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Asia Society
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Ambassador Interview Series

Interview with H.E. Sripriya Ranganathan Ambassador of India to the Republic of Korea



H.E. Sripriya Ranganathan, Ambassador of India to the Republic of Korea

January 24, 2022 — As the [Ambassador Series](#) continues into the new year, Asia Society Korea Center invites H.E. Sripriya Ranganathan, Ambassador of India to the Republic of Korea, to discuss present and future relations between India and the ROK. With a long history of bilateral relations between the two countries, Executive Director Yvonne Kim interviewed the ambassador to discuss the importance of the India-Korea relationship, especially in start-up investment. Ambassador Ranganathan emphasizes the natural complementary partnership between India and the Republic of Korea as well as the desire on both sides for more comprehensive and adaptive policies. Be sure to watch the fascinating and enlightening conversation.

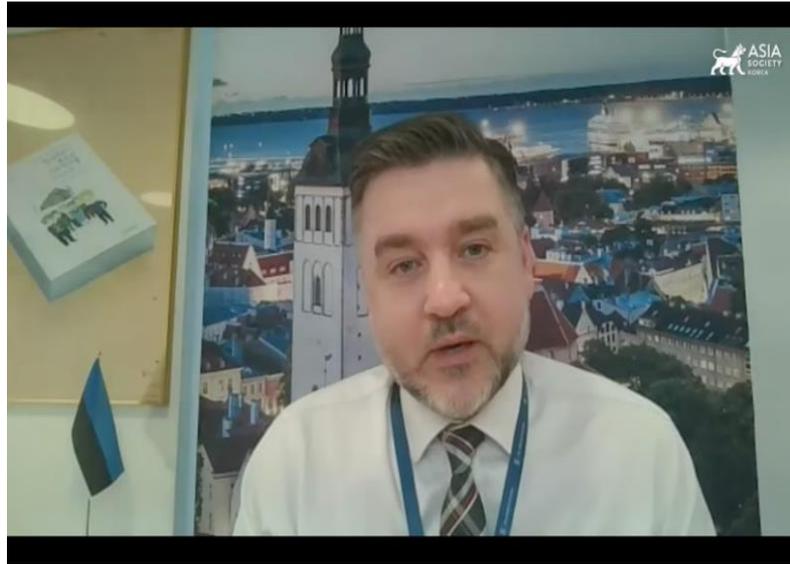
About H.E. Sripriya Ranganathan, Ambassador of India to the Republic of Korea



H.E. Sripriya Ranganathan is a career diplomat who joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1994, immediately after obtaining her master's Degree in History, with a specialization in Modern Indian History, from Delhi University. She has served in Myanmar as the second in command at the Embassy of India, Yangon. Her other overseas postings were in Ankara and Hong Kong.

H.E. Ranganathan has extensive experience in headquarters, having served in various capacities in the Ministry of External Affairs as well as in the Department of Commerce and Industry. In the Ministry of External Affairs, H.E. Ranganathan has served in the Administration, Europe West, and Disarmament & International Security Affairs Divisions. She has earlier served as Joint Secretary (Director General) of the SAARC Division and, most recently of the Bangladesh and Myanmar Division. In the course of her secondment to the Department of Commerce, H.E. Ranganathan served in the Export Promotion (Agricultural Products & the Trade Policy Divisions). H.E. Ranganathan speaks Tamil, Hindi, and English and has some knowledge of Turkish. Her interests include reading, traveling, yoga, and music. She is married to Mukund Santhanam, a banker. They have one daughter.

Interview with H.E. Sten Schwede Ambassador of Estonia to the Republic of Korea



Interview with H.E. Sten Schwede, Ambassador of Estonia to the Republic

January 27, 2022 — Asia Society Korea Center Executive Director Yvonne Kim sits down with H.E. Sten Schwede, Estonian Ambassador to the Republic of Korea in this segment of the Ambassador Series. As the first residential ambassador of Estonia to South Korea, H.E. Sten Schwede discusses his insights into the strengthening relationship between the two countries in bilateral relations, economics, knowledge sharing, and cultural sharing.

About H.E. Sten Schwede, Ambassador of Estonia to the Republic of Korea



Estonia's first in-residence ambassador to Korea, H.E. Sten Schwede assumed the role of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Estonia to the Republic of Korea in August 2021. The grandson of Estonian industrialist and wool manufacturer, Jaan Schwede, Amb. Schwede has been working at the Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs since 1997. Prior to his ambassadorship in Seoul, he was Director of the 5th Bureau in the Political Department of the foreign ministry between 2018 and 2021. Previously, he was the Estonian Ambassador to Czech Republic (Aug 2014), Slovenia (May 2017), Croatia (June 2017). Ambassador Schwede also served as the Consul General of New York between 2011 and 2014. He graduated from Gustav Adolf Gymnasium in 1991 and from the University of Trondheim (NTNU) in 1997 with a degree in political science. Ambassador Schwede is married with three children.



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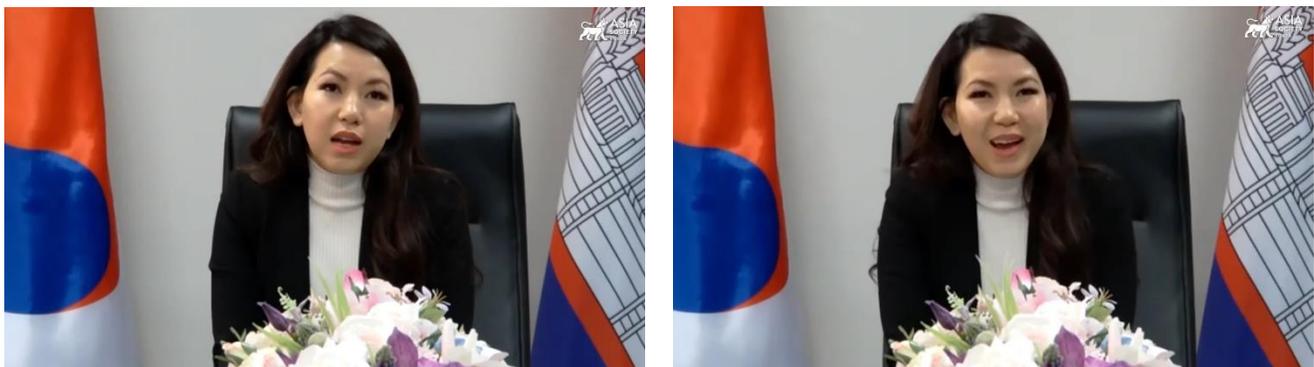
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Interview with H.E. Chring Botum Rangsay Ambassador of Kingdom of Cambodia to the Republic of Korea



February 23, 2022 — Asia Society Korea Executive Director Yvonne Kim speaks to Cambodian Ambassador to South Korea H.E. Chring Botum Rangsay in this latest installation of the Ambassador Series. Their discussion began with an overview of the Cambodia-South Korea relationship and dove into economic cooperation, sustainable development, and the ambassador's favorite Cambodian dishes.



About H.E. Chring Botum Rangsay, Ambassador of Kingdom of Cambodia to the Republic of Korea



H.E. Chring Botum Rangsay is the Ambassador of the Kingdom of Cambodia to the Republic of Korea, having previously held the position of Secretary of State at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of Cambodia (MFAIC) until Sep 2021. She previously served as the Under Secretary of State at MFAIC from May 2019 to Dec 2020.

Before MFAIC, Ambassador CHRING held various positions such as but not limited to Under Secretary of State, Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications Cambodia (MPTC) (2013 – 2019); Centre Manager, FTMS Global Academy (2012 - 2013), Provincial's Coordinator for Regulation BBO1 on land integration by the Royal Government of Cambodia; Project Consultant with the Cambodian Mine Action Centre (CMAC) in Phnom Penh, Marketing Manager and General Manager at Uniebiz (2009 – 2011); Consultant and Meeting Coordinator at the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) in Cambodia (2005 - 2007); and Project Assistant for Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO) from 2003 to 2004.

Interview with H.E. Nabeel Munir

Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan to the Republic of Korea

April 18, 2022 — Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan to the Republic of Korea, H.E. Nabeel Munir, talks to Asia Society Korea about his new life in Seoul and the historical ties, present collaborations, and future projects between the two countries. The interview highlights the economic opportunities for Korean companies in Pakistan, the potential for developing religious tourism, and how the ambassador and 13,000 Pakistanis living on the peninsula spend their free time eating Korean food and playing cricket.

1. Diplomatic relations between Pakistan and South Korea were officially formed in 1983. How has the relationship developed over time?

People of the two regions have been interacting with each other for centuries. This began in 384 A.D. when Monk Maranatha brought Buddhism to the ancient kingdom of Baekje from Swabi in Pakistan.

