ANNUAL REPORT 2012

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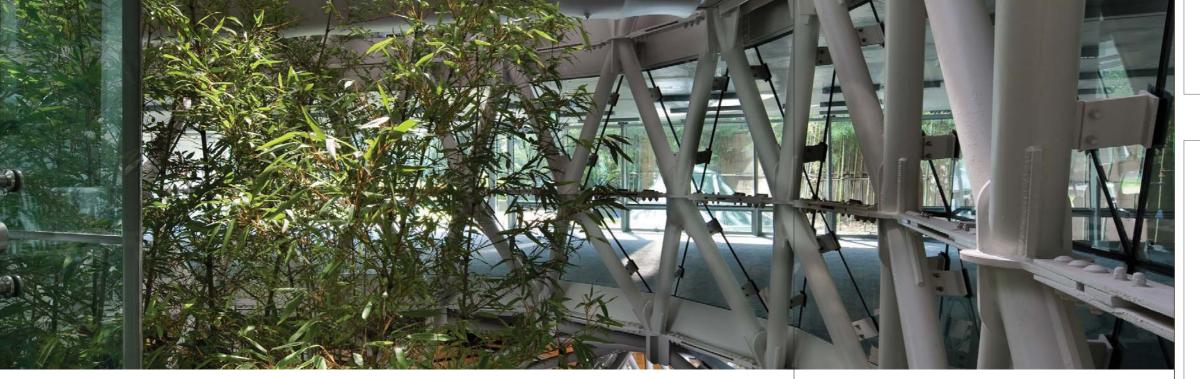






Table of Contents

I. 2 About the Asan Institute

Mission Statement Chronology Founder & Honorary Chairman Letter from the Chairperson President's Message Board of Trustees International Advisory Council

II. 12 Research

Asan Nuclear Policy and Technology Center
Center for American Politics and Policy
Center for ASEAN and Oceania Studies
Center for China Policy
Center for Foreign Policy
Center for Global Governance
Center for Security Policy
International Law and Conflict Resolution Center
Middle East and North Africa Center
Public Opinion Studies Center
Science & Technology Policy Center

III. 50 Projects

Asan Cold War Liberalism Project Modern Society Studies Project North Korea and China Relations Project

- IV. 56 Asan Academy
- V. 62 Events

Asan Plenum 2012 Asan China Forum 2012

- VI. 74 Asan in the Media
- VII. 86 Publications
- VIII. 90 Internship Program
- IX. 92 Events in 2013
- X. 94 Finance
- XI. 96 Asan People



Mission Statement

The Asan Institute for Policy Studies is an independent, non-partisan think tank with the mandate to undertake policy-relevant research to foster domestic, regional, and international environments that are conducive to peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula and Korean reunification.

Chronology

2008. 2. 11 Founding of the Asan Institute for Policy Studies

Dr. Han Sung-Joo inaugurated as the first Chairman and President of the Institute.

2009. 2. 11 Ambassador Song Young Shik inaugurated as the second President of the Institute.

Groundbreaking ceremony for the Institute's new building at 11 Gyeonghuigung 1ga-gil, Jongno-gu, Seoul

- 2010. 1. 13 Opening of the new building
- 2010. 3. 10 Dr. Hahm Chaibong inaugurated as the third President of the Institute.
- 2011. 1. 28 Dr. Lee In-ho inaugurated as the second Chairperson of the Institute.

Founder & Honorary Chairman



Dr. Chung Mong Joon is a seven-term member of the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea. He is a former Chairman of the Grand National Party and was also a presidential candidate in 2002. Dr. Chung is the Chairman of the board of trustees of Ulsan University and the Asan Foundation, the largest philanthropic organization in Korea. In 2011, he launched the Asan Nanum ("sharing") Foundation which seeks to foster entrepreneurship and leadership among young Koreans. He served as Vice President of FIFA (Federation Internationale de Football Association), the world governing body of football, and as Co-Chairman of the Korean Organizing Committee for the 2002 Korea- Japan FIFA World Cup. Dr. Chung received his B.A. in economics from Seoul National University, an M.S. from the Sloan School of Management at MIT, and a Ph.D. in international relations from the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) at the Johns Hopkins University. He is the author of *This I Say to Japan*, *The Relation-ship between Government and Business in Japan*, and *The Ideology of Business Management*.



