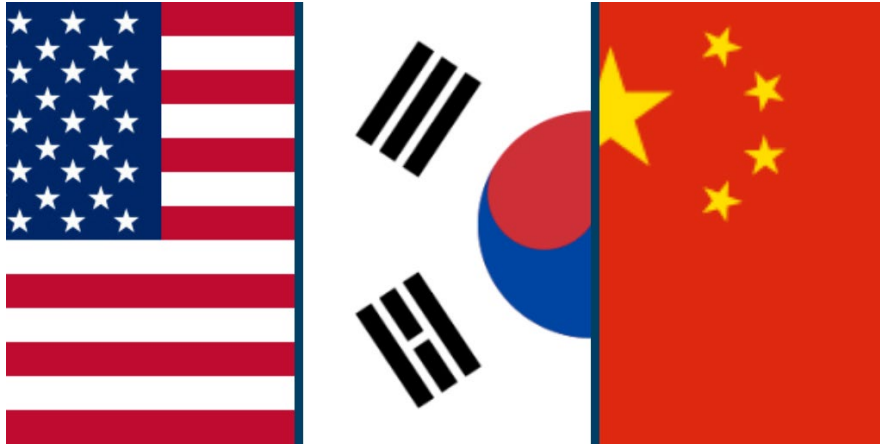


**Korea Policy Forum**  
**Virtual Roundtable Discussions:**  
**U.S.-Korea Relations in the Era of U.S.-China Strategic Rivalry**



Tuesday, September 22, 2020

8:30 AM - 10:30 AM (EDT)

9:30 PM - 11:30 PM (KST)

The intensifying strategic rivalry between the U.S. and China under the Trump administration has exposed the U.S.-Korea relations to a greater deal of uncertainty. With China's economic rise and assertive diplomatic posture, this new strategic shock could last in the coming years regardless of the results of the U.S. presidential election this year. What are the challenges and opportunities that should be identified by the decades-old allies? What are the necessary steps that Seoul and Washington should take to reduce the strategic risks in the coming months and years? Please join the GW Institute for Korean Studies for an online roundtable discussion with experts from both the U.S. and South Korea on Washington and Seoul's strategic thinking and priorities in Northeast Asia.



## ROUNDTABLE PARTICIPANTS (Alphabetical Order)

### (1) South Korea

Beomchul Shin (Director of Diplomacy and Security Center, Korea Research Institute for National Strategy)

Byung-Yeon Kim (Professor in the Department of Economics, Seoul National University)

Chaesung Chun (Professor in the Department of Political Science and International Relations, Seoul National University)

Heung-Kyu Kim (Director of U.S.-China Policy Institute, Ajou University)

Sang Hyun Lee (Senior Research Fellow, Sejong Institute)

Sung-Han Kim (Dean of the Graduate School of International Studies, Korea University)

Wang Hwi Lee (Professor in the Division of International Studies, Ajou University)

### (2) The United States

Elbridge Colby (Co-Founder and Principal, The Marathon Initiative)

Eric Sayers (Vice President, Beacon Global Strategies)

John Fleming (Senior Director for Strategic Projects, Owl Cyber Defense Solutions)

Jung Pak (SK-Korea Foundation Chair in Korea Studies, Brookings Institution)

Scott Snyder (Director of the Program on U.S.-Korea policy, Council on Foreign Relations)

William Brown (Principal, Northeast Asia Economics and Intelligence Advisory)

Yonho Kim (Associate Director, GW Institute for Korean Studies)

## PROGRAM

9/22	<b>Session I. Changing Dynamics of U.S.- China Strategic Rivalry</b>
8:30 a.m.	Moderator: <b>Yonho Kim</b> (Associate Director, GW Institute for Korean Studies)
-	Opening remarks:
9:30 a.m.	<b>Elbridge Colby</b> (Co-Founder and Principal, The Marathon Initiative) <b>Heung-kyu Kim</b> (Director of U.S.-China Policy Institute, Ajou University)
	<b>Session II. Implications for U.S.- Korea Relations</b>
9:30 a.m.	Moderator: <b>Heung-kyu Kim</b> (Director of U.S.-China Policy Institute, Ajou University)
-	Opening remarks:
10:30 a.m.	<b>Chaesung Chun</b> (Professor in the Department of Political Science and International Relations, Seoul National University) <b>Jung Pak</b> (SK-Korea Foundation Chair in Korea Studies, Brookings Institution)

