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2018 Asia Society Korea New Ambassadors Welcome Dinner



Asia Society Korea held its New Ambassadors Welcome Dinner at Signiel Hotel on March 7, 2018. The ceremony welcomed thirteen new diplomats who have been in Korea since April 2017. The welcoming remarks were delivered by Asia Society Korea's Honorary Chairman **Dr. Hong-Koo Lee**. Lee emphasized the importance of cooperation between civil agencies and diplomatic officials. (Continued on Page 3)

Future of the U.S.-led Alliance System in Northeast Asia



Daniel Russel

Asia Society Korea held its third Monthly Luncheon of 2018 on April 26th. This month's luncheon took place on the eve of the inter-Korean summit. As North Korean Supreme Leader Kim Jong Un and South Korean President Moon Jae-in made their final preparations for the historic meeting, a number of distinguished and informed guests attended the luncheon held at the U.S. Ambassador's official residence.

This month's speaker, **Daniel Russel**, is a career member of the Senior Foreign Service at the U.S. Department of State. He most recently served as the Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs. **Marc Knapper**, Chargé d'Affaires for the U.S. Embassy in Seoul, introduced the talk, which was titled "The Future of the U.S.-Led Alliance System in Northeast Asia." (Continued on Page 5).

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Monthly Luncheon Series

Forecasting 2018: Economic and Political Challenges in Korea and the Asia-Pacific Region



From left: Michael Breen, H.E. Vikram Doraiswami, Peter Pae, and Dr. John Delury

Asia Society Korea held its first Monthly Luncheon of 2018 where it was announced that Dr. Hong-Koo Lee will be the Honorary Chairman in the absence of Mr. Dong-Bin Shin. Lee was quick to stress that all upcoming events and programs will be running as planned; furthermore, he expressed his delight at how well the PyeongChang Olympics are going, and how it is helping to ease tensions on the peninsula.

Lee has been a part of Asia Society for more than forty years. He was keen to point out that the website will continue to be loaded with more articles from a diverse range of contributors who understand the situation in the Koreas. Additionally, he noted the importance of Asia Society Korea in contributing to the globalization of South Korea. While acknowledging that problems still persist domestically, he stated that work and cooperation with the international community will lead to a brighter future. He finished by noting that Asia Society Korea is promoting this trend by bringing together distinguished members of the global community who all share the goal of improved peace in mind.

After the Honorary Chairman's message, an esteemed panel consisting of **H.E. Vikram Doraiswami** (Ambassador, Embassy of India), **Mr. Peter Pae** (Seoul Bureau Chief, Bloomberg News), and **Dr. John Delury** (Associate Professor, Yonsei University) sat down to discuss the day's topic: "Forecasting 2018: Economic and Political Challenges in Korea and the Asia-Pacific Region". The panel was moderated by **Michael Breen** (CEO, Insight Communication Consultants).

Dr. John Delury began the discussion with his opinions on whether President Moon's popularity will continue after it peaked at 80 percent. The news of a drop to around 60 percent showed that captured conservatives had moved back across party lines, and his popularity relies on the younger generation in their twenties and thirties whose opinions are not as straightforward as the media sometimes argues. Delury believes Moon's success relies on his ability to understand what this younger group wants, and the primary metric will revolve around domestic issues.

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Young Joon Kim

Monthly Luncheon Series

Second, H.E. Vikram Doraiswami talked about the complications of free trade, and the difficulties this places on South Korea when finding leverage with the U.S. and China. Despite its relatively small population, he called South Korea a premium market due to the high level of consumption. For instance, coffee exporters don't look at population sizes but focus on markets like South Korea, which is one of its top 10 global consumers. His verdict was for Korea to broaden its options and look at places such as South America and India, which are relatively under-tapped.

Doraiswami was also optimistic that South Korea and Japan can forge positive relations moving forward; however, Delury was more skeptical about progress as long as President Abe remains in power. He noted that President Moon opposes frozen relations like we saw under the Park Administration, but suggested significant change will not be possible until Abe leaves office.

Mike Breen then posed Peter Pae a question about whether we'll see a Fourth Industrial Revolution in South Korea. Pae noted the government's attempts to regulate the chaebol's control over the South Korean market and foster the ability for small start-up companies to grow. Unlike other areas of the world, for example Silicon Valley, Chaebols restrict the venture capital industry, and the only way a Fourth Industrial Revolution will occur is if the smaller companies can become independent and receive funding that will allow them to grow over time. In summary, Pae doesn't believe this is happening yet, but perhaps Moon's Administration is the first incremental step.

Finally, Doraiswami played down reports that U.S. Vice President Pence was rude to North Korea and that the South Koreans were wrong to sit him at the same table with North Korean officials as media spin due to the fact no official complaints were lodged. Delury added that he sees talks, not negotiations, between the U.S. and North Korea as a possibility in the near future by highlighting both the cumulative signals and President Trump's willingness to keep the door open. Importantly, he noted Moon has now become the bridge between Trump and Kim rather than Xi Jinping.

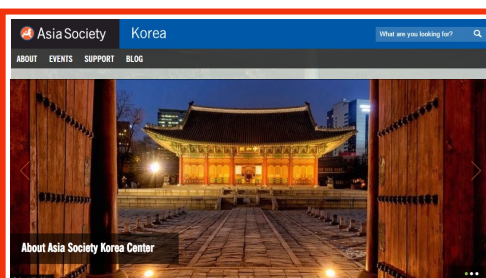
2018 Asia Society Korea New Ambassadors Welcome Dinner

(Continued from Page 1)

H.E. Ramzi Teymurov, the Ambassador of Azerbaijan, proposed a toast as one of the longest-tenured ambassadors to Korea. He has been in Korea for more than four years, and he encouraged the new ambassadors on their new missions in Korea.

Following the meal, Asia Society Korea's Executive Director **Yvonne Kim** gave a presentation about Global Asia Society and Asia Society Korea. As Asia Society Korea reaches its 10th anniversary this year, Kim introduced the new programs for 2018, and asked for support and cooperation from the new ambassadors.

Finally, Asia Society Korea's board member **Mr. Young-Joon Kim** gave the closing remarks. As one of the biggest supporters of Asia Society Korea, he welcomed the new ambassadors to Korea and wished for further interactions and mutual communications in and outside of Asia Society Korea's events.



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Monthly Luncheon Series

North Korea: Recent Developments and Future Direction



Michael Breen (Left) and Sydney A. Seiler (Right)

Asia Society Korea held its second Monthly Luncheon of 2018. Those fortunate enough to secure a ticket to the event had the opportunity to listen to another distinguished guest speaker analyze the current situation on the peninsula. Asia Society Korea's Honorary Chairman, Dr. Hong-Koo Lee, commented on his delight at the successful hosting of the Winter Olympics, which has once again proven South Korea's ability to host a major world event. Furthermore, he noted that all of the Korea Center's New Year programs are underway and running as planned.

At this month's Luncheon, **Sydney Seiler**, the USFK Senior Analyst and Senior Defense Intelligence Expert for North Korea, was on hand to share his knowledge based on following North Korea issues for well over three decades and being involved in past negotiations with North Korea, and to answer questions from the audience. The talk was titled "North Korea: Recent Developments and Future Direction," and once again it was moderated by Mike Breen (CEO, Insight Communication Consultants).

Breen opened by asking about the complications of getting intelligence out of North Korea, to which Seiler responded noting that decades of observing DPRK's behavior, listening to its rhetoric and narrative, and negotiating with it on the nuclear issue have provided important lessons upon which we can craft strategy and policy moving forward. In terms of the success or failure of past policies, Seiler noted that ultimate blame rests with North Korea for not taking up the opportunities for security and prosperity available when choosing the path of denuclearization. The North's provocative actions in recent times have led the U.S. and its allies to increase pressure diplomatically and economically, which he suggested brought Kim Jong Un to the negotiating table.

Breen went on to ask if the U.S. and its allies would need to concede anything were talks to happen, and Seiler asserted that the North was well aware of the international community's insistence that the North move down the path of denuclearization and was also aware of the benefits of embarking on that path. Additionally, Seiler believes these talks could prove more fruitful as the North Korean leader has had time to reflect on the pressure his country is under, the seriousness with which the United States is pursuing denuclearization, and the need for a change in his policy. Seiler acknowledged the likelihood that Kim will try to play the U.S. and South Korea off against each other, but that as close allies with a long history of working together on the North Korean issue we are all aware of this and remain committed to a united approach in dealing with the North.

Seiler pointed out that there are reasons to be cautiously optimistic about these talks when considering differences from past engagement. Kim Jong Un has claimed to be open to talks, and open to talking about denuclearization. There is value in testing these claims. Although Kim had been hoping the world would eventually accept the North's nuclear capabilities as a fait accompli, the U.S. and the international community have been clear that this is not going to happen, Seiler asserted.

In sum, it seems the upcoming talks will be pivotal in determining where the future lies on the nuclear issue. While opinion in the ROK is split on the possibility and desire for reunification, a more open and less hostile North will certainly benefit everyone in the region.

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Young Joon Kim

Monthly Luncheon Series

Future of the U.S.-led Alliance in Northeast Asia

(Continued from Page 1)

As a former Special Assistant to former U.S. President Barack Obama, Russel opened by looking back at the difficulties faced by the Obama administration when it came to power in 2009. He mentioned issues such as the invasion of Iraq, the global financial crisis, and North Korea as reasons why relations were strained throughout the Asia-Pacific region at that time. He noted, however, that by the time Donald Trump became the American president, America's relationship with its allies in the region had become as good as ever. Russel added that despite Trump's often unconventional style of leadership, the American-South Korean relationship remains excellent. This is because the two nations share an alliance based on military, political, and economic aspects, which are mutually beneficial.

Russel went on to state that America's allies in this region have a number of shared aspects. Examples he listed included strong institutions, open markets, the ability to think and act on a global scale, active diplomacy, a focus on health and education, and human rights policies. Finally and most importantly, he noted that they are all directly threatened by North Korea. This has been the number one reason for the alliance between the countries, the need to work together to counter the shared danger.

Russel noted, however, that going forward the allies need to cope with some significant challenges. He believes we are now operating in a period of strategic uncertainty, which is in some part due to Trump's approach to the presidency. Trade deficits, disruptive technology, climate change, and migration are all potential causes of friction between nations.

Nevertheless, the variable that will most positively or negatively threaten the solidarity of Asian alliances is North Korea. Russel claims that alliances generally remain strong during times of threat, but as North Korea switches gears and deescalates, it will be interesting to see how different countries react. He went on to hint that North Korea is fully aware of this and is potentially playing games to undermine these alliances.

To wrap up his speech, Russel stated that the critical factor in dealing with North Korea is ensuring relationships remain solid in the Asia-Pacific region. All parties need to reconcile their differences and maintain constructive relationships.

At this point Russel took a number of questions from the audience. The first question related to the downsizing of the USFK in recent years and the likelihood this will continue moving forward. Russel replied that numbers are irrelevant as long as there is a clear commitment from the American government to the security and stability of South Korea. This, he said, was because it's in American interests to have stability in the region, and a South Korea that is safe for its citizens.

Another question of interest regarded his thoughts on whether the Obama administration's policy against North Korea had been a failure. Russel acknowledged that he personally has faced criticism regarding this matter, yet noted that it is unfair to make a final judgment. While in the short term North Korea did continue to develop militarily during that period, there was progress that often went unnoticed. For example, the Obama administration evoked some of the strongest sanctions in history, sustained a solid relationship amongst the allies, and lessened China's position as a protector of the North. He added that if Trump's talks with Kim prove fruitful, it will be partly because of the work of his predecessors, including Obama.

