Impact of COVID-19 on the International Student Community: Resilience of the Students and Broader Implications (May 25, 2020)

May 25, 2020 — Asia 21 class of 2016 Sylvia Kim caught up an interview with Professor Nirmala Rao, Vice Chancellor of Asian University for Women, regarding the impact of COVID-19 on the academic community. A leading expert striving for the improvement of women's right, Professor Rao emphasized the significance of protecting human rights, securing equality, as well as the right for education amid global pandemic crisis.

GUEST SPEAKER
Nirmala Rao
Professor Nirmala Rao is a former Pro-Director (Learning and Teaching) of SOAS, University of London. After completing her PhD from Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London, she joined the Politics Department at Goldsmiths College where she was elected Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences in 2003. She has published extensively in the field of urban governance and has served as an advisor to a range of bodies including the UK Audit Commission and the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM). She currently serves as a Trustee of the Learning from Experience Trust, and is a member of the Governing Body of Trinity Laban Conservatoire of Music and Dance, and of the Council of the Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU).

MODERATOR
Sylvia Kim
Sylvia Kim is an award-winning human rights lawyer and multilingual non-profit executive with over 12 years of experience in rights-based advocacy, community leadership, strategic planning and fundraising. Sylvia’s latest ventures have been in the intersection of AI and healthcare and leveraging technology for good.

Previously, Sylvia co-founded a human rights organization for North Korean human rights and was the Orange County Regional Director for Asian Americans Advancing Justice - the nation’s largest legal service and civil rights organization advocating on behalf of Asian Americans, Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders. Most recently, Sylvia was the Chief Innovation Officer at the Asian Pacific Community Fund and Founding Director of the country’s first National Asian American Community Foundation. Her success in these roles was recognized by Coast Magazine who named her as one of Orange County’s 2019 ‘Game Changers’.

Sylvia has also been featured in the LA times, NPR, ABC News, the OC Register and the New York Times and has been recognized for her advocacy work by local, national, and international agencies including the National Asian Pacific American Bar Association (Best Under 40), the International Association of Korean Lawyers (Public Interest award), the Orange County Bar Association (Courage Award for Diversity & Inclusion) and the Asia Society’s Asia 21 Young Leaders. Currently, Sylvia is working on a book that reflects her advocacy work on the empowerment of underserved communities. Her writing has been published by the Huffington Post, NextShark, Full Grown People and the Press Enterprise.

Originally from Toronto, Canada, Sylvia practiced criminal law as both a defense attorney and as an Assistant Crown Attorney before her career in community-based work. Sylvia received her Bachelor’s degree at Queen's University, her Juris Doctor from Osgoode Hall Law School and completed her Master of Studies in International Human Rights Law (LL.M. equivalent) at Oxford University.

May 26, 2020 — Mason Richey, Senior Contributing Writer to Asia Society Korea as well as an Associate Professor at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, hosted an online roundtable with H.E. Michael Reiterer, Ambassador of the European Union to South Korea, Sheena Chestnut Greitens, Assistant Professor at the University of Missouri, and Yascha Mounk, Associate Professor at Johns Hopkins University, discussing about the impact of COVID-19 on the modern day democratic world.

SPEAKERS
Yascha Mounk
Professor Yascha Mounk is an Associate Professor of the Practice of International Affairs at Johns Hopkins University, where he holds appointments in both the School of Advanced International Studies and the Agora Institute. Yascha is also a Senior Advisor at Protect Democracy, a Senior Fellow at the German Marshall Fund, a Senior Fellow at Harvard’s Ash Center for Democratic Governance, a Senior Fellow at New York University’s Reiss Center on Law and Security, and a term member of the Council on Foreign Relations. Yascha’s 2018 book The People versus Democracy – Why Our Freedom Is in Danger and How to Save It explains the causes of the populist rise and investigates how to renew liberal democracy. The book has been translated into eleven languages, and hailed as one of 2018’s Best Books of the Year by multiple publications, including the Financial Times. A Contributing Editor at The Atlantic, Yascha regularly writes for newspapers and magazines including The New York Times, The New Yorker, and Foreign Affairs. He is also is also a regular columnist or contributor for major international publications including Die Zeit, La Repubblica, l’Express, Folha de Sao Paolo, Kultura Liberalna, and Letras Libres. Professor Mounk received his BA in History from Trinity College, Cambridge, and his PhD in Government from Harvard University.

H.E. Michael Reiterer
Dr. Michael Reiterer is Ambassador of the European Union to the Republic of Korea, having previously held the position of Principal Advisor at the Asia and Pacific Department, European External Action Service (EEAS), Brussels, in charge of strategic and security matters. He previously served as EU Ambassador to Switzerland and the Principality of Liechtenstein (2007-2011), Minister/Deputy Head of the EU-Delegation to Japan (2002-2006) and ASEM Counselor (1998-2002). Ambassador Reiterer studied law at the University of Innsbruck (Dr. juris) and holds diplomas in international relations from the Johns Hopkins University/Bologna Center and the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva. In 2005, he was appointed adjunct professor (Dozent) for international politics at the University of Innsbruck. Time permitting, he teaches at various universities and specializes in EU foreign policy, EU-Asia relations and interregionalism, areas in which he has published extensively.

Sheena Chestnut Greitens
Professor Sheena Chestnut Greitens’ work focuses on East Asia, American national security, and authoritarian politics
and foreign policy. Her first book, *Dictators and their Secret Police: Coercive Institutions and State Violence* (Cambridge, 2016) received the 2017 Best Book Award from both the International Studies Association and the Comparative Democratization section of the American Political Science Association. Her work on China and North Korea has appeared in academic journals and edited volumes in English, Chinese, and Korean, and in major media outlets. She has also previously testified to Congress on security issues in the Indo-Pacific. In 2017-18, Greitens served as the First Lady of Missouri, where she helped lead the state’s trade mission to China and South Korea, and successfully advocated for major legislative and administrative reforms to Missouri’s policies on foster care, adoption, and child abuse prevention. She holds a doctorate from Harvard University, an M.Phil from Oxford University, and a bachelor's from Stanford University. Currently at the University of Missouri, in August 2020 Sheena Chestnut Greitens will become an associate professor at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Austin, and a faculty affiliate at the Clements and Strauss Centers. She is also a non-resident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, an adjunct fellow with the Korea Chair at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, an associate in research at the Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies at Harvard University, and a member of the Digital Freedom Forum at the Center for a New American Security.

**MODERATOR**

**Mason Richey**

Mason Richey is associate professor of international politics at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies (Seoul, South Korea), as well as contributing writer to Asia Society 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.

Dr. Richey received his Ph.D. from Binghamton University, New York.

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June 17, 2020 — The day after North Korea's bombing of inter-Korean liaison office, Asia Society Korea's Senior Contributor Mason Richey hosted an online roundtable with John Delury, Asia 21 member and professor at Yonsei University, Young-jun Kim, professor at Korea National Defense University, and Oriana Skylar Mastro, professor at Georgetown University, to talk about the 70th Anniversary of Korean War and the history of Korea after the War.

SPEAKERS

John Delury
Professor John Delury is a historian of modern China and expert on US-China relations and Korean Peninsula affairs. He is the author, with Orville Schell, of *Wealth and Power: China's Long March to the Twenty-first Century*, and his articles have appeared in the *Journal of Asian Studies*, *Asian Perspective* and *Late Imperial China*. He contributes regularly to *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *Global Asia*, and *38 North*. He is a senior fellow of the Asia Society and Pacific Century Institute and member of the Council of Foreign Relations, National Committee on US-China Relations and National Committee on North Korea. Prior to joining the Yonsei faculty in 2010, Dr. Delury offered courses at Brown, Columbia, Yale and Peking University, and served as founding associate director of the Asia Society Center on US-China Relations in New York. He is currently writing a book about US-China relations during the Cold War, focusing on the case of imprisoned CIA officer Jack Downey. He is also working on a series of articles on China-North Korea relations and co-authored book project with Patrick McEachern on North Korean politics and history. Professor Delury received his Ph.D. in History from Yale University.

