

ANNUAL REPORT 2011

2011 IDEAS & PRAXIS

THE ASAN INSTITUTE for POLICY STUDIES

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About the Asan Institute

The Asan Institute for Policy Studies

Mission Statement

The Asan Institute for Policy Studies is an independent, non-partisan think tank with the mandate to undertake policy-relevant research to foster domestic, regional, and international environments that are conducive to peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula and Korean reunification.

Chronology

- 2008. 2. 11 Founding of the Asan Institute for Policy Studies

Dr. Han Sung-Joo inaugurated as the first Chairman and President of the Institute.
- 2009. 2. 11 Groundbreaking ceremony for a new building at 1-176 Shinmunro 2-ga, Jongno-gu, Seoul

Ambassador Song Young Shik inaugurated as the second President of the Institute.
- 2010. 1. 13 Opening of the new building
- 2010. 3. 10 Dr. Hahm Chaibong inaugurated as the third President of the Institute.
- 2011. 1. 28 Dr. Lee In-ho inaugurated as the second Chairperson of the Institute.



Dr. Chung Mong Joon

Honorary Chairman

Dr. Chung is a six-term member of the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Ulsan University, and Chairman of the Asan Foundation – the largest philanthropic foundation in Korea. From 1995 to 2011 he also served as Vice-President of FIFA, the world governing body for football. Previously, he has served as Chairman of the Grand National Party and as a member of the Party’s Supreme Council. In 2002, he was a candidate for president. Dr. Chung also served as Chairman of Hyundai Heavy Industries Co., Ltd., and as Co-Chairman of the Korean Organizing Committee for the 2002 Korea-Japan FIFA World Cup. Dr. Chung received a B.A. in Economics from Seoul National University, an M.S. from Sloan School of Management at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), and a Ph.D. from the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) at Johns Hopkins University. He is the author of *This I Say to Japan*, *The Relationship Between Government and Business in Japan*, and *the Ideology of Business Management*.

Letter from the Chairperson

Korean society today is facing challenges from both the external forces of globalization and the various problems within society itself. Sweeping changes are shaping not only Korea's national security but also the lives of individual Koreans in myriad ways.

The purpose of the Asan Institute for Policy Studies is fourfold. The first is to analyze, critique, and propose policies in areas concerning the public, including foreign affairs and the economy. The second is to act as a policy liaison between the government and the private sector. The third is to undertake informal diplomatic tasks that cannot be performed by the government itself in certain areas, such as establishing contacts, maintaining cooperative relations, and reaching agreements. Finally, the Asan Institute also aspires to play an important role in the training of experts in government and academia.

To these ends, the Asan Institute strives to impact policy development, undertake nongovernmental diplomacy, and through its activities engage in a broad range of issues affecting the Korean nation and the East Asian region.

The Asan Institute for Policy Studies is named after the late "Asan" Chung Ju-Yung, a global entrepreneur who dedicated his life to Korea's prosperity and welfare, as well as the nation's peace and reunification. As such, the Institute strives to fulfill its mandate by providing solutions to the problems faced by our nation and region.

We solicit your kind support and encouragement. Thank you.



Lee In-ho



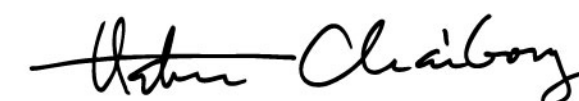
Lee In-ho
(Ph.D. in History, Harvard University;
Former Korean Ambassador to the Russian Federation)

President's Message

The year 2011 was an extraordinary period of growth for the Asan Institute for Policy Studies. Since moving into our new location a little over two years ago, we have grown into one of Asia's leading think tanks, producing original research across a broad range of issues, while playing host to an unprecedented number of conferences and events.

In many regards, the Asan Institute's emergence on the world stage has paralleled the emergence of South Korea as a key global player. This was evident throughout the year as the institute assumed a leading role on issues as varied as global economic governance, global nonproliferation, and East Asian regional security. Commensurate with South Korea's increasing global interests, our institute's work has sought to offer timely and relevant insights to a diverse audience. In addition, the year 2011 saw a significant expansion in the institute's research and support staff to meet the growing responsibilities that we have assumed.

The Asan Institute strives to become a globally recognized center of excellence in research and a meeting place for decision makers, intellectuals, policy experts, and the general public. We look forward to your continued interest and support as we continue on this exciting endeavor.



Hahm Chaibong



Hahm Chaibong
(Ph.D. in Political Science, Johns Hopkins University)

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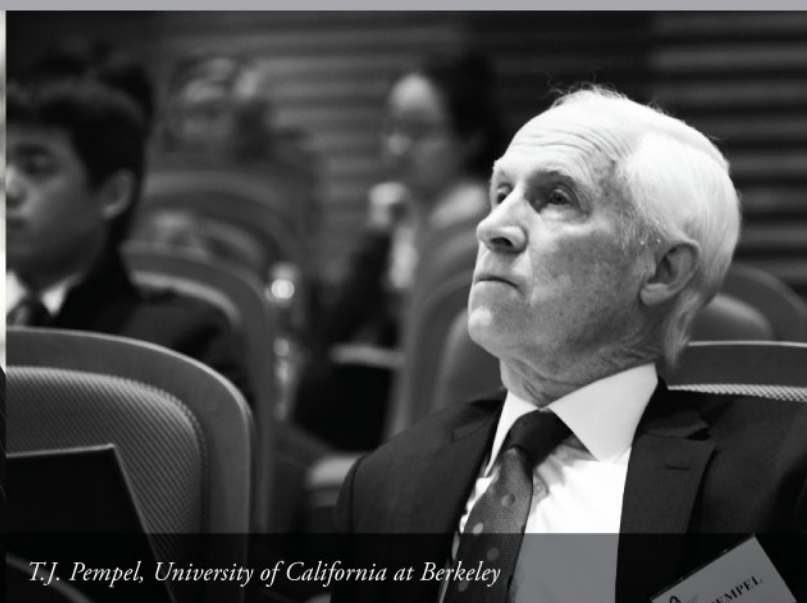




Research



Douglas Paal, The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace



T.J. Pempel, University of California at Berkeley



Jonathan Pollack, The Brookings Institution



Gareth Evans, Australian National University

In March 2011, the Tohoku earthquake, tsunami, and subsequent nuclear disaster at Fukushima brought Japan to its knees and sent political and economic aftershocks around the world. Regional leaders grappled with how to help Japan get back on its feet, but the crisis also brought to the fore questions of how to prevent the occurrence of future nuclear disasters.

Northeast Asia also felt the impact of other political shocks in 2011, including the sovereign debt crisis in the European Union and the uprisings of the “Arab Spring.” The death of North Korean leader Kim Jong-Il also prompted leaders and experts alike to rethink the power dynamics on the Korean Peninsula and to reevaluate their policies toward North Korea.

In the midst of these challenging times, experts from the Asan Institute for Policy Studies provided critical policy analysis to key stakeholders, allowing them to make more informed decisions about how to reduce tensions and promote regional cooperation and coordination. Asan experts were also active in public outreach, publishing reports, participating in conferences, and giving interviews to inform the public about crucial issues.

This year, the Asan Institute’s research agenda expanded with the addition of three new centers: the Foreign Policy Studies Program, the International Law and Conflict Resolution Program, and the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) Program. These complemented the Institute’s existing programs in Governance Studies, Public Opinion Studies, and Philosophy and Public Policy.

National Security and Foreign Affairs

Foreign Policy Studies Program

Mission:

The mission of the Foreign Policy Studies Program is to facilitate the high-quality exchange of insights among experts, policymakers, and the general public about vital issues in global politics, thus leading to more informed foreign policy decisions. Central to its mission is the production of original, timely, and rigorous research. Such research complements the Program's efforts to cultivate thoughtful conversations about global politics by examining them in a methodical and sustained manner, thus providing a basis for further informed discussion and policymaking.

Highlights from 2011:

In 2011, the foreign policy agenda in the Republic of Korea (ROK) was dominated by concerns about how to effectively manage rapidly shifting regional dynamics. Persistent challenges and new developments included balancing South Korea's economic and security relations with China and the United States, managing the politics of the Korea-U.S. (KORUS) Free Trade Agreement, pursuing "middle power" diplomacy to expand South Korea's regional and global role, preparing for the 2012 Seoul Nuclear Security Summit, and handling the continuing conflict with North Korea.

To help shape debates on these issues and provide new perspectives on regional challenges, the Asan Institute hosted a wide-ranging series of conferences and roundtables in 2011, bringing together influential scholars, lawmakers and policy professionals for intensive discussions. Dr. Bong Youngshik, director of the Foreign Policy Studies Program, led efforts to expand the program and lay a strong foundation for future activities.



