

# **World Peace and Military Base: From the Perspective of ‘Jeju Island of World Peace’**

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This paper aims at presenting four themes. First, I present the background of why the Roh administration designated Jeju as the ‘Island of World Peace’ from environmental, cultural, historical, geopolitical and geoeconomic perspectives. Second, I review the meanings of ‘Jeju Island of World Peace’ as a planning policy whose goal is twofold: one is to contribute to the peace & prosperity in East Asia including the Korean Peninsula and the other is to make Jeju island a model of a peaceful and prosperous city. Third, I argue that a military establishment does not fit into the vision of the Island of World Peace. Fourth, in the perspective of globalism, I suggest that Hwasoon seaport will be the East Asian Peace Seaport that brings about peace and prosperity through the free movement of people, goods and capital, which is the goal of the Jeju Free International City and the Jeju Island of World Peace.

**Keywords:** Jeju Island of World Peace, Jeju Free International City, Hwasoon Seaport, Globalism, East Asian Peace Seaport

## **I. Introduction**

Peace & prosperity are the two of main themes in the 21st century. Peace & prosperity are more highlighted than in the past because of the growing consciousness that peace cannot be sustained without prosperity while prosperity is not possible without peace. During the cold war, peace was ‘cold peace’ based upon the balance of powers. But peace of post-cold war means ‘warm peace’ supported by the close

cooperation among the nations. In the 21st century, beyond establishing the warless-world, we are going to step toward the co-prosperous world village which has two goals: one is to build up world village with a lot of 'human security,' the other is to set up world village with high level of 'quality of life.'

South Korea faces three world trends of 'Democratization, Globalization and Information Network.'" At the same time South Korea is required to play a role in establishing world peace in East Asia with the help of the vigorous civil society. In this vein President Roh Moo-Hyun designated Jeju as the 'Island of World Peace' on January 27, 2005. Jeju is the first case of world city designated by the central government while Hiroshima of Japan, Osnabruck of Germany, Geneva of Switzerland are named as the peace cities by local government (*The Jeju Provincial Newsletter*, February 1, 2005, 3). This means that Jeju Island of World Peace is going to be the model for others to take after.

When having designated Jeju as the Island of World Peace, Roh administration paid attention to following factors. First, Roh administration gave its appreciations and encouragement to Jeju people who have endeavored to get over the tragedy of April 3 Incident with the spirit of coexistence and conciliation. Second, while paying attention to the geopolitical status of Jeju where many top leaders from America, China, Japan, Russia, North Korea came to meet, Roh administration intended to take advantage of geopolitical merit of Jeju for peace & prosperity. Third, Roh administration is interested in the model of 'globalization with humanity' on the one hand and balanced development among local regions on the other hand, for which Jeju Island of World Peace has strengths due to the preservation of clean natural environment, demilitarization, increasing cultural diversity, sustainable development, and the ease of regional rivalry. Finally, Roh administration aimed at supporting the grand economic project of Jeju Free International City by increasing the international exchanges and cooperation among the East Asian countries with the brand of the Island of World Peace.

Jeju set sail of 'Special Self-Governing Province' on July 1, 2006. Jeju is the first case to be empowered to pursue special autonomy in all areas except for diplomacy, military

defence and judiciary.<sup>1)</sup> But it is not easy for Jeju to sail to special self-governing because there is no previous case and its goals seem to be something higher than Jeju can chew. Jeju is waiting for the special supports from the central government because Roh administration has the initiative for this new model of special self-governing province and the special governing will be possible with the substantial assistance of the central government. Jeju appears passive in making the vision of the Island of World Peace come true. Furthermore, in the case of the establishment of military base in Hwasoon seaport, some people of Jeju are to approve its plan in the hope of getting economic benefits.

In the 2006, we are compelled to tackle with the issue of establishing a military base in Hwasoon seaport when discussing the vision and tasks of Jeju Island of World Peace. Technically, at least two positions which are realist approach and pluralist approach<sup>2)</sup> are conflicted with each other on the international relations including the establishment of military base in Hwasoon seaport. According to each theory, there are two different ways to establish peace: one is focusing on military power such as the establishment of military base in Hwasoon seaport, the other is to rely on diplomacy as in Jeju Island of World Peace. The issue of establishing heavily armed Hwasoon seaport has become more complex because of the different views of its accompanying economic benefits and environmental damages so that the debate of development versus preservation is

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1) With regards to diplomacy of special autonomy, Jeju governor Tae-Hwan Kim said that “I am trying to get even the diplomatic rights transferred from the central government as much as possible in order to implement Jeju Special Self-Governing Province” at the open forum of Inhabitants Unity for Jeju Free International City on July 27, 2006 (*Issue Jeju*, July 27, 2006). I agree with governor Kim on the ground that Jeju needs the special status beyond that of localism and statism in diplomacy (Yang 2006, 103).

2) For example, concerning the present and future of international situations in East Asia, the realist approach “puts the emphasis on the state as the most important actor... and regards that the military expansion and balance of power guarantee peace” while the pluralist approach “puts the emphasis on various actors including the state and is optimistic about the possibility of reformation in the international society including the regional integration through various programs with various actors.” (Kim 2006, 14-15)

recurring since the debate on the Special Law of Jeju Development during the 1990s.