Letter from the Chairperson

In 2012, as leadership transitions took place across the globe, Koreans debated the future direction of the country ahead of their own presidential election while attempting to assess the implications of political, social, and economic developments both at home and abroad. The Asan Institute for Policy Studies has been a key voice in this dialogue.

Throughout the year, the Asan Institute took the lead in spearheading public discourse and convening experts for in-depth discussions on the most crucial issues facing the Korean Peninsula, East Asia, and the world. The Asan Institute's rise in international rankings of global think tanks is but one testament to the strength and value of its programs and the success of its endeavors.

The Asan Institute for Policy Studies is named after the late "Asan" Chung Ju-Yung, a global entrepreneur and philanthropist who committed his life to Korea's prosperity, the welfare of its people, and the peaceful reunification of the Korean Peninsula. The Institute in turn strives to offer solutions to the challenges faced by both the nation and the region.

In accordance with its mandate, the Asan Institute for Policy Studies has continued to provide timely and original research on issues of pressing concern to governments and the general public. The Institute has also acted as a meeting ground and intermediary between both the private and public sectors and between policymakers and public intellectuals from Korea and around the world.

We thank you for your interest in the work of the Institute.

In- Ho Lee In-ho



President's Message

As South Korea continues to expand its influence around the globe, the Asan Institute for Policy Studies has undergone a remarkable period of expansion in the scope, depth, and scale of its activities. In 2012, the Asan Institute established six new research centers, while hiring ten research fellows and twenty-three program officers.

The Institute organized and hosted numerous meetings and events with key leaders and experts throughout the year, details of which you will find in this report. Another significant development this year was the establishment of the Asan Academy. Launched in partnership with the Asan Nanum Foundation, the Asan Academy's goal is to train Korea's future leaders through a rigorous program of liberal arts education and overseas internship.

Since its establishment four years ago, the Asan Institute for Policy Studies has risen dramatically in international recognition, ranking fifth in a regional grouping of think tanks in a world-wide survey conducted by the University of Pennsylvania's 2012 Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program. Of the top five, Asan was the only non-governmental independent think tank. While being proud of this achievement, we will not rest on our laurels but endeavor to build on it.

We look forward to welcoming you to an Asan program in the near future.

Hahm Chaibong

I. About the Asan Institute

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ANNUAL REPORT 2012

10 / 11







The year 2012 was dominated by leadership transitions taking place around the globe, such as the presidential elections in the Republic of Korea (ROK), the United States, and Russia; a general election in Japan; and China's 18th Party Congress, which ushered in a new generation of Chinese leadership. It was also the first year of the consolidation of the Kim Jong-un regime, which saw continued North Korean provocations with a failed missile launch in April followed by a successful one in December.

East Asia has witnessed increased regional tensions in 2012, including between South Korea and Japan over Dokdo Island. ROK-Japan bilateral relations have continued to face difficulties, with ongoing frictions over atrocities committed during the Japanese occupation and the dispute over historical textbooks. The region also saw frictions between China and Japan over the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands and between China and its neighbors in the South China Sea.

Nevertheless, South Korea has continued to raise its international profile, including by hosting the 2012 Nuclear Security Summit in March. ROK-US bilateral relations have developed and expanded with the Korea-US Free Trade Agreement (KORUS FTA) coming into effect in March and a bilateral agreement to extend the range of ROK missile capabilities successfully reached in October.

The Asan Institute has matched domestic and international developments with the establishment of the Asan Nuclear Policy and Technology Center, the Center for American Politics and Policy, the Center for ASEAN and Oceania Studies, the Center for China Policy, the Center for Security Policy, and the Science & Technology Policy Center.

Experts from the Asan Institute for Policy Studies presented key stakeholders with timely policy recommendations throughout the year, allowing policymakers to develop better-informed decisions regarding ways to diminish frictions and foster regional and global cooperation and coordination. Asan experts were also active in organizing and participating in national and international conferences, publishing books and reports, and giving media interviews.





Dr. Shin Chang-Hoon, Director Dr. Park Jiyoung, Research Fellow

Mission

The Asan Nuclear Policy and Technology Center (ANPTC), established in June 2012, aims to produce balanced policy options to achieve a nuclear-weapons-free Korean Peninsula and to promote the peaceful use of nuclear energy. The Center, as the only independent forum of its kind in Korea, strives to build a solid network and to create synergistic effects between nuclear policy experts and technology experts.

