

# ASAN SYMPOSIUM

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## PROCEEDINGS

JUNE 3, 2022 | GRAND HYATT SEOUL

THE ASAN INSTITUTE for POLICY STUDIES

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SYMPOSIUM  
2022

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## GREETINGS FROM THE CHAIRMAN

Welcome to the *Asan Symposium 2022*.

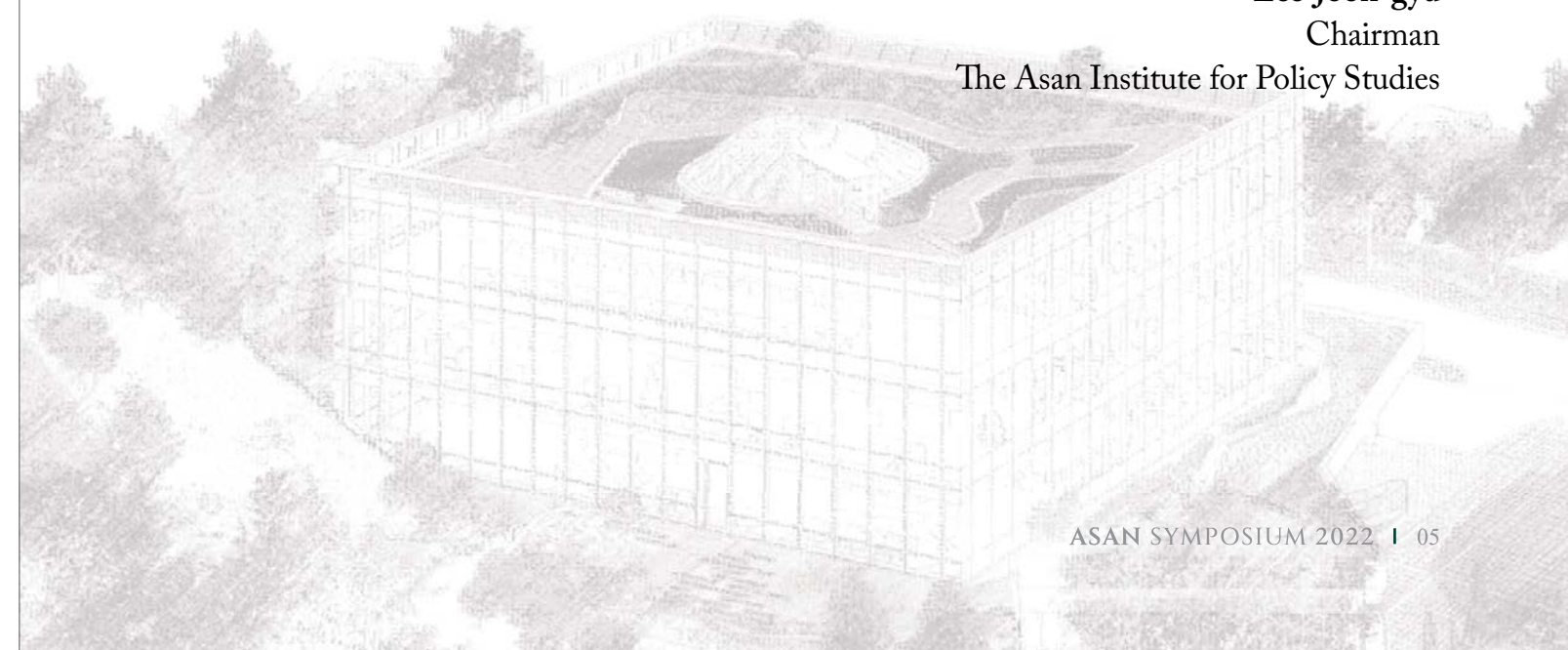
The Asan Institute for Policy Studies and the U.S. Embassy Seoul are co-sponsoring the *Asan Symposium 2022*, titled “Celebrating Korea-US Relations: 140 Years and Beyond.” From signing the Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce, and Navigation in 1882 to the Korean War and the signing of the Mutual Defense Treaty in 1953, South Korea and the United States stand together as allies and beacons of freedom and democracy for the world.

Together, these two countries serve as the linchpin for regional stability and global order. The two countries have an opportunity to forge a more comprehensive, future-oriented partnership and deepen their ties in areas such as global health, emerging technologies, and climate change. This meeting will explore what South Korea and the United States have accomplished in the last 140 years and what more we can accomplish as we look ahead.

Thank you for joining us.

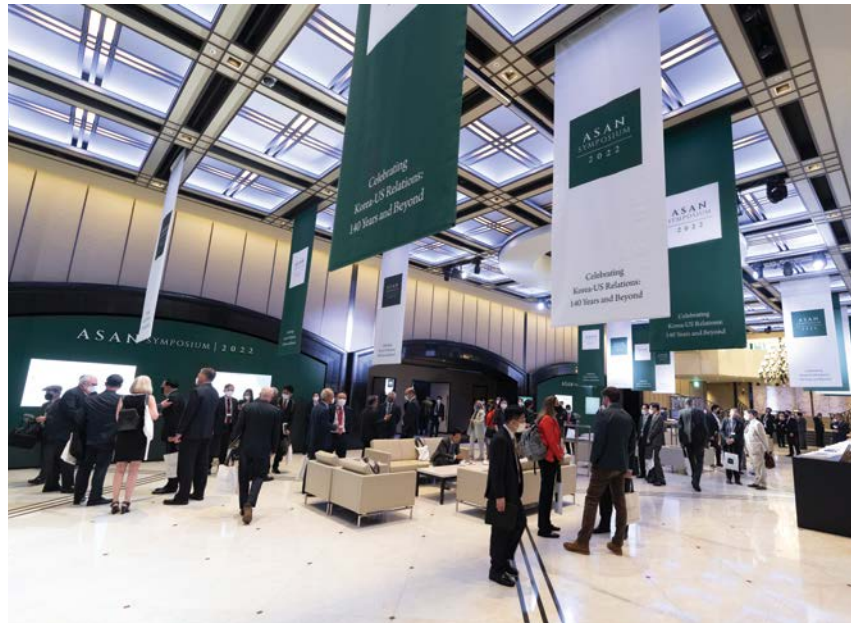
**Lee Joon-gyu**  
Chairman

The Asan Institute for Policy Studies





## ABOUT THE ASAN SYMPOSIUM



From signing the Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce and Navigation in 1882 to the Korean War and the signing of the Mutual Defense Treaty in 1953, South Korea and the United States have long stood together as allies and beacons of freedom and democracy for the world. Together, these two countries serve as the foundation for regional stability and global order. Looking ahead, the two countries have an opportunity to forge a more comprehensive, future-oriented partnership and deepen their ties in areas such as global health, emerging technologies, and climate change. This meeting will explore not only what South Korea and the United States have accomplished in the last 40 years but also what more we can accomplish as we look ahead. This meeting is designed to address these issues and more.





## ABOUT THE ASAN INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

As an independent, non-partisan think tank, the Asan Institute for Policy Studies is dedicated to undertaking policy-relevant research to foster domestic, regional, and international environments conducive to peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula.

The Asan Institute was established in commemoration of the late Founder and Honorary Chairman of Hyundai Group, Chung Ju-yung, who left an indelible mark on South Korea's modernization and inter-Korean exchanges towards peace.



Name after Chung Ju-yung's pen name, "Asan," Dr. Chung Mong Joon founded the Asan Institute on February 11, 2008, in an effort to build a world-class think tank that mirrors South Korea's place on the world stage.



# OPENING CEREMONY

Date | June 3, 2022  
Time | 09:00-10:00  
Place | Grand Ballroom I+II



## Welcoming Remarks

### Chung Mong Joon

Founder and Honorary  
Chairman  
The Asan Institute  
for Policy Studies



This year marks the 140th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Korea and the United States. One hundred and forty years ago, on May 22, 1882, the United States and Korea, which was then called the Kingdom of Joseon, signed the *Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce and Navigation* to mark the beginning of diplomatic relations.

It is meaningful that President Yoon Suk Yeol and President Biden held their first summit on May 21, one day before the anniversary. There is a Western proverb, “A man can be known by his friends.” As a country of liberal democracy, it is important for us to know who are the friends of Korea.

From a Korean perspective, the United States is a country located far away on the other side of the Pacific Ocean. But the United States is our close friend with whom we share the values of freedom, democracy, and market economy.

In the 20th century, Korea experienced two great tragedies: the Japanese occupation and the Korean War. It was the United States that ended Japan’s occupation of Korea and fought against the communist invasion during the Korean War. This is why our relationship with the United States is described as a blood-forged alliance.