More recently, Pakistan supported an independent South Korea, promoted South Korea's first democratic elections, and offered assistance during the Korean War. Korea and Pakistan also recently collaborated on the aptly named "Operation Miracle," which saw the evacuation of Afghan nationals and their safe arrival in Korea last year. This effort was a testimony to the trust and cooperation between the two countries.

Korea and Pakistan remain actively engaged in various fields such as climate change, cultural exchange, and information technology. Many Korean investors are also interested in the Pakistani market, investing over \$39 million last year alone. The 13,000 Pakistanis in Korea also contribute invaluable to the Korean economy to further solidify relations.

2. In what sectors of the Pakistani economy can Koreans potentially invest?

With a \$347 billion economy, a youthful population of 220 million, a location at the crossroads of South and Central Asia and the Middle East, and investor-friendly policies, Pakistan is open for business.

Korean companies already operate in Pakistan in diverse sectors. Daewoo, Samsung, Lotte, LG, Hyundai, and Kia are household names in Pakistan. While Korean companies are welcome to invest in any sector, food processing, the automotive industry, I.T., hospitality/tourism, textiles, housing & construction, and logistics are areas in which Korean companies enjoy a competitive advantage.

3. If Koreans invest in Special Economic Zones and CPEC projects, what benefits can they receive?

The 16 designated Special Economic Zones (SEZs) offer lucrative incentives for investors. Korean companies are welcome to start businesses in established SEZs or develop a Korean SEZ anywhere in Pakistan. Benefits include a one-time exemption from customs duties and taxes for all capital goods imported into Pakistan for the development, operations, and maintenance of the SEZ. Businesses also receive exemptions from all income taxes for ten years and can repatriate profits without any conditions or restrictions.

Similarly, the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, a game-changing development of the Belt and Road Initiative, is open for third-party collaboration.

4. Pakistan possesses many historic Buddhist religious sites. Do you think there is potential for the development of religious tourism between the two countries?

I see tremendous untapped potential for the development of religious tourism between Pakistan and Korea. Monk Hyecho was the first monk to visit Pakistan in the 8th century, and we welcomed Venerable Wonheang, the President of the Jogye Order, to the country in 2019. This recent visit gave momentum to our already expanding cultural ties, and we are planning to hold joint cultural events with Buddhist organizations throughout Korea. We will launch a documentary on Buddhist sites in Pakistan to further promote Pakistan as a destination for religious tourism.

5. *You have been in Korea for just a short time. What are your first impressions of the country?*

I arrived in Korea just over a month ago and have settled down comfortably in Seoul. With spring in the air and cherry blossoms blooming around the city, it has been a very enriching experience so far. Korea is a developed, technologically advanced, and culturally diverse country steeped in history. I look forward to experiencing Korea's beauty and diversity from both a personal and professional point of view.

6. *How much is known about Korean culture in Pakistan, and how can we promote cross-cultural understanding between the two countries?*

With the advent of K-Pop and the ever-increasing popularity of Korean T.V. shows, Korean culture is a known commodity in Pakistan. This is especially so among Pakistani youth, who have a particular interest in BTS.

However, there is still a lot that can be done to introduce Korean culture at the grassroots level. I look forward to working with the Korean Embassy in Islamabad to evolve plans and organize events in Pakistan to accomplish this goal.

7. *How are you finding the differences between Korean and Pakistani cuisine? Do you have a favorite Korean food? And what Pakistani dishes do you miss?*

The one common thread between Pakistani and Korean cuisine is that they both use lots of spices. So far, my experience of Korean cuisine in Seoul is limited, but *dakgalbi* and *jjimdak* are two dishes I enjoy.

There are quite a few Pakistani restaurants in Seoul, and people can get almost all the ingredients of Pakistani cuisine here, so there isn't much I miss. I would, however, not mind a good serving of steaming spicy Nihari.

8. *Cricket isn't a popular sport here in Korea like in Pakistan. Are there opportunities for Pakistanis living in Korea to play cricket, and do you enjoy the game yourself?*

I am a big cricket fan, and I not only love watching the game but also playing it. There are few proper facilities for playing cricket in Korea, but cricket enthusiasts from Pakistan create make-shift venues and thus promote the game in their own way. You can take a Pakistani out of Pakistan, but you cannot take their love of cricket out of them.

9. *You are a regular columnist for Dawn, the largest and oldest English language newspaper in Pakistan. What are some Korean topics that you would like to write about, aside from politics?*

I would like to write about Korean culture, society, and tourism during my time in Korea. These are fascinating issues and writing on them would be a journey of discovery for me and my readers.

About H.E. Nabeel Munir, Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan to the Republic of Korea



H.E. Nabeel Munir was born in 1969 and joined the Foreign Service of Pakistan in 1993. His career in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has included serving as Assistant Director (1995- 1997), Deputy Director (2000-2003), Director (2009- 2011), Director General (2019- 2020), and Additional Secretary (2020- 2022). He also served as a Director in the President's Secretariat in 2011.

Ambassador Munir has completed numerous Pakistan overseas Missions, including to South Africa (1997-2000), Belgium (2003- 2006), and Kenya (2006- 2009). He also served as Deputy Permanent Representative of Pakistan's Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York (2012- 2019).

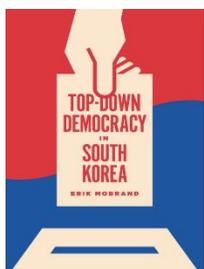
Ambassador Munir began his career as the Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan to the Republic of Korea in March 2022. He has a master's degree in English Literature and is married with two children.

Featured Interview

[Meet the Author] Top-Down Democracy in South Korea

By Matthew Fennell, Senior Contributor

January 20, 2022 — Despite the global pandemic still affecting all walks of life for many people worldwide, attention in Korea is shifting to the upcoming 2022 presidential election. On March 9th, Koreans will vote for their next president to replace current leader, Moon Jae-in. Against this political backdrop, and as part of our Meet the Author Series, Asia Society Korea caught up with Erik Mobrand, to discuss *Top-Down Democracy in South Korea* (University of Washington Press, 2019). Mobrand is Korea Policy Chair and a senior political scientist at the [RAND Corporation](#). He studies political transformation in Asia with Korea as a central reference point. In 2016, Mobrand joined Seoul National University as an associate professor in the Graduate School of International Studies. He previously served as assistant professor of political science at National University of Singapore. He received a Ph.D. in politics from Princeton University.



1. You joined the faculty at Seoul National University in 2016 after almost ten years of living in Singapore. What was the inspiration for writing a book on Korean democracy?

Before the book was published, I had been studying political affairs in Korea for a number of years. I find the country's politics fascinating. It is an exciting context that can offer insights into what democracy can mean. Too often, discussion of democracy focuses on North American and European experiences. Here in Korea, we have a democracy operating in different circumstances – of postcolonialism, national division, and regional tension. That means there is much to be learned about democracy from Korea.

Another source of inspiration came from a sense that our understandings of Korea's democratic transformation can be enriched by separating a history of democracy from a history of democratic movements. Popular movements were crucial to producing political change, but those movements cannot themselves account for the formal political practices and institutions that have developed. Many of the rules and organizations associated with democracy have their origins in the realm of leadership rather than in popular movements. I wished to shed greater light on that history to help refine our understanding of Korea's democracy.

2. Your book mentions how the Park Chung-hee regime, particularly in 1963, influenced Korea's political course. What similarities do you see between 1963 and now?

There are, of course, huge differences between 1963 and today. That should go without saying. Nonetheless, I find that the political designs made in 1963, or rather formally adopted as 1962 turned into 1963, have had a staying power that has not gained sufficient attention. We tend to think of 1948, and the founding of the Republic, as a watershed moment, as well as 1987-88. The political liberalization of 1987-88 undid much of the repressive structures of the harshest periods of South Korean dictatorship, between 1972 and 1987. What did that leave us with? In critical areas, the authoritarian rollback of 1987-88 left the country with institutions established in 1963.

The year 1963 saw a civilian government once again rule the country – albeit composed of former generals – following two years of unrest after the coup of May 1961. Park Chung Hee and his associates revised the political order in preparation for this transition. They adjusted the electoral system, reorganized the elections agency, and revised the election laws. An example I focus on in the book is the promulgation of the Political Parties Act. First set out in 1963, this law dictates how political parties can organize. The Political Parties Act remains in place today, putting elaborate restrictions on the ways parties and citizens can interact. When thinking about contemporary Korean democracy, it is important to recognize the historical and political origins of current rules and regulations.

3. Despite Korea having a history of democratic movements and political protests, how has the political elite managed to keep citizens at arm's length continuously?