A persistent challenge in South Korean foreign policy is its complicated relationship with China. The geographical proximity of South Korea to China, and its status as one of China's largest trading partners, offers rich prospects for cooperation and mutual prosperity. China has also played an invaluable role as a mediator between Seoul and Pyongyang, although its failure to condemn the latter's sinking of the *Cheonan* and the shelling of Yeonpyeong Island in 2010 has strained relations. In May, this multifaceted relationship was the subject of the *2011 Asan China Conference*, titled "China's Foreign Policy: Who Makes It, and How Is It Made?" Scholars of Chinese politics from Korea, the United States, and China delved deeply into U.S.-China relations, the process of Chinese foreign policymaking, and the problematic question of China's North Korean policy.



The ongoing standoff with North Korea, concerns about Kim Jong-Il's health, and his decision in September 2010 to promote his youngest son, Kim Jong-Un, to vice-chairman of the Central Military Commission all raised questions about the prospects of an orderly leadership succession in Pyongyang. In September, the *2011 Asan North Korea Conference*, titled "The Viability of the North Korean Regime," provided experts on North Korea with a forum to discuss how long the North Korean regime could survive. Participants presented evidence of both stabilizing and destabilizing dynamics at work inside North Korea. Many experts argued that the North Korean regime appeared to be more stable than previously thought. At least in the short-term, they asserted, the regime would be able to maintain stability despite food shortages and serious economic problems.

One of the most intriguing arguments presented by Asan Research Fellow Dr. Go Myong-Hyun, was picked up and reported in the *Economist* ("Food and Stability in North Korea: Deprive and Rule" Sept. 17, 2011). Dr. Go argued that the likelihood of the North Korean people rising up to challenge the regime is low because the population is more geographically scattered than previously estimated and the majority of people survive precariously on subsistence farming. However, other experts also contended that a combination of endogenous and exogenous factors, including the growth of informal markets and dependence on Chinese foreign aid, will make it difficult for the North Korean regime to maintain its grip on power over the long-term without significant reforms.

In November, experts also examined the root causes of Japan's stagnant economy and its debilitating social and political problems during the *2011 Asan Japan Conference*, titled "Japan in Crisis: What Will It Take for Japan to Rise Again?" Amidst widespread concern about the environmental effects of the Fukushima disaster and its negative impact on Japan's already sluggish economic growth, panelists presented their thoughts on how Japan would likely respond to these challenges. The conference topics spanned Japan's bilateral relations with countries in the region as well as Japan's current social, economic, and political crises. Some boldly argued that Japan was dead or dying, or at the very least retreating to the status of a middle power. Others contended that Japan would rise again – presenting evidence that the country's problems are in fact quite manageable and reversible.



Following each conference, panelists wrote papers based on their presentations and their colleagues' feedback. These papers will be compiled into an edited book volume for each conference published in 2012 as part of the *Asan Report Series*.

Korea's multilateral and bilateral relations alike featured prominently in discussions throughout the year. The deepening and expansion of Korea-U.S. relations was a recurrent theme amidst the fierce and intense debates over the ratification of the KORUS FTA. The FTA continued to be a source of major controversy in both the U.S. Congress and the Korean National Assembly until its ratification by the latter in October 2011. Other important alliance-related issues, including plans for defense reform and the 2015 transfer of wartime operational control (OPCON) of South Korean military forces from the United States to South Korea, were also keen topics of interest that were the subject of several roundtables hosted by the Asan Institute this year.



Asan-FOI Workshop "Northeast Asia After 2012"



Asan-NCAFP-Pacific Forum CSIS Strategic Dialogue



Roundtable with Gary Samore, Special Assistant to the President and White House Coordinator for Arms Control and Weapons of Mass Destruction, Proliferation, and Terrorism



Roundtable with Wendy Sherman, Under Secretary for Political Affairs at the U.S. State Department

In addition to conferences, the Foreign Policy Studies Program also engaged in collaborative research projects and strategic dialogues with policy institutes from around the world. Through the Program, the Asan Institute partnered with the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Washington, D.C. and the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIJA) in Tokyo for a two-year, Track II project to facilitate trilateral cooperation between South Korea, the United States, and Japan. In collaboration with the Swedish Defence Research Agency (FOI), the Asan Institute also embarked on a new project titled "Northeast Asia After 2012," whose purpose was to explore the ramifications of Northeast Asia's upcoming leadership transitions occurring in 2012. The Asan Institute also partnered with the National Committee on American Foreign Policy, Pacific Forum CSIS, the China Reform Forum, and the Carnegie-Tsinghua Center on several Track II projects.

The Institute’s signature lecture series, “The Asan Dosirak Series,” was a popular draw throughout the year, with over twenty prominent scholars such as François Godement, Bruce Bennett, William Overholt, Marcus Noland, Ralph Cossa, Patrick Cronin, and Mark Fitzpatrick delivering short briefings and engaging in spirited discussion with Korean scholars, media, and members of the diplomatic corps in Seoul.



Although the Foreign Policy Studies Program was only inaugurated in 2011, it grew rapidly over the course of the year. In cooperation with the Council on Foreign Relations, the Program established the International Affairs Fellowship (Asan-CFR IAF), which awards a select number of highly qualified individuals the opportunity to conduct research in Korea as affiliates of the Asan Institute. The program seeks to strengthen mutual understanding and cooperation among rising leaders in the United States and South Korea. The Foreign Policy Studies Program also established a postdoctoral fellowship to provide an opportunity for recent Ph.D. recipients to produce research on a topic of their choice as a full-time research fellow at the Institute. The Asan Institute was happy to welcome Dr. Jonathan T. Chow, a 2011 graduate of the Ph.D. program in Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley and a specialist in the regional politics of Southeast Asia and the study of religion in international relations theory, as a new research fellow under this program.

Scholars in the Foreign Policy Studies Program also continued to publish relevant policy analysis throughout the year. Research Fellows Dr. Leif-Eric Easley and Dr. Woo Jung-Yeop published an *Issue Brief* titled, “Yellow Sea Turning Red: Darker Views of China among South Koreans,” describing changes in South Korean attitudes toward China since 2010. The program also commissioned several *Issue Briefs* in connection with the Asan Dosirak Series. Some of the most timely and pertinent included “The Slow Emergence of an Obama Foreign and Security Policy and the Outlook for Asia” by Patrick Cronin, Senior Director of the Asia-Pacific Security Program at the Center for a New American Security, and “Next Steps with North Korea and the Six-Party Talks” by Ralph Cossa, President of Pacific Forum CSIS.

Finally, 2011 ended with a most surprising – if not wholly unanticipated – event in December: the death of North Korean leader Kim Jong-Il and the announcement of his son Kim Jong-Un as North Korea’s new supreme leader. Within days of his death, experts from the Asan Institute found themselves in considerable demand as the press and policymakers sought out their perspectives on the situation on the Korean Peninsula. In a piece for the *Wall Street Journal*, Dr. Hahm Chaibong, President of the Asan Institute, wrote that China would play a vital role in guaranteeing the survival of the new North Korean regime. In the aftermath of Kim’s death, Dr. Hahm was also quoted in a number of major media outlets, including *National Public Radio*, the *Washington Post*, and MSNBC. Dr. Leif-Eric Easley also wrote “Can Kim Muddle Through?” an assessment of the North Korean political environment faced by Kim Jong-Un that was published on the popular Asian politics blog, *The Diplomat*.



Jonathan T. Chow



Woo Jung-Yeop



Leif-Eric Easley

International Law and Conflict Resolution Program

Mission:

The chief goal of the International Law and Conflict Resolution Program is to look into the fundamental rules and principles of public international law as part of global governance regimes. The Program strives to analyze and understand how international law and global governance can contribute to the peaceful resolution and management of international conflicts. Through a comprehensive analysis of international legal instruments and benchmark cases before international tribunals, the Program aims to discover new foreign policy options based upon the rule of law.

Highlights from 2011:

Given the complex and controversial legal debates over nuclear energy, particularly in light of the Fukushima disaster in March, the International Law and Conflict Resolution Program played a pivotal role in facilitating informed policy dialogue and debunking many of the myths surrounding nuclear power. In conjunction with the Foreign Policy Studies Program, the International Law and Conflict Resolution Program co-organized several important events that brought together nuclear experts and senior political, diplomatic, and military leaders from around the world.

The meltdown at the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power plant shone a spotlight on questions of nuclear safety and prompted reappraisals of the utility of nuclear energy around the world. In South Korea, such questions carried greater weight because of the upcoming 2012 Seoul Nuclear Security Summit and South Korean companies’ agreements to construct new nuclear power plants in the United Arab Emirates. Vigorous discussions and debates took place over plans for South Korea to expand its use of nuclear energy and construct additional nuclear power plants throughout the country.