In response to another question, Russel shared his concerns that China may become colder again now that Trump and Kim are set to hold a summit. He pointed out that Xi Jinping's primary objective in the past was to avoid war on the peninsula rather than bring down the North's weapons program. It was only as Kim's behavior became more aggressive and destabilizing that China began to take a harsher tone. However, Russel believes the news of planned talks rattled Xi Jinping, and this is why Beijing laid out the red carpet treatment for Kim's visit last month. He pointed out that in Chinese history when a smaller state visited Beijing it would bring a gift, and then leave with one that was 100 times its value. Thus, he believes that Kim's trip to China was a signal that the equation has changed and we are back to business as usual.

Finally, when asked a question about what he predicts from the Trump-Kim talks, Russel stated that he is looking for action rather than insincere rhetoric that hints at peace. North Korea could use the talks as a stalling process by pandering to Trump and Moon while harboring no meaningful desire to dismantle its weapons program or comply with international law.

With that the talk ended. All eyes are now on Panmunjom where the stage is set for the opening moves to take place in what is sure to be the start of an intriguing few months.

XIII Olympic Winter Games Coverage

What to Expect from the PyeongChang Olympics



By Matthew Fennell, Contributing Writer

When PyeongChang was chosen ahead of Annecy in the French Alps and Munich, Germany as the host city for the 2018 Winter Olympic Games, it was third time lucky for South Korea. PyeongChang had also bid to host both the 2010 and 2014 Winter Olympic Games but lost out in the final round of voting by just three and four votes respectively. More than five years have passed since the decision was announced on July 6, 2011 and as we enter 2018, we are now just weeks away from the Games. So, what can people expect from PyeongChang 2018?

Those following the preparations will know that NHL players won't be participating, Russian athletes will compete under a neutral flag in response to the doping scandal, and a record 102 medals will be given out to athletes winning their events. Go beyond these big headlines and the build up to the 2018 Winter Olympics has been relatively subdued on the peninsula. Low domestic ticket sales and the continuing North Korea issue threaten to overshadow proceedings. That being said, since the Olympic torch arrived in South Korea on November 1, tickets have started selling at a faster rate and there has been increased local interest in the Olympics.

While ticket sales have yet to completely catch fire, the official Olympics jacket is one piece of merchandise that is nearly impossible to get a hold of. Since the official "PyeongChang Winter Olympics long padding" jackets were launched at the end of October, Koreans have been queuing up to purchase them. Only 30,000 of the limited-edition coats were produced, leading to some people lining up overnight in sub-zero temperatures in order to get their hands on one before the department stores sell out. For those visiting the Games, bringing a warm coat is going to be key as PyeongChang is expected to be one of the coldest Olympics on record with the roofless Olympic Stadium promising to be particularly chilly.

From a sporting viewpoint, North Korea recently announced it may well send a delegation to participate in the Games, something it did not do during the 1988 Seoul Summer Olympics. While North Korea will not be topping the medal table, it is a positive sign for future inter-Korea relations with South Korea also offering high-level talks with the aim of cooperation during the Olympics. It was Russia who led the way at the 2014 Olympics but Germany and Norway are expected to battle it out for top spot at PyeongChang 2018. Korea will be looking to improve on its 13th place finish four years ago, making the most of its "home field advantage."

Logistically, PyeongChang is located around two hours from Seoul and the Olympics will be held in two "clusters," the PyeongChang Mountain Cluster and the Gangneung Coastal Cluster, with 13 venues set to host 102 medal events. An army of more than 24,000 volunteers has been recruited to ensure the smooth running of the Olympics and the newly-opened, high-speed rail link will ferry people to the venues from Seoul. The eyes of the sporting world will be on Korea and we will soon find out if the Games will be remembered for all the right reasons.

XIII Olympic Winter Games Coverage

From Seoul 1988 to PyeongChang 2018



By Matthew Fennell and Jae-Hyuk Lee, Asia Society Korea Staff Writers

South Korea is known as one of the most technologically and economically advanced countries in the world. This development has enabled the country to host arguably the three largest sporting events: the Summer Olympics, the FIFA World Cup, and the Winter Olympics. While sports play an important role for South Koreans, so does politics. The protests, scandals, and early elections that the country experienced in the build up to PyeongChang 2018 were also present in the months before the Summer Olympics of 1988.

In 1987, just one year before the Seoul Olympics, millions of people took to the streets in protest of President Chun Du-hwan's Constitutional protection that prevented presidential elections. Following three weeks of riots in a period referred to as the "June Struggle," the democratic drive forced the ruling government to rewrite the Constitution to allow for elections by direct popular vote. This movement led to the establishment of the Sixth Republic, the present-day government of South Korea.

Despite the distractions prior to Seoul 88, the Olympics were a great success for the country. A great deal of preparation went into the Games, with infrastructure built that is still used today: a new sports complex was built that continues to host sports and concerts; the subway system was expanded, which still transports thousands of people around the capital every day; and brand-new highways were constructed, which continue to be jammed during rush hour. Most of all, the 1988 Olympics helped signify the entry of South Korea onto the world stage.

Sports play a vital role for South Korea. In the thirty years since hosting the 1988 Olympics, the country has also hosted the Asian Games in 1992, 2002, and 2014; the FIFA World Cup in 2002; the IAAF World Championships in Athletics in 2011; and the Formula One Korean Grand Prix from 2010 until 2013.

Fast forward to 2016 and 2017 and we can see parallels to the events thirty years ago. South Korea has once again experienced so much in such a short space of time; starting with North Korea conducting a nuclear test, the presidential scandal involving Park Geun-hye, the corruption scandal involving big businesses, Korea's biggest conglomerates under the spotlight, the impeachment of the president, and finally the special elections which saw Moon Jae-in take power. While politics have dominated the headlines in Korea of late, now it is time to focus on the Winter Olympics as the country is set to welcome athletes and supporters from 92 different countries. State-of-the-art venues have been constructed, in addition to a new high-speed train line and expressway, as once again the country is ready to showcase itself to the world.

XIII Olympic Winter Games Coverage

Continuing the ROK-DPRK Olympic Détente: Crossing the River, Feeling the Stones



By Mason Richey, associate professor of international politics at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies

Like matter changing phase, the recent sudden transition from hostility to affability on the Korean peninsula has been utterly predictable yet somehow surprising. Republic of Korea (ROK) President Moon Jae-in entered office in 2017 with the intention of seizing early opportunities to warm frozen relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) and many experts targeted the 2018 Winter Olympics as a likely date for an opening of dialogue. Nevertheless, the speed of the shift has been remarkable:

Consider that within two months we witnessed a DPRK test of a Hwasong-15 intercontinental ballistic missile, increased US and international sanctions against Pyongyang, the Trump administration's growing willingness to launch a strike against the DPRK, ramped up North-South talks leading to DPRK Olympic participation, and the visit of a high-level political delegation including Kim Jong Un's influential sister and the nominal head of state.

This flurry of activity culminated in Kim's envoys extending a summit invitation to President Moon, who conditionally accepted the offer for a (likely) summer meeting. Given the dangerous atmosphere in mid-December 2017, the thaw between the ROK and the DPRK is to be welcomed. It has calmed tensions considerably in the short-term, and perhaps is the first step toward broader engagement addressing the DPRK's nuclear weapons.

Still, it is important to step back from the rapture of the "Peace Olympics" and soberly analyze what is happening and what the prospects are for the near-/mid-term future of North-South dialogue. The first thing to remember is that we are not yet even on a path to negotiations. Rather we are still in the stage of talks about talks, the U.S. has not been brought into the process, and there are plenty of occasions for things to go sideways. Moreover, one must not forget that when dealing with the DPRK, even actual negotiating breakthroughs can evaporate. Take the example of the 2012 Leap Day agreement, in which Pyongyang agreed to refrain from long-range missile launches and nuclear tests/activities in exchange for aid from Washington. Within weeks, the ink barely dry on the deal, the DPRK carried out a space-launch vehicle test (a veiled ICBM test), followed by a nuclear test. The current détente could be similarly derailed.

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Assuming, however, that North-South talks are the beginning of a road to substantive diplomacy, what should we expect going forward? First, one must stipulate that such a road is difficult. The current Olympic détente is largely symbolic, and has not touched the fundamental tensions one iota: the US and the DPRK have mutually exclusive objectives and interests, and the ROK sits uneasily between them. More precisely, Washington demands DPRK denuclearization, Pyongyang absolutely wants to remain a nuclear weapons state, and Seoul wants to avoid kinetic conflict while maintaining peaceable relations with the DPRK and a seamless alliance with the US. In this context, meaningful diplomacy (a) implies that one party will not obtain what it prefers, and (b) raises the question of what kind of negotiating conditions and potential outcome trade-offs could coax the parties to the negotiating table (much less represent an agreement). Put differently, negotiations are risky, which is why it is difficult to engage them.

Beyond such big picture considerations, a more immediate, concrete obstacle on the path to North-South summit negotiations is the U.S.-ROK joint military exercises (Key Resolve/Foal Eagle) scheduled for March. The DPRK wants them delayed or suspended both as a matter of policy and opportunistically in the context of the current détente. Certainly it will demand this in upcoming North-South working-level military talks, the first step in preparing the way for a summit. The U.S. insists the exercises happen as planned both in order to maintain “maximum pressure” on the DPRK (a matter of policy), and also to avoid rewarding Pyongyang for merely symbolic Olympic diplomatic gestures. Moreover, the U.S. insists on the exercises to remind the ROK who the senior partner in the alliance is. The Trump administration was wrong-footed by the North-South diplomatic overture and has only reluctantly supported Moon’s dialogue efforts; it will be keen to reassert control over the Washington-Seoul relationship. This puts Moon in a bind. He strongly desires a Pyongyang summit with Kim, who will push to convince Moon to request delaying the military exercises, with failure leading possibly to withdrawal of the summit invitation. Yet ROK security is tied to the U.S. alliance, with a delay in the joint exercises carrying a serious risk of causing a rupture.

Other minefields pepper the way to Moon-Kim summit negotiations. Tempted to prolong the goodwill momentum following the Olympics, the Moon administration may broach re-opening moribund North-South economic exchange, e.g., the Kaesong Industrial Complex or Mount Kumgang tourist area. Promising to continue “maximum pressure,” the U.S. will push back against this; meanwhile the Kim regime could deploy these possibilities for wriggling free from biting sanctions as conditions for the summit. Finally, there is the likelihood of DPRK provocations: re-starting ballistic missile or nuclear testing cannot be excluded, and would likely scuttle talks.

If all these pitfalls are somehow avoided, there are at least four questions whose answers will determine the significance and durability of a North-South summit and its aftermath.

What are the DPRK’s intentions? If the Kim regime is interested in negotiations solely to avoid a U.S. strike or buy time for missile production and sanctions evasion, the current détente will revert to the conflictual status quo ante. If, however, the regime is prepared to enter a real diplomatic pathway with the DPRK’s nuclear program on the table, negotiations could lead to a durable *modus vivendi* with the United States.