The political elite, whose composition is more varied today than in the past, has had a range of tools and resources for dampening citizen participation. An institutional heritage from the authoritarian period has been a big part of that. They can draw on the strict election campaign and party laws inherited from the past. There are also normative justifications for limiting participation, and these

tended to be framed using security or anti-communist terms of the past. Explanations have shifted more to concerns over corruption. For example, laws can restrict the number of rallies a politician can hold because those events are portrayed as opportunities for illicit exchange between a candidate and supporters. The threat of corruption is widely referenced as grounds for using legal action that limits the political rights of citizens.

4. At a time when democratic institutions worldwide are troubled, what lessons can the world learn from Korea's democratic experience?

By global standards of the past several years, I find Korea's democratic experience enormously uplifting. In Korea, we have tremendously high levels of public engagement in politics. People follow the news closely, and political discussion is everywhere. So much – though not all – of the mass engagement in politics also happens with a positive tone. Consider the Candlelight Movement of 2016-17, as well as other demonstrations that have followed. These events bring people together to celebrate what can be achieved collectively for a better future. The contrast with the negativity and cynicism around popular politics in so many other corners of the world is stark. I hope that Korea can serve as an example to remind others of the positive side of collective political engagement.

Another important lesson is that democracy is not something that can be engineered. It's a messy process rather than a system designed through cold calculation. In Korea, progress has come through struggle, and it has taken uprisings and demonstrations followed by partial responses from leaders. That interaction is a defining feature of the functioning of the country's democracy.

5. Your book was first published in 2019, less than two years into the current administration term. Has any progress been made in terms of giving citizens more political voice?

Progress comes more in fits and starts rather than in continuous improvement. That is true for the whole period since the end of authoritarian rule in 1987-88. We have had moments where participation has expanded and other times when it has faced more significant limits. For example, in the early 2000s, significant gains were made in the involvement of citizens in candidate selection processes. The gains were not uniform or constant, but they made a real difference.

In the last few years, we have seen an emphasis on pluralism and the need for political practices to reflect contemporary Korea's diversity. A reform to the electoral system has been made as an initial attempt to capture that emphasis. There has also been reform to the prosecutorial authority, a move that is in line with the effort to roll back problems of unchecked state power associated with the authoritarian period. Just as important, citizens have shown impressive awareness of these complicated issues and a willingness to make their views known. That awareness will remain, and it will inform or constrain future leaders.

6. Korea will elect a new president early next year. What are your reflections on the election campaign so far?

In this presidential election season, we have seen some of the old top-down patterns but also departures from them. The candidate selection processes offer examples of that point. The People's Power Party had a typical nomination experience where leading contenders fought with each other over the rules themselves. As in many instances in the past, such episodes make it difficult to build faith in party processes. The Democratic Party, on the other hand, had an extended, participatory nomination process with multiple strong candidates, and that process concluded relatively smoothly.

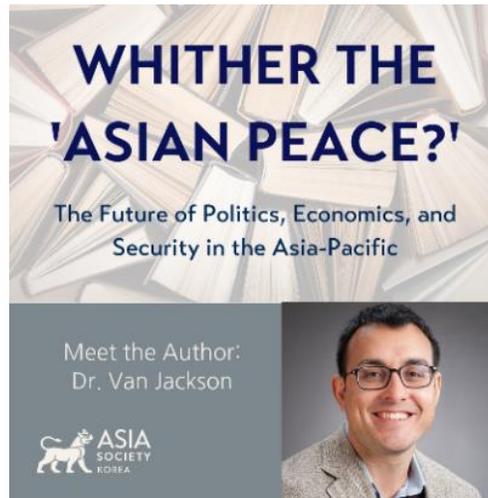
Another theme is the role of media in politics. Media groups have filled the news with allegations of scandal that can obscure discussion of the candidates and issues. A danger in reporting on scandal is that truth and rumour can be insufficiently distinguished. A second danger is that all cases of alleged wrong-doing can be equalized. For these reasons, media creation of scandal makes ordinary people lose out in politics. A healthy future trend would be to see media groups turning less to this politics by scandal.

About the Interviewee



Professor Erik Mobrand, PhD., is an associate professor at Seoul National University's Graduate School of International Studies. He is currently a senior political scientist at the [RAND Corporation](#) and is the Korea Policy Chair. Previously he was a professor in the Department of Political Science at the National University of Singapore from July 2010 to December 2015. Prof. Mobrand has published two books, "Top-Down Democracy in South Korea" and "The Life and Representations of Kim Tu-han: Justifying Violence on Korea's Cold War Frontiers," and is currently collaborating on a book titled "The Party-State Nexus in Asia." In addition, he has published numerous articles and book chapters. His works have focused on East Asia, specifically China and Korea. He received his Ph.D. in Politics from Princeton University in 2006. His dissertation was "Internal Migration and State Retreat in Chinese and South Korean Industrialization."

[Meet the Author]
Whither the 'Asian Peace?'
The Future of Politics, Economics, and Security in the Asia-Pacific



February 18, 2022 — In this month's Meet the Author conversation, Victoria University of Wellington senior lecturer Dr. Van Jackson attempts to untangle the politics, economics, security, and strategic statecraft in an Asia-Pacific region experiencing accelerated change. Jackson focused on how regional change can affect U.S. alliance partners such as South Korea while shedding some light on U.S. strategy-making in the Asia-Pacific region. The conversation was moderated by Asia Society Korea Senior Contributor Dr. Mason Richey.

About the Author



Dr. Van Jackson is a professor of international relations at Victoria University of Wellington. He also holds policy research appointments as a Distinguished Fellow with the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada; as the Defence & Strategy Fellow with the Centre for Strategic Studies; as a Senior Associate Fellow with the Asia-Pacific Leadership Network for Nuclear Nonproliferation & Disarmament; and as a Non-Resident Fellow at the Sejong Institute.

Jackson's research broadly concerns the politics of U.S. foreign policy, Asia-Pacific security, and the theory and practice of grand strategy. He is the author of dozens of journal articles, book chapters, and policy reports, as well as two books with Cambridge University Press: *On the Brink: Trump, Kim, and the Threat of Nuclear War* (2018), and *Rival Reputations: Coercion and Credibility in US-North Korea Relations* (2016). His third book, forthcoming with Yale University Press, is titled *Pacific Power Paradox: American Statecraft and the Fate of the Asian Peace*.

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Webinars

The Russia-Ukraine War as a Case Study: Lessons for Northeast Asia



March 4, 2022 — On February 21, 2022, Russia announced that it officially recognized the independence of Donetsk and Luhansk, two separatist regions located in east Ukraine. Four days later, Russia began military operations striking major Ukrainian cities, including Kyiv, sparking international condemnation.

Since then, the world's attention has been on the invasion, the response from the international community, and the enormous humanitarian crisis unfolding in Ukraine.

Against this backdrop, Asia Society Korea hosts a webinar discussing "The Russia-Ukraine War as Case Study: Lessons for Northeast Asia." The panel explores the geopolitical and economic implications for Northeast Asia, what North Korea, China, and the U.S. may learn from the invasion, and whether a similar conflict could occur on the Korean Peninsula or in Taiwan.

About the panelists



Dr. Mason Richey is a senior contributing writer to Asia Society Korea and an associate professor of international politics at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies (Seoul, South Korea). Dr. Richey has also held positions as a POSCO Visiting Research Fellow at the East-West Center (Honolulu, HI) and a DAAD Scholar at the University of Potsdam. His research focuses on U.S. and European foreign and security policy as applied to the Asia-Pacific. Recent scholarly articles have appeared (inter alia) in *Pacific Review*, *Asian Security*, *Global Governance*, and *Foreign Policy Analysis*. Shorter analyses and opinion pieces have been published in *War on the Rocks*, *Le Monde*, the *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, and *Forbes*, among other venues.

Steven Lee Myers is the Beijing bureau chief for The New York Times. He was a correspondent in the Washington Bureau of The New York Times who covered foreign policy and national security issues. Before then, he worked as bureau chief in Moscow in 2013 and 2014, having also served as a correspondent and bureau chief there from 2002 to 2007, covering Russia and the other former Soviet republics. He is the author of a biography of Vladimir Putin, entitled *The New Tsar*, published by Alfred A. Knopf Books in September 2015 and reissued as a Vintage paperback in August 2016.



Sheena Chestnut Greitens is currently Associate Professor at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Austin. She directs UT's Asia Policy Program, a joint initiative of the Strauss Center for International Security & Law and the Clements Center for National Security. She is also a Jeane Kirkpatrick Visiting Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute (AEI). Her research focuses on American national security, East Asia, and authoritarian politics and foreign policy.