Shin Chang-Hoon
The Asan Institute

Kim Tae-Woo
Korea Institute for
National Unification

Yoriko Kawaguchi,
Former Foreign Minister of Japan

As Director of the International Law and Conflict Resolution Program, Dr. Shin Chang-Hoon played an instrumental role in organizing and furthering many of these discussions. Dr. Shin worked with members of the Fissile Materials Working Group (FMWG), a nongovernmental coalition of over 40 experts representing many of the United States' top nonproliferation and nuclear security organizations, scholars from South Korea's Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security (IFANS), and officials from the South Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade to help shape the agenda of the Nuclear Security Summit. In December, Dr. Shin was a speaker at the *Conference on the 2012 Seoul Nuclear Security Summit and Next-Generation Nuclear Security*, sponsored by IFANS and FMWG and at the workshop on nuclear security hosted by the U.S.-Korea Institute at Johns Hopkins University. During the conferences, he briefed participants on the legal aspects of the nuclear security regime and potential areas for reform.

The flagship event in the Asan Institute's nuclear-related programming this year was the inaugural *Asan Plenum*, titled "Our Nuclear Future." Several other conferences, including the *2011 Asan Nuclear Conference* and the *2011 Asan Leadership Forum*, also stimulated in-depth discussion about nuclear safety, security, safeguards, disarmament, deterrence, and nonproliferation. The *Asan Nuclear Conference*, titled "Nuclear Crisis in Northeast Asia," examined multiple dimensions of North Korea's nuclear weapons program and the nuclear disaster at Japan's Fukushima Daiichi Power Plant. The *Asan Leadership Forum* brought together a group of "wise men" comprising senior political, diplomatic, and military leaders from around the world to discuss the topic of "Leadership for Nuclear Governance." Participants, including members of the Asia Pacific Leadership Network for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament (APLN) and the European Leadership Network for Multilateral Nuclear Disarmament and Nonproliferation (ELN), discussed ways for world leaders to play a larger role in resolving pressing nuclear issues. Former Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans and several diplomatic luminaries from Korea, including former Prime Minister Lee Hong Koo and former Minister of Foreign Affairs Han Sung-Joo, were also among the distinguished participants.



The International Law and Conflict Resolution Program also commissioned several nuclear experts to write *Asan Issue Briefs* addressing Japan's nuclear crisis. These included a brief by Miles Pomper, Senior Research Associate at the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies (CNS), titled "Toward the Global Norm: Supporting the Minimization of Highly Enriched Uranium in the Civilian Sector." In it, Pomper analyzes the efforts to limit the use of highly enriched uranium in the private, civilian sector. Ferenc Dalnoki-Veress, a research scientist at CNS, also wrote an *Issue Brief* titled, "Lessons from Fukushima: A New Carrot & Stick Approach to Nuclear Safety," which examines the Japanese government's efforts to deal with the nuclear crisis and the mistakes made in the process.

Under Dr. Shin's leadership, the International Law and Conflict Resolution Program has also been actively involved in conducting research on the Law of the Sea, particularly in conjunction with international organizations. Given the ongoing disputes over maritime territory and natural resources occurring on and around the Korean Peninsula, these issues are vital to South Korean national interests. As part of the research, Dr. Shin participated in working group discussions regarding the Convention on the Prevention of Marine Pollution by Dumping of Wastes and Other Matter at the International Maritime Organization and delivered presentations on the Law of the Sea at several prominent international conferences.

Dr. Shin also published a book co-authored with Chung Chin-Sok, Director of the Legal Research Institute at Kookmin University, titled "The Study on Legislative Measures in China and Japan with regard to the Management of Islands: Implications for Korean Policy" and several book chapters in Korean on International Law. Dr. Shin is currently working with Mr. Toby Dalton from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to compile and produce an edited volume of papers written for the 2011 *Asan Nuclear Conference*.



Middle East and North Africa (MENA) Program

Mission:

Recognizing the growing importance of the Middle East, North Africa and the Muslim world to the Republic of Korea's long-term interests, this year the Asan Institute launched the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) Program, the first and only research program of its kind among the country's independent think tanks. Led by Dr. Jang Ji-Hyang, the MENA Program has sought to draw the attention of the South Korean public to the events taking place throughout the MENA region and their policy implications for the Korean Peninsula.

The mission of the MENA Program is to provide policymakers, experts, and the general public with access to the vital debates over democracy, capitalism, and globalization in the region. The themes cover democratic transitions, oil resource development, social networks and civil society development, the diversification of political Islam, U.S. Middle East policy, the Israel-Palestine conflict, and terrorism.

Highlights from 2011:

2011 was a watershed year for the Middle East and North Africa. The year began with the "Arab Spring," a wave of unprecedented popular uprisings against dictatorships that spread throughout Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Syria, Yemen, and neighboring countries. The ousting of previously entrenched authoritarian regimes has dramatically altered – and continues to alter – the regional political landscape.





Steven Heydemann,
United States Institute of Peace

Uzi Rabit,
Tel Aviv University



2011 Asan Middle East Conference "Democracy and Development in the Middle East after the Arab Spring"



Clement Henry,
The American University in Cairo

Whereas the transitions in Tunisia and Egypt were relatively free of violence, uprisings elsewhere were marked by extensive bloodshed. In Libya, Colonel Mohammad Qaddafi waged a brutal war against opposition forces but was ultimately killed in a fight with rebels in October. In Syria, protests against President Bashar al-Assad's regime that began in March were met with ferocious violence, with thousands of civilians detained, tortured, or killed. Yet, a UN Security Council resolution condemning the crackdown was vetoed in February 2012 by both Russia and China.



Eva Bellin, Brandeis University

Arang Keshavarzian (left), New York University; Michael Hudson (center),
The National University of Singapore

The year also saw the drawdown of U.S. forces in Iraq after nearly a decade of attempts to create a democratic, secure, and capable state. Similarly, a renewed effort to build a sustainable peace in Afghanistan has resulted in increased commitments by the U.S. and the international community to provide additional aid in this area. However, nation-building efforts in both Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as Iran's nuclear program have reignited debates about burden sharing in the context of the ROK-U.S. alliance and the re-positioning of U.S. military forces. These discussions were sparked by two major concerns: first, that the U.S. might draw down the number of troops on the Korean Peninsula and in Northeast Asia in order to fully focus on the Middle East; and second, that the U.S. might demand that South Korea send additional military personnel and capital to the region and impose tougher sanctions against Iran.

Under Dr. Jang's leadership, the MENA Program launched the first Asan Middle East Week, a series of events aimed at promoting a greater awareness of the region among the South Korean public as well as facilitating in-depth debates in academic and policy circles. The culmination of the week was the *2011 Asan Middle East Conference*, titled "Democracy and Development in the Middle East after the Arab Spring." Drawing together many of the world's leading Middle East and North African experts, the conference examined a broad range of issues, including domestic political transitions and shifting regional power configurations after the Arab Spring, the future of Islamic opposition movements, the politics of oil rentier states, and the nuclear programs in Libya, Syria, and Iran. The papers presented at the conference will be published as a book co-edited by Dr. Jang and Professor Clement M. Henry from The American University in Cairo.

In November, the MENA program also hosted two major public events as part of the Asan Middle East Week. The first was the Asan Distinguished Speaker Series with Fawaz A. Gerges, Professor of Middle Eastern Politics and International Relations at the London School of Economics. In discussing the Arab Spring, Professor Gerges argued that the Arab people, as opposed to the dominant elites, have been trying to determine their own affairs through a bottom-up process. Lisa Anderson, president of the American University in Cairo, was the guest speaker for the second event, which was held as part of the Asan Distinguished Speaker Series. Drawing on her expertise in Egyptian politics, Professor Anderson spoke about the remarkable effects that the Egyptian uprising has had in reshaping Arab society and politics. In particular, she cited changing notions of civic identity and responsibility as significant by-products of the uprising.



Asan Distinguished Speaker Series Lecture with Lisa Anderson



2011 Asan Middle East Conference



In line with its mission to increase interest in and knowledge of the MENA region in South Korea, Dr. Jang and her team also translated Professor Gerges' latest book, *Journey of the Jihadist: Inside Muslim Militancy*, into Korean. The book sheds light on the driving factors behind jihadists' actions, allowing readers to understand why some bright, highly educated, middle-class Muslims give up everything and embark on what Professor Gerges describes as "a journey full of minefields, tears, and death." According to the book, long before the United States announced the death of Osama bin Laden, these jihadists already represented the demise of bin Laden and his transnational jihad.

The MENA Program also commissioned several *Asan Issue Briefs*. "Egypt on Fire," by Ayse Kadayifci-Orellana and Peter Weinberger, senior program officers at the United States Institute of Peace, predicted the likelihood of democratic elections in Egypt and described the complex, conflict-ridden tensions among Egypt, Israel, and Syria. Another *Issue Brief*, "Contingency and Diversity in Revolution: How Can We Explain the Middle East Spring?" by Dr. Jang, argued that a fuller picture of the Arab uprising can emerge only when experts analyze the role of incentive-driven calculations and different institutional arrangements, which tend to be overlooked by journalistic accounts that focus on the effects of unemployment, poverty, corruption, and the development of social networking services.

