Preface

Upon its inauguration in February 2003, the Roh Moo-hyun government launched the Peace and Prosperity Policy. The Northeast Asian Cooperation Initiative is a major vehicle through which the Peace and Prosperity Policy is being implemented. The Initiative aims to promote peace and common prosperity on the Korean peninsula and in the Northeast Asian region through trust, cooperation, and mutual gains. The Presidential Committee on Northeast Asian Cooperation Initiative is an advisory body assisting the President of the Republic of Korea (ROK) in planning and implementing various projects related to the Initiative.

This booklet presents an overview of the Initiative’s goals, visions, strategies, and projects. The Committee is currently engaged in four major activities: preparing for the future by making blueprints of the ROK’s external security and economic posture in the medium- to long-term; promoting peace in Korea and the Northeast Asian region through cooperative diplomacy; enhancing common prosperity through an economic hub strategy; and planning cooperative projects for regional community-building through energy and transportation networks and social and cultural exchanges and cooperation in the region.

Opening the new era of peace and common prosperity in Northeast Asia is not an easy task because new challenges outweigh existing opportunities. Domestic consensus and support are essential prerequisite for overcoming the challenges and maximizing the opportunities. At the same time, active cooperation with other countries is crucial in making the Initiative successful.

I hope this booklet serves as a useful guide for understanding the Northeast Asian Cooperation Initiative of the Roh Moo-hyun government. Your constructive input, participation, and support will be greatly appreciated.

Chung-in Moon  Chairman
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Northeast Asian Cooperation Initiative for Peace and Prosperity: An Overview

"Initially, the era of Northeast Asia will come from the economic field. Nations of the region will first form a "community of prosperity", and through it, contribute to the prosperity of all humanity and, in time, should evolve into a "community of peace."

(From President Roh Moo-hyun’s Inaugural Address on February 25, 2003)

Upon its inauguration on February 25, 2003, the Roh Moo-hyun government of the Republic of Korea launched an ambitious initiative aimed at creating a peaceful and prosperous Northeast Asia. The Roh government established the Presidential Committee on Northeast Asian Business Hub in order to carry out the initiative by paying greater attention to its prosperity-related tasks, such as the creation of financial and logistic hubs as well as the promotion of cooperation in the areas of business, energy, and transportation. An initial emphasis was given to prosperity on the assumption that the realization of prosperity would bring forth positive effects to peace-building.

But after realizing that peace and prosperity cannot be pursued sequentially, the Roh Moo-hyun government took a new initiative, the ‘Northeast Asian Cooperation Initiative for Peace and Prosperity.’ By not only reorganizing the previous Presidential Committee on Northeast Asian Business Hub into the Presidential Committee on Northeast Asian Cooperation Initiative (PCNEACI) but also expanding the scope of its tasks, PCNEACI is mandated to take over the previous committee’s responsibility of implementing the national task of building business hubs. But additional tasks such as medium- to long-term strategic planning, peninsular and regional peace-building, and cooperative projects for community-building in the region have been newly added.

The Northeast Asian Cooperation Initiative for Peace and Prosperity (hereafter, “the Initiative”) can be defined as the nation’s long-term strategy and vision for creating peace and common prosperity in Northeast Asia by shaping a new regional order based on mutual trust and cooperation. The original Korean title of the initiative is ‘평화와 번영을 위한 동북아시대구상 (東北亞時代構想, the Initiative on the Northeast Asian Era of Peace and Prosperity).’ But its English title has been translated into the Northeast Asian Cooperation Initiative in order to more accurately reflect nuances in English.

