



최근 국제분쟁 양상과 평화유지활동 발전방안

Recent Trends in International Conflicts and
Development Strategies for Peacekeeping Operations

시간	내용
10:20 ~10:50	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 개식사/내빈소개 : 국방대학교 국제평화활동센터장 • 환영사 : 국방대 총장 직무대행, 한국평화활동학회 회장 • 축사 : 前 UN 대사 오준 • 기조연설 : 한미우호협회 회장 황진하
10:50 ~11:00	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 기념사진 촬영
11:00 ~12:30	<p>#1. 최근 국제분쟁을 통한 한국 정부의 도전요소 및 대응 전략</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 발표 : 연세대 손열 교수, 서강대 박현도 교수 • 토론 : 국회미래연구원 외교안보팀장 차정미 박사, 前 특수전사령관 예.중장 전인범, 주한 캐나다 국방무관 육군 대령 지노 크레티앵 • 좌장 : 국방대 PKO 센터 김정필 교수
12:30 ~14:00	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 휴식 / 오찬(뷔페)
14:00 ~15:30	<p>#2. 다자안보 협력과 연계한 대한민국의 평화 활동 확대 방안</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 발표 : 국방대 PKO 센터 강효경 교수, 前 일본육상자위대통합부막료장예.중장반쇼고이치로 • 토론 : 서울시립대 황지환 교수, 前 주미 국방무관 예.소장 이경구, 주한 호주 국방무관 공군 대령 바이런 레이놀즈 • 좌장 : 선문대 박흥순 명예교수

* 진행 : 경수진 교수

* KIA : 행사장 주변 일대에 파병 장비·물자 전시(09:30~15:30)

Time	Description
10:20 ~10:50	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opening Remarks/Introduction of Guests : Director of ROK PKO Center • Welcoming Remarks : Acting President of KNDU, President of Korea Academic Association of Peace Operations • Congratulatory Remarks : Former Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to the United Nations, OH Joon • Keynote Address : President of the Korea-America Friendship Society, WHANG Jin-Ha
10:50 ~11:00	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Group photo
11:00 ~12:30	<p>Session1. Challenges and Response Strategies of the ROK Government in Light of Recent International Conflicts</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Speakers : Professor SOHN Yul, Yonsei University, Professor PARK Hyon-Do, Sogang University • Discussants : Dr.CHA Jung-Mi, The Director of Foreign Policy and Security Strategy Division at NAFI Lt.Gen.(Ret.) CHUN In-Bum, Former Commander of the ROK Special Warfare Command, Colonel Gino Chretien, Defence Attaché of Canada to the Republic of Korea • Chair : Professor KIM Jung-Pil, PKO Center, KNDU
12:30 ~14:00	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Break and luncheon(buffet)
14:00 ~15:30	<p>Session2.Strategies for Expanding ROK Peacekeeping Activities in Connection with Multilateral Security operation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Speakers : Dr. KANG Hyo-Kyung, Professor, PKO Center, KNDU, Lt.Gen.(Ret.) Koichiro Bansho, former Vice Chief of Staff, JGSDF • Discussants : Professor HWANG Ji-Hwan, Department of International Relations, University of Seoul, Maj.Gen.(Ret.) LEE Kyung-Koo, Former Defence Attaché to the U.S. Group Captain Byron Reynolds, Australian Defence Attaché to the Republic of Korea • Chair : Dr.PARK Heung-Soon Professor Emeritus, Sunmoon University

* Event Facilitator : Professor KYUNG Su-jin

* KIA will exhibits deployed equipment and supplies around the event venue(09:30~15:30)

C O N T E N T S

최근 국제분쟁 양상과 평화유지활동 발전방안 Recent Trends in International Conflicts and Development Strategies for Peacekeeping Operations

PKO 발전 세미나 주요인사 및 패널 약력..... 06
Distinguished Guests and Panelists for the 20th PKO Development Seminar

발제주제
Session

- ① 최근 국제분쟁을 통한 한국 정부의 도전요소 및 대응 전략
Challenges and Response Strategies of the ROK Government in Light of Recent International Conflicts
- 연세대 손열 교수 15
Professor SOHN Yul, Yonsei University
 - 서강대 박현도 교수 20
Professor PARK Hyon-Do, Sogang University
- ② 다자안보 협력과 연계한 대한민국의 평화 활동 확대 방안
Strategies for Expanding ROK Peacekeeping Activities in Connection with Multilateral Security Cooperation
- 국방대 PKO 센터 강효경 교수 29
Dr. KANG Hyo-Kyung, Professor, PKO Center, KNDU
 - 前 일본 육상자위대 통합 부막료장 예.중장 반쇼 고이치로 39
Lt.Gen.(Ret.) Koichiro Bansho, former Vice Chief of Staff, JGSDF

제20회 PKO 발전 세미나 주요인사 및 패널

□ 환영사 / 축사 / 기조연설



환영사

국방대 총장 직무대행 **김영호** 교수

- 미국 오하이오 주립대 정치학 박사
- 청와대 안보전략비서관실 선임행정관
- 국방대학교 국가안보장문제 연구소장
- 국방대학교 안보정책학부 교수
- 국방대학교 부총장



환영사

한국평화활동학회 회장 **최영범**

- 서부사하라 PKO 국군의료지원단장
- 이라크재건지원단 민사협조본부장
- 합참 전시작전권전환추진단장
- 유엔 인도-파키스탄 정전감시단장



축사

前 UN 대사 **오준**

- 제24대 주유엔 대한민국 대표부 대사
- UN 경제사회이사회 의장
- 제10대 한국아동단체협의회 회장
- 세이브더칠드런 코리아 이사장



기조연설

한미우호협회 회장 **황진하**

- 키프로스 유엔평화유지군 사령관
- 주미 대사관 국방무관
- 국회 외교통일위원회 위원
- 국회 국방위원회 위원장

Distinguished Guests and Panelists for the 20th PKO Development Seminar



□ Welcoming Remarks/Congratulatory Remarks/Keynote Address



Welcoming Remarks

Acting President, KNDU Professor **KIM Young-Ho**

- Ph.D., Political Science, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, USA
- Director-General, Research Institute for National Security Affairs (RINSA), KNDU
- Deputy Secretary to the President for Security Strategy, Blue House
- Professor, Department of Security & Defense Policy, KNDU
- Vice President, KNDU