How will the Trump administration approach the summit-focused détente? Despite Vice-President Pence’s post-Olympic visit boilerplate about the seamlessness of the U.S.-ROK alliance, there is a rift between Seoul and Washington. Still, now boxed in diplomatically, for the moment the U.S. is grudgingly indicating willingness to discuss negotiations with the DPRK without preconditions. If the U.S. acts constructively in this regard, the lead-up to and aftermath of a North-South summit could also involve U.S.-DPRK talks. Such talks could lead to substantive negotiations. It is also possible that an angry Trump administration will look for opportunities to torpedo the current détente and bring the ROK back outside the U.S.’s coercive diplomacy.

How diplomatically skilled is the Moon administration? Managing relations with a crafty, demanding DPRK is difficult; doing so while coordinating closely with a skeptical Trump administration requires magic. The ROK does not have much room to maneuver vis-à-vis the US, which can turn the screws on its alliance partner in both the economic and security domains. Look for Moon to flatter Trump with claims that the ongoing diplomacy is a victory owed to his hardline approach, as well as a larger effort to convince US defense and foreign policy officials that a diplomatic detour takes the U.S. closer to its goal of a denuclearized DPRK.

How much is Seoul willing to risk a U.S.-ROK alliance rupture in order to maintain long-term détente with Pyongyang? If the Moon administration fails to convince the White House of the value of summit-focused diplomacy, it will face the choice of backing down from North-South engagement or risking permanent U.S.-ROK alliance degradation through acting alone. Although unlikely, if the latter occurs, that would mark a major shift in Northeast Asia’s geopolitics.

Overall, the current state of play on the Korean peninsula is highly uncertain. Moreover not all parties have entered the field—China, Japan, and Russia will have input. Buckle up; it is going to be a bumpy ride.

XIII Olympic Winter Games Coverage

How Korean Indie Artists Are Taking Inspiration From the PyeongChang Winter Olympics



By Elizabeth Parker, Contributing Writer

As the Winter Olympics in Pyeongchang gets into full swing, there has been some discussion about how much the Games should be used as a platform for Korea's premier pop music export — K-pop.

A recent *Forbes* article noted that the opening ceremony only had a minimal inclusion of K-pop, with songs from internationally popular idol groups like BTS, Red Velvet, and Big Bang played as the athletes entered. These were also mixed in with other songs clearly intended to represent Korea's wider musical heritage, including remixes of much older pop hits like **Kim Wan-sun's** *The Dance in Rhythm* and even a rock version of the peninsula's representative folk song "Arirang" — North Korean versions of which have been given UNESCO cultural heritage status — chosen to welcome in the united Korean team.

Music journalist **Jakob Dorof** argues in the article that there was a conscious political desire to avoid focusing too much on the often politicized and propagandized genre and use the ceremony as an opportunity to "restore some sense of inter-Korean unity on the peninsula." But K-pop is still expected to get its time in the limelight with popular boyband EXO and female soloist CL believed to be performing at the closing ceremony.

But forget K-pop. What about the rest of Korea's music scene? Although the singer of the rock band Gukkasten Ha Hyun-woo played his role in the unity theme by taking part in a cover of **John Lennon's** "Imagine," for the most part, independent artists have been overlooked in the winter sports festivities.

Rather than wait around, one group has decided to take this into their own hands by producing their own collaborative album. Taking inspiration from the can-do spirit of 90s indie compilation CDs and empowered by the opportunities of modern crowd-funding technology, electronic duo Love X Stereo pulled together a group of musicians to create their own album inspired by the Games. "Winter Dreams" features a variety of music from artists representing various genres, all with a "dreamy" feel and inspired by winter sports.

XIII Olympic Winter Games Coverage

I caught up with lead singer **Annie Ko**, who told me more about the project and why she wants to introduce Korea's independent music scene to the world.

How did this compilation album come about?

In August of last year, we thought that making a tribute compilation album for the upcoming Olympics seemed like a really nice idea. The Winter Olympics happening in PyeongChang in February 2018 made us feel like we should definitely do this. But most of all, we decided not to do this for money, and not for fame, but truly for fun — because as indie artists in Korea, we really needed some fun for ourselves.

Why did you decide to call it "Winter Dreams?"

Usually, when governments or organizations are involved in sports-related compilation albums, they sound really "hyper-energetic" and "sports-y." We've seen many albums during World Cups or for the Olympics, and we thought, genre-wise, we were missing out a lot. It's a once a lifetime experience to have your country hold the Olympics. That's why we gathered musicians who are not only interested in sports, but also who could produce "dreamy" music – indie rock, synth pop, chillwave, dream pop, or electronic. All of the songs are inspired by winter, sports, and dreams. That's why it's "Winter Dreams."

Can you tell us a bit about the artists and music on the album?

We have indie rock bands like Land of Peace and Rock N Roll Radio. We have electronic artists like HEO, WYM, JVNR and yours truly, Love X Stereo. We also have dream pop acts like AKUA and Beautiful Jin. All of the artists have a lot of experience under their belts and most of us self-produce our own music.

What do you hope to achieve with it?

What we realized is that there haven't been that many independent compilation albums since the 90s. The 90s was full of indie compilations like "3000 punk", "We are the Punx", "Am I Metallica?", "Smells like Nirvana", or "The Sound of Rock Chickens". We wanted to embrace the "indie" spirit and make it on our own without any labels or companies involved. Just musicians getting united and making quality music. So, in that sense, we've already achieved a lot. I just hope the audience enjoys it as much as we do.

You raised over 3 million won through crowdfunding. Why did you choose to use that platform and were you expecting that kind of response?

Well, to make an album, you need money, especially when you're making physical CDs. It's more like a "pre-order". We are grateful to everyone who supported us throughout this journey. It's really nice to know that our music matters to people.

The Olympics are sometimes criticized for being too commercialized. Do you think this could be a problem for independent artists trying to make their voices heard?

Well, in Korea, it's really not criticized for being too commercialized. It's more criticized for being too political. We have only a few days left to go, and we're told that the women's ice hockey team is now being presented as a united team with North Korea on very short notice. Some of the athletes who worked so hard to compete in the Olympics had to step aside, and a lot of young people think that it's really not fair. Also, our last "miserably failed and impeached" government spent a whole lot of money for nothing for the Olympics, so the public isn't exactly fond of the event. But we didn't think too much about this while we were making this album. All artists who participated have a soft spot for the Winter Olympics and winter sports. We want people to enjoy this, not just during the Olympics, but every winter from now on.

And finally, what do you hope people visiting Korea, or watching on TV, could learn about Korean music?

Korean music doesn't necessarily mean K-pop. There are many Korean musicians out there who make impeccable music other than K-pop. We feel like we're introducing this great music to the world. Just give it a listen and see if you like it!

XIII Olympic Winter Games Coverage

North Korean Cheering Squad



By Mark Sample, Contributing Writer

A number of local groups and media outlets have commented on North Korea's perceived "hijacking" of the PyeongChang Winter Olympics by mockingly dubbing them the "Pyongyang Games." At the forefront of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea propaganda machine is its team of cheerleaders, who are capturing the hearts and minds of South Koreans and spectators from around the globe.

Donned in matching outfits, the squad of more than 230 fanatics have been mesmerizing, and are arguably stealing center stage from the competing athletes. The unique and synchronized routines will certainly be a key memory of these Games, but with no media access to the "army of beauties", a lot of questions remain unanswered.

Nevertheless, some details have emerged.

Notably, this isn't the first time the Koreans have formed a unified team. In 1991, the teams participated in the World Table Tennis Championships and the FIFA World Youth Championship so it is actually the third time they've sent a cheering squad to the South. Previous visits include a 288-member delegation at the 2002 Asian Games in Busan, a 306-member team during the 2003 Summer Universiade in Daegu, and most recently 125-fanatics at the 2005 Asian Athletics Championships in Incheon.

As a noteworthy component of the thawing tensions between the Koreans, it is important to try to understand who the cheerleaders are, what we can learn from their participation in previous international events, and why they're with us at PyeongChang 2018.

Who are they?

Testimonies from North Korean defectors have shown that it's no easy task to get into the squad. Participants are scrutinized in terms of their age, appearance, ancestry, and loyalty to the regime. For instance, height is a priority and those shorter than 165cm are unlikely to be seen gracing the stands at PyeongChang even if they fit the age limit of being late-teens to early-twenties. Also, applicants with family out of the country are considered a flight risk; thus, ineligible. And generally, the squad is made up of university students from Pyongyang that major in aesthetically pleasing subjects such as dance and music.

XIII Olympic Winter Games Coverage

What was notable from previous appearances?

While their first visit for the Asian Games in Busan went relatively smoothly, the Daegu Universiade in 2003 saw the cheerleaders making headlines for extreme displays of loyalty toward their regime. One example involved members breaking into tears and frantically running to retrieve a Kim Jong-il banner that had gotten wet in the rain. Apparently, the squad could not bear to see their Dear Leader sodden.

The 2005 Asian Athletics Championships in Incheon will be remembered by some for the Chinese domination on the playing field, but in the stands a future prominent figure was part of North Korea's 124-member cheerleading squad. Ri Sol-ju, wife of Kim Jong Un, was then 16, and it was here that she began her journey into the North Korean elite. Her looks helped her garner popularity in South Korea and abroad, and experts speculate this aided her route to Kim's side.

Why are they at PyeongChang 2018?

Tipped to attend the Asian Games again in 2014 with the goal of improving tense relations, North Korea pulled the plug that time after failing to agree on issues such as expenditures. Thus, following an absence of over 10 years, the cheerleaders' presence at PyeongChang is significant, and a part of the olive branch being held out to the South in recent weeks. The announcement came amid tensions following a year of verbal aggression aimed at South Korea, Japan, and the United States. The charm offensive has helped Pyongyang's global image, and also created tension between President Moon and the U.S. administration, which isn't as quick to forget about Pyongyang's regular missile tests and war-mongering in 2017.

However, it's not just Pyongyang that has something to gain. Low ticket sales and frosty public interest in the Winter Games meant that the organizers needed something to spur public interest, and a quick Google search shows the increased publicity received on the back of the cheerleaders' presence. Also, images of the "army of beauties" rather than parades involving intercontinental ballistic missiles is more likely to convince the international audience that South Korea is a country safe to visit and not under the threat of impending war.

Ultimately, the cheerleaders are a controversial facet in a situation where politics has once again snuck into the world of sports, but it is a tool that is being used by both Koreas to improve their global statuses.



XIII Olympic Winter Games Coverage

The Legacy of the Games



By Mark Sample, Contributing Writer

The PyeongChang Games have continued to win plaudits as the weeks have passed. Coupled with the recent news that 320,000 tickets, a record, were sold during the first three days of the Paralympics, it is undeniable that South Korea has managed to put on a highly successful Winter Games.

Nevertheless, the country will face a fresh, and arguably bigger challenge once the Paralympics come to a close. In the past, numerous countries have had issues legitimizing the vast sums of money that need to be invested into a range of sectors when one hosts a major sporting event.

For instance, the 2014 Sochi Winter Olympics in Russia is said to have cost upwards of \$50 billion, yet local residents reported no economic benefits in the years that followed, and Russians in other areas of the country complained about footing the costs through their tax bills. Brazil is an even more extreme case. Hosting the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Summer Olympics put a huge strain on an already faltering economy, and the result has been crumbling arenas and citizens protesting in the streets at the huge expenditure. Furthermore, due to mounting debts, post-Games proposals such as redeveloping the facilities into schools and homes have failed to materialize. Thus, the Korean government is under pressure to make sure the legacy of PyeongChang 2018 does not go the same way as many of its predecessors.