"Thank you for an utterly marvelous conference. Everything went extremely well and I think I can say that the entire group was very impressed by the efficient organization as well as the ambitions of your center. We do hope that you will be able to continue to organize such exciting events." (Clement Henry, The American University in Cairo)

"The conference really was a smashing success." (Robert Parks, Centre for North African Studies in Algeria)

"The conference impressed us all, and Korea itself was — as I just knew it would be — a delight to visit again! (Lisa Anderson, The American University in Cairo)

"Let me thank you first of all again for the invitation to the Asan Institute conference. Second, let me congratulate you on an absolutely wonderful conference — and perfectly organized!! Thanks a million!!" (Diederik Vandewalle, Dartmouth College)



Governance

Governance Studies Program

Mission:

The Global Governance Program aims to become a leading research program for promoting the East Asian imprint in shaping the global order. The program is motivated by the recognition that fundamental changes in the architecture of global governance are underway in response to the spread of transnational challenges, the rise of new powers, and the mounting influence of non-state actors. Given these trends, East Asian policymakers require rigorous and independent research support on emerging global governance issues. The Global Governance Program meets these needs by analyzing the strengths and weaknesses of existing multilateral institutions, proposing reforms tailored to new international circumstances, and identifying opportunities for East Asian policymakers to contribute positively to the reform of the global governance system.

Highlights from 2011:

This year, the global financial crisis continued to dominate the international agenda, with its ongoing effects remaining a major priority for both South Korea and the international community. Growing talk of American decline, a possible collapse in Europe's monetary union, and potentially irreparable damage to Japan's future growth, have sharply contrasted with the unprecedented economic growth occurring across much of the Asia-Pacific. These profound developments are creating new challenges and opportunities for global governance that are becoming increasingly apparent.

While global power dynamics appear poised for change, this is also a time of immense political and economic uncertainty for many citizens around the world. Fears about the impact of economic and political change on issues ranging from the cost of food and petrol to the future of job growth and wealth distribution are changing the socioeconomic dynamics within many states.

Realizing the importance of these issues, Asan experts sought to increase public awareness about the effects of changes at both the international and domestic levels, and to search for viable solutions to emerging governance problems.



Under the leadership of Dr. Mo Jongryn, Director of the Governance Studies Program, the Asan Institute engaged in a series of activities that emphasized the significance of an increasingly multipolar international system in which global forums such as The Group of Twenty (G-20) have played a central role. The program's first conference this year, titled "Post-G20 and Korea's Global Leadership," examined some of the progress that had been made after South Korea's hosting of the November 2010 G-20 Summit. Experts participating in the conference also argued that there is a growing sense in the international community that existing institutions are inadequate to deal with contemporary transnational problems.

In addition to implementing important economic reforms and helping to mitigate tensions over trade imbalances, the 2010 Seoul Summit also heralded the arrival of South Korea as a major international actor. South Korea's status as the first non-G8 and first Asian state to host the prestigious event highlighted the country's growing role in global affairs. At the conference, distinguished speakers, including Director-General of the Presidential Committee for the G-20 Seoul Summit, Kwon Hae-ryong, noted that the G-20 Summit marked a milestone for South Korea's growing international role.

The increasingly pivotal role that "middle powers" such as South Korea are beginning to play in global governance was further addressed at the *2011 Asan Global Governance Conference* titled, "Middle Powers and Caucusing in Global Governance: Do Middle Powers Need Their Own Summit?" Participants questioned the prevailing emphasis on the U.S.-China relationship as the only viable mechanism to resolve international issues and discussed the key role that middle powers such as South Korea, Australia, Indonesia, Mexico, and Turkey can also play. Importantly, the conference highlighted the ability of these states to shape the policy agenda, design, and direction of new multilateral institutions, as well as to pursue the creation of sub-regional groupings that can achieve results more nimbly and rapidly than often cumbersome global organizations.



2011 Asan Global Governance Conference

Another issue that has received major attention in South Korea in recent years has been the role of foreign aid in shaping national economic development. South Korea's distinction as the first country to transition from an aid recipient to an aid donor has been an immense source of national pride and a symbol of the country's broader transformation since the Korean War. To elaborate on this change and the future of foreign aid assistance more generally, the Governance Studies Program invited Professor Stephen D. Krasner, the Graham H. Stuart Professor of International Relations at Stanford University, to deliver a special guest lecture titled, "Foreign Aid: A Fool's Errand?" Professor Krasner provided an overview of foreign aid and analyzed cases where it has — and has not — delivered measurable outcomes. He further demonstrated that foreign aid has often failed due to the lack of accountability to donors, weak conditions for aid provision, and the inability of donors to have sufficient knowledge of local institutions and circumstances. Professor Krasner also compared and contrasted the different aid delivery models of Japan and Korea to show the relative strengths and weaknesses of both approaches.

Throughout the year, Dr. Mo also led efforts to examine a diverse range of issues pertaining to governance at the domestic level. To discuss the changing dynamics of the American domestic political environment, Dr. David Brady, Deputy Director and Davies Family Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution, was invited to give a lecture as part of the 6th Asan Distinguished Speaker Series. Dr. Brady's presentation,



"Middle Powers and Caucusing in Global Governance: Do Middle Powers Need Their Own Summit?"

titled, "The Future of American Conservatism," looked at the history of the conservative movement in the United States and the divergent aspirations of economic and social conservatives. Dr. Brady argued that these divergent interests had the potential to split the Republican Party across a variety of issues.

While conferences and events formed a major component of the Governance Studies Program's schedule for the year, the Program also commissioned a number of significant research projects dealing with a wide range of topics. "The Socio-Political Analysis of Argentina's Economic Decline," jointly produced by Go Myong-hyun, Silvia Montoya, Jorge Vasconcelos and German Antequero, examined the factors that have influenced Argentina's stagnant economic growth. The four-month project produced a 300-page research volume that provides substantial insights into the economic and political factors that have produced this situation. Another research project commissioned by the Governance Studies Program was titled "A Six-Country Study of Comparative Welfare Policies," prepared by Amnon Aran, Silvia Montoya, Jorge Vasconcelos, and Kim In-chun. The study reviewed the welfare policies of six countries that have faced similar challenges to Korea today; Argentina, Greece, Israel, Japan, Sweden, and the UK. A major research finding from the project was the possibility that social spending may breed entrenched interest groups that can undermine both the economy and the social fabrics of the country.

Public Opinion Studies

Mission:

Leaders and policymakers rely on public opinion surveys to gauge public sentiment regarding specific policy issues. To meet this need, the Asan Institute's Public Opinion Studies Program conducts regular polls and utilizes advanced statistical analysis to obtain reliable data about the Korean polity for political leaders and the general public, thereby fostering more informed policy debates and decisions. The Program's goal for the next five years is to become the most trusted source for information about South Korean public opinion. As the year 2012 will have both a general and presidential election, this year is going to be an important step toward fulfilling that goal.

Highlights from 2011:

In 2011, the Asan Institute's Public Opinion Studies Program, under the leadership of Director Dr. Kim Jiyeon, expanded its activities, undertaking several new projects. These projects adopted new methodologies for tracking and analyzing public opinion data throughout the country and set the standard as the most representative and accurate surveys about the South Korean polity.

Before January 2011, public opinion surveys in Korea were dependent on the Korea Telecom telephone directory and landline phones for collecting samples. However, this reliance excluded demographics that opted not to be included in the directory. To address this problem, the Asan Institute conducted Korea's first-ever survey using the Random Digit Dialing (RDD) sampling method in January 2011. This method increased the quality of the polling data and was quickly adopted by other research centers around the nation. The January survey was the first of the Asan Institute's monthly surveys, which track presidential approval ratings and other key political indicators.

Conducting surveys using the RDD method for landline telephones also presented problems of exclusion. Certain segments of society have completely abandoned landline telephones. Once again, the Asan Institute sought to address this problem and began employing the RDD method for mobile phones in March 2011. This method further increased the representativeness and accuracy of the Institute's public opinion surveys.



"The Seoul Mayoral Election and the Outlook for 2012" (November 10, 2011)



Kim Chun-seok (left), Hankook Research;
Kang Won-taek (center), Seoul National University

Kim Jiyeon

The year 2011 was marked by a significant shift in attention by many South Koreans towards domestic challenges and the upcoming general and presidential elections. While the Public Opinion Studies Program produced several important reports dealing with South Korean public opinion on North Korea and China, it also focused on domestic political developments. The Asan Institute's monthly survey correctly captured this inward turn by tracking the most important issues to the nation such as job creation, the distribution of wealth, and public education.

Using the data gathered, the Asan Institute was the first institution to point out the inherent problems with the candidacy of Ms. Park Geun-Hye, leader of the Grand National Party (GNP, now known as the Saenuri Party), should she run for president in 2012. This was an unpopular and widely criticized prediction at the time as most observers saw her presidency as a foregone conclusion. However, it proved true in the latter half of 2011 with the rise of political independents and the increasing frustration of youth voters with the political status quo.