Dr. Youngjun Kim is a Professor of the National Security College and a Director of Center for Northeast Asian Affairs and Center for North Korean Affairs at Research Institute for National Security Affairs (RINSA) of the Korea National Defense University (KNDU). He is a member of the National Security Advisory Board for the Republic of Korea President's Office (the Blue House). His recent publications include *Origins of the North Korean Garrison State: People's Army and the Korean War* at Routledge (2017). He is a policy advisor on North Korean issues for the National Security Office of the ROK President's Office, the National Assembly, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), Ministry of National Defense (MND), Ministry of Unification, National Intelligence Service, the Joint Chief of Staff and the ROK-US Combined Forces Command.



Rocket's Red Glare, Kim Il Sung in the Air: What to Expect for North Korea's 110th Day of the Sun



April 5, 2022 — A panel of experts discusses the symbolism and spectacle of North Korea's annual birthday celebration of their founding father, Kim Il Sung. Participants included Duyeon Kim, adjunct senior fellow with the Indo-Pacific Security Program at the Center for a New American Security; Ankit Panda, Stanton senior fellow in the Nuclear Policy Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; and Andrew Yeo, senior fellow and SK-Korea Foundation Chair in Korea Studies at Brookings Institution's Center for East Asia Policy Studies. Asia Society Korea senior contributor Mason Richey moderated the conversation.

About the panelists



Dr. Mason Richey is a senior contributing writer to Asia Society Korea and an associate professor of international politics at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies (Seoul, South Korea). Dr. Richey has also held positions as a POSCO Visiting Research Fellow at the East-West Center (Honolulu, HI) and a DAAD Scholar at the University of Potsdam. His research focuses on U.S. and European foreign and security policy as applied to the Asia-Pacific. Recent scholarly articles have appeared (inter alia) in *Pacific Review*, *Asian Security*, *Global Governance*, and *Foreign Policy Analysis*. Shorter analyses and opinion pieces have been published in *War on the Rocks*, *Le Monde*, the *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, and *Forbes*, among other venues.

Duyeon Kim is a Seoul-based adjunct senior fellow with the Indo-Pacific Security Program at the Center for a New American Security and columnist for the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. She specializes in both regional and functional issues: the two Koreas, nuclear nonproliferation, East Asian relations, security, and negotiations.



Ankit Panda is the Stanton Senior Fellow in the Nuclear Policy Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. An expert on the Asia-Pacific region, his research interests range nuclear strategy, arms control, missile defense, nonproliferation, emerging technologies, and U.S. extended deterrence. He is the author of *Kim Jong Un and the Bomb: Survival and Deterrence in North Korea* (Hurst Publishers/Oxford University Press, 2020).

Andrew Yeo is a senior fellow and the SK-Korea Foundation Chair in Korea Studies at Brookings Institution's Center for East Asia Policy Studies. He is also a professor of politics at The Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C. His latest book, *State, Society and Markets in North Korea*, is out now with Cambridge University Press.



Featured Article

Korean Dramas: Taking over Netflix?



By Freja Boe Moeller, Contributing Writer

March 7, 2022 – 2020 and 2021 were genuinely magical years for the South Korean entertainment industry, with successes abroad on online-streaming platforms such as Netflix. Naturally, with Covid-19 prompting social distancing and staying home, people started binge-watching series and films online. Thus, while the virus affected people worldwide, it provided Netflix and Korean content makers with a window of opportunity. Before Covid-19, some of us had been able to restrict ourselves to a maximum of two episodes a day, but now, while staying home, we were watching two series a day! However, the real question is not why we started spending more time binge-watching our favorite shows, because that is relatively obvious, but rather why Korean dramas and movies began appearing everywhere, breaking one record after another. Why did Korean dramas such as “Squid Game,” “Hellbound,” and “All of Us Are Dead” suddenly become the talk of the town?



Bukchon Hanok Village nestled in modern-day Seoul. Hanok, or Korean traditional houses, compose the background of Netflix's period drama, "Mr. Sunshine."

Netflix came to Korea in 2016, but it was not until June 2018 that the company announced its first-ever original Korean content, “Mr. Sunshine,” a 24-episode historical drama. While the Korean entertainment industry had long been known for its high-quality productions, “Mr. Sunshine” truly shocked the industry with its stunning cinematography, completely changing the landscape for future Korean series. Netflix quickly became the leading platform in Korea for online streaming, with an astounding 4.1 million paid subscribers by 2020. That was a 108% increase from the previous year to put that into perspective. This sudden surge in Korean viewers led to an aggressive strategy from Netflix to create as much original Korean content as possible. In 2021, 15 Korean original series and films were produced. At

least 25 originals have been scheduled for release in 2022, meaning that the half-billion dollars Netflix invested in Korean content last year will easily be surpassed this year.

In 2017, the company invested 50 million dollars in producing the film “Okja” by the Oscar-winning director Bong Joon-ho; 17 million dollars in the hit zombie drama series “Kingdom” in 2019; and 25 million dollars in the 2020 apocalyptic series “Sweet Home.” All three shows were a hit, with “Kingdom” and “Sweet Home” becoming particularly successful in the States and Europe. The two series created this whole new universe of Korean zombies, monsters, and dark fantasies people had never seen before.



Interestingly enough, as Korean dramas and films slowly became more popular overseas, people initially claimed the success was related to the innocence of Korean content. Many would criticize the forced sexual situations and nudity in American series. Alternatively, Korean content filled us with the excitement of a first kiss or the moment when two favorite characters finally held hands as they walked down a romantically lit alleyway. Yet, these are not the Korean series triumphing on platforms such as Netflix. Although dramas like *Crash Landing on You*, full of beautiful notions of love and friendship, took countries like Japan by storm in 2020, it was not these types of series that gained popularity worldwide. Instead, the content with supernatural creatures and life or death scenarios got recognition across the globe.

While fans previously appreciated Korean dramas for the genre's romantic plotlines, the most popular modern dramas surround unsettling stories.

The success of Korean series and films can be attributed to many factors. First and foremost, content produced in Korea is of high quality yet can be made at a much lower cost than in the U.S. Secondly, a lot of thought goes into choosing the right actor for the right role, and therefore, the chemistry and acting are often impeccable. Thirdly, the rise of K-pop and groups such as BTS, Blackpink, Monsta X, or NCT have opened the eyes of people abroad, especially in North America, to what Korea offers – in music and acting. Finally, but most importantly, while production shut down in many countries due to Covid-19, Korea was fast in reacting and fighting off the virus. Therefore, despite the worldwide lockdowns, the country could produce show after show at an impressive rate. Korea presented something new and different to a global audience that had already seen most of the popular content on Netflix.

A van promotes South Korean pop group, Red Velvet, in Japan. Similar music groups such as BTS, Blackpink, and NCT boast mainstream popularity abroad.

“Squid Game” is officially the most-watched series ever on Netflix, with 95 percent of its viewership outside Korea. It became the golden gatekeeper to the Korean entertainment industry, and because of the series, many went on to explore other Korean content. “Hellbound” ranked number one on Netflix’s Top 10 in 34 countries, and now everyone is talking about “All of Us Are Dead,” which premiered in late January this year. Maybe it is a fear of future zombie apocalypses or the lure of Korean culture that makes the series so attractive to overseas viewers. Whatever it is, Korean horror series that use survival as a primary focus is certainly increasing in popularity.



Following Netflix’s great success with Korean content over the past couple of years, the company will face competition in 2022, in what is shaping up to be an even bigger year for the Korean entertainment industry. Disney+ arrived in Korea in November 2021, and Warner Media’s HBO Max is launching in East Asia later this year. Nevertheless, with the long line-up of original Korean content already released by Netflix, it is hard to imagine that the company will not have another fruitful year.

About the writer

Freja Boe Moeller is from Denmark and exploring Korean Studies at Yonsei University’s Graduate School of International Studies.



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Korea's Election Street Scene: A Feast for the Senses

By Leslie Hickman, Staff Writer



March 10, 2022 – Election season is over in South Korea for another five years, but what a feast for the senses it was. Presidential candidates went all out to woo their fellow citizens in the 22 days leading to polling day. For three weeks, Koreans found their phones abuzz with political endorsements, televisions aglow with advertisements, and their streets lined with campaigners wearing bright red, blue, or yellow party colors. Whether on their way to work, school, or an outing with friends, voters couldn't escape the bright smiles vying for their attention.