Fortunately, there are a number of signs that should make the citizens of Korea optimistic for a bright future, and that there will be more to the Games than simply having some of the world's greatest athletes on their soil for several weeks. South Korea has a good track record when it comes to hosting major sporting events, the 1988 Summer Olympics and 2002 World Cup being good examples, and reaping the rewards in the years that follow. From the outset, the Korean government stated that the PyeongChang Games would be a sustainable event, and this can be observed in three areas.

Environmental Benefits

One just needs step outside in South Korea to recognize the deteriorating air quality, but infrastructure developed for the Games will help reduce greenhouse gas emissions in the future. Even in the years leading up to the event, it's clear the government considered the need to minimize its carbon footprint. This can be supported by the fact that six of the newly built Olympic competition venues received green building certification. The new express train line between Seoul and Gangneung will not only provide economic benefits but also put a dent in the number of vehicles on the roads. The automobiles that do remain will hopefully become progressively more electric powered with the government's support. PyeongChang 2018 has helped this movement gain speed by producing 24 permanent electric vehicle recharging stations in the areas surrounding the venues. Finally, a recently constructed wind farm that has provided electricity during the Olympics will continue to produce clean sustainable energy moving forward.

Giving Venues a Second Life

Athens 2004 is infamous for its 'white elephants' - facilities never or barely used following an Olympics - but this should not be the case in South Korea as eight of the venues will continue to be used as winter sports facilities. The goal is to help the region establish itself as an Asian winter sports hub for years to come. Also, locals are already benefitting as both the PyeongChang and Gangneung Olympic Villages, as well as the media village, have been sold for residential use.

Increasing Youth Participation in Sports

The Organizing Committee, in partnership with the Ministry of Education, launched an Olympic Education Program with the initiative of enabling more children throughout Korea to get into winter sports. South Korea and Asia as a whole have been historically poor at the Winter Games, so the goal is to increase participation at the grass-roots level with the hope that some will succeed in becoming future Olympians.

To sum up, positive headlines around the world over the past few weeks prove that South Korea has pulled it off again when it comes to hosting a major competition. Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly, if all of the post-Games proposals get put into action over the coming years, the legacy of PyeongChang 2018 will produce as much good as previous mega-events held in South Korea.

In the News: From Asia Society Korea

Bitcoin in Korea: A Get-Rich-Quick Opportunity or Another Bubble?



By Jae-Hyuk Lee & Matthew Fennell, Asia Society Korea Staff Writers

As Bitcoin and other cryptocurrencies have dominated the news across the world of late, this new craze is none more so evident than in South Korea, where huge amounts of Bitcoin are traded daily. On a single day in December last year, 21% of the world's Bitcoin buying and selling was carried out in Korean currency. So, how does a country of only 50 million people become the third-largest market in the world for Bitcoin trades, behind Japan and the United States?

South Korea is known for its technology and high-speed internet, so trading cryptocurrencies here is simple and quick. Many citizens were born into the digital generation and buying digital currencies is tempting as the huge price fluctuations offer a get-rich-quick opportunity.

There has long been a history of social class conflict in South Korea, known as the “spoon theory.” Children born into a rich family will inherit the privileges of their parents and grandparents, while offspring born with a less privileged background often find it difficult to overcome the succession of poverty. For a long time, wealth in Korea has been regarded as an inheritance rather than an achievement. Amid this social atmosphere, Bitcoin and other virtual currencies offer the opportunity for social mobility to all classes.

This urge to speculate on cryptocurrencies comes despite the great risks and volatility. The virtual currency market is open 24/7 with huge changes in the price happening suddenly and seemingly without warning. Last week, a comment from a government official about potentially banning the trading of Bitcoin saw the price of the coin drop by more than 50%. Despite all these risks, young Koreans are still taking the gamble and diving head first into the market, hoping to hit the jackpot. To get a greater understanding of why young Koreans are willing to take such risks, Asia Society Korea interviewed several young investors, including Mr. Kim, a graduate of Seoul National University.

Why did you start investing in virtual currency?

“I started investing in virtual currency after my colleague persuaded me. I was indifferent about it at first, but then I thought that I may never be able to buy my own house with my salary, so I thought now would be the ideal time to take a risk and hope for the best.”

What do you think about the premium that Koreans pay for Bitcoin?

“I think it is a natural occurrence caused by the interaction between supply and demand. However, I really don't care too much about this as long as I can earn money.”

What are your thoughts on comments that Bitcoin is just another tulip bubble?

“I know that there are a lot of premiums and bubbles in the world of virtual currency. However, unlike tulips, virtual currencies were made with a monetary value in mind and these coins can function as a real currency. Therefore, I do not think cryptocurrencies will end up the same way that the tulip bubble did.”

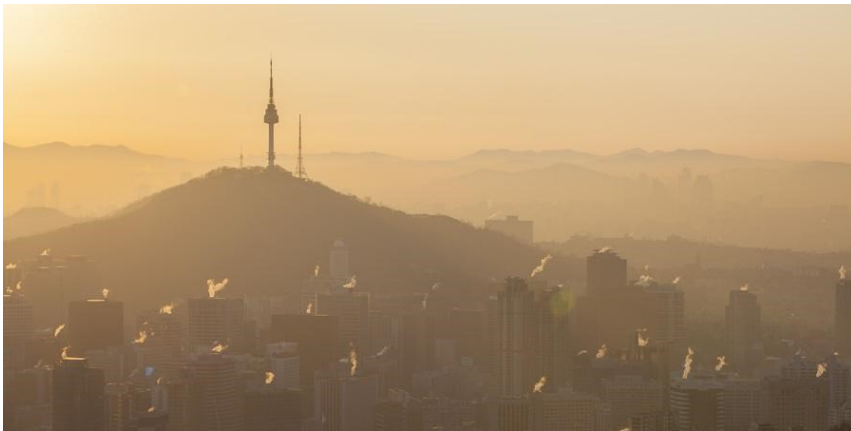
Are you for or against the upcoming regulations from the government, and why?

“I do agree, ultimately, with the idea of regulation, since there has been a lot of over-speculation. But before any regulation happens, I think the government needs to research more about blockchain technology and the virtual currency market. Regulation must take place step by step to prevent volatility and a subsequent backlash from the investors.”

With the Korean government preparing for new regulations, the cryptocurrency market is fluctuating dramatically. Young investors in Korea say that this is the only way they can emulate the rich, while others argue that the virtual currency market will never be able to redistribute the wealth. For now, all we can do is wait to see what unfolds.

In the News: From Asia Society Korea

Clearing the Smog



By Mark Sample, Contributing Writer

As the crisp winds and freezing temperatures of winter begin to subside, spring has arrived to provide respite and the opportunity to enjoy some outdoor activities. Dull shades switch to a myriad of colors with countless beautiful flowers and trees blooming, and locals venture outside to take in the array of events hosted during this time of the year— cherry blossom festivals being a notable example.

These days, however, spring also signals that the country is about to be blanketed in a thick murky

smog. This year has been no different, and perhaps even worse than usual. Residents often do not even need to set their morning alarm clocks since the government's warning system awakens them with the familiar news that masks need to be worn and windows must remain closed. Smog levels have broken the 300 micrograms per cubic meter level on several days in areas of Seoul and Gyeonggi Province; and for perspective, this is double the level that prompts a phone notification from local authorities. The consequences are significant. Not only is it visually unattractive, but the inhalation of the polluted air contributes to a number of health related issues: asthma, lung cancer, respiratory disease, cardiovascular issues, and birth defects to name just a few.

While Korea's vehicles, power plants, and other industrial facilities stoke the problem, the issue is considerably amplified by fine sand particles that blow across from China's deserts. Furthermore, China's decision to move a number of its factories to its east coast, in an attempt to improve its domestic situation, has heaped more misery on the Korean peninsula. China already has nearly 250 incinerators on its east coast and news that it plans to build more is certain to add to the problem. President Moon Jae-in has reached out to China, and asked his counterpart, Xi Jinping, to contribute to the worsening problem, but he has also been upfront and admitted there is a lot that can be done domestically to remedy the problem.

South Korea's commitment to improving its emissions actually pre-dates Moon, with its signing of the Paris Agreement in 2016. However, the current administration has vowed to cut domestic emissions by 30 percent by 2022 to put the country on track to meet its pledge of 37 percent by 2030; as well as help to protect those most at risk. Moon is taking on an active role by overseeing a fine dust task force that is putting a number of policies into immediate action.

First, ten of the country's oldest and highest polluting coal plants are to be closed down. Second, at-risk groups will receive greater government support. The elderly and disabled, who are those most affected, are having face masks issued to them. Another vulnerable group, children, are benefitting from action taken by the South Korean Education Ministry. Every kindergarten and elementary school will have air purifiers installed within the next three years, and \$6 million is being invested into new virtual sports facilities at 178 schools across the country, which enables physical education lessons and recess periods to take place indoors.

Third and perhaps most important, there will be a ban on old diesel vehicles entering the city when pollution levels are high. This is actually part of an ongoing plan to nudge residents towards more environmentally-friendly options. Change for the better has been noticeable. More bike paths and pedestrian-only zones are under construction, such as the elevated urban walkway that connects Namdaemun Market and Seoul Station and resembles New York's famed High Line. In fact, Seoul has taken the lead with more and more electric buses replacing the traditional diesel ones. The city's ever expanding subway system, cheap bike rental, and an increasing number of charging stations for electric cars are also making "green" living a more accessible and convenient option. It should also be noted that a recent emergency plan by Seoul Mayor Park Won-soon to provide free public transit on poor air quality days was shelved when it did not prove to be successful. It resulted in only a small reduction in the number of vehicles on the roads and a significant loss in revenue that arguably could have been put to better use on other environmentally-friendly projects.

Thus, while progress is being made, it is clear that the country has a long way to go in dealing with this issue. For a country that takes a great deal of pride in its four distinct seasons, it is a shame to see arguably its best season ruined by the pollution problem.

In the News: From Asia Society Policy Institute

미국의 태평양 조약 탈퇴 이후 아시아의 무역 경제



2018년 1월 18일

미국이 환태평양 경제동반자 협정 TPP(Trans-Pacific Partnership)를 탈퇴하고 1년이 지난 지금, 미국중심으로 정착된 경제 의존과 시장 구조를 조정하기 위해 아시아-태평양 지역의 정부들이 자국 간 무역 투자 협정 등을 맺고 있다고 다수의 전문가들이 아시아소사이어티 정책 연구소(Asia Society Policy Institute, ASPI) 부소장 웬디 커틀러(Wendy Cutler)가 소집한 회담에서 밝혔다.

1월 18일 미국 워싱턴에서 발간된 ASPI 보고서 “요동치는 무역 시장: 미국의 양자주의와 아시아 태평양 경제 협력”은 호주, 중국, 일본, 대한민국, 뉴질랜드, 그리고 미국의 여러 정부관료 및 학자들이 공동으로 참여하여 만들어졌으며, 최근 체결된 자유무역협정(Free Trade Agreement) 외에도 미국을 제외한 기존 TPP 가입국들간 다자간 무역협정 CPTPP(Comprehensive Progressive Trans-Pacific Partnership)을 다루고 있다.