The Initiative is composed of three inter-related strategies:

- First, it is a regional strategy to establish a virtuous circle of peace and prosperity by fostering exchanges and cooperation among countries in the region and laying the institutional foundation for a harmonious regional order and community-building.
- Second, it is an inter-Korean strategy to overcome the tragedy of national division and military confrontation and to construct a lasting peace regime on the Korean Peninsula as a precondition to peace and common prosperity in Northeast Asia.
- Finally, it is a national strategy to secure the happiness and welfare of citizens by strengthening domestic competence and international competitiveness through innovations and reforms as well as enhancing internal harmony and unity among citizens.
The dynamism and interdependence of Northeast Asia is astounding. This region includes nations whose economies grow at the highest rates in the world and whose potential for expansion is considered the greatest. With the inclusion of Southeast Asia, the volume of trade among East Asian countries has already surpassed that of NAFTA and is now closing in on the EU, indicating that a functional integration has already been achieved. However, this integration has yet to be molded into an institutional framework despite promising signs, including discussions over bilateral and sub-regional FTAs, of moving toward institutionalized economic integration.

Various inhibitors notwithstanding, the security situation in the region has also improved. The dismantling of the Cold War structure, the end of bipolar military confrontation, and improved diplomatic relations among countries in the region have been responsible for shaping a regional milieu more conducive to cooperation: an opportunity, which should not be left under-utilized.

Finally, the expansion of social and cultural exchanges and strengthened regional solidarity constitute promising opportunities for bolstering cooperation in forming a regional community. For example, the growing popularity of Korean popular culture (Hanryu) as well as those of China and Japan as seen in movies, music and fashion has established vital cultural underpinnings of regional exchange.

- Managing regional challenges: Northeast Asia faces not only opportunities, but also challenges. The Initiative is justified in the need to address newly emerging security, economic and socio-cultural challenges.
Why the Northeast Asian Cooperation Initiative?: Background and Rationale

Unlike Europe, the end of the Cold War has not brought about tangible peace dividends in Northeast Asia. The region as a whole confronts a number of serious security challenges. The most pressing security concern is the North Korean nuclear crisis. Crisis escalation over the Taiwan strait could endanger overall peace and security in Northeast Asia. Unresolved territorial disputes could become another inhibitor in the region. More troubling is future strategic uncertainty. Major realignments of U.S. strategic posture following the September 11 incident, the ascension of China as a global power, and Japan’s move to resuscitate its military power further complicate the strategic uncertainty of the security landscape in Northeast Asia. Not a single country in the region can escape from the security dilemma.

Beneath a growing intra-regional economic interdependence lies a new pattern of intensified competition. China, Japan, and the Republic of Korea compete head to head in terms of export items and destinations, causing a major coordination dilemma. Despite increasing concerns over fierce competition, duplicated investments, and surplus capacity, countries within the region lack both the institutional mechanisms to address such problems and a leading nation to furnish public goods for regional economic cooperation and integration.

There also remain socio-cultural challenges. The cultivation of a common regional identity continues to be hampered by lingering parochial nationalism and deepening mutual distrust. Memories of the past history characterized by domination and subjugation still haunt people of the region. As ongoing disputes over historical distortion among Korea, China and Japan demonstrate, the greatest problem the region must be wary of is excessive nationalistic sentiment.

- Preparing for the future: Korea has been a perpetual victim of geo-political rivalries as a peripheral actor in regional dynamics. Its tragic history should not be repeated again. The Initiative is justified as a strategic choice to avoid past mistakes and to prepare for the future by harnessing new opportunities, while striving to overcome these challenges and convert them into opportunities for promoting peace and prosperity on the Korean peninsula and the region.
Rather it attempts to position the ROK as a node of regional economic networks as well as an innovative source of new ideas and efforts concerning the promotion of regional cooperation.

Finally, the Initiative’s Northeast Asian focus has been called into question by some. Previous governments had cast their nets wider. Whereas the Roh Tae-woo and Kim Young-sam governments undertook ‘internationalization’ and ‘globalization’ campaigns, the Kim Dae-jung government aimed at creating an East Asian community by engineering the ‘ASEAN+3’ formula. In contrast, the Roh Moo-hyun government has been accused of being narrow in scope and introvert in regional orientation by setting its geographic focus solely on Northeast Asia.