Welcoming Remarks

President of Korea Academic Association of Peace Operations, **CHOI Young-Bum**

- Commander, ROK Medical Support Unit, Western Sahara(MINURSO)
- Chief of Civil-Military Cooperation Center, Zaytun Division in Iraq
- Director, OPCON Transition Task Force, ROK JCS
- Chief Military Observer, United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan(UNMOGIP)



Congratulatory Remarks

Former Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to the United Nations, **OH Joon**

- 24th Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to the United Nations
- President of the UN Economic and Social Council(ECOSOC)
- 10th President, Korea Council of Children's Organizations
- Chairperson, Save the Children Korea



Keynote Address

President of the Korea-America Friendship Society, **HWANG Jin-Ha**

- Force Commander, United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus(UNFICYP)
- Defense attaché to the United States
- Member, Foreign Affairs and Unification Committee, National Assembly of the Republic of Korea
- Chairperson, National Assembly National Defense Committee

제20회 PKO발전 세미나 패널 현황

#1 주제 : 최근 국제분쟁을 통한 한국 정부의 도전요소 및 대응 전략



좌장

- 고려대학교 행정학박사
- 육군사관학교 교수
- 국가안보실 행정관(안보정책)
- 국방부 국방협력 팀장
- 美 중부사 협조단장

국방대 PKO 센터
김정필 교수



발표1

- 시카고대 정치학 박사
- 연세대 국제학대학원 원장
- 국제학연구소장
- 한국국제정치학회 회장
- 現) 동아시아연구원 원장

연세대
손열 교수



발표2

- 캐나다 맥길대 이슬람학 석·박사 수료 / 이란 테헤란대 박사
- TVN '벌거벗은 세계사', KBS '이슈픽 쌤과 함께' 등 프로그램 다수 출연
- 외교부 정책자문위원
- 現) 서강대 유로메나연구소 교수

서강대
박현도 교수



토론1

- 연세대 정치학 박사
- 중국사회과학원 방문학자
- 연세대학교 연구교수
- 現) 한국국제정치학회 중국연구분과위원장
- 現) 한국사이버안보학회 지역안보연구실장

국회미래연구원 외교안보팀장
차정미 박사



토론2

- 합참 전략본부 전략차장
- 27보병사단장
- 한미연합사 작전차장
- 유엔사 군사정전위원회 수석대표
- 美 육군협회 석좌위원

前 특수전사령관
예.중장 전인범



토론3

- 레바논 유엔 정전감시기구 근무
- 보스니아 파병
- 아프가니스탄 파병
- 군사정전위원회 국제군사담당 장교
- 주레바논 국방무관

주한 캐나다 국방무관
육군 대령 지노 크레티앵

Panel for the 20th PKO Development Seminar

Session1. Challenges and Response Strategies of the ROK Government in Light of Recent International Conflicts



Chairman

- Ph.D. in Public Administration, Korea University
- Professor, Korea Military Academy
- Security Policy Officer, National Security Office
- Director, Defense Cooperation Team, Ministry of National Defense
- Senior National Representative to the USCENTCOM

Professor
KIM Jung-Pil
PKO Center, KNDU



Speaker 1

- Ph.D. in Political Science, University of Chicago
- Dean, Graduate School of International Studies, Yonsei University
- Director, Institute for International Studies
- President, Korean Association of International Studies
- Current) President, East Asia Institute

Professor
SOHN Yul
Yonsei University



Speaker 2

- M.A. in Islamic Studies, McGill University, Canada / Ph.D. in Islamic Studies, University of Tehran, Iran
- Appeared on TV programs such as "Naked World History" at TVN & "With Sam" at KBS
- Current) Policy Advisor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Current) Professor, The Sogang Euro-MENA institute, Sogang University

Professor
PARK Hyon-Do
Sogang University



Discussant 1

- Ph.D. in Political Science, Yonsei University
- Visiting Scholar, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
- Research Professor, Yonsei University
- Current) Chair, China Studies Division, Korean Association of International Studies
- Current) Chair, Regional Security Studies Unit, Korean Association of Cyber Security Studies

Dr. CHA Jung-Mi
The Director of Foreign Policy and Security Strategy Division at NAFI



Discussant 2

- Deputy Director, Strategic Planning HQs, ROK JCS
- Commander, 27th Infantry Division
- Deputy Director for Operations, ROK-U.S. Combined Forces Command
- Senior Member of the UN Command Military Armistice Commission
- Distinguished Fellow, Association of the United States Army(AUSA)

Lt.Gen.(Ret.)
CHUN In-Bum
Former Commander of the ROK Special Warfare Command



Discussant 3

- United Nations Truce Supervision Organization(UNTSO), Lebanon
- NATO Stabilization Force(SFOR), Bosnia
- Deployed to Afghanistan(COMISAF)
- International Military Officer, U.N. Command Military Armistice Commission
- Canadian Defence Attaché to the Republic of Korea

Colnel Gino
Chrétien
Canadian Defence Attaché to the Republic of Korea

제20회 PKO발전 세미나 패널 현황

#2 주제 : 다자안보 협력과 연계한 대한민국의 평화활동 확대 방안



좌장

- 남캐롤라이나대 국제정치학 박사
- 외교부 정책자문위원
- 유엔한국협회 부회장
- 유네스코 한국위원회 회원
- 선문대 국제·유엔학 대학원장

선문대
박흥순 명예교수



발표1

- 경남대 정치학 박사
- UNMOGIP / UNMIL 평화유지활동 참여
- 한미 연합사 대정보 / 인간정보 과장
- 국방부 정보본부 동남아지역분석관
- 외교부, 국방부, 여가부 자문위원

국방대학교 PKO 센터
강효경 교수



발표2

- 일본 초대 이라크 파병단장
- 육상자위대 서부방면대 총감
- 韓 해양전략연구소 주관 단독 간담회 참석
- '24년도 글로벌 안보정세 포럼 주제 발표
- 일본 국가안전보장회의 고문

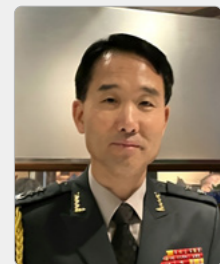
前 일본 육상자위대
통합 부막료장
예.중장 반쇼 고이치로



토론1

- 美 콜로라도대 국제정치학 박사
- 美 조지워싱턴대 정치학과 강사
- 대통령 직속 통일준비위원회, 정책기획위원회 위원
- 저서) North Korea, Nuclear Risk-Taking and the United States 등 다수
- 서울시립대 국제관계학과 교수

