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**CENTER FOR NORTHEAST ASIAN POLICY STUDIES**

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**CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**  
**KOREA DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE**

**WELCOME AND KEYNOTE ADDRESS**  
**KOREA'S APPROACH TO SOFT POWER**

**SaKONG IL**  
**CHAIR, PRESIDENTIAL COMMITTEE FOR THE G20 SUMMIT**

**KOREA'S SOFT POWER**  
**AND EAST ASIA**

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**RICHARD BUSH**  
Senior Fellow and CNAPS Director  
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**Keynote Address:**

**SaKONG IL**  
Chair  
Presidential Committee for the G20 Summit

**Panel 1: Korea's Growing Soft Power:**

**RICHARD BUSH**, *Chair*  
Senior Fellow and CNAPS Director  
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**EVANS REVERE**  
Senior Director  
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**Lunch Address:**

**STROBE TALBOTT**  
President  
The Brookings Institution

## **Panel 2: East Asian Perspectives on Soft Power**

**KYONGSOO LHO**, *Chair*  
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Co-Chair, Asia Society Korea Center  
CNAPS Visiting Fellow, 2001-2002

**RICHARD HU**  
Associate Professor of Politics and Public Administration  
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**TOSHIHIRO NAKAYAMA**  
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## **Panel 3: Hard Power vs. Soft Power -- What Has Changed?**

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## PROCEEDINGS

WONHYUK LIM: Good morning. My name is Wonhyuk Lim. I serve as director of policy research at the Center for International Development at KDI. We were thinking about getting a professional announcer for this event, but I'm afraid you are stuck with me.

This event is co-organized by the CNAPS of the Brookings Institution and CDI of KDI. And as the program says, it will focus on Korea's soft power and East Asia. This is the 10th CNAPS Annual Meeting in this region, and we are honored to co-host this event with CNAPS.

As the program says, we have three panels and a keynote speech, as well as a lunch speech. And let me just briefly go over the format first and then introduce speakers.

We'll have opening remarks by President Hyun Oh-Seok of KDI and President Strobe Talbott of The Brookings Institution, as well as Dr. Richard Bush, director of CNAPS at Brookings Institution. And then Dr. SaKong Il, the chairman of the Presidential Committee for the G20 Summit, which was successfully concluded on November 12th, will give a keynote speech on Korea's approach to soft power. And right after that we'll have the first panel on Korea's growing soft power.

And then after a brief adjournment, we'll move to the third floor to have our lunch. You'll notice that there's no second floor in this hotel. In fact, you are at A-1 now and you move to the first floor by escalator, and then take another escalator to the third floor. And lunch will be served from 12:00 to 12:45. We understand that the acoustics there isn't as ideal as we had hoped for, so we'll have to come back down to this conference room for the lunch speech given by President Strobe Talbott of The Brookings Institution.

And then after the lunch speech, we'll resume with the panels, Panel 2, on other countries', other East Asian countries' approach to soft power: China, Japan, and Singapore. And then we'll conclude with our third panel, looking at the combination of hard power and soft power what Professor Joseph Nye calls smart power, in fact.

So without further ado, let me introduce the speakers for the opening ceremony. First, I'd like to invite President Hyun Oh-Seok of the KDI. President Hyun. (Applause)

HYUN OH-SEOK: Good morning. Dr. Il SaKong, chair of the Presidential Committee for the G20 Summit; Mr. Strobe Talbott, president of The Brookings Institution; Dr. Richard Bush, director of the Center for Northeast Asian Policy Studies at The Brookings Institution; distinguished participants; and ladies and gentlemen, it is my great privilege to co-host this important conference on soft power with The Brookings Institution. I welcome all eminent domestic and international

speakers and participants to this conference.

The Center for Northeast Asian Policy Studies, so-called CNAPS, at The Brookings Institution collaborates with think tanks, universities, and media outlets to host a public conference in a different Asian city each fall. This year KDI, especially the Center for International Development, has been privileged to co-host the 10th CNAPS Conference on Korea's Soft Power and East Asia.

In this globalized world where every country is interconnected, no country could only live upon hard power, which generally refers to armed or economic forces. Now countries need to attract others with their soft power through values, culture, policies, and institutions to complement hard power in becoming a genuine leader. In that sense, Korea seems to have significantly extended its soft power influence thanks to the increased popularity of Korean culture around the world led by The Korean Wave.