Dr. Ahn Chul-Soo, widely viewed as the candidate best able to challenge Ms. Park, burst onto the scene just ahead of the Seoul mayoral by-election on October 26. The Asan Institute's monthly polls delivered a precise measurement of the support for Dr. Ahn and Ms. Park as potential presidential candidates. Throughout this time, Asan experts including Dr. Kim and Dr. Woo Jung-Yeop, a research fellow in the Public Opinion Studies Program, found themselves in high demand as the Korean media scrambled to explain the rising popularity of Dr. Ahn and the growing focus on domestic issues.

The Public Opinion Studies Program also sought to bridge new survey techniques with real politics. One result of this cooperation was the exit poll conducted following the Seoul mayoral by-election. Carried out in cooperation with Hankook Research and the Yonhap Television News Network, this survey utilized tablet PCs. Employing this new technology allowed voters to be asked a variety of questions beyond the simple, "Who did you vote for?" within a short amount of time, creating the most comprehensive exit poll in Korean history.

The Public Opinion Studies Program's single largest project was conducted at the end of 2011. The Annual Survey is conducted once a year and is the Asan Institute's most comprehensive public opinion survey, covering foreign affairs, the economy, Korean society, and domestic politics. When the report is released in early 2012, it will provide a full-framed snapshot of Korea in 2011.

The year ended with the second Asan Breaking Poll, conducted the day after the announcement of Kim Jong-Il's death. The results of this survey were combined with three other surveys that had been conducted in the preceding month to provide a unique window on the effect of his death on South Korean public opinion.

With two major elections scheduled for the year, 2012 will present the Asan Institute with a critical opportunity. At a time of such vital importance to the nation, timely and accurate public opinion polling data will be in very high demand. The Public Opinion Studies Program will stand ready to serve both policymakers and the public as they seek to make informed decisions in 2012 and beyond.



Philosophy and Public Policy

The unpredictable events of this year have shown us that new challenges are always on the horizon. When nations are grappling with complex and daunting challenges, lofty scholarly debates on public policy issues are generally regarded to be of little use in bringing about necessary change, unless they are accompanied by practical and pragmatic solutions. At the same time, it is difficult to find answers to some of our most critical problems without creative, out-of-the box thinking.

In one of its primary research areas, Philosophy and Public Policy, the Asan Institute seeks to wed both practical, empirical research with a wide range of activities that push us to explore our core values and beliefs from new and varied perspectives. The Asan Institute is committed to approaching problems and examining solutions from many different angles, ranging from the pragmatic to the imaginative.

In the spirit of this commitment, the Asan Institute held several events this year dedicated to the exchange of ideas and solutions applicable to present-day challenges. The Asan Institute, in partnership with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, hosted a workshop in May titled “Democracy and Human Rights Policies: Challenges and Prospects.” The goal of this workshop was to discuss democracy and human rights from the Japanese, Middle Eastern, American, and Canadian perspectives. Experts exchanged views on the critical question of how the international community can improve and implement consistent policies to enhance human rights and democracy.

In December, the Asan Institute, in conjunction with the Association of Contemporary Korean History, brought together experts from diverse fields, including politics, diplomacy, national security, history, economics, and the humanities to share their views on Korean history. The conference, “Contemporary Korean History in Global Context,” promoted the exchange of dynamic and developing perspectives from experts in Korea and from all over the world. Experts such as Kathryn Weathersby, visiting scholar at the U.S. Korea Institute at Johns Hopkins University, Kahng Gyoo-hyoung, Professor of History at Myongji University, and many others discussed the first constitution and development of democracy of Korea, the success and failure of the nation's founders, and other related contemporary historical issues.



Solutions to public policy issues arise not only from the exchange of creative and pragmatic ideas but also from an understanding of the historical context and the relationships that form the basis of the problems. The Polish-German relationship and the Korean-Japanese relationship are both linked by a complex and traumatic history. In December, the Asan Institute, along with the German and Polish embassies in Seoul, organized a seminar titled “Polish-German Relations Since 1945: A Source of Inspiration for Future Korean-Japanese Relations?” This seminar brought together distinguished guests such as Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, the former Prime Minister of the Republic of Poland, Klaus Hänsch, the former President of the European Parliament, Jerzy Sulek, the former Head of the Polish Delegation for the German Treaty, and other officials and scholars to reflect upon the complexities of German-Polish history to find relevant and applicable solutions to current Korean-Japanese relations.



Klaus Hänsch (center left), Former President of the European Parliament; Alexis Dudden (center right), University of Connecticut; and Jan Krzysztof Bielecki (far right), Former Prime Minister of the Republic of Poland

Following this important event on historical reconciliation and political relations, the international symposium “Making People: Comparative Constitutional Founding in Post-1945 Asia” contributed significantly to the Asan Institute's work in understanding the formation of state and social identities. Participants included Mark Tushnet, Professor of Law at Harvard Law School, and Roger Smith, Professor of Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania. Participants debated how the formation of the Chinese, Malaysian, Singaporean, Filipino, Indonesian, Cambodian, and Vietnamese people's identities has been shaped by postwar constitutional making. Participants also focused on the cases of China, Japan, and Korea with regard to nationality and state rule, the legitimacy of an imposed constitution, and the negotiation of post-colonial constitutional identity, respectively.



“Making People: Comparative Constitutional Founding in Post-1945 Asia”

Asan in the Media

The Asan Institute for Policy Studies

The Asan Institute's presence in the media has grown stronger and more influential each year. In 2011, the Asan Institute's activities were featured in over 260 news stories, including broadcast media and TV/radio interviews. Asan Institute events received wide geographical coverage from media outlets in Northeast Asia to the United States and Asan experts were cited in sources from *The Economist* and *The Wall Street Journal* to *National Public Radio*.

HAHM Chaibong

"Only when participatory democracy transforms into introspective democracy, South Korea can truly evolve as a developed country." (Hahm Chaibong, *DongA Ilbo* "Participatory Democracy to Introspective Democracy" January 4, 2011 *original source in Korean*)

"South Korea needs to pursue 'two track' diplomacy. In terms of security, South Korea should actively seek to improve its long-standing bilateral ties with the U.S. and Japan but in regards to economic concerns it should not forget to strengthen its relations with China." (Hahm Chaibong, *DongA Ilbo* opinion "Downfall of Chinese Diplomacy, Shielding N.Korea" February 1, 2011 *original source in Korean*)

"I think maintaining a very pragmatic, realistic approach or policy toward North Korea is very much warranted. We should not be swayed by romantic ideas of nationalism." (Hahm Chaibong quoted in *Arirang TV*, "Situation on Korean Peninsula Tense and Pragmatic Approach Towards N. Korea Needed" June 13, 2011)

"The world will have to continue to suffer through a [North Korean] regime whose durability continues to baffle." (Hahm Chaibong, *The Wall Street Journal* "Pyongyang's succession drama" December 19, 2011)

"If North Korea is going to change, it's not going to be because of something we do in the outside world. They will be the ones who will be undertaking changes because they think it's necessary and because they decide it's time they do it." (Hahm Chaibong quoted in *NBC News*, "As North Korea mourns, its neighbor shrugs" December 28, 2011)



BONG Youngshik

“Since the North Korea issue is not a priority among most constituents, the outcome of any ‘successful’ new policy would not create a sea of change in favor of the GNP [Grand National Party].” (Bong Youngshik quoted in *The Korea Times*, “GNP hints at new stance on Pyongyang” July 5, 2011)

“There has been a surge of opinion favoring inter-Korean exchange and dialogue in the wake of Kim Jong-il’s death...[w]ith the parliamentary election approaching, parties are pandering to constituents’ demands. This could explain the conservative and progressive parties coming together on this.” (Bong Youngshik quoted in *The Korea Times*, “Are conservatives shifting toward NK engagement?” February 16, 2012)

SHIN Chang Hoon

“South Koreans are resilient to North Korean provocations and behavior. Most will think it is political propaganda ahead of the elections.” (Shin Chang Hoon quoted in *The Korea Times*, “NK claims unlikely to sway public” June 3, 2011)

“It must not be an apology, because apology means recognition of responsibility, but there must be some sort of address, such as regret [referring to discovery of Agent Orange at Camp Carroll].” (Shin Chang Hoon quoted in *Voice of America*, “Environmental Investigation Underway on US Base in S. Korea” June 28, 2011)

“The best solution I think is to make an amicable environment in order for North Korea to voluntarily release [the ROK abductees] to South Korea. To force North Korea to do so by way of pressures from the international community is not a good idea, because any pressure would be considered humiliating...in that context, I think a package deal after resuming summit talks between both Koreas would be more effective.” (Shin Chang Hoon quoted in *The Korea Times*, “Can Seoul make play for detainees in North Korea” October 3, 2011)