서울시립대
황지환 교수



토론2

- 동국대 국제정치학 박사
- 인도·파키스탄 유엔옵서버 / 레바논 동명부대 민사협조반장
- 육군본부 정책기획과장
- 대통령 경호실 군사관리관
- 국방부 국제정책차장

前 주미 국방무관
예.육군 소장 이경구



토론3

- 호주 방위군 사관학교(ADFA) 입관
- 이라크 파병
- 미 중부사 항공우주작전센터 근무
- 군사정전위원회국방 무관보 및 연락장교
- 유엔사 부사령관 특별보좌관

주한 호주 국방무관
공군 대령 Byron Reynolds

Panel for the 20th PKO Development Seminar

Session2. Strategies for Expanding ROK Peacekeeping Activities in Connection with Multilateral Security Cooperation



Chairman

- Ph.D. in International & UN Studies, University of South Carolina
- Policy Advisor, Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Vice President, UN Association of Korea
- Committee Chair, Korean National Commission, UNESCO
- Dean, Graduate School of International UN Studies, SMU

Dr. PARK Heung-Soon
Professor
Emeritus, Sunmoon University



Speaker 1

- Ph.D. in Political Science and International Relations, Kyungnam University
- Participation in UNMOGIP / UNIFIL PKOs
- Chief of Counterintelligence & Human Intelligence, ROK-U.S. CFC
- Southeast Asia Analyst, DIA, ROK MND
- Advisor Committee Member to MOFA, MND, MOGEF

Dr. KANG Hyo-Kyung
Professor,
PKO Center, KNDU



Speaker 2

- First Commander of Japan's Iraq Deployment Unit
- Commander, Western Army, Japan Ground Self-Defense Force
- Attended exclusive roundtable hosted by the Korea Institute for Maritime Strategy
- Delivered keynote speech at the 2024 Global Security Forum
- Advisor, National Security Council of Japan

Lt.Gen.(Ret.)
Koichiro Bansho,
former Vice Chief of Staff, JGSDF



Discussant 1

- Ph.D. in International Relations, University of Colorado, Boulder, USA
- Instructor, The George Washington University, USA
- Member, President's Committee on Unification Preparation/Policy Planning
- (Publications) North Korea, Nuclear Risk-Taking and the United States, etc.
- Professor, Department of International Relations, University of Seoul

Professor
HWANG Ji-Hwan
Department of International Relations,
University of Seoul



Discussant 2

- Ph.D. in International Relations, Dongguk University
- UN Observer in UNMOGIP / CIMIC, Dongmyeong unit, UNFIL
- Director, Policy and Planning Division, ROK Army HQ
- Military Affairs Officer, Presidential Security Service
- Deputy Director for International Policy, ROK MND

Maj.Gen.(Ret.)
LEE Kyung-Koo
Former Defence Attaché to the United States



Discussant 3

- Commissioned from the Australian ADFA
- Deployed to Iraq
- Served at the U.S. CAOC
- Former Defence Attaché and Liaison Officer to the UNCMAC
- Special Advisor to the Deputy Commander, UNC

Group Captain Byron
Reynolds,
Australian Defence Attaché to the Republic of Korea

제20회 PKO 발전 세미나

The 20th Peacekeeping Operations Seminar

최근 국제분쟁 양상과 평화유지활동 발전방안

제1주제

Session1

최근 국제분쟁을 통한 한국 정부의 도전요소 및 대응 전략

Challenges and Response Strategies of the ROK Government in Light of Recent International Conflicts

좌장

Chairman

- **김정필** 교수 (국방대 PKO 센터)
Professor KIM Jung-Pil PKO Center, KNDU

발표

Speaker

- **손열** 교수 (연세대)
Professor SOHN Yul Yonsei University
- **박현도** 교수 (서강대)
Professor PARK Hyon-Do Sogang University

토론

Discussant

- **차정미** 박사 (국회미래연구원 외교안보팀장)
Dr. CHA Jung-Mi The Director of Foreign Policy and Security Strategy Division at NAFI
- **전인범** 예.중장 (前 특수전사령관)
Lt.Gen.(Ret.) CHUN In-Bum Former Commander of the ROK Special Warfare Command
- **지노 크레티앵** 육군 대령 (주한 캐나다 국방무관)
Colnel Gino Chrétien, Canadian Defence Attaché to the Republic of Korea

The Crisis of Globalization and Security Challenges

Sohn, Yul
Professor
Graduate School of International Studies & Underwood International College,
Yonsei University, Seoul, Korea.
yulsohn@yonsei.ac.kr
The 20th PKO Deveopment Seminar. 2025.9.25.

Key questions

- What security challenges does the retreat of globalization bring to the world and to South Korea?
- What were the institutional bases supporting globalization?
- Why and how have globalization and its institutional base receded?
- What would happen after the United States give up its hegemonic role?
- Strategic implications for South Korea

Globalization and its discontent

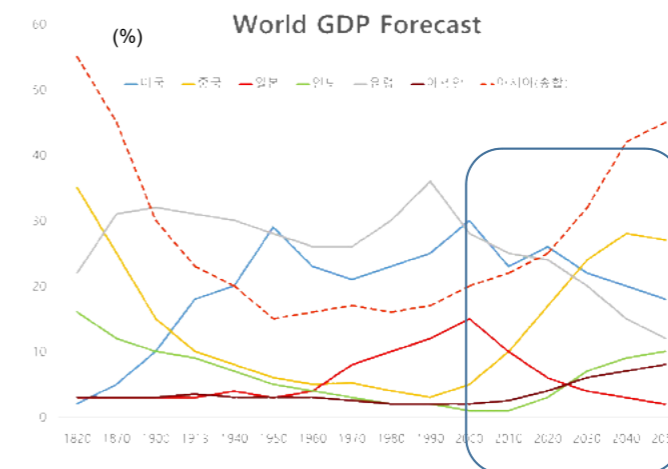
- Globalization refers to the widening, deepening, and acceleration of worldwide connectivity or interconnectedness
- Globalization is a primary **source of disruptive change in world politics**. It causes positives and negatives(it has gone too far):
 - (1) **widening gap in wealth within states**: widening of income inequality ⇒ polarization of politics ⇒ political stalemate ⇒ populism
 - (2) **widening gap in wealth among states** (winners vs. losers) ⇒ changes in the distribution of power among states (e.g., US-China strategic competition)
 - (3) economic interdependence does not always create peace effects:
 - ⇒ risks of overdependence ⇒ critical goods securitized ⇒ **weaponization of interdependence**
 - (4) **increasing demands for security public goods** (e.g., refugee crises; cyber attacks; Russian invasion; Gaza conflict)

Economic origins of the decline of US global(hegemonic) leadership

- The globalization backlash arising within the American society.
- Decline in US productive capability
- Widening of income inequality: rise in finance and tech sectors vs. decline in manufacturing
- Deindustrialization → destruction of regional communities → political polarization → political decay → populism
- **Trumpism criticizes:**
 - Criticize **free trade** as source of trade deficits and de-industrialization
 - Criticize **China's** economic invasion causing America's deindustrialization.
 - Criticize America's international involvement (i.e. alliance and multilateral institution) as **overextension**.