2015년까지 미국 무역 부대표 대행을 맡았던 커틀러는 “작년 9월 발표된 CPTPP의 핵심 사안들에 대한 협의는 세계 무역에 주요한 변화를 가져왔다”고 말했다. 또한 그녀는 “미국이 더욱 내향적인 무역 정책을 채택함으로써, 아시아-태평양 지역의 국가들은 자체적인 지역 기반의 협력과 무역 자유화를 주도하게 됐다”고 전했다.

보고서는 무역에 있어 매우 이례적이었던 2017년 이후 복잡한 양상을 띠는 아시아-태평양 무역 지형에 어떻게 대처할 것인지에 대해 다음과 같은 네 가지 정책적 제안을 내놓았다.

1. TPP-11이라고도 불리는 CPTPP에 관하여는, 남아있는 가입국들이 조속히 협정을 마무리 짓고, 만일 필요하다면 독자적인 협정 마무리를 할 경우에도 대비할 것을 제안한다. 또한, 보고서는 대한민국, 필리핀, 인도네시아와 같은 가입 후보국들에 대한 논의를 시행하고, 브렉시트(Brexit) 협상을 진행중인 세계경제 5위의 영국, 그리고 태평양 동맹 회원국인 콜롬비아 또한 회원국으로 고려할 것을 제안한다.

2. 북미자유무역협정(NAFTA)과 한-미 자유무역협정(KORUS FTA) 재협상에 있어서는, 아시아-태평양 국가들이 미국과의 양자무역을 협의할지에 대한 주요한 척도가 될 것이라고 보고 있다. 이에 보고서는 미국이 재협상 과정에서 기존의 협정 내용을 약화시키는 것 보다 개선, 발전시키는 방향으로 가는 것이 좋을 것이라고 지적한다.

3. 미국이 더 이상 포괄적인 지역 협정에 관심이 없다는 것을 염두해두고, 보고서는 더욱 제한적이고 사안 중심적인 지역별 협상을 제안한다. 유력한 협상 사안으로는 아시아 전역에서 폭발적인 성장을 보인 디지털 무역 법규 체계가 있다.

마지막으로 보고서는 투자자 국가 분쟁 해결 ISDS (Investor-State Dispute Settlement)와 같은 지속적이지만 양극화 되어가는 무역협정들이 재고되어야 한다고 제안한다. 정책 결정자들은 논란의 여지가 덜하면서도 해외투자를 보호하고 무역에 대한 지원을 재건할 수 있는 다른 방안을 모색해야 한다.

In the News: From Asia Society Policy Institute

트럼프-김정은 회담: 아시아소사이어티 전문가들의 전망



역사상 처음으로 미국과 북한의 지도자가 대면하게 될 것이라는 뉴스는 북핵문제로 인한 북미 갈등에 있어 놀라운 전개라고 볼 수 있습니다. 이는 트럼프 대통령에게 또한 매우 중요한 태세전환인데, 그는 작년 가을까지만 해도 북한과의 외교는 “시간낭비”라고 말하며 UN 연설에서 북한을 “완전히 파괴할 것”이라고 말한 바 있습니다. 과연 북한의 면담 제안은 위기를 완화시키기 위한 순수한 시도였을까요, 아니면 협상의 대가라고 오랫동안 주장해온 미국의 대통령에게서부터 제재 완화와 양보를 얻어내기 위한 계략일까요?

케빈 러드 (Kevin Rudd) – 아시아소사이어티 정책연구소장, CNN과의 인터뷰 中:

“저는 이번 제안을 액면 그대로 받아들이고 협상해야 한다고 생각합니다. 문이 조금밖에 열리지 않았을 때 광 하고 닫지는 않듯이, 이번 제안은 협상의 문이 아주 조금 열린 것으로 보입니다.”

대니얼 러셀 (Daniel Russel) – 외교차관보, 아시아소사이어티 정책연구소, 워싱턴 포스트와의 인터뷰 中:

“북한은 오랫동안 대통령이 직접 개입한다면 무슨 일이 생길지 모른다고 말해왔습니다. 북한이 면담을 바라며 미국 대통령의 직접적인 개입을 바라왔다는 것은 새로운 사실이 아닙니다. 이는 또한 그들이 과거 소련처럼 핵무장 국가로 인정받고자 하는 맥락에서도 벗어나지 않습니다.”

아이작 스톤 피시 (Isaac Stone Fish) – 미중관계연구센터 선임연구원, 시드니 모닝 헤럴드와의 인터뷰 中:

“북미 만남이 다소 급하게 이루어졌고 5월 회담이 미국에게 넉넉한 준비기간을 주지 못할 것이라는 우려가 있지만, 이번 회담은 지난 약 10년간 한반도에서 보지 못했던, 긴장 완화를 위한 최고의 기회입니다. 회담이 최악으로 치달지 않는 한, 혹은 북한이 협상 체결 이후 약속을 바로 어기지 않는 한은, 단기적으로는 트럼프에게 큰 성과를 안길 수 있을 것입니다. 하지만, 북한이 쉽게 핵을 포기하지 않을 것이라는 점을 기억할 필요가 있습니다. 북한은 이라크의 사담 후세인과 리비아의 무아마르 카다피의 역사를 알고 있습니다. 실제 핵이 없었음에도 비극적인 결말을 맞이했다는 것을 안 이상, 북한은 스스로 핵을 포기하지는 않을 것입니다. 게다가, 북한이 완전히 핵을 포기했다는 것을 입증하기는 대단히 어려울 것입니다. 2009년 북한 핵실험과 관련하여, 당시 로버트 게이츠 (Robert Gates) 국방부 장관은 평양에 ‘같은 말을 두 번 하는 데에 질렸다’며 경고한 일이 있습니다. 북한은 이번 회담에 똑같은 말을 더 높은 가격에 팔 수 있다는 점을 염두해야 합니다.”

린지 포드 (Lindsey Ford) – 아시아소사이어티 정책연구소 정치안보부장, MSNBC Ali Velshi 中:

“지금까지 시도해왔던 방법이 잘 먹히지 않아서 새로운 것을 시도해 보겠다는 것처럼 보일지 모르겠으나, 실상은 매우 신중히 모든 리스크를 감안해야 합니다. 그리고 이번 회담이 매우 신중하고 사려 깊게 진행되기 위해서는 핵문제에 대한 합의가 있어야 할 것입니다. 이번 협상은 김정은 단독으로 타결을 보는 협상이 아닙니다. 모든 참모진들이 합의안을 이끌어 내기 위해 최선을 다할 것이며, 최선의 결과를 위해서는 시간과 여유가 필요할 것입니다. 부디 좋은 결과가 있기를 바랍니다.”

North Korea Coverage: From Asia Society Policy Institute

중북관계: 불편한 동맹



왼쪽부터: 존 박, 다니엘 러셀, 마이클 스웨인

중국과 북한은 동맹국임에도 항상 순탄치 못한 관계를 유지해왔다. 특히 최근 북한의 김정은이 핵무기와 탄도미사일 개발에 박차를 가하면서 관계는 더욱 악화되었다. 지난 한 해 동안 북한은 중국 샤먼(厦門)시에서 열린 브릭스(BRICS) 회의, 베이징(北京)에서 개최한 일대일로(一帶一路) 포럼, 트럼프 대통령과 시진핑 주석이 만난 마라라고(Mar-a-Lago) 회의 등의 날짜에 맞춰 핵실험 및 탄도미사일 발사를 감행해 왔다. 하지만 북한은 전체 무역의 90%를 포함하여 대부분의 음식과 동력 자원 수입을 중국에 기대고 있다. 비록 중국 정부가 북한당국에 대한 제재를 강화하였지만, 중국이 여전히 북한

의 경제적 생명줄로 남아있는 만큼, 평양의 정권교체를 야기하는 압박을 가하는 것만은 거부해왔다. 과연 북핵위협에 대한 해답이 중국에 있는 것일까? 중·북관계에서 실제 우위를 점하고 있는 국가는 어디일까? 최근 중국 내 권력 강화에 성공한 시진핑이 김정은을 통제할 수 있을까? 아니면 북한과 사회주의 이념을 함께하고 북한을 완충지대로 두는 것이 강경한 핵무장 국가를 곁에 두는 것보다는 낫다고 생각하는 것일까? 이번 아시아소사이어티정책연구원(ASPI) 토론회는 중·북동맹과 그 외 중요한 요소들을 돌아볼 예정이다. 패널들은 경제, 정치, 군사적인 측면에서 그들의 “애증(frenemies)” 관계를 분석하고, 나아가 베이징에서 열린 트럼프-시진핑 회담 이후의 미국의 대북정책에 미칠 영향에 대해 알아볼 예정이다.

발제



존 박(John Park)은 하버드 케네디 스쿨의 안보 분석가로, 한국 부서장과 공공정책 부교수를 겸임하고 있다. 그는 2012년부터 이듬해까지 매사추세츠 공과대학 안보 프로그램의 스탠턴 핵 안보 연구원(Stanton Nuclear Security Junior Faculty Fellow)으로 지냈으며, 이전엔 미국평화연구원에서 동북아 트랙 1.5 프로젝트를 도맡았다. 그는 골드만 삭스와 보스턴 컨설팅 그룹에서 근무한 경력이 있으며, CNN, CNBC, BBC, 그리고 블룸버그에 정기적인 논평을 제공하고 월스트리트저널, 뉴욕타임스, 그리고 파이낸셜 타임스에 논설을 기고해왔다. 존 박 박사는 영국 케임브리지 대학에서 석사와 박사학위를 취득하였으며, 하버드 케네디 스쿨의 벨퍼 센터(Belfer Center)에서 학위 후 교육을 이수했다.



마이클 스웨인은 카네기 국제평화기금(Carnegie Endowment for International Peace)의 선임연구원으로서 미국에서 가장 저명한 중국 안보 전문가이다. 전 랜드(RAND) 연구소 선임 정책연구관이었던 스웨인은 중국 국방외교정책, 미·중관계, 그리고 동아시아 국제관계 전문가다. 그는 수많은 책과 논문과 기고문을 집필, 편찬하였고, 중국과 여러 안보 관련 프로젝트를 진행하였으며, 아시아 안보 사항에 대한 미국 정부 고문을 맡고 있다. 그는 하버드 대학교에서 정치학 박사학위를 수여 받았다.

사회



다니엘 러셀(Daniel Russel)은 전속 외교관이자 아시아소사이어티정책연구원의 선임연구원이다. 그는 미 국무부에서 선임 외무관으로 근무하며, 최근까지 아시아태평양 차관보를 맡아왔다. 이전엔 백악관 국가안전보장회의 아시아 선임보좌관의 특보를 지냈고, 재임 기간 중 그는 오바마 대통령의 아시아태평양 지역 전략적 재균형 구상을 도왔다.