By improving dialogue between domestic and foreign nuclear experts, and facilitating the exchange of ideas between the government and private sectors, the Center seeks out comprehensive solutions to current nuclear issues such as the North Korean nuclear problem, the role of new nuclear suppliers, nuclear safety and security, etc.

The Center also aims to promote bilateral, regional, and international nuclear cooperation such as ROK-US nuclear energy cooperation, Northeast Asian nuclear safety cooperation, and global nuclear security cooperation.

Highlights

With Seoul taking the lead in hosting the 2012 Nuclear Security Summit, nuclear policy and technology was a key focus of debate among nuclear experts and policy-makers throughout the year. Under the leadership of Dr. Shin Chang-Hoon, director of the Asan Nuclear Policy and Technology Center, the Asan Institute for Policy Studies contributed to this debate by convening the first international workshop of the "Nuclear Security Governance Experts Group" (NSGEG), in partnership with

the Stanley Foundation and the Partnership for Global Security, at the Asan Institute in Seoul on the topic of "Improving Nuclear Security Regime Cohesion" from July 18-19. The workshop included nuclear security experts from universities, think tanks, and government ministries from around the world, including former US and Danish ambassadors to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), in order to discuss a range of issues pertaining to how the nuclear security regime can be improved and harmonized.

Dr. Shin continued work with the Nuclear Security Governance Experts Group with a second workshop on September 12 held in London, United Kingdom, entitled "Building Transparency in Nuclear Security." The third and final workshop of the NSGEG, entitled "Building International Confidence and Responsibility in Nuclear Security," was held in Amman, Jordan on November 14. The third workshop was held in conjunction with a conference organized by the Arab Institute for Security Studies. In each of the three NSGEG workshops, the assembled experts discussed the current state of nuclear security governance and worked towards developing a realistic and comprehensive set of policy recommendations intended to facilitate the evolution and improvement of the nuclear security regime. These policy recommendations will be disseminated during the Nuclear Security Summit Sous-Sherpa meetings prior to the 2014 Nuclear Security Summit in the Netherlands.







Annual Report 2012 14 / 15









To promote the work of the ANPTC, the Center conducted a roadshow in the United States from August 20 to September 2 consisting of dialogues between ROK and US nuclear experts in Boston, Washington, DC, San Francisco, Chicago, and New York. During the roadshow, the ANPTC appointed US nuclear experts as ANPTC foreign advisory board members and held discussions on long-term ROK-US nuclear cooperation. The Korean delegation—consisting of experts in international law, nuclear policy, and nuclear engineering—held meetings with over fifty nuclear policy and technology experts at fifteen different organizations, including universities such as Harvard, Stanford, MIT, and Berkeley; think tanks such as the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP), the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies (CNS), the Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI), and the Nuclear Energy Institute (NEI); as well as other organizations such as the Argonne National Laboratory, the United Nations, and the Carnegie Corporation.

In October, the Asan Institute and the US-Korea Institute at the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, co-hosted a *Conference on Nuclear*

Security and Safety entitled "Northeast Asia's Nuclear Power Prospect, Governance, and Responses to Nuclear Security Challenges." The conference consisted of nuclear experts from around the world to discuss the outlook for nuclear build-out and prospects for nuclear regulatory reform in Northeast Asia after Fukushima, Northeast Asia's increasing role in global commerce, and the potential challenges and prospects for nuclear security cooperation in Northeast Asia and the role of the United States and the IAEA.

Finally, to expand the Asan Nuclear Policy and Technology Center's network of partners and to explore areas of mutual interest and prospects for collaboration with other organizations, the Center signed memorandums of understanding with the Korea Nuclear Society (KNS) on July 6 and with the Korea Institute of Nuclear Nonproliferation and Control (KINAC) on October 19. The ANPTC and KNS agreed to jointly explore policy alternatives for nuclear power issues, to exchange and disseminate knowledge pertaining to nuclear power, and to hold a nuclear forum in 2013 with nuclear power policy and technical experts. The ANPTC and KINAC similarly agreed to share information and to jointly work on projects pertaining to the spread of nonproliferation and nuclear security values and cultures through training and education.