Globalization was buttressed by the postwar international order

- **The Post-1945 international order = rules-based international order, or liberal international order**
- Lessons of the 1930s: unilateralism by force; beggar-thy-neighbor policy; exclusive economic blocs.
- Twin poles of international order
 - ① **America's global leadership**
 - ② **Multilateralism: rule making by majority consensus**
(GATT, World Bank, International Monetary Fund)



출처: 과거 자료는 세계은행 「World Development Indicator」, 예측은 미츠비시총합연구소

After Hegemony

- Globalization has been in retreat and the rules-based international order dismantled by Trump's tariff wars.
- US is still dominant **power**, but it has no **will** to play as a hegemon.
- When there is no global leadership, **is the world returning to the 1930s?**

	1930s	2020s
Leadership vacuum	US on the rise & no will	US in decline & no will
Trigger	Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act	Trump Round
Rivals in Asia and the Pacific	Japan as rising and contesting power	China as rising and contesting power
Consequences	Economic blocs, tariff wars, competitive devaluation of currency, and World War	?? Plurilateral orders loosely connected

South Korea's security challenges

- South Korea needs structural adjustments as the country is the greatest beneficiary of globalization.
- Reduced global interdependence in general and the US-China decoupling in particular undermines South Korea's strategic industries (i.e., semicon, autos, IT) which in turn, negatively affects its economic base supporting defense and security.
- Decoupling in technology (i.e., semicon chips) from China forces South Korea into difficult choices, either making it vulnerable to China's economic coercion, or to US security commitment to the peninsula .
- A more decoupled, fragmented world might force South Korea to depend more on the US security guarantee, which in turn, **make the country vulnerable to US demands** on trade, investment, and defense burden-sharing.
- Reduced international cooperation weakens sanction regimes, making it harder for North Korea to stop developing nuclear and missile programs.
- South Korea needs a better **risk-managing** foreign and defense policy that aims to reduce overdependence on US and China.



The curse of deglobalization and decoupling

- Tariff wars will not likely occur between the United States and other countries, but very likely between third parties.
- They would use **tariffs in the name of national security** , as Trump uses (abuses) IEEPA(International Emergency Economic Powers Act) to justify tariff barriers.
- The weaponization of tariffs might spread over the world as Trump uses tariffs to achieve foreign policy goals such as stopping pentanyl, illegal immigration and intervening in foreign politics.
- Industrial policy and export controls are increasing.
- **Weaponization of economic interdependence** are increasing: Substantial concerns are paid to economic sanctions because one's overdependence on the other increases strategic vulnerability.
- All this will likely lead to **deglobalization and decoupling** (= decrease of economic interdependence) which in turn, undermines the stabilizing and peace-enhancing effects of interdependence.



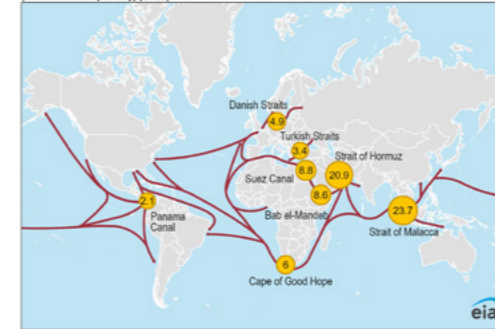
Thank you !!

Middle Eastern Conflicts and Korea's Strategic Responses

- The 20th PKO Development Seminar
- September 25, 2025.
- Hyondo Park
 - Professor at The Sogang Euro-MENA Institute, Sogang University

Choke Points

Figure 1. Daily transit volumes of petroleum and other liquids through world maritime oil chokepoints (million barrels per day) (2023)



Overview

Table 1. Volume of crude oil and petroleum liquids transported through world chokepoints and the Cape of Good Hope, 2018-2023 million barrels per day

Location	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023
Strait of Malacca	23.0	23.1	22.8	21.9	22.9	23.7
Strait of Hormuz	21.4	20.0	18.4	19.0	21.1	20.9
Suez Canal and SUMED Pipeline	6.4	6.2	5.3	5.1	7.3	8.8
Bab el-Mandeb	6.4	6.0	5.2	5.4	7.5	8.6
Danish Straits*	3.3	3.4	3.1	3.1	4.2	4.9
Turkish Straits (Dardanelles)	3.4	3.5	3.3	3.4	3.2	3.4
Panama Canal [†]	1.4	1.5	1.7	1.8	2.1	2.1
Cape of Good Hope	7.6	7.5	7.7	7.0	5.9	6.0
World maritime oil trade	78.5	78.2	73.0	74.3	76.2	77.5
World total oil supply	100.1	100.9	91.6	97.6	99.9	101.9

Data source: U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA) analysis, based on Vortexa tanker tracking and Panama Canal Authority, using EIA conversion factors and calculations.

* The Danish Straits do not include flows through the Kiel Canal.
† Data for the Panama Canal are by fiscal year (October 1 to September 30).

Why is the Middle East so important?

- “The truth is, about the Middle East is, had there been no oil there, it would be like Africa. Nobody is threatening to intervene in Africa.”
 - Wesley Clark (Former the Supreme Allied Commander Europe of NATO from 1997 to 2000)
- In 2023, the Middle East holds
 - 55.5% of the world's proven crude oil reserves
 - 39.9% of the world's proven gas reserves
 - Source: Annual Statistical Bulletin 2024



Cold Peace in the Middle East

The Decline of the US-led World Order

- Shale Energy Revolution → Rebalancing Policy (Pivot to Asia)
- The End of the Unipolar Era (1989–2017)
- R.I.P. The Carter Doctrine (1980–2019)


Industrial Diversification

- Plan to End the Rentier State
- A Nation of the Younger Generation
- Moderate Islam

Economy-First Pragmatism


- Accelerating Moves Toward Normalizing Diplomatic Relations Among Hostile Nations
 - Iran-Saudi Arabia Normalization
 - Arab-Israeli Détente

“The Middle East region is quieter today than it has been in two decades.”
- Jake Sullivan (US National Security Advisor) on Sept. 29, 2023.