But this critique seems unfair because it is inconceivable to assure an East Asian, Pacific, and global reach without settling immediate political, economic, and socio-cultural challenges arising from its proximate region, Northeast Asia. Thus, the Initiative is designed to confront and manage proximate and immediate regional issues first, rather than taking a detour course of remote regionalism and globalization. However, this does not mean that the Initiative’s regional scope is to be limited only to Northeast Asia. Its Northeast Asian focus will be naturally tied to ROK’s currently active involvement in ‘ASEAN+3 [East Asia],’ ‘APEC [Pacific],’ and other global multilateral cooperative structures.
Goal and Visions

“In Northeast Asia, too, we must build a new order of cooperation and integration. Never again should we allow ourselves to repeat the shameful history of foreign subjugation due to internal dissension in the face of power rivalries over Korea. This is the core concept behind my vision for the age of Northeast Asia.”

(Address by President Roh Moo-hyun on the 58th Anniversary of National Liberation on August 15, 2003)

Visions

The Roh Moo-hyun government envisages four visions of a regional community in Northeast Asia:

1. The first vision is an “Open Northeast Asia.” The Northeast Asian community of peace and co-prosperity should not exclude any player from the process of community-building. And it should be seen as a stepping stone toward building an East Asian, Pacific, and global community.

2. The second vision is a “Network Northeast Asia,” a community that is interconnected through multiple layers of networks. The Northeast Asian community of peace and co-prosperity emphasizes the importance of overcoming physical and non-physical barriers by emphasizing the necessity of building dense networks of people, goods and services, capital, infrastructure, and ideas and information.
Strategic Roles and Operational Principles

1. The ROK can play a role as a ‘Bridge Building’ state. The ROK intends to link continental and maritime powers to create a new order of cooperation and integration. By taking advantage of its geographic position as a peninsular country, the ROK can play a role of bridging the two through the initiation of cooperative initiatives in security, economic, and social and cultural domains.

2. The ROK can play a role as a ‘Hub’ state. The ROK can contribute to promoting peace and co-prosperity by positioning itself as strategic hubs in selected areas such as peace, financial services, logistics, and tourism. The hubs as nodes of intra-regional networks that Korea aims to build can promote peace and common prosperity in the region by serving as a common ground for mutual discourses on pertinent issues as well as reducing transaction costs and enhancing efficiency.
3. Finally, the ROK can play a role of ‘Promoting Cooperation’ in the region. Korea strives to function as a catalyst for activating and promoting the process of community-building in Northeast Asia. This could be manifested in efforts to construct a multilateral security cooperation system and to expedite a Northeast Asian FTA. For example, the Six Party Talks for the North Korean nuclear problem could be utilized to achieve the former objective, and the Korea-Japan FTA for the latter.

Operational Principles

In accordance with these objectives and visions, the Initiative will be guided by four operational principles:

1. **Simultaneous Linkage**: This principle stresses the need to exert concerted efforts in security, economic, and socio-cultural fields in an integrated manner so as to achieve successful outcomes and maximize their synergistic effects. And promotion of Northeast Asian cooperation should be pursued simultaneously with that of inter-Korean cooperation.

2. **Multi-layered Cooperation**: This principle emphasizes a multi-faceted approach to the establishment of a regional community. Cooperative efforts will be deployed at every level and dimension. Bilateral, sub-regional, regional, and multilateral cooperation will be sought simultaneously. Also governmental and non-governmental approaches will be combined to maximize the efficiency of cooperation. There should also be no restriction on spatial dimensions. South Korea will pursue inter-Korean, Northeast Asian, East Asian, and global cooperation at the same time as it forms a multi-layered cooperative structure.

3. **Open Regionalism**: The Initiative aims for an “open Northeast Asia,” and thus seeks cooperation from all nations inside and outside the region as long as they support the Initiative. Non-discrimination, reciprocity, and openness will serve as the guiding norms and principles of the Initiative.

4. **Community Building**: The Initiative intends to facilitate the expansion of exchanges and cooperation by taking full advantage of regional circumstances. In line with this, the Initiative attempts to establish a viable governance structure of cooperation, which will eventually evolve into a more institutionalized form of community in the region.
In order to actualize the Initiative, the committee sets up a number of projects in the following four areas and is driving them forward: Strategic Planning, Peace-building, Prosperity-enhancing, and Community-building.