North Korea Coverage: From Asia Society Policy Institute

북한과 협상의 기술



북한의 계속되어온 핵개발과 이로 인한 미 동맹국들의 대북제재 가운데 북미관계와 남북관계는 최악의 사태로 치달고 있었다. 하지만 2018년 평창 올림픽을 앞두고 갑작스럽게 재기된 남북 대화와 대한민국 특사들의 북한 방문, 그리고 3월 전격적으로 합의된 5월 북미대화 등은 대북정책이 새로운 국면으로 전환되고 있음을 보여주고 있다. 과거의 북미대화들은 대체로 실패로 돌아갔지만 어느정도 가능성은 엿볼 수 있는 사례들이 있다. 1994년 김일성이 사망한 이후 한반도 긴장감이 최고조로 달했던 시기에 미국의 지미 카터(Jimmy Carter) 전 대통령은 북한의 김정일을 대면했다. 많은 논란이 있었지만, 이 면담으로 로버트 갈루치(Robert Gallucci)는 북미간 제네바 합의를 체결할 수 있었다. 또한, 그로부터 10년 후 북한의 핵개발 프로그램이 발견

된 직후 크리스토퍼 힐(Christopher Hill)은 북한의 핵포기를 약속하는 6자회담을 개최하는 데에 큰 기여를 했다. 그럼에도 불구하고 북한은 현재 핵개발을 완성했다고 주장하고 있다. 왜 지금까지의 외교적 노력은 모두 실패로 돌아간 것일까? 실제로 북한 고위 실무자들을 상대한다는 것은 어떤 것일까? 핵 완성을 주장하는 북한에게 어떠한 외교적 접근이 가능할 것인가?

이번 아시아소사이어티 정책연구원(Asia Society Policy Institute, ASPI) 토론회에서는 그간 북한과 중요한 합의들을 체결해 온 외교관 로버트 갈루치와 크리스토퍼 힐을 중심으로 진행될 예정이다. 본 토론회의 진행은 미 외교관으로서 북한을 상대하는 것의 중대함을 잘 알고 있는 아시아소사이어티 정책연구원의 다니엘 러셀(Daniel Russel)이 맡았다.

패널



로버트 갈루치(Robert Gallucci)는 조지타운대학 외교학과 교수이자 존스홉킨스대학 국제대학원(SAIS) 한미연구소의 소장이다. 그는 5년간 미국 의회도서관 존 W. 클러지 센터(John W. Kluge Center)의 원장과 맥아더 재단(MacArthur Foundation)의 대표를 역임했다. 갈루치 전 미국 국무부 북핵특별대사는 20년 넘게 순회대사, 정치군사담당 차관보, UNSCOM 사무차장, 그리고 MFO 정책관으로서 미국정부에 기여했다.



크리스토퍼 힐(Christopher Hill)은 덴버대학 국제대학원 (Josef Korbel School of International Studies) 학장출신이자 현재는 외교학과 교수이다. 그는 이라크, 대한민국, 폴란드, 그리고 마케도니아에서 미국대사였고 2005년부터 2009년까지는 동아시아태평양 담당 차관보였다. 또한, 힐 전 주한 미국대사는 1999년에서 2000년까지 코소보 특사이자 미국 국가 안전 보장 회의 (National Security Council) 대통령 선임보좌관직으로 있었다.



다니엘 러셀(Daniel Russel)은 미국 외교관이자 아시아소사이어티 정책연구원 (ASPI)의 선임연구원으로 최근까지 동아시아 태평양 담당 차관보였다. 동아시아 태평양 담당 차관보 이전에는 백악관에서 대통령 특별 지원과 국무부 외교국 아시아 업무 상급 지휘관 역할을 했다. 이때 러셀은 오바마 前 대통령의 아시아-태평양 지역 재균형 정책을 세우는데 기여했다.

North Korea Coverage: From Asia Society Policy Institute

북미정상회담의 중요성



트럼프 정권 기준에도 지난 몇주간은 북한 문제와 관련해서 바쁜 기간이었다. **트럼프 대통령**과 북한 **김정은**과의 회담이 확정된 후 트럼프 대통령은 **렉스 틸러슨(Rex Tillerson)**을 해임, 미국 중앙정보국(CIA) 국장인 **마이크 폼페이오(Mike Pompeo)**를 국무장관으로 임명하였고, 백악관 안보보좌관에 **존 볼튼(John Bolton)**을 임명하였다. 이와 중 북한의 김정은은 한반도 비핵화를 약속하기 위해 2011년 집권 후 첫 해외 방문을 하면서 중국의 **시진핑** 주석을 만났다. **케빈 러드(Kevin Rudd)** - 아시아소사이어티 정책연구소장, CNN과의 인터뷰 中:

계속해서 입장을 바꾸는 북한과의 협상은 무의미하다는 회의론도 존재 하지만, 북한과의 협상을 직접 경험했던 **로버트 갈루치(Robert Gallucci)**와 **크리스토퍼 힐(Christopher Hill)**은 지난주 목요일 북한이 입장을 바꾼다 해도 미국은 북한과 만남을 통해 이익을 얻을 것이라고 주장했다. 로버트 갈루치 前 북핵대사의 주장은 다음과 같다.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PXtMyGFNGQU>

하지만 놀랍게도 제일 최근 트럼프 정권에 합류한 존 볼튼 백악관 안보보좌관은 대북 초강경파이다. 갈루치는 트럼프 대통령이 본인을 신임 백악관 안보보좌관으로 임명한 것이 미국에게 “매우 나쁜 소식”이자 트럼프 대통령의 “현명하지 않은 선택”이라고 말했다.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QwBZptSW-e4>

로버트 갈루치와 크리스토퍼 힐은 아시아소사이어티정책연구원 (ASPI) 선임연구원이자 오바마 前 대통령의 아시아태평양 지역 전략적 재균형 구상을 도운 **다니엘 러셀(Daniel Russel)**과 함께 아시아소사이어티에서 북한의 모든 것에 대해 토론을 했다. 전체 영상은 아래에 있다.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=guCt4zvSrYE>

또한, 러셀은 3월 28일 아시아소사이어티 홍콩에서 아시아소사이어티정책연구원 회장인 **케빈 러드(Kevin Rudd)**와 **윤병세** 前 대한민국 외교부 장관과 함께 북한의 김정은과 중국의 시진핑 주석의 만남의 중요성 등 북한에 대해서 토론회를 가졌다. 전체 영상은 아래에 있다.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kAH4pvkYg_U

North Korea Coverage

Sports and Ideology in North Korea



By Daniel A. Pinkston, Asia Society Korea Advisory Committee Member

Athletics and sports are both physical activities and forms of leisure entertainment. Sports have multiple purposes such as improving our physical and mental health, and helping us build friendships and comradery. Sports transcend politics, nations, culture, language, gender, and age. Whether we are direct participants or spectators, everyone can feel the emotional high of winning and the despair of loss through athletic competition.

Adulation of our favorite teams and athletes can also push some sports fans to engage in extreme behavior. The emotionally charged atmosphere at sports venues can create collective mobs whereby individuals acquire a sense of anonymity that releases them from the usual constraints of social norms. In some cases, politics, nationalism, and alcohol can be catalysts that trigger tribal brawls between groups trying to establish dominance over their rivals.

Athletics preceded the modern nation-state, but states have tried to harness the energy and passion in sports to advance state political objectives, especially after the arrival of modern mass media. For example, the Nazi Party commandeered the 1936 Berlin Summer Olympics to be a propaganda stage for its warped ideology. After World War II, the former Axis Powers were welcomed back as peaceful democratic states when Rome, Tokyo, and Munich hosted the Summer Olympics in 1960, 1964, and 1972, respectively. However, the Olympics could not escape the politics of the Cold War as the U.S. and Soviet Bloc countries viewed the Games as a forum to demonstrate the “superiority” of their respective social and political systems.

During the Cold War, socialist ideology diverged slightly as national leaders modified Marxist thought to meet their domestic political needs. And since socialism is supposed to be “scientific,” leaders such as Lenin, Stalin, Mao, the Kims, and others have done their duty to contribute “new ideas and concepts” to build upon the work of their predecessors. One reason the Kim dynasty has survived is that the Kims and the Korean Workers Party (KWP) have been adept at modifying, at least superficially, North Korean ideology to appear flexible and modern in order to meet current and emerging needs. Despite these marginal modifications in ideology, these socialist countries and their ruling parties have always had a “sense of superiority” since their founding. According to János Kornai, a Hungarian economist and specialist in command economies, “The adherents of the official [socialist] ideology are imbued with the Messianic belief that socialism is destined to save mankind.” In North Korea’s case, many observers have been struck by the similarities between the symbolism found in Christianity and the Kim family cult. Some have remarked that this is no coincidence since Kim Il-sung was exposed to Christian practices and symbols during his youth in Pyongyang, which was known as “Jerusalem of the East.”

For North Korea’s ruling elite, the sense of superiority has not diminished despite clear evidence of poor governance under the KWP. Economic setbacks, food insecurity, energy shortages, and other problems in the North are blamed on the “U.S. hostile policy toward the DPRK” that Pyongyang asserts “is a policy of state-sponsored terrorism aimed at bringing down the dignified Korean-style socialist system chosen by the Korean people.” But Pyongyang also reacts with strong vitriol whenever the South Korean “puppet” government, media, or non-governmental organizations “run amuck” and slander the “dignified DPRK.”

North Korea Coverage

Foreign media focus on North Korean belligerence and threats as embodied in Pyongyang's frequent nuclear and missile tests. Foreign media should focus on the North's deviance of international law and norms, but the result is that most people fail to recognize that Pyongyang has what it views as soft power assets to publicize "the glory of its dignified system." The leadership's aim is to use the Olympics and other international athletic competitions for multiple purposes at the domestic, inter-Korean, and international levels.

Kim Il-sung believed that physical education formed one of the three pillars in "socialist pedagogy to make people revolutionary, working-class, and communist." The Kims always have placed ideology and "political work" above everything else in running the family business, but they have also viewed sports and physical culture as instruments for governance. Kim Il-sung asserted that physical education is "aimed to prepare children for work and national defense." Kim also declared that "physical activities cultivate courage, audacity, fortitude, and perseverance." It is noteworthy that Kim viewed sports through a strong nationalistic lens, proclaiming that, "physical training...should accord with the natural and geographical features of our country, the physical characteristics of our people..."

Kim Jong-il also emphasized the importance of sports in the context of overall cultural development. One of Kim's first jobs in the KWP was a director in the Propaganda and Agitation Department (PAD). Now Kim Yo-jong, Kim Jong Un's younger sister, is the first-vice director of the PAD. She is part of North Korea's high-level delegation to the Py'ongch'ang Winter Olympics, reiterating the importance Pyongyang places on propaganda and agitation in sports diplomacy and inter-Korean relations. While Kim Jong-il served in the PAD, he was known for his focus on film and visual arts. Most outside observers viewed Kim as a movie aficionado who would rather be a movie director but instead had to succeed his father as leader. However, Kim's rise to power and role in propaganda was cleverly calculated as an effort to eliminate all aspects of civil society and to establish a totalitarian regime.

Kim Jong-il was a notorious micro-manager who seemed to dislike formal meetings. Instead, Kim often relied upon informal channels, frequently calling party secretaries directly to issue directives and monitor those lower in the hierarchy. In July 1970, Kim had a phonenumber installed for direct communications with the office responsible for sports. Shortly thereafter, he contacted an official in the KWP Central Committee to emphasize the importance of physical culture and sports. From 1972, Kim reportedly took a direct interest in the management of the April 25 Sports Team, stressing that players should have a fighting spirit cultivated through intensive training and uninterrupted ideological training." Throughout the 1970s, Kim advocated "*chuch'e*-oriented sports tactics to achieve victories by relying on a powerful ideological campaign, high speed, fighting spirit, and technical skills, and therefore glorify the country."