Another reason why the issue of establishing a military base in Hwasoon seaport is more complex is the Air Force's revised move to set up another air base in the name of 'South Unit for Search & Rescue' (*Yonhapnews*, August 13, 2006). According to the *Yonhapnews*, 'the South Unit' is planned to be composed of the rescuing helicopters including HH-60P, HH-47D and the transport aircraft including CN-235, C-130 at the level of a battalion. If the Ministry of National Defence is trying to establish all the sea and air bases in the southwestern area of Jeju, its attempt will be confronted with the widespread oppositions from Jeju People.

This paper aimed at presenting four themes. First, it discussed backgrounds of why Roh administration designated Jeju as the Island of World Peace at environmental, cultural, historical, geopolitical and geoeconomic dimensions. Second, it reviewed the meanings of 'Jeju Island of World Peace' as a planning,<sup>3)</sup> which poses twofold policy goal: one is to contribute to the peace & prosperity in East Asia including Korean Peninsular, the other is to make Jeju island a model of peaceful and prosperous city. Third, it argued that the military establishment does not match well with the vision of the Island of World Peace. Fourth, in the perspective of globalism, it made suggestions that Hwasoon seaport should be the East Asian Peace Seaport that would permit peace & prosperity through the free movement of people, goods and capital which is the goal of Jeju Free International City and Jeju Island of World Peace.

## II. The Bases of Jeju Island of World Peace

Why is Jeju the Island of World Peace? In answering the question, I have to make it sure that it is not only Jeju but also all the other cities can be the candidate for the Island of World Peace.<sup>4)</sup> But if we start to make one city the peace community without

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3) The island of world peace as a planning is distinguished from the island of world peace as an inheritance. This distinction is borrowed from the distinction suggested by Dirlík (2000, 110-111), who made distinction between East Asia as a planning and East Asia as an inheritance.

necessary resources, then the Jeju Island of World Peace can become subject to one policy option.

Jeju Island of World Peace is not a mere policy that the scholars and professionals of Jeju or Jeju province propose after two or three meetings. Jeju Island of World Peace is based on the nature-culture-history and geopolitics and geoeconomic considerations made by the civil society of Jeju continuously at least since the 1980s. I think that Jeju Island of World Peace has the solid foundations rather than does Jeju Free International City or Jeju Special Self-Governing Province with following reasons.

First, Jeju Island of World Peace is originally set up from below. The vision of world peace relies on the spontaneous awakening and reflections on the past and the initiative in searching for the future at the level of grass roots. Second, Jeju Island of World Peace prefers the cooperation of diplomatic approach while Jeju Free International City and Jeju Special Self-Governing Province are based on the competition of neoliberalist economic logic. Cooperation will bring about the sustainable and long-term benefits, while the utility of competition will be found in maintaining the comparative advantages through the continuous improvement.

Though Jeju Island of World Peace should be accomplished in the long-term, Jeju people are eager to taste the fruits of world peace in a near future. Thus, if the Island of World Peace is a torch of Jeju people, Jeju Island of World Peace as a policy will be carried out relying on the geoeconomics beyond mere images or symbol. When Roh administration designated Jeju as the Island of World peace, the state should have been able to give more detailed blue-print.<sup>5)</sup> But Jeju province did not make effective use of President Roh's designation to make Jeju the Island of World Peace.

Nevertheless the vision of world peace is valued highly. And so Jeju Island of World

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4) In addition to Jeju, DMZ, Cheolwon city of Gangwon province, Pyeongtaek city of Gyeonggi province present the vision of peace city while showing their own reason and meanings.

5) Roh administration approved the 17 projects that Jeju province proposed as the projects of world peace. But Jeju people don't seem to be satisfied with 17 projects, because most of 17 projects are not new projects nor easy to pick the fruits and 17 projects don't make a surprising impression on Jeju people.

Peace as a policy is regarded as the try to upgrade and refresh the future of Jeju in the various perspectives of environment, culture, history, economics and geopolitics. On January 27, 2005 Roh administration and Jeju people are thought to make an agreement about the vision of Jeju Island of World Peace as a policy that follows: 1) review and revival of unique traditional culture & clean environment of Jeju, and reinterpretation and Getting-over of April 3 Incident, 2) reflection and reformation of the developmental tracks as the international tourist resort since 1970s, 3) using the geopolitics of Jeju which has played the networking role in upgrading the exchange & cooperation in East Asia including Korean peninsula since 1990s post-cold war, 4) making Jeju the model of decentralized & balanced development through the foreign openness as a responding policy to the challenges from globalization.

## 1. The Background of Nature-Culture-History

The vision of Jeju Island of World Peace is first of all supported by Jeju's unique background of nature-culture-history. The primary concern for nature in Jeju Island of World Peace has two aspects. One is in its philosophy. Nature's eternity is contrasted with human beings' mortality. Nature has to be preserved securely from the reckless exploitation so that human life is stable and fruitful. For example, if trees are fell downed recklessly, then flood is inevitable. So if nature is well preserved, humans will enjoy peace. Preservation of nature provides the foundation of Jeju community and then nature becomes the backbone of Jeju Island of World Peace.

