategy, we have to persuade the people and draw consensus that the FTA is part of a good policies in the whole growth strategy. But interests of companies tend to be deviated from the interest of macro-economies of the whole country. We cannot stop the companies to go overseas and then, the agenda for Japan in terms of FTA is to improve the location advantage of Japan. The Korean agenda is creating good jobs. The Korean companies are performing very well in the FTA but it does not necessarily mean decent and sustainable job creation in Korea. Korea has to seek for a good linkage among export, job creation and domestic consumption. China is in the process of huge restructuring after the massive budgetary expansion in response for the global crisis in 2009. FTA should be a healthy, outside pressures to upgrade the Chinese structure.

In addition, now, recently all plural-lateral negotiations are going on. Some of the countries including Korea and Japan, and recently China have been interested in WTO + approaches like ITA (Information Technology Agreement). Thanks to ITA, IT devices are almost out of any new tariff, and China recently has agreed to participate in it. So this might be an good alternative approach in mitigating sovereignty interventions among Japan, Korea, and China.

### **【Japan】 SHIOTA Makoto**

#### **President, SME support, Japan (Organization for Small & Medium Enterprises and Regional Innovation, JAPAN)**

SMEs in Japan account for more than 99% of the total number of enterprises. It represents two-thirds of employees and value added represents over 50%. It's a very huge percentage of the Japanese economic activities.

Nowadays, the Japanese SMEs are very eager to go abroad. And it's true that there are many sensitive agricultural sectors in Japan. But as a whole, SMEs are very positive or eager to do

business abroad. It depends on the business types or models of SMEs. Some SMEs focus on the local-to-local business; it is centralized in the local business, produced at home and sold at home. But these days, “outward-bound” activities are very frequent in Japan. So-called “local-to-global” business means ‘made at home and sold globally.’ SMEs’ export value remains around 10% but we can say that it has a large room to improve.

Moving onto the next point, why do regional trades matter? It depends on the wide range of business models. The Japanese SMEs have concentrated on the business model of manufacturing parts or components made in Japan and then export final products. That’s the very traditional way of business model. These days, the SMEs export components to China and Korea, assembled there, export to the third countries. It’s sort of a sophisticated way of business model. The other mechanism is that parts and components exported from China, Japan, and Korea, are assembled in other countries than China, Japan and Korea, then imported back to China, Japan, and Korea. And last one is that SMEs get the components exported from China and Korea, assemble them in the other countries than China, Japan and Korea, and export to the third market. There is a possibility of regional cooperative way along with these kinds of change. The Japanese SMEs prefer to do FDI and relevant business abroad that can allow recipient countries such as China and Korea to have economic benefits.

In that sense, the last point not the least, is that how can SMEs in the region deal with any difficulties which might occur abroad? There exist several constraints for SMEs on resources such as money, human resources, and information. However, they can make quick and prompt decisions. There are companies called “global niche top.” Even if the size of the industry or the company is not sufficient to compete globally, their performance of certain categories of products in the global stage is at the top level. Japan has these types of SMEs. SMEs’ resources are limited and they are eager to avoid burdensome process on ROOs, HS code issues, and they’re also very keen on the sufficient level of IPR protection in the region. They’d like to have access to detailed information on the process and the information hub in the region.

**【Japan】 URATA Shujiro**

**Professor of Economics, Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies, Waseda University**

The opponents of FTAs or trade liberalization in Japan argue that FTA would increase imports, resulting in the decline of production, which in turn would generate unemployment. They also argue that the reduction of agricultural production resulting from FTA would have negative impacts widely on the Japanese economy and society because agriculture in Japan provides the Japanese economy and society with various benefits including conservation of environment and landscape, preservation of culture, protection of rural economy, ensuring food security and others. These negative impacts made by the opponents against the FTAs may be realized if appropriate government policies are not applied. However, these negative impacts can be avoided or moderated by applying appropriate policies such as phase-in gradual tariff

reduction and provision of safety nets. It is very important to realize that maintaining protection is not the best policy. If we are interested in preserving culture or environment, it is not the trade policy that we can rely on but the policies such as direct subsidies given to preserve culture or environment.

There are various benefits of FTAs. Consumers can purchase a variety of goods at lower prices. Also, trade liberalization and FTAs ignite the growth mechanism as it would shift productive resources such as labor capital from non-competitive sectors to competitive sectors. A challenge for the policy makers to realize or mobilize this growth mechanism is to make this shift without incurring much cost. In this end, it is very important to undertake domestic policy reform in Japan.

The benefits of FTAs come not only from trade liberalization but also by setting economic rules. Setting rules on intellectual property rights, competition policies, government procurement and so on, will bring benefits to companies.

It is known that agriculture in Japan is noncompetitive sector in general. However, agriculture consists of many different products or sectors. It is well-known that some Japanese beef are very competitive although prices are high. By opening up the market, farmers would realize the importance of expanding their exports to foreign countries.

**【Korea】 CHOO Mi-Ae**

**Member of the 19th National Assembly Republic of Korea, New Politics Alliance for Democracy Party / Trade, Industry and Energy Committee**

I fully agree with the perspective of Professor Zhu Caihua and the dualism paradox of an FTA. FTA means that it is just better for the welfare of big business, not for social welfare.

Firstly, “Who are the winners and the losers: Impact on growth and welfare?” In the wake of signing an FTA with China, the trade volume with the FTA partners of South Korea has risen up to 61% of our total trade volume. Disappointingly, both the Korea-Chile FTA and the Korea-EU FTA have already turned into trade deficit from trade surplus prior to the respective enforcement. In the case of the KORUS FTA exports to the US for the past two years have increased by 5.4%. However, the exports of uncovered items by the FTA increased by 5.7%. It is more than those covered items limited to a 4.9% increase. We have also suffered unexpected side effects along the way. Some criticize the government for only increasing the number of FTAs while failing to weigh how they would affect workers for noncompetitive industries under FTAs. In a nutshell, Korea’s FTAs do not result in as rosy of a picture as Korea claimed. FTAs are like a double-edged sword.

Secondly, “What are government responses?: Challenges and the limitations of compensation mechanisms.” The biggest victim of the process of Korea’s trade liberalization is the agriculture sector. To prepare for the adverse effects of opening its agricultural market Korea adopted a policy of nurturing corporate agriculture as a means to promote large scale farming

thereby reaching economies of scale and enhancing its agricultural competitiveness. The policy, however, has worsened income disparity in rural areas more than in urban areas. It has also worsened the population aging in rural areas. Worse still, there was a large, illegal social scandal surrounding the rice subsidies fund allotted for farmers. These poor government policies could not improve Korea's rural agricultural competitiveness and still remain almost at the bottom of OECD nations.

Thirdly, "The long term effects: economic, political, and social implications." As is known, FTAs are based on the theory of competitive advantage. However, the agricultural industry is a valuable public good despite its vulnerable comparative advantage. We should shed new light on the agricultural industry as it contains a number of values such as food security, national land management, the environment and ecosystem conservation which cannot only be measured through the theory of competitive advantage. Only then can sustainable growth be guaranteed. Though protecting free trade is important, we cannot give up preserving agriculture. We do not need to trade off one against the other. Both of the goals should be achieved at the same time. However, the Korean government is not fully recognizing this concept. According to government reports about the Korea-China FTA, agricultural products are limited to 40% of market opening. However, it will not take a long time to exacerbate Korea's weak agricultural industries. The government treats the voices of farmers as mere resistance from some farmers who are disadvantaged in the industry leading it to only dole out short term measures without long term strategies to enhance agricultural competitiveness and conservation. Therefore, the Korean government must break from the existing conceptual framework of FTAs to secure sustainable growth.

**【Korea】 KIL Jeong-Woo**

**Member of the 19th National Assembly Republic of Korea, Saenuri Party / Trade, Industry and Energy Committee**

We would better discuss and think about not only FTAs but also environmental issues in the afternoon not from the perspective of each of our own nations in East Asia. Instead, we would better approach these issues from a global perspective such as what other countries and other regions like America and European countries perceive our trilateral cooperation not only in trade, but also in environment, and some other non-political issues.

When we see this kind of trilateral cooperation from the WTO, in Geneva, or the EU Commission in Brussels - I have to confess I frequently travel to meet with our counterpart in the WTO and the EU Commission. Time after time, I realized that China, Japan, and Korea are underestimating their economic importance too much. We should realize the gravity and importance of the three countries in every aspect, especially in economic issues. We usually call it the Asian Paradox. Surely, we are supposed to get further integrated, but we are suffering from our own deeds. We would better understand and realize that the more room to cooperate with



each other the more room we have in our current conflicts and confrontations from other issues like territorial issues or past history issues.

Everyone has emphasized the importance of the FTA. TTIP (Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership) between the US and EU is being finalized and TPP (Trans-Pacific Partnership) led by the US expected to be finalized next year. We usually say that an FTA is a trade agreement between like-minded countries, which is not likely anymore. We should not ignore the political and security context of our economic cooperation. When we first initiated the suggested trilateral agreement among three countries, I was a little skeptical of how serious we discussed the real benefits for each country and how seriously we could proceed to a mutually beneficial outcome. Korea-China FTA reached an announcement a couple of days ago. Will it provide momentum to finalize a trilateral FTA, then? I do not think so. The Korea-China FTA is a half-baked one. It is a very low-level agreement. We should be serious enough to really analyze what the reality is.

Another reality is the Korean government's interest is now moving from Korea-China FTA to TPP. I think that the next step in the government's road map in trade issues is to naturally move towards the TPP. But the economic effect of TPP as you might agree is quite similar to the US-Japan FTA. As I mentioned, the US and EU are finalizing TTIP. Japan and the EU are also negotiating EPA (Economic Partnership Agreement). Korea has already made an FTA with the United States and the EU. Japan is now negotiating with the EU and is now a legitimate member of TPP led by the US. What economic effects might Japan and Korea imagine from trilateral FTA issues? We should be realistic.

Now the Korean government is going to resume FTA dialogue with Japan. Probably at the same time, we can resume talk on the trilateral FTA. However, Korea-Japan resumption of the FTA agreement might be more realistic to lead to the final stage of a trilateral FTA. Another question to China is 'Why isn't China proposing FTA or TTIP with the United States?' It might be a long shot but I think that might be momentum for every one of us in East Asia. My question to every expert on these issues: our trilateral FTA might become a locomotive to RCEP or the other way around. If the trilateral FTA is really necessary, Korea should lead and play a role to finalize RCEP led by ASEAN countries and China. We should also be very keen on any domestic challenges who might become a victim of a free trade agreement. We should be very sensitive to domestic voices. Finally, we should also agree that without a stable peace, we cannot guarantee the sustainable economic prosperity that will be shared by all other countries.

**【Korea】 AHN Choong Yong**

**Chairman, Korean Commission on Corporate Partnership / Distinguished Professor,  
Graduate School of International Studies, Chung-Ang University**

China, Japan, and Korea are now a global manufacturing house. If we strengthen our economic linkage, we could really achieve our three countries' respective economic objectives. CJK can

continue to grow to accommodate new growth in the job market. Also, we should recognize that even in the absence of the free trade agreement, there is a great deal of supply chain across the border between China, Korea, and Japan.

I really believe that CJK FTA collaboration could be a really good source of economic recovery for the three countries. CJK FTA collaboration can be analyzed from three different perspectives: first, the economic and political hegemonic rivalry between China and Japan, and for that matter, the rivalry between the US and China evolves down the road; second, how the US crafts its pivot to Asia policy in the years to come; and finally, how Korea will map out its trade strategy while taking into consideration its economic costs and benefits, and Korea's unification agenda.

Korea and China already concluded the bilateral FTA and there are two regional mega trade deals going on. One is TPP and the other is RCEP. TPP is designed to craft new trade rules in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. TPP regards a lot of conventional trade liberalization issues but extends further to many new norms and standards in IPR (intellectual property rights), SPS (Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures), and so on. On the other hand, RCEP is addressing a unified market. The coverage and scope of the TPP is much more comprehensive and much higher than RCEP.

There is a tremendous leadership rivalry with the TPP engineered by the US and China being enthusiastic for RCEP. TPP and RCEP must converge down the road by agreeing with each other's basic trade rules and principals because we have seven intersection economies which belong to both TPP and RCEP. This conventional view on the hegemonic rivalry perspective between the US and China can be muted. China and US are now negotiating a bilateral investment treaty and many Chinese expressed interest in negotiating a US-China bilateral FTA. The United States also mentioned that it would welcome China's entry into the TPP when China is ready to meet admission standards. We should create an environment in which two trade mega deals must converge in the years to come.

With that perspective, we can look into Korea's motivation as to why we pursued a China-Korea FTA. At the moment, China is Korea's largest trading partner. The trade volume between Korea and China is far bigger than the combined trade volume with the US and Japan. Our economic linkage with China is very critical. In addition, China has been Korea's largest FDI destination. China is also very strategic and influential partner in Korea's security agenda, especially when dealing with North Korea's nuclear ambitions. With these factors combined, Korea worked out the China-Korea bilateral FTA. I'm really delighted for this bilateral FTA to be concluded because China-Korea FTA could provide a great momentum for not only the CJK FTA, but also RCEP and TPP. The reason is as follows; Korea was actually invited to join TPP after concluding the Korea-US bilateral FTA. We somehow delayed because of the ongoing China-Korea FTA. Therefore, we lost the opportunity to join the TPP as a founding member. Now, Korea has declared its interest in joining TPP and carrying on bilateral consultation with the 12 party members. It is my hope that Korea can join later on as the 12 founding members agreed upon

the first basic framework. Then, we should be at the position to combine TPP, RCEP, and CJK FTA together. Korea can play its own role and its own right.

Korea-China FTA Should contribute to enhance the economic management systems in both countries, especially in China's market economic system dominated by state-owned enterprises and state owned banks. This needs to be reconciled to a true economic system where the private sector dominates the economic scenery. In this regard, I hope China's economic upgrading of the economic management system is very much coherent with basic capitalist market economic principles.

A free trade agreement is just the first part of the story. We should focus on how to increase cross-border direct investment in each other. If you look at the trilateral FTA flows among China, Korea, and Japan, it is, in many cases, a one-way flow from Japan to Korea, Japan to China, and from Korea to China. More active reverse flow of Korea's FDI flow into China and China's FDI flow into Korea and Japan will be highly appreciated. Otherwise, the economic cooperation between CJK is half baked.

Beyond the FTA and investment arrangement, I would like to propose that the intra-regional tourism among these countries must be encouraged to enhance a mutual understanding among people at a grassroots level. In this regard, an early kind of aviation open sky agreement in which we can allow local carriers to fly over from Seoul to many cities in Japan and China will allow even low income bracket people to afford a mutual tourist visit among our three countries.

Regarding the Chinese proposed AIIB, Korea and Japan should join the AIIB as there are huge investment requirements along the Silk Road and China already proposed a joint development project in Jilin, Hasan, and Tumen River area so that we can induce North Korea into the ongoing North East Asia collaboration effort. But the AIIB must stay on the global standard for financial institutions in terms of governance system and equity shares. If China insists on more than 50% of the equity shares, I think it is likely to lose new membership. Also, a transparent governance system managing the lending rules is very critical. I hope China accommodates a new global standard in governance and transparency.

In conclusion, what's most important is that the East Asian economies including CJK should build a basic foundation in which we can trust each other. Trust building at a very basic grassroots level will eventually affect the climate for political leaders in CJK.

**【Korea】 AHN Dukgeun**

**Associate Dean of International Affairs / Professor, GSIS, Seoul National University**

We have TPP negotiations, ASEAN-centric RCEP negotiations, and CJK negotiations, and TTIP negotiations going on. Given that FTAAP also drew some attention in the recent APEC meeting, all those trade negotiations basically embrace many countries even including Russia except for the EU.

Nowadays we talk about the global supply chain. But in terms of the global supply chain, the most integrated economic unit is NAFTA. About 10 years ago Canada and Mexico's exportation was headed for the United States. It was the most integrated supply chain basis. If you look at this NAFTA unit now, it is actually trying to become larger and embrace more production bases like Vietnam, Chile, Peru, and Japan. Actually, TTIP highlights the bilateral relationship between the US and EU but the EU actually had an FTA with Mexico since 2000. Last month when Canada signed an FTA with Korea, another FTA Canada signed was with the EU. Actually the EU is becoming more integrated with the NAFTA bloc, not just the United States. That is the reality.

As already explained by Dr. Kil, Japan is also talking to the EU to have a bilateral FTA. Another FTA that is worthwhile to take a look at is TISA (Trade in Services Agreement). Originally, it was thought to be part of the Doha Round of negotiations for services market liberalization but the US basically abandoned this negotiation. Now, like-minded countries are trying to have a services-focused FTA under the name of TISA. TISA countries include the EU, TPP countries, Korea and Taiwan. You can actually see the countries not included in this kind of economic bloc: China, ASEAN, Brazil, India, and Russia. These emerging economies cannot join this next century economic integration in a way. In that sense, a CJK FTA will be very important.

The previous panelists emphasized the importance of both political and economic dynamics. It is really important to prevent the arbitrary distortions in terms of the vertical and horizontal industry restructuring. But will it be possible? Next year, CJK FTA will become the most important trade policy agenda. But I think we can more seriously engage in this CJK negotiation if we can have the conclusion of TPP negotiation early next year. Otherwise, it is very likely that Japan will take all the responsibility for the failure of TPP negotiations. If so, can Japan actually join CJK FTA dialogue to arrange the regional economic integration? That will probably be a very difficult issue. I'm a bit pessimistic about the progress of CJK FTA in case TPP negotiations could not show some meaningful progress next year.

Another prospect is that Korea will try to join TPP negotiations. We have already manifested our intentions to join TPP. The issue for us is just timing. Basically, the US government is now trying to tell us to wait and sign the document when the drafting is completed. Unfortunately, the timing couldn't be worse for us because of the rice market. We just introduced a tariff system for rice and the Korean government announced that a 513% tariff will be imposed on the rice market next year. Korea delayed the introduction of this tariff for almost 20 years and is supposed to accept this new tariff system next year. As far as I know, however, Japan is supposed to cut down, though not completely lift, rice tariffs under the TPP negotiation. That means, when Korea joins the TPP negotiation, it has to cut down the rice tariff, too. If the introduction of this tariff was delayed or the decision to join the TPP was a bit earlier, Korea would be in a much better position. In commercial or economic terms, it may not be a very big problem. But politically, I'm not sure whether the Korean National Assembly or government can overcome this difficult puzzle in terms of TPP.

## **Luncheon**

\*The full text of keynote speech is available in [Annex B](#).

## **Session 2: Emerging Environmental Concerns and Trilateral Cooperation**

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### **Moderate**

**【Korea】 KIM Sang-Hyup**

**Visiting Professor, Graduate School of Green Growth, KAIST / Chairman, Coalition for Our Common Future**

President Obama and President Xi Jinping agreed that they will do more about cutting greenhouse gas emission and, especially, president Xi Jinping pledged that China will put a cap on the amount of its gas emission by the year 2030. Those two big emitters account for more than 45% of the global greenhouse gas emission. China, Japan, and Korea are also the most important axis in the world. The economic size of CJK is more than 20% of the World's global GDP and their energy consumption amounts to about 25% and their carbon emission to about 35% of the world's total. CJK are extremely important, not only in terms of economy and trade but also in terms of environmental climate change. It has been said that the environment doesn't know any borders. Environment is beyond the left and right that can bring about sense of community. It will justify our collective action. Basically, our environmental issues are regarded as low politics which can easily promote cooperation or collaboration.

### **Panelists**

**【China】 HUAN Qingzhi**

**Professor, School of Marxism, Peking University**

In the field of the environmental protection cooperation, I think it is needed to reflect the lessons from the past. What has happened in the past 20 years or so? From a perspective of regional integration, we have to look at what happened in Europe. In today's world, the most integrated international or transnational super-entity is the EU. The basic theory underlying the establishment of the EU is the 'Neo Functionalism Theory.' The basic idea of this theory is that functional necessity will result in the establishment of transnational agency. Citizens' identity or loyalty will then gradually transfer from the national to super-national level. And I would say that the experience of Europe basically demonstrated and confirmed this theory. The question is 'what's the relevance of this theory for the CJK cooperation or for the East Asian cooperation?' The other question is 'how can we define and identify transnational and trans-boundary national issues?'

In a narrow sense, I think the transnational and trans-boundary environmental issues refer to the environmental problems which bring about some regional and comprehensive negative

effects. These can be exemplified in the sandstorm problem, fog and haze problems from China and nuclear power plant accident in 2012 in Japan. In a broader sense, trans-boundary environmental issues may bring some new opportunities for the region. They can basically bring about some common benefits to all of the countries and create an integrated area.