Kim Jong Un has continued the sports tradition in North Korea, building upon the ideas and work of his father and grandfather. Compared to his predecessors, Kim Jong Un seems to take a genuine interest in sports. He is known to be a basketball fan, having watched professional NBA games as a schoolboy in Switzerland. Under Kim Jong Un, all sports activities continue to be conducted under the guidance of the KWP, just as before. Kim has continued the legacy of his father by promoting the construction of sports facilities such as the Masikryong Ski Resort and the Mirim [equestrian] Riding Club. Compared to his father and grandfather, Kim views sports as an arena to demonstrate national glory before an international audience. Kim Il-sung viewed sports as an element of socialist education to create a new "*chuch'e* man" during the early stages of socialist construction. Kim Jong-il saw sports as a component of culture to develop North Koreans as a culturally superior people and the true heirs of the pure Korean nation.

Kim Jong Un proclaimed that "building a sports power is a key focus of the KWP in building a thriving socialist country. Only when we step up the building of a sports power can we display to a higher degree the might of the military power, successfully build a socialist economic power and civilized nation and demonstrate the dignity of Chuch'e Korea." Kim also declared that "the party has set a major objective for building a sports power to help our athletes win in the Olympic Games, world championships, and other international contests and demonstrate the prestige and mettle of the country..." It is noteworthy that Kim said, "Only sportspeople can cause the flag of our republic to be hoisted in the sky of other countries in peace time; it is their sacred duty to exalt the prestige and honor of their country by winning gold medals."

So what does North Korea expect to achieve at the Winter Olympics? The main objectives are threefold: 1) for the domestic audience, the participation of North Korean athletes will provide examples of national pride and glory for which the party will take credit; 2) for the international audience, Pyongyang hopes to project an image of a "normal country" that should be accepted into the community of nations as a nuclear state without economic sanctions; and 3) for the South Korean audience, the North seeks to create splits within South Korean society and to gain support from South Koreans by appearing nationalistic, tolerant, and as a reasonable partner to lure South Koreans into supporting Pyongyang's united front tactics and the North's confederal unification proposal.

North Korea Coverage

North Korean Domestic Factors and Peace after the Third Inter-Korean Summit



By Daniel A. Pinkston, Asia Society Korea Advisory Committee Member

President Moon Jae-in hosted Korean Workers Party Chairman Kim Jong Un at the Peace House on the southern side of the Joint Security Area (JSA) in P'anmunjŏm on April 27, 2018. The third inter-Korean summit was noteworthy in that it was the first time a North Korean leader has crossed south of the Military Demarcation Line (MDL). At the conclusion of their talks, the two sides released the "P'anmunjŏm Declaration for Peace, Prosperity, and Unification of the Korean Peninsula." As expected, the declaration covered three broad areas: the advancement of inter-Korean relations, the reduction of military tensions, and the establishment of a permanent peace regime on the peninsula.

The three tracks are interdependent, of course; no single objective can be achieved without progress in the other two. Both sides "agreed to bring forth the watershed moment for the improvement of inter-Korean relations by fully implementing all existing agreements and declarations adopted between the two sides thus far." They agreed to open a liaison office in Kaesŏng in order to have close consultations to implement the agreement. As part of the effort to establish a peace regime, the two Koreas "confirmed the common goal of realizing, through complete denuclearization, a nuclear-free Korean peninsula." Of course, all of the details must be specified at the working level, and those details will have to be implemented for the summit to be considered a complete success. But critics argue that nothing is new. Much of the language has appeared elsewhere in previous agreements or declarations. Skeptics say that North Korea has signed numerous inter-Korean and international agreements only to renege upon their commitments whenever it appears suitable for continuing the revolution. Surely, if Pyongyang is now capable of resolving its commitment problem, something must have changed. On the other hand, enthusiastic supporters of the summit are saying "this time is different."

If something in North Korea has changed, how would we know? And how would we know if the right things or conditions have changed? Furthermore, for those who are convinced that this time it is different, what evidence could they provide to support their intuition? And finally, by asserting that "things are different now," supporters are acknowledging that something was not right in the past. So, what was wrong? Why did so many excellent—at least on paper—cooperative agreements collapse? I believe that North Korea's fundamental ideological and political orientation makes inter-Korean cooperation and peaceful coexistence virtually impossible. This does not mean inter-Korean peace is not possible; however, the "permanent and robust peace" as mentioned in the P'anmunjŏm Declaration is highly dubious under current conditions. True peace is not simply the absence of violent conflict. True peace means the elimination of fears or expectations that conflict will break out. Such an attitude and belief requires mutual tolerance, mutual respect, and the will to co-exist with others. Unfortunately, North Korea is organized in a way that makes true peace extremely difficult. This does not mean that North Korea cannot change. All social and political systems change over time, but for true peace on the Korean peninsula, North Korea will have to change in some fundamental ways. There are five main areas that are determinants or clear indicators of Pyongyang's intransigence and periodic belligerence. If North Korea has changed or will change, the changes would likely be observable in these areas.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The [dictatorship of the proletariat](#) is an important governing principle in both the Korean Workers Party (KWP) Bylaws and the DPRK Constitution. This principle means the ruling party can never give up power, stand for democratic elections, or tolerate an opposition. Relinquishing control of the state would be "counter-revolutionary and a reversal of social, political, economic, and cultural progress. The KWP Bylaws proclaim that the Party is Kim Il-sung's and Kim Jong-il's Party and all affairs are governed according to dictatorship of the proletariat and democratic centralism. In North Korea, there is no tolerance for opposition. Those opposed to KWP guidance are "enemies of the people," as defined by the dictator. Until there is some relaxation of this principle, North Korea is not prepared to co-exist with the South.

The United Front

The so-called united front stems from early 20th century alliances against common enemies. Communist revolutionaries sought united front allies in their revolutionary struggles against fascist enemies in Europe, for example. Kim Il-sung began to employ united front tactics shortly after Korea was liberated from Japanese rule. In a short period, Kim Il-sung loyalists and KWP members infiltrated and coopted other political parties in the North. Two of them still exist and hold seats in the 687-seat Supreme People's Assembly (SPA). The Social Democratic Party (조선사회민주당) holds 49 seats, and the Ch'ŏndoist Ch'ŏng'u Party (천도교청우당) holds 22 seats in the unicameral legislature. These "opposition parties" became part of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland (formed in July 1946), and subsequently have been allowed to co-exist only as "fraternal parties" upholding the guidance and revolutionary leadership of the KWP.

North Korea Coverage

General Kim Yong-ch'ŏl, currently director of the KWP United Front Department, represents the institution that has sought the subordination of political parties, societal organizations, labor unions, etc., under the KWP. North Korea's frequent appeals to Koreans from all walks of life, parties, organizations, and overseas compatriots to abandon their differences and join together for national unification rings hollow while the North maintains its United Front tactics. If Kim Jong Un is serious about tolerance, mutual respect, and co-existence, the North should abandon the United Front. Kim Yong-ch'ŏl and Kim Yŏ-jŏng, Kim Jong Un's sister, were the last two people walking behind Kim before peeling off as Kim walked to greet President Moon. Kim Yong-ch'ŏl's presence symbolizes the importance of the United Front. If the North is changing, they could start by changing the name of the United Front Department to the "Unification Department" and seek national reconciliation with tolerance, mutual respect, and mutual co-existence.

The Korean Workers Party Bylaws

The Party Bylaws prescribe party organization, membership rules, and the basic principles that determine party guidance and national governance. According to the Bylaws, the party is to consolidate the revolutionary achievements in the North, complete the revolution, and liberate the South. This revolutionary orientation manifests itself in North Korean media, school curriculum, indoctrination through the military, and mass organizations. While North Korea talks "peace and reconciliation" internal messaging continuously repeats the goal of "completing the final victory." How can the two Koreas have a "permanent and robust peace" if one continues fighting a revolution to liberate the other? Unless the KWP Bylaws and the DPRK Constitution are revised, a "peace treaty" or "peace regime" will be incompatible and unachievable.

Sŏn'gun Ideology

Compared to other authoritarian states, North Korea is noteworthy in how it has modified its state ideology over time. Arguably, these modifications and transformations have enabled the Kim regime to survive despite extraordinary changes domestically and internationally since the DPRK's foundation in 1948. The historical underpinnings and historical modifications are beyond the scope of this article, but today North Korea has a handful of ideological frameworks to channel social thinking and repertoires. *Sŏn'gun* [先軍; military first] ideology is an amalgamation of ideologies, beliefs, and mindsets including Marxism-Leninism, neo-Confucianism, realism (in the sense of international relations or political science), militarism, anti-colonialism, ethnic-nationalism, fascism, and Christian symbolism. The Kim family dynasty claims the Kims discovered new and profound ideas, but nothing in their ideological menu is new. They have been very adept at borrowing off the shelf and mixing different concepts, and then slapping a new label on their ideological concoction, but they have not introduced any new ideas.

Nevertheless, the Kim family's ideological cookbook has worked so far. The third generation remains in power. However, despite this success, ideology constrains North Korea in the realms of foreign policy and national security policy. In sum, *sŏn'gun* ideology makes North Koreans the world's greatest realists. In the traditions of the Melian Dialog in Thucydides, Machiavelli, and the Hobbesian state of nature, North Korea is obsessed with power. From the North Korean perspective, all political outcomes—both domestic and international—are determined by power balances. The international system is viewed as a menacing, self-help Hobbesian world where power is the only instrument for survival. Abandoning nuclear weapons in exchange for negative security assurances and a collective security mechanism is irreconcilable with *sŏn'gun* ideology. Until North Korea abandons or modifies its *sŏn'gun* ideology, denuclearization will remain a fantasy.

The Pyŏngjin Line

The *pyŏngjin* line [並進路線] is another obstacle that makes North Korean denuclearization virtually impossible. *Pyŏngjin* means to advance in tandem or side-by-side. In this case, it means North Korea's dual development of nuclear technology and the economy. The nuclear dimension includes both peaceful and military purposes. While most people would agree that nuclear development incurs an opportunity cost that impedes economic development, the *pyŏngjin* line asserts that nuclear development and economic development are inseparable. On the contrary, nuclear development is considered a necessary condition for economic development. According to the *pyŏngjin* line, abandoning nuclear weapons also means abandoning hopes of economic development and prosperity.

People frequently and mistakenly call *pyŏngjin* a "policy." But lines and policies are very different in the classical socialist systems. In socialist countries, socialism is considered a "science" that builds upon the work of predecessors. Its dictators do not establish political legitimacy by campaigning and winning competitive elections; they establish legitimacy by contributing to "scientific socialism" and becoming "great men." For Kim Jong Un, the *pyŏngjin* line is his contribution to "socialism" and the "great revolutionary achievements" of his father and grandfather. In a socialist system, lines are analogous to laws or robust models in the sciences. They remain in use until a new law or model is discovered, just as Newtonian physics remained until Einsteinian physics came along. Policies on the other hand are more flexible and can be adjusted. The central bank interest rate, the military budget, and investment on irrigation facilities are examples of policies that can be adjusted and calibrated to meet changes in the environment. But lines are inflexible because they form part of the leadership's political legitimacy. If North Korea is changing, and if North Korea truly intends to denuclearize, we should see the termination or replacement of Kim Jong Un's *pyŏngjin* line.

Asia Society Korea Travel Series

Part I: Samaksan Mountain



By Mark Sample, Contributing Writer

As spring is upon us, we at Asia Society Korea thought it would be fun to share with you some of the lesser-known tourist spots throughout Korea. Each month we will preview a different location, revealing why it's special, what you must see, and how to get there. We kick-off our series with a hike up **Samaksan Mountain**, where we also get the added bonus of seeing **Deungseon Falls**.