The other aspect is the tourism. Jeju is one of the best tourist attractions in East Asia. One secret that Jeju can become the international tourist site is Jeju's unique and clean nature. Jeju is not a best place for the manufacturing industry because of the heavy costs of logistics. But this is 'the advantage of disadvantage' for Jeju tourism. That is, as tourism industry and agriculture go hand in hand, its synergic effects are much higher. In the case of Jeju, Mt. Halla with clean sea and fresh air provides beautiful view in harmony with the plenty of mandarin orange trees all over Jeju.

Likewise, culture has put forward two aspects. One is Jeju identity, the other is

tourism. Jeju people acknowledged the uniqueness of their culture well enough to be proud in their traditional culture. The Three Nothing, Woman-divers, stone fence, persimmon-made clothes and poker latrine are examples different from those of the outside world. Traditional cultural features are to fade away because of urbanization and industrialization. So Jeju people understand that such cultural features will eventually disappear, but try to reshape and cherish these cultures through new interpretation.

One example of such tries is the reinterpretation of the Three Nothings. The Three Nothings mean that in the past there were no thieves, no beggars, no gates in Jeju, so that the Three Nothings have been regarded as the unique characters of Jeju's traditional lives. Many scholars of Jeju culture such as Yang & Hyun (1983, 14-18) explained the modernized meanings of the Three Nothings as norms as well as actual realization of the 'cooperative communalism'. No thieves means peaceful life through the realization of social justice as well as exclusion of violence. No beggars means creative and diligent labours as self-realization processes and self-relying lives. No gate means trustworthy community based on the autonomous maintenance of law and orders as well as respect of others' life. These reinterpreted characters are relevant to all the passive and positive peace. When based upon these spirits of mutual trust, cooperation and non-violence, Jeju Island of World Peace launches the project to take advantage of the cultural traditions of Jeju.

The idea of culture tourism promotes the concerns in culture. The culture tourism is the alternative to the simple sightseeing tourism that visitors are growing to be fed up with. It is sometimes criticized that culture is too commercialized to lose the human dignity involved in culture itself. But as far as visitors are fond of tourism grafted with local cultures, culture tourism will be highly appreciated as a strategy to upgrade Jeju's tourism.

The concerns about Jeju history is focused on the April 3 Incident which is the most terrible tragedy in the Korean modern history because one out of ten people was killed without being informed of any reason to be killed. Nobody had been permitted to talk something about the April 3 Incident, but since the 1990s the April 3 Incident is regarded as scape goat sacrificed in the process of establishing the Cold War in East

Asia. Even now two positions are at conflict with the reason of the occurrence of the April 3 Incident. One bases its explanation on the reckless revolt by the communists while the other is blaming the over-suppression by the US Military Government and Seungman Lee administration. Even though the Special Law of April 3 Incident was enacted and the central government published the official reports on the April 3 Incident, to the outsiders how to view and understand the April 3 Incident still remains as a hot issue.<sup>6)</sup>

But now most of Jeju people agree with the need first of all to cure the pains and sorrows of the victims, which prefers the solution of curing the injuries by searching for the cause of the April 3 Incident. The former is in the area of policy while the latter is in the area of academics. Jeju people have decided to pursue for peace & prosperity of the East Asian Community through solving the conflicting views around the April 3 Incident. According to the motto of 'Do not forget the incident, but forgive and conciliate,' Jeju Island of World Peace is going to get over the tragedy and enter into the post-cold war era.

## 2. The background of Geoeconomy

Jeju Island of World Peace is stipulated in the Special Law of Jeju Free International City. This means that the central government has the intention to take advantage of the Island of World Peace for helping further Jeju Free International City. The idea that the peace and prosperity are two sides of one coin is awakening the dimension of Geoeconomy in the process of designating Jeju as the Island of World Peace.

The concept of Jeju Island of World Peace is traced back to the period of Ancient

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6) For example in recent what is the real fact of the April 3 Incident has been debated. In relation to this debate, Seong-Ho Che, professor of Chung-Ang University, and Yeong-Joong Kim, the chairman of the Association of Retired Policemen of Jeju, called for the reexamination of the April 3 Incident by the right camp because they thought the government's official reports on the April 3 Incident are made by the leftist camp, while the majority of jeju criticized this argument as distorted.(*Jejusori*, August 22, 2006)

Tamna when Jeju played the bridging role of connecting China-Korea-Japan from B.C. 100 to A.D. 1000 according to the Korean Section and Japanese Section of *Wei Kingdom Book among Three Kingdoms Book Series (Jeminilbo, November 13, 2002)*. But the utility of Jeju's geoeconomics was neglected by all the Shilla-Koryo-Chosun Dynasties that had oriented themselves toward the continent rather than sea.