**PROFILES (Alphabetical Order)**



**BEOMCHUL SHIN** is the Director of Diplomacy and Security Center at the Korea Research Institute for National Strategy (KRINS). Before joining the KRINS, he worked at the Asan Institute for Policy Studies. Until March 2018, he served at the Korea National Diplomatic Academy as tenured professor. He also served for the ROK Ministry of Foreign Affairs as the Director-General for Policy Planning from 2013 to 2016. Before joining the Ministry, he was the Head of the North Korean Military Studies Research Division at the Korea Institute for Defense Analyses. Prior to that, he worked very closely with the Minister of National Defense of Korea as the Senior Policy Advisor in 2009 and 2010. He also has served in many advisory positions both at the National Security Council at the Office of the President and the National Assembly Foreign Affairs and Unification Committee. He is currently a member of the Board of Directors at the Korean Society of International Law as well. Dr. Shin is the author of several books on law and security, including *North Korean Military: A Secret Report* (2013) and *International Law and the Use of Force* (2008). He also has been publishing many articles on Korea-U.S. alliance, North Korea, and Northeast Asian politics and security. He received his B.A. from Chungnam National University and did his graduate studies at Seoul National University, School of Law. He received his S.J.D.(Doctor of Judicial Science) from Georgetown University Law Center in 2007.



**BYUNG-YEON KIM** is Professor in the Department of Economics at Seoul National University (SNU). His research interests lie in the fields of transition economics and applied econometrics, in particular with reference to North Korea as well as former socialist countries. He published a number of articles in international journals such as the *Journal of Comparative Economics*, *Journal of Economic History* and the *British Journal of Political Science*. His new book on the North Korean economy was recently published by Cambridge University Press (*Unveiling the North Korean Economy*, 2017). He has written numerous book chapters, books, and journal articles on the North Korean economy. He has received several prestigious academic awards such as Excellence in Academic Achievements granted by the National Academy of Sciences, SNU Award for Distinguished Researcher, T. S. Ashton Prize (Economic History Society), NEAR Academic Award, and Chungnam Award (Korean Economic Association). He has served as a member of various government committees including the National Economic Advisory Council, the Presidential Committee for Unification Preparation and the Advisory Committee for the Korean Summit, and the Policy Advisory Committee for the Ministries of Unification and Foreign Affairs. He is a regular columnist for JoongAng Daily mostly on North Korean issues. He received his B.A. and M.A. from SNU and his D.Phil. from the University of Oxford.



**CHAESUNG CHUN** is a Professor in the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Seoul National University, teaching international relations theory and security studies. He is the Director of National Security Center of East Asian Institute. He is a member of the advisory committee for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Defense, and the Ministry of Unification. He was a visiting professor at Keio University in Tokyo from 2017-2018, and 2010-2011. He was the Director of Center for International Studies at Seoul National University. The books he authored include *Sovereignty and International Relations: Northeast Asian International Relations Theory: Politics among Incomplete Sovereign States* (2020), *Sovereignty and International Relations: Modern*

*Sovereign States System and the Evolution of the Empire* (2019), *East Asian International Relations* (2011), *Is Politics Moral?: Reinhold Niebuhr's Transcendental Realism* (2012). He received his BA and MA from Seoul National University, and PhD from Northwestern University in the field of International Relations Theory.



**ELBRIDGE COLBY** is co-founder and principal of The Marathon Initiative, a policy initiative focused on developing strategies to prepare the United States for an era of sustained great power competition. Previously, Colby was from 2018-2019 the Director of the Defense Program at the Center for a New American Security, where he led the Center's work on defense issues. Before that, he served as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Strategy and Force Development from 2017-2018. In that role, he served as the lead official in the development and rollout of the Department's preeminent strategic planning guidance, the 2018 National Defense Strategy (NDS). He also served

as the primary Defense Department representative in the development of the 2017 National Security Strategy. Prior to this, Colby was from 2014 to 2017 the Robert M. Gates Senior Fellow at the Center for a New American Security. From 2010 to 2013 he was principal analyst and division lead for global strategic affairs at CNA. Earlier in his career he served for over five years in the U.S. Government working on a range of strategic forces, arms control, WMD, and intelligence reform matters, including service with the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq in 2003 and with the Office of the Director of National Intelligence during its stand-up in 2005-2006. Colby has also served on the staff of a number of government commissions, including the 2014 National Defense Panel, the 2008-2009 Strategic Posture Commission, and the 2004-2005 President's WMD Commission. Colby's work has appeared in outlets such as *Foreign Affairs*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *Foreign Policy*, *The National Interest*, and *Survival*. He is also the author of many book chapters, reports, and articles on defense and foreign policy issues, and co-edited a volume on *Strategic Stability: Contending Interpretations* (2013). He has testified a number of times before Congress and the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission. Colby is a recipient of the Distinguished and Exceptional Public Service Awards from the Department of Defense and of the Superior and Meritorious Honor Awards from the Department of State. A member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the International Institute of Strategic Studies, Colby is a graduate of Harvard College and Yale Law School.