And the last question is about the possibilities and the prospects of the institutional environment cooperation at the East Asian level. In my understanding, there are three organizations or mechanisms that can be called as institutional mechanism. The No. 1 is TEMM. The ministers have held meetings every year since 1999. But it's been just a policy dialogue mechanism. We can upgrade it to a cooperation system or cooperation organization. There are some other cooperation mechanisms such as NEASPEC. But all those mechanism have problems. They have problems in coordinating and resources. Above all, there is no one but the governments who join these efforts and others aren't invited as cooperators resulting in lacking the policy consensus for the whole region. Other institutional mechanisms like ASEAN+3 and APEC deal little with the environmental issues, focusing mainly on the economic issues.

So I would suggest the following three policy suggestions. First, TEMM mechanism may come up with an independent office/secretariat as well as regular working groups implementing action plan or decisions made by the CJK ministers. Second, we can create a higher level dialogue among the CJK leaders within the summit framework in which new issues or policies are to be raised in the summit. Third, we can suggest a new start with the establishment of a regional agency capable of issuing annual report with policy suggestions, something like the EEA (European Environmental Agency).

**【China】 WANG Xuedong**

**Professor, Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, Sun Yat-sen University**

East Asian countries like China, Japan, and Korea talk about the cooperation for climate mitigation. As we all know, we need to reduce greenhouse gas emissions or at least put a cap on greenhouse gas emission. The countries in the world welcome the greenhouse gas cuts but they don't welcome a cap on economic development. They do not want to have low employment rate and they do not want to 'limit' quality of life. So it's really tough job to cut greenhouse gas emissions.

So why do we need to cut greenhouse gas emissions? That's because we will face consequences like global warming if we don't cut greenhouse gas emission. China is infamously known as lacking environment protection measures. It is a coal mining and coal burning country that deteriorate global warming and environmental pollution. We also need to cut greenhouse gas emissions to reduce overseas energy dependency. CJK are heavily dependent on overseas energy sources. 97% of energy sources in Korea are imported from outside and also almost 100% for Japan. China is producing a lot of things but with very low energy efficiency. So China is the world's largest oil and natural gas importer and top greenhouse gas emitter, and the

world's second largest energy consumer. Japan, the second largest oil importer, is ranked fifth in greenhouse gas emitter and Korea is the fourth largest oil importer and ninth greenhouse gas emitter.

We have a tough job to reduce overseas energy dependency. Some might disagree with me saying that energy dependence on other countries is not a bad thing. But we are importing a lot of oil from Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Venezuela and Angola, even from Russia. Why do we depend on volatile Mideast? Why do we depend on unpredictable Venezuela? Russia always uses energy as political leverage and negotiates with other countries. And next question is 'why do we need cooperation? Why can't we do it independently?'

There is an old saying that when you want to go fast, go alone. When you want to go further, you need to go together. President Xi Jinping made clear that China can't successfully develop at the expense of other neighboring countries. China wants to have spillover effects by cooperating with other neighboring countries and enjoy the reciprocity and benefits from the cooperation. So we should take global warming and climate mitigation as a good opportunity and a stimulus.

We can move toward new alternative energy sources. Nuclear energy could be an option but unfortunately, the Japanese government decided to shut down the nuclear power after the 2011 Japanese earthquake and Tsunami. Another alternative could be renewable energies. In fact, traditional energy sources are something like zero-sum energy, which can be exploited as political leverage as we can see from the Russian example. But no one can stop you from using the sun as a solar power. No one can stop you from using wind as a wind power. CJK should seek for more cooperation on renewable energy in the near future.

Then another question is 'Is renewable energy accountable? Is it affordable? Is it accessible?' Germany made clear last year that it will no longer use nuclear power and coal as energy sources and replace them with wind power and solar power. Unfortunately, German energy is going to face depression predicted by IMF report released some days ago. That's a really good opportunity for CJK to cooperate and initiate research and development to commercialize renewable energy.

**【Japan】 YAMAGUCHI Mitsutsune**

**Visiting Professor, Komaba Organization for Educational Excellence (KOMEX), College of Arts and Science, The University of Tokyo**

To my understanding, when it comes to global warming and climate change, many people, especially politicians, say something beautiful. But the reality is quite different. I would like to share the very basic understanding of climate change. That is 2 degree target. 2 degree target was first mentioned through submitted papers in Copenhagen in 2009 and 2010 in Cancun negotiation. To be very brief, 2 degree target means we should limit global warming less than 2 degree Celsius since pre-industrialization. By today, temperature has already risen by 0.8 degree. So we have only 1.2 degree left. This is the reality.

I have been involved in the IPCC 3rd, 4th, and 5th assessment report for past 20 years. Especially this month governments have approved the Synthesis report of the 5th assessment report. On that occasion, Mr. Ban Ki Moon from UN Secretary General came and said 'Let's do it for 2 degree. The cost is low. The only thing we need is the political will.' And Mr. Pachauri, chairman of IPCC, said almost the same thing.

But today, it seems to be quite unrealistic. To achieve 2 degree target, global emissions must be reduced by 41~72% in 2050 (base year 2010). Even if developed countries reduce their per capita emissions by 80% (from 13.9t CO<sub>2</sub> to 2.7t CO<sub>2</sub>, a very challenging goal) by 2050, the room left for developing countries per capita emissions are 3.2~1.3t CO<sub>2</sub>, whereas per capita emission in 2010 is 5.5t CO<sub>2</sub> (for reference 2010 emissions: China 8.1t and Korea 13.4t CO<sub>2</sub>). Is this feasible? Sticking this target is the real reason of deadlock of COP (Conference of the Parties of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change) negotiations.

To achieve 2 degree target at the end of this century, global emission must be negative which means even zero emission is never enough. We have only two ways to achieve negative emission. One is to capture CO<sub>2</sub> and put it underground. And another option is huge-scale afforestation. Do we have such a land to accommodate it? How about food security? If you just think about the reality, you may easily realize why 2 degree target is not realistic. But the negotiators still shout for 2 degree target. Anyhow, climate change is a serious issue and sustainable economic growth is really important, too. Article 2 of UNFCCC stipulates the ultimate objectives of response measures tackling climate change. It is to restrain the GHG concentration to some level, which is not dangerous. However, it is also described that, in achieving the level, we should not sacrifice the economy to grow sustainably. It's a balance between too little response and too much response measure. 'Too much' might hurt sustainable economic growth. We will be truly happy if we can constrain temperature increase to 2 degree along with sustainable development. But as I just mentioned with several examples, it's almost impossible. We have to realize two degree target is infeasible and think about what we should do then.

The best way is to change 2 degree to, for example, 2.5 degree. In that case, damage will not be so big but cost will be very low. If impossible, we can also still achieve 2 degree target, though at a less probability, with slowing the reduction pace down a little.

If you look at the US-China agreement, we can immediately know the total emissions of the two countries continue to increase by 2030, and it is never on track to achieve two degree target. CJK must share this point and try to persuade our policy-makers that they should realize the reality itself. My favorite type of agreement is strong-weak agreement. It is better than weak-strong agreement. A strong-weak agreement looks weak at a glance but it is strong as we can really implement it. In contrast, a weak-strong agreement, such as Kyoto Protocol's case, looks very strong and, as a matter of fact, is legally binding but it is weak because it is not being implemented.



**【Japan】 IBUKA Shigehito**

**Executive Director, Japan Environmental Management Association for Industry (JEMAI);  
Division Manager, Environment and Safety, Quality Management Center, HORIBA**

The HORIBA was born in Kyoto, 1953 and is global company manufacturing measurement and analysis tools. And JEMAI, Japan Environmental Management Association for Industry, was born in Tokyo, 1963 and a consortium to support and promote environmental preservation of member companies.

Firstly, I would like to introduce some examples of HORIBA products to contribute to environmental impact reduction. HORIBA has five business segments; Automotive Test System, Process and Environmental Instruments Systems, Medical/Diagnostics Instruments systems, Semi-conductor Instrument Systems and Scientific Instrument Systems. Emission measurement systems of Automotive Test Systems segment is to measure gas emission from vehicles. Process and Environment segment has monitoring systems to measure emissions to atmosphere and effluents to water. Atmosphere monitoring systems can analyze PM 2.5 to PM10, dust, total hydro carbon, SOx, NOx, carbon-monoxide, carbon-dioxide, hydrogen-chloride, zirconia, mercury, PFCs and so on. Water monitoring systems are able to evaluate water quality of sea water, river, lake, groundwater, rain, supplied water, recycled water, desalination and wastewater. Water monitoring systems can measure turbidity, conductivity, pH, COD, DO (dissolved water), NH3, Nitrogen and Phosphorus solved in water. Atmosphere monitoring systems and water monitoring systems are used in power plant, gas plant, engineering plant, governmental observatory, factories of various lights and heavy industries, laboratories and universities globally including Korea and China. Scientific segment has X-ray Fluorescence analyzer to specify contained substances in a material. It is very useful to RoHS or ELV compliance. For our HORIBA, joint researches and activities with universities, laboratories or governmental consortia are very important. My material has a picture of agreement ceremony with a university in China. HORIBA strives to contribute to environmental conservation through our products world-wide. HORIBA is now focusing on Asia.

Secondly, I would like to introduce outlines of JEMAI. JEMAI contributes many categories for environmental preservation; Chemical management, Waste reaction, Resource conservation, Climate change protection, Environmental management system promotion, Training for qualification license like air pollution control and water pollution control. Environmental regulatory research and Eco-product convention planning and practices. Along with globalization of environmental concerns, the scope of our reach has widened to include Europe and other Asian nations. JEMAI has had particularly strong history of environmental cooperation. Collaboration to China and Korea in recent years has resulted in understanding of emerging registration to regulate use of chemical substances. In addition, JEMAI has also been invited by governmental officials to participate in a summit (China, Japan and Korea Chemical Summit) that has been held since 2010. This year of 2014, the fourth summit was held in Shanghai. Bilateral international activities for training have contributed to improvement of environmental

preservation for the countries involved. My material shows past history of Japan and China environmental cooperation are available for reference. Every company effort, company and company cooperation, company and research initiative cooperation, company and university cooperation, industry sector cooperation, cross-industry cooperation, and beyond-industry cooperation among CJK are very important for global environmental impact relation. Also interactive actions are very important for our cooperation. Thank you very much for your attention.

**【Korea】 SHIN Eui-soon**

**Professor of Economics, Yonsei University**

CJK now account for 18% of the world's total energy consumption and major importers of oil and natural gas. While trilateral trade and economic relationships have increased significantly, environmental cooperation thus far has not seen such an improvement. As a result of rapid economic growth, the three countries have experienced similar domestic environmental problems. Japan overcame all the environmental problems and now is the most environmentally developed country. Korea was also able to overcome most of its serious air and water pollution problems, thanks to increased efforts and investment for environmental quality improvement by the government, business and the society. China seems to be suffering from serious environmental problems now. But China too, will be able to solve various environmental problems with proper policy and investment spurred by people's demand for better environmental quality.

However, the trans-boundary issues rely on the characteristics of externality that cannot be resolved independently by each nation. Trans-boundary environmental issues in the Northeast Asia can be categorized into 3 areas of interest. One is atmosphere, the second is the sea, and the third is ecology. The most well-known trans-boundary atmospheric environmental issue is the acid rain. Sulfide dioxide mainly originating from China, travel with the wind and affect the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago in the form of acid rain. An international team of experts studied this trans-boundary issue in the Rains-Asia Project and called for concerted efforts of the Northeast Asian countries. Yellow dust is also caused by dust particles from Mongolian desert in spring. However, increase in the concentration of fine dust has aroused new concerns for atmospheric researchers.

Second, trans-boundary marine pollution mainly occurs in the yellow sea between China and Korea, and the East Sea, Japan Sea, between Korea and Japan. Until recently, oil spills caused by vessel accidents and waste dumping had been primary concerns of marine pollution. However, the Fukushima radiation accident of 2011 has alarmed neighboring countries that nuclear power plant accidents could be a formidable environmental catastrophe. The three North East Asian countries operate 91 nuclear power plants which comprise 20% of the world. It is expected that China would quadruple the number in 6 years from 20 to 83 plants according to a

public source. Nuclear power plant accidents would leak radiation not only into air but to soil and water, as well as contaminating drinking water and agricultural products. The South Korea president Park proposed to establish North East Asia nuclear safety consultative body in August this year, responding to people's increased concerns on this issue.

Thirdly, Northeast Asia has no geographical borders to flora and fauna. For example, fish and migratory birds live in the region moving freely in the sea and air, so trilateral cooperation becomes essential for their protection. The division of North and South Korea for the past 60 years has locked the movement of wild animals and resulted in the extinction of many wild lives in South Korea. Now is the time for jointed efforts to restore and protect wild life and to maintain ecological diversity in Northeast Asia. Tripartite joint investigation of the regional ecosystem is vital and the preservation of the DMZ area would be an important initiation for this endeavor. The Nagoya protocol became effective starting October this year, and future efforts to protect the biological diversity of each country would be strengthened.

Regarding the issue of devising trilateral cooperation, flexible mechanisms such as CDM emission trading scheme and joint implementation was developed and executed so far in order to mitigate the global warming cooperatively. In the case of regional cooperation, a good example is the convention on long range trans-boundary air pollution of 1979. Initiated by UN ECE, which is equivalent to UN ESCAP in Europe. This is the first multilateral convention attempting to deal with trans-boundary air pollution problems.

CLRTAP led to the adoption of the Helsinki protocol in 1985, which is the protocol on the reduction of sulfide emission or their trans-boundary fluxes at least by 30%. In 1989, the Sofia protocol, which is the protocol on the reduction of the nitrogen oxide was adopted. And the protocol on the control of emissions of volatile organic compounds was adopted in 1999.

Meanwhile, the three countries have maintained various multilateral, as well as bilateral channels for regional environmental cooperation so far. Effective cooperation and agreement have been difficult so far to achieve in the Northeast Asia because of the differences in the economic system and the stages of economic development. However, China is now advocating the market economy and has become one of the world's major economic powers. It is an imperative for the three countries to open up a dialogue regarding trilateral environmental cooperation based on the principle of equality and mutual benefit. Environmental cooperation efforts should be expended with active participation of civil society.

There are three ways to deal with the pollutions, including the trans-boundary issues. One is direct regulation, sometimes called command and control method, second is market-base instruments like pollution tax or trade permit system, and third one is the voluntary reduction induced by moral suasion. So the role of the civil society and the schools are important for this reason. The green campus movement has been activated in developed countries since 1990 to enhance sustainability in education and research at universities. In Korea, the Korean association for green campus initiative was established in 2008. In China, China's green university network was established under the leadership of the Tongji University in Shanghai.

Kyoto University in Japan has established campus sustainability network Japan this year. So, I think it would be possible to discuss the trilateral regional environmental cooperation issues in the China, Japan and Korea joint green campus seminar.

**【Korea】 JEON Eui-Chan**

**Professor of Environment and Energy, Sejong University**

Earlier this year, Seoul recorded the concentration of PM 2.5, around four times higher than WHO standards. China also suffer from more severe smog compared to Japan and Korea. Recently, Beijing had PM 2.5 concentration, more than 10 times higher than WHO standards. Japan has once recorded the concentration around 3 times higher than WHO standard in 8 prefectures. According to Japan Weather Association, PM 2.5 pollution was likely to be a result of pollutants from China.

What is the main cause of air pollution? I think the main pollution in Korea is due to a rapid economic growth. As you can see from 1962 from 2012, the GDP of Korea increased 500 times. As economy grows, the energy consumption and automobiles have increased and caused severe air pollution. China shows the same phenomenon. Over the past 3 years, China has achieved incompatible economic growth. But especially in China, the main source of smog is exhausted gas from out-of-date automobiles and increased coal consumption, which accounts 70% of the total energy consumptions. PM originating from China travels east-bound and affects the air quality in Korea and Japan. According to one research, it is estimated that about 30% to 50% of particle matter from Korea is originated and traveled from China.

To tackle the trans-boundary air pollution, Korea included PM in the air quality monitoring and warning systems and has been implementing various domestic policies, as well as enhancing cooperation with China and Japan. In 2012, the Chinese Ministry of Environmental Protection issued 12 plans on air pollution prevention and control in key regions, the first time ever the central government of China issued a comprehensive pollution prevention and control plan. Due to trans-boundary nature of air pollutants, the effective policy measure should be implemented under the cooperation of China, Japan and Korea.

Three countries have started to cooperate to reduce air pollution since the early 1990s. One of them is LTP (Long-range Trans-boundary Air Pollutant). It was established in 1996 and Korea played a leading role. Also, the EANET (The Acid Deposition Monitoring Network in East Asia) was established under the leadership of Japan in 1996. But I think the current cooperation programs are not effective. I think the reason is that each program is sponsored and managed by individual nation. Showing the result information is not easy and sufficient. A lot of budget is being poured into the programs but it is not cost-effective. In addition to central government-level cooperation, the recent municipal cooperation has kicked off. There have been an MOU signed between Rambato and Seoul Metropolitan government. But the local-level cooperation is at its beginning stage so we cannot expect to be effective yet. Can we see a clear sky in the future?

The answer is not so positive because any country does not want to shrink its industrial output and stop its economic growth. How can we return the wind blowing from China? The first step to take a regional pollution problem in the region is showing basic information and data between three countries, such as the source of pollution, and how and where the pollutants travel, and the impacts of air pollution. North East Asia Atmospheric Environment Center is a good example, which is in charge of collecting and sharing information between CJK. Among the functions of the center, it shares air pollution monitoring data real-time, pollution warning and forecasting. What's important here is monitoring and modeling of air pollution transportation, and sharing air pollution abatement technology and policies.

**【Korea】 CHUNG Suh-Yong**

**Professor, Division of International Studies, Korea University**

When I meet economists, they complain a lot about the political scientists saying that we give very good solutions but because of political scientists, we cannot implement them. But when I meet natural scientists, they usually say that economists have too many assumptions. There are some differences between natural science and social science when they talk about economies. Looking at the reality, though, international affairs are mostly discussed among sovereign states. Unless sovereign governments agree, anyone cannot do anything. Therefore, my job, as an academic and someone who does policy work with the government, international organizations, and NGOs, is designing institutions and governance structure where we can narrow the gap among different disciplines. Both economists and political scientists are talking the right things. But we have to share the same language.

The purpose of doing social science is to provide the society with solutions. Professor Yamaguchi mentioned about legally-binding treaty mechanisms. But I have some reservations about the effectiveness of the treaty mechanisms because we are under circumstances where we do not enforce mechanisms. When the Canadian government says in UNFC negotiations that it cannot implement obligations, nobody can enforce it against Canada. Here in Northeast Asia, the situation is more complicated. When I was invited to this conference, I thought that the three countries need to come up with the idea through which we can actually build more peace and prosperity in Northeast Asia in the context of regional integration. But I would like to emphasize that we have to understand that working on this issue in Northeast Asian level is extremely difficult. As an example, there has never been a single multilateral treaty, not bilateral one, which has been made in Northeast Asia. It is almost impossible to conclude on multilateral treaty in this region. Europe has many regional treaties because that is the way they do business. But the way we do business in Northeast Asia is different. The countries in this region are more concerned about sovereignty. That is one of the reasons why we face current political challenge which could possibly destabilize the regional order.

We have to come up with an idea that would reflect unique factors of Northeast Asia. Then, how can we actually reflect all these things from different disciplines?

First, it is necessary to develop the approach to regional environmental issues with having more political attention from high political levels of the three countries. In fact, you will be surprised to know that the Northeast Asia has a long history of cooperation in the environmental issues. I was in Moscow some weeks ago to give a presentation in an occasion of celebrating the 20th anniversary of UNEP's NOWPAP (Northwest Pacific Action Plan) that's about the marine environment protection in Northeast Asia. It has a permanent secretariat shared by Korea and Japan but almost nobody knows. In the United Nations Development Program, headquartered in New York, there is a very famous marine environment program called 'UNDP/GEF Yellow Sea Large Marine Ecosystem Project.' But nobody knows almost here in this region which is about protecting yellow sea marine environment. About 10 years ago, I was proposing to the Korean government that we should approach the environmental issues from low politics point of view. But it is time to level this low politic agenda up to high political agenda.

Secondly, we need to look into the economic aspect of the global environmental regime development. To move forward, we first started with regulatory mechanisms. But we have experienced a lot of challenges and have been shifting carefully to utilize market mechanisms to address environmental issues. Developing political interface among three countries on the regional environmental issues must include practically available solutions at the functional level by identifying environmentally sustainable growth pathway(s).

Thirdly, the three countries need to focus on areas where there already exists multilateral cooperation possibly within the framework of global/regional program of international organization(s), which can usually act as independent and fair mediators.

Lastly, strengthening cooperation among scientists in the region will be only helpful.