Along with the smiles from campaign, workers came colorful promotional material such as posters, banners, and pamphlets. Lines of connected posters showed the faces of the 14 registered candidates, which popped up seemingly overnight on government buildings, temporary construction enclosures, and even playground gates. Busy intersections boasted larger, singular versions of these posters. They stretched between signposts and hovered high above bridges, placed strategically for cars idling at stoplights. The candidates competing to become South Korea's next leader used these displays to familiarize the public with their name, slogan, headshot, party colors, and voting number. The numbers were an integral part of a candidate's advertising, assigned according to how many seats their party held in parliament or by alphabetical order if the party had no seats. Campaign workers proudly displayed these numbers on matching coats, pamphlets, and other eye-catching merchandise.

Vans and trucks decked in election gear roamed the streets late into the night as loudspeakers heralded their candidate's vision for a prosperous future. During the day, supporters with megaphones rode trucks fitted with electronic screens in a mini parade-like scene. The trucks stopped at busy street corners to play energetic jingles while campaign workers rushed to hand out flyers, all the while smiling behind party-colored masks.

The presidential candidates themselves spent much of the canvassing period on rallies around the country. Crowds brandished light sticks, balloons, and homemade signs while they chanted their candidate's name. In return, the politicians waved, made peace signs, and held their arms over their heads in heart-shaped poses. Exciting K-pop songs, often used in Korean politics to inspire and encourage, played over speakers, and campaign workers performed fully choreographed dance routines to their candidate's personalized jingle.

On temporary stages erected by parties, contenders gave rousing speeches to their excited audiences. Politicians who laughed at themselves by wearing fish-shaped headpieces and taekwondo uniforms, or those who shared intimate moments cultivated warm feelings from audiences. Throughout the spectacle, cameras relayed proceedings on giant screens behind. As the rallies drew to a close, supporters gave tokens of their appreciation such as bouquets, stuffed toys, and handwritten notes.

As with all presidential campaigns, these exciting operations also carried an edge of weight and urgency. 2022's leading candidates, Lee Jae Myung and Yoon Suk Yeol, remained neck and neck through the closest campaign in 20 years. These exciting rallies and advertising campaigns provided the final opportunity for the two candidates to shape their images and claim the last of the undecided votes.

While the excitement of the canvassing season stimulated the senses, fostering a range of emotions, all will soon be forgotten as the electorate's vision for Korea unfolds in office. Within hours of Yoon Suk Yeol's victory, the streets were cleared of all advertising as if a campaign had never taken place. Although politicians are the faces of an election, the true stars of the canvassing season are the artists, scholars, farmworkers, street-food stall operators, taxi drivers, and office workers who participate in the hope for a better tomorrow.

About the writer

Leslie Hickman helps with content management at Asia Society Korea. She is a graduate of Yonsei University's Graduate School of International Studies with degrees in Anthropology and Korean Studies.

The Road to a Plastic-Free Society: Korea's Fight Against Plastic Waste

By Leslie Hickman, Staff Writer



April 27, 2022 — Individuals and businesses worldwide choose plastic products for their convenience, low manufacturing costs, and diverse applications. However, this love of plastic has produced heavy consequences for the environment. In response to the world's growing environmental crisis, Korea introduced measures in 2019 to limit plastic waste, including a ban on single-use plastics in cafés and restaurants, regulations restricting takeout container density, and a requirement that all PET bottles remain colorless to ease recycling. The coronavirus pandemic, however, stopped the anti-plastic vanguard in its tracks. Waste increased as citizens avoided in-person interactions and turned to online shopping and takeout orders. Moreover, the government suspended the restrictions against single-use plastics in dining facilities as an extra precaution against second-hand contamination. These lifestyle changes led to an 18.9% increase in plastic waste between 2019 and 2020. Now, two years into the pandemic, plastic use has reached unprecedented levels.

In light of this increase, the Korean government promised in September 2021 to cut plastic use by 60% before 2030 and become a plastic-free society by 2050. To meet these goals, the government reimplemented the ban on single-use cups on April 1, 2022, and will widen this initiative to include cutlery and straws in November of the same year. Businesses have responded to the crisis as well. Starbucks Korea announced they would make every store plastic-free by 2025, the first global Starbucks to announce such plans. While smaller, local businesses such as The Bottle Factory, a store and café in eastern Seoul, and a restaurant owner in Mangwon-dong began initiatives to encourage environmental awareness and sustainable consumption.

Such responses to the threat of environmental damage align with a growing trend among young Korean consumers to seek *gashimbi*(가심비)(purchasing satisfaction) over *gaseongbi*(가성비)(purchasing according to cost-effectiveness). In a Korea Chamber of Commerce and Industry survey, young shoppers showed a growing interest in ethical consumption, and environmental protection emerged as the third most important value for shoppers seeking conscientious retailers. This trend contrasts with the previous generation's price-conscious approach to spending and reflects changing consumption patterns and rising awareness of waste production. Even so, a plastic-free society remains many years down the road.



In the meantime, Korea is turning its efforts to another immediate concern—finding ethical and healthy ways to eliminate existing waste. Improper disposal pollutes water sources and natural habitats and breaks down further into microplastics. These microplastics threaten both animal and human life. However, countries can control improper disposal with closed management systems. Korea might be one of the leading plastic producers worldwide, but most plastics in Korea, and similar high-income countries, stay within well-managed systems that decrease waste's harmful effects. Korea ultimately seeks to expand these systems and achieve a circular economy, which will provide greater opportunities for recycling and send less waste to landfills.

Already, 86% of Korea's total waste finds new life as a recycled product and the country sends the waste it can't recycle to landfills or incineration plants. However, Korea needs additional management facilities to properly manage and recycle waste, yet such facilities are not welcome additions to most neighborhoods. Innovative constructions such as Guri Resource Collection Facility and Union Tower in Hanam alleviate citizen concerns by concealing waste management within what have become local landmarks.

Hanam Union Park hides waste facilities underground, and Guri Resource Collection Facility runs services alongside Guri Tower, where visitors can enjoy views and dine on the rooftop platform. Both locations provide excellent examples of waste management in contained and attractive facilities.



Conglomerates also do their part within Korea's circular system. One example of Korea's new eco-friendly initiatives is Lotte Chemicals' 'Project Loop.' The project collects recyclable plastic bottles and turns them into products such as bags, sneakers, and clothes. Aimed at raising awareness of plastic regeneration, 'Project Loop' reduces the environmental impact of plastic bottle use by applying its '5Re model' of reduce, replace, redesign, reuse, and recycle.

Lotte Chemical president Gyo-Hyeon Kim commented, "Project Loop is just one of our initiatives to reduce plastic waste. As Korea's leading chemical company, we have a corporate responsibility to environmental issues both in Korea and worldwide".

Hallyu, the Korean cultural wave, also plays a prominent role in increasing awareness of environmental issues and demand for sustainable practices. The girl group, Blackpink, collaborated with the United Nations to call for climate action, including waste reduction, and BTS appeared in a video by Samsung to highlight plastic in the world's oceans. These efforts raise not only the Korean audience's awareness of plastic's harmful effects but the awareness of Korean culture fans around the world.

Though unexpected setbacks and conflicting approaches to environmental measures provide hurdles to plastic reduction, the Korean government, conglomerates, and individuals all do their part to enhance Korea's journey toward sustainability. The country will continue to protect the environment from further damage by decreasing plastic use, recycling waste into new products, and disposing of trash responsibly through its circular economy as it moves toward a plastic-free society.



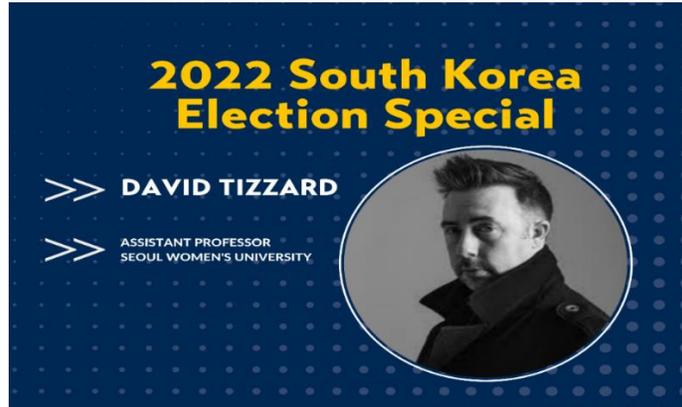
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Election Special

2022 South Korea Election Summary



On the evening of March 9th, people in Korea ignored their beds in favor of their televisions, waiting to see who would win the race to be their next president. In the early hours of March 10th, an official announcement finally came. By the slimmest of margins, Yoon Suk-yeol of the conservative People's Power Party defeated Lee Jae-myung of the ruling democratic party following months of heated competition. In summarizing this year's tight race, Asia Society Korea's Dr. David Tizzard examines the country's voting patterns, how broadcasters kept viewers entertained as ballots rolled in, and the issues Yoon expects to face once he takes his role in the Blue House.