Dr. J. James Kim, Director Dr. Kim Jiyoon, Research Fellow

Mission

The Center for American Politics and Policy (CAPP) was established in October 2012 to analyze and cultivate expertise on issues pertaining to politics and policymaking within the United States. The Center's mission is to promote research and develop programs that educate the general public and inform leaders on important policy matters related to the United States, including the US Congress, Presidency, courts, elections, and public opinion.

Within South Korea, research on this subject has traditionally been conducted under the broader heading of foreign policy studies due to its implications for ROK national security. The Center's mission is to promote research and develop programs that educate the general public and inform leaders on important policy matters related to the United States.

Highlights

Soon after the founding of the Center for American Politics and Policy, the director of the Center, Dr. J. James Kim, began work on providing analysis on the US presidential election of 2012. Prior to the US election day on November 6, Dr. Kim wrote an *Asan Issue Brief* entitled "The Significance of the 2012 US Election for South Korea." After the conclusion of the election, Professor T. J. Pempel of the University of California at Berkeley presented an *Asan Dosirak Series* lecture and an *Asan Issue Brief* entitled "The 2012 United States Election and the Implications for Northeast Asia."

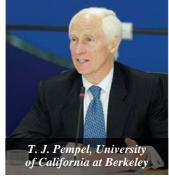
Given that the Center for American Politics and Policy is less than a year old, its primary objective for 2013 is to build its reputation as the foremost leading authority on research and information related to the United States within South Korea and East Asia. The first step in this regard is to develop expertise in those areas that are of strategic importance and relevance to the interests of South Korea and its surrounding regional partners, such as Japan and China.

As a locus for information and analysis on issues related to the United States, the Center for American Politics and Policy looks to cover a broad array of issues and topics, including legislative and policy issue tracking, US foreign policymaking on trade, the US budget and appropriations, the US media and government relations, US energy and environmental policy, and US elections and redistricting.











The Center also looks to expand its reach and visibility by supporting or working closely with other external organizations or Centers within the Asan Institute for Policy Studies. This also means that the Center looks to participate in activities that involve work in areas outside of the United States but are of vital interest to the United States. These include public opinion research on post-Arab Spring democracy in Egypt, public opinion in South Korea, and inter-branch relations in presidential/parliamentary democracies.

II. Centers and Research

Finally, the Center looks to distinguish itself by developing an expertise in the application of cutting edge methods and techniques for policy analysis. Internal and external collaboration is highly encouraged in this regard as well. Currently, the Center for American Politics and Policy looks to expand its involvement in researching data digitization and risk management analytics.





Dr. Lee Jaehyon, Director

Mission

The Center for ASEAN and Oceania Studies (CAOS) was established at the end of 2012. The center geographically covers Southeast Asia and Oceania, including the Pacific island countries as well as parts of South Asia. The Center's main research focus is the international relations of ASEAN and Oceania, including countries of the regions' bilateral relations with Korea and multilateral cooperation. The goal of CAOS is to produce foreign policy options and alternatives for Korea in its foreign policy making with regard to these regions.

The Center intends to be a research hub of ASEAN and Oceania studies in Korea, while promoting policy and academic research and making extensive networks of Korean and overseas experts. The Center also aims to conduct research on development cooperation, issues of non-traditional and human security, and middle power diplomacy.

Highlights

In 2013, the Center for ASEAN and Oceania Studies will hold the first conference of the ASEAN Conference Series on ASEAN & Oceania, which will explore the potential for Myanmar's political reform and opening up to be a model or provide lessons for change in North Korea. Under the leadership of the Center's director, Dr. Lee Jaehyon, research conducted for this conference series will compare various aspects of Myanmar and North Korea's domestic political situations, external pressures, economic circumstances, and international environments.

Second, CAOS will examine individual ASEAN countries' perceptions, attitudes,

Annual Report 2012 20 / 21

and strategies regarding the United States, China, and the two countries' relations with Southeast Asia. Particular focus will be given to gathering insights from experts within ASEAN, the United States, and China to explore criteria for these countries' strategic judgments. This will be part of a *Korea-ASEAN Strategic Dialogue Series*, in conjunction with the ASEAN Institutes of Strategic and International Studies (ASEAN ISIS) and other Southeast Asian think tanks on issues of common interest, including regional order and cooperation, strategic interests, and bilateral relations. The Center also plans to hold a *Korea-ANZ Strategic Dialogue Series* between Asan Institute experts and their counterparts in Australia and New Zealand. The results of these strategic dialogues will be policy reports containing expert analyses and policy recommendations.