## Annex A: Opening Remarks



### **Opening Remarks by KUSAKA Kazumasa**

#### **Chairman and CEO of the Japan Economic Foundation (JEF)**

Mr. Ro-Myung Gong, Chairman of East Asia Foundation, Dr. Zhang Yunling, Chinese Academy of Social Science, everyone from the Korean, Chinese, and Japanese delegation, and to the audience, it is with great honor to have this opportunity to greet you all to today's symposium. As was kindly introduced, my name is Kazumasa Kusaka, Chairman of the Japan Economic Foundation.

First and foremost, I would like to thank everyone at the East Asia Foundation in convening the 1st CJK Cooperation Dialogue. The symposium of this size and grandeur would not have been made possible if it were not for your hard work, and I am truly grateful to you all. I would also like to acknowledge the kind support from the National Research Council for Economics, Humanities, and Social Sciences in hosting the Dialogue in Seoul.

Japan Economic Foundation has been hosting international conferences every year in Asia Pacific, the U.S., and in European countries to promote mutual understanding between Japan and overseas. Last November when we convened the JEF Asia-Pacific Forum in Canberra, Australia, after the official engagements had concluded, I met with the Korean and Chinese friends to discuss whether there was a possibility for the three countries to engage in a trilateral dialogue. With the hard work by the East Asia Foundation, our discussions led to the preparatory meeting in Seoul this March and then to this magnificent symposium here today. I am overwhelmed and delighted.

We have invited experts from Japan with a breadth of knowledge for each of the sessions at today's symposium. For Session 1 on Political Economy of FTA, we have Dr. Shujiro Urata of Waseda University, an expert in FTA studies; and Professor Yukiko Fukagawa, an expert in East Asian economies and trade. Dr. Fukagawa is Professor of Waseda University, but is currently with Cambridge University. Mr. Makoto Shiota served as Senior Official to the APEC Meeting in Yokohama, and has played a key role in promoting regional FTAs, and has also supported the small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs) and their responses to regional FTAs, where SMEs are at the core of Japanese economy and local communities. Mr. Shiota serves as the President of the Organization for Small & Medium Enterprises and Regional Innovation, and continues to support businesses of SMEs.

In Session 2 on Emerging Environmental Concerns and Trilateral Cooperation, we have Mr. Shigehito Ibuka, who is both Executive Director of Japan Environmental Management

Association for Industry (JEMAI), and Division Manager of the Environment and Safety, Quality Management Center at HORIBA, a major analytical and processing machinery manufacturer whose diverse businesses also include conservation; and Professor Mitsutsune Yamaguchi of Tokyo University, who specializes in the field of global environment issues. Professor Yamaguchi contributed to the Working Group of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) as its member, and has also played a big role in the policy formulation process of the Japanese government's responses towards global warming. I am certain that the Japanese delegation will all have important and informative contributions to today's discussions.

Countries around the world, however far and remote, are all connected with each other via diplomatic relationships. The same with our three countries, but our relationship extends far beyond such a diplomatic relationship, and as neighbors, we share a wide range of affinity and connectedness. It is worrying, however, that we rely too much on the depth of our affinity and connectedness, and just as our lawn requires care and attention to keep the weeds from growing before permanently damaging our lawn, our relationship also requires effort to maintain and nurture it, or we may fall into complacency.

I look to experts in the field of trade, investment, economics, technology, energy, environment, and others to be more involved in our region. I also see value in bringing together people from the private, public, and academic sector who make diverse contributions to society from different footings. In Japan, diversity, such as empowering women, is seen as key to support revitalization of the Japanese society and economy. Similarly it is ever more important for as many people with diverse expertise as possible, not just limited to those in the region, to engage in the process.

The different aspect of diversity is generational one. Japan is known to be a society of longevity and respect for the elderly, but if the senior generation crowds out the younger generation, we are not sowing the seeds for the future. The role of the senior generation is to help the younger generation be more active. The same applies to our dialogue, and I think it is important that there should be a balanced representation amongst the generations to the dialogue, not only in terms of transferring, but also so that the diversified interests amongst the different generations are reflected. As we gather more interest from the younger generation in thinking about the challenges of this region, there will be more momentum for creating dynamism in this region.

On this year's theme of trade and investment, how economies, societies, local communities, and SMEs have responded to the liberalization process, and learn from the successes and failures is an important and necessary process in moving the economic integration of this region forward. If we are too focused on the mindset of the negotiation process between the inter-government negotiators, and too engrossed with the conflicting issues in the negotiations, we end up only



looking at the tip of the iceberg above water. We need to understand the dynamism of how actual politics took in the resistance of the stakeholders, and of how FTA was utilized to promote structural reform, so that a nation can achieve its vision of a good society. This will lead to a successful growth strategy of this region. We will then often find cases where present concerns are unfounded.

On the theme of environment, I myself have long been involved in the COP negotiations for global warming, and have taken part in the domestic coordination among various stakeholders. Here as well, we cannot just look at environmental issue alone, but we need to look at energy, economics, and technological innovation which allow policy objectives that are often in trade-off relationships to materialize. Solutions cannot be achieved without a comprehensive view and approaches to the issue. For this year, we will not be focusing on CO<sub>2</sub>, but will be looking at traditional pollution issues like air pollution and water pollution. All of the three countries have each addressed pollution issues and have lessons learned, and I hope that by sharing these lessons and cooperating together, experts in the field and experts in each of the countries, who thus far have been divided, can come together and work towards resolving the issue.

I would like to conclude my remarks by expressing my sincere hope that the bond between Japan, Korea, and China will become stronger through today's symposium.

Thank you very much for your attention.



## Opening Remarks by ZHANG Yunling

Professor and Director of International Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)

### “Meeting Challenges in Northeast Asia

#### Northeast Asia

- ◆ Dual feature of Northeast Asia:
- ◆ --As economic center, close economic ties, but lack of close cooperation
- ◆ --Peace secured, but tension and confrontation exist—still living in the past
- ◆ Need new mindset: community for common destiny

#### New Changes

- ◆ Economic structural changes:
- ◆ China becomes the largest economy, double size of Japan in GDP, the gap will be wider further
- ◆ China-Japan market dependency overturns
- ◆ China-ROK economic relations may overpass China-Japan

#### New Challenges

- ◆ US pivot Asia strategy changes the regional environment
- ◆ Japan's politics and policy trend worried
- ◆ Uncertainty of N. Korean policy and danger of its nuclear armament
- ◆ No vehicle for pan-Northeast Asia dialogue

#### Cross Road

- ◆ CJK made a big step forward in 2008 when starting the formal summit process-never happened in the history
- ◆ Real progress seems very limited due to the uncertain political relations
- ◆ Reconciliation needs responsible politics
- ◆ Wisdom: seeking the commons and defusing the differences

#### Meeting Challenges

- ◆ Economics: CK FTA, CJK FTA –for restructuring and new dynamics
- ◆ CJK summit-depending on the will of Japanese political leader
- ◆ Rebooting 6 party talks-need a new approach
- ◆ Initiating a pan-Northeast Asia dialogue for economic cooperation with connectivity as a key agenda

#### Think-tanks

- ◆ CJK cooperation needs support of CJK think-tank network
- ◆ Hundreds of think-tank meetings between China-ROK, but few either between China-Japan, or among CJK
- ◆ The trilateral CJK think-tank networking is highly needed
- ◆ China's new effort on think-tank



**Opening Remarks by GONG Ro-Myung**  
**Chairman, East Asia Foundation / former Minister of Foreign Affairs**

First of all, I want to sincerely welcome and thank all of you for attending the 1st China-Japan-Korea Cooperation Dialogue hosted by the East Asia Foundation.

Earlier this year, I met with Zhang Yunling, Director of International Studies at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and Kazumasa Kusaka, Chairman and CEO of the Japan Economic Foundation at a preparatory meeting in Seoul. We agreed to establish the 1st "China-Japan-Korea Cooperation Dialogue." The dialogue was set to be held in Seoul during the second half of 2014. Today, I am very pleased to see that the East Asia Foundation, with support from the National Research Council for Economics, Humanities, and Social Science, fulfilled this agreement by hosting the 1st CJK Cooperation Dialogue.

Our nations share a long and intertwined history. While it has at times been challenging to overcome our historical experiences, we must look towards the future and endeavor to work together to solve the problems of today. As global trade connects our countries in ways that only a few generations ago were unimaginable, it is important to consider the ramifications of free trade agreements. What kind of impact will such agreements have upon the various sectors of our nations? How will our governments respond? And what might this mean for the future of our economies and people? Our nations continue to look towards new opportunities for trade agreements, so I hope we can take a moment to ponder how such agreements might shape and strengthen our mutual cooperation in the years to come.

Of course, in any discussion of trade we must also remain vigilant to the cost it has upon the environment. Climate change is an ongoing challenge that we must face together. The ecological consequences of growth transcend borders and create issues for all of us. It is my hope that through our cooperation, we can work towards reducing the ecological impact of growth so that we all can continue to enjoy a better quality of life.

Today's dialogue serves as a valuable opportunity for all sides to address their concerns as we strive to build the relationships that will deepen our cooperation. It is my hope that this dialogue will contribute to an enhanced level of cooperation and understanding among our nations. Each of us has unique historical experiences to draw upon in the hopes of broadening our understanding of each other.

With a great support from Hyundai Motors, the East Asia Foundation is a public service foundation established in 2005 with a mission to promote peace and prosperity not only on the

Korean Peninsula, but throughout East Asia by building trust through human and knowledge networks.

We want to deeply thank all of the representatives that joined us today for this dialogue. We hope that through your active participation, this meeting will become a valuable opportunity to advance cooperation between our nations. Thank you.



**Luncheon Keynote Speech by CHOO Mi-Ae**

**Member of the 19th National Assembly Republic of Korea, New Politics**

**Alliance for Democracy Party / Trade, Industry and Energy Committee**

It is a great honor to hold the 1st China, Japan, and Korea Cooperation Dialogue here in Seoul to seek the future prosperity of Northeast Asia. I would like to extend a warm welcome to Mr. Zhang Yunling, Director of International Studies at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), Mr. Kazumasa Kusaka, Chairman of the Japan Economic Foundation (JEF), and everyone else who has come here today. I also would like to express my special thanks to our co-host Mr. Ro-Myung Gong, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Korea and Chairman of the East Asia Foundation, for organizing today's conference, and to all of you who have made significant contributions to the development and harmony not only in China, Japan, and Korea but also throughout Northeast Asia. China, Japan and South Korea have long shared Confucianism culture. Due to our geographical proximity, our 3 nations have enjoyed a constant exchange of goods, services, and human resources and have shared important cultural traits. The same still holds true today. The politics and economies of our three nations are dynamic, flexible, and closely related to each other. As you are well aware, China, Japan, and Korea are currently engaging in negotiations to reach a free trade agreement. The FTA will create a huge regional market, accounting for up to 20% of the total world GDP and amounting to 14 trillion US dollars with a population of 1.5 billion consumers.

Honorable participants,

I joined Session 1 in the morning as a panel member and discussed the FTAs that Korea has reached so far. Considering the expansion of globalization and the entailing changes to the global trade environment, trade liberalization represented by neoliberalism may be an inevitable trend. Over the past 15 years, Korea has signed FTAs with a total of 47 nations around the world, including the U.S and the E.U.. Korea and China have concluded substantive negotiations on a bilateral free trade agreement recently. However, we have also suffered unexpected side effects along the way. Some criticize the government as being focused only on increasing the number of FTAs, while failing to weigh how they would affect workers for non-competitive industries under FTAs. The biggest victim in the process of Korea's trade liberalization is the agriculture sector. To prepare for the adverse effects of opening its agricultural market, Korea adopted a policy of nurturing corporate agriculture as a means to promote large-scale farming, thereby reaching economies of scale and enhancing its agricultural competitiveness. The policy, however, has worsened income disparity in rural areas more than in urban areas and has also worsened population ageing in rural areas. Worse still, there was a large illegal social scandal surrounding

the rice subsidies fund allotted for farmers. These poor policies by the government could not improve Korea's low agricultural competitiveness and still remains almost at the bottom of OECD nations. The agriculture industry is still a valuable public good despite its vulnerable comparative advantage. We should reassess and highlight the agriculture industry as it contains a number of values, such as food security, national land management, the environment, and ecosystem conservation, which cannot only be measured through 'the theory of comparative advantage'. Only then can sustainable national growth be guaranteed. Of course, free trade is also an important value we should protect. We should not be given a choice between agriculture and free trade. We should strive to achieve both of them at the same time. However, the Korean government has yet to come to this concept. Sustainable development cannot be achieved only when the government stresses the bright side of FTAs. It is clear that less competitive sectors or groups will suffer once the FTA is reached. If we expedite the FTA without coming up with any proper protection measures for them, it will be like sharing a poisoned chalice.

Ladies and gentlemen,

In 2nd Session to be held this afternoon, an in-depth discussion will be held on the environmental issues surrounding the three nations under the theme "Emerging Environmental Concerns and Trilateral Cooperation." It is our responsibility to protect and conserve the environment for future generations. Korea, China, and Japan suffer greatly each year from yellow dust and fine dust particles. This shows that Northeast Asia forms a single ecological community. China also realizes the gravity of its domestic air pollution problem, especially that of fine dust particles, and is making massive investments to solve the problem. We should need to discuss seriously about these problems because we share a same environmental community. Concerns about marine ecosystems are also high on our agenda. The Korean government estimates that 72.5% of marine debris drifting to Korea from abroad originates from China. If we takes nationalistic perspectives when it comes marine waste, it will only cause unnecessary conflicts between us. This problem cannot be solved by one nation alone. When it comes to marine waste, all of us are not only the offenders but also the potential victims. In order to solve cross-border pollution, it is more appropriate to seek cooperation for the development and dissemination of necessary technologies and devices than to play the blame game. Environmental issues do not stay within national borders. We all should work together to improve the condition of our shared environment, placing the emphasis on our peaceful co-existence.

Respected participants,

Countries around the world are building regional trade blocks through regional cooperation. Northeast Asia has been lagging behind in such efforts. This is because we have many stumbling blocks and challenges in our path to the peace and co-prosperity of China, Japan, and Korea, such

as environmental issues, historical issues, and territorial disputes. You are the ones who can do this, standing at the forefront of cooperation in the region. China, Japan, and Korea should end the hatred and conflicts of the past and move towards a future-oriented, strategically cooperative relationship. To this end, more exchanges should be encouraged at the private sector level such as academia and industry. There is an old saying that good company makes the road shorter. It is my hope that today's conference will lead us onto the path of cooperation and friendship and help us drive the growth of not only Asia but also the whole world.

Thank you for your attention!

## 7. 発表資料

### Session 1: Political Economy of FTAs

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- **Chinese panelists:**

- **QU Bo**, Associate Professor and Deputy Director of the Institute of International Relations, China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU)
- **SHEN Minghui**, Associate Professor and Director of the Research Division of National Institute of International Strategy, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)
- **ZHU Caihua**, Professor and Dean of School of International Economics, China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU)

- **Japanese panelists:**

- **FUKAGAWA Yukiko**, Visiting Fellow, Center for Development Studies/Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, Cambridge University
- **SHIOTA Makoto**, President, SME support, Japan (Organization for Small & Medium Enterprises and Regional Innovation, JAPAN)
- **URATA Shujiro**, Professor of Economics, Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies, Waseda University

- **Korean panelists:**

- **CHOO Mi-Ae**, Member of the 19th National Assembly Republic of Korea, New Politics Alliance for Democracy Party / Trade, Industry and Energy Committee
- **KIL Jeong-Woo**, Member of the 19th National Assembly Republic of Korea, Saenuri Party / Trade, Industry and Energy Committee
- **AHN Choong Yong**, Chairman, Korean Commission on Corporate Partnership / Distinguished Professor, Graduate School of International Studies, Chung-Ang University
- **AHN Dukgeun**, Associate Dean of International Affairs / Professor, GSIS, Seoul National University

### Session 2: Emerging Environmental Concerns and Trilateral Cooperation

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- **Chinese panelists:**

- **HUAN Qingzhi**, Professor, School of Marxism, Peking University
- **WANG Xuedong**, Professor, Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, Sun Yat-sen University



● **Japanese panelists:**

- **YAMAGUCHI Mitsutsune**, Visiting Professor, Komaba Organization for Educational Excellence (KOMEX), College of Arts and Science, The University of Tokyo
- **IBUKA Shigehito**, Executive Director, Japan Environmental Management Association for Industry (JEMAI); Division Manager, Environment and Safety, Quality Management Center, HORIBA

● **Korean panelists:**

- **SHIN Eui Soon**, Professor of Economics, Yonsei University
- **JEON Eui-Chan**, Professor of Environment and Energy, Sejong University
- **CHUNG Suh-Yong**, Professor, Division of International Studies, Korea University



## **The Political Implications of FTAs in Asia - Pacific Region**

**QU Bo**

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### **1 Puzzle of FTAs in Asia - Pacific: from informal to formal arrangements**

#### **1.1 Production network in Asia-Pacific region**

During the postwar era, there are three ways to integrate Asia-Pacific economies together: US-centered alliance system, the network of Japanese multinational corporations and overseas Chinese businesses connections. The regional economic integration has been impressive. However, there are new efforts to build more institutionalized trade relations in the last 2 decades. Why?

**1.2 Different explanations:** natural development of trade interdependence; failure of global trade arrangement; regionalism competition at global level; power politics, etc.

#### **1.3 Security implication of trade**

Trade could facilitate economic growth. One of the consequences of economic growth could be the changing distribution of power among major countries. Nation-state is concerned about the power shifting in an anarchic system. Then, established power confronts a dilemma: to further the economic connection or to increase the barriers for counterpart country to access their market. For the emerging economies, they need not only to renegotiate market access with established powers, but also to reassure countries that are concerned about potential military consequence of economic growth.

### **2 Great powers play different game**

#### **2.1 TPP, RCEP, Asia-Pacific FTA and others**

#### **2.2 Underlying logic of FTAs of great powers**

The nature of FTA is to give alliances, partner or friendly countries preferential market access. Great powers negotiate FTAs strategically: to support partner countries or to limit potential rival countries to access their markets.

### **3 Political implications of China-Japan-Korea FTA**

#### **3.1 Security challenge in Asia-Pacific**

#### **3.2 Economic interdependence and domestic politics**

#### **3.3 Mutual trust building: vulnerability and signal**

### **4 Concluding remarks: Why FTAs in Asia-Pacific proliferate?**



## **Economic Imperative for Promoting a CJK FTA: A Chinese perspective**

**SHEN Minghui**

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China's economy has been benefiting much from regional production network, and suffered a lot from the global financial crisis since 2008. It is one of the priorities for China to decouple itself from traditional markets like US and EU. However, before domestic consumption could fuel fully China's economy, new market in East Asia like RCEP could be one good alternative. In forging a region-wide FTA, CJK cooperation is crucial. Although RCEP is an initiative including ASEAN members as well as other six Asian economies, there's no doubt that China, ROK and Japan would play important roles in rule-setting and the on-going negotiations. From China's perspective, CJK cooperation and the incoming CJK FTA could lay a better ground for sustaining economic dynamism in several ways:

1. A region-wide FTA like CJK FTA could help to create new final demand market, which is critical to the East Asian economies under the stress of global rebalancing since the GFC. In addition, CJK FTA will help East Asian economies reduce their dependence on external demand and will contribute to a sustainable regional economic dynamism.
2. From dynamic perspective, Zhang Yunling (2006) indicates that the gains from trade and investment facilitation, as well as economic cooperation under the framework of FTAs will be much beyond gains created by lowering tariffs. This new kind of regional economic cooperation in East Asia, especially for the important economies in regional production networks, will improve the long-term environment for the regional economic development.
3. The competing efforts in negotiating more FTAs for a hub status by the regional economies may hurt the regional production network, which is essential for East Asian economic dynamism. For instance, it may also create new barriers like "Spaghetti Bowl" effect (or Asian Noodle Bowl), which reveals that one same commodity is subject to different tariffs, tariff reduction trajectories, and ROOs for obtaining preferences due to the multiple, overlapping FTAs. With a growing number of FTAs, the international trading system is likely to become chaotic and transaction costs will increase correspondingly due to cumbersome red tapes and cross-border procedures (Bhagwati, 1995; Baldwin, 2006). Thus, a regional-wide FTA like RCEP will help overcome most challenges including negative "Spaghetti Bowl" effect with one new single ROO.

In fact, China, Japan and ROK play a key role in forging RCEP due to their economic size and position in the regional production chain. If a Northeast Asian FTA could be constructed in advance or at the same time, it would serve as an easier and better foundation for RCEP. Recognizing its importance, the leaders from three countries agreed to launch a joint study in 2003 and the study group has submitted a CJK FTA feasibility report. Later consensus was reached again by the leaders from three countries that an official joint study committee is needed in 2009 before a joint study committee was appointed in 2010 and was convened for several times. Although the joint study has been completed by 2012 and the FTA has been under negotiation since year of 2013, it is still challenged with liberalization of sensitive sectors, which poses uncertainty to the future of CJK FTA.