We also want to become good friends of China and Japan, who are geographically very close and share the Confucian culture. But it remains to be seen whether our hope can be realized.

While Japan is a liberal democracy, we have an unfortunate history with them. Japan has given us two historic ordeals. Japanese ruler Toyotomi Hideyoshi invaded the Kingdom of Joseon twice in 1592 and 1597. During the war of seven years, 500,000 civilians were killed and another 400,000 civilians were abducted to Japan.

In the 20th century, Japan occupied Korea for 36 years. During the occupation, 2 million Koreans suffered as forced laborers, 200,000 men were conscripted to fight for Japan, and 200,000 women suffered as comfort women. The painful past has left deep scars in the minds of many Koreans.

China, with whom we established diplomatic relations thirty years ago, is geographically and culturally close to Korea. Buddhism, one of the major religions in South Korea, and Confucianism had come to Korea from China. China is our largest trading partner today. China is a military ally of North Korea, which is threatening us every day with nuclear weapons. Under this situation, we wonder whether China can be our reliable friend.

In 1945, World War II ended and Korea was liberated from the Japanese colonial rule. At that time, the political situation surrounding the Korean Peninsula was in flux. In 1948, the Republic of Korea was established, and the United Nations recognized the Republic of Korea as the sole lawful government on the Korean Peninsula. When Japan surrendered in August 1945, in China, Mao Zedong’s Communist Party and Chiang Kai-Shek’s Kuomintang started a civil war. China became a communist country in 1949.

Right after the establishment of a communist regime in China, in January 1950, the United States committed the blunder, announcing “the Acheson line,” which excluded South Korea from the US defense perimeter in the Far East. Six months after the announcement, North Korea started the Korean War on June 25th. Within three days of the war, North Korea took over Seoul and within a month most of South Korea, except for the southern port city of Busan, fell under the control of North Korea.

But, under the flag of the United Nations, 16 countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Turkey, Australia, France, New Zealand, and the Philippines dispatched 340,000 troops. This is a very important number. Six countries — Sweden, Norway, Denmark,



Germany, Italy, and India — provided medical units. The UN forces fought back and turned the tide of war. Thanks to General MacArthur's successful Incheon Landing, the UN could take back Seoul.

The South Korean and UN forces continued to advance north toward the Chinese border. In October 1950, China intervened with one million soldiers. The UN forces fought very hard to stop them at the current Military Demarcation Line. During the Korean War, 34,000 American soldiers and 140,000 South Korean soldiers died. South Korean civilian casualties numbered over a million.

I was born in the city of Busan in 1951 during the Korean War. Had it not been for the intervention of the United States, I would not be here today. I would like to take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to the United States and all countries who helped us a lot. Thank you.

This is a picture of my family taken during the war in Busan. Can you see the small baby in the middle of the picture? That is me, and all my family members taken during the Korean War in Busan. And the next picture, please. This is a picture taken at my father's home around 35 years ago. And you can see how many more people there are. You can tell the difference of atmosphere between the first one in Busan and the second one in Seoul. So, Korea developed a lot.

At the Korean War Veterans Memorial in Washington DC, the inscription says, "Our Nation honors sons and daughters who answered the call to defend a country they never knew and a people they never met." The United States and South Korea signed the Mutual Defense Treaty in 1953 after the war.

Religion and education have brought Korea and the United States closer. During the Enlightenment Period, as new culture was introduced, the Korean people opened their eyes to a new world and Christianity began to take root in Korea. The United States also introduced a modern education system by establishing so many institutes. For example, Pai Chai University, or Baejae Hakdang in Korean; Ewha Women's University, now the largest women's university in the world; Soongsil University; Baewha Women's University, Yonsei University; Keimyung University, and 11 seminary schools. The people who studied at these universities have contributed to Korea's development a lot.

The ROK-US alliance has served as the free world's bulwark against the wind of communism from the vast Eurasian continent. In 1951 during the Korean War, British newspaper *The Times* ran a condescending editorial saying that, "it would be more reasonable to expect to find roses growing on a garbage heap than a healthy democracy rising out of the ruins of Korea."

But this prediction of *The Times* was proven very wrong. Thirty-five years after the Korean War, South Korea hosted the Seoul Summer Olympic Games in 1988 and co-hosted the FIFA World Cup Football Tournament with Japan in 2002. In 1953, after the Korean War, the per capita GDP of South Korea was 67 dollars. Today, South Korea is a liberal democracy and the world's 10th largest economy with 35,000 dollars of per capita income.

Now, let me ask a simple question. How good is global politics today? I am afraid today's world is very similar to the world of 140 years ago. South Korea finds itself once again caught in the middle of big power competition between the United States and China.

Today, global concern is that Korea's two big neighbors, China and Russia, are moving toward the system of one-man rule by changing the Communist Party rule and the Russian constitution, respectively. In the process, Chinese and Russian systems seem to become more closed than ever. People are free to choose the political system they like. However, it is a matter of global concern whether their choices contribute to the peace and stability of the world or not. I sincerely hope that China and Russia can be friends of the international community.

While we are concerned about the future of China, my French friend, Guy Sorman, recently wrote an article, "China's Impossible Dream of Order." According to his observation, China is much behind the United States in both hard power and soft power. He claims that China has neither the intention nor the capacity to become the enemy or competitor of the United States. He wrote that "China only demands the place it deserves. This is of the order of negotiation, not of war." If he is correct, I hope the United States and China can work together to solve the global issue of the North Korean nuclear problem.

One hundred and forty years ago, our ancestors shunned themselves from the tide of history and suffered great ordeals. Today, amid the turbulent situation around the Korean Peninsula, we must think hard about who are our friends.

The South Korean government under President Yoon Suk Yeol will develop the ROK-US alliance into a comprehensive strategic alliance based on liberal democracy. Based on this, we will also try to improve our relations with China and Japan.

The German philosopher Nietzsche once said, “He who has a ‘why’ to live can bear any ‘how.’” If we know the why to live, we can overcome any kind of challenge.

Thank you very much, and please remember that we will meet again in 2032 to celebrate 150 years of Korea-US relations.

Thank you very much.

The US-Korean relationship dates back more than a century. But its contemporary strengths and shared vision were acquired through recent tragedies.

First, the peninsula, which had been a single unit for millennia, was split in half in the closing days of World War II. And then, North Korean soldiers, supported by China and the Soviet Union, sought unification by force, which entrenched the division.

Nearly five million died in that conflict. I witnessed Korea in 1951 just when the combat between Chinese and American forces was suspended for a ceasefire. Negotiations began and I had the opportunity to witness the courage and dedication of the Korean people with which they sustained their freedom. As a result, the Republic of Korea and the United States share the objective of preventing expansionism from above the 38th parallel.

South Korea has been determined to secure its sovereignty and independence. The United States has been determined to prevent the domination of East Asia by outside powers. As North Korea tied itself to the Communist world, the United States and South Korea institutionalized the 1953 alliance as part of a group of countries devoted to freedom and free market principles.

**Congratulatory Remarks**

**Henry A. Kissinger**  
Chairman  
Kissinger Associates, Inc.

**Park Jin**  
Foreign Minister  
Republic of Korea

**Christopher Del Corso**  
Chargé d’Affaires ad interim  
U.S. Embassy Seoul



*Congratulatory Remarks*  
Henry A. Kissinger



In the process, the military of South Korea became one of the strongest in the world and made a great contribution to preventing a repetition of the Korean War. And I remember also, with great appreciation, the participation of Korean forces in America's efforts in Vietnam.

Since then, the constructive capacity of North Korea's nuclear weapons was an important factor in the concerns of Asia and it has become and remains important for the United States to make clear its commitment to the freedom and prosperity of North Korea by its unambiguous dedication to the alliance of our two countries.

Since these wars and conflicts, South Korea has changed dramatically. In 1953, about the time I met it first, South Korea was one of the poorest countries in the world. Today it is the member of G20 with a per capita income surpassing much of Europe and also possessing a high technology sector. The partnership has been multi-dimensional as an edifice of economic, cultural, and political affinities personified in part by the Korean-American community which has flourished in our country.

This is especially true that in questions of high technology, the two countries can lend each other strong support which is reflected by the number of Korean students studying in the United States and by the Korean scientists that cooperate with Americans on research. Dialogue based on shared knowledge and shared values sets guidelines for managing the technology of the future, which will be unsurpassed in both promise and peril.

East Asia has undergone comparable changes over recent decades. China has become a great power. The Soviet Union collapsed and the so-called Asian Tigers produced great wealth. The Republic of Korea has endured throughout and progressed at an extraordinary rate, representing one of the major features among the world's most dynamic countries.