With around 70% of the peninsula covered by mountains, it's little surprise that hiking is incredibly popular in Korea. Despite there being a myriad of trails to pick from, most end up on the better-known routes, which can hinder the experience due to overcrowding. Thus, it's worthwhile to do a spot of research and travel a little further to find something more tranquil.

Samaksan offers three peaks, and while the highest, Yonghwabong at 654m, may be smaller than others around the country, it does offer breathtaking views of Chuncheon, Uiamho Lake, and Bukhangang River. The most popular course starts from Uiamho Lake and finishes at Deungseon Falls, or vice versa. The part of the course next to Uiamho is quite difficult with some steep inclinations, so those looking for a more leisurely day should start from Deungseon and return back the way they came once they have reached the peak. The entire route is a pleasure to walk with a variety of small and large waterfalls between cliffs and unique rock formations. On warmer days, many visitors cool off in the water, but beware that it stays very chilly even on the hottest days of the year. Throughout the climb, there are sneak peeks of the view that awaits, and eventually the trail emerges from the thick forest to a stunning panoramic view of Uiamho Lake and the Bukhangang River.

Located just outside of Seoul, Samaksan Mountain and Deungseon Falls are the perfect destination for weekend outings for those in the Seoul and Gyeonggi areas. It takes around 90 minutes to get there by car, and it's also accessible by public transport via the Gyeongchun Line. Gangchon Station is nearest to the mountain, and bus number 50 will drop you off right at the starting point.

In terms of food, there are a number of restaurants located at the entrance next to Deungseon. Thus, if you are up for the challenge, most would recommend starting from the Uiamho Lake side and finishing at one of the quaint restaurants for a late lunch. The restaurants serve the typical menu you would expect to see on or around hiking courses such as jeon and bibimbap, but I would recommend also trying the seasoned deodeok. Also, for those not driving, it is almost obligatory that you wash it all down with a drop of the local makgeolli. Another option is to make the short trip into Chuncheon and visit its famous Dak-galbi Street.

Despite the lack of snow, we've endured a Baltic winter, and for many of us the result has been endless days camped out on the sofa watching the Winter Olympics on television. Now with the weather starting to warm up, there are no excuses not to get out there and enjoy what South Korea has to offer, and what better way to start than a visit to Samaksan Mountain.

Asia Society Korea Travel Series

Part 2: Independence Hall of Korea



By Mark Sample, Contributing Writer

Last month, we started our new Travel Series with some exercise by taking a trip up beautiful Samaksan Mountain. This month we're going to learn about Korea's successful battle for independence from Japan, which it finally achieved on August 15, 1945. There's no better place to learn about this than the Independence Hall of Korea in Cheonan. Despite its focus on the independence movements during the Japanese Colonial Period, the museum is divided into a number of exhibits that also document the peninsula's history from prehistoric times to the Joseon Dynasty.

Independence Hall was officially opened on the anniversary of Korea's Independence Day on August 15, 1987. It boasts seven exhibition halls and other facilities commemorating the country's struggle for freedom. Perhaps most fascinating are the historical records related to the uprisings in the 1910s including the March 1st, 1919 Independence Movement. Often referred to as the Samil (3-1) Movement, it occurred as a reaction to the repressive nature of colonial occupation under the military rule of the Japanese Empire. On that day, Korean activists read aloud the Korean Declaration of Independence along with a number of complaints they held against the Japanese. As many as two million Koreans took to the streets throughout the country to demonstrate, and the Japanese rulers chose physical force as a means to combat the crowds. In the period from March 1 to April 11, thousands were killed, injured, or imprisoned during repeated clashes. Dioramas, models, and images bring the armed resistance and independence movements to life, so visitors get to feel what it was like to live through some of the most troubling times in the nation's history.

Other notable sites include the Grand Hall of the Nation, which is the standout building and the central point of the museum. The length of a soccer field and 15 stories in height, it was designed to replicate Suseok Temple from the Goryeo Dynasty. The Unification Bell is another "must see" sight. It was modeled after the oldest bronze bell in Korea, which is located at Sangwonsa Temple on Mt. Odaesan. Finally, no trip is complete without a selfie at Taeguk Square. Here you will find 815 South Korean national flags that were raised in 2005 on the 60th anniversary of Korea's liberation.

With so much to see, it's worth giving yourself three to four hours to take everything in. During the summer period, the facility is open from 09:30-18:00. There is no entrance fee as the museum is seen as a gift to the people of Korea, and the country understands the importance of making sure this critical period in the country's history remains available to everyone. While the museum exhibits do have English labels, those who want a more detailed explanation may want to consider a guided tour. These should be arranged in advance by calling 041-560-0356; however, you might need someone who speaks Korean to help you with the reservation. Finally, the best way to get there by public transport is by taking an intercity bus to Cheonan Intercity Bus Terminal. There are a number of local buses (381, 382, 383, 390) that will take you directly to Independence Hall.

The peninsula is rich in history, both good and bad, and a trip to the Independence Hall of Korea is certain to provide an enlightening and fulfilling day out for all ages.

Innovative Minds

Part 9: Hosik Choi



This month, Asia Society Korea had the opportunity to meet up with **Hosik Choi**, CEO of Best Network. Best Network is a pioneer in the executive search industry and the company prides itself on being trustworthy and efficient. Every day it's their job to connect talented individuals with leading companies. Choi's firm grew from an innovative idea, and in today's difficult employment market many are looking to people like Choi for advice on how they can also succeed. Luckily, Choi was on hand to give his insight on what it takes to start your own business.

1. What are the origins of your business? In other words, what motivated you to start your company?

When I was young, I always wondered about the world and tried to know more about it. From what I understood, the world was made up of the sky, the earth, and humans. I was especially interested in human beings and human lives since I believed humans were the center of the world. After I was discharged from military service, I began to worry over what to do with the rest of my life. It didn't take long before I decided to pursue my career in human relations as I've always been attracted to human psychology. While I was desperate to find out how to pursue my dream, I happened to learn that executive search firms are already common in the U.S. and Europe. I perceived intuitively that it could be a niche market in Korea so I established my own company in 1999.

2. Were there any notable moments when you experienced difficulties with your business?

It is always challenging to run your own business. More specifically, it is always devastating when I find out my employees or stakeholders have been acting dishonestly. The most difficult time was during the global financial crisis, since there was a sharp decrease in the need for our kind of business. As a solution, we diversified our business portfolio and overcame the recession via working with many local companies including conglomerates in finance and IT.

3. What, in your personal view, are the most important values when it comes to business?

Above all things, trustworthiness is the most important value. If someone is honest and faithful, you can guarantee that he or she will play an essential part in developing the company. It is also crucial that our employees and I should be trusted by our clients, and it requires a lot of hard work. It can be achieved by keeping promises and working diligently whether someone is watching or not. To sum up, it is through trustworthiness that we can provide what a customer values.

4. Best Network has an extremely long history within the field. What are Best Network's strongest aspects compared to other businesses in the same field?

I think our biggest strength is the speed and accuracy we have grown at over the past 18 years. I can confidently say that we have a big database to search, analyze, and find the right person for our clients. We have strong partnerships with well-known foreign affiliates throughout a number of industries such as finance, IT, luxury goods, insurance, fashion, car manufacturing, and so on.

5. Do you have any comments or advice to those who hope to start their own business?

I think it is very important to build up as much knowledge and experience as possible. Read newspapers and travel the world to find your own talents and focus on them. You need to put in a great deal of effort to seek a lifelong career. Don't just be content with existing concepts but try to explore uncharted waters and discover future possibilities. Keep the frontier spirit and lead the way!

Upcoming Events

Asia Society Korea - Maekyung Media Group Joint Award 2018



Asia Society Korea and the Maekyung Media Group jointly established the **ASEAN Entrepreneur Award** in 2016 to recognize and honor business leaders in ASEAN countries. The award ceremony takes place every October during the World Knowledge Forum in Seoul. Asia Society Korea's partnership with the Maekyung Media Group has been so successful that we have agreed to launch another initiative together: the **Asia Society Korea & Maekyung Media Group Asia Game Changer Award**. This initiative will identify and honor young leaders around the world who are between the ages 16 and 35.

We seek to honor visionary entrepreneurs and younger generation leaders who have:

- tackled challenges and opportunities;
- inspired, enlightened, and shown true leadership; and
- proven themselves to be innovative and dynamic.

The nomination form is attached. We must receive your nominations by June 16, 2018. Our Selection Committee will review the nominations and announce the winner by July 13, 2018. The award ceremony will take place during the World Knowledge Forum's gala dinner on October 11, 2018 in Seoul, Korea. Please send us your nominations to koreacenter@asiasociety.org.

For detailed information about **World Knowledge Forum**, click the following link: <http://www.wkforum.org/>

Committee Members of the **ASEAN Entrepreneur Award & Asia Game Changer Award**:

- Dae-Whan Chang, Ph.D., Chairman, Maekyung Media Group
- Dr. Hong-Koo Lee, Ph.D., Acting Chairman, Asia Society Korea
- Sung-Joo Han, Ph.D., Professor Emeritus, Korea University
- Young-Chae Kim, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Korea to ASEAN

10th Anniversary Student Programs

Voice of Youth (VOY) Project



Program Outline

Listening to the voices of the younger generation, the “Voice of Youth” is a program that supports students’ research on diverse issues that impact both South Korea and the world. Presentations will be held in front of a diverse audience. A certificate and research funds will be provided to those who complete their reports.

Research Topic

(Topics can be chosen freely within the four main subjects)

Arts & Culture: Research on various areas such as art, music, literature, and culture (i.e. The Globalization of Korean Literature from the Perspective of Korean Vegetarians)

Education: Research on the leading country’s education systems along with policy suggestions (i.e. An Education Model and a Logical English-based Education Model Focused on the Fourth Industrial Revolution)

Policy & Society: Research on East Asia’s political issues and domestic social issues (i.e. North Korea, 2018 PyeongChang Olympics, and Peace)

Business & Economy: Research on the outlook of leading industries for future economic development (i.e. New Industries in the Fourth Industrial Revolution; World Economy and Asia)

10th Anniversary Student Programs

Search & Correct Campaign



Program Outline

The "Search & Correct Campaign" was launched to detect English errors at palaces, museums, historical sites, and their guide books, or to find places where the English guide is required but does not have any of foreign language services. The campaign will gather up the errors, send those findings to relevant institutes with proofs and suggestions, and monitor the process until the errors are corrected. We welcome those who are interested in promoting Korean culture correctly, and those who have felt the necessity of posting correct English on public notices.

Process of the Campaign

Report English errors: Take a picture of English errors at public places (i.e. historical sites or transportation stations).

Recommend corrections to relevant facilities: Send pictures of the errors with corrections to the relevant institutes (i.e. historical sites to the Cultural Heritage Administration and at transportation stations to Seoul City Hall).

Monitor processes and changes: The process will be posted online in a regular report.

Archive information and publish annual report: The process of all changes will be archived and published in Asia Society Korea's annual report with volunteers' credits.

Asia Society Korea

Membership Application Form

Asia Society Korea is a non-profit and non-partisan organization.

Your membership support remains vital to our success. We invite you to become a member of the Korea Center and enjoy all the benefits that Asia Society has to offer.

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