Since the Shilla Dynasty, Jeju had been neglected because of its sterile soils, geographical divide, and the exploitations from the central government. The phrase of 'if man is born, he has to go to Seoul : if the horse is born, it is to be delivered to Jeju' epitomized the image and reality of Jeju's status. During the Chosun Dynasty, Jeju was famous for the place of exile of the dissidents expelled from the power.<sup>7)</sup>

At that time it was true that all the Jeju people were poor because the central government neglected or exploited Jeju. Its extreme poverty prevented the thieves, beggars and gates from being present. There were no something extra that Jeju people could give, protect and exploit. From such a point of view, the cooperative community of Jeju is natural and inevitable because the community is not possible without the cooperation with neighbors, which enforced the networks of cooperation based upon the blood and geography at first.

But after one millenium passed, Jeju shows the potential for playing the bridging role. Japan let Jeju people go outward and under the Japanese colonial rule a lot of Jeju people went to Japan as well as to Korean peninsula. As far as being able to leave from Jeju, Korean peninsula and Japan were not differently perceived to Jeju people. Thus, Jeju had the direct relations with outward world including Japan. One fortunate among a lot of unfortunates by the division of Korean peninsula is South Korea's change in its foreign policies from the continent-orientation to sea-orientation. As animosity between North and South Korea blocked South Korea from going to the continent, South Korea had to move to the west including the USA, Japan and Southeast Asia. As Jeju is situated at the street corner to the west, Jeju has one role as the advance guard in the

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7) The exiles gave Jeju people two kinds of attitudes : one is center-oriented, the other is anti-centered. These inherited conflicting attitudes towards center seem to be alive now in the consciousness of Jeju people.

marine era. This was why Park Chung-Hee, Chun Doo-Hwan, and Kim Dae-Jung administrations searched and pursued the strategy to take advantage of Jeju as a free port or free international city.

Thus, the modern history of Jeju mainly consisted of the tourist development especially since the 1970s. The tourist development boom changed the status of Jeju from the desolate island to the newly rising tourist attraction. Whether its aims are to exploit the foot areas of the Mt. Halla or enjoy the old ages in Jeju while managing the mandarin orange trees and/or playing golfs, many people from outside are interested in Jeju, which contributes to making Jeju more valuable.

These tourists developments raised two conflicting viewpoints: developmental perspective and preservationist perspective. In proportion that the value of Jeju increases the interest of speculators, the consciousness and movements of preserving Jeju from the reckless exploitation are in motion. Fortunately the developmental and preservationist approaches go hand in hand after two approaches confronted each other around the legislation of the Special Laws for Jeju Development in the 1990s. The idea of sustainable development helps make two approaches conciliatory,<sup>8)</sup> and then now idea of sustainable development prevails and leads to the direction of development of Jeju.

### 3. The Background of Geopolitics

The dimension of geopolitics is the most important background on which Jeju Island of World Peace is based on because post-cold war is followed by an era of diplomacy. Since the military power is less influential than in the past, diplomacy including the summit meeting is more crucial in international relations. Jeju has been highlighted as a new meeting place because of its geographical merits with various infrastructures as follows. First, Jeju is able to link China-Korea-Japan geographically due to an equal distance from the three states. In addition, Jeju is located at a distance of one hour' flight

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8) But I think that this idea of sustainable development prefers to the development above preservation. In the world of capitalist domination, it is inevitable for the logic of development to prevail while compromising by the acceptance of limiting the reckless exploitation.

from Seoul.<sup>9)</sup> Second, Jeju has clean and beautiful landscapes and the various infrastructures including well-maintained roads, many kinds of hotels as well as famous international tourist attractions.

Throughout the 1990s, quite a few summits of East Asia visited Jeju and talked about the peace & prosperity of East Asia. They are Mikhail Gorbachev in 1991, Jiang Zemin in 1995, Bill Clinton and Hashimoto Ryutaro 1996 and Obuchi Keizo in 1999. They met with the Presidents of South Korea in Jeju. In addition, after the summit meeting between Kim Dae-Jung and Kim Jong-Il in 1990, the first meeting of North and South Korean Ministers of National Defences and the third meeting of North and South Korean Ministerial officials were held in Jeju. Thus, Jeju has been expected to play a linking role while arranging the dialogues among the summits of East Asia.

Another aspect of the geopolitics of Jeju Island of World Peace is found in the tourism perspective that even North Korean people hope to visit Jeju if permitted.<sup>10)</sup> Kim Jong-Il had told South Korean journalists that he would visit Jeju some time. So many people have expected Kim Jong-Il to visit Jeju and meet Kim Dae-Jung or Roh Moo-Hyun because Kim Jong-Il had promised Kim Dae-Jung to visit Seoul sooner or later when Kim Jong-Il met with Kim Dae-Jung in Pyongyang but Kim Jong-Il did not make a visit to any place of South Korea. In addition, it is suggested that the six-party talks to solve North Korean nuclear negotiations will be held in Jeju.