Figures such as my friend MJ Chung who has long been a thoughtful observer of international affairs as well as a successful businessman and public servant provide the opportunity for dynamic conceptual thinking. By founding the Asan Institute in memory of his father,

MJ Chung has evened the strategic partnership between Korea and America.

The connection is essential, for the problems facing South Korea and the United States are shared: climate change, pandemics, regional rivalries, the management of high technology, and artificial intelligence. With this in mind, the longtime slogan of the alliance, 'We go together' has rarely been more resonant.

It has therefore been an honor to speak at an event dedicated to this partnership between two major countries and it evokes sentimental recollections in me of the hospitality that I have been accorded on my visits to Korea and of the courage I have seen Korean leaders face their challenges over many decades.

I look forward to the evolution of this set of relationships and I want to thank you for inviting me and giving me an opportunity to express my feelings about the friendship and relationship between Korea and the United States.

Thank you very much.

Dr. Chung Mong Joon, Founder and Honorary Chairman of the Asan Institute for Policy Studies, who has made the Asan Institute as one of the prominent think tanks in East Asia.

Dr. Lee Hong Koo, Former Prime Minister of the Republic of Korea, who is a truly respected statesman in our society, Former Foreign Minister Han Seung-joo and Former Foreign Minister Yoon Young-kwan, and Honorable members of the Korean National Assembly Tae Yong Ho, and also Former member Kim Jong-hoon, and Acting US Ambassador Christopher Del Corso, who was jointly preparing and hosting this important seminar. Dr. Edwin J. Feulner, Founder and Former President of the Heritage Foundation and a great supporter of the ROK-US alliance. And also, Mr. Lee Joon-gyu, Chairman of the Asan Institute for Policy Studies and Former Ambassador to Japan and also to India.

Honorable Hwang Jin-ha, Former member of the Korean National Assembly, Chairman Choi Joong-kyung from Korea-America Association, James Kim, a good friend from

*Congratulatory Remarks*  
Park Jin



AMCHAM, Dr. John Linton, nice to see you again, and Dr. Wolfowitz. And also, Honorable Former member of the National Assembly, Floor Leader Na Kyung Won, who has recently been to the Davos Forum, and many other guests. Honorable Shim Yoon-joe, Dr. Lee Chung Min, Sue Mi Terry from Washington, and also Bruce Klingner, Scott Snyder, and also Karen House.

Distinguished guests and friends and fellow supporters of the ROK-US alliance, it is indeed a great pleasure to be here today in celebration of the Korea-US relations. I would like to extend my appreciation to the Asan Institute and the US Embassy in Seoul for inviting me to this meaningful occasion.

This year marks the 140th anniversary of Korea-US relations and the close ties between our two countries. Our two countries have spent almost half of this time as allies, as we are celebrating the 70th anniversary of the Korea-US alliance next year. An alliance that manages to last for more than half a century testifies to its effectiveness to adapt itself to the changes in the geopolitical environment and meet the demands of the times.

During the recent summit between President Yoon Suk Yeol and President Joe Biden, the relevance of our alliance for the 21st century was well-illustrated again.

This summit came just 11 days after President Yoon's inauguration, marking the earliest meeting in a Korean President's term in office with the President of the United States. Despite the limited time available for preparation, our leaders, once they met, were able to connect with each other and develop a personal chemistry very quickly.

During the three-day visit, the two leaders met every day and spent a total of almost seven hours together. What was more impressive than the amount of time spent together was the richness of discussions ranging from their national agenda and vision of the alliance to their pets and how they both married up.

As Foreign Minister, I had the privilege to accompany the two leaders closely, and one of the words that President Biden mentioned several times during his visit to the Samsung Electronics Pyeongtaek Campus, the largest single semiconductor manufacturing company in the world, and also the summit meeting was "unbelievable." And at the end of the three-day visit when the two leaders bid farewell, President Biden said to President Yoon, "I trust you."

So, the presidential visit started with 'unbelievable' and ended up with "I trust you." I think these two words best describe President Biden's visit to Korea as well as the current state of our bilateral alliance.

At the summit, the two leaders proclaimed their vision to expand our alliance into a global



comprehensive strategic partnership, which is global in scope, comprehensive in contents, and moves beyond traditional security to encompass economic security and technological cooperation.

Based on a common appreciation and belief in universal values such as freedom, democracy, rule of law, and human rights, on top of their mutual trust, our Leaders were able to see eye-to-eye in so many forums during the summit. In fact, the two leaders agreed that the coalition of like-minded democratic nations is important to protect and promote democratic values and norms in the world.

I think the summit was significant in three aspects. First, our two leaders reaffirmed their mutual commitment to the defense of the Republic of Korea in the face of the heightened nuclear and ballistic missiles threat posed by North Korea.

For the first time, the US affirmed at the highest level, its extended deterrence using the full range of US defense capabilities, including nuclear, conventional, and missile defense capabilities.

In addition, both Leaders reiterated our common goal of the complete denuclearization of North Korea and agreed to strengthen our airtight coordination to this end. Moreover, the two leaders also emphasized the importance of the ROK-US-Japan trilateral cooperation with regards to North Korea.

At the same time, they made it clear that the door remains open for a dialogue with North Korea and called on Pyongyang to return to negotiations. The result of the recent summit was well demonstrated in our immediate, determined, and coordinated response to North Korea's launch of three ballistic missiles, including an ICBM, on May 25.

In addition to the very close coordination among our relevant authorities, our two countries had a series of high-level communication in the first few hours of the launch, including my telephone conversation with Secretary of State Tony Blinken, and also with Japanese Foreign Minister Hayashi Yoshimasa.

Second, our two countries recognized the need to enhance policy communication and coordination on so-called economic security issues, including securing resilient supply chains and protecting critical technology. To this end, the two leaders agreed to launch an economic security dialogue between our National Security Councils and also agreed to further enhance cooperation in areas such as nuclear energy, aerospace, the cyber domain, biotechnology, and defense industry.

Third, this summit provided an opportunity to elevate the standing of our alliance to bolster

the regional and international order. President Yoon laid out Korea's goal to serve as a "global pivotal state," what we call GPS, with a focus on promoting freedom, peace, and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific region and beyond. And President Biden valued and welcomed this initiative that embraces greater regional and global responsibilities by the Republic of Korea.

Korea has also pledged to play an active role in establishing new norms in the region by joining the IPEF, Indo-Pacific Economic Framework, which just started, and promoting cooperation with the Quad, Quadrilateral Dialogue.

In addition, our two countries will continue to oppose all activities that undermine the rules-based international order, including Russia's unprovoked aggression against Ukraine.

Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen, Memorial Day was observed in the United States earlier this week, while we will be observing our own Memorial Day in Korea next Monday.

The ROK-US alliance was forged in blood on the battlefield, and after more than seven decades, the alliance is stronger than ever. We have truly nurtured a model alliance in history. Despite this remarkable achievement, there can be no pause in our efforts to ensure the alliance evolves further to meet the challenges of today and prepare ourselves for the perils of tomorrow.

I feel honored to serve as Foreign Minister of the Republic of Korea at this critical moment and in this transformative chapter in the history of our bilateral relationship. If I may apply what President Biden has said about the United States to our alliance, it is never a good bet to bet against the ROK-US alliance.

Friends and colleagues here today are key players in nurturing our alliance. My deep thanks go to each and every one of you.

The day after Memorial Day in Washington DC, President Biden met with the Korean supergroup BTS at the White House, as you all know. I heard that the White House press briefing room livestream that day attracted more than 310,000

viewers, which is several hundred times more than its average audience.

During the meeting with BTS, President Biden said to the boyband, “People care a lot about what you say. It’s not just your good talent. It’s the message that you’re communicating. It matters.”

This is a good example of how powerful cultural messages and people-to-people exchange can be in further strengthening ties between our two countries. I grew up with the music of the Beatles in the ’60s and ’70s, aspiring to their music and the message. Now, young people in the world grow up with BTS, which enjoys a global attraction with their music and the message for peace, love, freedom, and humanity. And I think the ROK-US alliance should contribute to these values.

I count on you all for your abiding interest in and support for the Korea-US alliance, the ties between our two countries, and the strong bond between our two peoples.

Thank you very much and congratulations once again.

That was a great speech by Park Jin. Thank you, Foreign Minister. Good morning and thank you all for attending the Asan Symposium to help celebrate the 140th anniversary of US diplomatic relations with Korea. As I mentioned, thank you to the foreign minister for his support of the conference and those great remarks that you just gave.

I also want to give a big thanks to my good friend Chairman Chung MongJoon and the entire Asan Institute staff for putting together this amazing event. So, thank you.