Young-jun Kim
Dr. Young-jun Kim is a Professor at the National Security College at the Korea National Defense University (KNDU). He is now a member of 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). At the Prime Minister's Office, he is an official reviewer of the Government Performance Review on Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Unification. He is a member of the ROK-US Combined Forces Commander's Strategic Shaping Board (CSSB). He is Senior Research Fellow at the U.S. Army's Foreign Military Studies Office (FMSO) at Fort Leavenworth. 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. He is a managing editor of the new journal "The Korean Journal of Nuclear Nonproliferation and Energy" sponsored by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the General-Director for the Korea Nuclear Policy Society, Korea International Studies Association and Korea Defense Policy Association.
Oriana Skylar Mastro

Oriana Skylar Mastro is an assistant professor of security studies at the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University. In August, Dr. Mastro will join the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, Stanford University as a Center Fellow where she will continue her research on Chinese military and security policy, Asia-Pacific security issues, war termination, and coercive diplomacy. Dr. Mastro is also a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute and an inaugural Wilson Center China Fellow. Mastro continues to serve in the United States Air Force Reserve for which she works as a Senior China Analyst at the Pentagon. For her contributions to U.S. strategy in Asia, she won the Individual Reservist of the Year Award in 2016. She has published widely, including in Foreign Affairs, International Security, International Studies Review, Journal of Strategic Studies, The Washington Quarterly, The National Interest, Survival, and Asian Security, and is the author of The Costs of Conversation: Obstacles to Peace Talks in Wartime, (Cornell University Press, 2019). She holds a B.A. in East Asian Studies from Stanford University and an M.A. and Ph.D. in Politics from Princeton University. Her publications and other commentary can be found on twitter @osmastro and www.orianaskylarmastro.com.

About the Moderator
Mason Richey

Mason Richey is associate professor of international politics at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies (Seoul, South Korea), as well as contributing writer to Asia Society 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.

Dr. Richey received his Ph.D. from Binghamton University, New York.
June 24, 2020 — Asia Society Korea hosted an online discussion with Marc Knapper, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Japan and Korea, and John Delury, Asia 21 member and a professor of Chinese Studies at Yonsei University, to look into the U.S.-Korea relations amid the time of the pandemic crisis.

**SPEAKER**

**Marc Knapper**

Mr. Marc Knapper is Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Japan and Korea. Prior to that, he was a Chargé d’Affaires of the U.S. Embassy in Seoul; the Director of the Department of State’s Office of India Affairs, and Japanese Affairs; Political Counselor in the U.S. Embassy in Baghdad; Deputy Chief of the Political Section at the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo; and Political Counselor at the U.S. Embassy in Hanoi.

Mr. Knapper brings an extensive knowledge of the Republic of Korea and the Asia-Pacific region to his current assignment, having served twice at the U.S. Embassy in Seoul — first between 1993 and 1995, and again between 1997 and 2001. He has also completed assignments in the Department of State’s Office for Chinese and Mongolian Affairs, and during an early assignment in Tokyo, he served as aide to Ambassador Walter Mondale. Mr. Knapper has twice traveled to the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea for official purposes, once in 1997 as the State Department representative to the Spent Fuel Team at the Yongbyon nuclear facility, and again in 2000 as part of the advance team for then-Secretary of State Madeleine Albright’s visit to Pyongyang.

Mr. Knapper is the recipient of a number of awards from the U.S. Department of State, including Linguist of the Year and three Superior Honor Awards. He is a summa cum laude graduate from Princeton University, with a BA in Politics and a minor in East Asian Studies. After graduation, he studied for two years at the University of Tokyo as a graduate research student. He is also a graduate of Middlebury College’s intensive Japanese program, the Army War College, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology’s Seminar XXI course. Mr. Knapper speaks Korean, Japanese, and Vietnamese.

**MODERATOR**

**John Delury**

Professor John Delury is a historian of modern China and expert on US-China relations and Korean Peninsula affairs. He is the author, with Orville Schell, of *Wealth and Power: China’s Long March to the Twenty-first Century*, and his articles have appeared in the *Journal of Asian Studies*, *Asian Perspective* and *Late Imperial China*. He contributes regularly to *Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy, Global Asia*, and *38 North*. He is a senior fellow of the Asia Society and Pacific Century Institute and member of the Council of Foreign Relations, National Committee on US-China Relations and National Committee on North Korea. Prior to joining the Yonsei faculty in 2010, Dr. Delury offered courses at Brown, Columbia, Yale and Peking University, and served as founding associate director of the Asia Society Center on US-China Relations in New York. He is currently writing a book about US-China relations during the Cold War, focusing on the case of imprisoned CIA officer Jack Downey. He is also working on a series of articles on China-North Korea relations and co-authored book project with Patrick McEachern on North Korean politics and history.

Professor Delury received his Ph.D. in History from Yale University.
Race and Social Exclusion in a Global Context: Perspectives from the US and Korea (June 25, 2020)

June 25, 2020 — Asia Society Korea invited Gen.(ret.) Vincent Brooks, former Commander of UNC, CFC and USFK, Nemo Kim, journalist, Mitchell Moss, Minister Counselor for Public Diplomacy at the U.S. Embassy in Seoul, and Angela Naimou, professor at Clemson University, to discuss and share views about race and social exclusion in a global context.

SPEAKERS

Gen. Vincent K. Brooks

Vincent K. Brooks is a career Army officer who retired from active duty in January 2019 as the four-star general in command of over 650,000 Koreans and Americans under arms.

General Brooks, who goes by “Vince,” is a 1980 graduate of the United States Military Academy at West Point, the first class to include women, and he led the 4,000 cadets as the cadet brigade commander or “First Captain.” A history-maker, Brooks is the first African American to have been chosen for this paramount position, and he was the first cadet to lead the student body when women were in all four classes (freshman or “plebe” to senior or “first classman”). He is also the eighth African American in history to attain the military’s top rank – four-star general in the United States Army.

He holds a Bachelor of Science in Engineering from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point; a Master of Military Art and Science from the prestigious U.S. Army School of Advanced Military Studies at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas; was a National Security Fellow at the Harvard University John F. Kennedy School of Government; and also holds an honorary Doctor of Laws from the New England School of Law as well as an honorary Doctor of Humanities from New England Law | Boston.

Widely respected as a speaker and leader of cohesive, innovative organizations, within and beyond the military, his areas of expertise are: leadership in complex organizations, crisis leadership, and building cohesive trust-based teams, national security, policy, strategy, international relations, military operations, combating terrorism and countering the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, diversity and inclusion. He is a combat veteran and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

In retirement, General Brooks is a Director of the Gary Sinise Foundation; a visiting Senior Fellow at Harvard Kennedy School’s Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs; a Distinguished Fellow at the University of Texas, with both the Clements Center for National Security and also the Strauss Center for International Security and Law; an Executive Fellow with the Institute for Defense and Business; and the President of VKB Solutions LLC.

Vince is from a career military family and claims Alexandria, Virginia as home given the long roots in maternal and paternal branches of the family tree. Vince is married to Carol P. Brooks, MA, DSc, a retired Physical Therapist and currently an adult Educator. The two reside in Austin, Texas.
Nemo Kim
Nemo Kim is a journalist based in Seoul who writes on the two Koreas for The Guardian and Billboard. She has also reported on the Korean Peninsula and related issues for BBC World TV, BBC World Service, Variety, Nikkei Asian Review and CNN.com. Prior to this, she served as Seoul Business Correspondent at NHK World of Japan. Ms. Kim previously anchored a daily news program at KBS World which was broadcast in over 100 countries. Before that she served as a news producer at KBS London Bureau.
Ms. Kim began teaching in the East Asian Department at SOAS (the University of London) in 1995 and went on to teach Korean Politics and Diplomacy, Social Issues in Korea and Korean Popular Culture at Korea University, Soonchunhyang University and Hankuk University of Foreign Studies. She also designed and currently teaches a course in Screen Translation at the Literature Translation Institute, under South Korea's Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism. Ms. Kim received a BA in English Literature with Drama and an MA in Comparative Literature (with a focus on Chinese and Japanese Literature and Translation Studies) from the University of London. She received MSt in International Relations from the University of Cambridge. Ms. Kim speaks French and German.