In retrospect, though it has been often discussed how to make economic use of Jeju since Park Chung-Hee administration, there is little concern about the political use of Jeju because of the structural constraints enforced by cold war. But in the process of transition from cold war to post-cold war era in East Asia in the 1990s it is acknowledged that Jeju has become more competitive than any other place. In order to take advantage of Jeju politically, the central government has to establish the institutional arrangements. The designation of Jeju as the Island of World Peace by

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9) Jeju has 18 neighboring cities that are situated at a distance of two hours by airplane including Beijing, Shanghai, Tokyo, Osaka of East Asia.(Chung 2002, 23)

10) On July 16, 2005 Kim Jong-Il is said to tell Hyun Jeong-Eun who is chair of the Hyundai Group that you would prepare Mt. Halla visit of North Korean delegations.(*Ohmy News*, August 22, 2005)

government is the official confirmation to back up Jeju with administrative and financial supports because the vision of the Island of World Peace is not confined to Jeju but is relevant to the future of East Asia including Korean peninsula.

In this vein, we need to bring world peace to our notice. The issue here is not simply 'peace' but 'world peace'. It means that the meanings of peace in the vision of Jeju Island of World Peace is focusing on international peace of East Asia rather than that of Jeju at the local level. In other word, the dimension of geopolitics is the essence of Jeju Island of World Peace. Then, we are faced with the task of what and how to take advantage of Jeju as a planning at geopolitical dimension.

### **III. Jeju Island of World Peace as a Planning**

Jeju Island of World Peace is a strategy to make Jeju peaceful and prosperous. Originally 'Jeju Island of World Peace' comes from geopolitical consideration of Jeju, but in the process of legislation it is combined with geoeconomy of Jeju Free International City. Thus Roh administration is to promote Jeju economically, but a lot of NGOs of Jeju are more concerned with the dimension of nature-culture-history of Jeju. These discordances make it hard for concerted efforts to realize the vision of Jeju.

However, overall, the meanings of Jeju Island of World Peace as a planning are still significant. In relation to the sustainable development of Jeju, the vision of Jeju Island of World Peace suggests some alternatives to simple sightseeing tourism. The so-called hands-on tourism means that visitors will be involved directly in local culture and enjoy well-preserved clean nature. Business tourism refers to a combined activity in which they also perform business transactions such as the economic transactions as well as diplomatic forum, academic conferences and the NGOs' meetings in addition to tourism.

In the process of pursuing for Jeju model of sustainable development, Jeju Island of World Peace is absorbed into Jeju Free International City in 2002 so that another possibilities of logistics and finance hub are suggested as the competitive elements along

with tourism. But the problems remain: It is not easy to show clear outcomes of Jeju Free International City so that it does not meet the expectation of Jeju people. The specialization of logistics and finance hub is also questioned owing to its difficulties and unsuitabilities. The central administration did not provide substantial supports but mere verbal promise. Roh Moo-Hyun administration renamed Kim Dae-Jung's Jeju Free International City into Jeju Special Self-governing Province that would focus on the free movement of education and medical services in stead of logistics and finance hub. The real purpose of Special Self-governing Province is to prepare in advance for the opening of education and medical services.<sup>11)</sup> Of course the strategy to open education and medical services can be an alternative to help the economy of Jeju survive because it is hard to attract manufacturing enterprises so that it will be a 'blue ocean'<sup>12)</sup> strategy for Jeju to take initiative in opening markets in advance. But it is not yet certain whether 4+1 projects of Jeju Special Self-governing Province will succeed or not in spite of the government's promise.

What is the speciality of Jeju Self-governing Province? I also think it is not a simple experimentation to pass through the trial and errors of market opening. But it is an effort to realize and strengthen the coexistence of peace & prosperity beyond the economic logic of neoliberalism. In other words, whether they are logistics and finance hub or 4+1 projects, the dimension of geoeconomy has to be based upon the philosophy of peace logic to make the geopolitical dimension of Jeju Island of World Peace more effective.

As explained above, the vision of Jeju Island of World Peace is based on the life-respecting movement at the grass root level. The central government is noticing the grass roots and is trying to combine the grass roots and professionals. But in

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11) According to Representative Sang-Chung Shim who made public the report of the third meeting agenda of the Committee on Foreign Economy, the strategy of supporting the industrialization of education and medical services is only case of experimentation to prepare for and deal with Free Trade Agreement through grasping in advance the bright and dark sides of the market opening (*Jejusori*, August 22, 2006).

12) The blue ocean means 'the new frontier market without competition....through the differentiation and comparative advantage in costs'(Kim & Boan 2005, 8; 17).

transforming the vision into the policy the professionals and bureaucracies have poured the contents of neoliberalist view of economy into the concrete projects neglecting the philosophy of peace. The key problems lie in the atmosphere of predominant growth-centered viewpoint that supports the rationale of professionals as well as that grass roots, so that the vision of Jeju Island of World Peace does not come true yet.

Notwithstanding the uncertain future of Jeju Special Self-governing Province, Jeju Island of World Peace as a planning is still valid because of its potential contribution to creating unique brand of Jeju. The upgrading image of Island of World Peace will help improve foreign confidence in Jeju and assure the investors with stability and honesty. If Jeju establishes the networks of peace by special self-governing, it will allow Jeju to be connected with many kinds of international actors including governments, enterprises, NGOs. Thus, if Jeju continues to play the roles of “conveying the communication and exchanges between the continent and sea, buffing the competition and conflict among the various actors, and reducing the gaps between the developed economy and backward economy,”(Park 2002, 178) it will promote Jeju Free International City or Jeju Special Self-governing Province to be a unique model or special strategy for development.<sup>13)</sup>

The development of air-space technology and Internet makes Jeju Island able to play a new role of promoting cooperation and exchanges among the East Asian countries. At the same time the strong voice of the local people stimulates Jeju to try to go beyond the geographical confinement and grasp the opportunity of participating directly in world economy. So Jeju Special Self-governing Province should be permitted to enjoy the diplomatic autonomy through peace & business, but not by war or military engagement.