India-Middle East-Europe Economic Corridor (IMEC)

Iran's View of the World: Trilateralism in New Cold War 2020-2040




Hegemon System Zone			Trilateralists' Zone	Shanghai Agreement	
US (Liberal-Zion World)	Western NATO	Global NATO	Europe	Ukraine	Russia (Liberal-Orthodox World)
	Arabian NATO		Zionist Regime	Palestine	Iran (Islamic World)
	Eastern NATO		Japan & South Korea	Taiwan	China (Social-Confucian World)

October 7, 2023.
- Gaza War

December 8, 2024.
- The Fall of Syria

June 13-24, 2025.
- Iran-Israel War



Under Iranian influence/control
Syria, Lebanon, Iraq

Iran plays destabilizing role
Kuwait, Bahrain, Gaza strip, Yemen

IRAQ
- Asa'ib Ahi al-Haq
- Kata'ib Hezbollah
- Badr Organization

LEBANON
- Hezbollah


ISRAEL
Within striking distance of Iranian missiles

GAZA
- Hamas
- Islamic Jihad


YEMEN
- Houthis

The Decline of the US-led World Order

- The U.S.-Led World Order in Transition: From Unipolarity to Multipolarity
- The global order led by the United States is undergoing significant transformation: From a U.S.-Led Unipolar System to a Multipolar World Order
 - "The United States cannot win two wars at once."
- Following the end of the Cold War, the United States emerged as the world's preeminent power. At the time, it was widely believed that the U.S. possessed the capability to win two simultaneous wars. With its formidable military and economic strength, the United States spearheaded a unipolar era — often referred to as the Unipolar Hegemonic Order.
- Today, however, the era of U.S. dominance appears to be waning. Even U.S. officials acknowledge that the country can no longer sustain two major conflicts at once. This marks a period of geopolitical turbulence, as the U.S.-led world order undergoes restructuring and new power centers emerge.



US Military Unable to Fight Two Big Wars at Once: Report



U.S. Military Forces Cannot Fight on 2 Fronts

The Navy Is Not Ready for the Information War of 2026

The Navy has not adequately planned for the intersection of the cyber and maritime domains in war.

By Vice Admiral T. J. White and Rear Admiral Danielle Barrett, U.S. Navy (Retired), and Commander Jake Bebbler, U.S. Navy
February 2024 | Proceedings | Vol. 150/2/452

Geoeconomic Trilemma

- Only Two Out of Three Can Coexist
 - Economic Interdependence
 - Economic Security
 - Geopolitical Rivalry
- The Post-Cold War Global Order:
 - Economic Interdependence + Economic Security → Geopolitical Rivalry
- US and China before 2016:
 - Economic Interdependence + Geopolitical Rivalry → Economic Security
- US-Russia Relations after 2014 or US-China Decoupling:
 - Economic Security + Geopolitical Rivalry → Economic Interdependence



Middle Corridor (MC):
the Trans-Caspian International Transport Route (TITR)

Competition for Corridors

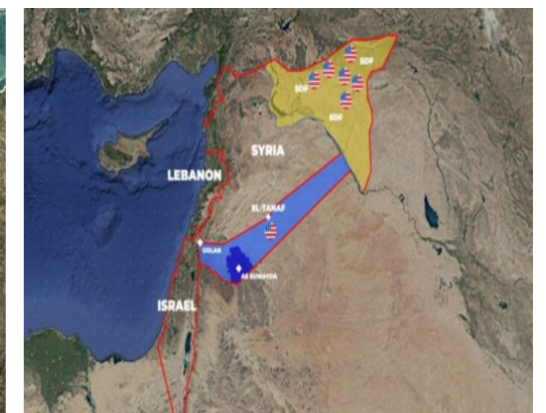
- Vying for Strategic Control over New Trade and Transit Routes
 - Economic Prosperity
 - Geopolitical Influence
- Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)
- Middle Corridor (MC): the Trans-Caspian International Transport Route (TITR)
- The India-Middle East-Europe Economic Corridor (IMEC)
- The International North-South Transport Corridor (INSTC)
- Zangezur Corridor: Trump Route for International Peace and Prosperity
- David's Corridor



Zangezur Corridor
(Trump Route for International Peace and Prosperity)



David's Corridor



Korea-Middle East

- Industrial Diversification
 - Consumer Nation → Producer Nation: “We don’t just pay money.”
 - Knowledge-Based Economy: Demand for Technology Transfer
 - Increased Employment Rate for Domestic Workers
- Iran Nuclear Deal
- Winning Arab and Muslim Hearts and Minds: Humanitarian Aid for Palestine



<https://arab.news/akpbs>

Korea's Oil Dependence (2023)

	Countries	Oil Consumption (1,000 bpd)(A)	Share (%)	Oil Production (1,000 bpd)	Share (%)	GDP (\$1 bn) (B)	Oil Dependence(A/B)
1	USA	18,984	18.9	19,358	20.1	27,358	0.69
2	China	16,577	16.5	4,198	4.4	17,662	0.94
3	India	5,446	5.4	728	0.8	3,572	1.52
4	Saudi Arabia	4,052	4.0	11,389	11.8	1,068	3.80
5	Russia	3,635	3.6	11,075	11.5	1,997	1.82
6	Japan	3,366	3.4	-	-	4,213	0.80
7	Korea	2,797	2.8	-	-	1,713	1.63
8	Brazil	2,567	2.6	3,502	3.6	2,174	1.18
9	Canada	2,351	2.3	5,653	5.9	2,140	1.10
10	Mexico	1,962	2.0	2,040	2.1	1,789	1.10
11	Germany	1,955	2.0	-	-	4,457	0.44
	Subtotal	63,692	63.6	65,635	68.2		
	World	100,221	100.0	96,258	100.0		

* Source: 2024 Energy Institute Statistical Review of World Energy

제20회 PKO 발전 세미나

The 20th Peacekeeping Operations Seminar

최근 국제분쟁 양상과 평화유지활동 발전방안

제2주제

Session2

다자안보 협력과 연계한 대한민국의 평화 활동 확대 방안

Strategies for Expanding ROK Peacekeeping Activities in Connection with Multilateral Security Cooperation