Mitchell R. Moss
Mitchell Moss leads the Public Diplomacy section in Embassy Seoul in planning and executing our strategic communications and outreach efforts. Prior to this assignment, he directed the Office of Strategic, Proliferation and Military Affairs in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, which provides intelligence analysis to senior policymakers on the global proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, strategic nuclear forces and conventional military forces and weapons systems.
Mr. Moss previously served as Deputy Director in INR's Office of Intelligence Operations and Oversight, charged with supporting relations with the intelligence community regarding operations, human intelligence requirements, and the promotion of global diplomatic reporting. Mr. Moss’ prior overseas service includes Public Affairs Counselor in Islamabad, Press Counselor/Spokesperson in Paris and Berlin, and Deputy PAO in Kabul. Mr. Moss also previously served in Nigeria, Argentina, and Malawi.
Mr. Moss obtained an M.S. in National Security and Resource Strategy (with a focus on military aviation) from the Dwight D. Eisenhower School at National Defense University, an M.F.A. in fiction writing from the University of Iowa, a J.D. from Tulane University, and a B.A. in English and Philosophy from Loyola University, New Orleans. He speaks French, German and Spanish.

Angela Naimou
Angela Naimou is an associate professor at Clemson University. She teaches and writes about contemporary literature and its capacious engagements with law, empire, the state, race, and migration. She is the author of Salvage Work: U.S. and Caribbean Literatures amid the Debris of Legal Personhood (2015), which won the Association for the Study of the Arts of the Present Book Prize and received Honorable Mention for the Modern Language Association’s William Sanders Scarborough Award. She is at work on two projects. One is a book about contemporary literature and international border regimes. It brings English, Spanish, and Arabic languages and literary forms together to examine literary and activist conceptions of futurity in the global migration order, especially as it involves militarized borders and resource extraction as well as refuge, asylum, detention, and deportation. Naimou is also working on Diaspora and Literary Studies, a critical volume to be published as part of Cambridge UP’s Critical Concepts Series.
Naimou co-edits Humanity journal, a multidisciplinary and international journal of human rights, humanitarianism, and development (U Penn). The statement by the editorial collective can be found here. She also serves as Associate Editor of the journal Contemporary Literature (U Wisconsin).
Naimou received her Ph.D. of English from Cornell University.

MODERATOR
Mason Richey
Mason Richey is associate professor of international politics at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies (Seoul, South Korea), as well as contributing writer to Asia Society 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.
Dr. Richey received his Ph.D. from Binghamton University, New York.
Hoping for the Best, Preparing for the Worst: U.S.-Korea Relations and the State of U.S. Extended Nuclear Deterrence on the Korean Peninsula (July 29, 2020)

July 29, 2020 — Asia Society Korea’s Senior Contributor Mason Richey hosted an online roundtable with SungJoo Han, Asia Society Korea’s board member, Duyeon Kim, Senior Advisor of the International Crisis Group, and Vipin Narang, Associate Professor of Political Science at MIT, to discuss the ongoing U.S.-Korea relations and the U.S.’s nuclear deterrence on the Korean Peninsula.

SPEAKERS
SungJoo Han
Dr. SungJoo Han is a board member of Asia Society Korea, and the Chairman of the Korean American Association, the Asan Institute for Policy Studies (AIPS) and the International Policy Studies Institute of Korea (IpsiKor). He also serves as President Emeritus of the Seoul Forum for International Affairs and is a Professor Emeritus at Korea University. Prof. Han previously served as the Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1993, UN Secretary-General’s Special Representative for Cyprus in 1996, a member of the UN Inquiry Commission on the 1994 Rwanda Genocide in 1999, Chairman of the East Asia Vision Group in 2000, and Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to the United States in 2003. Dr. Han is a graduate of Seoul National University in 1962 and received a Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of California, Berkeley in 1970. Previously, he taught at City University of New York in 1970 and was a visiting Professor at Columbia University in 1986 and Stanford University in 1992. He was also a Distinguished Fellow at the Rockefeller Brothers Fund in 1986. His English publications include Korean Diplomacy in an Era of Globalization (1995), Korea in a Changing World (1995), and Changing Values in Asia (1999). He has many publications in Korean, including Nam Gwa Puk, korigo Sekye (The Two Koreas and the World) (2000).

Duyeon Kim
Duyeon Kim is Senior Advisor for Northeast Asia and Nuclear Policy at the International Crisis Group. Her writings have appeared in leading publications including Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy, and World Politics Review and her commentary appears in global media including CNN, BBC, The Washington Post, The New York Times, and The Guardian. She is also a Columnist with the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists and Adjunct Senior Fellow at the Center for a New American Security. Previously, she was an Associate in the Nuclear Policy and Asia Programs at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and as a Senior Fellow and Deputy Director for Non-Proliferation at the Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation. Kim serves on the Board of Directors of the bilateral Korea-America
Association, and as a member of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific, the National Committee on North Korea, and the Fissile Materials Working Group.

Vipin Narang

Vipin Narang is an Associate Professor of Political Science at MIT and a member of MIT's Security Studies Program. He received his Ph.D. from the Department of Government, Harvard University in May 2010, where he was awarded the Edward M. Chase Prize for the best dissertation in international relations. He holds a B.S. and M.S. in chemical engineering with distinction from Stanford University and an M. Phil with Distinction in international relations from Balliol College, Oxford University, where he studied on a Marshall Scholarship. He has been a fellow at Harvard University’s Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, a predoctoral fellow at Harvard University’s Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, and a Stanton junior faculty fellow at Stanford University’s Center for International Security and Cooperation. His research interests include nuclear proliferation and strategy, South Asian security, and general security studies.


MODERATOR

Mason Richey

Mason Richey is associate professor of international politics at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies (Seoul, South Korea), as well as contributing writer to Asia Society 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.

Dr. Richey received his Ph.D. from Binghamton University, New York.

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Performing in the Pandemic: 
How COVID-19 Has Affected the Arts in Korea (August 27, 2020)

August 27, 2020 — Asia Society Korea’s Senior Contributor Mason Richey invited Haesung Choe, a violinist at the Seoul Philharmonic Orchestra, Jocelyn Collette Clark, a Korean traditional music expert and a professor at Pai Chai University, and Nemo Kim, a journalist and an expert in Korean entertainment stationed in Seoul, to share thoughts and experiences of performing arts amidst the time of the pandemic.

**SPEAKERS**

**Haesung Choe**
Violinist Haesung Choe is currently a member of the Seoul Philharmonic Orchestra. In addition, she has given performances as a soloist and chamber musician at diverse festivals and music venues throughout Europe and South Korea, such as Festival Archipel, Milano Musica, Bologna festival, Tongyoung music festival, Cité de la musique Paris, and many others. She has appeared as soloist with the Seoul symphony orchestra, l’Orchestre Chambre de Lausanne, Timisoara Philharmonic, and the Gunsan philharmonic orchestra. As a devoted performer of music of our time, her solo repertoires include music of Iannis Xenakis, Salvatore Sciarrino, Luigi Nono, Isang Yun, and others. She has played as concertmaster in the Ensemble Contrechamps in Geneva. She also formed a unique recorder-violin duo Octopus for whom many composers dedicated their new pieces. Having started her music study at the age of 5, Haesung Choe obtained a Bachelor’s degree from Korean National University of Arts, a Master’s degree from the Manhattan School of Music, and a Diplôme de Soliste from the Conservatoire de Lausanne in Switzerland. She was a member of quartet Gaia till 2016, and is currently a member of Seoul Philharmonic Orchestra.

**Jocelyn Collette Clark**
Jocelyn Clark (B.A. Wesleyan University, A.M./Ph.D. Harvard University) is a professor at Pai Chai University. She has published in academic journals such as The World of Music, Asian Musicology, and Perspectives on Korean Music. Her research interests include music of place, orality, aesthetics, and contemporary “national music” performance practices in Korea, China, and Japan. She is engaged in long-term field research on sanjo and byeongchang.