4. Last but not the least, several important trading partners of China have been in negotiating new mega-FTAs aiming at rules-making, including the TPP, TTIP and Japan-EU EPA. However, China is still absent from these mega-FTAs. Considering many potential challenges in the above mega-FTAs, it is a good choice to negotiate a bilateral Investment treaty with the US prior to joining the mega-FTAs. At the same time, a CJK FTA is also essential for China because it would help China catch the pace of global rules-setting. More importantly, a CJK FTA could help level the playing field for Chinese firms to compete with foreign ones in the North East Asian markets.

To this end, efforts need to be made to promote a CJK FTA and its on-going negotiation. As suggested in its feasibility study report, a CJK FTA could contribute much to the regional economic prosperity as well as regional stability, therefore, enough priorities need to be given to a CJK FTA. China will welcome any progress towards a CJK FTA.



## **CJK FTA from a Political Economy Perspective**

**ZHU Caihua**

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On 29 Nov, 2012, economic and trade ministers from China, Japan and South Korea announced the launch of the FTA talk among the three countries. The first round of negotiations was held in Seoul, ROK in March, 2013. The latest 5th round closed in Beijing in September, 2014. The sixth round of negotiations will be held in Tokyo in the end of this November.

At a time when China and Japan, the ROK and Japan, were still caught in the territorial disputes and historical issues, CJK's choice to stick to their original commitment and proceed with the talks as planned proves that the three countries share the same view on the importance of the FTA to their national interests and regional integration. Since the three countries account for an overwhelmingly dominant share of gross domestic product (GDP) in East Asia, once concluded, the CJK FTA will have significant implications in terms of welfare of the region and of the countries involved as well. This paper is trying to provide a comprehensive understanding of these implications from a political economy perspective.

### **I. CJK FTA is a regional boon for East Asia**

#### **CJK FTA is of crucial importance in advancing regional integration.**

East Asia so far has established a number of bilateral and plurilateral FTAs but a region-wide FTA. So far, ASEAN is the leading force in the promotion of the East Asian regional cooperation. The RCEP (Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership), characterized with "ASEAN Centrality", is expected to demonstrate ASEAN's leadership in bringing together its own ten members and external partners to establish a region-wide FTA.

However, with the absence of the key bilateral (or trilateral) FTAs in Northeast Asia, the RCEP negotiations could hardly make breakthrough any time soon. Whether this East Asian community can be successfully established and what kind of community would be set up are still dependent on CJK cooperation because they are de facto most powerful countries in the region.

#### **CJK FTA will serve as a stabilizer of political relations in the region.**

The Germany-France case of regional integration in Europe has shown us a very good example to follow in pursuit of regional peace and stability. Considering the current tough situations of political relations among the three countries, especially the Sino-Japanese relations, it is quite

encouraging that the processes of the CJK FTA and RCEP negotiations seem not to be affected by the political tension.

## **II. CJK FTA is to the benefits of the three Northeast Asian countries**

The three countries have all adopted multi-track FTA strategy. CJK FTA, being one choice of their FTA strategies, provides both economic interests and strategic interests for the three countries.

### **Economic Interests**

1. CJK are quite geographically close, which means the largest potential trade and investment benefits simply because transportation cost and other exchange costs are lower among the three countries than with other countries. High transportation cost will make many goods non-traded even in free trade. Therefore, low cost means high efficiency (benefits).
2. CJK have a very high trade interdependence with each other. Export has long been an important economic growth factor for the three countries. Due to the weak markets in Europe and America, Japan and the ROK became increasingly dependent on Asian market, particularly East Asian market, to boost its trade and economic development. China, Japan and the ROK are now acting as one another's major export destination.
3. The three economies happen to be quite complementary. Complementarity means on one hand great trade potential, and on the other hand, huge cooperation potentials. The three countries may cooperate in many areas like new energy development and utilization, advanced electronics and IT technologies, ship building and high-end equipment manufacturing, etc.
4. CJK FTA will help strengthen East Asia's competitiveness in the global economy as the regional production networks may function more efficiently.

### **Strategic Interests**

In the background of the stalemate of the WTO Doha Round and proliferation of regional trade agreements (RTAs), more and more countries see FTAs as a strategy for them to increase their bargaining power in multilateral and regional trade negotiations, and even in other areas beyond economic issues. CJK is very important for all the three countries considering its strategic interests.

For China, as the world second largest economy, though it has signed 11 FTAs with 20 economies and is negotiating 8 other FTAs, it is currently excluded from the TPP negotiation, which, once in place, will have negative effect like trade and investment diversion.

For Japan, who is now the TPP negotiating member, and the ROK, who is willing to be the TPP member, CJK FTA will help the two countries to gain bargaining power in the TPP negotiations and other benefits considering their alliances with the United States.

### **III. CJK FTA provides different business interests for the industries within the individual countries**

The fact that each of the three countries as a whole will definitely gain from the CJK FTA does not ensure that the arrangement will be welcomed by all in terms of industries because some industries will gain while others will lose due to it. FTAs deliver concentrated economic gains to specific sectors that are highly dependent on foreign trade for imported inputs and exports of finished goods (e.g. steel, transport machinery and electronics). Therefore, business interests that represent export industries provide strong support for Japan and Korea's FTA drive. This is also the case with the CJK FTA. Such business interests like automobile and electronic sectors have played an integral role in facilitating the launching of FTA negotiations.

In contrast, the import-competing sectors generally oppose liberalization. For example, agricultural sector and small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) that compete with foreign companies for parts and components in Japan and the ROK tend to oppose the FTA.

Japanese and Korean farms are not competitive in international standards. Without substantial restructuring toward larger and more commercialized farms, Japanese and Korean farmers are highly vulnerable to foreign competition. More importantly, consumers in both countries exhibit strong concerns over the safety of imported food products.

China is also facing such tradeoffs when negotiating FTAs. Compared to Japan and the ROK, China retains a competitive advantage over agricultural products while a disadvantage over some manufacturing sectors like steel, machinery, chemical and automobile and even textile. Service sector is even more challenging for China. Other issues like investment, government procurement, intellectual property rights, environmental protection and technical standard are all hard to be addressed on the Chinese side because they call for deeper domestic reform. In China, there is also inter-ministerial conflicts which make it difficult for governments to liberalize sensitive sectors. As the lead agency to negotiate the FTA, the Ministry of Commerce is easily subject to pressure from other ministries and commissions to accommodate their interests.

### **IV. Can governments compensate those who lose?: Experience from the U.S. Trade Adjustment Assistance (TAA) program**

As a result of trade liberalization, some workers, firms and industries will gain while other workers, firms and industries will inevitably lose. Only when those who gain compensate those who lose will the process of trade liberalization be sustained. Without compensation, free trade will only lead to an increase in the aggregate national welfare rather than social welfare. Then losers will turn to seek protection and become barriers or obstacles to free trade. Therefore, if a government wants to maintain or even pursue a freer trade system, it must forge a domestic

political base in support of free trade. Trade Adjustment Assistance is a safety net provided by the U.S. government. TAA helps workers and firms adjust to dislocation that may be caused by increased trade liberalization. It is justified now, as it was then, on grounds that the government has an obligation to help the "losers" of policy-driven trade opening. TAA is also presented as an alternative to policies that would restrict imports, and so provides assistance while bolstering freer trade and diminishing prospects for potentially costly tension (retaliation) among trade partners. Today TAA remains important for forging a compromise on national trade policy. Similar policies can be seen in other economies like Canada, Australia, the EU, Japan and the ROK.

However, China is currently absent of such "free trade compensation mechanism". The only way to provide trade remedy is through anti-dumping and countervailing measures under the WTO.

## **V. Policy recommendation**

1. To improve bilateral ties between the three countries.
2. To strengthen connectivity among the three countries.
3. To establish an appropriate safety net in each country.





# CJK FTA in Asian Economic Integration 2.0

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## Outline

- ▶ CJK FTA is so behind, why?
- ▶ Diversion > Conversion
- ▶ Regional integration 2.0
- ▶ Resetting CJK: the agenda
- ▶ Conclusion

## CJK FTA Behind:

- ▶ Lack of Political will?
- ▶ Lacking in motivation (1): Big enough
- ▶ Lacking in motivation (2): Common goal? ≠ ASEAN hosting FDI
- ▶ Lacking in motivation (3): Sense of rising competition, Industrial adjustment costs

## Diverging interests

- ▶ Competitive liberalization
- ▶ Diverging interests:
  - Japan: FDI network/ Intra-firm Trade
  - ☞ EPA ≠ FTA (TPP: 21 sections), Pluri pacts
  - Korea: Market size, "FTA hub"
  - ☞ FTA+EPA, Bilateral Approach
  - China: Resource security, Trade friction
  - ☞ Resource rich partners, Market economy status under WTO

## Diverging FTAs among Japan, Korea and China (2):Concession level

- ▶ Japan, Korea: Quicker tariff lift (70-80%) vs. China (30-40%)
- ▶ ACFTA under enhancing right
  - Tariff reduction, not tariff lift
  - Mutualism in Sensitive items
- ▶ Japan's agro-protectionism: Long exclusion lists, Non ad valorem items

## Diverging FTAs among Japan, Korea and China (3):Service sector

- ▶ Smallest reservation by Japan (Positive list), and Smaller by Korea (Negative list) vs. China (Positive lists)
- Reserved measures in services:
  - China outstands in Business and Trade
  - Korea in Social/Personal and Telecom
  - Japan in Business and Construction
- ▶ Behind the border rules and regulations
- ▶ Slow deregulations on natural persons

Table 4. Reservation levels of FTAs on Service by Japan, Korea, China (UNOPC coded digit)

	K-Singapore	K-USA	C-NZ	C-ASEAN	J-Singapore	J-Thailand
Mode	Negative	Negative	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive
Items	180→100	246→262	296→313	541	189	175
Share(%)	26.7→14.8	36.44→38.81	59.00→46.00	80.6	28.00	25.9

Note: From present reservation → future reservation  
Source: Same as Table 2.

Table 5. Major categories for present reservation in FTAs (UNOPC coded digit)

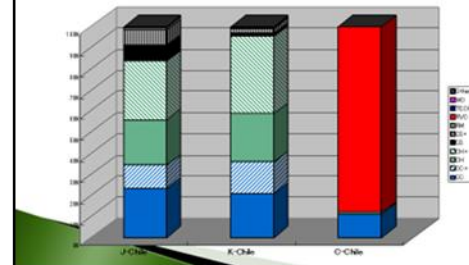
	K-Singapore	K-ASEAN	K-USA	C-ASEAN	C-NZ	J-Singapore	J-Thailand
Construction	54	54	54	35	35	35	25
Trade service	4	9	33	132	71	9	2
Transportation/Telecom	20	42	48	81	69	39	31
Business service	72	62	85	181	122	67	53
Social/Personal service	30	33	29	112	99	39	54

Source: Same as Table 2.

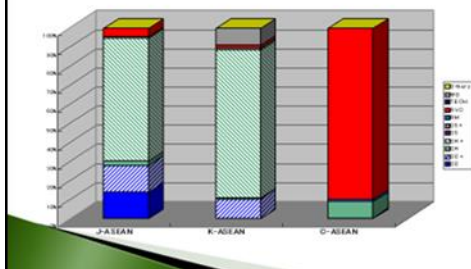
#### Diverging FTAs among Japan, Korea and China (4): Rule of Origin

- ▶ China: Simplest RoO by dominating RVC by 40% in ACFTA, CC and CH based rules+
  - ▶ Korea: Different RoO by counterparts (NAFTA and EU system), tendency for CC+, CH+
  - ▶ Japan: Consistent RoO policy based on CC and CH
- Converging trend with OECD members

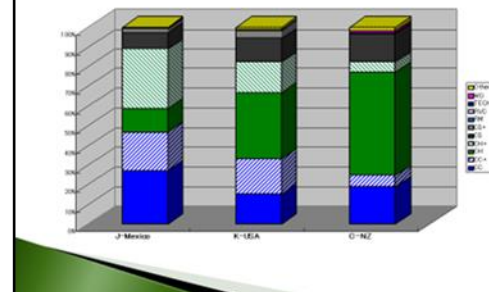
#### RoO with Chile



#### RoO with ASEAN



#### RoO with OECD members



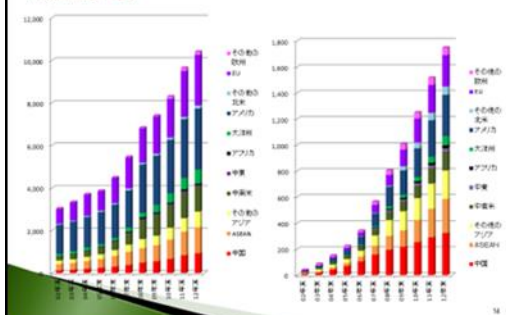
#### Post 2008 and the CJK economies (2)

- ▶ J, K: Different paths from the global shock
  - J: Appreciation of ¥ K: Won crisis
  - ⇒ J: FDI driven trade/ M&A, Upstream
  - ⇒ K: Export led recovery, Middle stream
- ▶ China: Mega policy packages
  - ⇒ Side effects ⇒ Structural reforms
  - ⇒ State enterprises > Private > SMEs
  - ⇒ Wage hikes ⇒ Consumption-led growth?
  - ⇒ From down to middle stream?

#### Post 2008 and the CJK economies

- ▶ Different response towards China:
  - J: FDI (services), Export substitution
  - K: FDI and Export drive (manufacturing)
  - ⇒ Soared dependence by K
  - ⇒ From vertical to horizontal division of labor
  - ⇒ K for more upstream (ex. Devices)
  - ⇒ C for more middle stream (ex. LCD)
- ▶ Stagnant innovation and productivity (CJK)
  - ⇒ More opened market, more NTMs, arbitrary regulation/ standard changes, SPS inspection

#### FDI stock: Japan vs. Korea (100million \$)



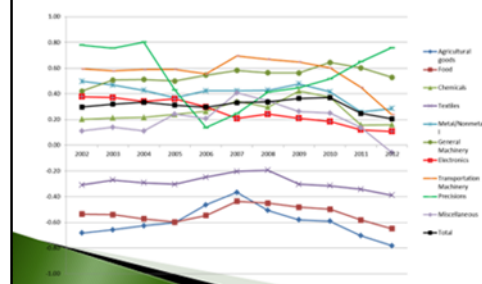
#### Japan's FDI Outstanding Portfolio (World, 2012)



## Japan's FDI Outstanding into Emerging Markets



## Trade Specialization by Japan and Korea



## Export Share of Electronics/ Intermediate goods by Japan and Korea (METI (2012))

Destination	Market share	Assigned share	2010
China	10.1%	10.1%	10.1%
USA	10.1%	10.1%	10.1%
EU	10.1%	10.1%	10.1%
ASEAN	10.1%	10.1%	10.1%
India	10.1%	10.1%	10.1%
Other Asia	10.1%	10.1%	10.1%
S. America	10.1%	10.1%	10.1%
E. Europe/Russia	10.1%	10.1%	10.1%
Middle East	10.1%	10.1%	10.1%
Africa	10.1%	10.1%	10.1%

## New questions : FTA is not a magic!

- Japan: Outsourcing vs. Domestic production (Reform in location advantage) FTA to push reform? (Gaiatsu)?, TPP leverage, TPP-RCEP hinge
- China: End of Export/Investment driven growth, Job creation/ Service/ SME as strategic interests?
- Korea: End of Hub strategy? (Merit of Pluri negotiation, Japan-US-EU FTA converge?)

## Regional integration 2.0 in East Asia

- Simultaneous negotiations: AEC, RCEP, TPP CJK and WTO (Pluri-lateral approach)
- Beyond "Competitive Liberalization" by bi-lateral FTAs (Intra-regional trade > Inter-regional trade)
- Bi-lateral+ Regional + Global (Pluri-lateral approach)
- From FTA to EPA packages
- Evolving tradition of cooperation: Connectivity

## Agenda: RCEP

- Conversion?: J/ANZ (EPA) vs. C/K (FTA+BIT+ITSA)
- Concession level: Beyond "Mutualism" in ACFTA
- Setting up common tariffs?
- Conversing RoO, Promoting SC
- Liberalization + Cooperation? (Connectivities)
- Pushing up late comers (Myanmar)
- Making India productive participant

## Agenda: WTO and Pluri-lateral approach

- May prevent "Noodle bowl effects" of FTA/EPA
- May enhance functionalism: ex. Japan-Korea in ITA+, TISA without EPA
- Institutional sustainability? (ex. ACTA ratification)
- Consistency with WTO principles, Ad hoc agenda settings
- No disadvantages for late comers?

## Implication for CJK FTA (1)

- Market realities matters: Careful studies on IIT find cooperation seeds
- Institutions for industrial adjustment, Fair trade policy, Market economy status for China
- WTO-consistent FTA and political capacity
- Behind-the-border issues: Standards and MRA, SPS, IPR, Environment....

### Implication for CJK FTA (2)

- ▶ Internal politics matters: Market cannot save the politics
- J: Gap in economy and political vested interests
- K: Economic democratization?
- C: Industrial adjustment and political reform
- ▶ FTA coordinated with the new growth strategies
- J: Deregulations
- K: Innovation
- C: Productivity

### Where to cooperate?

- (1) Trade: Modality including sensitive sectors, Conversion of ASEAN+1 (ROO), Facilitation
  - ☞ Depoliticize the negotiation process
  - ☞ Let the market to lead (ex. Logistics?)
  - ☞ Focus on investor protection (ISDS? Upgrading BIT....)
- (2) Cooperation strategy: Making the accumulation effects work, Sharing interests
  - ☞ Service/ SME/ Medical care...
  - ☞ Local to Local
  - ☞ Deregulation, Competition policy, Standards

### Where to cooperate (2)

- (3) Macro economic dialogue
  - ☞ Stop currency war type of ideas
  - ☞ Reducing financial risks: Settlements, Crisis prevention
- (4) Movement of persons: Professionals
  - ☞ Networks for Accountability (ex. IPR protection, SPS, Environment...)
  - ☞ Finding complementarity

### Resetting Agenda for CJK

- ▶ What for? : The real, common incentives for integration?
- ▶ Time commitment: Never shared visions and prospects without sense of time
- ▶ Too much sovereignty: Market-led integration constraints / FTA as the policy tool, not the goal
- ▶ Strategic common: Aging, Jobs, Financial reform...
- ▶ Geopolitics: Taiwan, North Korea

### Conclusion

- ▶ Diverging CJK interests
- ▶ Economic integration 2.0: Complementing AEC, RCEP, TPP
- ▶ CJK initiatives?
- ▶ Finding strategic common goal/ Time Commitment
- ▶ Agenda: Adjusting capacity, Growth strategy, Service/ IPR, New functionalism, Geopolitics



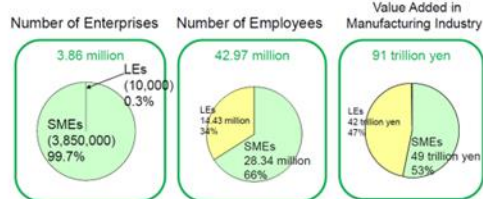


## Why SMEs in Japan matter with regard to the trade in the region now?

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SMEs account for 99.7% of the total number of enterprises in Japan (3.86 million companies).



Source: METI, Census of Manufactures (2010)  
Recompiled from MIC, Economic Census for Business Frame (2009)  
Economic Census for Business Activity (2012)

### How are the attitudes of the SMEs in Japan vis-à-vis doing business abroad?

It depends on types and business model of SMEs

- Focus on "local to local" business
- Outward bound: "local to global" business
- Combined style

The SME's export value remains around 10%

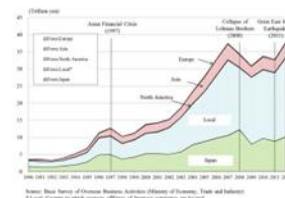
### Why regional trade matters?

Depends on wide-range of Business models:

- Finished goods made in China, Korea, export to Japan
- Parts/components made in Japan, exported to/assembled, sold in China, Korea
- Parts/components imported from Japan, assembled in China, Korea and exported to the 3rd market
- Parts/components exported from China, Japan, Korea, assembled in other countries than CJK, reimported to China, Japan, Korea
- Parts/components imported from China, Korea, assembled in other countries than CJK, and exported to the 3rd market

### How about the relevant companies in recipient countries? Can they have advantages by inbound investments?

Chart: Purchases by Japanese Manufacturing Affiliates in Asia



### How can SMEs in the region deal with any difficulties which might occur abroad?

- Advantage:
  - "Global niche top"
  - Quick, prompt in decision
  - Resilient
- Disadvantage:
  - Resource constraint in money, human resources and information

### What kinds of viewpoints are important/crucial for the SMEs' trade/investment in the region?

- Keen on Trade/Investment/IPRs rules, Security/Transparency such as
  - Burdensome process on Rule of origin
  - HS(Harmonized Commodity Description and Coding System) application
  - Insufficient level of IPR protection
  - Lack of detailed information on the process/Need for the information hub etc.