좌장

Chairman

■ 박흥순 명예교수 (선문대)

Dr. PARK Heung-Soon Professor Emeritus, Sunmoon University

발표

Speaker

■ 강효경 교수 (국방대 PKO 센터)

Dr. KANG Hyo-Kyung Professor, PKO Center, KNDU

■ 반쇼 고이치로 예.중장 (前 일본 육상자위대 통합 부막료장)

Lt.Gen.(Ret.) Koichiro Bansho, former Vice Chief of Staff, JGSDF

토론

Discussant

■ 황지환 교수 (서울시립대)

Professor HWANG Ji-Hwan Department of International Relations, University of Seoul

■ 이경구 예.소장 (前 주미 국방무관)

Maj.Gen.(Ret.) LEE Kyung-Koo Former Defence Attaché to the United States

■ 바이런 레이놀즈 공군 대령 (주한 호주 국방무관)

Group Captain Byron Reynolds, Australian Defence Attaché to the Republic of Korea

The 20th PKO development Seminar

Digital Cooperation and South Korea's Strategy for Peace Operations

Kang Hyokyung
Professor, Peacekeeping Center
Korea National Defense University



The Age of Chaos



UN Secretary General emphasizes...



“Multilateral cooperation is the beating heart of the United Nations... We must deepen cooperation and strengthen multilateral institutions, to find common solutions to common challenges.”
- At the Security Council meeting in 2023

“ Multilateralism can become an even more powerful instrument of peace.”
-At the Security Council meeting in 2025

Recent Trends in the Security Environment



• Emerging security challenges

- Weaponization of digital technologies
- Use of autonomous weapons(drones/UAVs), spread of AI-based deepfakes and MDH(Misinformation, Disinformation, Hate speech), cyber threats
- The need to analyze and manage large volumes of data



Weaponization of digital technologies



• Digital technologies replacing or augmenting physical threats.

- Online recruitment of combatants
- Use of encrypted messaging apps for command and control
- Growing use of drones for reconnaissance, surveillance, and attack
- Spreading disinformation through social media to intensify divisions among populations



< The recruiting platform of Ukraine >

Weaponization of digital technologies



• Cyberattacks are increasingly part of national conflicts.

- Cyberattack on Estonia in 2007
 - ❖ NATO developed international cyber warfare guidelines.
- Digital threats may trigger armed conflicts.
 - ❖ Russia-Georgia War in 2008

• Increasing hybrid warfare combining cyberattacks and physical force

- Russia- Ukraine Conflict in 2014
 - ❖ Representative modern hybrid war
- Russia- Ukraine War since 2022
 - ❖ Use of diverse digital technologies: cyberattacks, jamming of satellite communications, psychological warfare using deepfakes and disinformation, drone attacks
 - ❖ A hybrid war marked by extensive cyber and digital threats.

Two functions of digital security in peace operations



• Digital technologies contribute to the efficiency and effectiveness of peace operations

- Real-time data collection and analysis
- Rapid information exchange and joint response
- Enhanced mission transparency
- Early warning and risk prediction capabilities
- Strengthened security




• Digital technologies act as obstacles to peace operations

- Cyberattacks: hacking, satellite/radio disruptions
- Drone and UAV threats:
 - ❖ First attack on UN personnel by improvised armed drone in 2024 (Lebanon)
- Fake news and disinformation
- Digital currencies and encrypted messengers



Digital Technologies for Peace Operations




• Timeline: Key UN Documents / Initiatives

The growing inevitability of digital transformation

- Expert Panel on Technology and Innovation un UN Peacekeeping (2014)
- Action for Peacekeeping Initiative (2018)
- Strategy for the Digital Transformation of UN Peacekeeping (2021)
- The Implementation Strategy of A4P For 2021-2023(A4P+) (2021)

2014 2018 2021

Digital Technologies for Peace Operations

PKO 

• How the UN could apply digital technology in the operations.

① Peacekeeping-Intelligence(PKI)


- No clandestine principle: official and legal activities

- ❖ **Current State:** UAVs, satellites, sensors, GIS, and OSINT are already integrated into peacekeeping intelligence.
- ❖ **Application:** protection of civilians, mission safety, conflict analysis, and decision-making support
- ❖ **Importance:** moves beyond data collection to **fusion and analysis**, which is central to mission success and security.

Peacekeeping-Intelligence (Policy)(2018)


- The Peacekeeping-Intelligence Academy(PKIA) since 2023 : in Entebbe or hosted by member states

Digital Technologies for Peace Operations

PKO 

Implementation Areas	Peacekeeping-intelligence	Feedback for future planning and decision-making	Data management
Implementation methods	Drones or UAVs, Satellites	SAGE, CPAS	Community Feedback Mechanism: Mobile, SMS
Achievement	Safety and Security of peacekeepers	Implementation of mandates	Smart Camps
Ongoing questions	Global norms to the use of technologies for PO: ethical question and technology application areas		

Digital Technologies for Peace Operations

PKO 

• How the UN could apply digital technology in the operations.

② Unmanned Aerial System, UAS

- The use of UAS by military forces increased globally with countries, as well as non-State armed groups.
- In peacekeeping, use of UAS is minimal due to the prohibitive cost.
- Over 500 unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) have been deployed across UN field operations. (WFP, UNICEF, etc.)
- Common standards for controlling the use of UAS in the same area are required

- ❖ UAS is a ISR tool that part of the UN peacekeeping intelligence architecture.
- ❖ First use of UAS in peacekeeping was in DRC in 2014.
- ❖ China, Morocco pledged supply for UAV in 2023.
- ❖ Class I UAS for tactical units is a key.

Digital Technologies for Peace Operations PKO

- How the UN could apply digital technology in the operations.
 - ② Unmanned Aerial System, UAS
 - Countries have begun to recognize the importance of UAS.