**Nemo Kim**
Nemo Kim is a journalist based in Seoul who writes on the two Koreas for The Guardian and Billboard. She has also reported on the Korean Peninsula and related issues for BBC World TV, BBC World Service, Variety, Nikkei Asian
Ms. Kim began teaching in the East Asian Department at SOAS (the University of London) in 1995 and went on to teach Korean Politics and Diplomacy, Social Issues in Korea and Korean Popular Culture at Korea University, Soonchunhyang University and Hankuk University of Foreign Studies. She also designed and currently teaches a course in Screen Translation at the Literature Translation Institute, part of South Korea's Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism.

Ms. Kim received a BA in English Literature with Drama and an MA in Comparative Literature (with a focus on Chinese and Japanese Literature and Translation Studies) from the University of London. She has an MSt in International Relations from the University of Cambridge. Ms. Kim speaks French and German.

MODERATOR
Mason Richey

Mason Richey is associate professor of international politics at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies (Seoul, South Korea), as well as contributing writer to Asia Society 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.

Dr. Richey received his Ph.D. from Binghamton University, New York.
Interview with Jeongho Nam: Legacy of Nam June Paik

Jeongho Nam is an editorial writer at the JoongAng Ilbo, one of the biggest newspapers in Korea. He has specialized in int’l affairs covering a wide range of topics from celebrity interviews to national security issues. In addition to general articles, he used to contribute a weekly column to the JoongAng Ilbo, the newspaper published by JMNet. Through these works, he has frequently traveled abroad and interviewed many distinguished figures including Prime Minister of India Manmohan Singh, Prime Minister of Australia Julia Gillard, President of South Africa Nelson Mandela and Secretary General of the UN Ban Ki-Moon. Mr. Nam entered the JoongAng Ilbo in 1989. Since then, he has worked as a reporter in three fields; City News Dept, Political News Dept, and International News Dept. Among them, international affair became his main area of interest.

This interview deals with his recently published work, “Nam June Paik,” a book about a Korean media artist who is internationally praised as the genius of the century.

1. It seems quite unusual for an editorial writer who mostly covers politics and international affairs to be interested in an artist. What was it about Nam June Paik and his work that attracted you the most?

My attraction to Nam June Paik comes from the profoundness and diversity of his world of art. Nam June Paik had deep knowledge, transcending time and space, and stretching from prehistoric times to today’s digital age. This philosophical background was the foundation for his making the video work portraying Marco Polo, a Westerner, who ventured through the East with an Eastern hero, Genghis Khan, who raided the West, to find the wonders of the East. If a layperson delves into the art world of Nam June Paik in this profound manner, he or she is bound to discover ideas and philosophy that had never been considered. I was most likely attracted to Nam June Paik’s life due to the diversity and profoundness of his world of art.

2. You also wrote a book about Nam June Paik with his wife, Shigeko Kubota, in 2010. How did she remember Nam June Paik as a husband and an artist?

Shigeko Kubota (Ms. Kubota) remembered Nam June Paik as a genius of the century and an individual with childlike purity. When I met Ms. Kubota in New York, she told me several stories that highlighted the uniqueness of Nam June Paik. Although he was the son of a rich family, he was unable to eat due to his devotion to art. The most memorable story was the one in which Nam June Paik suddenly proposed to her, despite his disinterest in marriage, when Ms. Kubota was diagnosed with uterine cancer. Due to their married status, she was able to receive treatment in the US with medical benefits from his insurance. I was told Nam June Paik never mentioned this to anyone, perhaps out of respect for Ms. Kubota.

3. In the book, you followed some of the routes that Nam June Paik traveled, visiting many different countries and meeting many of his colleagues. If you had to choose one place and one person that impressed you the most, where and who would that be?

Out of the many places I have visited on this journey, the most fascinating was Kamakura, a historic town in Japan. Kamakura is the town where Nam June Paik and his family resided during their time in Japan. Kamakura has many temples and shrines. It is also the origin of Japanese Zen and this must have impacted Nam June Paik greatly. Personally, I was thrilled to find out that my favorite piece of his (and one of his most popular), ‘TV Buddha’ was created based on his time in Kamakura. The most memorable person was Nam June Paik’s German friend, Mary Bauermeister, who I met in Germany. A famous artist herself, she told me a lot of interesting, untold stories about Nam June Paik during his time in Germany. She also provided me with pictures she took with Nam June Paik that were published in my book, Paik Nam June.

4. Finally, what is Nam June Paik’s biggest strength that makes him so unique as a modern artist? What
would be the most appealing aspect of him to the international audience? What is the message that we can take from him and his art today?

Although Nam June Paik was born in Korea, his artwork had the universality that enabled it to communicate with audiences beyond borders. It is also the reason why South Korea can present Nam June Paik to the world without hesitation. I think the most appealing aspect is his innovative spirit to creating new realms of art. That spirit is the foundation for his creation of 'Video Art' utilizing televisions and recordings. With this innovative spirit, near his death, he also created artwork involving laser beams. This tireless spirit is the essence of Nam June Paik's world of art. His entire life radiated the need for innovation that could break old concepts to create great works and achieve goals that were never achieved before.
Asia Society Korea held its third annual "Voice of Youth" Research Presentations on Friday, August 21, 2020. Many competitive applicants submitted their preliminary research plans, from which four finalists were ultimately chosen to develop their work over the past six months.

Seven distinguished judges were in attendance:
- **Eunho Kim**, CSR Manager at Citibank Korea
- **Young Joon Kim**, Board member of Asia Society Korea; Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Asian University for Women Support Foundation
- **Yvonne Kim**, Executive Director of Asia Society Korea
- **Wooil Lee**, K21 member of Asia Society Korea; Vice Plant Manager at UNID Global Corp.
- **Scott Orrantia**, Program Committee member of Asia Society Korea; Managing Director of Johnson Controls Korea
- **Mason Richey**, Contributing writer to Asia Society Korea; Associate Professor of International Politics at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies (HUFS)
- **Mark Tetto**, Board member of Asia Society Korea; Partner of TCK Investment Management

The presenters represented a number of top universities in Korea and covered a diverse range of topics.

**Haneul Kim**, an undergraduate student from Yonsei University, opened the session by discussing the nuclear issue on the Korean Peninsula. She laid out the social perceptions of the nuclear threat in South Korea and the necessity to pursue research on strengthening armaments, statistically supported by the survey results she achieved. Kim explained the complex dynamics of the situation of the Korean peninsula where the nuclear threat and the hesitance to pursue nuclear weapons intersected via quantitative research.

**Junyoung Han**, an undergraduate student from Korea University, researched the correlation between social heterogeneity and the capability of foreign aid, focusing on the case of South Korea. He pointed out the significance of social heterogeneity in processing foreign aid via quantitative empirical studies.

The last speaker was **SeoLa Kim**, who is pursuing a master’s degree at Korea University. She presented her research on the paternalistic leadership that is prevalent in Asia. Utilizing empirical studies, she pointed out the correlation between the social formation of leadership and the task performances in Korea that are different from those in the Western world.
Each presentation and research report was assessed and graded in terms of its contents, planning, strategy and applicability, delivery, and sustainability. Overall, all four participants performed exceptionally well, delivering concrete and informative research results. They each received a certificate and cash prize as a token of appreciation.

**2020 Student Participants**

**Junyoung Han (Winner)**  
**Korea University, Bachelor’s Degree in Political Science and International Relations**  
Junyoung Han is an undergraduate student majoring in Political Science and International Relations. His research interests include international cooperation, voting behavior, public opinion and political methodology. He worked as an undergraduate researcher at Korea-Asia Center for Development and Cooperation in 2017, and he also completed an internship at Asiatic Research Institute of Korea University in 2018. As a participant of Voice of Youth 2020, his research paper addressed the impact of growing social diversity on foreign aid spending among major donor countries with special focus on the case of South Korea.

**Haneul Kim**  
**Yonsei University, Bachelor’s Degree in International Studies**  
Haneul Kim is a junior at Yonsei University Underwood International College, majoring in International Studies. Her research interests include international security, global environmental issues, and human rights. She interned at the Dartmouth Sustainability Office and the Seoul National University Center for Transnational Migration and Social Inclusion, where she explored the impact of international issues on individuals’ lives. As a participant of Voice of Youth 2020, she researched the South Korean public’s perception of nuclear weapons and its implications on the country’s logic of nuclear decision-making.