Also, in hosting the G20 Seoul Committee, Korea has done a significant job not only utilizing its mediating skills to moderate diverse and potentially conflicting options during the summit, but also in compiling and representing the opinions and perspectives of developing countries that were unable to participate in the summit. With such effort, Korea was able to boost its international standings as well as its soft power.

I truly believe that this is a timely occasion for this conference when Korea's soft power has been upgraded ever more with Korean culture, gaining significant popularity around the world, and Korea having successfully served the role of the G20 chair. This conference will serve as a great opportunity for participants to take a step back to analyze Korea's growing soft power. It will also be a locus to seek ways to upgrade Korea's soft power by understanding the views of other East Asian countries on soft power and by sharing their experiences.

Lastly, in discussing the differences and change in circumstances of hard power and soft power, in Panel 3, I believe, we would be -- to find ways in making soft power complement hard power to form what Professor Joseph Nye calls smart power. In addition to the conference being a pivotal platform for East Asian countries to exchange best practices and develop progressive agendas on soft power, participants will be able to gain a deeper understanding of the importance of soft power and build a wide-reaching network within this region.

It indeed is a pleasure to be here and I anticipate an exciting and inspiring discussion. I hope all distinguished participants will have a fruitful time here by sharing ideas and expanding knowledge on soft powering East Asia. Thank you very much.  
(Applause)

DR. LIM: Thank you very much, President Hyun. Now I'd like to invite President Strobe Talbott of The Brookings Institution.

STROBE TALBOTT: Good morning to all of you. President Hyun, thank you for all that you have done along with your extraordinary team to make this

conference which is about to begin a reality. The timing could hardly be better. And I'd like to express particular appreciation to you, Wonhyuk, for the work that you have done working with my colleagues at Brookings and with your own team to make all this happen. We're proud to have you as an alumnus of the Center for Northeast Asian Policy Studies, the program that Richard Bush heads, and you're about to hear from him in just a moment.

In a personal vein, I would just like to express the admiration that I have for the people and the leadership of Korea. I've had a checkered career. I have been coming to Korea since the 1970s: first as a reporter, then as a government official, briefly on two occasions as an academic, and over the past eight or so years in my capacity as a colleague of Richard's at The Brookings Institution. And during that time I've had a chance to witness the extraordinary trajectory of the ROK's emergence not just as a major and constructive power in this region, but as a very significant player on the world stage. And that, of course, was crystallized for all of us in the way in which the Korean people and government hosted the G20 just a few weeks ago.

And Chairman SaKong Il, I congratulate you in particular for the leadership that you showed in making all that happen and happen so smoothly. I think I first had the pleasure of meeting the chairman when he accompanied then the newly elected president of Korea, President Lee, in 2008, when they did us the great honor of coming to The Brookings Institution. And I can remember that meeting vividly. We anticipated, maybe not in such specific terms, but in general terms, virtually all of the issues that we're going to be talking about today; not just issues of soft power, but the issues of hard power that are very much on our mind because of recent events.

So my thanks to all of you for allowing me to participate in proceedings, and I now would ask you to give my colleague, Richard Bush, a chance to say a word or two since he is the driving force behind our center at Brookings. Thank you very much. (Applause)

RICHARD BUSH: Good morning. Thank you all for coming. I think we're going to have a really good conference. It's a real privilege for The Brookings Institution and the Center for Northeast Asian Policy Studies to convene conferences like this one in major Asian cities in collaboration with really important Asian organizations, like KDI. We're very grateful to all the support that KDI has shown and the hard work of my good friend, Lim Wonhyuk. He does have at least one day job and probably two, and so this is his -- this is what he does in his spare time, but he did it extremely well.

This is also a special occasion for Brookings because it does bring together former CNAPS visiting fellows, people whom I've had the privilege to work with during their time at Brookings, and reconnecting and catching up is a great pleasure for me and for all of us.

I would like to pay a special tribute to all the staff people who have made this event possible, both KDI and Brookings. You know, any time you have a conference that runs smoothly it means that the staff has not gotten any sleep, and that's certainly

true in this case.