Country	Provisions for UAS and its courses	Remarks
Brazil	-Provision of UAS military operators' course and UNMPKI course	2025 UN ministerial
China	- Trainings of peacekeeping intelligence, and on peacekeeping unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) - Provision of counter-UAV system	2024 UN ministerial
Germany	- Capacity building for UAS operations	2025 UN ministerial
Italy	- ISR imagery analysis course	
Japan	- Counter-UAS training course	
Morocco	Provision of UAS in MINUSCA	

Digital Technologies for Peace Operations PKO

- How the UN could apply digital technology in the operations.
 - ③ The smart camp concept

- ❖ **Smart Resource Use**
 - IoT-enabled resource management (water, fuel, energy)
 - Field Remote Infrastructure Monitoring (FRIM)
 - Real-time data collection and analysis for camp sustainment
 - ❖ **Smart security**
 - Perimeter surveillance (CCTV, sensors, access control)
 - UAS for reconnaissance, monitoring, and data-driven analysis
 - Protection against rocket/mortar attacks
 - Asset Management**
 - Remote tracking of assets and vehicles
 - Automated inspection systems
 - Digitalized logistics and fleet management

Digital Technologies for Peace Operations PKO

- How the UN could apply digital technology in the operations.
 - ③ The smart camp concept
 - Smart technology makes camps sustainable and effective.



The United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA)

Digital Technologies for Peace Operations PKO

- How the UN could apply digital technology in the operations.
 - ③ Countering Misinformation, Disinformation, and Hate Speech (MDH)
 - ❖ MDH cases

Mission	Year(s)	Type of MDH	Impact
MINUSMA (Mali)	2019–2021	False claims of UN collaboration with terrorist groups	Triggered protests and attacks; increased local mistrust
MINUSCA (Central African Rep.)	2020 (elections)	Propaganda that UN supported political factions or rebels	Heightened political tensions; UN seen as hostile actor
MONUSCO (DRC)	2021–2022	Fabricated stories of UN exploiting natural resources	Anti-UN demonstrations; violent incidents; weakened legitimacy
Common Patterns	–	Misinformation, disinformation, hate speech spreading via social media and radio	Online narratives translated into offline violence; threats to peacekeeper safety

Digital Technologies for Peace Operations PKO

- How the UN could apply digital technology in the operations.
 - Countering Misinformation, Disinformation, and Hate Speech (MDH)
 - Response Strategies Against MDH

1. Strategic Communication - Proactive, transparent messaging - Use trusted local voices and media	2. Rapid Detection & Response - Early warning through social media/AI monitoring - Rapid-response communication teams
3. Community Engagement - Dialogue channels with local communities - Rumor-tracking and community monitoring	4. Building Resilience - Digital literacy for peacekeepers and locals - Trust-building to reduce impact of false narratives

Korea's area of cooperation

- Diversification of Korea's areas of cooperation
 - Digitalization of Peacekeeping Missions**
 - Technical cooperation and support for establishing smart camps
 - Participate in joint operation of drones and unmanned aerial systems
 - Joint Response to Cyber Threats**
 - Participate in multinational cyber simulation exercises and joint defense training
 - Establishment of International Norms and Institutions Related to Digital Security**
 - Rapid establishment of Asia regional international norms is necessary
 - Establish international norms for cyber peacekeeping operations

Korea's participation in global security

- Participation in Peace Operations through Troop Deployment

UN	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 20%; text-align: center; background-color: #0070C0; color: white;">Peacekeeping</td> <td style="padding: 5px;"> Military: Since the 1993 deployment to Somalia (Troops, Individuals) Police: From 1994 to 2022(Individuals) </td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center; background-color: #0070C0; color: white;">Multinational Peace Operations</td> <td style="padding: 5px;"> Military : Since the 1991 deployment to the Gulf War(Troops, Individuals) * Iraq, Afghan, Gulf of Aden </td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center; background-color: #0070C0; color: white;">Defense Cooperation Activities</td> <td style="padding: 5px;"> Military : Since the 2011 deployment to UAE(Troops, Individuals*) * Korea Disaster Relief Team (KDRT) for Ebola * Philippines, Malaysia </td> </tr> </table>	Peacekeeping	Military: Since the 1993 deployment to Somalia (Troops, Individuals) Police: From 1994 to 2022(Individuals)	Multinational Peace Operations	Military : Since the 1991 deployment to the Gulf War(Troops, Individuals) * Iraq, Afghan, Gulf of Aden	Defense Cooperation Activities	Military : Since the 2011 deployment to UAE(Troops, Individuals*) * Korea Disaster Relief Team (KDRT) for Ebola * Philippines, Malaysia
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Defense Cooperation Activities	Military : Since the 2011 deployment to UAE(Troops, Individuals*) * Korea Disaster Relief Team (KDRT) for Ebola * Philippines, Malaysia						
- The need for Korea's diverse participation in the changing security environment

Korea's area of cooperation

- Diversification of Korea's areas of cooperation
 - Capacity-Building Programs**
 - Provide cyber security education and training for countries participating in peace operations
 - Transfer of digital forensic techniques and related skills
 - Protection of Digital Infrastructure**
 - Support building of information systems for governments and international organization offices in conflict zones
 - Support construction of cloud-based secure data management systems
 - Policy Advice and Technology Transfer**

Korea's strategy



- ① **Linkage with International Organizations**
 - Participate in joint projects and pilot programs led by the UN
 - Establish permanent communication channels with regional organizations on digital security cooperation
- ② **Bilateral and Multilateral Partnerships**
 - Share technology and conduct joint cyber training
 - Collaborate with emerging countries on digital human rights monitoring and crime database projects
- ④ **Participation in Norm and Institution Building**
 - Continuously promote digital cooperation as a core agenda in peace operations
 - Lead the drafting of joint manuals for responding to international digital security threats
 - Host international seminars on cyber capacity-building

Policy Implications



- ① **Need for an Integrated Approach**
 - At both the national and multilateral cooperation levels, traditional security, cyber security must be approached as an integrated security strategy.
- ② **Leveraging South Korea's ICT Strengths in Peace Operations to Promote International Cooperation**
 - Applying Korea's ICT capabilities to enhance the operational effectiveness of peace operations
 - Responding to peacekeeping operations in cyberspace
- ③ **Proactive Participation in Norm Formation and International Rule-Making for Peacekeeping in Cyberspace**
 - Promoting joint training, information-sharing systems, and norm development within multilateral cooperation frameworks
 - Establishing ethical standards for data sovereignty and human rights protection

[20th PKO Development Seminar]

September 25, 2025

Koichiro Bansho, LTG(Ret.) JGSDF

The Past/Present/Future of Japan's International Missions

— Thinking Back from 2 Decades after Deployment to Iraq —

1. Foreword

- ▶ Japan's Constitution and JSDF's Role & Mission



2. Initiatives & Changes of JSDF's Participation for International Missions

(1) End of the Cold War and the Outbreak of the Gulf War

- ▶ Japan's Contributions for the Gulf War, but serious Lesson Learned
- ▶ JMSDF's Minesweeping Fleet to the Persian Gulf as first Japan's international mission

Mine Sweeping at Persian Gulf(1991)



(2) Participation and Development of UN Peacekeeping Operations (PKO)

- ▶ Enacted "International Peace Cooperation Law (PKO Law)" in 1992, opened up new avenues for the SDF to make human contributions
- ▶ JGSDF participated UNTAC in Cambodia as the first ground troops as UNPKO
- ▶ JSDF expanded deployments as UNPKO around the world (Mozambique, South Sudan, Golan Heights, East Timor, Haiti etc.)