**SeoLa Kim**  
**Korea University, Master’s Degree in Business Management**  
SeoLa Kim is a master candidate of Korea University Business School, majoring in the field of organizational behavior and human resource management (HRM). Her research focuses on meaningfulness, motivation, culture, counterproductive work behavior, and leadership. As a passionate student who intends to pursue further academic development, she has done a cross-cultural study regarding the effects of distinct leadership styles on employee behaviors and made a presentation about it.
Interview with H.E. Philip Turner

Kia ora koutou (greetings in the language of our indigenous people Māori).

New Zealand is a diverse and multicultural society. Over 200 different ethnicities live in our largest city Auckland. Our latest census shows 27% of the New Zealand population were born overseas; and the Asian ethnic group (15% of the population) is the third largest, after European (70.2%) and our indigenous people Māori (16.5%). The Korean community (around 36,000) accounts for 0.8% of the New Zealand population – Korean Kiwis (“Kowis” as we call them) are playing an important role in our bilateral relations with Korea. With the growing Asian population, Asian cultures are an increasingly important part of our identity. New Zealand has many cultural influences including Māori, European, Pacific and Asian.

In trade, our country has a strong interdependency with Asia. Almost 60% of New Zealand exports by value in 2019 were delivered to Asian countries. Among our top 15 trade partners, 11 were Asian countries – China, Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, Thailand, the Philippines and Vietnam. China (28.8%), Japan (6%) and South Korea (2.9%) ranked the first, fourth and fifth, respectively. South Korea is our eighth-largest trading partner with two-way goods and services trade totalling at NZ$4.9 billion in the 12 months to June 2019.

Strategically, my Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade has seven goals to achieve for New Zealand in the world over a 10-year timeframe. One of the seven strategic goals is “Asia-Pacific Architecture” – aiming to embed New Zealand as an active and integral partner in support of regional stability and economic integration.

In short, our country’s present and future are firmly tied to Asia – economically, culturally and socially. In line with that, we see that it is important to raise awareness of the region among our people and to build up opportunities in the region, especially for young New Zealanders.

The Asia New Zealand Foundation Te Whitau Tūhono is New Zealand’s leading authority on Asia. The Foundation has been executing a wide range of great initiatives to achieve its objectives of helping New Zealanders build their knowledge, skills and confidence to thrive in Asia. The Foundation’s business covers arts, business, education, entrepreneurship, leadership, research, Track II, sports and media.

In terms of building connections with Korea, the Foundation runs excellent programmes in collaboration with Korean partners. For art, Seoul Museum of Art is the Foundation’s partner, and the two bodies have been running mutual artist-in-residence programmes inviting artists from both countries. In addition, earlier this year a Korean performance group Elephant Laugh staged MULJIL at The Performance Arcade, a performing art festival in our capital city Wellington as a recipient of the Foundation’s Arts Project Grants.

In December and January, New Zealand film maker Benjamin Brooking spent a month in Korea to gain Korean film industry insights working with CJ ENM and the CJ Cultural Foundation, thanks to a partnership between the Foundation and the New Zealand Film Commission (NZFC) and Korea’s CJ Group.

In terms of Track II informal diplomacy, the Foundation and its Korean partner the Asan Institute For Policy Studies host an annual dialogue, which provides a great opportunity to discuss regional and global issues. In addition, the Foundation Leadership Network is a global professional network focused on developing and maintaining strong links between Asia and New Zealand. The group regularly visits Korea to engage with relevant organisations and figures. It is a great opportunity for our young leaders to get connected with Korean counterparts.
Through its Asia Media Centre the Foundation also supports New Zealand journalists who are interested in developing their knowledge of Asia and writing stories about the region. It is apparent that media play a pivotal role in helping raise awareness of the region among New Zealanders. There is a lot more to say about the Foundation's business but for more details, please visit its website.

I would like to also mention our Prime Minister’s Scholarship for Asia, a government-funded programme that offers Kiwis a more affordable way to study in the region. Increasing numbers of Kiwi students have opportunities to study in Korea under the scholarships.

The North Asia Centre of Asia-Pacific Excellence (North Asia CAPE) is also committed to helping New Zealand build sustainable, future-focused trade relationships with Greater China (including Hong Kong and Taiwan), Japan, and Korea. Their diverse programme focuses on building Kiwis’ knowledge of the region including Korea.

It’s hard to wrap up this piece without mentioning the popularity of K-pop in New Zealand, as in many other countries. When K-pop boy band BTS visited the South Island in New Zealand to shoot their travel show last year, I tweeted about them in my country. I instantly find out how popular they are with their millions of global fans!

**About H.E. Philip Turner, Ambassador, Embassy of New Zealand**

Philip Turner was appointed New Zealand Ambassador to the Republic of Korea (South Korea) in March 2018. He is concurrently Ambassador to the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (North Korea).

Philip has extensive experience as a diplomat and a business leader in North Asia, with a particular focus on North Asia. With the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, he served on postings to the New Zealand Embassies in Tokyo and Brussels. He then moved to Fonterra where he worked for 18 years in a variety of senior positions in Shanghai, Tokyo, Brussels and Auckland. He managed Fonterra’s business in China, and most recently was Director of Global Stakeholder Affairs at Fonterra in Auckland. The New Zealand multinational company Fonterra is the world’s 5th largest dairy company.

Philip attended the University of Auckland in New Zealand where he graduated with a First-Class Master of Arts in History. He speaks fluent French and Japanese, conversational Chinese, and is enjoying becoming acquainted with the Korean language.

Philip is joined in Seoul by his partner Hiroshi Ikeda. Philip and Hiroshi are passionate about embracing diversity in our society.
August is a month of anniversaries! On 9 August 2020, Singapore celebrated its 55th National Day. On 8 August 2020, Singapore and the ROK commemorated the 45th anniversary of diplomatic relations between our two countries. Over the last 45 years, the relationship between Singapore and the ROK has been characterised by very close cooperation and warm ties. Both sides have unceasingly continued to explore new avenues to work together, as we strive to bring bilateral relations to the next level.

From the establishment of the Korea-Singapore Free Trade Agreement (KSFTA) which entered into force in March 2006, both countries are now looking to conclude a new Digital Partnership Agreement as we embrace the Fourth Industrial Revolution and prepare for a “new normal” post-COVID-19. Our two sides enjoy robust high-level engagements, most recently with President Moon Jae-in’s State Visit to Singapore in July 2018 as well as Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong’s Official Visit to Seoul in conjunction with the ASEAN-ROK Commemorative Summit in Busan in November 2019.

In July 2020, Singapore and the ROK also celebrated the launch of the K-Startup Centre in Singapore, the first in Southeast Asia and a culmination of an agreement signed during President Moon’s State Visit in 2018. An innovation and startup hub, Korean startups and SMEs can use the centre as a springboard to access both the Singapore and ASEAN markets. Singapore enterprises and investors will benefit from exchanges and possible co-development with these Korean companies, as well as access to tap into the Korean market. In a bid to embark on the road towards normalising business and people-to-people engagements, officials from both countries are discussing a Reciprocal Green Lane to ensure the flow of essential travelers even as we continue to learn to live with a post-COVID-19 “new normal”.

COVID-19 continues to wreak havoc globally affecting over 200 countries/regions, including the ROK and Singapore. To date, the world has over 22 million confirmed cases and 770,000 deaths. The numbers are still rising. The ROK’s COVID-19 containment strategy of swift action through widespread testing, contact tracing and rigorous treatment has won international praise.

Through public-private cooperation and active civic participation, a sense of normalcy is returning, although the ROK government continues to warn the public against complacency given the appearance of another wave of infections recently. We must remain vigilant.