The Center will also hold an ASEAN Conference on East Asian Regional Cooperation. This conference series on regional cooperation will include discussion of ASEAN+3 and the East Asia Summit (EAS), particularly focusing on recent developments in the two regional cooperative frameworks. The results of these conferences will be published in a book for the use of experts and the general public.

As part of its mission to form networks of ASEAN and Oceania experts from Korea and overseas, the Center will form a Southeast Asia and ASEAN advisory group and an advisory group on regional integration, each of which will consist of twenty Korean experts and ten experts from Southeast Asia to advise the Center on the direction of its research.

Finally, the Center for ASEAN and Oceania Studies will focus on playing a crucial role in its work with the Korea branch of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP). Asan experts will in turn participate in regional Track II dialogues held at the Network of East Asian Think-tanks (NEAT), the Asia-Pacific Roundtable, and the Shangri-La Dialogue.







Dr. Kim Hankwon, Director Dr. Liu Qun, Visiting Research Fellow

Mission

The Center for China Policy was created in July 2012 to meet the rising demand for research on China. It actively cooperates with think tanks and universities around the world to provide thorough analyses of key Chinese policies. By developing strong academic networks, the Center works to enhance mutual understanding and trust between South Korea and China. It also facilitates active communication between the new generations of leadership from both countries. The Center goes beyond assisting Chinese experts in their research and works to deepen the understanding among the larger public on issues pertaining to China. Ultimately, it aspires to provide an effective forum where active debates can be held on various aspects of Chinese policy.

Highlights

To mark the twentieth anniversary of the normalization of diplomatic relations between the Republic of Korea and China, the Center for China Policy, under the leadership of its director, Dr. Kim Hankwon, held a series of events throughout the year to commemorate this important year in ROK-China bilateral relations. This year was also a significant time for Chinese politics, with the 18th National Party Congress in November ushering in a new generation of Chinese leadership and the ascendance of Xi Jinping as General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party.

In March 2012, the Asan Institute for Policy Studies welcomed Dr. Liu Qun as a Visiting Research Fellow. He is a People's Liberation Army Naval Officer, and

Annual Report 2012 22 / 23









was previously an associate professor of the Research Center for National Defense Economics at the PLA National Defense University. As a specialist in economics, Dr. Liu Qun wrote an *Asan Issue Brief* entitled "Implications of the KORUS FTA for Upcoming Sino-Korean FTA Negotiations." Since joining the Center for China Policy in July, he has been a key organizer of the Center's events and a frequent speaker at international conferences.

During the year, the Center launched a lecture series entitled the "Asan China INJI Lectures" to host prominent Chinese experts to deepen understanding among the Korean public on issues pertaining to China. 'INJI' is a Korean word that means both 'virtue' and 'wisdom.' The lecture series aspires to provide a forum where active debates can be held on various aspects of Chinese policy. The inaugural lecture of the series was delivered in July by Zhu Feng of Peking University on the subject "What is the future of China's North Korea Policy in a Post-Kim Jong Il Era?" The lecture series continued with Chu Shulong of Tsinghua University in August on "The

Chinese Views on the Changing East Asia", Cui Zhiying of Tongji University in September on "Exploring the mechanisms for Security Cooperation in Northeast Asia," and Shi Yuanhua of Fudan University in October on "America's Role in the 'Strategic Cooperative Partnership' between South Korea and China."

Since the signing of a joint statement on August 24, 1992, in Beijing declaring normal diplomatic ties between the Republic of Korea and China, the bilateral relationship has grown by leaps and bounds. However, there are many challenges facing this critical relationship even as it continues to mature. The Center for China Policy held an *Asan Conference* in August entitled "The Economic Relations among the ROK, China, and the DPRK and Their Effect on Northeast Asian Security." With experts gathered from China and South Korea, this was one of the first conferences held in Korea to examine prospects for a ROK-China free trade agreement from the perspective of the Chinese. The conference also focused on Chinese perspectives regarding inter-Korean relations and the security implications of China-North Korea economic relations, particularly during this first year of the Kim Jong-un regime.