**Mid to Long-Term Strategic Planning**

1. **Trend analysis and forecasting:** To better prepare for the future, it is essential to analyze the present situation in Northeast Asia and forecast medium- to long-term trends. Based upon such analyses, blueprints for building an economic and security community in this region should be drawn out.

2. **Drawing out Security Blueprint:** The committee is mandated to develop a medium- to long-term security blueprint of the country. The top priority for security strategies is to draw out a multilateral framework, upon which a security community can eventually be built. Efforts for peace-building in the region will be made by the following guidelines: sustaining the ROK-US alliance, promoting comprehensive security cooperation in Northeast Asia, strengthening the cooperative relationships with China, Japan, and Russia, and ultimately establishing a stable inter-Korean peace regime.

3. **Developing Regional Economic Cooperation Strategy:** The committee is also mandated to develop a blueprint for a medium- to long-term regional economic cooperation strategy. In connection with this, policy options for shifting intra-regional division of labor and industrial restructuring, strategies to build viable FTAs, and measures to strengthen economic hubs should be sought.

4. **Building Domestic Consensus and Regional Solidarity:** It is also critical to win public support and to expand grassroots networks among countries in the region. Without public understanding and participation, the Initiative cannot be effectively realized. The committee plans to engage in various out-reach programs to win public support and to cultivate transnational grassroots solidarity.
Peace-building Projects

To safely ensure stable regional peace, the complimentary processes of peace-keeping, peace-making and peace-building must be implemented simultaneously. Peace-keeping is to prevent war through military deterrence and alliance. Peace-making is to manage unstable peace through preventive diplomacy, confidence building measures (CBMs), arms control, and disarmament. However, the peace-keeping or the peace-making cannot assure a stable and lasting peace. A stable and durable peace can be secured only when a community of security as in today’s Europe is formed. This is the peace-building operation to which the ROK government will pay its utmost attention.

1_ Building an inter-Korean peace regime: Building peace on the Korean Peninsula is the foremost goal as well as a crucial precondition to maintaining stable peace in Northeast Asia. The committee is devoted to finding medium- to long-term strategies to promote inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation, institutionalize military confidence building measures between the two Koreas, and settling the Korean division and conflict through the signing of a peace treaty. In this connection, the committee is empowered to oversee the progress of the Gaesung Industrial Complex and Mt. Keumgang tourist project, to facilitate non-governmental exchanges and cooperation with the North, and to facilitate overall efforts to find solutions to the North Korean nuclear crisis.

2_ Enhancing Cooperative Diplomacy with Four Major Powers: Peace and strategic stability in the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia is closely intertwined with cooperation and rivalry among four major powers, the U.S., Japan, China, and Russia. Consequently, strengthening cooperative diplomacy toward these countries at both governmental and non-governmental levels is an essential prerequisite for a peaceful and prosperous Northeast Asia. The committee is assigned to devise future-oriented strategies for cooperative diplomacy with these countries and to engage in active track II dialogues with opinion leaders of the four major powers.

3_ Promoting Multilateral Security Cooperation: As conventional bilateral diplomacy alone cannot assure peace and stability in Korea and Northeast Asia, coordinated security efforts must be undertaken by the members of the region for the shaping of common security. In this regard, the committee is mandated to formulate strategies to promote multilateral security cooperation in the region.

Several options are now under consideration, such as measures for transforming the Six-Party Talks for the North Korean nuclear crisis into a viable and lasting multilateral security regime, institutionalizing the China-Japan-ROK summit apart from the ASEAN+3 process, and initiating a Northeast Asian defense ministers’ meeting. To facilitate this process, the committee will find ways to strengthen bilateral and multilateral military cooperation and expand confidence-building measures such as joint naval exercises, exchange of military personnel and coordination of training programs among the Northeast Asian countries. The committee is also deliberating on the creation of a Northeast Asian peace hub in Jeju Island by upgrading the existing ‘Jeju Peace Forum’ and establishing a “Northeast Asian Peace Center” in Jeju.
1. Creating a banking and financial hub: A financial hub will be constructed in the Seoul metropolitan area with priority given to the asset management sector. The strategy for fostering the financial hub in Seoul will consist of developing asset management services, including pension funds and foreign exchange reserves as the key drivers to bring about the influx of high value added skills and human resources, and strengthening specific financial services such as infrastructure development and restructuring. Development of domestic financial markets including fixed income securities market, equity market and foreign exchange market will be promoted along with the globalization of the financial regulatory and supervisory system.