For Singapore, we have implemented an elevated set of safe distancing measures and are currently in Phase 2 (out of 3) of our “circuit breaker” measures intended to minimise the spread of COVID-19 in the community. As local infections have generally remained stable, community activities have gradually been resumed, including the re-opening of public facilities, cinemas, hotels and restaurants (though large-scale events and entertainment venues such as bars continue to be suspended). Migrant workers account for a large proportion (over 90 percent) of the confirmed cases in Singapore, and authorities have recently completed COVID-19 testing for all 300,000-plus migrant workers who resided in dormitories. The COVID-19 death rate in Singapore remains one of the lowest in the world at about 0.05%, and our hospitals are not overwhelmed. Singapore will continue to monitor the situation closely, with an aim to re-open our economy and society progressively in a calibrated way.

The global COVID-19 pandemic has prompted us to make adjustments not only to our daily lives but also to the way we interact and conduct business with each other. Singaporeans and South Koreans understand the larger consequences if we let our guard down and become complacent with taking the necessary precautions to protect oneself and their loved ones. Our people continue to display resilience and adaptability in the face of the pandemic for which we still cannot see an end point to, until an effective vaccine is found.

Due to social distancing measures, the Embassy of Singapore decided to do the responsible thing and postponed the
celebration of our 55th National Day as well as the 45th anniversary of Singapore-ROK diplomatic relations through in-person receptions. Instead, I took the opportunity to visit Daegu Metropolitan City and presented 200 appreciation gift packs to the medical staff at Keimyung University Daegu Dongsan Hospital. Daegu was previously the epicentre of the COVID-19 outbreak in the ROK and Dongsan Hospital was one of the key hospitals combating the outbreak earlier. These 200 sets of famous Singapore products were a small token of appreciation for the medical staff who fought against the infections in the ROK in the earlier months this year. They are a shining example of the brave and tireless efforts of healthcare workers across the ROK, and indeed the world, in combating the virus. Daegu has transformed itself from the epicentre of the outbreak to become a prime example of the ROK’s ability to overcome the virus.

Despite the inability to hold in-person receptions, the Embassy of Singapore decided to hold our annual National Day reception for Singaporeans and Friends online. The turnout was surprisingly good with Singaporeans as well as Friends in the ROK, Mongolia and even Singapore logging on to celebrate Singapore’s 55th birthday and enjoy an evening of fun and camaraderie. This was a clear demonstration that despite the realities of COVID-19, we can still come together to support one another and share the love for our country.

Last but not least, the Embassy of Singapore also supported the Singapore Tourism Board, which organised the Summer with Singapore (SUMMSING) Food Festival in the ROK from 17 to 30 August, 2020. Due to COVID-19, Korean tourists, who rank Singapore as one of their top travel destinations, cannot travel to Singapore to savour its delicious cuisine. So, the SUMMSING Food Festival brought the mouth-watering delicacies directly to Koreans instead, until they could travel overseas again!

About H.E. Eric TEO Boon Hee, Ambassador, Embassy of Republic of Singapore

Ambassador Eric Teo was appointed as Singapore’s Ambassador to the Republic of Korea in July 2019, and concurrently accredited to Mongolia. Ambassador Teo joined the Singapore Foreign Service in 1996. He has served in various capacities in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, covering Northeast Asia and ASEAN. He was Director General of the Northeast Asia Directorate from August 2014 to May 2019. Before that, he was Deputy Head of Mission in the Singapore Embassy in Beijing from 2011 to 2014. He served as Deputy Trade Representative in the Singapore Trade Office in Taipei from 2007 to 2010, and First Secretary in the Singapore Embassy in Tokyo from 1999 to 2002.

Born in 1971, Ambassador Teo graduated from the National University of Singapore with a Bachelor of Arts (Upper Honors) in 1996. In 2005, he obtained a Master Degree in International Public Policy from John Hopkins University, United States of America. In 2010, he graduated from an Executive Programme at the Peking University, People’s Republic of China.

Ambassador Teo is married to Mdm. Kim Min Jae and they have a son and a daughter.
세계무역기구는 개혁에 성공하고 역할을 유지할 수 있을까?

본 글은 아시아소사이어티 정책연구소 (ASPI) 웬디 커틀러 (Wendy Cutler) 부소장이 2020년 5월 20일 더힐(The Hill)에 기고한 글입니다.

호베르토 아제베도는 (Roberto Azebedo) 임기보다 1년 앞서 세계무역기구(WTO) 사무 총장 자리에서 물러나갔다고 발표했다. 이는 세계 무역 혼란의 막대한 변화 속 개혁과 연관성을 유지하기 위해 고군분투하는 25년 역사의 기관에 또 다른 고난을 안겨주는 발표였다. 세계무역기구 가입국들은 3개월 내에 새로운 총장을 선출해야 하며, 그 과정과 함께 국際 무역 주체들의 운명을 좌우할 과제들에 대한 답을 마련해야한다.

1994년 마라케시에서 세계무역기구 창설이 협약되던 당시, 세계는 열의로 가득했다. 무역 장관들은 세계무역기구가 “세계경제를 강화하고 전세계 무역과 투자를 활발하게 하며 고용률 및 소득 증가에 이바지할 것”이라고 확신했다. 또한 정부가 “모든 보호주의 압력에 저항할 수 있도록”도 움직였다. 그러나 모든 게 끝내지 않았다. 창설 후 25년이 지난 지금, 세계무역기구는 아비란 분쟁 해결 시스템과 교착 상태의 협상으로 벼이 무쳐 있는 상태이다. 미국과 중국이 제네바를 넘고 무역전쟁을 이어 나가며 지난 2년간 세계무역기구는 열외 취급을 받기도 했다. 미-중 무역협정 1단계로 성황이 흐릿한 기미가 잦시 보였지만, 코로나 사태가 또다시 세계를 덮쳤다. 신종 코로나 바이러스와 함께 많은 국가들이 의료 소비재 및 의약품에 대한 수출을 제한했다.

세계무역기구는 이러한 변화에 주도권을 잡지 못하고 COVID-19 관련 무역 조치 통제에서 소외되었다. 세계무역기구는 회원국 중심의 조직이다. 만들어 리더십, 회원들의 적극적인 참여와 관심 없이는 자체적인 결과를 이끌어낼 수 없다. 미국이 세계무역기구의 수장으로서의 역할에서 물러나며 유럽과 중국도 채우지 못하는 공백을 만들었다. 중견국들의 무역 시스템의 정상화를 위한 노력에는 참가를 보낼 수 없다. 그러나 그들이 기여하는 한계가 있다.

그는 자신이 지금 물러남으로써 후임 총장이 차 후 세계무역기구 각료 팀의 하루에 자신의 임지를 확실하게 다칠 수 있는 시간을 갖다고 말했다. 그러나 아제베도의 사임일은 8월 31일로, 새로운 사무총장을 임명할 수 있는 시간은 3개월여에 불과하다. 이것은 기존의 선출 과정보다 훨씬 짧은 시간이다.

이러한 시간적 제한은 세계무역기구에 기회가 될 수도 있다. 시간적 제한으로 인해 회원들이 가장 기초 고려 사항인 ‘세계무역기구가 각 지역을 고르게 대표하는가’에 관한 고민과 선진국과 개도국의 문제점을 바라보게 될 것이다. 또한, 세계무역기구의 역량을 아기시킨 핵심적 의제들에 대한 해결을 촉구하여야 한다. 세계무역기구의 회원국들은 (1) 아르헨티나를 주도하고, 결정의 위험을 감수할 수 있으며, 회원국들은 역량의 대출될 수 있는 세계적으로 인정받는
고위 출신의 총장을 선호할 것인지, 아니면 더욱 신중하고 드러나지 않게 행동하여 회원국들의 목소리에 귀를 기울이는 총장을 선호할 것인지지를 정해야 하고; (2) 세계무역기구를 하나의 국제적 주체로 바라볼 것인지, 혹은 국가간 권리와 의무를 명시하는 계약서 역할의 연결고리로 바라볼 것인지를 결정해야 하며; (3) 시장경제체제를 표방하지 않는 국가들은 대변하지 않은 채 분쟁 해결에 대한 절차를 개혁할 수 있을 것인지에 대한 대답을 내놓아야 한다.