Youtube Link: <https://youtu.be/MC6FMuKC900>, <https://youtu.be/ecRC6j3XOrU>, <https://youtu.be/7cMOltS32gc>

About the panelist



Dr. David Tizzard is an assistant professor at Seoul Women's University and a visiting professor of international studies at Hanyang University. His academic research focuses on North Korean diplomacy and South Korean cultural texts. He is a frequent commentator on social and political issues affecting the Korean Peninsula, writing a popular column in the Korea Times and appearing weekly on TBS eFM.

Congratulations from South Korea's Foreign Diplomatic Community



March 16, 2022 – As president-elect Yoon Suk-yeol prepares to assume office in May this year, Asia Society Korea is pleased to share congratulatory messages from the diplomatic community here in South Korea. Although Korea's relationships with the U.S., China, and Japan often make the headlines, Asia Society Korea also recognizes the importance of highlighting its ties with other nations across the world. By providing a platform for dialogue and cooperation, Asia Society Korea promotes and encourages cross-cultural understanding between Korea and the 114 embassies in Seoul. It is a testament to this commitment that we can share messages for the new president from not only Asian countries but from Ambassadors from South America, the Middle East, Europe, and Oceania.

With Korea entering a new period in its political history, Asia Society Korea looks forward to developing and strengthening its relationships with all the diplomatic missions in South Korea.

YouTube Link: https://youtu.be/NWiGg8n_gC4

Jeongwol Daeboreum: The Great Full Moon Festival



February 15, 2022 – This month we introduce various foods and drinks from *Jeongwol Daeboreum* (정월대보름), a folk tradition which celebrates the first full moon following *Seollal* (설날).

Jeongwol Daeboreum, or the "Great Full Moon Festival," can be traced back to the Three Kingdoms Period and is celebrated on the 15th day of a new lunar year. Established to promote unity and solidarity, the festival starts on *Seollal* and culminates in various rituals 15 days later. Many traditional foods enjoyed during this period are rooted in Korean agriculture, medicine, and mythology. Although Korea has transitioned from an agricultural to a more industrial society, the festival's traditions are still practiced, with food and drink playing a prominent role.

Mornings of the festival begin with the drinking of *Gwibalgisul* (귀밝이술) and the cracking of nuts. *Gwibalgisul*, or "ear sharpening liquor" in English, is a chilled rice wine that people drink in one shot. As the name suggests, the wine turns your ears red, which according to legend, protects you from ear-related illnesses such as infection or deafness. Additionally, the drink ensures that the person only hears good news for that year.



The cracking of nuts, known as *Bureomkkaegi* (부럼깨기), happens while people pray to ward off rashes and other skin diseases. The nuts are high in unsaturated fat, nutrient-dense, and are beneficial for skin and overall health. Traditionally, these nuts are served inside their shell since they should be cracked with the teeth for good fortune. The nuts usually eaten are

- Gingko nuts; 은행
- Walnuts; 호두
- Peanuts; 땅콩
- Chestnuts; 밤
- Pine nuts; 잣

Another food eaten during the festival is *Yakbap* (약밥), a snack made from rice, nuts, and dried fruit. According to *Samgukyusa* (삼국유사), a collection of legends, folktales, and historical accounts related to the Three Kingdoms Period, *Yakbap* was made by King *Bicheo* (비처왕), also known as *Soji* (소지왕). The King's life was saved by a crow who warned him of an assassination attempt by the Queen and her lover. To thank the crow, the King gave black *Yakbap* as a gift on the 15th day of the lunar calendar.





As the festival is agricultural-based, other foods, such as *Ogokbap* (오곡밥), are eaten to ensure a plentiful harvest for the upcoming year. *Ogokbap* is made using sorghum (수수), red and black beans, millet, and sticky rice (찰쌀) and represents the elements of a plentiful harvest. In addition to signifying an abundant harvest, it was one of the offerings given to the black crow who saved the King. The snack represents a great year in a person's profession in modern-day Korea.



Along with *Ogokbap*, *Jincha* (진채), vegetables dried from the summer are boiled and eaten. According to folk law, the dish protects you from the summer heat. Typically, the seven vegetables used in the dish are:

- Squash; 박
- Mushroom; 버섯
- Beans; 콩
- Turnip; 순무
- Radish leaf; 무잎
- Cucumber ends; 오이꼭지
- Eggplant skin; 가지껍질



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Khmer Noodles in Korea: A Recipe for Num Banh Chok



Num banh chok (Photo by Thomas Wanhoff, provided by [Wikimedia Commons](#). [Licensing Agreement](#).)

By Matthew Fennell, Senior Manager of Content Development, Asia Society Korea

March 24, 2022 – Cambodian food has widened its appeal beyond its borders in recent years. Influenced by a long and diverse history, many dishes incorporate elements of other food cultures, for example, Indian, Chinese, and French. Making use of its abundance of rice, freshwater fish, and various spices, a typical Cambodian meal would include soup, a salad, a main fish dish, vegetables, and rice. With many people already familiar with national favorite, *fish amok*, Asia Society Korea would like to share another beloved Cambodian dish, *num banh chok*. Perfect to eat on a warm day, *num banh chok* is also the favorite food of H.E. Chring Botum Rangsay, [the Cambodian Ambassador to South Korea](#).

Often referred to as "*Khmer noodles*" in English, *num banh chok* is a fish-based curry and noodles dish typically eaten at breakfast all over Cambodia. There are many regional variations to the standard recipe; for example, people in Kampot like to use dried shrimp, coconut cream, and fish sauce, while those in Siem Reap use more garlic and serve with a sweeter fish sauce.

Regardless of regional variations, *num banh chok* always includes the same main staples: fresh rice noodles laboriously prepared by hand, a fish-based green curry, and spices and vegetables such as lemongrass, ginger, turmeric, and garlic.

If one is lucky enough to visit Cambodia, *num banh chok* is easy to find, with local vendors selling the dish every morning. For those who would like to try making the dish at home, below is a typical recipe that is not too difficult to follow.



Visitors making num banh chok in Preah Dak, Siem Reap, Cambodia. (Photo by Ted McGrath, provided by [flickr](#). [Licensing Agreement](#))

MAIN INGREDIENTS

(Recipe courtesy of <https://asianfoodnetwork.com>)

Serves four people:

- 1 kg monkfish
- 1 L coconut cream
- 1 tbsp galangal, peeled and thinly sliced
- 1 tbsp gratchai
- 4 kaffir lime leaf
- 150 to 200 ml fish sauce
- 50 g sugar
- 1-liter coconut cream
- 1 packet bun noodles

Curry paste:

- 2 lemongrass stalks, crushed and sliced
- 4 large red chilies, sliced or rehydrated dried chilies
- 25 g galangal, peeled and sliced
- 100 g turmeric, peeled and sliced
- 4 kaffir lime leaf
- 1 tsp gratchai

COOKING INSTRUCTIONS

Cook the fish:

- In a large pot, place 3 liters of water and bring to a boil over medium heat.
- Once boiling, place the galangal, gratchai, and kaffir lime leaf in the pot and heat for 5 minutes.
- Add the fish and cook for 10 minutes or until the fish is cooked.
- Remove the fish from the liquid and strain, keep the liquid stock and dish, and discard the rest.
- Pick the meat from the bones when the fish is cooled enough to handle. Be careful not to leave any bones in the flesh and discard the bones.

Prepare the curry:

- In a food processor, blend the curry ingredients to a smooth paste.
- In a large mortar and pestle, pound the fish meat to a smooth paste, then add the curry paste and pound together.
- Bring the stock back to the boil and add the fish curry mix; continue to boil.
- Simmer the curry for 20 to 30 minutes.
- Finally, add the coconut cream and season with sugar and fish sauce. Simmer for a further 10 minutes.

Cook the noodles:

- Place a medium pot of water over high heat and bring to a boil.
- Put the noodles in the boiling water, bring them back to the boil, cook for 5 minutes, and then turn off the heat.
- Leave for 5 minutes, then drain and run under cold water and leave to drain.

Yemenite Chicken Soup – Learn to Cook with the Israeli Embassy

April 12, 2022 – Asia Society Korea continues its mission to educate new audiences and introduce sustainable meals from around the globe in its ongoing #EatTasteLearn series. In this installment, Dr. Naomi Tor, wife of the Israeli Ambassador to the Republic of Korea, introduces her favorite recipe, Yemenite Chicken Soup. Dr. Tor's family has enjoyed the soup for generations, and she graciously shares the recipe from the Israeli Embassy in Seoul. She prepares the dish with chicken, fresh vegetables, and the soup's most important ingredient – a special spice mixture called Hawajj. The delectable soup marks the beginning of the Tor family's Shabbat, a weekly Jewish observance to rest and enjoy time with loved ones, but the simple meal and the warmth it brings to gatherings can be enjoyed any day of the week.