## Talking Points

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### **Arguments against FTAs**

(FTAs in general) Opponents of FTAs argue that an FTA would increase imports, resulting in a decline in the production of import-competing domestic goods, which in turn would reduce employment.

(Reduction in agricultural protection resulting from an FTA) In addition to the point made above, opponents of FTAs in Japan argue that reduction in agricultural production would have negative impacts on wide ranging aspects of the Japanese economy and society because agriculture provides the Japanese economy and society with various benefits characterized as multi-functionality, which includes conservation of environment and landscape, preservation of culture, protection of rural economy, ensuring food security and others.

### **Assessment of these arguments**

These "negative" impacts presented by the opponents may be realized if appropriate government policies are not applied. However, the negative impacts can be avoided or moderated by applying appropriate policies such as phase-in gradual tariff reduction, provision of safety net, etc. It is important to realize that maintaining protection is not the best policy to realize the benefits from agriculture's multi-functionality. Furthermore, it is of utmost importance to realize that trade liberalization benefits consumers in terms of price reduction and increasing variety/diversity of products and that trade liberalization is an engine of economic growth. Trade liberalization ignites the growth mechanism as it would shift productive resources such as labor and capital from non-competitive (protected) sectors to competitive sectors. As such, maintaining protection kills the chance for the economy to achieve economic growth.

### **Unexpected benefits from FTAs, which are not foreseen by the protectionists?**

Removal of protection promotes exports. This is because profits from export sales increases relative to the profits from sales in domestic market as a result of removing protection, making the producers (farmers) realize business opportunity in foreign markets. Once the producers (farmers) are successful in exporting, they can expect an improvement in productivity through acquiring advance knowledge in agriculture and undertaking R&D, which in turn would expand their exports.



## Opening statement

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### **1. Who are the winners and the losers? Actual impact on growth and welfare**

■ Considering the expansion of globalization and the entailing changes to the global trade environment, trade liberalization represented by neoliberalism may be an inevitable trend. From its first negotiation for a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with Chile in 1999 to the most recent Canada-South Korea FTA officially signed this September, Korea has signed 13 FTAs with its counterparts and is currently negotiating six others, including Korea-China and Korea-China-Japan FTAs. Currently, South Korea accounts for up to 60% of FTAs with other countries.

■ Have Korea's FTAs benefited the producers and consumers?

■ For the Korea-Chile FTA, the Korean government projected that annual exports would grow by \$660 million, while imports would be limited to an increase of \$260 million. However, the balance of trade in 2013 showed exports at \$2,461 million and imports at \$4,657 million, resulting in a trade deficit of \$2,196 million.

Then, the automotive industry was expected to be the biggest beneficiary of the FTA; however, the market share of Korean carmakers in Chile showed little change from 18.1% to 17.9%. Meanwhile, the import price per kilogram of Chilean grapes increased by 104% from \$1.49 in 2003 to \$3.04 in 2013. Over the same period, the import price of US grapes increased a mere 42% from \$1.86 to \$2.56. This is because the Chilean exporters continuously raised the export price; thus, the benefits of the FTA favored the Chilean exporters, not the Korean consumers.

■ The Korea-EU FTA, which marked its third anniversary this year, has turned into a deficit from a \$20 billion surplus prior to its enforcement. The deficit gap increased to \$7.3 billion last year. Meanwhile, the Korea-ASEAN FTA indicated further opening of the market is necessary for export expansion – only 38.7% of the FTA is utilized by the Korean companies for their exports due to the tariff concessions and the lower level of market opening in sectors such as petrochemicals, metals, and the automotive industry, which are the major export items for Korea.

■ What about the Korea-US FTA?

According to the press release by the Korean government this March, exports to the US for the past year increased by 5.4%. However, a careful examination of the main index for items reveals a contrary result, thus contradicting the government's report. For the past year, the export growth rate to the US for non-beneficiary items (items excluded from tariff elimination or suspension) was 5.7%, while the same rate for beneficiary items (tariff elimination items) was limited to 4.9%.

In the automotive sector, cars which are a tariff item, picked up by 14.7% in the second year after the agreement, while auto parts which are a non-tariff item, grew only 8.3%. Unlike the government's claim, the Korea-US FTA has not contributed much to exports to the US.

■ If the past provides any guidance, Korea's FTAs do not result in as rosy a picture as proclaimed. FTAs are like a double-edged sword. It should be noted that the conclusion of an FTA itself is not enough; the key is how we utilize it, as this will decide the future of our nation.

**2. Government responses: Challenges and limitation of compensation mechanism**

■ The biggest victim in the process of Korea's trade liberalization is the agriculture sector.

■ From the Uruguay Round negotiation in 1992 until 2013, the Korean government injected 221 trillion won into the agricultural sector. The government aid came in various forms including rice subsidies to compensate for farmer's loss of income, subsidies to improve facilities, and low-interest long-term loans.

■ Despite such measures, and with the agriculture policies since the FTAs, the current status of the agricultural sector is a bit dismal.

■ As part of its post-FTA measures, the government encouraged a corporate farming policy in order to induce larger farm lands- then most farmers were small scale land owners and less competitive. By that policy, the government intended to increase the sector's competitive edge through economies of scale.

■ The results was undesirable. The gap between the rich and the poor in rural areas has only deepened compared to urban areas. In 2000, the upper 20% of rural households in terms of income earned 7.6 times more than the average income of the lower 20%, but the gap widened significantly to 11.7 times in 2010.



- Due to the low value creation in agricultural production, the aging of the rural population has accelerated. The rural population-aging rate (population ratio of those 65 years or older) in 1995 was a mere 16.2%, but the rate rapidly increased to 37.5% in 2013. This is three times higher than the national rate of 12.2%.
  
- Worse still, there was a large illegal social scandal in 2008 surrounding the rice subsidies fund allotted for farmers. It is reported that 173,947 people, including 40,421 public officials and 8,442 government-owned corporation employees who were not engaged in farming fraudulently received 168.3 billion won.
  
- Previously, Korea had encouraged farmers to leave the rural areas to meet the labor demands in cities. The farming subsidy fund measures could have worked as useful incentives for these workers to return to the farming industry. However, in the wake of the fraudulent rice subsidy scandal, the government amended the subsidy measures by making only large-acreage farms eligible for the subsidy - increasing the eligible farm size by 10 times compared to the previous program. Accordingly, small farming house-holds could no longer benefit from the subsidy, now only benefiting larger corporate farming.
  
- Due to such ineffective government policies, the 2013 OECD survey conducted on the 34 member countries showed a poor performance for Korea. Korea's agriculture market share ranked 25th, its Revealed Comparative Advantage (RCA) 33rd, and its Trade Specification Index 32nd.
  
- The agriculture industry is still a valuable public good despite its vulnerable comparative advantage. We should shed new light on the agriculture industry as it contains a number of values, such as food security, national land management, the environment, and ecosystem conservation, which cannot only be measured through 'the theory of comparative advantage'. Only then can sustainable national growth be guaranteed.
  
- Though protecting free trade is important, we cannot give up preserving agriculture. We do not need to trade off one against the other; both of the goals should be achieved simultaneously.
  
- However, the Korean government is not fully recognizing this. Although the impoverished status of the agriculture industry draws national attention, the government treats the voices of farmers as mere resistance from some farmers who are disadvantaged in the industry, leading it to only dole out short-term measures.

- Thus, the Korean government must break from the existing conceptual framework of FTAs to secure sustainable growth.

### **3. Long-term effects: economic, political, and social implications**

#### **Korea-Japan FTA**

- In March 2002, the heads of state of Korea and Japan agreed to establish the Korea-Japan FTA Joint Study Group with representatives of the business, government, and academic communities. With the first Korea-Japan FTA Joint Study Group meeting in July 2002, the Group adopted and announced the final report.

Since the first Korea-Japan FTA negotiation in December 2003, the negotiations effectively stalled with the 6th negotiation in November 2004 as the last meeting. Working level meetings followed to renew the FTA negotiations; however, the third working level meeting in June 2012 was the final meeting between the two countries with no developments for further negotiations.

- The prospect of renewing the FTA talks is unclear, considering the relations between the two countries are strained to their worst state since the normalization of diplomatic relations.

#### **Korea-China FTA**

- The Korean government is pursuing the Korea-China FTA to secure an economic advantage in the rapidly growing Chinese domestic market. The first negotiation was held in May 2012 with a total of 13 official meetings up until September 2014.

- The summit meeting at the Beijing between Korea and China have concluded substantive negotiations on a bilateral free trade agreement (FTA) in November 10, 2014 and will finalize the agreement's wording by the end of 2014.

- As is known, the biggest issue in the Korea-China FTA is the agriculture industry. While the Korea-EU and Korea-US FTA have disadvantages for some fruit products and livestock, the Korea-China FTA will have more across-the-board disadvantages for the agricultural sectors.

- Due to the geographical proximity and similar food consumption pattern and agricultural and fishery production structure, the impact of the Korea-China FTA is expected to increase imports from China, thus significantly lowering the domestic production of these products.

- In particular, China, with its massive labor force, will have far more price competitiveness in virtually the same kind of agricultural products that are produced in Korea. For example, chili pepper imported from China, which has a basic tariff rate of 270%, amounted to 95,635 tons

(import amount of \$112million) last year, close to Korea's domestic production amount of 117,816 tons. In addition, Korea imported \$91 million of Chinese sesame seed despite the basic tariff rate of 630%.

- It will be virtually impossible for Korean agricultural products to compete against their Chinese counterparts once the tariffs are reduced with the enforcement of FTA, which in turn will have a significant negative impact on Korea's agricultural industry.

- Korea has become the biggest exporter to China, outpacing Japan for the first time last year. However, exports to China are dropping this year, and Korea's market share is also declining in most sectors except machinery and electronic products. A case in point is the IT sector. Although Korea is known to much competitive in the IT sector, the technical gap between Korea and China is being narrowed.

- The most recent case in point is Xiaomi. The Chinese smartphone manufacturer has surpassed Samsung Electronics in China's mobile phone market. China already claims 1st place for seven of the 22 items in the International Standard Industrial Classification (ISIC). In addition, China is also in 1st place in the production of 220 items among the world's 500 major industrial products. Accordingly, Korea will likely suffer sluggish exports and a shrinking market share for items that have no technological gap with China once the FTA goes into effect.

#### **Korea-China-Japan FTA**

- The three countries launched the FTA negotiations in November 2012, and the 6th round of negotiations is scheduled for November 2014.

- The Korea-China-Japan FTA will create the world's third largest market in the region, accounting for up to 20% of the total world GDP and amounting to \$1.4 trillion with a population of 1.5 billion.

- The FTA will have the political implication of loosening the tension in the region. Currently, the three countries suffer the so-called "Asian paradox", which describes the economic interdependence of the three countries while also experiencing political and security conflicts.

#### **4. Conclusion**

- Korea has aggressively reached FTA agreements with other countries since the 1990s. Korea is now the 'FTA-hub country' with agreements with 60% of the countries around the globe, securing 41% of the world's population as its consumer market. The government has been actively promoting the various economic effects of FTAs. However, as previously seen, the results

of the Korea-Chile, Korea- ASEAN, and Korea-US FTAs have not been as significant as the government claimed.

■ The global trend of world market integration is unavoidable. The summit meeting between Korea and China declared the FTA agreement within this year. However, Korea faces the stark reality that the agricultural industry might have to consider giving up farming, while the expected benefits in the manufacturing sector are also decreasing due to the narrowing technological gap with China.

■ The Chinese government reportedly is rigid in amending its domestic rules to comply with the FTA in the current FTA negotiations with its Korean counterpart.

■ The goal of FTAs is to eliminate each country's trade barriers in order to integrate the global market. The industrial sector and groups with capital and competitiveness will benefit from realizing economies of scale, while the disadvantaged sector and individuals in competition will suffer the negative ramifications. Now is the time to reflect and examine the excessive emphasis on the speed of FTA agreements without providing proper safeguards for the industries and individuals that are vulnerable to the FTAs.



## Opening statement

**KIL Jeong-Woo**

**Member of the 19th National Assembly Republic of Korea, Saenuri Party / Trade,  
Industry and Energy Committee**

Korea-Japan-China's meeting together to seek ways of cooperation is very meaningful itself. And considering the current tension in such relationship discussion on non-political, non-security issues is preferable and raises expectation of fruitful outcome and its spillover effect to the overall relations in the region.

This new endeavor will provide us with an opportunity to anticipate three major countries in East Asia to figure out that they have more room to cooperate rather than confront each other.

Korea-China FTA is now at the final stage of completion after the two Summits announced in Beijing, but Korea-Japan FTA negotiations stopped since June 2012 due to political reasons. Korea is currently paying more attention to finalizing the Korea-China FTA and might resume Korea-Japan FTA talks as part of her efforts of extending to the Korea-China-Japan trilateral FTA but with no time schedule. Korea seems to think the ongoing TPP (Trans-Pacific Partnership) negotiations led by the U.S. come out in reality with the similar effect of U.S.-Japan FTA. Then Korea should decide whether officially join the TPP with taking advantage of the effect of Korea-Japan FTA.

Korea is proud of being a champion of Free Trade Agreement and promotes the concept of bilateral free trade regime as a win-win formula. However, in reality, there is no mutually beneficial agreement in the short term perspective. We, therefore, would better approach the FTA with a broader politico- economic perspective and in a longer time span.

Then, we should persuade our own people in diverse interest by explaining why the current compromise will come with further benefit later and make a win-win bilateral relationship and become sustainable. In addition, bilateral FTA as well as a trilateral FTA will provide a common ground for three countries to create in other regions and countries a new market of collaborated product and services.

Korea's agricultural sector and livestock industry is vulnerable to imported produce and the Korean government has always been struggling to put together a compensation package for the

influenced. However, on the other hand, such compensation often draws criticism from the market-oriented voices. They claim that the government's compensation for the farmers affected by the FTA will undercut the competitiveness of the agricultural sector rather than boost because the farmers become complacent not to compete against the foreign imported produce. However, helping the farmers suffering from low competitiveness is to become top priority of the politicians who represent rural constituent.

Discussions about economic and non-conventional economic issues including environmental ones are making the positive setting for three Asian countries to extend the cooperative spirit to political and security debate which seem to be hopeless considering multiple of issues of conflict and confrontation, i.e. interpretation of past history, territorial dispute.

Surely cooperation among three Asian countries in trade will affect other areas of finance and industry and build the common ground for prosperity of Asia as a whole.

Sharing the regretful context of the Asian Paradox, Korea also provides the root cause of disputes due to geopolitical context of divided Peninsula. That is why Korea has every reason to make further efforts in initiating the peace mechanism through enhancing socio-economic prosperity of Korea, China and Japan.

As part of its own efforts to contribute expanding free trade regime by tackling non-economic issues, Korea has tried to insert the clause of outward processing zone at the FTA document. Currently Gaesung Industrial Complex in North Korea is the only working one in this category. This complex is a symbol of inter-Korean economic cooperation and future collaboration in other areas which eventually lower the tension in the Peninsula as well as in Asia as a whole.

Korea should make a decision sooner rather than later whether to officially declare Korea will join the TPP led by the U.S.; and also make an announcement to join the RCEP led by China. Such decision should not be made out of Korea's strategic calculations in between Washington, D.C. and Beijing, but the reality shows us unstable and fragile peace cannot guarantee sustainable prosperity.

Therefore, at the first forum to seek cooperation of CJK we mostly focus on economic and environmental issues, but we won't be free from extended discussion of political economy of the trading system in the region.



## Talking Points

**AHN Choong Yong**

**Chairman, Korean Commission on Corporate Partnership / Distinguished Professor,  
Graduate School of International Studies, Chung-Ang University**

1. Bilateral or plural-lateral FTAs are normally concluded among like-minded countries in terms of trade regime and economic management, let alone political system.
2. The question of assessing who wins or loses via free trade deals on a national level cannot be answered based on a few years impacts. Its full evaluation requires a long term passage of years after effectuation of any FTAs. However, on a micro-sector level such as agricultural sector or autos, one might be able to say winners and losers by looking at the depth and coverage of concessions stipulated under free trade deals.
3. In the absence of formal effectuation of any FTA deals among CJK yet, potential impacts therefrom must be assessed in terms of East Asian, Asia Pacific integration efforts, and WTO perspectives.
4. Since the Asian financial crisis, East Asian economies, basically ASEAN plus China, Japan, Korea has developed a concept of "East Asian Identity" by developing CMI and ABMI to avoid recurrence of financial contagion triggered by extra-regional shocks.
5. East Asia has not fully utilized its in-born potential for regional cooperation compared to the regional integration efforts achieved in the EU and NAFTA. The underutilization is clear from the fact the intra-regional trade ratio of East Asia has remained far lower than that of the EU and NAFTA. However, it is increasingly clear that East Asian economic dynamism has led world growth by a remarkable growth of emerging East Asia.
6. CJK's respective FTA strategy could be analyzed from three different perspectives: a) how economic and political hegemonic rivalry between China and Japan and for that matter between the U.D. and China evolves, b) how the U.S. crafts its pivot to Asia policy, and c) how Korea map out its trade strategy while taking into consideration its economic benefit and cost and Korea's unification agenda.

**7.** The economic landscape of the Asia-Pacific rim appears to be undergoing a rapid transition due to two ongoing, intra-regional, mega economic-bloc movements, namely the U.S. anchored TPP and China and ASEAN-led RCEP. The U.S.-anchored TPP has been designed to create jobs and serves as the economic plank of a U.S. "pivot" to Asia aimed at neutralizing the rise of China. From the onset of the talks in March 2010, TPP countries have sought to craft a "21st century" trade pact. Their goal is to make it comprehensive in scope, covering policies including a new set of trade rules that affect trade and investment in goods and services.

**8.** The RCEP is being negotiated by the ASEAN + C-J-K + Australia, India and New Zealand. ASEAN triggered the RCEP initiative after having bilateral FTAs with six other nations. China became very enthusiastic about the RCEP after seeing the TPP become enlarged and robust by U.S. leadership. China appears to pursue RCEP a counterweight against TPP.

**9.** While the TPP and RCEP might contain geopolitical objectives, their goals are different. The TPP aimed to create the next generation of trade rules, while the RCEP was trying to construct a unified market. The TPP and RCEP have their critics, but it is desired that they will pave the way for more comprehensive trade arrangements down the road in Asia. Eventually, they need to serve as building blocks toward a conclusion of the stalled Doha Round under the WTO and Free Trade Area of the Asia-Pacific (FTAAP). Both mega deals need to be crafted in an open regionalism in the Asia-Pacific.

**10.** However, the U.S. and China at the moment appear to race toward a conclusion of the mega-trade deals to balance each other economically and politically in the Asia Pacific region.

**11.** All the negotiating members, except India, of both the TPP and RCEP contain an intersection of seven economies and constitute the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) entity. This body envisions a free trade-oriented Asia-Pacific community. In 1994, all the APEC leaders at Bogor, Indonesia adopted the Bogor goals, which aim for free and open trade and investment in the Asia-Pacific by 2010 for developed economies and by 2020 for developing economies. Although the APEC process has been slow, the U.S., China and Japan have been committed to APEC's goal, creating specifically a Free Trade Area of the Asia-Pacific.

**12.** A hegemonic rivalry view between the U.S. and China can be muted, given the fact that some Chinese opinion leaders expressed their interest in joining the TPP down the road and the U.S. also welcomes China's entry to the TPP when China is ready to join by meeting a basic entry standard. In recent years, China and the U.S. have become increasingly interlocked in terms of trade and China's purchase of the lion's share of U.S. treasury bills. The more the U.S. and China



play a zero-sum hostile game for the sake of hegemonic leadership, the more unlikely it is that the APEC goals in the Asia-Pacific rim economies will be realized.

**13.** It was formally announced on November 10, 2014 at a side line of the APEC leaders meeting in Beijing that Korea and China concluded an FTA deals while addresses liberalization in services, investment, origin, SPS, TBT, IPR, e-commerce, etc. While pursuing the bilateral FTA with China, Korea considered the fact that China is Korea's number one trading partner, bigger than Korea's combined trade volume with the U.S. and Japan, and most favored destination for outbound foreign direct investment. China is also a strategic and influential partner of Korea's security policy against North Korea for the prevention of its nuclear ambitions.

**14.** Through Korea-China FTA, China can establish a foothold to reinforce economic leverage against the U.S. in the Asia-Pacific region. China is likely to use the trade pact to gain momentum for early conclusion of RCEP. The Korea-China FTA might also provide a new momentum for CJK FTA. With Korea-China FTA, Korea could help facilitate a convergence process of the two mega trade deals by ensuring a strict implementation of trade rules.