I also want to give my sincere appreciation to all the distinguished guests that traveled here today to mark this special occasion. Today we will use the 140th anniversary to reflect how far we have come and actually look forward and see where we can go together in the future.

As Chairman Chung noted, the foundation that we laid back on May 22nd of 1882 has grown into a military alliance that provided a strong and stable base for the Korean people to create a new life in the years following the Korean War. On that rock-solid foundation, we built an entire network of economic and social ties to make sure future generations of Koreans and Americans enjoy even better opportunities than we do.



*Congratulatory Remarks*  
Christopher Del Corso



For decades, we have crafted one of the most steadfast, resilient, and robust alliances in the world. And now what do we do with it? Well, the answer is we continue to expand it and adapt it to address new challenges, and while at the same time using it as a force of good across the globe to improve the lives of others. To share the very security, prosperity, and freedom that we enjoy. And that is what I am here to talk about today.

So where do we start? Fortunately, we already have. There are existing roadmaps to guide us. Like the May 21 Joint Statement from a couple of weeks ago. It includes security cooperation, maintaining vigilance and readiness to combat known threats while anticipating and preparing for those on the horizon. Economic cooperation, building diverse and resilient supply chains, as well as expanding manufacturing capabilities to meet critical needs and create new jobs.

And working together to promote human rights, democracy, good governance at home and abroad. So let me talk a little more about each of these. We often say America's commitment to Korea is ironclad, and our dedication to establishing sustainable, permanent peace on the Korean peninsula is unwavering. And that is because it is unwavering.

It has been that way for almost 70 years, since before most of us were born. And the United States' commitment to Korea will not change. Yet today we face unprecedented threats posed by authoritarian states like China, Russia, and North Korea.

We are redefining and reinforcing the future of our shared security with joint initiatives that are modern, forward-looking, and global. The bonds that we first forged during the Korean War will continue to make Koreans and Americans safer, incorporating every aspect of global security to include not only conventional defense but also economic security, cyber security, civil exploration and peaceful use of space, crisis management and emergency response, health security, climate change mitigation and much, much more.

Putting security first afforded the stability necessary for the

Republic of Korea to become one of the world's largest economies. We want the United States to remain Korea's partner of choice for increased trade, investment, and joint innovation to ensure continued economic security and prosperity for all of us. America is among Korea's largest trading partner and investment partner because leaders in business and industry see the mutual benefit of our bilateral economic cooperation for American and Korean people, but also for others around the globe. Why? Because it is rooted in our shared values and commitment to transparency, the rule of law, and market principles, and ensuring we respect intellectual property rights and human rights in everything that we do.

Just a couple of months ago, we celebrated the 10th anniversary of KORUS, the Korea-US Free Trade Agreement. Ten years of strengthening our investment ties and expanding our export markets. Our bilateral trade is up nearly 68 percent and the United States is now the number one destination for Korean firms' overseas investments.

But our work isn't done. During President Biden's visit to Korea, Samsung and Hyundai committed tens of billions of dollars to joint ventures and investments in critical areas like semiconductors, high-capacity batteries, and the broader supply chain of materials, parts, and equipment for other key products. There is no better example of what we can accomplish together than Korean firms producing vaccines and test kits developed in the United States to fight COVID.

Continuing to work together on scientific advances will ensure that we serve both the citizens of our countries and the global good. Like you, we are first focused on joint research and development initiatives tied to critical and emerging technologies because we know America and Korea have a proven history of innovation excellence.

The world needs us to work together to lead progress in such areas as the digital economy, biotechnology, and the responsible use of artificial intelligence. We are natural partners in areas our people care most about, like clean energy technology, higher education, and sustainable agriculture.

Both Koreans and Americans care deeply about the future of our planet and what climate change means for future generations. The United States is committed to leading and combating climate change as well as Korea by vowing to cut greenhouse gas emissions drastically by the end of the next decade. To meet such aggressive targets, we will need to work together with unprecedented determination and encourage others to do the same.

To ensure our security and to meet the shared goal economic goals I have outlined, we need to draw on the unique talents of people from every facet of our society. We can't leave anyone on the sidelines because of race, gender, national origin, disability status, or sexual orientation.

Both as historic allies and equal, like-minded partners, the Republic of Korea and the United

States are uniquely positioned to work together to promote democratic values in ways that undermine the influence of authoritarian regimes across the region and globally.

In America, we often say that democracy is a work in progress. But we must continue to strive hand-in-hand to be a credible voice for promoting human rights and fundamental change abroad by modeling diversity, equality, and tolerance at home.

As I said in the beginning of my remarks, that history calls us to use this mighty, multifaceted alliance that we have built as a force of good across the globe. And we will do this through bilateral partnerships and through expanded collaboration with allies and multilateral institutions. Korea's rapidly expanding political, economic, and cultural influence gives Koreans a say in what happens in this world. And I know Korea clearly takes that responsibility very seriously.

At the recent summit between our two presidents, President Biden and President Yoon affirmed the importance of maintaining a free and open Indo-Pacific and cooperating through the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework. President Yoon also laid out his vision for the Republic of Korea as a global pivotal state, a GPS, and his commitment to take a leadership role in a Summit for Democracy.

The Biden-Yoon summit reflected our shared commitment to democratic principles and defending an international order firmly grounded in the rule of law, a system of norms that has maintained peace and allowed us all to thrive. It is no surprise that we both want this for others in the region as well.

What I have laid out for you today is an ambitious agenda. But the good news is we do not have to do it ourselves. Because the thing about being friends for nearly a century and a half is our people have been building ties for all those years in business and industry, civil society between communities and between families.

Officials like me sometimes take the credit for those deep ties. But our respective governments are not at the heart of this relationship. The Korean and American people themselves are the central part of our ironclad, airtight alliance, and global partnership.

I leave you today with this thought, that all that our people have accomplished in the past 140 years, just imagine where we can be another 140 years as we continue to go further, faster, together.



## Keynote Address

**Wendy Sherman**

Deputy Secretary of State  
U.S. Department of State

Good morning. I want to begin by thanking the Asan Institute for working closely with the US Embassy in Seoul to organize a fantastic program today in honor of 140 years of diplomatic relations between Korea and the United States. I only wish I could be with you all in person.

For nearly seven decades, the alliance between the United States and the Republic of Korea has been the linchpin of peace, stability, and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific. Forged on the battlefield, our alliance has grown and flourished over the years into a fully-fledged partnership.

On just about every challenge we face, from combatting the climate crisis to building more secure supply chains to investing in advanced technologies, to leading the world in the fight against the COVID-19 pandemic, the United States and the Republic of Korea are working arm-in-arm to build a safer, more secure, and more equitable future for our two countries, for the Indo-Pacific, and indeed, for the entire world.

The strength of our alliance and of our friendship was on full display just two weeks ago when President Biden visited Seoul on his first trip to Asia since being sworn in last January. I want to take this opportunity to thank President Yoon, his administration, and the Korean people for your hospitality and the warm welcome you offered to President Biden and his delegation, just ten days after President Yoon was sworn in himself.



This visit was a testament to the deep friendship between our two nations. And that friendship was on display in a ‘dynamite’ way earlier this week as well when K-pop superstars BTS met with President Biden at the White House as part of Asian American, Native Hawaiian, and Pacific Islander (AANHPI) Heritage Month.

The relationship between the United States and the Republic of Korea is built on shared values, our commitment to democracy, transparency, and responsive governance, our belief in the importance of protecting human rights, our shared vision of maintaining a free and open Indo-Pacific region, strengthening and upholding the rules-based international order, and advancing peace and prosperity for our nations and for people everywhere.

Today, many of those values are being challenged by authoritarian leaders who seek to undermine and reshape the rules-based international order for their own purposes. That is why it is crucial that the United States, the Republic of Korea, and our allies and partners around the world stand together and work together not only to address the challenges we face but show how strong democracies like ours deliver for people.

We are doing just that as we work together to respond to Russian President Vladimir Putin’s premeditated, unprovoked, unjustified, and utterly horrific attack on Ukraine. Since Putin launched his war in February, the Republic of Korea has coordinated sanctions and export controls alongside the United States and our allies and partners and offered significant economic and humanitarian support for the government and the people of Ukraine.

And that’s the key because while Kyiv may be thousands of miles from Seoul, we know that a threat to the rules-based international order anywhere risks undermining it everywhere. No country has the right to dictate another country’s political choices or to choose another country’s alliances for them, and when autocrats like Putin believe that they can act with impunity and violate these rules and principles, that makes all of us less secure.