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13) For example, the uniqueness of Jeju Free International City consists in pursuing two targets of Peace & Prosperity different from the Economic Free Zone of Songdo and Yeongjongdo of Incheon.

#### IV. Military Base in the Perspective of Jeju Island of World Peace

In relation to peace and security, Jeju is confronted with the issue of establishing air base and marine corps around Hwasoon seaport. I'd like to oppose the heavily militarized Hwasoon seaport because of following reasons.

The vision of Jeju Island of World Peace is more than the negative peace which is maintained with the absence of war and violence. The negative peace is still important. However, while all the people are pursuing the negative peace, the vision of Jeju Island of World Peace has to be more than negative peace in order to show unique brand as the Island of World Peace. In other words, the designation of Jeju as the Island of World Peace sets up the positive peace or 'human security'<sup>14)</sup> as its target. The concepts of Jeju Island of World Peace on the positive peace are based on two considerations: One is the evaluative view that the positive peace is superior to the negative peace, the other is realistic view that the negative peace secured by military means is too vulnerable to be sustained unless the negative peace is supported by the positive peace.<sup>15)</sup> In the perspective of the vision of Jeju Island of World Peace searching for the positive peace, the proposition of heavily arming Hwasoon seaport Aegis combat system vessels should be opposed.

But the issue of arming Hwasoon area is not simple because we have to consider another realistic view on security in that the negative peace is of primary importance due to two reasons. First, the vision of Jeju Island of World Peace can be performed by ensuring the negative peace as the premise to pursue the positive peace. It is clear that the positive peace is not possible without the negative peace. Second, in spite of the

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14) According to *Human Development Report 1994* published by UNDP, the human security means 'safety from the constant threats of hunger, disease, crime and repression' and 'protection from sudden and harmful disruption in the pattern of our daily lives, whether in our homes, in our jobs, in our communities or in our environment.' (Overview of HDR 1994, 5)

15) For example, September 11 Terror in 2001 can be explained as the outcome of the unilateralism of the USA that has been neglecting the positive peace.

post-cold war, the international circumstances of East Asia including Korean peninsula are not stable enough to neglect the negative peace. Korean peninsula is one of the most unstable places owing to the animosity between the USA and North Korea around North Korea's attempts to produce the nuclear weapons. Thus, many South Korean people regard the negative peace as the necessary means while hoping strongly to constrain the use of forces. Thus, the issue of arming Hwasoon seaport is supported by many peoples.

Since Jeju Island of World Peace cherishes both the positive and negative peace, there exist two different points of view about the heavily armed Hwasoon seaport depending on the preference of type of peace. In fact, two viewpoints are only different in the perspectives because which group is right or false does not matter. It means that it is difficult for Jeju people to reach any consensus<sup>16)</sup> because their viewpoints reflect their identities or philosophies. So first of all it is necessary for the Sea Forces and Jeju people including Hwasoon residents to have a meeting and conversation, and then to proceed the political process to make a negotiation. But the issue of arming Hwasoon seaport still remains unresolved since 2002 due to the absence of politics.

The issue of heavily arming Hwasoon seaport is more complex because of the gap between the intent of government and the expectation of Jeju people. Jeju people expect two tasks to be accomplished: One is 'to contribute to the world peace'; The other is to make Jeju the island of peace' (Hyun 2006, 73). When reviewing the military base of Hwasoon seaport in relation to the above-mentioned two tasks, the issue is restated as follows: (1) whether the military base of Hwasoon seaport can contribute to the world peace, (2) whether the military base of Hwasoon seaport will contribute to making the vision of Jeju Island of World Peace come true. I think that when Jeju people applauded the designation of Jeju as the Island of World Peace, Jeju people preferred making and establishing the peace by peaceful means.<sup>17)</sup> If it is the case, the military base of

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16) Prime Minister Hae-Chan Lee had remarked the need of consensus among Jeju people in order to build the military base in Hwasoon seaport when answering the questions about arming Hwasoon seaport in the parliament in 2005 (*Jejusori*, June 9, 2005).

17) For the meanings of 'peace by peaceful means' in Jeju Island of World Peace, see Yang & Chang

Hwasoon seaport does not fit into the expectations of Jeju people.

On the other hand, when designating Jeju as the Island of World Peace, the intent of the central government leans toward the geoeconomic consideration so that the Law of Jeju Island of World Peace is enacted within the Special Law of Jeju Free International City. In other words, the central government is to take advantage of Jeju Island of World Peace in order to realize the goals of Jeju Free International City.