**15.** Korea was also invited to join the TPP by the U.S. after the conclusion of the KORUS FTA. Given these various integration paths, Korea should have joined as a TPP founding member for not only its own national interest, but also the eventual integration of the TPP and RCEP toward the FTAAP.

**16.** Korea-China FTA should ensure an enforcement of IPR, labor standard, transparency of SOEs, investor protection, etc. To the extent that Korea and China have succeeded in upgrading both countries' economic system, especially China's market economic system on a level playing field, it would be beneficial for every country, including the U.S., which has deep trade and investment linkages with China. A more transparent market system of the Chinese economy would help lead China to join the TPP down the road. Although very slow in progress, the C-J-K FTA can also contribute new momentum for Asia-Pacific trade liberalization once it gains momentum to move forward.

**17.** Korea also expressed its interest in joining TPP and is now having consultation with individual "founding member country." Korea has already established effective bilateral FTAs or concluded bilateral FTAs with major economies of TPP except Japan. Therefore, Korea's interest in joining TPP would be the market opening of Japan's service sector, including government procurement and NTB matters. If the U.S. succeeds in liberalizing further Japan's "so called" sensitive sectors, such as agricultural products, service sectors including the government market and NTBs, it would be a good incentive for Korea to join the TPP more aggressively.

- 18.** Even in the absence of formal trilateral FTA, CJK needs to pursue an active cross-border FDI flows to strengthen on-going supply chains to strengthen their status as global manufacturing power house.
- 19.** CJK need to work out a peaceful resolution of the history issues and territorial disputes to build up mutual trust each other.
- 20.** Intra-regional tourism must be encouraged via an early version of open sky agreement and expanding low cost carrier flight and routes.
- 21.** The proposed AIIB needs to be institutionalized by following global standard in terms of its governance, equity shares, and transparency. It should also focus more on public infrastructures in entire Asia including Northeast Asia to attract more members.



## Talking Points

**AHN Dukgeun**

**Associate Dean of International Affairs / Professor, GSIS, Seoul National University**

### **1. China-Korea FTA**

- Future possibility to enhance the current agreement
- Expect to increase mutual trade most
- China's opportunity to embrace major market liberalization through FTAs
  - Important step forward for China to adopt FTA disciplines as well as market access
  - Further progress towards rule oriented trade system
- Major challenges for Korea in respect of industry restructuring
  - Rapid reliance on China's economy and trade
  - Industry restructuring in terms of horizontal and vertical integration
  - Future agricultural market liberalization
- Geopolitically a very important FTA due to North Korea and Taiwan
  - China-Taiwan FTA
  - South-North Korea FTA

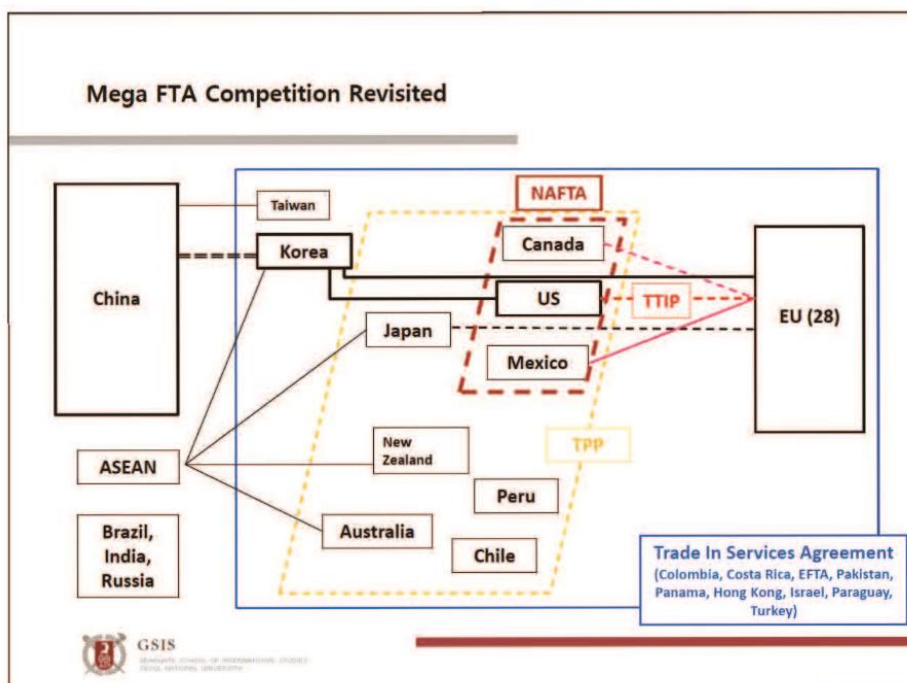
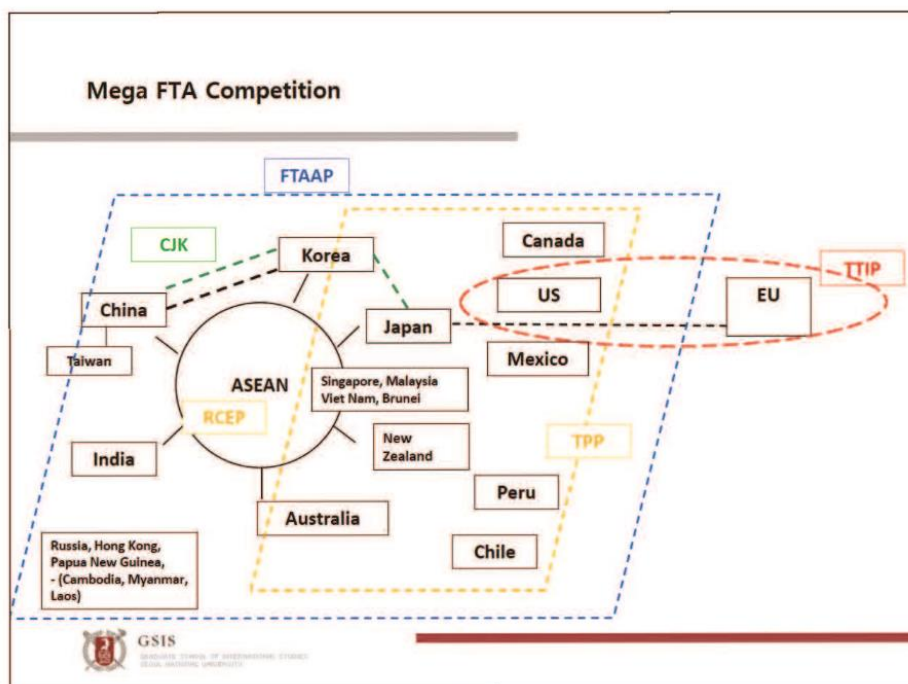
### **2. China-Japan-Korea (CJK) FTA**

- CJK FTA to be negotiated more seriously after China-Korea FTA
- After the conclusion of the TPP - particularly with participation of Korea, more realistic
- CJK FTA will be a stepping board for further CJK cooperation for the future or an outcome of stabilized CJK relationship
  - In any case, need political re-stabilization of CJK
- CJK FTA can help RCEP's progress
  - ASEAN centered RCEP may be redefined

### **3. TPP Negotiation**

- Korea to join TPP
  - Already clarified the intention to join, so timing is an issue essentially for incumbent members
- Backdoor Japan-Korea FTA

- Rice market negotiation for Korea may be a big problem
  - Rice issue between Japan and Korea
- Major development to deepen global supply chain among member countries
- Agglomeration (or networking) effects will make costs for non-members bigger when more countries join to the TPP





## **Environmental cooperation from a perspective of the East Asian integration**

**HUAN Qingzhi**

**Professor, School of Marxism, Peking University**

In East Asia, there still lacks of an EU-like supranational agency of environmental governance. The question arisen from this fact is that, if any, where and when such a kind of institutional actor may come from? And which role will it play in the process of creating a regional community in this area?

### **Regional integration and the Neo-functionalism Theory**

Undoubtedly, the most developed regional community in contemporary world is the European Union (EU)–in terms of the institutional structure, it is very much like a federal state at the supranational level. And, a commonly recognized theory explaining the evolution of EU/European integration is the Neo-functionalism.

The main idea of Neo-functionalism:

- 1) Functional necessity will result in the establishment of trans-national agency of governance (from low to high politics fields).
- 2) Following with the establishment and its operation of trans-national agency, citizens' identity/loyalty will also gradually transfer from national to super-national level ("spill-over effects").

As for the latter, there are still lots of controversies over to what extent the European people have so far developed an EU identity/loyalty. However, over the past more than half century, the EU has indeed transformed itself from an economic organization (EC/EEC/ECSC) to a state-like entity.

What is the relevance of Neo-functionalism Theory for us to think about the future of East Asia as a regional community? In my point of view, an appropriate starting-point should also be the economic issues such as FTA and/or other "low-politics" issues such as environmental governance.

### **Trans-boundary environmental issues and their potentials as a "catalyzer"**

How to identify/define the trans-boundary environmental issues in the East Asia? In my own understanding, there are two ways to do so: In a narrow sense and in a broad sense.

In the narrow sense, it should refer to the environmental problems which bring about some regional (physically trans-boundary) and/or comprehensive (economic, social and ecological) negative effects. The examples for the former are the sandstorm problem and the fog and haze problem in China, the nuclear power plant accident(2012) in Japan, and for the latter are the high amount of warm gas emission in China(1), Japan(5) and Korea(9), as well as the reduction of biological diversity in this region. Therefore, at the beginning, the CJK should focus on the “real” trans-boundary environmental issues, and the trans-boundary environmental issues which have been covered by the international treaties / laws, to target at the improvement of regional problems and the implementation of international agreements at the regional level.

### **Possibilities and prospects: Institutional environmental cooperation at the East Asian level**

1) TEMM (Tripartite EM Meeting since 1999)–A policy dialogue mechanism. According to its action plan in 2012, they will focus on: environmental education and public participation, climate change, biodiversity protection, sandstorm, pollution control, environmentally-friendly society, trans- boundary transfer of e-waste, environmental management in East Asia, and environmental industry and technology.

In addition:

- a) NEASPEC (东北亚次区域环境合作计划): established in 1993, it holds annual meetings attended by the high environmental officials of the six member countries (CJK+MRNK).
- b) NEAC (东北亚环境合作会议): another inter-governmental mechanism for policy dialogue established in 1992 (without NK).

And, the issue-focused mechanisms:

- a) NOW-PAP (西北太平洋行动计划): founded in 1994 as a regional sub-project of the UNEP-led program (CJK+R).
- b) EANET (东亚酸沉降监测网): initiated by Japan in 1988.
- c) DSS-RETA (区域沙尘技术支持计划): initiated by CJKM and started to work in 2003.
- d) YSLME (黄海大海洋生态系统战略行动项目): a CK-supported project started in 2005.

The major problems or defects of these mechanisms:

- a) Lacking of coordination among the different cooperative mechanisms
- b) Lacking of a stable financial resources for the different cooperative mechanisms
- c) With government as the major player, lacking of participation of other actors in the cooperative mechanism.
- d) Lacking of policy/envision consensus of regional governance among the CJK.

## 2) ASENA+3

Formally established in 1997 targeting at a East Asia Community, and environmental issue became one of the eight key policy areas in 1999 which is further recognized by the EASG report in 2002. In November 2002, the first EMM meeting held in Vientiane. However, "ASENA+3" is mainly a policy forum for information exchange, rather than policy negotiation and policy implementation.

## 3) APEC

It was established in 1989 and since then it has been enlarging its members and cooperative fields. It has 21 full members at the moment, and has incorporated the environmental issue into its agenda since 1996 (the APEC Beijing Center for EP). However, it is mainly an economic policy forum, and the annual summit is its major decision-making body or mechanism.

Major policy suggestions:

- 1) To establish/strengthen an independent office/secretariat as well as regular working groups implementing the action plan or decisions made by the CJK ministers;
- 2) To create a higher level dialogue among the CJK leaders within the summit framework;
- 3) To establish a regional agency capable of issuing annual report with policy suggestions (like EEA).



## **East Asian Countries (CJK) Cooperation in Climate Mitigation: Necessity and Opportunity**

**WANG Xuedong**

**Professor, Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, Sun Yat-sen University**

### **I Background**

Slowing global warming is among the most complex economic, political and diplomatic challenges of our time. Cutting greenhouse gas emissions from burning coal, petroleum, and other traditional fossil fuels will require innovational policies and hard work by governments in East Asia, not only in economically stagnated Japan, but also in rapidly developing countries like South Korea and China. When it comes to energy consumption and energy dependency, however, few countries outrank China, along with Japan, and Korea. Thus, there are great challenges in addressing the problem with the economically and politically-feasible strategies for combating global climate disruption that enhance economic growth, employment opportunities and overall quality of life in CJK (China-Japan- Korea).

### **II Why CJK need cooperation?**

In response to the circumstances we mention before, CJK have adopted the ambitious targets for reducing its dependence on energy imports and its carbon emissions simultaneously. In particular, China, the world leading carbon emitter, already makes it clear to cut the carbon intensity by 40 percent to 45 percent by 2020 from the 2005 level, and non-fossil fuel taking up around 15% in the basic energy consumption. Japan pledges to reduce its GHGs emission 3.8% cut at the 2005 level by 2020, with the highly ambitious zero nuclear plan goal. Meanwhile, South Korea has the plan for cutting its energy intensity by nearly half by 2030. It also called for reducing the dependence on imported fossil fuels by more than one-quarter over the same time period.

Based on the objective assessment, the achievement of CJK's climate commitments will be less likely if no more renewable energy successfully takes up the room left by the phasing out of traditional one in the near future. In South Korea and China, the fossil fuel component's energy mix would be replaced primarily by nuclear power and, secondarily, by new and renewable sources of energy. While in Japan, the renewable could be the only alternative.

Actually, China who is consuming huge amount of energy in its heavy producing industry is eager to decrease its energy dependency. South Korea and Japan, unlike China, possess almost no indigenous fossil fuel resources. Thus, there are both pressure and dynamics which could push



forward to the CJK's cooperation on the each phase of non-traditional energy: the R&D, the production, the commercialization, and the implementation.

### **III What could CJK do?**

On a different perspective, fulfilling their climate mitigation commitments provides a really good opportunity for CJK initiating the cooperation. As we know, high politics faced a really tough situation recently. The nationalism arguments and territorial disputes, and the historical hatred, among other obstacles, have made the CJK cooperation hopeless and more complicated. According to the functionalism, the collaboration in the low politics and its over-spill effect could be an approach to thwart that stalemate, one way or another.

CJK could do a lot to promote that cooperation based on sound division and development. With the financial supports and tax leverages, the CJK governments need to provide the platform, encouraging the transnational enterprises to participate division and commercialization, fostering the institutes and universities to take part in the new energy research and development in the section like the new energy automobiles, the new energy battery, CCS technologies. And more important, in a sense, the traditional energy is the kind of energy which induces zero-sum competition among countries. The non-traditional energy, especially the renewable one (including the wind power, solar power) could not. No country could keep others from using the renewable energy. Taking this opportunity and transforming the energy sources could move the traditional zero-sum game into the non-zero-sum one.

### **IV Conclusion**

Firstly, CJK could not cut the GHGs emission meaningfully without the cooperation in the non-traditional energy level.

Secondly, due to the issues like nationalism, territory disputes, the high politics cannot move ahead. Low politics could be taken as the alternative approach towards CJK cooperation.

Thirdly, unlike traditional energy, non-traditional energy, especially the renewable energy, will bring the non zero-sum game instead the zero-sum one.

More important, the CJK cooperation during the energy transformation will encourage China's peaceful rise. China's recent seemingly a seeming assertiveness is a kind of defensive, not offensive, response to make sure that energy sources and venues China really needs are accessible, accountable, and affordable.

To sum up, in combating climate change, China, Japan and Korea have to adopt ambitious targets for reducing its dependence on energy imports and its carbon emissions simultaneously. However, the energy transformation from the traditional to the renewable one could declare a new page of East Asian cooperation and development.



## Climate Change and the 2 degree target - Vertical balance and horizontal balance -

**YAMAGUCHI Mitsutsune**

**Visiting Professor, Komaba Organization for Educational Excellence (KOMEX), College of Arts and Science, The University of Tokyo**

### **1. Act now! Delay causes substantial increase of mitigation cost. Yes!**

But real issue is act now, but TO WHAT EXTENT.

Negotiators believe as though IPCC suggested they have to limit the temperature increase to 2 degree C since pre-industrialization. IPCC, however, have not suggested any particular target ever. 2 degree target is not based on science, but it is a political decision.

**2. What does 2 degree target mean?** Sticking this target is the real reason of deadlock of COP (Conference of the Parties of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change) negotiations.

To achieve 2 degree target, global emissions must be reduced by 41~72% in 2050 (base year 2010). Even if developed countries reduce their per capita emissions by 80% (from 13.9tCO<sub>2</sub> to 2.7tCO<sub>2</sub>, a very challenging goal) by 2050, the room left for developing countries per capita emissions are 3.2~1.3tCO<sub>2</sub>, whereas per capita emission in 2010 is 5.5tCO<sub>2</sub> (for reference 2010 emissions: China 8.1t and Korea 13.4tCO<sub>2</sub>). Is this feasible?

### **3. Article 2 of UNFCCC (ultimate objective of tackling climate change)**

- 1) To stabilize the GHG concentration at a level not dangerous
- 2) This should be achieved within a time frame --- sufficient to enable economic development to proceed in a sustainable manner.

Balance between too less response measures and excessive response measures.

### **4. International framework**

Strong weak agreement is better than weak strong agreement that may collapse. We need multifaceted thinking: vertical balance and horizontal balance.

### **5. How to manage the gap between 2 degree target and the reality**

Total sum of emission reduction pledges by all countries never reach 2 degree target trajectory. Also we have to know huge uncertainty still remains. The most important example is the climate sensitivity. Current figure shown in IPCC 5<sup>th</sup> assessment report is 1.5-4.5 degree and no best estimate was shown.

## 6. Our strategy

### 1) Revisiting 2 degree target

Ref. to Dr. Yoichi Kaya's proposal to change the goal to 2.5 degree

### 2) Make 2 degree target as aspirational. But all countries have to do their best under respective circumstances to tackle climate change both through mitigation and adaptation.

### 3) Even if 2 degree target remains unchanged, let policymakers know we need not to reduce global emissions by 50% by 2050 (base year 2000). The most recent IPCC report shows if policymakers wish to achieve 2 degree target, we need to reduce our emissions by 41~72% (base year 2010). This corresponds to 28~66% reduction from 2000.

### 4) To take into consideration of climate sensitivity uncertainty, emission trajectories to achieve 2 degree target may be much lower.

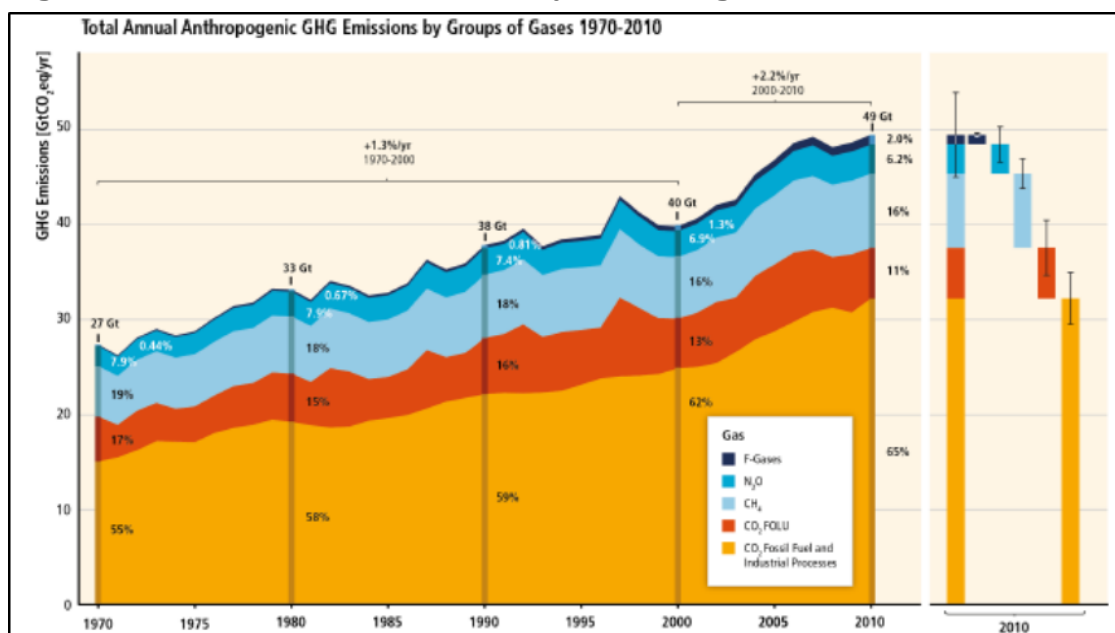
## 7. We have to act now!