The United States and the Republic of Korea are also working

to align our respective approaches to promote our shared vision for the Indo-Pacific region. That includes basic principles like preventing barriers to lawful commerce and respecting international law governing the freedom of navigation and overflight, and it includes preserving peace and stability everywhere, including in the Taiwan Strait.

Finally, I want to say a few words about the DPRK. As you all know, the DPRK has significantly increased the pace and scale of its ballistic missile launches since last September. These provocative launches are violations of multiple UN Security Council Resolutions and of international law. And they threaten the peace and security of the Indo-Pacific region and of the entire international community. That is why Secretary Blinken, along with ROK Foreign Minister Park and the Japanese Foreign Minister Hayashi recently issued a joint statement condemning the DPRK’s recent ballistic missile launches and calling on the DPRK to abandon its weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles programs and engage in diplomacy.

Make no mistake. Our commitment to upholding our security commitments remains ironclad. We remain absolutely focused on defending the United States, the Republic of Korea, Japan, and other allies and partners in the region from security threats.

The United States and the Republic of Korea remain in full alignment on our approach to the DPRK. Our goal remains the complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. We continue to believe we can find a peaceful and diplomatic resolution with the DPRK. The United States harbors no hostile intent toward the DPRK and the path to dialogue remains open. We urge the DPRK to take that path to commit to serious and sustained diplomacy and to refrain from further destabilizing activities.

We are also gravely concerned by the serious outbreak of COVID-19 in the DPRK and how it may affect the health and well-being of the North Korean people. We continue to support humanitarian assistance and the provision of COVID-19 vaccines to the DPRK. We see this humanitarian crisis as separate from making progress on the complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and we do not and will not link the two.

I look forward to returning to Seoul soon to build on the important discussions President Biden had on his recent trip and to continue deepening the alliance, partnership, and friendship between the United States and the Republic of Korea.

Thank you again for having me. I look forward to hearing from colleagues about the outcomes of today’s sessions. Thank you.

## SESSION 1

Date | June 3, 2022  
Time | 10:10-11:40

### Highlights from 140 Years of Bilateral Relations between Korea and the US

#### Moderator

**James Kim**  
AMCHAM Korea

#### Speakers

**Ahn Ho-Young**  
University of North Korean Studies

**Lee Hong Koo**  
Seoul Forum for International Affairs

**Lee Joon-gyu**  
The Asan Institute for Policy Studies

**Na Kyung Won**  
Presidential Special Envoy to the Davos Forum

**John Linton**  
Yonsei University Health System

**Scott Snyder**  
Council on Foreign Relations

**Joseph Yun**  
U.S. Institute of Peace

#### Rapporteur

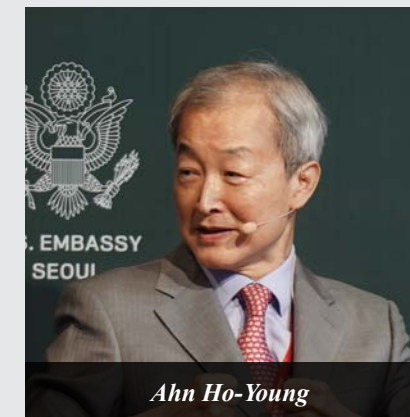
**Peter Lee**  
University of Sydney

Session 1 of the *Asan Symposium 2022*, titled “Highlights from 140 Years of Bilateral Relations between Korea and the US,” reflected on how the bilateral relationship has evolved since its origins with the 1882 Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce, and Navigation. Mr. James Kim, Chairman and CEO of the American Chamber of Commerce (AMCHAM) in Korea, moderated the session with influential figures from across the bilateral relationship’s political, security, economic, and health fields. He opened the discussion by noting that the relationship was off to “an amazing start,” with the high-profile leaders’ summit between US President Joe Biden and newly inaugurated South Korean President Yoon Suk-yeol in May 2022. Mr. Kim invited the session’s seven distinguished speakers to reflect on what they thought were the most memorable moments from the relationship, how the relationship has survived over the years, and what makes it special on the international stage.

Ambassador Ahn Ho-Young, President of the University of North Korean Studies and former Korean Ambassador to the United States, noted that the 140 years of bilateral relations could best be understood as comprising two distinct periods: the first 70 years of “remote encounter” followed by the second 70 years of “close encounter.” In this second half, Ambassador Ahn cited three “memorable junctures.” First, the Korean War was a moment when South Korea made a clear choice for democracy, free market economy, and the rule of law that has guided its development. Second, the change to the rules-based international order in 1990 with the end of the Cold War was an opportunity to take advantage of new political, economic, and



James Kim



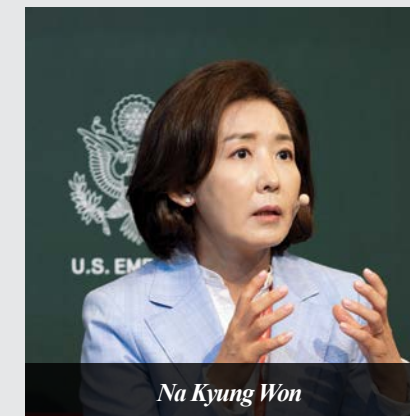
Ahn Ho-Young



Lee Hong Koo



Lee Joon-gyu



Na Kyung Won



John Linton



Scott Snyder



Joseph Yun



*Session 1*Highlights from 140 Years of  
Bilateral Relations between  
Korea and the US

diplomatic opportunities. Third, he noted that we are currently in the midst of a third juncture where Korea's past choices and the alliance with the US will be of utmost importance.

Dr. Lee Hong Koo, Chairman of the Seoul Forum for International Affairs and former Prime Minister of the Republic of Korea and Ambassador to the United States, offered a personal reflection on two basic factors that made the bilateral relationship so successful. First, the "tremendous influence of the Founding Fathers" in the United States guided a different approach to diplomacy that shunned imperial conquest and colonialization compared to the European powers and Imperial Japan in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Second, he emphasized the importance of religion

and the remarkable success of Christianity in Korea. Dr. Lee noted that "religion furnished a basis for Korea-US relations that can be expanded in many different ways" by guaranteeing mutual understanding and public sentiment.

Ambassador Lee Joon-gyu, Chairman of the Asan Institute for Policy Studies, next turned to the value of the United States in managing Korea's often troubled relations with Japan. After a decade of stalled negotiations between Korea and Japan on diplomatic normalization in the 1950s, it was only with the decisive involvement of the Kennedy administration in the United States that a treaty was signed. With Korea-Japan relations having fallen to their lowest point in the last few years, Ambassador





Lee expressed hope that more active US involvement would be forthcoming under the Biden administration in pushing for closer trilateral cooperation.

Dr. John Linton, Director of the International Health Care Center at the Yonsei University Severance Hospital, shared three stories of partnership from the sweeping history of Korea-US relations. First, he discussed how at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Horace Allen, one of the earliest American missionaries in Korea at the time, provided critical medical treatment to King Gojong's ill family after a failed assassination attempt. Second, Dr. Linton recalled how his family members had served in various roles during the Korean War. Finally, he told of how support from the US Eighth Army, together with Korean doctors and professors, was instrumental in combining a missionary college and a local hospital to form what would become Yonsei University.

Honorable Na Kyung Won, Presidential Special Envoy to the Davos Forum and former four-term National Assemblywoman of Korea, reflected on how the 1953 Korea-US Mutual Defense Treaty was a "pivotal turning point" that owed much to the efforts of President Syngman Rhee. The legacy of the alliance and its transformation was evident in the recent Yoon-Biden summit joint statement. Noting that joint statements used to be

brief notes, she pointed out that the length shows how the alliance is "evolving beyond security to encompass economic issues." Similarly, the different applications of "freedom" and "global" as key words for the Yoon administration were values that would ensure the alliance would have a closer outlook going forward.

Mr. Scott Snyder, Senior Fellow for Korea Studies and Director of the Program on US-Korea Policy at the Council on Foreign Relations, noted that despite the many changes to the bilateral relationship over the decades, there were two consistent factors. First, Korea's geography has not changed, and its challenge of being surrounded by powerful neighbors endures. Second, the strategic logic of King Gojong's strategy for opening up is also relevant, with the axiom to "stay close to China, associate with Japan, ally with America" still a topic of discussion.

Finally, Ambassador Joseph Yun, Senior Advisor with the U.S. Institute of Peace and U.S. Special Presidential Envoy for Compact Negotiations, as well as former U.S. Special Representative for North Korea Policy, listed three key events that significantly shaped the bilateral relationship. First, the 1997 election of Kim Dae-jung as Korea's president was a turning point in closer leadership rapport with US President Bill Clinton as the two leaders worked closely to overcome the Asian financial crisis in the late 1990s. Second, the miscommunication between the United States and Korea in the late 2000s over the beef imports during their free trade negotiations was a reminder that there remain fundamental gaps in understanding. Finally, he observed that while most US presidents tended to make their first stop to Korea a visit to the inter-Korean border and the Demilitarized Zone, President Biden's decision to visit a Samsung factory shows the transformations that are happening in the nature of the relationship. Ambassador Yun suggested that these changes show how the "alliance is very much a living thing."