2. Creating Logistics Hubs: In order to build a logistics hub, it is necessary to embark on a number of projects, including institutionalizing centralized logistics facilities, fostering logistics companies, cultivating a competent workforce, increasing the functionalities of airports and harbors, and improving international logistics support systems. Currently, the ROK government has designated Incheon, Gwangyang, and Busan as future logistics hubs. The committee is mandated to develop and plan policies for the promotion of logistics hubs and to oversee the overall process of their implementation.

3. Inducing Strategic Foreign Direct Investment: The committee also engages in inducing strategic foreign direct investments (FDI), in connection with the development of the hubs. Special attention is being paid to the inducement of
Cooperative Projects for Community-building

The ROK government is willing to take the lead in providing collective goods in the region by initiating cooperative projects that can be conducive to building a Northeast Asian community. They are: energy and transportation cooperation, environmental cooperation, cooperation for economic development in the region, and social and cultural cooperation. Such cooperative projects are expected to produce positive spill-over effects on forming a governance of cooperation and community-building.

1. Energy Cooperation Project: In light of the need to secure a balance between the regional supply and demand of energy, the construction of a natural gas pipeline network and the joint exploration and development of oil fields are placed at the top of the agenda. In the long run, cooperation for supplying energy to North Korea and the development of regional energy sources such as Siberian hydroelectric power may also be considered (see Figure 2 below). It is also important to promote cooperative efforts among energy consuming countries to reduce the Asian premium of oil and gas import prices and to secure ocean transportation routes by developing a new competitive oil market in the region. In this regard, the committee considers the formation of a Northeast Asian energy cooperation network as beneficial to all the members of the region.

2. Transportation Network Cooperation: The South/North Korean railway project is currently under way in order to reconnect severed lines across the Demilitarized Line. The South/North Korean railway project is currently under way in order to reconnect severed lines across the Demilitarized Line. The committee is also responsible for the oversight and monitoring of the FDI inducement activities of the ROK.

Figure 2. Energy and Railroad Network
ideological confrontation. Accordingly, the concept of a Northeast Asian community that Korea wishes to realize is not simply focused on economic integration, but also on shared values and the vision of a common future, as is the case with the EU. In this regard, the removal of mutual distrust among the countries in the region is an urgent and paramount task. Cross-border exchanges should be fostered not only at the governmental level but also among NGOs and professional associations in such areas of society as culture, art, education, sports, and tourism. The Korean government intends to assist in forming a Northeast Asian cultural identity, networking Northeast Asian NGOs, and nurturing future regional leaders by promoting youth exchange programs.

3. Promoting Environmental Cooperation: Northeast Asia is not only faced with cross-border environmental problems such as industrial pollution, yellow dust, and acid rain, but also the increasing threat of marine pollution. Although a number of regional bodies (governmental, semi-governmental or non-governmental) exist in Northeast Asia to promote cooperation on environmental issues, tangible progress has yet to be made. There seems to be a considerable need to strengthen institutional frameworks and improve, in particular, the efficiency of these existing regional bodies. The Korean government is willing to take a leadership role in meeting such necessities.

4. Fostering Social and Cultural Cooperation: To build mutual understanding and trust in Northeast Asia, intra-regional social and cultural exchanges are imperative. Unfortunately, we cannot deny that Northeast Asia is still replete with misunderstandings and distrust from a history of conflict, occupation and
The Initiative for Northeast Asian Cooperation is a far-reaching plan for the future of Korea as well as the Northeast Asian region as a whole. Despite its glorious civilizations and proud history, Northeast Asia fell behind in the process of modernization and industrialization in the 20th century and remained on the periphery of the international arena for a long time. Now Northeast Asia is coming to the forefront of the world in order to join the international efforts for peace and common prosperity of all mankind. The advent of Northeast Asia has long been expected, and the ROK Initiative for Northeast Asian Cooperation reflects this need of the times.