The video is a continuation of Asia Society Korea's #EatTasteLearn series, which promotes a sustainable and diverse food culture.



Dr. Naomi Tor applies Zhug, an optional paste that adds spice to Yemenite Chicken Soup.

Israeli Yemenite Chicken Soup (Recipe from Dr. Naomi Tor, the wife of the Israeli ambassador)

MAIN INGREDIENTS (Makes 6-8 servings)

- 1 whole chicken cut into 8 pieces (optional 4 whole chicken legs)
- 1 large onion
- 2 medium potatoes cut in half
- 2 whole zucchini
- 2 medium carrots
- 1 bunch of cilantro (coriander)
- 1 level tablespoon of salt
- 3 level tablespoons of hawajj (mixes spices)*
- 2.5 liters of water

*It's best to acquire Hawajj from a skilled spice shop. The mixture contains cumin, clove, cardamom, turmeric, ginger, and coriander.

Youtube Link: <https://youtu.be/s6dwBsxI4pE>

2021년 중국과 미중관계에 대한 고찰



2021 케빈 러드 (아시아소사이어티 대표) 연설, 기사, 에세이 모음집

2021 년은 그 누구의 예상보다도 전세계는 말할 것도 없고, 중국에게 매우 중요한 한 해였다. 코로나 19 팬데믹이 인류를 위협하고 중국이 국제사회에서 고립되었던 2021 년은 정치적, 경제적, 사회적, 문화적 그리고 미디어부문에서 중국 내 큰 변화가 있었던 해이기도 하다.

2021 년 중국 시진핑 주석은 덩샤오핑의 개혁과 개방 시대의 정신인 “선부론(일부가 먼저 부자가 되는 것)”을 뒤로하고, “공동 번영”의 새로운 시대를 열기 위해 주요 경제 개혁을 단행했다. 이는 경제 정책의 방향 설정과 실행에 있어 중국 공산당의 역할을 재차 확고히 다지며 경제 불평등을 완화하고자 하는 의도였다. 동시에 2021 년은 중국 거대 부동산 그룹인恒大그룹의 부채위기가 서서히 발생하는 등 투자 주도 성장 모델의 누적 리스크가 부동산 시장에 드리워지면서 시진핑 주석의 국가 주도 경제에 대한 이념이 어려운 경제 상황과 대립하게 된 해이기도 하다.

또한, 2021 년은 2022 년을 준비하는 시진핑 주석에게 정치적으로도 중요한 해였다. 2022 년 시진핑 주석은 중국 공산당 역사 상 중요한 결의안을 통과시키고, 마오쩌둥과 덩샤오핑 시대와 시진핑 사상의 “새 시대” 간 이념 분리를 공식적으로 확립함으로써 본인의 정치적 입지를 공고히 다져 세번째 연임, 더 나아가 종신집권을 목표로 하고 있다.

한편, 대만해협, 남중국해, 인도와의 접경지역에서 지정학적 긴장도 지속적으로 고조되었다. 미국과 동맹국들이 커져가는 중국의 위협에 대비해, 인도 태평양 지역의 공동 이익 증진을 위한 새로운 메커니즘을 공고히 하는 가운데 새 미국 대통령도 취임했다. 하지만 미중 관계의 전반에 걸쳐 고조되는 긴장으로 인해 의도치 않은 갈등 리스크가 현실화되고 있다는 양국의 인식 하에 미국과 중국은 양국관계를 안정시킬 방법을 모색하기도 했다.

2022 년은 중국과 국제정세에 더 중요한 한 해가 될 것으로 전망된다. 따라서, 2021 년에 발생한 사건과 그 원인에 대해 이해하는 것이 무엇보다 중요하다. 이것이 바로 아시아소사이어티 대표, 케빈 러드(Kevin Rudd)의 이번 4 차 연례 전집의 골자이다. 이번 전집은 한 해 동안 일어난 사건에 대한 통찰력을 제시하는 선별된 에세이, 기사, 연설문을 담고 있다. 2022 년을 맞아, 새해에는 마침내 미중 관계가 안정되어 전 세계가 희망적일 수 있다. 이를 위해 변화무쌍한 한 해였던 2021 년에 무엇이 옳았고 틀렸는지 잠시 고심해볼 필요가 있다. [원문 링크: https://asiasociety.org/policy-institute/reflections-china-and-us-china-relations-2021](https://asiasociety.org/policy-institute/reflections-china-and-us-china-relations-2021)

대러 제재가 중국과의 경색 국면을 다시금 생각하게 해



2022년 3월 15일, 애나 애슈턴 (Anna Ashton) | 22/12

전개:

러시아 블라디미르 푸틴 대통령의 우크라이나 침공에 대응해 미 바이든 행정부는 동맹국들과 함께 전면적인 대러 경제 제재를 가했다. 가장 최근 제재로, 3월 11일 미국은 G7 및 유럽연합과 함께 러시아의 최혜국 지위를 박탈한다고 밝혔다. 미 의회는 오래전부터 바이든 대통령에게 이번 조치를 강력히 요청해 왔었다. 미국의 향후 대중 정책 방향 중 ‘디커플링’ (decoupling)이 가장 많이 논의되고 있다. 미국과 러시아 간의 디커플링의 대가는 만만치 않았다. 미국의 대러 제재와 러시아-우크라이나의 갈등 고조로 유가와 밀 가격이 역대 최고를 기록해 비료 및 기타 상품 가격도 덩달아 치솟을 것으로 전망된다. 운송비 상승으로 인해 덩달아 오른 상품과 서비스 가격은 향후 몇 달간 인플레이션을 더욱 악화시킬 것으로 보인다. 중국이 러시아를 노골적으로 지원하자 미중 디커플링이 본격 논의되고 있으며 그 대가는 미러 디커플링보다 더 클 것으로 전망된다.

수치 비교로 보는 러시아와 중국:

현재 미국이 겪고 있는 경제적 여파는 러시아와의 디커플링의 결과다. 중국 경제 규모는 러시아 경제보다 상대적으로 더 크며, 미중 경제관계의 규모와 범위도 미러 관계보다 더 크기 때문에 미중 디커플링의 여파가 훨씬 더 클 것이다. 다음은 러시아와 중국의 비중을 수치 비교한 것이다.

- 경제 규모 - 중국 경제 규모, 러시아와 비교 10 배 이상
- 대미 무역 - 중국, 미국의 3 대 교역국. 러시아, 20 위권 밖
- 미 수출 - 중국, 미 서비스 수출 4 대 시장이자 3 대 미 상품 수입국. 러시아, 미 상품 수출국 40 위, 서비스 수출국 19 위.'
- 미 수입 - 미국, 러 수출품 중 9% 수입. 최대 수입품인 러시아산 석유와 가스, 작년 미국 전체 공급의 1%만 차지. 중국, 모든 종류의 상품, 제조 물품, 완성품 수입하는 미국 최대 수입국

디커플링, 트럼프 시대 유물 아냐:

미중 디커플링이 수년간 논의된 사항이 아니라면, 미중 경제적 상호 의존성이 미래 관계보다 크다는 점을 고려했을 때 미중 디커플링의 가능성은 희박하다. 미 국방부 인도 태평양 안보 담당 차관보인 일라이 라트너(Ely Ratner)는 지나친 중국과의 상호 의존성으로 인한 취약성 자체가 문제이기 때문에 많은 안보 전문가들이 디커플링에 찬성한다고 2018 년 언급한 바 있다. 그리고 이러한 견해는 지난 몇 년간 더욱 퍼졌다.

바이든 행정부의 대중 접근 방식은 트럼프 때와 상이하지만, 위협을 인식하는 정도는 비슷한 수준이며 오히려 양국 관계를 더 좁히고 제한하는 경향을 보인다. 중국이 양 당을 결집 시키는 포인트로 작용해 지난 3 년만 보더라도 미 의회가 발의한 중국 관련 법안이 약 100 여 건에 달하고 그중 대부분은 양국 경제 관계 축소가 골자이다.

왜 문제가 되는가:

최근 러시아의 행보로 다른 대외 정책적 우려들이 가려졌지만 미 당국은 여전히 걱정의 눈초리로 중국을 예의주시하고 있다. 중국의 대러 지원 때문에 중국의 부상 및 전략적 의도에 관한 기존의 우려가 더욱 악화되었다. 그 결과, 다방면으로 미중 경제 교류를 축소하자는 법안들이 속속히 발의되고 있다.