JANG Ji-Hyang

“The reason that the revolution was successful in Egypt and Tunisia is because they have a broader middle class and set of professional groups than other Arab countries. This is similar to the proactive role of the middle class, and the active student protests of Korea’s 1987 pro-democracy protests...Democracy is a better system, but the people will need to be patient... A foreign journalist once said that expecting democracy to bloom in Korea was like expecting a rose to bloom in a trashcan.” (Jang Ji-Hyang quoted in *The Korea Herald*, “Jasmine revolutions have hints of Korea’s past” March 6, 2011)

“There is going to be a miniscule economic impact for the two nations if Korea issues a petrochemical sanction... Even though Korea is one of the most prominent buyers of petrochemical products for the Gulf nations, the amount for Iran is not so significant.” (Jang Ji-Hyang quoted in *Reuters*, “S.Korea might ban Iran petchem imports following sanction pressure” November 28, 2011)

“It’s not only about the [North Korean] culture, it is also about the deeply controlled, closed, and bunkered state, and politics...The old people feel that their kings have died and, as their servants, they feel so sad as if they were in a premodern society. And some of them are really willing to show their loyalty and their sadness very openly, on purpose.” (Jang Ji-Hyang quoted in *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, “Are North Koreans’ Tears Genuine?” December 28, 2011)



Bong Youngshik



Shin Chang Hoon



Jang Ji-Hyang

KIM Jiyeon

“For those public opinion surveys conducted over the span of only one or two days, there is a limit to how accurate they can be...the accuracy can be increased if there is a sufficient investment of time and resources.” (Kim Jiyeon quoted in *DongA Ilbo*, “Untrustworthy public opinion surveys...the solution is cell phones” October 22, 2011 *original source in Korean*)

“We have to pay attention to the fact that [today’s] independent voters are not [as we might assume] disinterested in politics, but are in reality actively participating in politics – they are what you might call “politically active independents.” (Kim Jiyeon quoted in *DongA Ilbo*, “What’s the problem with Korean politics?” December 3, 2011 *original source in Korean*)

WOO Jungyeop

“Korea has a responsibility as a member of the international community...it needs to use its wisdom to find opportunities for solutions to the problems that face the global community.” (Woo Jung Yeop, *The Korea Herald* “Public understanding of Nuclear Security Summit” February 8, 2011)

“Younger generations of South Koreans are more pragmatic than their elders, especially over the US alliance.” (Woo Jung-Yeop, *The Diplomat*, “South Korea’s Shifting Politics” February 21, 2011)

“The view that one Korea should remain the national goal is strong among older South Koreans, especially those who were alive before the 1950s split.” (Asan Public Opinion survey mentioned in *Reuters* “A little unification OK for young S. Koreans, but not too much” December 22, 2011)

Leif-Eric Easley

“When the [North Korean] leadership faces its first policy crisis – as a result of floods, food shortages, economic mismanagement or external frictions – this is when the transition could unravel.” (Leif-Eric Easley, *The Diplomat* “Can Kim Muddle Through?” December 21, 2011)



Kim Jiyeon



Woo Jungyeop



Asan Plenum

The Asan Plenum is a yearly gathering of the world's leading think tanks in Seoul, Korea to discuss the pressing challenges facing the world. The Plenum is a multi-day, multi-session conference with each panel organized by an individual global think tank. This division of labor capitalizes on each think tank's different strengths in expertise and ensures a diversity of opinion and perspective so as to bring together as wide and deep a knowledge base as possible. In addressing the most pressing challenges facing the world with experts from around the globe, the Asan Plenum aims to positively influence the policymaking process and enable the global community to better address those challenges.

Participants attend a plenary session at the Asan Plenum



Bruce Klingner (left), The Heritage Foundation; and Burwell B. Bell (right), Former Commander of U.S. Forces Korea and UN Command

The 2011 Asan Plenum, “Our Nuclear Future,” brought together more than 250 leading nuclear scientists, engineers, policy experts and public intellectuals to discuss the most pressing nuclear challenges facing the world. As Kim Sung-Hwan, the South Korean Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade, remarked in his keynote speech, “I am confident that we will all benefit from the diverse range of perspectives presented [here] and that the outcomes [of the Plenum] will greatly contribute to preparing for the Seoul Nuclear Security Summit to be held next March.”



David Sanger, The New York Times; Edwin Feulner, The Heritage Foundation; Han Sung-Joo, Former Foreign Minister of ROK; Lee Hong Koo, Former Prime Minister of ROK



Kim Sung Hwan, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Republic of Korea

The Plenum featured such esteemed individuals as Gary Samore (National Security Council Coordinator for Arms Control and Non-proliferation), Burwell Bell (Former Commander of US Forces Korea/ UN Command), Suzuki Tatsujiro (Japan Atomic Energy Commission), Masood Khan (Formerly President of UN Conference on Disarmament), and Dominique Greneche (Formerly French Atomic Energy Commission). With South Korea set to host the 2012 Nuclear Security Summit, continuing efforts to deal with the aftermath of the nuclear crisis in Japan, and North Korea’s continuous pursuit of nuclear weapons, the 2011 Plenum played an important role in framing crucial policy discussions on these issues. The Plenum focused on five major themes, including: nonproliferation, disarmament, peaceful use, nuclear security, and deterrence. The Plenum initiated a much-needed comprehensive reassessment of safety and security issues, which have crucial implications for our nuclear future.





*Hossam Eldeen Aly,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Egypt*



*Paul D. Hughes,
United States Institute of Peace*

“It has been a great honor to be part of this magnificent event which I can easily call "the 'Davos' of Nuclear Affairs.” (Hossam Eldeen Aly, Counselor Permanent Mission of Egypt to the United Nations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Egypt)

“It was a very well-run and informative conference, an amazing start to what promises to become a great tradition.” (William Tobey, Senior Fellow, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University)

“You did an outstanding job in organizing a very demanding agenda and audience. I’ve attended other conferences organized like this one but was pleased to see how well the attendees attended the panels. Best I’ve ever seen!” (Paul D. Hughes, Director of Special Initiatives, U.S. Institute of Peace)

“The Asan Plenum experience was an exceptional one. Both the selection of the panelists as well as the topics raised were at the highest level.” (Szymon Bochenski, Sous-sherpa, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Poland)

“[The Plenum] was an assemblage of exceptional individuals with an enormous breadth of interest and knowledge. The sessions were uniformly interesting and stimulating. It was entirely first rate, uniformly welcoming, and friendly while always professional.” (David Nokes, Consultant and Senior Advisor to the Bureau of Verification, Compliance and Implementation, U.S. State Department; former Vice-President, Sandia National Laboratory)



Abdelmajid Mahjoub (left), Arab Atomic Energy Agency; Ellen Laipson (center), Stimson Center; Chang Soon Heung (right), Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology

Asan Memorial Lecture Series

The Asan Memorial Lecture is the flagship lecture series of the Asan Institute for Policy Studies. In keeping with its mandate to provide innovative policy solutions and spearhead public discourse on many of the core issues that face the Korean peninsula, the region and the globe, the Asan Institute invites world-renowned leaders from a variety of fields and disciplines to offer their thoughts on the pressing matters in world politics.

This year, the Asan Institute invited four eminent individuals to deliver Memorial Lectures and share their insights with the South Korean public; Guy Sorman (philosopher, economist, and writer), Tu Weiming (Dean of the Institute for Advanced Humanistic Studies at Beijing University and Research Professor at Harvard University), James J. Heckman (Nobel Laureate and the Henry Schultz Distinguished Service Professor of Economics at the University of Chicago) and Donald Rumsfeld (Former United States Secretary of Defense under the George W. Bush Administration). A common thread connecting three of this year's Memorial Lectures was the profound implications that the rise of China is having on the region, and how the international community can best engage with the dramatic transformations that are occurring in Northeast Asia.

Professor Guy Sorman presented the year's first Asan Memorial Lecture on the topic of "Should We Fear China?" Drawing on his outspoken views on human rights and his latest book, *The Empire of Lies: The Truth About China*, Professor Sorman detailed some of the major challenges that China continues to face in maintaining its future growth. In particular, he noted the complexities in China's economic relationship with many states in the region, as well as the problems that exist within the Chinese economic system. Perhaps most importantly, Professor Sorman questioned the future trajectory of China as a reliable international partner and urged South Korea to adopt firmer policies toward China.



Former Foreign Minister of the ROK, Han Sung-joo, greets Guy Sorman at the Asan Institute



Guy Sorman presents the 2nd Asan Memorial Lecture on "Should We Fear China?"

Professor Tu Weiming presented the year's second Asan Memorial Lecture on "Confucian Humanism in the 21st Century: China's Quest for a New Cultural Identity." Professor Tu, an acclaimed scholar of the modern transformation of Confucian humanism and the developing dialogue between China and the West, spoke about the changing cultural identities currently taking place within China. He discussed the historical origins of Confucianism and the circumstances surrounding its relative decline during the 19th century and its reemergence in the latter part of the 20th century. In addition, he highlighted some of the important functions that Confucianism has played in the development of modern East Asian politics and society and the significant potential it has as a framework for regional and cross-cultural dialogue.