**ERIC SAYERS** is Vice President at Beacon Global Strategies, a national security consulting firm in Washington DC. He is also an Adjunct Senior Fellow at the Center for a New American Security (CNAS). Prior to joining BGS, Mr. Sayers was a consultant to the Commander's Action Group at U.S. Pacific Command (PACOM) where he served as Special Assistant to the Commander. In this capacity, he advised Admiral Harry Harris on long-range strategic engagements and special initiatives in the Indo-Pacific theater and Washington DC. He was previously a Professional Staff Member with the majority staff of the Senate Armed Services Committee, where he managed the Asia-Pacific/Pacific Command policy portfolio and advised Chairman John S. McCain on regional security issues. Mr. Sayers has published in *War on the Rocks*, *Joint Forces Quarterly*, the *Naval War College Review*, *Defense News*, *The National Review*, and the U.S. Naval Institute's *Proceedings Magazine*. Mr. Sayers holds an M.Sc. in Strategic Studies from the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) in Singapore and an M.A. and B.A. in Political Science from The University of Western Ontario. He is a term-member of the Council on Foreign Relations.



**JOHN FLEMING** is a Senior Director for Strategic Projects at Owl Cyber Defense Solutions. After a distinguished 31-year career at the CIA, Mr. Fleming retired this year from the position of Assistant Director of CIA for Korea. In addition to his experience in Korea and Asia writ large, Mr. Fleming completed several overseas assignments in the Middle East, where he served multiple times in the war zone. He speaks Arabic Language. He also served as the Director of CIA's representative to Indo-Pacom at Camp Smith in Hawaii, giving him a unique perspective on Intelligence Community-DoD collaboration in Asia. From Mr. Fleming's position at Owl Cyber Defense Solutions, he focuses on helping government and private sector customers with the protection of their critical infrastructure, an area of unique expertise for Owl, as well as helping the U.S. Intelligence Community and DoD with the protection of their most sensitive networks. Mr. Fleming is a graduate of Lehigh University and has an MS in National Security Strategy from the National War College. Mr. Fleming also writes about his perspective on Korea and the Middle East based on his long experience in both areas.



**JUNG H. PAK** is the SK-Korea Foundation Chair in Korea Studies and a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. She is the author of *Becoming Kim Jong Un: A Former CIA Officer's Insights into North Korea's Enigmatic Young Dictator* (Ballantine, 2020). Pak was a senior analyst at the Central Intelligence Agency and the Deputy National Intelligence Officer for the Koreas at the National Intelligence Council, Office of the Director of National Intelligence, where she led the U.S. intelligence community's strategic analysis of Korean Peninsula issues. She received her PhD in United States History from Columbia University and studied in South Korea as a Fulbright Scholar.



**SCOTT A. SNYDER** is a senior fellow for Korea studies and director of the program on U.S.-Korea policy at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). His program examines South Korea's efforts to contribute on the international stage; its potential influence and contributions as a middle power in East Asia; and the peninsular, regional, and global implications of North Korean instability. Mr. Snyder is the author of *South Korea at the Crossroads: Autonomy and Alliance in an Era of Rival Powers* (January 2018) and co-author of *The Japan-South Korea Identity Clash: East Asian Security and the United States* (May 2015) with Brad Glosserman. He is also the co-editor of *North Korea in Transition: Politics, Economy, and Society* (October 2012), and the editor of *Global Korea: South Korea's Contributions to International Security* (October 2012) and *The U.S.-South Korea Alliance: Meeting New Security Challenges* (March 2012). Mr. Snyder served as the project director for CFR's Independent Task Force on policy toward the Korean Peninsula. He currently writes for the blog Asia Unbound. Mr. Snyder received a BA from Rice University and an MA from the regional studies East Asia program at Harvard University. He was a Thomas G. Watson fellow at Yonsei University in South Korea.



**SANG HYUN LEE** is a senior research fellow at the Sejong Institute in Korea. He also serves as President of the Korea Nuclear Policy Society (KNPS). He was a research fellow at the Korean Institute for International Studies (1987-88), the Korea Institute for Defense Analysis (1988-90), and policy advisor for Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of National Unification, and Ministry of National Defense. He has served as Director-General for Policy Planning, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) from May 2011 to April 2013. He is a member of Asia-Pacific Leadership Network (APLN) for Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament, and Korea-US Nuclear Policy Leadership Initiative (NPLI). He was a visiting scholar at Institute for Development and Security (ISDP) in Stockholm, Sweden, and Stimson Center in Washington DC. His main research interests include international politics and security, Korea-U.S. relations, inter-Korean relations, nuclear security and nonproliferation, and East Asian security issues. His recent publications include: "Trump Administration's Nuclear Policy: Implications for Global Nuclear Energy and North Korean Nuclear Issue" (2019), "Trump Administration's National Security Policy and Its Implications for Global Order and Korean Peninsula" (2018), *Trump Administration and ROK-US Relations* (2017, co-authored), and *North Korea under Kim Jong-un: Evaluating Past Five Years* (2017, co-authored). He received his B.A. and M.A. from Seoul National University and Ph.D. from the Department of Political Science at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in 1999.