Japan (per capita emission 10.6t), China (8.1t) and Korea (13.4t) should cooperate and lead the global deal based on the above mentioned understandings.

## 8. Balanced Approach

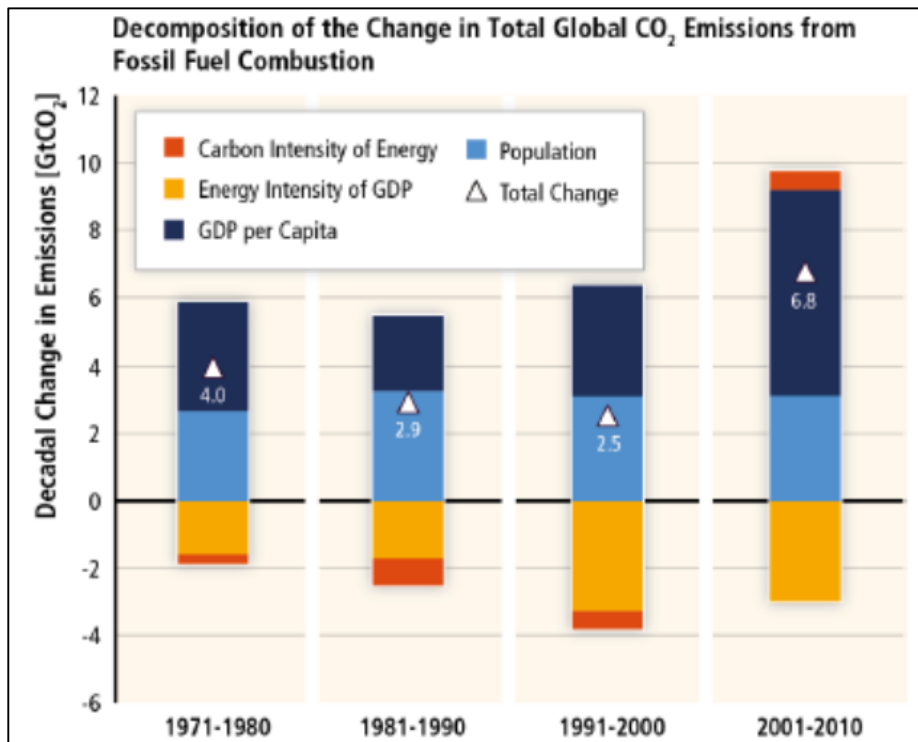
Further, we have to pay enough attention to the efficient allocation of global scarce resources among global urgent issues, such as UNSDGs, as well as urgent domestic issues, such as economy, unemployment, health care, aging etc.

**Figure 1. Global emissions are steadily increasing**



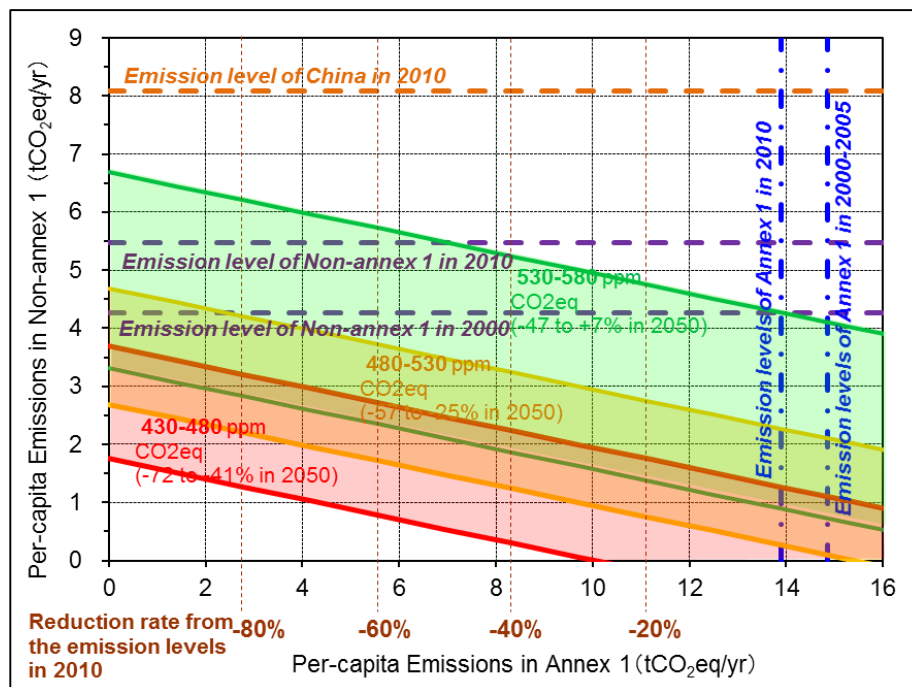
IPCC/AR5/WG3/SPM

**Figure 2. Increase of per capita GDP and population contributed significantly**



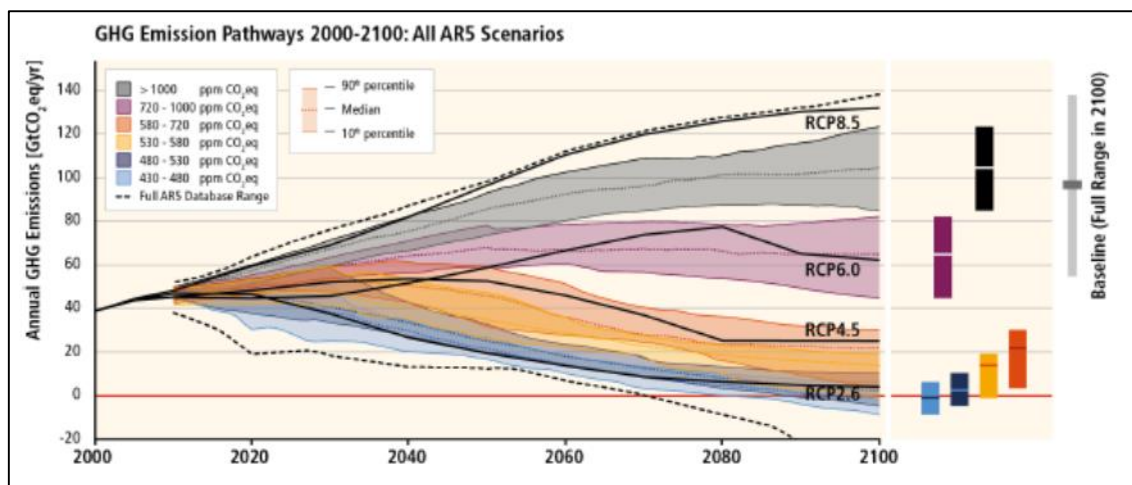
IPCC/AR5/WG3/SPM

**Figure 3. How to achieve 2 degree target**



Source: Dr. K. Akimoto, RITE

**Figure 4. Scale of Challenge**

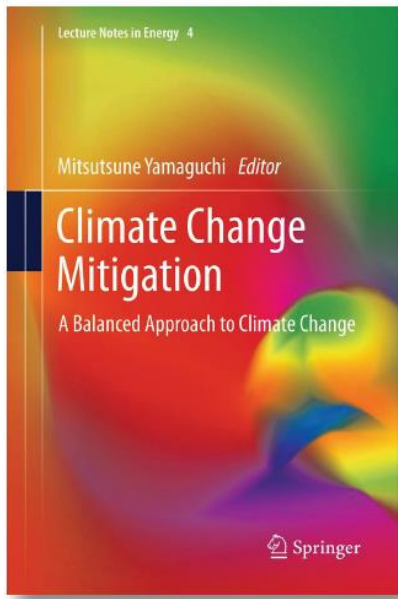


IPCC/AR5/WG3/SPM

**Table 1 Various pathways to achieve 2 degree target**

CO <sub>2</sub> eq. Concentrations in 2100 (CO <sub>2</sub> eq.)  Category label (Concentration range)	Subcategories	Relative position of the RCPs	Change in CO <sub>2</sub> eq. emissions compared to 2010 in (%)		Temperature change (relative to 1850-1900)	
			2050	2100	2100 Temperatur e change	Likelihood of staying below 2 degree over the 21st century
<430	Only a limited number of individual model studies have explored levels below 430 ppm CO <sub>2</sub> eq.					
450 (430-530)	Total range	RCP2.6	-72 to -41	-118 to -78	1.5-1.7 (1.0-2.8)	Likely
500 (480-530)	No overshoot of 530 ppm CO <sub>2</sub> eq.		-57 to -42	-107 to -73	1.7-1.9 (1.2-2.9)	More likely than not
	Overshoot of 530 ppm CO <sub>2</sub> eq.		-55 to -25	-114 to -90	1.8-2.0 (1.2-3.3)	About as likely as not
550 (530-580)	No overshoot of 580 ppm CO <sub>2</sub> eq.		-47 to -19	-81 to -59	2.0--2.2 (1.4-3.6)	More unlikely than likely
	Overshoot of 580 ppm CO <sub>2</sub> eq.		-16 to -7	-183 to -86	2.1-2.3 (1.4-3.6)	
(580-650)	Total range	RCP4.5	-38 to -24	-134 to -50	2.3-2.6 (1.5-4.2)	Unlikely
(650-720)	Total range		-11 to -17	-54 to -21	2.6-2.9 (1.8-4.5)	
(720-1000)	Total range	RCP6.0	18 to 54	-7 to 72	3.1-3.7 (2.1-5.8)	Unlikely
>1000	Total range	RCP8.5	52 to 95	74 to 178	4.1-4.8 (2.8-7.8)	

IPCC/AR5/WG3/SPM



M. Yamaguchi, University of Tokyo, ed.

**Climate Change Mitigation**

**A Balanced Approach to Climate Change**

Springer, London, 2012



## Contribution to globally environmental Preservation of HORIBA Business

IBUKA Shigehito

Executive Director, Japan Environmental Management Association for Industry (JEMAI);

Division Manager, Environment and Safety, Quality Management Center, HORIBA



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For 1st CJK Cooperation Dialogue

## Contribution to globally environmental Preservation of HORIBA Business

Shigehito Ibuka  
November 13, 2014  
@ Seoul, Korea

**HORIBA**

### HORIBA, Ltd.

**HORIBA**

■ Head Office  
Kyoto, Japan

■ Business content  
Manufacture and Sale of

1. Automotive Test Systems
2. Environmental & Process Instruments Systems
3. Medical/Diagnostics Instruments & Systems
4. Semiconductor Instruments & Systems
5. Scientific Instruments & Systems

■ Incorporation January 26, 1953

■ Capital 12.0 BJPY

■ Number of Employees 5,767 (As of December 31, 2013)

■ Chairman, President & CEO Atsushi HORIBA

■ Fiscal Year End December 31

### HORIBA World Wide Major R&D/Production Sites

**HORIBA**

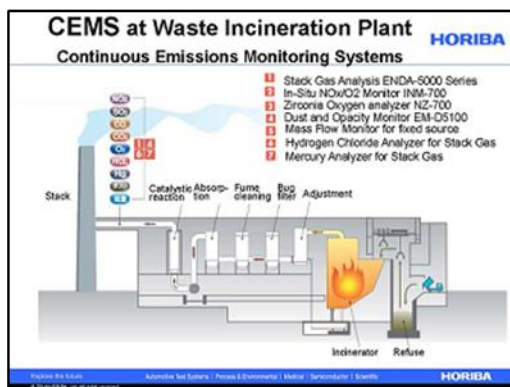
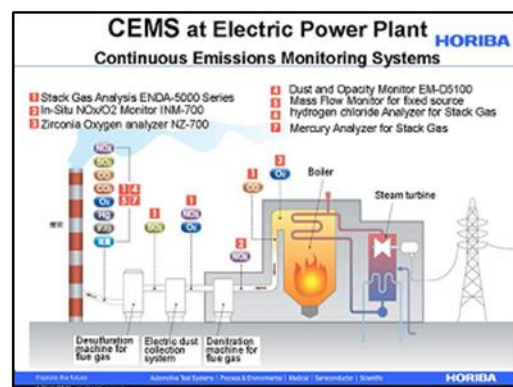
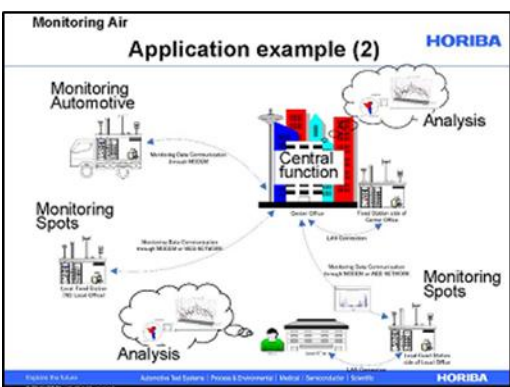
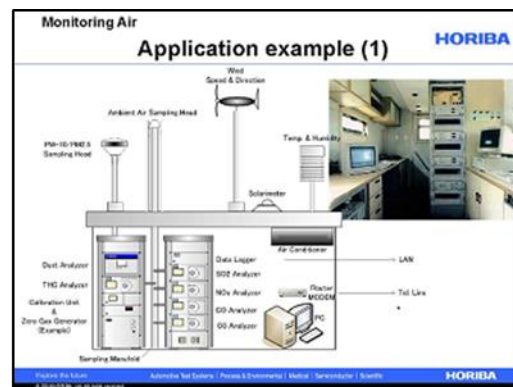
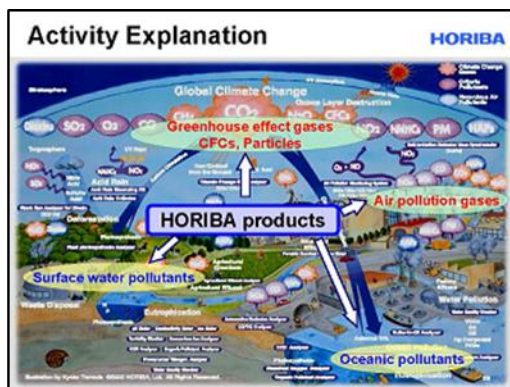
● Production  
● R&D

### Business Segments

**HORIBA**

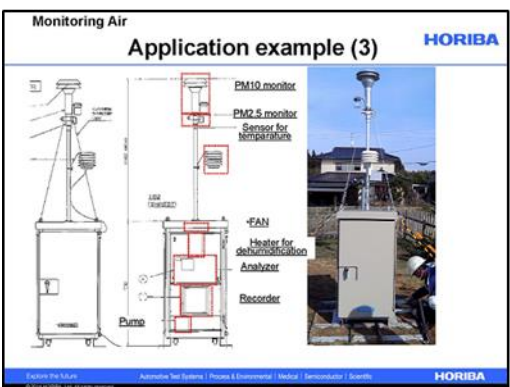
- Automotive Test Systems**
  - Emission Measurement Systems (EMS)
  - Mechatronics Devices (MCT)
  - Test Automation Systems (TAS)
  - Intelligent Transport Systems (ITS)
- Process & Environmental**
  - Environmental & Process Systems
  - Environmental Radiation Monitor
  - Environmental Regulation & Process Business
- Medical**
  - In-Vitro Diagnostics (IVD) Systems
  - Integration of HORIBA's Technology & Marketing know-how
- Semiconductor**
  - Mass Flow Controller
  - In-Chip Analysis
  - Synergy among HORIBAHQ, HORIBATEC and HORIBA Japan's Technologies
- Scientific**
  - Synergy of HORIBA and HORIBA Japan's Technologies
  - Raman, Crating, and Fluorescence

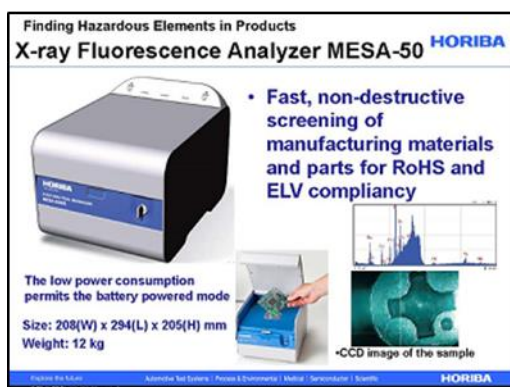
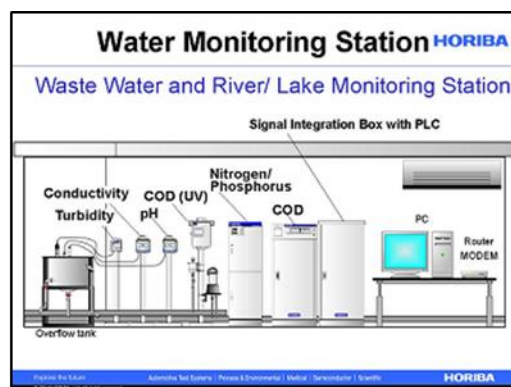
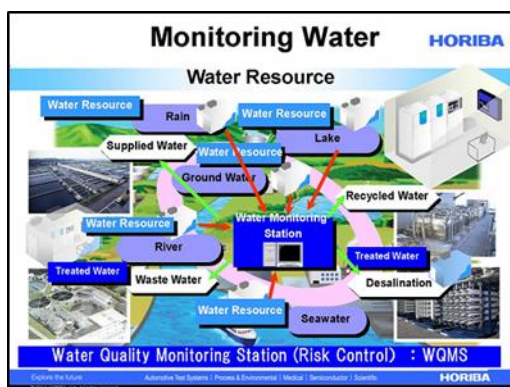




### Standards of Particle Matter Emission

	WHO Guideline	China	Japan	Korea	EU Directive 86/62/EC	USA USEPA NAAQS
PM <sub>10</sub>	50 µg/m <sup>3</sup> (24 h) 20 µg/m <sup>3</sup> annual	150 µg/m <sup>3</sup> (24 h) 70 µg/m <sup>3</sup> annual	SPM (24 h) 100 µg/m <sup>3</sup> (24 h) 70 µg/m <sup>3</sup> annual	100 µg/m <sup>3</sup> (24 h) 50 µg/m <sup>3</sup> annual	50 µg/m <sup>3</sup> (24 h) 40 µg/m <sup>3</sup> annual	150 µg/m <sup>3</sup> (24 h) 150 µg/m <sup>3</sup> annual
PM <sub>2.5</sub>	25 µg/m <sup>3</sup> (24 h) 10 µg/m <sup>3</sup> annual	75 µg/m <sup>3</sup> (24 h) 35 µg/m <sup>3</sup> annual	35 µg/m <sup>3</sup> (24 h) 15 µg/m <sup>3</sup> annual	50 µg/m <sup>3</sup> (24 h) 25 µg/m <sup>3</sup> annual	25 µg/m <sup>3</sup> (24 h) 15 µg/m <sup>3</sup> annual	35 µg/m <sup>3</sup> (24 h) 15 µg/m <sup>3</sup> annual
Ultra Fine Particles					Expected in the future	





## X-ray Fluorescence Analyzer MESA-50

**HORIBA**

### Concept

**5S Technology**

**Speedy**

**Small**

**Simple**

**Smart**

**Safe**

**Speedy** : High sensitivity and throughput  
Faster analysis by SDD

**Small** : Portable, small footprint and light weight  
Internal battery power supply

**Simple** : Reduce routine maintenance work  
No need for vacuum pumps  
Intuitive simple meas. process for all material types

**Smart** : English/Chinese user interface  
Excel® data management tool

**Safe** : No worry about X-ray leakage

**Think "ECO"**

Explains the Future  
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## Summary

**HORIBA**

- The HORIBA Group strives to contribute to environment conservation through supplying air and water monitoring systems to all over the world.
- The HORIBA Group is now focusing on Asia.

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### JEMAI Environmental Cooperation in China and S. Korea

- JEMAI proactively provides environmental management support to businesses.
- Along with the globalization of environmental concerns, the scope of our reach has widened to include Europe and other Asian nations.
- We have had a particularly strong history of environmental cooperation in China, finding diverse ways to collaborate, including on pollution prevention and regulatory compliance, and training staff to carry out those new measures.
- Our cooperation with China and South Korea on chemical regulations in recent years has resulted in a rise in legislation to regulate chemical substances. In addition to our private sector coordination and collaboration on regulatory compliance, we have also been invited by government officials to participate in a summit (The China, Japan, Korea Chemical Summit) that has been held annually since 2010. This year, summit was held in Shanghai for the fourth time. Next year we hope to bring the summit to Japan.
- Note: Examples of past Japan-China environmental cooperation are available for reference below.