My main job this morning is to ensure that we don't fall too far behind schedule and to introduce Dr. SaKong Il, our keynote speaker. He really needs no introduction to any citizen of the Republic of Korea. He actually doesn't need an introduction to anybody because we have a handout that gives his biography and all the major positions he's held. Most recently, as Strobe mentioned, he was chair of the President's Commission on the G20 Summit. So he has been extremely busy and we are grateful that he's taking time out today instead of getting a little bit of rest after the G20 meeting.

It seems that whenever Korea needs a tough job done, it's likely that SaKong Il will be called upon to do the job. And so it's my great privilege to call on Dr. SaKong to make some remarks. Thank you. (Applause)

SAKONG IL: Well, good morning, ladies and gentlemen. It is indeed a great privilege for me to speak before this distinguished audience. I'm thankful to The Brookings Institution and KDI for giving me this opportunity. I'm especially thankful for the kind words of introduction by Mr. Bush.

And, in fact, I am here to make a brief remark on the G20 Summit from the perspective of Korea's soft power or the other way around, maybe talk a little about the soft power from the perspective of the G20 Summit. Because I know I am invited to this conference not as an expert on the main topic of the conference, but in my capacity as the chairman of Korea's Presidential Committee for the G20 Summit, to talk about the Seoul Summit, as I said, from the perspective of Korea's soft power. So I will just do that and, at the same time, share a few of my thoughts on Korea's approach to soft power with you. In that regard, a keynote speech is too much. I'll just say a brief remark on the subject you'll be focusing on today.

As you know, Korea recently hosted and chaired the G20 Summit. It was indeed the first time for Korea to play a leadership role in the global economic agenda settings. We had to show the world that not just Korea, but a non-G7 country can play such a role. Certainly it was a daunting challenge for Korea. In fact, there are many skeptics about the outcome of the G20 Seoul Summit under Korea's leadership. Bob Davis of the *Wall Street Journal*, a well-known journalist in the United States, informed me of such skepticism in an interview with me in May last year. He said, I quote, "Next year South Korea chairs the G20 to the groans of some U.S. and European officials. Why the worry? In international negotiations on trade and finance Asian nations are notorious for laying back and only reluctantly making concessions at the end of the talks. The U.S. and Europe invariably push the deals forward." He just quoted; he didn't say it from his own. But he's being a good friend he just told me about this.

And then to this I said to him that we're ready to lead and you will see Koreans are different. I said the Koreans are never shy, don't worry about it. (Laughter) Our problem is to our short temperament. And actually he was here a few weeks ago to interview President Lee.

As most of you know well, Korea made special efforts to make the Seoul Summit another success. As a matter of fact, with the determination the Korean government introduced an administrative innovation for the first time in the G7 and G20 history by establishing the Presidential Committee for the G20 Summit to prepare the Seoul Summit. More than 100 government officials and private experts work for the committee. I had the privilege of leading the group, so I know how dedicated they were in carrying out their tasks. It has been our belief that the Seoul Summit will be a litmus test for the future of the G20, so we worked hard to disappoint those skeptics by making the Seoul Summit successful.

The four previous G20 Summits held in Washington, D.C., London, Pittsburgh, and Toronto were to focus on crisis management by primarily dealing with issues and problems of the West countries, where the current financial crisis originated. On the other hand, however, the Seoul Summit turned attention to post-crisis global economic steering with a special focus on the issues and priorities of the developing and emerging world.

To be more specific, rebalancing was one of the main agenda of the Seoul Summit, to ensure the global economy to achieve a strong, sustainable, and balanced growth. Toward that end, the agenda included, in addition to macroeconomic rebalancing, reform of the international financial institutions, particularly the IMF, and the financial system and renewed commitment for early completion of the DDA.

On top of this, Korea proposed and successfully persuaded the G20 member countries to include development and the global financial safety net in the G20's agenda, primarily for the benefit of the emerging and developing world. When we proposed this, obviously we had in mind that our soft resources can be utilized for a meaningful G20 outcome. We are glad to know that the general assessment so far has been positive. That is, contrary to the West common perception, Korea exerted its leadership to deliver what was promised.

Even before the Seoul Summit the economists wrote in early November, I quote, "Under the energetic chairmanship of South Korea, the G20 has notched up a few notable accomplishments in recent weeks." That was just before the Seoul Summit.

With this I would like to briefly touch on Korea's approach to soft power. I don't think I need to get into details of Korea's successful development story and the painful process of overcoming the 1997/'98 currency crisis before this audience. There is no doubt that all of you here will agree with me in saying that Korea does have various soft resources which can be usefully shared with fellow nations in the developing and emerging world.