Later in the year, the Center for China Policy hosted a conference entitled "Advancing Strategic Partnership." During the conference, experts from China and South Korea discussed prospects for enhancing the partnership between the Republic of Korea and China by examining the security and cultural dimensions of the two countries' bilateral relations, the role of the United States in East Asia,



Annual Report 2012 24 / 25

the question of regional integration, and the implications of the two countries' relations with North Korea.

From August 21 to 22, the Asan Institute invited 120 students from the Beijing branch of the Chinese Communist Youth Group and 150 students from the Beijing College Delegation—travelling through South Korea with "Future Forest", a civilian Chinese NGO—to visit the Asan Institute to listen to special lectures on the history of ROK economic development and the late Chung Ju-Yung, as well as the history and current state of ROK-China relations. The research fellows of the Center for China Policy also gave the visiting students tours of Hyundai Heavy Industries in Ulsan.

A key goal of the Center is to network among Chinese and Korean scholars, policy experts, and policymakers to encourage intellectual exchange between China and South Korea on the key issues facing the two countries. To foster closer relations between the South Korean and Chinese academic communities and to continue to commemorate the twentieth anniversary, the Asan Institute, in partnership with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the China Reform Forum, held a two-day series of semi-informal discussions on the most pressing issues faced by the Republic of Korea and China between fifteen young scholars from China and ten of their Korean counterparts. This event held in August, called the *Chunghae Forum*, also consisted of introductions to traditional and contemporary Korean history, industry, and culture.

In October, the Asan Institute for Policy Studies hosted a photo exhibition in the Gallery of the Institute offering a retrospective on the history of ROK-China relations since its diplomatic normalization in 1992, including its many milestones and setbacks, with the objective of offering viewers the knowledge to help prepare a better future for both countries.







Dr. Bong Youngshik, Director
Dr. Leif-Eric Easley, Research Fellow
Mr. Glenn Baek, Visiting Research Fellow
Mr. Troy Stangarone, Visiting Research Fellow

Mission

The Center for Foreign Policy (CFP) aims to facilitate the production and exchange of insights and analyses among experts, policymakers, and the general public about vital issues in global politics, thereby leading to better-informed foreign policy decisions. Central to its mission are original, timely, and rigorous research.

Highlights

Under the leadership of its director, Dr. Bong Youngshik, the CFP offered expert analyses of current events and convened experts from around the world to discuss the most pressing issues facing the Korean Peninsula, East Asia, and the international community.

On February 14, Dr. Bong and the CFP hosted a conference in partnership with the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), entitled "Strengthening Democracy in Asia: New Strategies for Regional Partnerships," to examine the Asian Partnership Initiative for Democracy (APID), a joint ROK-Mongolian proposal to form a network for cooperation among Asian democracies. Participants included eminent scholars, such as Carl Gershman, Donald Emmerson, Larry Diamond, officials from the South Korean and Mongolian governments, and prominent members of Asian civil society groups.

Annual Report 2012 26 / 27



The year 2012 was the New Zealand-Korea Year of Friendship. To mark the occasion, the Asan Institute in partnership with the Asia New Zealand Foundation hosted a two-day Track II dialogue between South Korean and New Zealand academics to share in-depth perspectives on ROK-New Zealand bilateral relations and political, economic, and security issues in the region. The Korean delegation was led by Professor Han Sung-joo, the former ROK minister of foreign affairs. The New Zealand delegation was led by Dr. Richard Grant, the former executive director of the Asia New Zealand Foundation.

In September 2012, the CFP published *Japan in Crisis: What Will It Take for Japan to Rise Again?*, edited by Professor T. J. Pempel and Dr. Bong Youngshik. The volume is the result of a conference held by the Asan Institute in November 2011 that was organized in the aftermath of the crisis presented by the triple disaster that struck the Tohoku region of Japan in March 2011. The CFP and the Asan Institute's Publications Department will host a book launch of *Japan in Crisis* during the International Studies Association (ISA) Annual Convention in San Francisco in April 2013.

From October 22-23, the Asan Institute and CSIS partnered again to hold a conference in Washington, DC entitled "Blindsides': Managing Political Transitions in Seoul and Washington." The conference examined major issues that might catch the new administrations in Seoul and Washington unprepared and attempted to determine how the new governments might avoid any significant "surprises." Another purpose

of the conference was to enhance US officials' sensitivity to tensions in ROK-Japan relations and the potential for flare-ups that might drive a wedge between Seoul and Tokyo.