Of course it will be desirable to consider the combination of peace and prosperity by integrating the law of world peace into the special law of free international city. With this combination, a positive cycle between peace and prosperity will be set up and the idea of sustainable development is pervasive, which can become the differentiated brand of Jeju Free International City. But until now it is not certain whether the combination of peace and prosperity can help Jeju take these expected directions — these are sustainable development focusing on the harmony with nature, the extension of security towards human security more than state security, and leading the cooperation and exchanges among the East Asian countries by open regionalism — because the policy orientation of Roh administration is dominated by the economic logic of neoliberalism which is largely backed up by statism.

If we view the military base of Hwasoon seaport in the perspective of geoeconomy that the central government focused on, the heavily armed Hwasoon seaport does not seem to contribute to the success of Jeju Free International City. While free international city means the free movement of people, goods and capital, military base is likely to constrain the free movement at any time if necessary for the military operations. If Hwasoon seaport is developed as a tourist or logistics seaport for attracting people, goods and capital from East Asia according to the original blue print, it will best suit the vision of Jeju Free International City.

In spite of the undesirability of heavily arming Hwasoon seaport with Aegis combat system vessels, some people of Jeju are growing to concede the military base of Hwasoon seaport for the purpose of getting the economic benefits. For example, Hong-

Ik Moon who is the chair of the Jeju Chamber of Commerce and Industry consented to the proposal of the military base of Hwasoon seaport, saying that “we cannot make a money if considering the opposite function”(Jejusori, June 19, 2006). Moon’s remarks reflect partly the milieu where they will postpone or even give up the vision of Jeju Island of World Peace if necessary to make money under the condition of continuous economic impasses. Moon Hong-ik typically represented the economic approach to the military base that will contribute to bringing about economic benefits by the effectiveness of constructing ‘back city’.<sup>18)</sup>

The emergence of economic viewpoint<sup>19)</sup> on the military base is in part owing to the central government. First, as explained earlier, Roh administration approached Jeju Island of World Peace with the logic of geoeconomy. It is natural for some people of Jeju to approach the Island of World Peace with the economic perspective. If Jeju Island of World Peace is limited to play an assistant role to provide places for meeting and conferences arranged by the central government without certain level of autonomy in diplomacy, it cannot satisfy the mounting expectation of Jeju people. In the proportion that Jeju Island of World Peace cannot perform its roles as a Free International City positively and progressively, the gap between expectation and frustration will be growing wider, which will pose the question about the utility of the Island of World Peace. In fact, there are a lot of Jeju people wondering whether Jeju Island of World Peace is mere the symbol, and inclining to be supportive of inviting the military base of Hwasoon seaport for revival of economy while sustaining the desirability of Jeju Island of World Peace in the long run.

The problem lies in the fact that the economic benefits of the military base are not big

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18) Ko (2006, 40-41) criticized the effectiveness of city at the back of military base on the ground that military base does not have the developmental sources such as free movement of people, goods and capital which is the goal of Jeju Free International City.

19) The issue of arming Hwasoon seaport shifted its focus from security to economy happened in August 2005 when some people from Wimiri of Jeju formed the Promotion Committee for Inviting the Marine Military Base for the purpose of getting economic benefits while calling for building up the military base in Wimi seaport in stead of Hwasoon seaport.

enough as expected even though it would help raise the construction boom in the short term. First, in spite of the grand construction project with investment of 800 billion won for 8 years, the actual share of Jeju is about 20% of total investment because the rest 80% is going to the big enterprises that will make contracts with the Ministry of National Defence. Second, on reviewing the relation between the military base and tourism, the analysis published by Jeju Development Institute (2005, 81-86) suggests negative influence because of the following reasons: 1) empirically most military bases do not play a tourist role in itself; 2) the number of visitors to meet soldiers is not large enough because of the expensive costs to visit Jeju; 3) the stipulation of the Law of Protecting the Military Establishment hinders the free use of Hwasoon area such as Mt. Sanbang and the seaside of Yongmeori; 4) if the heavily militarized Hwasoon seaport is connected with the MD program of the USA, it is inevitable to give the visitors anxiety and bad images.

Though its benefits are not big enough and the 2002 survey on the opinions of Jeju people already showed that 58.2% of Jeju people opposed the project of arming Hwasoon seaport (*Hallailbo*, October 25, 2002) while the issue of arming Hwasoon seaport is continuously debated for the economic concerns. According to the opinion poll that Jeju MBC requested on September 8, 2006, 50.8% of 1,015 respondents consented to the establishment of military base in Hwasoon seaport. (*Jejusori*, September 14, 2006). This debate poses two things to think about. First, the reason why Jeju people are going to move toward economic benefits though in short term is the policy failure of Roh administration. Roh administration announced Jeju as the Island of World Peace without thorough preparation, but has neglected to promote peace industry, although it is not easily achieved. Second, it is now considered that the vision of Jeju Island of World Peace seems to be more than South Korea including Jeju can deal with. The Island of World Peace needs to go beyond the statism and neoliberalism from the Korean people and demands the peculiar mission and even the sacrifice of Jeju people. Now the issue of arming Hwasoon seaport becomes the testing gate that Jeju has to pass if Jeju wants to keep the brand of the Island of Word Peace and show its capacity of pushing forward the Island of Word Peace.