JSDF's Participation to UNPKO



(3) International Emergency Relief Activities (IERA) for Disaster Relief

- ▶ Hurricane relief in Honduras on 1998 as JSDF's first deployment
- ▶ Since then, JSDF has increasingly been deployed on land, sea, and air to disaster relief in Turkey, India, Iran, Pakistan, Indonesia, Haiti, Nepal, Philippines.
- ▶ Unique case to Haiti earthquake in 2010, the SDF first deployed as IERA, followed by a PKO at the request of the United Nations immediately.

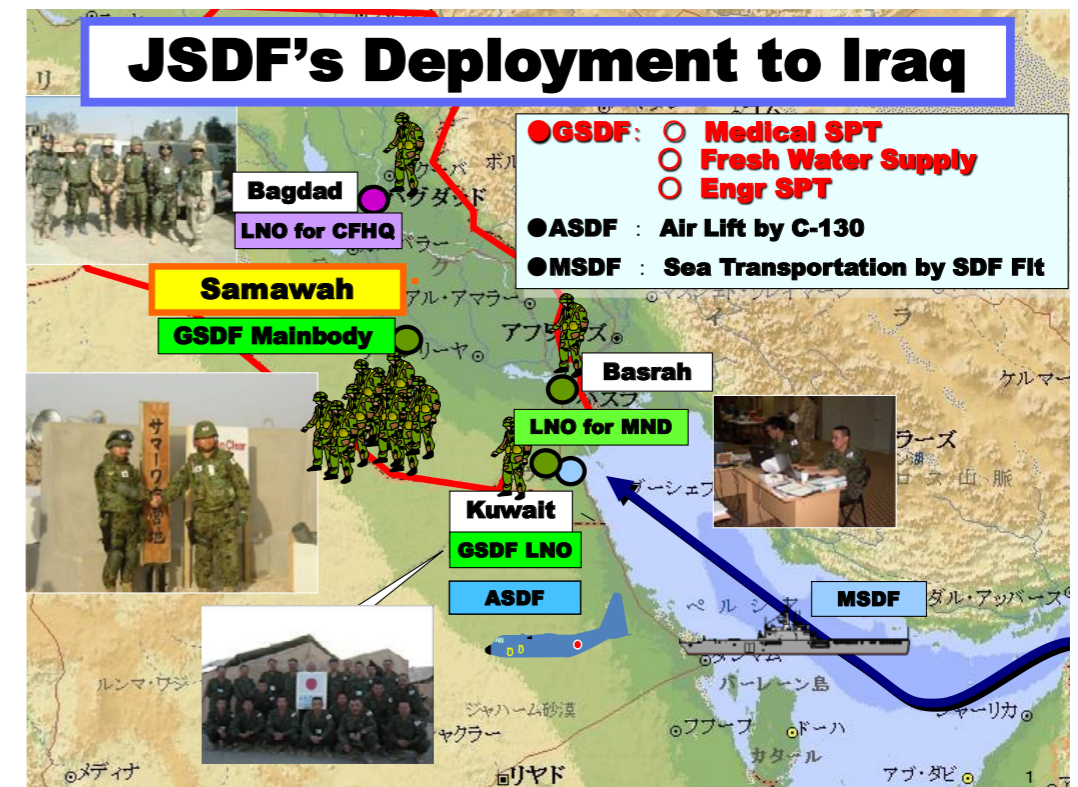
JSDF's Participation to IERA



3 The Global War on Terrorism (GWOT) and Japan's Commitment

- ▶ "September 11" terrorist attacks in 2001 and GWOT demanded a transformation in the SDF's missions different from previous UNPKO style.
- ▶ Enacted "Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law" in 2001 just after the attacks. Then, JMSDF had conducted logistic support mission in Indian Ocean.
- ▶ After the "Iraq War", enacted "Special Measures Law for Humanitarian and Reconstruction Assistance in Iraq" in July 2003, and JGSDF & JASDF were dispatched to support postwar reconstruction and nation building in Iraq.

JSDF's Deployment to Iraq



4 On-the-Field Efforts and Experiences from Deployment to Iraq

- ▶ The Reality of Humanitarian Reconstruction Assistance and importance of "Empathy with the Local Civilians.

Support by Japan Style



Appreciation March by Iraqi



- ▶ "Esprit de corps, Unity, Discipline, and Morale" as the main principle of unit activities in the JSDF during deployment to Iraq.

Silk Hat Diplomacy



- ▶ "Successful Troops" and "Unsuccessful Troops" ... "Donkey or Lion ?"

"Donkey" or "Lion" ?



- ▶ Close Collaboration with U.S. Military and Multinational Forces in Iraq



Cooperations with USF & CF

- ▶ Dispatch to Iraq with the "Bushido Spirit" as JSDF's Virtues & Strategic Culture



JSDF & Bushido Spirits

5 Our Challenges and Cooperation Ahead

(1) Japan's NSS and Implementation of "Proactive Contribution to Peace"

- ▶ Considering recent severe and difficult security environment, especially in East Asia
- ▶ Based on NSS, "Japan will maintain the policy of "Proactive Contribution to Peace" based on international cooperation." at the same time.
- ▶ How do we balance "National Defense" as primary mission and "International Mission"?

(2) Promote International Missions with Own Style

- ▶ Demonstrate and Utilize Japan's & developed country's capability with uniqueness and high proficiency
- ▶ Carefully carrying out missions close to the local population by emphasizing advanced technology and organizational capabilities with strict discipline and morale as our unique methods

(3) Further Cooperation with Coalition of the Willing & International Communities

- ▶ Share mutual Lessons Learned through great property of close cooperations with ROK and Australia military forces
- ▶ Develop bilateral/ multilateral consultations and exercises based on strategic perceptions
- ▶ Lead and drive international peace building efforts such as "UN Triangular Partnership Program (TPP) "