Environmental Technical Cooperation (since FY1996)	
We have engaged in international exchange projects over a long period of time to promote mutual development between Japan and China.	
Period	Overseas Technical Cooperation, Names and Details
FY1997~FY2001	<b>Petrochemical exhaust treatment technology project in Fushun (JICA)</b> Through our invited training and specialist deployment efforts, JEMAI engaged in education and diffusion efforts concerning exhaust treatment technologies, as well as related personnel training, to help enable Fushun Research Institute of Petroleum and Petrochemicals (FRIPI) to offer guidance on reasonable exhaust treatment technologies (catalytic combustion, harmful mist and malodorous gas absorption) for petrochemical plants at China Petroleum & Chemical Corporation (SINOPEC) participating companies, with the objective of improving exhaust treatment equipment at SINOPEC subsidiaries. JEMAI acted as the national commission executive office for this project.
FY2004~FY2005	<b>Collaborative research on building persistent organic pollutants (POPs) analysis management systems (NEDO, business)</b> Along with participating in on-site meetings and seminars about the plant certification system for POPs analysis and measurement, we also conducted training for administrative officials and engineers at the State Environmental Protection Administration. We also gathered information on simple analysis methods.
FY2006~FY2007	<b>China corporate monitor system promotion (Phase 3 extension of the JICA Sino-Japan Friendship Environmental Protection Centre Project)</b> The Sino-Japan Friendship Centre for Environmental Protection Project Phase 3 ended in March 2006, but through this long-term project China and Japan bilaterally acknowledged the need to construct a corporate environmental monitor system, and for two years starting in FY2006, we supported and cooperated on efforts to establish a system in China. During this period JEMAI deployed a total of 30 experts over the course of 30 missions to provide guidance on building a system.
FY2008~FY2010	<b>"Corporate environmental monitor system enforcement preparation" specialist deployment project (JICA Circular Economy Promotion Project)</b> The initial stages of setting up the corporate environmental monitor system called for a wide range of work. We deployed specialists in three fields: general/corporate environmental monitor systems, creation of monitor system training materials, and monitor system teacher training. We provided support including drawing up a China system plan, creating training materials for certification courses, and drafting temporary regulations for environmental protection divisions. As of FY2010, 7000 people had completed preliminary training.

Invited Training and Specialist Deployment Projects	
Bilateral international deployment and training exchanges have contributed to personnel training in all countries involved.	
Projects Time Frame	42 personnel exchange projects between 1995 and 2011.
Projects Count	Specialist deployment projects enacted: 14 Visitor training projects enacted: 28, Total attendees: 96 from China, 59 from other countries
Major Projects Entities	JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) JICE (JAPAN INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION CENTER)
Major Projects Details	China petrochemical exhaust treatment technology training/Industrial pollution prevention training Environmentally friendly technology research and training/Pollution prevention management system building support Industry standards and evaluation training/POPs analysis and measurement training Effective biomass utilization technology training/Corporate environmental monitor system setup



## **Trilateral Environmental Cooperation in Northeast Asia**

**SHIN Eui Soon**

**Professor of Economics, Yonsei University**

Northeast Asia was incorporated into the world economy in the late 19th century. Despite the relatively late introduction, China and Japan has become the world's second and third largest economy and Korea, with its division of north and south, has also become one of economically strong countries. The three countries now account for 18 percent of the world's total energy consumption and are major importers of oil and natural gas. While trilateral trade and economic relationship have increased significantly, environmental cooperation has not seen such improvement.

As a result of rapid economic growth, the three countries have experienced similar environmental problems. Japan, currently the most environmentally developed country, was faced with serious environmental pollution issues in the early periods of industrialization. Korea was able to overcome most of its serious air and water pollution problems thanks to increased efforts and investments for environmental quality improvement by the government, business and the society. China seems to be suffering from serious environmental pollution problems now. Such problems in China will be tackled in the near future with proper environmental policy and expenditures spurred by peoples' awareness for the importance of environmental quality.

However, transboundary environmental issues rely on the characteristics of externality that cannot be resolved independently by each nation. Such issues in the Northeast Asia can be categorized into three areas - atmosphere, sea and ecology. The most detrimental transboundary atmospheric environmental issue is acid rain. Sulfur dioxides mainly originated from China travel in the wind and affect the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago in the form of acid rain. An international team of experts studied this transboundary issue in the Rains-Asia Project and called for concerted efforts of Northeast Asian countries. Yellow dust is caused by dust particles which originate mainly from Mongolian desert area in spring. However, increase in the concentration of fine dust have aroused new concerns for atmospheric researchers. Transboundary marine pollution occurs mainly in the Yellow Sea between China and Korea, and in the East Sea (Japan Sea) between Korea and Japan. Until recently, oil spills caused by vessel accidents and waste dumping had been primary concerns of marine pollution. However, the Fukushima radiation accident of 2011 has alarmed neighboring countries that nuclear power plant accidents could be another form of formidable environmental catastrophe. The three

Northeast Asian countries operate 91 nuclear power plants which comprise 20 percent of the world. It is expected that China would quadruple the number in 6 years from 20 to 83 plants. Nuclear power plant accidents would leak radiation not only into air but to soil and water as well contaminating drinking water and agricultural products. South Korean president Park proposed to establish "Northeast Asia Nuclear Safety Consultative Body" in August this year, responding to people's increased concern on this issue.

Northeast Asia has no geographic borders to flora and fauna. For example, fish and migratory birds live in the region moving freely in the sea and air, so trilateral cooperation becomes essential for their protection. The division of North and South Korea for the past 60 years has blocked movement of wild animals in the Korean peninsula and resulted in the extinction of tigers, wolves, and foxes in South Korea. Now is the time for joint efforts to restore and protect the wildlife and to maintain ecological diversity in Northeast Asia. Tripartite joint investigation of the regional ecosystem is vital and preservation of the DMZ area will be an important initiation for this endeavor. The Nagoya Protocol has gone into effect starting October this year and future efforts to protect the biological diversity of each country will be strengthened.

To mitigate global warming cooperatively, flexible mechanism such as CDM, tradable permit system, and joint implementation was developed and executed widely so far. A good example of international policy response to meet the regional acid rain problem is the Convention on Long-Range Transboundary Air Pollution (CLRTAP) of 1979 initiated by UN ECE. This is the first multilateral convention attempting to deal with transboundary air pollution problems. CLRTAP led to the adoption of the Helsinki Protocol in 1985 - the Protocol on the reduction of sulphur emission or their transboundary fluxes by at least 30 percent. In 1989, the Sophia Protocol - the Protocol on the reduction of nitrogen oxides - was adopted, and the Protocol on the control of emissions of volatile organic compounds was adopted in 1991.

Meanwhile, the three countries have maintained various multilateral as well as bilateral channels for regional environmental cooperation. Inter-governmental cooperation channels are NEAREP for environmental cooperation in Northeast Asia, NOWPAP for Pacific Northwest conservation plan, and TRADP for the Tumen River basin development plan. Other non-governmental cooperation channels are ECO-ASIA, expert meetings for the construction of acid rain monitoring network in East Asia, expert meetings on long range air pollution materials, and NEACEC for Northeast Asia environmental cooperation. Effective cooperation and agreement had been difficult to achieve due to differences in the economic system and the stages of economic development. However, as China is now advocating the market economy and has become one of world's major economic powers, it is imperative for the three countries to open

up a dialogue regarding trilateral environmental cooperation based on the principle of equality and mutual benefit.

Environmental cooperation efforts should be expanded with active participation of the civil society. For a more practical and lasting effect, participation of university and college students as well as professionals should be encouraged as well. The Green campus movement has been active in developed countries since 1990 to enhance sustainability in education and research at universities. In Korea, KAGCI (Korean Association for Green Campus Initiative) was established in 2008 under the leadership of Yonsei University and has led the green campus movement in Korea. In China, CSUN (China Sustainable University Network) was established under the leadership of Tongji University in Shanghai. Kyoto University in Japan has established CAS-Net Japan (Campus Sustainability Network - Japan) this year and is promoting the cooperation of China, Japan, and Korea for the enhancement of sustainability in Northeast Asia. It would be possible to discuss the trilateral regional environmental cooperation issues in the China-Japan-Korea joint green campus seminar.



## **Environmental Cooperation to tackle the Regional Air Pollution together with three countries, China, Japan and Korea**

**JEON Eui-Chan**

**Professor of Environment and Energy, Sejong University**

Thanks to Korea's 'Special Act on Metropolitan Air Quality Improvement' which took effect in 2005, air pollution in Seoul and the metropolitan area has greatly improved. However, since the second half of 2013, Koreans are suffering from severe particulate matter in the atmosphere.

China has a more severe smog problem. Beijing observed  $993 \mu\text{g}/\text{m}^3$  particulate matter(PM) concentration in January 2014 which is 40 fold higher than WHO standard. Especially in China, the main source of smog is the exhaust gas from out-of-date automobile fleet and increasing coal consumption which accounts for 70% of total energy consumption.

Particulate matter originated from China travels east-bound and affects the air quality in Korea and Japan. According to a research study, about 30~50% of particulate matter in Korea is originated from China. The western region of Japan which is close to China also exceeds the environmental standard.

As China's coal use increases, particulate matter continuously increases. As particulate matter freely travels across borders, it is quite difficult to make a clean atmosphere by reducing PM.

To solve the particulate matter problem, the cooperation of experts from Korea, China and Japan is strengthening. Recently in Korea there was an environment minister meeting which Korea, China and Japan participated in and public and private cooperation is becoming stronger.

To tackle this trans-boundary air pollution concern, Korea included particulate matter in the air quality monitoring and warning system and has been implementing various domestic policies as well as enhancing cooperation with China and Japan.

China is also implementing and proposing various policies. China sets a goal to reduce PM2.5 concentration in Beijing by 25% by 2017 through replacing old cars with new ones at the cost of 304 trillion won.

Due to the trans-boundary nature of air pollutant, the effective policy measures should be implemented under the cooperation between China, Japan, and Korea. Three countries have

already started cooperation to deal with regional air pollution since early 1990. The following is a list of the cooperative projects related to air pollution.

LTP (Long-range Transboundary Air Pollutant, 1996), NEASPEC (North East Asian Programme of Environmental Cooperation, 1993), EANET (The Acid Deposition Monitoring Network in East Asia, 1993), TEMM (Tripartite Environmental Ministers' Meeting, 1999)

In addition to central government-level cooperation, recently, municipal level cooperation has kicked off. An MOU was signed between Ulan Bator and Seoul in Feb 2014, and between Seoul and Beijing in April 2014.

We are in the second half of 2014 and Korean citizens are worrying about severe smog. The Korean government has established many measures and spent a huge budget to tackle this problem, but it seems that the particulate matter pollution will not be easily solved.

The reason is that there is little chance that countries would shrink its industrial output and stop its economic growth for environmental reasons. Also we can't redirect the wind blowing from China. The more important reason is that we do not have information on the amount of particulate matter generation nor do we have information on its travel path.

The first step towards tackling regional air pollution problem in Northeast Asia is sharing basic information and data between three countries such as what is the source of pollution, how and where the pollutants travel and what is the impact of air pollution etc. Trilateral Ministerial Meeting on Environment or LTP is not an effective channel to share these information and data. Therefore, there needs to be an institution for sharing such information.

I propose here to establish an organization, so-called "Northeast Asia Atmospheric Environmental Center" that is in charge of collecting and sharing these information between three countries. The center will do following function; real-time sharing of air pollution monitoring data, sharing air pollution warning and forecasting, monitoring and share of pollution-driven weather characteristics, monitoring and modeling of air pollutant transportation and sharing air pollution abatement technology and policy.

The economic development of a country should not cause environmental harm to other countries. In the case that it does, coordinated effort between those countries that are directly involved is necessary. For example, successfully developed environmental technologies in Korea, such as the CNG bus, Diesel Particulate Filter (DPF), and Tele-Metric System (TMS) of air pollution monitoring, can be transferred to China.



If the air pollution problem which is a side-effect of economic growth can be solved, the North-East Asia region including China, Japan and Korea will become an economically successful region and an environmental best-practice case.



## **Building Peace and Achieving Prosperity through Environmental Cooperation in Northeast Asia: An Interdisciplinary Analysis**

**CHUNG Suh-Yong**

**Professor, Division of International Studies, Korea University**

Recently, Northeast Asia has faced a series of challenges in refiguring out the appropriate political equilibrium. In a situation where Japan has been relatively declining with new attempts of Abe administration to restore its political leadership, China has tried to expand its influences over the region, sometimes by confronting Japan (and United States). In case of Korea, it has been exploring new ways of its contributions to regional peace and prosperity while still struggling with Japan in terms of past history and territorial issues but seemingly developing closer relationship with China. Of course, reunification with North Korea has been a key variable to South Korea in this context. Ideally, there should be closed cooperation among three countries. But political reality seems to be very different.

In this situation, the status of environmental quality, which may not be effectively addressed by any efforts of individual countries due to its transboundary nature, has been seriously deteriorating. Considering the rapid growth of population, heavy economic activities along the coastal lines, increasing use of sea lanes and growing impact of scarce energy resources, there is urgency for collective responses to the regional environmental problems. In fact, compared to other areas such as security, human rights and trade, the history of development of environmental cooperation in Northeast Asia has been relatively long. This year, for example, UNEP's Northwest Pacific Action Plan (NOWPAP), where three countries are members, is celebrating its achievements in protecting marine environment in Northeast Asia for the past 20 years. Another cooperative program of UNDP/GEF Yellow Sea Large Marine Ecosystem Project has been identified within the so-called Large Marine Ecosystem Projects of UNDP/GEF as one of the most successful case and has plans to become an independent regional organization in year 2017 or so with a possibility of North Korea's joining as a member. Three countries have already formed a ministerial level of meeting among three countries, called, TEMM. Although it remains as a network oriented framework among three ministries of environment which tend to focus more on domestic implementation aspect, it certainly provides a new way of cooperation among three countries. In case of NEASPEC, for which UNESCAP provides secretariat services, not only three countries but also some other countries in Northeast Asia such as Russia, Mongolia and North Korea, are actively participating in developing cooperative programs on protecting environment and achieving sustainable development.

Recent recognition of the importance of climate change issues, particularly in the context of identifying low carbon development pathway, in addition to the fact that all three countries have been identified as top 10 GHG emitters thereby being pressured on furthering their efforts to curb GHG emissions, has provided a high possibility of developing a cooperative regime among three countries which could lead to facilitating their increasing negotiation power at the global level as well as ensuring low carbon growth of three countries. Developing co-projects through Global Green Growth Institute and/or Green Climate Fund, for instance, could be considered as immediately available opportunities.

However, they also need to address the following issues for bringing more tangible impacts of:

1. It is now necessary to develop approach regional environmental issues with having more political attention from high political levels of three countries. (political aspect)
2. Developing political interface among three countries on the regional environmental issues must include practically available solutions at the functional level by identifying environmentally sustainable growth pathway(s). (economic aspect)
3. Three countries need to focus on areas where there already exists multilateral cooperation possibly within the framework of global/regional program of international organization(s), which can usually act as independent and fair mediators. (governance/institutional aspect)
4. Strengthening cooperation among scientists in the region will be only helpful. (scientific aspect)

## 8. 成果

このたびの第1回日中韓協力ダイアログは、2つのセッションから成る公開シンポジウムと出席者のみによる非公開会合の形式で行われた。前者のうち、「セッション1：自由貿易協定の政治経済学」では、「1）FTA がもたらす勝者と敗者は誰か？そして、成長と社会保障への影響は？」「2）政府の対応に関し、代償措置の課題と限界は？」「3）長期的観点での影響に関して、経済面、政治面、社会面での意味は？」との観点から、日本3名、中国3名、韓国4名のパネリストにより議論された。また、「セッション2：北東アジアの環境問題と日中韓協力」では、「1）国境をまたがる汚染問題」「2）それらの経済面、社会面、生態系への影響」「3）3か国間の協力を構築」の観点から日本2名、中国2名、韓国3名のパネリストにより議論された。

また、非公開会合では、公開シンポジウムでの議論を更に掘り下げるとともに次回2015年の会合の議題などが話し合われた。次回は、中国の China Foreign Affairs University が主催する。

今回の成果として、

1) 先ずは、ダイアログ自体が日中韓から総勢29名の有識者（学界、産業界、シンクタンクなどから）の参加をもって実現したことが成果として挙げられる（日本7名、中国10名、地元韓国からは12名）。

2) 公開シンポジウムでは以下の興味深い議論があった。

① 「セッション1：自由貿易協定の政治経済学」ではFTAの効用について、各国のパネリストから貿易の促進だけではなく、国内の構造改革が指摘され、加えて悪影響を被る産業に対するセーフティネットの必要性を再確認する発言があった。更に、中国、韓国の多くのパネリストからは安全保障面からも重要であるとの指摘がなされた。

また、中韓FTA交渉が当ダイアログ開催の直前に妥結したこともあり、中韓の多くのパネリストからは、日中韓FTA成立への期待が述べられ、中には「日中韓FTAは経済の相互依存を高め、自由貿易の恩恵を享受することで、政治関係を改善するための対話を後押しするものとなる」（中国のチュイ・ボー氏）という貿易以外の効用を説く発言もあった。

② 「セッション2：北東アジアの環境問題と日中韓協力」では、北東アジアでの地球温暖化、大気汚染（PM2.5、酸性雨）、海洋汚染、生態系変容といった課題に対して、3か国がさまざまなチャネルで解決に向けての協力関係にあることが分かった。他方で、この分野での3か国協力をより突っ込んだ具体的な内容で、日中韓の首脳レベルで議題として取り上げるべきとの発言が中国、韓国からあった。

③ 上記のとおり、日中韓 FTA に対する中国、韓国の日本への期待が高いこと、環境面で日中韓でのより積極的な協力関係を中国、韓国が求めていることは今回のダイアログを通じて浮き彫りと成った。

3) 日本から参加いただいた 5 名の有識者の方に満足度のアンケート調査を行ったところ、75%の方が肯定的（満足、まあ満足）な回答であった。ただし、「満足」との回答よりも「まあ満足」が多かった点は改善の余地があろう。すなわち、参加者のコメントには、①セッションの時間枠（2 時間）のわりに発表者が多く（FTA では 10 名、環境では 7 名）対話の時間が制約を受けた、②議論が拡散して対話になっていなかった、があった。これらの点は、次回に向けての反省点、課題となろう。

これらの議論の詳細は、当財団のホームページにも掲載されており、実際にシンポジウムに参加した方々に加え、今後多くの方に見ていただくことにより波及効果が期待される。

## 9. 共催団体紹介



**The Japan Economic Foundation (JEF)** was established in July 1981 to deepen understanding between Japan and other countries through activities aimed at promoting economic and technological exchange.

With this goal in mind, JEF engages in a broad range of activities; it provides information about Japan and arranges venues for the exchange of ideas among opinion leaders from many countries in such fields as industry, government, academia and politics in order to build bridges for international communication and to break down the barriers that make mutual understanding difficult.

URL: [www.jef.or.jp](http://www.jef.or.jp)



**China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU)**, under the guidance of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, is an institution of higher learning aimed at preparing high caliber personnel for foreign service, international studies, and other careers related to international business and law. The current president is Prof. Qin Yaqing.

The University was founded in September 1955 at the initiative of the late Premier Zhou Enlai. At present, there are 180 full-time faculty members, among them 48% are professors and associate professors. In addition, the University employs a score of foreign experts and teachers in relevant specialties and engages 70 senior diplomats, renowned specialists and scholars as guest professors. In 2013, the University has a student body of 2,000, including more than 170 international students. It offers Ph.D., MA, double-bachelor, BA degrees and diplomas. The University also offers a number of international programs for students from various countries.

CFAU has more than 20 research institutes and study centers on campus. Its Institute of Asian Studies, formerly known as the East Asian Studies Center, is a major think-tank and focal point for 'track two diplomacies' in the region, serving as the coordinating body for the Network of East Asian Think-tanks and the Network of ASEAN-China Think-tanks.

CFAU organizes various short and medium-long term training programs for foreign diplomats and media professionals, which include lectures on Chinese language, international relations, diplomacy, national conditions of contemporary China, news & media, etc. From 1994 to the end of 2013, more than 260 persons from 48 different countries have been trained by the Chinese Language and Culture Training Program, and 2806 persons from about 150 countries have been trained by 137 professional programs. In the year of 2008, authorized by the State Council of China, CFAU became one of the first five national foreign aid training center of China.

URL: <http://www.cfau.edu.cn/>



EAST ASIA  
FOUNDATION

**The East Asia Foundation** was established as an independent, non-profit organization with the explicit goal of promoting peace and prosperity in East Asia through human and

knowledge networking. In today's fast-paced world where both conflicting and co-operative forces coexist, East Asia faces new challenges and tasks related to intensifying economic interdependence, increasing international exchange, the emergence of new nation-states, and the remnants of the Cold War security order.

Accordingly, successfully managing conflicts and promoting regional prosperity will increasingly depend on boosting mutual understanding between countries and establishing appropriate policies for joint control and settlement. The East Asia Foundation strives to realize these needs by providing an open forum for knowledge-sharing and working towards the formation of a co-operative regional identity by supporting the exchange of ideas and policy know-how through human interaction.

URL: [www.keaf.org](http://www.keaf.org)

## 10. 事務局

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