## V. Conclusion: Beyond the Nation-Oriented Viewpoint

Jeju Island of World peace is the vision of upgrading the future of Jeju by combining peace and prosperity in the dimensions of Nature, Culture, History, Geopolitics and Geoeconomy. At the same time Jeju Island of World Peace is the strategy to achieve the goals of Jeju Free International City. Though there are different opinions about the vision and strategy of World Peace, Jeju people and Roh administration had the common understandings as follows: 1) review and revival of unique traditional culture & clean environment of Jeju, and reinterpretation and overcoming April 3 Incident, 2) reflection and reformation of the developmental tracks as international tourist resorts since the 1970s, 3) using the geopolitics of Jeju which has played the networking role in upgrading the exchange & cooperation in East Asia including the Korean peninsula in the post-cold war era, 4) making Jeju a model of decentralized & balanced development through opening markets as a responding policy to the challenges from globalization. When Roh Moo-Hyun announced Jeju as the Island of World Peace on January 27, 2005, Jeju people applauded the designation.

But now in 2006 the policy of World Peace is not satisfying Jeju people though the vision of Jeju Island of World Peace is still welcome. This is first of all owing to the economic logic of neoliberalism that the central governments including Kim Dae-Jung and Roh Moo-Hyun administrations have cherished in order to respond to the pressures from globalization. Since making-money is of primary importance all over the world, some people of Jeju think that the vision of Jeju Island of World peace can be postponed if necessary to make money. The issue of arming Hwasoon seaport turn out to be an economic issue to Jeju people while military or security issue to the Sea Forces.<sup>20)</sup>

It is obvious that the project of heavily arming Hwasoon seaport does not serve the

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20) Because I already reviewed the theoretical debate about the relation between peace and security concerning heavily arming Hwasoon seaport (Yang 2005, 57-73), I focused on the opinions of jeju people in this paper.

vision of Jeju Island of World Peace. But some people of Jeju suggest the actual postponement of World Peace for economic benefits and then the inhabitants vote is proposed to solve the hot issue of whether to arm Hwasoon seaport or not. To make a decision on the hot issue, the inhabitants vote can be effective. But before the inhabitants vote will be practiced, the central government has to make clear its official stance about arming Hwasoon seaport for two reasons: First, because Roh administration designated Jeju as the Island of World Peace, it is reasonable that Roh administration has to say something about the relation between world peace and military base. Second, the issue of heavily arming Hwasoon seaport deserves the national debate before coordinating the opinions of Jeju people as Ko(2006, 46) argued.

Finally, I would like to suggest the East Asian perspective in relation to arming Hwasoon seaport. In the 20th century, Korean people had lived within the perspective of localism and statism. The localism ruled the consciousness and behavior in our daily life from the regional rivalry between Yeongnam and Honam areas to Jeju's little version of regionalism between North and South areas or that between East and West areas. The statism exerted the enormous power regarding the Republic of Korea as the pivot. This Nation-oriented viewpoint was partly owing to the consciousness of identifying the fortune of individual with that of the state, which was forced by Japanese imperialism, the division of nation, Korean War and the continuous threats from the North.

But the new trends of post-cold war era, globalization and the information network make us realize that the future of peace and prosperity is not possible with localism and statism. In fact, Jeju Free International City in 2002, Jeju Island of World peace in 2005 and Jeju Special Self-governing Province in 2006 are all consistent with the globalism that is renamed as East Asian perspective beyond localism and statism. But there is the gap between the global vision and statist policy as well as that between the East Asian perspective and local consciousness. Then, there are one group of people approving and the other group opposing the military base of Hwasoon seaport.

Now Jeju people have the three interconnected global tasks of Free International City, Island of World Peace and Special Self-governing Province. I think that the future of Jeju depends on the coordinated efforts to perform the above-mentioned three tasks, but

not on arming Hwasoon seaport. It poses a unique mission to Jeju people demanding the consciousness of globalism and East Asian perspective in order to implement the Free International City successfully. In the perspective of East Asia, the military base of Hwasoon seaport should not be established in excuse of economic benefits in the short term. Thus, I would like to suggest the idea of East Asian Peace Seaport for Hwasoon seaport in the paradigm of 'the peace by peaceful means' and globalism.

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국문요약 ■■■

## 세계평화의 섬 제주와 화순항 해군기지

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이 논문의 주장은 4가지이다. 첫째, 제주도가 세계평화의 섬으로 지정되는 데에는 자연환경적-문화적-역사적 차원에 이어 특히 지정학적 차원과 지경학적 차원이 중요하게 작용했다. 둘째, '기획으로서의 세계평화의 섬'은 평화와 번영의 동아시아를 향한 제주국제자유도시의 동전양면격인 생존 및 실천전략의 하나이다. 셋째, 화순항 해군기지 건설은 적극적 평화를 고려하는 세계평화의 섬 제주의 비전과는 어울리지 않는다. 넷째, 제주도 해군기지 문제를 접근함에 있어서는 동아시아의 시각에서 화순항을 물류와 관광을 아우르는 '동아시아 평화항'으로 만드는 것이 대안이다.

**주제어:** 세계평화의 섬 제주, 제주국제자유도시, 화순항, 동아시아 시각, 동아시아평화항