## SESSION 2

Date | June 3, 2022  
Time | 13:20-14:35

### Vision and Challenges of the ROK-US Alliance

#### Moderator

**Paula Hancocks**  
CNN

#### Speakers

**Jung Seung Jo**  
Korea-US Alliance Foundation

**Kim Byung Joo**  
The National Assembly of the Republic of Korea

**Shim Yoon-joe**  
Kookmin University

**Bruce W. Bennett**  
RAND Corporation

**Edwin J. Feulner**  
The Heritage Foundation

**John Hamre**  
Center for Strategic and International Studies

**Karen House**  
Harvard Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs

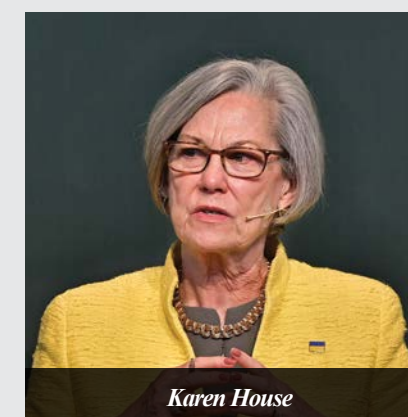
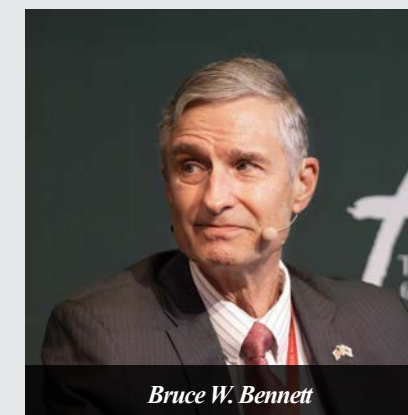
#### Rapporteur

**Caroline Kearney**  
Yonsei University

Session 2, titled “Vision and Challenges of the ROK-US Alliance,” explored the challenges the alliance faces and proposals to strengthen relations going forward. The moderator, Paula Hancocks, noted the timeliness of the discussion, as US President Joe Biden and ROK President Yoon Suk-yeol held their first summit two weeks prior.

Dr. Bruce W. Bennett from the RAND Corporation praised the Biden-Yoon summit’s declaration that solid deterrence against North Korea is the most important issue in the alliance. He stated that US-ROK deterrence primarily worked in the past, but in 2022 alone, North Korea has already launched missiles on 17 days of the year. Dr. Bennett argued that is unacceptable and needs to be deterred. He recommended Kim Dae-jung’s balanced approach: to not accept DPRK provocations, make clear that the South will not absorb the North, and do what is possible to help North Koreans. He proposed injecting K-pop, K-dramas, and other information into North Korea in response to ICBM tests. For deterrence to work, he argued, we must give a warning and deliver a specific response.

Dr. Edwin J. Feulner from The Heritage Foundation reiterated Dr. Chung Mong Joon’s calls to officially renounce the non-nuclear status of the Korean peninsula. Dr. Feulner said that the ROK may wish to reinstall or borrow nuclear deterrence from the US and that Japan may also go nuclear. He raised the question of how China would feel with a nuclear northeast Asia. Dr. Feulner credited the Biden administration for creating AUKUS and for signing agreements with President Yoon to expand cooperation



on nuclear power — a concrete, positive, and non-military bilateral activity. Finally, he reminded his Korean friends that Seoul, Washington, and Tokyo must work closely together despite their challenging histories.

Dr. John Hamre, President and CEO of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, joined virtually. Dr. Hamre said the ROK should start thinking of itself as a larger, more successful, and more powerful country. Korea is now strong enough to play an expanded role in the international system. Meanwhile, the greatest challenge is to restore the US pledge for extended deterrence, which has become questionable in recent years. Dr. Hamre argued that the war in Ukraine is undermining the image of US credibility, as the US has only provided weapons, but no substantial military support.

Ms. Karen House from the Harvard Belfer Center said the US and South Korea must demonstrate their credibility through a concrete response to North Korea’s refusal to denuclearize. Responses could include sending South Korean popular culture to the North or returning US tactical nuclear



weapons to Korea. Ms. House had hoped for a tougher stance from the Biden-Yoon summit and imagines Pyongyang is also waiting to see what will change beyond the rhetoric. Ms. House was pleased to see the polls in the recent ASAN publication that showed 83% of Koreans favor a strong ROK-US-Japan alliance, and 70% support the development of indigenous nuclear weapons. Ms. House said the US and ROK must have a detailed understanding and credible way to non-militarily confront the DPRK’s nuclear tests. Even though North Korea and China are trying to create a new normal through regular missile tests and overflights of Taiwan, the ROK-US alliance must act more cohesively to prevent tests from becoming attacks.

General Jung Seung Jo discussed four important points: denuclearization of North Korea, deterrence, management of pending issues, and alliance maintenance. Firstly, intolerable sanctions are important to denuclearize the North, but achieving results is difficult, as the DPRK is accustomed to living under sanctions and China and Russia are uncooperative at enforcing them. Secondly, extended deterrence should be increased to the operational level through military exercises and Asian iterations of the nuclear planning group and nuclear sharing. He argued that South Korea also needs stronger conventional and advanced nuclear-related capabilities. Regarding pending issues, General Jung argued that the wartime OPCON transition should be settled in consideration of the current situation. The civilian, non-government evaluation team should conduct a more objective evaluation; the ROK-US alliance should combine and increase



the scale of exercises; the ROK should resume training with Japanese self-defense forces. Finally, both governments should ensure civilians understand the importance of the alliance through increased engagement.

Honorable Kim Byung Joo from the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea was pleased that President Yoon and Biden are expanding ROK-US cooperation on multiple fronts, including vaccine security, and he encouraged additional exchanges. He



suggested responses to four key challenges. First, President Yoon and Biden should reengage the DPRK through cooperation on COVID-19 vaccines and humanitarian aid. Secondly, extended deterrence must shift into concrete and operational military plans, including South Korean nuclear submarine development. In addition to national security, the alliance in the Northeast Asia region should focus on economy, culture, science, and technology exchanges. Finally, Honorable Kim argued that South Korea must also export weapons to the US, not solely import them from the US.

Professor Shim Yoon-joe from Kookmin University said China and South Korea have adopted strategic ambiguity. The US is

worried that South Korea will cling to China and has come to see South Korea as a weak link. He argued that Seoul must pursue principled and consistent diplomacy based on freedom, democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. This may lead to conflict in the short run, but it is an important strategy in the long-term. Professor Shim stated that the ROK-US joint statement reinforced the commitment that the US would use nuclear weapons in response to a North Korean attack. He argued that ROK-US consultations must also be held on South Korea's right to uranium enrichment and related issues. He emphasized that re-establishing close relations with Japan is very important, as is continuing to build on the existing trust between the US and South Korea.

### Session 2

#### Vision and Challenges of the ROK-US Alliance



## SESSION 3

Date | June 3, 2022  
Time | 14:45-16:00

### Economic Security and the Role of the Private Sector

#### *Moderator*

**Rexon Ryu**  
The Asia Group

#### *Speakers*

**Chung Chul**  
Korea Institute for International  
Economic Policy

**Kim Jong-hoon**  
Former Trade Minister

**Noh Jongwon**  
SK hynix

**Wendy Cutler**  
Asia Society Policy Institute

**Anthony Kim**  
The Heritage Foundation

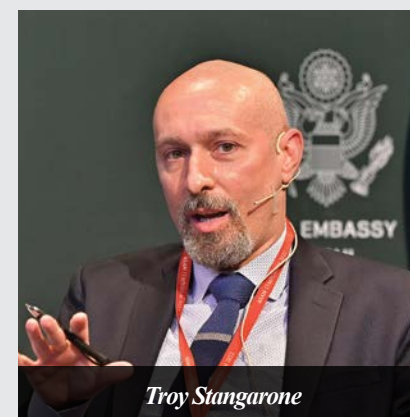
**Troy Stangarone**  
Korea Economic Institute of  
America

#### *Rapporteur*

**Ben Forney**  
Seoul National University

Session 3, titled “Economic Security and the Role of the Private Sector” looked at the past, present, and future of ROK-US economic relations and identified the opportunities and challenges that both countries will face in the coming years. The panel opened with remarks by former South Korean Trade Minister Kim Jong-hoon. Mr. Kim gave a broad overview of ROK-US economic relations, beginning with the first encounters in 1882 and the “gunboat diplomacy” that was used to open Korea to the outside world. He stressed the differences between the treaties signed between Korea-Japan and Korea-US at the time, insofar as the former was predicated upon unilateral encroachment, while the latter was based on reciprocity. As Korea’s opening ultimately led to a loss of sovereignty under Japanese colonial rule, Mr. Kim argued that this led to a fear of international competition that was only fully overcome with the KORUS FTA. He stated that Korea’s industrialization brought with it not only material gains, but that it enabled the Korean people to realize the value of a market economy and liberal democracy.