몇몇 러시아 관련 법안들도 중국을 겨냥하고 있다. 예를 들어, 이달 초에 발의된 *침략자와 거래 금지법 (the No Trading with Invaders Act)*은 중국의 잠재적 대만 침략을 시사하며 WHO 회원국을 대상으로 침략 행위를 저지른 공산주의 또는 과거 공산주의 국가와의 무역 관계 정상화를 철회할 권리를 대통령에게 부여한다.

러시아와의 디커플링이 전면화된 가운데, 만약 중국이 노골적으로 대러 제재를 위반하고 러시아에 군사 장비를 제공하는 경우(미국은 중국이 이미 그랬다고 보고 있다), 또는 미국이 우크라이나에서 생화학 무기를 만들고 있다는 허위 정보를 공개적으로 퍼뜨릴 경우, 대중 강경책을 요구하는 목소리가 더욱 커질 것이다.

요점:

대러 디커플링의 즉각적, 장기적 영향은 수용할 수 있는 수준이지만, 본격 논의 중인 대중 디커플링의 여파는 차원이 다를 것이다. 첫째, 중국을 경제적으로 고립시키려는 움직임에 동맹국들, 특히 인도 태평양 지역 동맹국들을 동참시키는 것은 매우 어려운 일이 될 것이다. 미국만 독자적으로 진행할 경우 경제 제재의 효과가 떨어질 뿐만 아니라 그 결과를 미국 국민들에게 납득시키기 힘들 것이다.

둘째, 동맹국들의 동참 유무를 떠나, 현재 미국이 취하고 있는 대러 정책과 유사한 접근 방식을 중국에 취하면 미국과 국제사회는 생각보다 더 큰 결과를 마주하게 될 것이며 역대 최고 유가보다 더 큰 영향을 초래할 것이다.

여러 여건들이 수반되기 때문에 자동차 배터리와 수술용 마스크부터 속옷과 화장지에 이르기까지 특정 상품의 생산, 공급 및 가격 책정에 미칠 수 있는 영향을 정확히 예측하기가 어렵다. 그뿐만 아니라 물가 상승 및 실업, 저조한 경제성장, 재정적 여파 등이 미국 국민들의 생활에 끼칠 피해도 정확히 판단하기 어렵다. 한 가지 확실한 것은 현재 겪고 있는 피해는 미중 무역에 막대한 조치가 취해졌을 경우와 비교하면 새 발의 피라는 것이다.

원문링크: <https://asiasociety.org/policy-institute/aspi-note-russia-reprisals-should-prompt-policymakers-think-twice-about-severing>

제로 코로나(Zero-COVID) 정책으로 위기에 몰린 중국



(Photo by STR / AFP via Getty Images)

2022년 4월 4일, 네이션 레빈 (Nathan Levine), 대니 리 (Danny Li)

현황: 2년 만에 처음으로 중국 본토에서 코로나 환자가 급증하자 중국의 '제로 코로나 (Zero-COVID)' 정책이 도마에 올랐다.

- 3월 28일, 상하이에는 2천 6백만 명의 시민들을 9일간 봉쇄하는 조치를 내렸다. 하루 전 날 밤에 급하게 내린 봉쇄 조치에 따르면, 모든 코로나 검사가 끝나기 전까지 도시를 두 봉쇄 구간으로 나눈다.

배경: 상하이 당국은 도시 차원의 봉쇄 조치를 지금까지 배제해 왔지만 갑자기 입장을 바꿨다.

- 3월 27일, 상하이에서 중국 전체 일일 확진자 수의 절반 이상에 해당하는 3천 500명이라는 기록적인 확진자가 발생하자 갑작스레 강력한 봉쇄 조치를 다시 취하게 되었다.
- 올해 더 감염성이 높은 변이 바이러스의 등장으로 대규모 감염이 발생했던 선전, 홍콩, 지린 등을 포함한 중국 여러 지방과 도시에서도 이미 다음과 같은 상황이 전개되었다.

영향: 종합적으로, 다시 시작된 대규모 봉쇄 조치는 이미 심각한 역풍을 맞고 있던 중국 경제에 치명적인 경제적 손실을 초래하고 있다.

- 현재 강력한 제한 조치가 취해지고 있는 지역들은 중국 전체 경제의 3분의 1을 차지하는 지역으로, 낫잡아 산출한 월 손실 피해액은 460억 달러, 중국 GDP의 3.1% 수준이다.
- 만약 중국이 제로 코로나 정책을 유지할 경우, 연 GDP의 0.6%에서 1.5%가량 추가 손실이 발생하여 중국의 2022년 목표인 5.5% GDP 성장에 차질이 생길 수 있다.
- 한 설문조사에서 해외 제조업체 중 20%가 코로나 제한 조치가 더 연장될 경우 사업장을 중국 외 지역으로 옮길 것이라고 응답했다.
- 중국은 이미 거시경제적 지정학적 우려 속에서 지난 한 달간 이른바 전례 없는 자본 도피를 경험했다. 2월 중국 국내 채권 보유액은 105억 달러 감소했고, 2월 20일 이후 해외 투자자들은 160억 달러만큼 주식을 팔았다.

행간: 중국 당국이 공중보건과 경제적, 정치적 목표를 한 번에 다 이루려고 하다 보니 막다른 길에 내몰린 듯하다.

- 80세 이상 중 40%를 포함해 총 1억 3천만 명의 60세 이상의 고령자들이 백신 접종을 마치지 않은 상태이기 때문에 바이러스가 더 빠르게 확산될 경우 취약계층인 고령자들은 더 위험해진다.
- 전 세계적으로 '위드 코로나' 전략을 취하며 개방하는 이 시점에 이번 재 봉쇄 조치는 중국 당국의 무관용 원칙과 봉쇄 중심의 전략이 과연 장기적으로 효과가 있는가에 대한 의문을 야기한다.
- 한편, 최근 몇 달간 대중이 당국 조치에 대한 불만을 드러내면서 제로 코로나 정책에 대한 중국 국민들의 인내심이 바닥을 보이고 있다.

시진핑 주석의 입장: 3월 초 시진핑 주석은 최소한의 비용으로 최대의 예방과 통제 효과를 달성하

고 사회와 경제 발전에 미치는 코로나 피해를 최소화하라고 당국자들에게 지시하며, 경제와 민생에 끼치는 코로나 제한 조치의 영향을 줄이겠다고 약속했다.

- 부작용 없이 바이러스를 완벽하게 통제하라는 주석의 명령을 만족시키는 것은 불가능하다. 하지만 지역 당국자들에게겐 바이러스를 최대한 통제하라는 명령 외 다른 방법을 동원하는 위험을 감수할 이유가 없다. 그 누구도 바이러스 통제 실패로 직무유기에 처해지는 것을 원하지 않는다.

요점: 이번 사태는 중국에 있어 공중보건 위기가 될 뿐만 아니라 시진핑 주석에게도 정치적 위기가 될 가능성이 높다. 제로 코로나 전략은 팬데믹 기간 동안 시진핑 주석과 중국에 자부심이었고, 한때 관영매체는 중국의 놀라운 제도적 이점과 강한 국력을 증명했다고 자화자찬을 했지만 지금은 정책적 함정이 될 위기에 놓였다.

- 시진핑 주석은 본인을 코로나와 인민의 전쟁에서 홀로 승리를 이끈 장본인이라 칭하였다. 만약 바이러스가 재 확산되거나 경제적 피해로 인해 제로 코로나 정책을 스스로 물린다면 시 주석의 정치적 평판은 중대한 위기를 맞을 것이다.
- 5년마다 열리는 주요 정치 회의이자 시진핑 주석이 세 번째 연임을 목표로 하는 20차 당대회가 올가을에 열린다. 시 주석이 코로나 상황을 안정시키고 더 강한 경제 성장을 회복시키지 못한다면 시 주석의 정책 결정에 대한 내부 분열이 일어날 것이고 결국 정치적으로 중요한 시기에 시 주석의 지위가 훼손될 수 있다.

원문링크: <https://asiasociety.org/policy-institute/aspi-note-beijing-risks-being-trapped-its-zero-covid-policy>



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Chorokbaem Media
EY Han Young
Hana Financial Investment Co., Ltd.
HDC Group
Kim & Chang
Korea Investment & Securities Co., Ltd.
Korean Air
Lee & Ko
MIGHT & MAIN corp.
Mirae Asset Securities Co., Ltd.
Poongsan
Yulchon LLC

CHAIRMAN'S CIRCLE

(5,000,000 KRW)

Cheol Huh
Haelyung Hwang
Young-Joon Kim
Mark Tetto