Such an ambitious plan cannot be pursued by the ROK alone. Only with the understanding and support of all countries in Northeast Asia, not to mention their active cooperation, can the Initiative bring about real, substantial, and significant outcomes. It is time for the members of Northeast Asia to draw upon their collective wisdom. A feeling of co-variance is an important precondition for shaping regional consensus, cooperation, and ultimately community. Only then, may we truly strive to materialize our vision of an “Integrated Northeast Asia,” a “Network Northeast Asia,” an “Open Northeast Asia,” and a “Participatory Northeast Asia.” With such open-mindedness, we may aspire for a new Northeast Asian era that flourishes the values of mutual trust, reciprocity, and symbiosis (see Figure 3 below).

Figure 3. In Visioning the Future of Northeast Asia
Appendix:

01_Organization of the Committee

Composition of the Committee

Chairman | Chung-in Moon, Professor of Yonsei University

Government Members
- Minister of Finance and Economy
- Minister of Unification
- Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade
- Minister of Culture and Tourism
- Minister of Commerce, Industry and Energy
- Minister of Information and Communication
- Minister of Construction and Transportation
- Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries
- Minister of Planning and Budget
- Minister of Government Policy Coordination
- Senior Advisor to the President for Political Affairs

Non-Government Members
- Kyo-ja Kang, Vice President, Korea YWCA
- Myung-soo Kim, Professor, Sunchon National University
- Soo-ryong Kim, Chairman, Meridian Partners Group
- Choong-yong Ahn, President, Korea Institute for International Economic Policy
- Soo-hoon Lee, Professor, Kyungnam University
- Young-wook Lee, President, Korea Culture & Tourism Policy Institute
- Jae-hee Lee, CEO, Unilever Korea
- Kaye-soon Im, Professor, Hanyang University
- Hee-sun Chung, Professor, Duksum Women’s University
- Myung-ju Choi, Vice President, IBM Korea
- Tae-kyu Han, Chancellor, Institute of Foreign Affairs & National Security
- Myung-kwan Hyun, Vice President, Federation of Korean Industries
- Seoung-yong Hong, President, Inha University
### Sub-committees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-committee</th>
<th>Chairman</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strategic Planning Sub-Committee</td>
<td>Soo-hoon Lee, Professor, Kyungnam University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace Sub-Committee</td>
<td>Tae-kyu Han, Chancellor, IFANS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance Hub Sub-Committee</td>
<td>Myung-ju Choi, Vice President, IBM Korea</td>
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<tr>
<td>Logistics Hub Sub-Committee</td>
<td>Jae-hee Lee, CEO, Unilever Korea</td>
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<tr>
<td>FDI Inducement Sub-Committee</td>
<td>Soo-ryong Kim, Chairman, Meridian Partners Group</td>
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<tr>
<td>Economic Cooperation Sub-Committee</td>
<td>Choong-yong Ahn, President, KIEP</td>
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<tr>
<td>Socio-Cultural Cooperation Sub-Committee</td>
<td>Young-wook Lee, President, KCTPI</td>
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<tr>
<td>Incheon Special Committee</td>
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<td>Busan-Jinhae Special Committee</td>
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<td>Gwangyang Harbour Special Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jeju Special Committee</td>
<td>Myung-kwan Hyun, Vice Chairman, Federation of Korean Industries</td>
</tr>
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Appendix:

02_Location and Contact

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- Telephone & Fax

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  * You may get the Korean version of this brochure in our internet webpage. The Chinese and the Japanese versions will be also available there in 2005.

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  * You may get the Korean version of this brochure in our internet webpage ([http://www.nabh.go.kr](http://www.nabh.go.kr)). The Chinese and the Japanese versions will be also available there in 2005.