Ms. Wendy Cutler of the Asia Society Policy Institute opened her remarks by arguing that the KORUS FTA was a turning point in ROK-US relations. Whereas before the agreement, the economic ties between the two countries were full of friction, they realized it was in their mutual interest to pursue an FTA, and both sides have reaped benefits from the agreement. She added that ROK-US relations have now reached another turning point, in which their interests go beyond their bilateral relationship to encompass shared regional and global concerns. She spoke at length about the Biden administration’s Indo-





Pacific Economic Framework (IPEF), addressing various concerns and doubts about the agreement. Ms. Cutler stated that South Korea will be a pivotal partner in the implementation of the IPEF and can aid America's efforts in four ways. First, South Korea can help establish the content and details of the IPEF as an integral economic player in the region. Second, South Korea can help IPEF achieve early results and outcomes regarding issues like supply chain security. Third, Seoul can help convince other countries in the region to join the IPEF. Finally, South Korea can help with capacity building and technical assistance to countries around the Indo-Pacific, as the US once helped South Korea on their path to development.



Dr. Chung Chul of the Korea Institute for International Economic Policy also discussed the importance of the KORUS FTA and stressed that the trade and economic landscape is different than when the FTA was launched ten years ago. He spoke about the importance of regenerating the industrial commons, created around the clustering of universities, companies, and research institutes, as a means to enhance economic security in areas like semiconductors. Dr. Chung argued that innovative capabilities are critical to maintaining economic capabilities and emphasized that innovation is driven by companies. He explained that through IPEF, the regional actors can rebuild their industrial commons to maintain competitiveness in cutting-edge tech fields.

Mr. Anthony Kim of The Heritage Foundation presented three significant factors on ROK-US economic relations and the role of the private sector. First, economic security and national security are dependent on each other, and without one, you can't have the other. He emphasized that there is a tectonic shift in the geopolitical setting surrounding economic security and that China and Russia have been weaponizing issues like energy security. Second, the ecosystem of trade and investment has changed. Countries like South Korea and the US can't go back to the old system of globalization. To act against various crises facing the global economic system, Mr. Kim argued that we need to build up ideas, individuals, and institutions. Third, in reference to



IPEF, Mr. Kim noted that an Indo-Pacific framing is beneficial as shows how to enhance economic and national security together, but there is a need to go beyond the Indo-Pacific and help other regions in light of the Russian invasion of Ukraine.

Mr. Noh Jongwon of SK hynix spoke about the semiconductor industry's outsized impact on the global economy, explaining that the ubiquity of semiconductors in modern goods, as well as the complicated and expensive production ecosystem they require, make them a critical component of economic security. He argued that Korea plays an important role in this ecosystem and that the future of the industry will be determined by large tech consortiums as opposed to single companies. Responding to a question about China's semiconductor capabilities, Mr. Noh said that it is natural for technology to spread to new countries,

and in the long-term, China will catch up to South Korea and the US' ability to make semiconductor chips. But he stressed that individual Chinese companies cannot survive alone, so private corporations need to collaborate to realize mutual benefits.

Mr. Troy Stangarone of the Korea Economic Institute of America discussed a variety of emerging technologies' impacts on economic security, including the metaverse, biotechnologies, and electric vehicles, while emphasizing how issues like demographics and resource acquisition will also play an important role. Economic security issues facing the ROK and US cannot just be solved bilaterally but require multilateral cooperation, specifically on issues like hydrogen energy and high capacity batteries, Mr. Stangarone argued. Given the necessity to source many of the critical components of these high-tech fields in countries around the world, securing a supply chain that is sustainable and global is essential. Mr. Stangarone also stressed the importance of private sector collaboration to maintain competitiveness and guarantee economic security. To this end, governments should encourage companies' research and development initiatives, including those of startups and joint ventures.

### Session 3

#### Economic Security and the Role of the Private Sector





## SESSION 4

Date | June 3, 2022  
Time | 16:10-17:25

### The Korean Peninsula and North Korea

#### Moderator

##### Lee Chung Min

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; KAIST

#### Speakers

##### Tae Yong Ho

The National Assembly of the Republic of Korea

##### Yoon Young-kwan

Seoul National University

##### Youn Kun Young

The National Assembly of the Republic of Korea

##### Sung Kim

U.S. Department of State

##### Bruce Klingner

The Heritage Foundation

##### Sue Mi Terry

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

##### Paul Wolfowitz

American Enterprise Institute; Former Deputy Secretary of Defense

#### Rapporteur

##### Kim Dokyung

Seoul National University

Session 4, titled “The Korean Peninsula and North Korea,” examined how the ROK and US can coordinate efforts to address the challenges of continuing nuclear development and ICBM testing from North Korea to ultimately consolidate global stability and peace.

Ambassador Sung Kim from the U.S. Department of State shared concerns over whether the leader of North Korea, Kim Jong Un, will come back to the negotiating table regarding the DPRK’s nuclear weapons program. Ambassador Kim claimed the inherent difficulties in predicting such a possibility, yet he stressed that the US and ROK must always stay prepared. When questioned about the overall confidence levels and prospects for diplomacy, the speaker responded that although the US and ROK remain committed to the complete denuclearization on the Korean peninsula, DPRK has shown no interest. Notwithstanding the current situation, Ambassador Kim expressed that the ROK and its allies continue to closely coordinate within the UN context, along with pursuing other deterrent capabilities in the hope that the DPRK will return to the negotiating table. He was firm on his position that the only viable path forward is through peaceful diplomatic means.

When asked about the perceived importance of North Korea in the Washington community, Dr. Sue Mi Terry from the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars responded that people no longer respond in the same manner, due to fatigue over North Korea’s nuclear issue. Currently, the level of attention given to the recent ballistic missile tests conducted by North



Lee Chung Min



Tae Yong Ho



Yoon Young-kwan



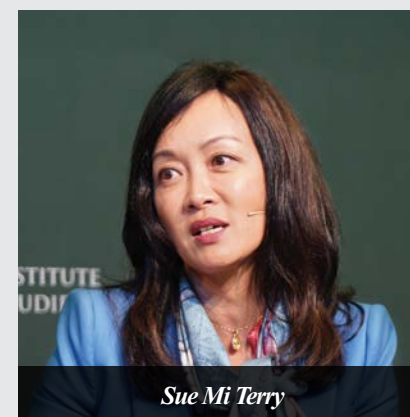
Youn Kun Young



Sung Kim



Bruce Klingner



Sue Mi Terry



Paul Wolfowitz

Korea is lower than in previous instances, as policymakers are preoccupied with a host of other imminent global issues, such as the COVID-19 pandemic and the war in Ukraine. Dr. Terry claimed that a wide array of policy options has been pursued and that there are limited options left, beyond working closely with South Korea's allies. So far, various sanctions imposed on North Korea for their continued ICBM testing have achieved limited results, and the only long-term solution is to instigate change from the ground level up in North Korea by bringing outside information into the country. Similarly, Mr. Bruce Klingner from The Heritage Foundation claimed that although the US and others may not seem to attach the same level of response to North Korea's ongoing missile tests, should North Korea decide to come back to the negotiating table, it would quickly rise to the top of the US policy agenda.



Professor Yoon Young-kwan of Seoul National University elaborated on the main reason behind the divisiveness of opinions in the ROK regarding North Korea's nuclear weapons development, pointing to the political culture in Korea. In particular, the winner-take-all political system is accountable for the inherent division in Korean society. The speaker suggested that in the absence of political and structural reform in South Korea, there will be minimal prospects for consolidating long-term peace on the Korean peninsula. Accordingly, the speaker advised the incumbent government to pursue comprehensive



political, constitutional, and legal reforms in the coming years to establish a firm foundation to negotiate with North Korea.