Tu Weiming gives a lecture to a full-capacity audience at the Asan Institute



Asan Memorial Lecture with Tu Weiming "Confucian Humanism in the 21st Century: China's Quest for a New Cultural Identity"



Tu Weiming



In August, Professor James J. Heckman delivered the third Asan Memorial Lecture, titled “What Tests Miss: Hard Evidence on Soft Skills.” Noted for his groundbreaking research across a broad range of areas from education and labor markets to anti-discrimination law and civil rights, Professor Heckman is widely considered to be one of the most influential economists in the world and a pioneer in the fields of econometrics and microeconomics, for which he received the Nobel Prize in Economics in 2000. In his lecture, Professor Heckman discussed standardized testing in the United States and demonstrated how a reliance on standardized tests to predict success in schools and society was misleading. Instead, he argued that investment in early education, particularly for disadvantaged children, is more likely to benefit society in the long term.





Donald Rumsfeld greets guests and answers questions during his lecture at the Asan Institute



The final Asan Memorial Lecture of 2011 was presented by Donald Rumsfeld, the former United States Secretary of Defense during the George W. Bush administration. Secretary Rumsfeld's presentation, "21st-Century Challenges in the Pacific and Beyond," covered a wide range of issues including the future of the United States, South Korea's role in the global economy, the changing nature of the United States-South Korea alliance, and China's rise over the coming decades. Secretary Rumsfeld was particularly critical of some Chinese policies and questioned the prevailing notion that China was destined to continue on a straight path of growth to become the world's most powerful nation. Furthermore, he posited that the effects of many of China's economic reforms had not yet been felt, and that restructuring would inevitably lead to significant social and political disruption. However, he noted that China and the United States were not necessarily on a crash course and that there remained many avenues for mutual cooperation.



Asan Memorial Lecture with Donald Rumsfeld "21st-Century Challenges in the Pacific and Beyond"

In 2011, the Asan Institute for Policy Studies hosted over one hundred events featuring world-renowned intellectuals from various governments, think tanks, academia, and the media. Through the insights shared at these events, the Asan Institute sought to promote the development of innovative policy options to tackle domestic, regional and international challenges. The Asan Institute invited more than 400 leading scholars from around the world to engage the general public in order to shape a more peaceful and prosperous future. All of the conference materials are fully available at www.asaninst.org/eng. The following section provides brief descriptions of each of the Institute's major event formats.

The Asan Annual Conferences are two-day events open to the public that convene political leaders, policy professionals, and experts for focused discussion on a broad regional or topical theme. Participants are organized into thematic panels and deliver presentations that provide a basis for further discussion. Distinguished discussants offer their own insight into panel presentations and help conference participants draw linkages among disparate topics. At the end of the conference, panelists discuss policy recommendations that arise from their collective conversations. Typically, panelists are asked to revise their presentations as essays that are then published by the Asan Institute in bound form.

Currently, the Asan Institute hosts annual conferences on North Korea and China. In addition, the Institute hosts biennial conferences on global governance, nuclear issues, the Middle East, and Japan.



Asan Japan Conference 2011



Asan North Korea Conference 2011



Asan Middle East Conference 2011



Asan Nuclear Conference 2011

The Asan Strategic Dialogues are closed meetings that bring together policymakers acting in their capacity as private citizens as well as prominent experts from major think tanks around the world to candidly discuss regional and global challenges and develop practical approaches to handling them. As a form of unofficial or “Track II” diplomacy, the Asan Strategic Dialogues offer an environment in which experts and policymakers are insulated from political and media pressure and free to experiment with ideas and solicit candid feedback from one another. Such backchannel dialogues have proved to be vital in sustaining multilateral and bilateral cooperation.

This year, the Asan Institute participated in a number of strategic dialogues in Seoul, Washington D.C., New York, Stockholm, Beijing and Tokyo with such prestigious international research institutions as the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), the National Committee on American Foreign Policy, Pacific Forum CSIS, the Swedish Defense Research Agency, the China Reform Forum, the Japan Institute of International Affairs, and the Carnegie-Tsinghua Center for Global Policy at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

The Asan Symposium Series consists of formal academic conferences organized around specific issues in domestic politics and international relations. Participants include distinguished scholars from the world’s top universities and policy research institutes, as well as prominent policy practitioners.

This year, the Institute examined a broad range of topics including, but not limited to, human rights and democracy, the establishment of constitutional governments in Asia, the use of public surveys in Korea, and the Seoul mayoral by-election. A symposium on the historical reconciliation of Poland and Germany – a possible source of inspiration for future Korean-Japan relations – was co-hosted by the Embassy of Poland, the Embassy of Germany, and the Asan Institute. Through such events, the Asan Institute works closely with the South Korean government as well as foreign embassies and missions stationed in Seoul. The symposiums contribute to both the government and the public by offering thoughtful analysis on such issues.



Asan-NCAFP-Pacific Forum CSIS Strategic Dialogue





Hahm Chaibong and Lisa Anderson

Asan Distinguished Speaker Series Lecture with Steven Krasner



The Asan Distinguished Speaker Series delivers insightful and stimulating public lectures by prominent researchers and policymakers on a wide variety of topics in global politics, economics and society. Such lectures offer unparalleled opportunities for audience members – who frequently include students, government officials and members of the Korean policy making community – to meet many of the world’s movers and shakers in the intimate setting of the Asan Institute’s auditorium.

In 2011, the Distinguished Speaker Series included Christopher Hill (Former United States Assistant Secretary of State), Stephen Krasner (Stanford University), Fawaz Gerges (London School of Economics), Lisa Anderson (American University in Cairo) and David Brady (Hoover Institution). Their topics ranged from U.S.-Korea relations, foreign aid, the uprisings across the Arab world, and the future of American conservatism. The Asan Institute provides an opportunity to share these signature lectures and diverse perspectives not only with students but also government officials and a wide range of professionals.



Asan Distinguished Speaker Series Lecture with David Brady



Christopher Hill “US-ROK Relations in the New Decade”



Jennifer Lind, Dartmouth College



Alexis Dudden, University of Connecticut



Miles Pomper,
James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies



William Overholt, Harvard University



Asan Leadership Lecture with Yul Kwon



The Asan Dosirak Series is an informal roundtable series that brings visiting foreign scholars and policy officials together with the public for an hour and a half of open discussion. Named after the Korean word for “lunch box,” the Dosirak Series allows for a more conversational and free-flowing discussion between speakers and participants.

The Asan Institute hosted twenty Dosirak events throughout the year covering a diverse range of topics such as the South Korean military’s Defense Reform Plan 307, nuclear deterrence against North Korea, the Obama Administration’s outlook for Asia, the rise of China, and territorial disputes in Northeast Asia. Speakers this year included William Overholt, Bruce Bennett (RAND Corporation), Patrick Cronin (Center for New American Security), Jennifer Lind (Dartmouth College), Mark Fitzpatrick (IISS), and many others.

The Asan Leadership Lecture Series seeks to inspire young people by giving them the chance to learn from highly successful young leaders.

Yul Kwon, most widely known as the first and only Asian American to win the American reality television series “Survivor,” delivered the first Asan-Yonsei Leadership Lecture in October at Yonsei University. As a former management consultant, lawyer, government official, and television series host, Mr. Kwon’s life story has inspired countless young Asian Americans and Koreans to pursue their calling in life. Mr. Kwon’s lecture discussed his personal experiences in overcoming the “bamboo ceiling” – the barrier of discrimination that prevents many Asian Americans from advancing in American society and business. The Leadership Lecture was well attended by both Korean and international students and prompted a lively question and answer session with a true role model for future leaders.

The Asan Road Show is a series of presentations and conferences by Asan researchers hosted at overseas partner institutions and aimed at informing international audiences about the Asan Institute's activities and strengthening cooperation with our global network of experts.

In January, Asan experts travelled to Washington D.C., UC Berkeley and Stanford University to give a series of presentations on the Institute's latest research work. During this year's Road Show, the Asan Institute also held a conference, "Politics of the Korean Peninsula," in partnership with the Carnegie-Tsinghua Center for Global Policy in Beijing. The conference brought Asan researchers together with experts on East Asian and Korean politics from Peking University, Tsinghua University, and the Embassy of the United States to discuss their various perspectives on regional politics on the Korean Peninsula.



Asan Experts at "Politics of the Korean Peninsula" Conference, Carnegie-Tsinghua Center for Global Policy





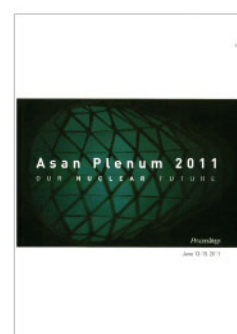
Publications

One of the primary goals of the Asan Institute is the production and publication of rigorous, timely, and policy-relevant research. The Asan Institute's publications are essential resources for government, academia, and the media. All publications produced by the Asan Institute can be downloaded in PDF format at www.asaninst.org/eng. Additionally, hard copies of all materials can be made available upon request. The following are some brief descriptions of the Asan Institute's major publications.