On November 7, Dr. Leif-Eric Easley, a research fellow with the CFP, and Dr. Kim Jiyoon, the director of the Asan Institute's Public Opinion Studies Center, attended the US Embassy in Seoul's "2012 US Election Watch," held at the Hotel President in Seoul, to offer expert analyses on the US Presidential Election while the results from the election were being broadcasted live.

Dr. Easley also co-authored an *Asan Issue Brief* in November with Dr. Jonathan Chow, a former research fellow of the Asan Institute, entitled "No Hope Without Change: Myanmar's Reforms and Lessons for North Korea." The brief examined how the rapid political change occurring in Myanmar is reorienting Myanmar's economic and diplomatic relations and how recent developments in Myanmar might help examine prospects for reform in North Korea.

The CFP also welcomed Mr. Glenn Baek and Mr. Troy Stangarone as the Asan Institute's first Asan-CFR fellows. The Asan-CFR Fellowship is a joint program between the Asan Institute for Policy Studies and the Council on Foreign Relations to bring foreign policy experts from the United States to Seoul to pursue their research interests from within Korea.

Mr. Stangarone, senior director of congressional affairs and trade at the Korea Economic Institute (KEI), presented the 25th *Asan Dosirak Series* lecture on November 20, 2012, entitled "Looking Beyond Northeast Asia: Korea's Future Role as a Global Actor." Mr. Stangarone, observing how South Korea began playing a more prominent role in international affairs under the Lee Myung-bak adminis-





Annual Report 2012 28 / 29

II. Centers and Research

tration, examined the sustainability of Korea's global engagement on international issues such as development assistance, green growth, trade policy, cooperation with international organizations, and international peacekeeping.

Mr. Glenn Baek, policy adviser in the Office of Terrorism and Financial Intelligence, US Department of the Treasury, began residence at the Asan Institute as an Asan-CFR fellow from September 10 for research on South Korean military engagement in the Vietnam War. In his research, Mr. Baek examines the factors that shaped President Park Chung Hee's decision to enter the Vietnam War, as well as analyzing the immediate and long-term impact that ROK participation in the Vietnam War had on the ROK-US alliance. The study also draws lessons from the South Korean experience that would be useful in understanding and managing the alliance both today and in the future.







Dr. Mo Jongryn, Director Dr. Go Myong-Hyun, Research Fellow

Mission

The Center for Global Governance is motivated by the recognition that fundamental changes in the architecture of global governance are underway in response to the spread of transnational challenges, the rise of new powers, and the mounting influence of non-state actors. Given these trends, East Asian policymakers require rigorous and independent research support on emerging global governance issues. The Center for Global Governance meets these needs by analyzing the strengths and weaknesses of existing multilateral institutions, proposing reforms tailored to new international circumstances, and identifying opportunities for East Asian policymakers to contribute positively to the reform of the global governance system.

Highlights

South Korea is increasingly becoming a significant regional player and actor in global decision-making. South Korea has continued to raise its international profile in global governance through its participation in the seventh G20 summit held in Los Cabos Mexico from June 18-19. In October, South Korea was elected as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council, the second time that South Korea has taken a temporary seat on the body since its first term from 1996-1997. South Korea's participation on the council will permit South Korea to take a leading role in UN efforts toward international peace and security and to contribute to the stable management of situations that arise in East Asia and the Korean Peninsula vis-à-vis North Korea. South Korea will take its seat on the council in January, 2013. Individual Koreans have also played a prominent role

Annual Report 2012 30 / 31

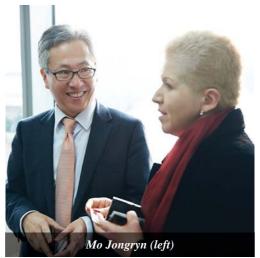
in global governance structures. Ban Ki-moon has continued to be Secretary-General of the United Nations and Korean-American Jim Yong Kim was elected the President of the World Bank.

In 2012, the Center for Global Governance, under the leadership of its director, Dr. Mo Jongryn, launched the *Asan Growth Leadership Forum*, a non-partisan research group of economists and practitioners committed to promoting Korea's economic growth. Through research and debate, the forum evaluates the growth potential of the Korean economy and produces concrete pro-growth policy alternatives. Important research topics include high-growth economies, new growth industries, and individual leaders in high-growth industries and companies.