I believe that was the main reason why we were able to persuade the G20 members to include both items in the Seoul Summit agenda. Fortunately, a number of significant agreements were reached on this new agenda, including the Seoul development consensus with multiyear action plans. Indeed one of the African leaders

who participated in the G20 Seoul Summit was so enthusiastic about the Seoul development conference -- consensus as to claim as it as the African consensus. I was there and he was so pleased to have this Seoul consensus, development consensus agreed at the G20 Summit.

At this point, I must say that the Korean government should enhance its effort to transform those soft resources into Korea's soft power. As you all know, Korea joined the OECD DAC -- Development Assistance Committee -- last year with its continued efforts to increase its ODA. In fact, Korea was the first Asia recipient turned donor in the OECD DAC history. There also have been a number of efforts to share Korea's soft resources, notably, for example, the knowledge-sharing program by the Korean government in cooperation with KDI to share Korea's development experience with the emerging and developing world.

Recently, the Korean government completed a study on the 60-year history of the Korean economy with its English version to share Korea's experience with the fellow nations. In my view, however, the government needs to devote more of its time and efforts to plan and manage Korea's promotion of soft power. Toward this end the government might consider establishing an international development agency by integrating the existing aid and development-related administrative bodies. I suppose we can discuss details about this, but I think this is an absolutely necessary thing for us to do.

Korea Studies Programs should also be more systemically initiated and managed. And again, here, also, I suppose there can be many options we can consider.

By the way, one might interpret the fact that the Korean Authority chose the Korean National Museum, a private art gallery, a private cultural museum with a good collection of Korean traditional furniture, and Korea's old palace court as the site of the G20's leaders' dinner and the first ladies' gathering, as their subtle gesture to introduce the outside world to Korea's soft resources in the fields of culture, history, art, and way of life.

Along with the Korean government's strength and administrative apparatus, I would like to see a greater school of development with a short-term training center for policymakers from emerging and developing countries. I've been promoting this idea for some time now. Perhaps the existing KDI Greater School of Public Policy and Management might be expanded into such an institution by a new legislation if necessary. It is my firm belief that such a new school associated with KDI will easily become the most popular among students and policymakers from emerging and developing countries.

It is needless to say that Korea's effort to translate its soft resources into actual soft power would not only benefit Korea, but the rest of the world by contributing toward a strong, sustainable, and balanced growth. Let me now say a few words on *Hallyu*, or the Korean wave. *Hallyu* is a surprising phenomenon to many. Korean soap operas and pop culture are becoming popular, especially in Asia and gradually spreading into other regions as well. Many Korean celebrities came to make their names across

Asia and other regions. I don't think drama and songwriters and performers got it preplanned, but, in any case, they should be proud of the Korean wave they have generated. Having said that, I hope that they should not forget that the Korean way of life is watched and admired and perhaps to be emulated, so they should be mindful of their potential impacts on others. I would like to see they really refrain from resorting to excessive violence and widely used profanity.

At this point, I would also like to emphasize that humbleness should be the basis of promoting Korea's soft power. We should let others know that we made many mistakes as well as successes. Obviously the lessons which can be drawn from failures will also be useful for others not to repeat similar mistakes. Actually this is the point I always make when I talk about Korea's case. We made a lot of mistakes. Otherwise, we run into -- ran into a current crisis in 1997/'98, but somehow we overcame successfully. So there are many lessons to be shared from both successes and failures. So the Korean case, I think we have to emphasize the fact that we did make a lot of mistakes and that humbleness should be the base of promoting our soft power.

Before closing, let me just sum up what I have tried to say. First, Korea does have various soft resources which can be translated into Korea's soft powers. So Korea needs an integrated and systemic strategy to promote its soft power.

Second, toward that end I suggested we establish appropriate institutions which would best utilize Korea's soft resources available.

Third, in promoting Korea's soft power we never forget to take a humble approach, and the idea is to share Korea's soft resources with others.

As I said, it's a very short keynote speech and actually it's a rather brief remark regarding the G20 Summit from the perspective of Korea's soft power. I don't claim to be an expert on soft power or on this particular subject area.

Well, on this note, I would like to finish my short remarks and wish the conference all the success. Thank you very much. (Applause)

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