물론, 이들은 모두 어려운 문제들이며 회원마다 각기 다른 대답을 내놓을 가능성이 높다. 결과적으로 미국, 중국 및 162개의 회원국이 이번 여름까지 후보를 선출하지 못할 수 있으며, 이 경우 임시총장 체제가 불가피하다. 코로나 사태를 비롯하여 세계 무역 시스템이 직면한 여러 문제들을 고려할 때 참 안타까운 현실이다.

가장 중요한 것은 미국과 중국의 선발 기준이 얼마나 강경할 것인지, 또한 후보에 대한 합의점을 찾을 수 있을 지의 여부이다. 두명의 후보가 각각 2년의 임기로 알기로 한 2000년과 같은 창의력이 필요할지 모르겠다.

미국은 이 논쟁에서 어떤 입장을 취할 것인가? 트럼프 대통령은 세계무역기구 탈퇴를 고민했지만, 최근 미국무역대표부 (United States Trade Representative, USTR)에서 작성한 연례보고서에는, “(미국은) 여전히 세계무역기구가 시장을 보다 효율적으로 만들고, 세계 경제 간의 균형 있는 무역을 추진하며, 미국 국민들이 더 큰 부와 반영을 참출하는 데 중요한 역할을 할 잠재력이 있다고 믿는다”고 분명히 적혀 있다. 제네바는 미국무역대표부 로버트 라이트하이저 (Robert Lighthizer) 대표가 미국이 ‘새로운 총장 선출 과정에 참여하기를 고대한다’는 짧은 발표에 안도의 한숨을 내쉬었다.

 중국은 지금까지 이 전선에서는 조용했지만, 장샹첸 세계무역기구 중국대사는 최근 한 인터뷰에서 세계무역기구가 “리 더십의 부재와 회원국 간 신뢰 편차를 해소해야 한다”고 말했다. 또한, 그는 “중국은 다자무역체제의 주요 수혜국”이라며 “중국과 미국이 함께 협력할 수 있다면 두 국가가 이 제도 하에서 함께 혜택을 볼 수 있다”고 언급했다.

 보통의 세계무역기구 신임총장 선출이라면, 상당한 정치적 논쟁으로 이어질 것이다. 아제베도가 코로나 사태와 세계경제 악화의 시기에 갑작스럽게 떠난다는 사실 또한 선출 과정을 더욱 복잡하게 할 것이다. 회원국들은 각자가 원하는 세계 무역기구의 모습에 더 가까운 총장을 지지할 것이다. 이것은 향후 몇달간 여러 어려움을 불러일으킬 수도 있지만, 어쩌면 이는 좋은 기회가 될 수도 있다. 강하고 활동적인 총장은 우리가 원하는 역할을 해줄 수 있으리라 생각한다.
용을 상대하는 방법: 대서양 연안 국가의 도전과제, 중국

세계는 현재 미국, 유럽, 중국간 새로운 관계의 변화를 직면하고 있으며, 이는 COVID-19으로 인해 더욱 가속화되고 있다. 또한, 대서양 연안 국가간 관계는 악화되면서, 중국은 공격적인 '늑대 외교', 상업주의적 무역행보, 그리고 중국 내 사회 규제 강화 등을 더욱 확대한 입장을 내비치고 있다. 이러한 흐름은 중국에 대한 미국과 유럽의 인식과 교류 방식을 크게 변화시켰다. 중국의 변화가 대서양 연안 나 국가 관계에 어떠한 영향을 끼칠까? 또한, 대서양 연안 국가 정부, 전문가, 그리고 시민사회들이 어떻게 중국이 제기하는 도전에 대하여 긴박한 힘을 모으며 낼 수 있을까?

아시아소사이어티의 미-중관계 센터의 베르텔스만 스타트핑(Bertelsmann Stiftung)과 조지워싱턴 대학교(The George Washington University)는 중국을 바라보는 미국과 유럽의 인식과 관계의 변화에 대한 협업 보고서를 출간했다. 보고서 "용을 상대하는 방법: 대서양 연안 국가의 도전과제, 중국(Dealing with the Dragon: China as a Transatlantic Challenge)"은 미국과 유럽의 최고 유럽 전문가 43명이 대서양 연안의 공통된 관심 분야와 다양성을 파악하기 위해 모였던 심포지엄의 결과물이라 할 수 있다. 보고서는 다음 7개의 주제로 나뉜다: 1) 무역 및 투자에 대한 우려 2) 중국의 기술적 발전 3) 연결성: 중국의 일대일로(一帶一路) 사업 4) 중국의 인권문제 5) 중국의 영향력 확장을 위한 움직임 6) 중국과 글로벌 거버넌스 7) 안보 위협.

또한, 보고서는 미국과 유럽이 곧 마주할 미래에 대해서도 진단한다:

대서양 연안 국가간 긴장감이 고조되고 있음에도 불구하고 중국을 대하는 미국과 유럽의 견해(행동과 정책적 대응)는 상당히 수렴된 모습을 보인다. 미-중 관계 그리고 유럽과 중국의 관계에는 차이점보다는 공통점이 더 많다.

현재 미국과 유럽이 마주하고 있는 중국은 지난 40년간 협력 대상으로 고려하던 것과는 매우 달라졌다. 중국은 공격적인 '늑대 외교', 상업주의적인 무역 행보, 그리고 강화되는 중국 내 사회 규제 등 여러 분야에서 더욱 확대한 입장을 내비치며 대서양 연안 국가 관계의 긴장감을 고조시키고 있다.

중국에 대한 미국과 유럽의 이해와 관리는 여전히 많은 부분 결집한다. 하지만 트럼프 대통령과 그의 행정부가 보이는 유럽 동맹국에 대한 태도로 인해 대서양 연안 국가 관계 숙신뢰가 위축되었다. 유럽인들은 트럼프 행정부 아래의 미국은 예측가능성과 안정성이 떨어지며 국제적 과제(위기)를 '홀로' 직면하는 인상을 준다고 말한다. 중국에 대한 우려는 미국과 유럽의 공통된 관심사로 대서양 연안 국가 관계를 회복하는 축약화가 될 수 있다.

"개입(engagement)"만이 대중국 정책의 유일한 택임임이 될 수 없다. 미국인들은 일상에서도 빈번히 중국을 "전략적 경쟁자"라 부르고 있으며, 유럽연합은 공식적으로 중국을 파트너, 경쟁자, 그리고 "체계적 라이벌"로 지정했다. 협력과 경쟁 사이 미국과 유럽의 정책입안자들은 후자를 택하는 쪽으로 국면한 추세를 나타내고 있다.

본 보고서는 중국에 대한 유럽과 미국 간 교류 강화가 시급하다고 주장하고 있다. 중국에 대한 대서양 연안 국가간 대화는 정기적으로 이루어져야 한다. 학계와 싱크탱크 전문가들이 주를 이루는 2트랙(Track 2) 접근법과 공정자와 비공정자가 섞인 1.5 트랙(Track 1.5) 접근법 뿐만 아니라 정부간 상호작용도 1트랙(Track 1)으로 이루어질 수 있도록 제도화되어야 할 것이다.
중국의 정부주도 무역정책 이해와 대응 방안

웬디 커틀러 (Wendy Cutler), 아시아소사이어티 정책연구소 (ASPI) 부소장 — 2020년 7월 13일

최근 들어 중국의 지적재산권 침해 문제와 미-중 무역관계의 불균형에 많은 관심이 집중되어 왔지만, 중국의 대규모 산업 지원금과 공기업(State-Owned Enterprises, SOE)의 형태, 그리고 중국이 경제에 미치는 과도하면서도 모호한 영향 또한 많은 열려를 낳고 있다.

미-중 1단계 무역협정은 양국간 긴장관계 해소와 중국의 미국 상품 및 서비스 구매 활성화에 목표를 둔 반면, 산업 지원금과 관련된 문제는 아직도 해결되지 않은 상태다. 유럽연합(EU)과 일본 등 다른 교역국들은 방해를 받으면서도, 최근에는 유럽연합과 일본, 한국, 호주, 브라질, 캐나다 등과 같은 국가들은 중국의 산업 지원금 정책을 제한하기 위한 새로운 국제적 규격을 만드는 것을 매우 어려운 실정이다. 이는 정체된 세계무역기구(World Trade Organization, WTO)와 다양한 교역국들 사이의 논의가 지속되고 있다. 