When asked about the prospect of denuclearization, honorable Tae Yong Ho from the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea pointed to the fact that all options have been exhausted, and there currently seems to be no realistic way to completely halt the nuclear weapons program in North Korea. He suggested that the pursuit of a nuclear weapons program in North Korea serves a political function, as possessing an asymmetric military capability relative to South Korea can justify all the domestic misfortunes and legitimize the hereditary system of leadership in North Korea. In short, the nuclear development program serves to unite the North Koreans towards a common goal and guarantees the continuance of the Kim regime.

Ambassador Paul Wolfowitz of the American Enterprise Institute and former Deputy Secretary of Defense stated that there is a moral obligation to prevent a war. Nonetheless, the speaker suggested that it is somewhat delusory to believe that adamantly continuing current methods will eventually solve the problem. After three to four decades of experience in dealing



with North Korea's nuclear development, there at least seem to be some identifiable trends in its behavior. Based on this accumulated knowledge, it is now possible to make better estimates of North Korea's nuclear warheads and capabilities, more accurately assess Kim's objectives and intentions, and ultimately give more accurate advice to policymakers.

In devising a solution to deal with North Korea's continuing nuclear weapons program, Mr. Youn Kun Young from the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea stressed the need for a novel

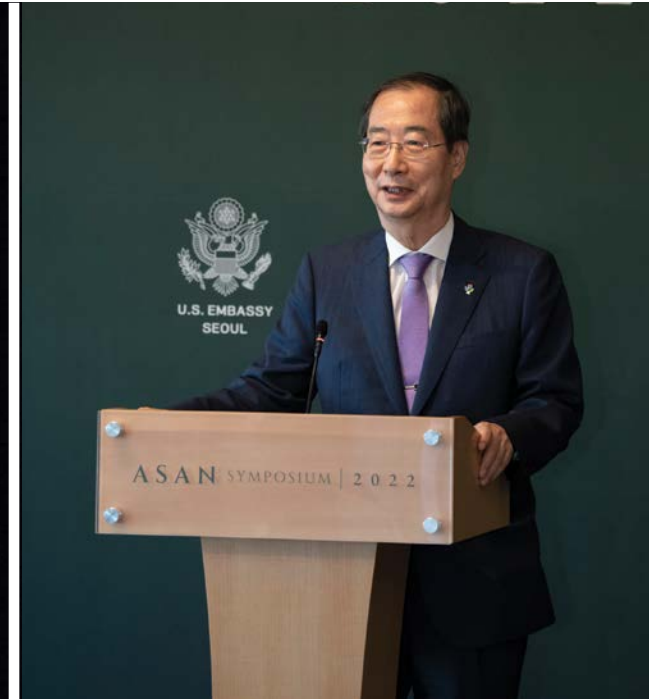
approach. The conventional policies from the 1990s may not be applicable today, as the international situation has radically changed, and the nature of North Korea's political system and political economy has become more horizontal due to deepening marketization processes and the opening of its economy. In essence, the North Korean economy has become more diverse and contractual rather than hierarchical. Accordingly, the speaker suggested that new approaches to dealing with North Korea need to take the country's changing politico-economic situation into consideration.

#### Session 4

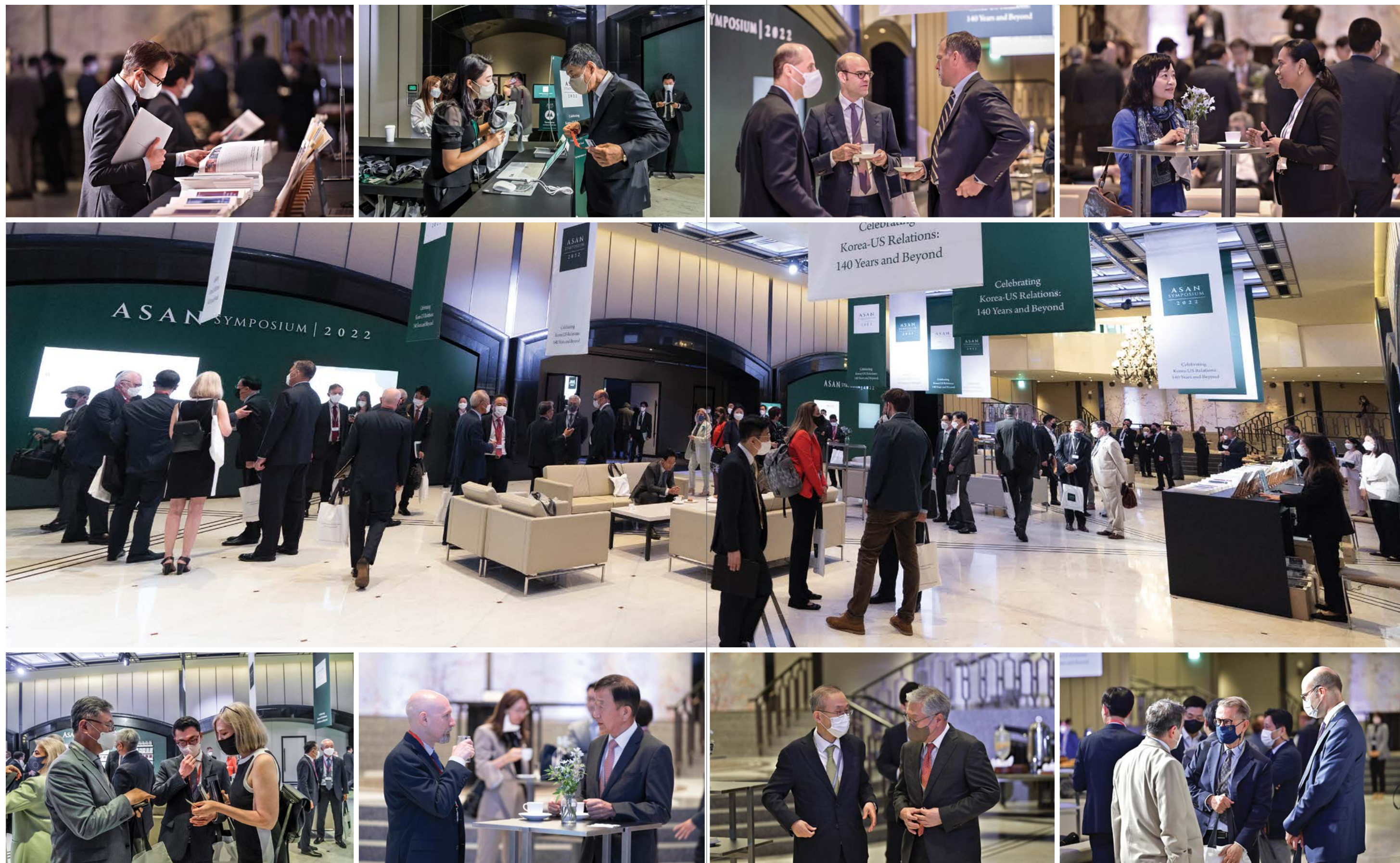
The Korean Peninsula and North Korea



PHOTOS























## PARTICIPANTS

**Ahn Ho-Young**

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**Chung Mong Joon**

Founder and Honorary Chairman, The Asan Institute for  
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**Wendy Cutler**

Vice President, Asia Society Policy Institute

**Christopher Del Corso**

Chargé d’Affaires ad interim, U.S. Embassy Seoul

**Edwin J. Feulner**

Chung Ju-Yung Fellow, The Heritage Foundation

**John Hamre**

President and CEO, Center for Strategic and International  
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**Paula Hancocks**

International Correspondent, CNN

**Karen House**

Senior Fellow, Harvard Belfer Center for Science and  
International Affairs

**Jung Seung Jo**

President, Korea-US Alliance Foundation

**Anthony Kim**

Research Fellow, The Heritage Foundation

**Kim Byung Joo**

Member of the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea

**James Kim**

Chairman and CEO, AMCHAM Korea

**Kim Jong-hoon**

Former Trade Minister

**Sung Kim**

Special Representative for DPRK; U.S. Ambassador to the  
Republic of Indonesia, U.S. Department of State

**Henry A. Kissinger**

Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.

**Bruce Klingner**

Senior Research Fellow, The Heritage Foundation



**Lee Chung Min**

Senior Fellow, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace;  
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**Lee Hong Koo**

Chairman, Seoul Forum for International Affairs

**Lee Joon-gyu**

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**Tae Yong Ho**

Member of the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea

**Sue Mi Terry**

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**Paul Wolfowitz**

Former Deputy Secretary of Defense, U.S. Department of  
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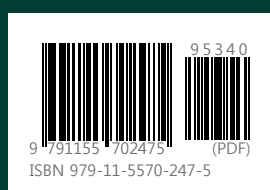
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