

## Response

### **Dr. Kim, Jung**

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Thank you very much for very helpful comments. First, even if he is not here today, I deliver my appreciation to Professor Hanssen. I think his comment has the point. Then I have to struggle with his comments if I want to develop this idea further to the more solid paper.

I like joining this sort of international conference always because I can get very constructive feedback before I fully develop my idea for the paper. This is I think the first possible example of how you can nurture this kind of coordination, especially in the scholarly community. And I want to extend the idea to the policymakers among democracies hopefully. Let me say even if very defensive one let me make some response to Professor Hansen's comments as well as Professor Lenz's comments here.

First of all, I want to emphasize that once again I'm very pessimistic. I don't believe that the democratic coordination would be easy. Formulating different strategies among a large number of countries is a huge challenge regardless of whether they are democracies or not. This is basically due to international relations being characterized by anarchy. So, cooperation is not guaranteed. And basically, even if it is possible, almost always self-help is better than cooperation.

That's the key. But I want to add on top of that one more thing even if we also characterized the international history of international relations with some rise and decline of alliance. An alliance is a paradoxical phenomenon in international relations because if you make an alliance then you have to sacrifice the whole autonomy of your own nation. That is a very bad thing in terms of the self-help principle. So even if the self-help principle is very important it is not a universal principle. It's conditional. I think most of the policymaking of a nation has to be conditional. You have to think about which one is better in terms of say gain and loss.

The calculation will give you some specific policy options. Sometimes, it's better not to cooperate with other nations but other times you might realize that international cooperation will be beneficial. I bet the history of international relations has two sides here. Non-cooperation will be the optimal solution sometimes but other times cooperation will give you a better chance to survive. So that's the reality of international leaders. Even if I'm a very pessimistic person I would not deny the evolution of international relations history. So sometimes even very self-interested policymakers cannot help but to cooperate. That's the starting point.

Let's move to the comments from Professor Hanssen. Here is how to perceive the economic

threats originated from China across nations. Is it homogeneous or heterogeneous? Without doubt the perception of the economic coercion of China is heterogeneous depending on many things.

But one of the most important things is, if this is linked to the comments from Professor Lenz, that if your country's political system is a democracy then you have to maintain a democratic political process. And in order to do that you need to think very seriously about a sort of economic transactions with China, which could be accommodated sometimes but need to be resisted other times.

So, this is once again conditional on the political system and democracies in that sense are vulnerable to outside pressure. But at the same time if outside pressure is too strong then in order to maintain democratic order you have to push back. In that sense democracy is resilient and once again I bet the bright side of democracy. I think the perception of the economic benefits of China is correct. How to secure is an important question.

Among advanced democracies, they have some motivations to deal with this kind of coercion in a concerted way. I emphasize these are motivations. If there's no opportunity to actually realize this motivation then no collective action is possible. So, there are once again, conditional things but great powers might think differently. They think the economic interdependence would not be so costly for their economy; it could be beneficial.

So, I think in terms of the possibility of solidarity among advanced industrial democracies and higher developing countries be it democratic or authoritarian the possibility may be low but still hopeful.