Issue Briefs are time-sensitive reports that provide overviews and rapid analysis of current events. Issue Briefs are written by both Asan's own experts as well as outside scholars. In 2011, the Asan Institute published seventeen Issue Briefs covering a wide range of international and domestic affairs. Topics included the January U.S.-China Summit, the uprisings of the "Arab Spring," the sinking of the *Cheonan*, the Fukushima nuclear disaster, the Korean Defense Reform 307 Plan, the Seoul mayoral by-election, and the Six-Party Talks.



Conference Proceedings consist of transcripts and summaries of the Asan Institute's various conferences, which provide useful records of discussions that can inform government officials, experts and the public. Conferences this year included the *2011 Asan China Conference*, *2011 Global Governance Conference*, *2011 Asan North Korea Conference*, *2011 Asan Japan Conference*, *2011 Asan Nuclear Conference*, *2011 Asan Middle East Conference* and the *2011 Asan Leadership Conference*.



The Asan Public Opinion Surveys are conducted by the Asan Institute and the polling company Research & Research. Starting in January 2011, the Institute developed one of the largest and most in-depth public opinion surveys in Korea and succeeded in publishing eight comprehensive public opinion surveys. The Institute subsequently launched a series of monthly surveys to gauge public opinion on a variety of political issues including the job approval ratings of the president, partisanship, political party support for the presidential election in 2012, and issue ownership by the political parties. Summary briefs examining the most salient national issues, such as public sentiment in the aftermath of Kim Jong-Il's death, are also published on a regular basis.

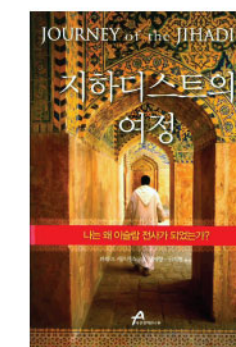


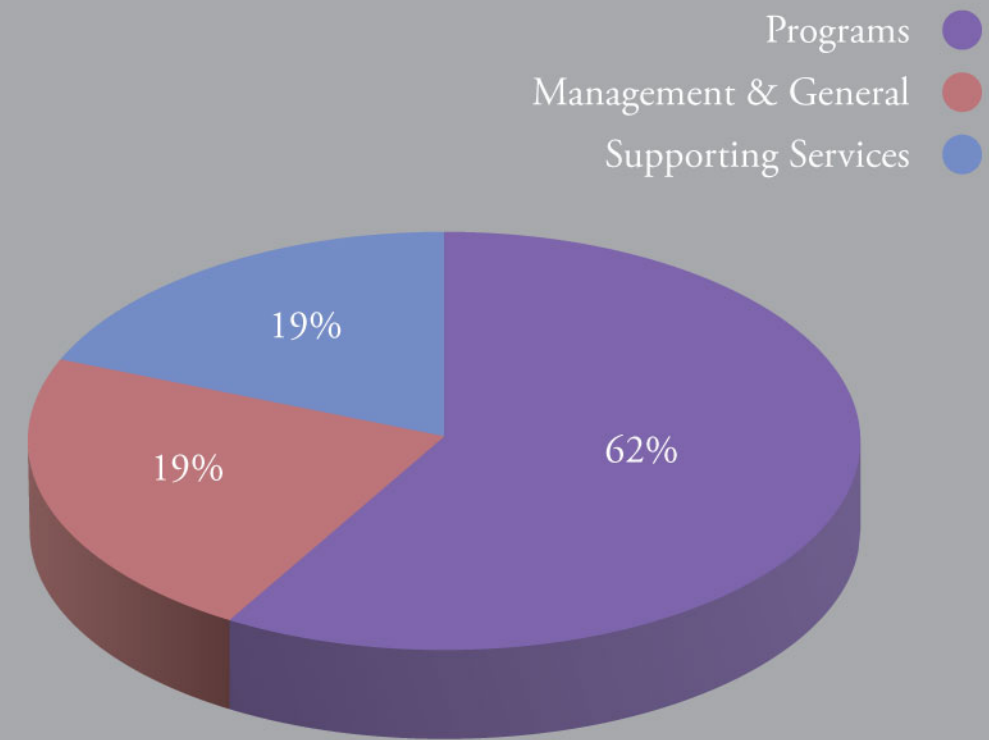
The Asan Newsletter is a summary of the Institute's major events and publications which is sent by e-mail at the beginning of each month to over 3,000 subscribers worldwide. The Institute launched the Asan Newsletter at the beginning of 2011 so as to better inform outside experts and the public of its activities. The newsletter series provides relevant links to the Institute's online resources including regular publications, conference photos and videos to allow website visitors to conveniently access this information.



Asan Reports are produced after the completion of a major research project or following the conclusion of an Asan annual conference. These reports contain a summary of major research findings, detailed analysis of key issues, and recommendations for current and future policy initiatives.

The Asan Book Series aims to translate some of the world's most engaging and important books on politics, economics and society into Korean and thus contribute to Korea's participation in the global marketplace of ideas. In 2011, the Asan Book Series was launched with the release of *Journey of the Jihadist: Inside Muslim Militancy*, a bestselling account of the development of radical militant Islam authored by Fawaz Gerges, a prominent scholar of Middle Eastern politics at the London School of Economics. The translation of *Journey of the Jihadist* was led by Dr. Jang Ji-Hyang, Director of the Asan Institute's Middle East and North Africa Studies Program. The Asan Institute is currently selecting other distinctive works for translation into Korean.





Expenditures: 7,580,000,000 KRW

Programs	4,699,000,000
Management & General	1,443,000,000
Supporting Services	1,438,000,000
Total	7,580,000,000



Looking ahead, the Asan Institute has plans to undertake policy research and expand its activities in the following areas:

National Security and Foreign Affairs

“Global Nuclear Security Governance” – The International Law and Conflict Resolution Program will embark on a new project to study the state of global nuclear security governance and the major obstacles that stand in the way of building an international nuclear security regime.

“ROK-U.S. Alliance” – The Asan Institute will conduct a project that seeks to assess the current state of the ROK-U.S. alliance and make recommendations for building a long-term strategy that is mutually beneficial to both countries.

“North Korean Contingencies” – A project that will examine the possibilities for extensive systematic change in North Korea and different contingency situations that might arise as a result. Led by researchers from the International Law and Conflict Resolution Program this study will analyze various factors that could lead to increasing instability or stability in the North Korean system.

“20th Anniversary of ROK-China Normalization” – A study that will assess ROK-China relations in light of the 20th anniversary of the normalization of diplomatic ties. Researchers from the Asan Institute and partner institutions will take a renewed look at bilateral relations and assess the best methods for reducing conflict and increasing cooperation.

“North Korea-China Relations” – A study of DPRK-China relations with an aim to publish the major findings and implications for regional security dynamics.

“Dealing with Nuclear Rogue States” – The MENA program and the International Law and Conflict Resolution program will undertake a study of nuclear rogue states, such as Iran, Syria, Libya, and North Korea.

“The Collapse of North Korea” – A project that will examine what the “Collapse of North Korea” means – whether it means the collapse of the Kim family regime, the military, the economy, or the State. The study will further assess what the implications will be for regional security dynamics.

Governance

“Social Risk” – The Governance Studies Program will undertake a project to examine innovative approaches to analyzing “social risk.”

“G20 and Future Prospects for Cooperation Among Middle Powers” – The Global Governance Program and Foreign Policy Studies Program will jointly undertake a project assessing the potential impact of “middle power diplomacy” and the role that middle powers like South Korea can play in the G20.

Philosophy and Public Policy

“Nation Building and History Education” – A major study of history textbook curriculum being taught in schools across the Northeast Asian region. The study will further examine the process by which textbook curriculum is written and approved by the government in each country as well as the political implications of continuing disputes over history textbook content in South Korea, Japan and China.

“Liberalism” – A project that will study the work and influence of classic liberal political theorists and philosophers such as Friedrich von Hayek, Isaiah Berlin, Raymond Aron, and Leo Strauss. The project will include the Korean translation of the biographies of these influential theorists.

Special Projects

“Asan Oral History Project” – In 2012, the Asan Institute will embark on a long-term project to build an archive containing historical records from some of the most important events in modern Korean history. The initial phases of the project will focus on collecting and cataloguing oral testimony taken from surviving witnesses of these historical events.

Publications

“Asan Translation Series” – The Asan book series will be expanded this year with the Korean translation of several new books including: *The Return of History* and *The World America Made* by Robert Kagan, *Strategic Vision* by Zbigniew Brzezinski, and *No Exit: North Korea, Nuclear Weapons, and International Security* by Jonathan D. Pollack.

“Asan Journal” – The Asan Institute has plans to establish a new semi-annual journal.



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