이와 같은 국제사회의 공동으로 한반도를 끝으로, 무역정책과 관련한 논의는 계속되고 있다. 

최근 경제협력개발기구(Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, OECD)는 중국의 핵심 산업 분야인 알루미늄과 반도체 분야 산업 지원금이 단순히 국가의 보호를 받는 기업들이 기술 경쟁에서 유리하게 돼는 현금 지원이 아닐음을 나타내고 있다. OECD에 따르면, 기업에게 투입되는 지원금의 흐름은 위로 올라가는 업스트림 정책(upstream help)과 아래로 내려오는 다운스트림 정책(downstream help) 등 다양한 방향성을 보일 수 있으며, 우호지분, 부채 매입, 시장금리보다 낮은 가격에 제공되는 채권 등 여러 형태를 취할 수 있다고 설명한다. 또한, 상호 연결된 국제적인 이해관계(global value chains)의 특성을 이용하여 여러 생산 단계를 거쳐 특정 기업에 은행하게 이익을 주는 형식의 지원도 가능하다고 밝혔다.

중국 당국의 불투명한 정책 구조는 지원금을 받는 기업 뿐 아니라 자금의 출처까지 불분명하게 만든다. 전(前) 미국 무역대표부(Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, USTR) 지적재산권부가 현(現) 하버드 대 법학전문대학원 교수인 마크 우(Mark Wu)에 따르면, 지원금은 중앙정부기관에서 직접 유입될 뿐만 아니라 비공식적인 절차를 통해 - 때로는 전혀 언급조차 없이 상호 이해만을 바탕으로 - 간접적으로 중국공산당(Chinese Communist Party)으로 흘러 들어갈 때도 있다.

이런 상황 속에서 아시아소사이어티 정책연구소(Asia Society Policy Institute, ASPI)는 2019년 가을과 2020년 봄에 세미나를 개최해 불균형한 경쟁 및 시장 진입 장벽, 그리고 무엇보다도 공공과 공기업의 무역활동에 반하는 요소들의 주변에 중국의 지원금 정책에 맞서기 위한 인프라를 구축할 최선의 방안을 논의했다. 민간 부문, 싱크탱크, 정부, 학계의 전문가들이 제시한 해결방안들은 다음과 같다:
1. WTO를 통한 새로운 규칙 협상
2. WTO 분쟁 해결 시스템의 개선과 활용
3. 미국-유럽연합-일본 이니셔티브와 비슷한 특별 규칙을 기반으로 한 접근법 구성
4. 무역 부문별 다자 협상
5. 뜻이 같은 교역국들이 연합을 형성하여 대체 무역모델 확립

예) 환태평양경제동반자협정(Trans-Pacific Partnership, TPP)

세미나를 진행하는 동안 많은 전문가들은 지원금과 같은 문제는 단 하나의 묘책으로 해결되지 않을 거라고 입을 모았다. 또한 여러 국가들이 한 뜻으로 문제에 대응을 하지 않으면 이 문제는 더욱 심각해질 것이라고 우려했으며, 나아가 COVID-19 사태로 인해 세계 경제가 심각한 타격을 받은 현 시점에서는 중국에 대한 대응이 더욱 어려울 것이라고 예상했다. 세계무역이 직접하고 있는 모든 도전과제들에 대하여 세미나에서 도달한 결론은 다음과 같다:

1. 산업 지원금의 범위, 수준 및 성격에 대한 투명성은 필수적 요소이다.
2. 해당 문제와 관련하여 진행되는 사안들, 특히 OECD가 진행중인 작업들을 널리 알릴 수 있도록 노력한다.
3. 연구 결과를 실현 가능한 정책으로 전환하는 핵심 단계를 거친다.
4. 중국을 유일한 과잉 생산국이라는 전제를 기반으로, 중국이 새로운 세계무역 규정에 동의하도록 설득해야 한다.
"Knot Perm," The Wonderous World of the Popular Ajumma Style

For many Korean women, there comes a time when they decide that they must undergo a rite of passage as they approach the latter half of their lives. They do away with their longer, younger hairstyles, and have their hair bobbed and curled into the iconic ‘ajumma perm.’ Many middle-aged Korean women, called ajummas (아줌마), can be found wearing their hair in this manner. From the bustling subways to the hilly hiking trails, the steaming street-food stalls to the roaring restaurants, the crowded cities to the quiet countryside, you will be sure to spot ajummas rocking this signature hairdo.

As many Korean women lead busy lifestyles both at home and at work, the ajumma perm has become a popular look for women that are always on the go. Reasons for making the change to a perm vary, including wanting to conceal hair loss and thinning, being tired of longer hair getting in the way, or simply to try a new look.

The root of this trend dates back to the Japanese occupation of Korea, when in 1937 the first perm was available at a department store in Seoul, and reportedly cost as much as two bales of rice - a luxury only a handful could afford. At the time, the perm was an object of envy for women, and was only sported by the rich and famous, despite being viewed as a decadent, Western trend by their Japanese subjugators. Initially, irons were used to shape hair into its curled form.

Following Korea’s liberation, in the 1950s and 60s, a lack of electricity led to more creative means of achieving the sought-after curls. Women who could not afford to wait in lines that stretched out the door and around street corners at hair salons, or the still steep price for having a perm professionally done, used heated blocks of charcoal wrapped in tinfoil to curl their hair into what was known as the ‘charcoal perm.’ In the 1970s through to the 80s, as electricity became more accessible, the permed style evolved into the famed ‘wind hair’ style (바람머리), wavy hair that appeared to be ever-blowing in the wind, and saw the incorporation of hair products such as mousse, gel, and holding spray. By the turn of the century, permed hair had become a nationwide sensation for all ages, regardless of sex, as men began to perm their hair into waves as well. More recently, it has become commonplace to see women going about their days with bang curlers affixed to their hair in an effort to realize their perms full potential. Many with straight hair also don bang curlers in public as they inevitably give in to the irresistibly enticing curls.

Traditionally, Korean women were expected to become full-time housewives when they married, so the ajumma perm was the obvious choice for its ease of maintenance. But as more women break into the professional realm, so has the ajumma perm, and it is worn by corporate workers, lawmakers, and First Ladies alike. The ajumma perm is here to stay.
Amidst the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, you may have noticed a common item of clothing worn by South Korean government officials on the news. These officials have been spotted wearing a yellow jacket for official briefings, visits to disaster sites, and at crisis meetings. A special item of clothing can reveal a great deal about a person or carry messages. So, what message does the yellow jacket communicate to the public?

The yellow jacket is a uniform of Republic of Korea Civil Defense Force. It was first created in 1975 along with the establishment of the Office of the Civil Defense Bureau, which now operates under the Ministry of the Interior and Safety. Although not mandatory, the Enforcement Decree of the Framework Act on Civil Defense advises the Civil Defense Force to don this uniform during training events, war, and national disasters. The definition of national disasters has not been clearly specified but is described as any event that threatens the lives and properties of the nation and its people.

A little known fact about the yellow jacket is that it is not actually yellow. According to the official guidelines of the uniform, the color of the jacket is lime. On the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the Office of the Civil Defense Bureau in 2005, the color of the uniform was changed from khaki to lime. The lime color was selected to generate a vibrant and energetic image of civil defense and radiate a positive, hopeful, and confident energy as it resembles the color of sunlight. It has also been noted that the attention-grabbing color was an apt selection for national disaster situations.

Despite the frequent appearance of South Korean government officials wearing yellow jackets, they are not required to wear the uniform while performing their duties. However, the Ministry of the Interior and Safety stated that government workers have worn yellow jackets to be easily distinguished from others since a government workers’ major role during national disasters is to guide the public. It has now become a tradition for government workers to wear the yellow jacket during troubled times. Today, the jacket is more than just a uniform for the Civil Defense Force. It is a warning sign to the public and a message from the government communicating their recognition of the severity of the situation.
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