**SUNG-HAN KIM** is Dean and Professor of the Graduate School of International Studies (GSIS) and Division of International Studies (DIS) and Director of *Ilmin* International Relations Institute at Korea University. He served as a Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade in 2012-2013. He was a professor from 1994 to 2007 at the Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security (IFANS), Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. In 2013-2014, Dr. Kim was the Chair of World Economic Forum's Global Agenda Council on WMD. He has completed his service as the President of the Korean National Committee of CSCAP (Council on Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific); Vice President of the Korean Association of International Studies; President of Korean Association of American Politics (KAAP); and Chairman of the Vision Council for the ROK-U.S. Security Policy Initiative. After the North Korean military attack to the *Cheonan* naval corvette in March 2010, he served as a member of the Presidential Commission for National Security Review (May – August 2010) and the Presidential Commission for Defense Reform (July – December 2010). His recent contributed articles to scholarly journals include “From Blood Alliance to Strategic Alliance,” “The End of Humanitarian Intervention?” and “The Day After: ROK-U.S. Cooperation for Korean Unification.” He received Ph.D. in Political Science from University of Texas at Austin.



**WANG HWI LEE** is professor in the Division of International Studies at Aju University, where he has taught international political economy since 2006. He is the (co)author of “The Politics of Economic Reform in South Korea: Crony Capitalism after Ten Years” and “Pulling South Korea away from China's Orbit: The Strategic Implications of the Korea-US Free Trade Agreement.” His research interests have been focused on the issues of the political economy of economic policy and institutions in East Asian countries. He received his PhD from London School of Economics and Political Science.



**WILLIAM B. BROWN** (Bill) is principal of his consulting company, Northeast Asia Economics and Intelligence Advisory, LLC (NAEIA.com) and is Adjunct Professor at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service, where he teaches courses on the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean economies. Mr. Brown served a career in the federal government, working as an economist and East Asia specialist at the Central Intelligence Agency, Commerce Department, and National Intelligence Council (NIC). At the NIC, he served as Senior Research Fellow for East Asia and as Deputy National Intelligence Officer for Economics. His most recent service was as Senior Advisor to the National Intelligence Manager for East Asia in the Office of the Director of National Intelligence. Mr. Brown's research is focused on the North Korean and Chinese economies and he is widely quoted in national and Korean media, especially with Voice of America. His publications include “Money and Markets in North Korea,” an unclassified study for the National Intelligence Council, and the “Economics of Korean Unification” published by the Council of Foreign Relations.

## MODERATORS



**HEUNG-KYU KIM** is the founder and Director of U.S.-China Policy Institute and professor in the Department of Political Science at Ajou University. He also served as a professor at the Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security, South Korea's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His current assignments include Policy Advisory Board Member for the Ministry of National Defense and ROK Army and a member of the Foreign Ministry's Reform Commission. He also served as Director of Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on the Presidential Commission on Policy Planning, Team Leader of Security and Defense in the Presidential Task Force of Future Vision 2045, a board member of the National Security Council and a board member of National Defense Reform Commission. Dr. Kim's publications include *China and the U.S.-ROK Alliance: Promoting a Trilateral Dialogue* (CFR, 2017), *Enemy, Homager or Equal Partner?: Evolving Korea-China Relations* (2012), *From a Buffer Zone to a Strategic Burden: Evolving Sino-North Korea Relations during Hu Jintao Era* (2010). His book *China's Central-Local Relations and Decision-Making* received an award for Excellency of the Year by the Ministry of Culture in 2008. He also received the NEAR Foundation Academic prize of the year in the area of foreign policy and security in 2014. Kim received his BA and MA in international relations from Seoul National University and Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Michigan.



**YONHO KIM** is Associate Research Professor of Practice and Associate Director of GW Institute for Korean Studies. He specializes in North Korea's mobile telecommunications and U.S. policy towards North Korea. Kim is the author of *North Korea's Mobile Telecommunications and Private Transportation Services in the Kim Jong-un Era* (2019) and *Cell Phones in North Korea: Has North Korea Entered the Telecommunications Revolution?* (2014). His research findings were covered by various media outlets, including Wall Street Journal, The Atlantic, Yonhap News, and Libération. Prior to joining GWIKS, he extensively interacted with the Washington policy circle on the Korean peninsula as Senior Researcher of the U.S.-Korea Institute at Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, Senior Reporter for Voice of America's Korean Service, and Assistant Director of the Atlantic Council's Program on Korea in Transition. He holds a B.A. and M.A. in International Relations from Seoul National University, and an M.A. in International Relations and International Economics from Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies.

*This event is on the record and open to the public.*