The first Asan Growth Leadership Forum presentation was delivered by Kim Jun II of the Bank of Korea on August 28 on the topic "Approach on the Growth Potential." The second presentation of the series was delivered on September 27 by Choi Sang Mok, Ministry of Strategy and Finance, on the topic "Recent Economic Trends and Policy Directions." The third and final presentation of the series for 2012 was presented on November 13 by Richard Dobbs, director of the McKinsey Global Institute, on the topic "Trend Break: Is Sustained, Inclusive Growth Beyond Reach for Korea?" The Asan Growth Leadership Forum will continue to hold gatherings of leading economists and practitioners throughout 2013.

In November 2011, the pivotal role that "middle powers" such as South Korea, Australia, Turkey, and Indonesia are beginning to play in global governance was addressed at the 2011 Asan Global Governance Conference titled "Middle Powers and Caucusing in Global Governance: Do Middle Powers Need Their Own Summit?" The con-







ference explored how middle powers raise their international profiles through cooperation in the G20 by various means, such as achieving a common policy stance on a wide range of policy issues, including nuclear nonproliferation, green growth, human rights, humanitarian assistance, and international development. In 2012, the papers presented by participants at the conference were published in a book edited by Dr. Mo Jongryn entitled *Middle Powers and G20 Governance*. The book includes contributions from distinguished policymakers and scholars on the major governance groups that contribute directly and indirectly to the G20 political process.

In addition, the Center for Global Governance also explored the development of South Korea's state welfare system. Dr. Go Myong-Hyun, a Research Fellow in the Center for Global Governance, convened a conference in August on the theme "Understanding the Swedish Welfare Model." By gathering a group of experts on the welfare state from prestigious Swedish and Korean universities, the Center explored how the development of the Swedish welfare model might provide a new analytic lens and lessons for South Korea during its transition from a traditional dependence on multi-generational family-based support to becoming a universal welfare state.

In 2013, the Center for Global Governance will hold the third *Asan Global Governance Conference*, titled "Strengthening Global Governance through Middle Power Leadership," which will also result in the publication of a book with contributions from the conference participants. Another conference on global governance is scheduled to take place in December 2013.

Annual Report 2012 32 / 33



Dr. Woo Jung-Yeop, Director

Mission

The Center for Security Policy conducts research and analysis in order to provide sound policy recommendations for a safer security environment on the Korean Peninsula and in Northeast Asia. Areas of interest include the ROK-US alliance, regional security cooperation in East Asia, military diplomacy, and non-traditional security threats. For in-depth analysis on domestic and international security policy, the Center collaborates and actively engages in joint projects with universities and major think tanks around the world.

Highlights

The Center for Security Policy was founded in 2012 during a time of leadership transitions that have influenced the political and security dynamics of the East Asian region. Such challenges prompted serious rethinking and analyses within South Korea on how to approach the nation's future security policy interactions within the region.

In June, the Center for Security Policy, under the leadership of Dr. Woo Jung-Yeop, pursued a joint project with the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), including two US and two Korean scholars who participated in a series of dialogues in Asia focused on regional perceptions of China's rise and its strategic implications. The purpose of this series was to facilitate ROK-US policy discussion with selected states neighboring China, who face similar challenges as South Korea in managing the impact of China's rise. The anticipated ROK-US dialogue partners included Australia, Singapore, Vietnam, Indonesia, and countries that have also been identified by

Korean security analysts as sharing common concerns with Korea regarding the implications of China's ongoing efforts to enhance its military and power projection capabilities.

Experts participating in delegations to Australia and Southeast Asia in July held interviews with specialists and officials in each capital and half-day seminars in Canberra/Sydney, Singapore, Hanoi, and Jakarta on the ROK-US alliance, China's rise, and the future of regional security. Based on these conversations and other research, the principal investigators will release a policy report that describes US strategy in East Asia and the implications of China's rising influence, the emerging regional security architecture, and the potential roles and contributions of the ROK-US security alliance and of South Korean diplomacy and East Asian security.

In October, the Center for Security Policy held its first *Seoul Political-Military Game*. By inviting experts to participate and by giving them various roles to play under a specific set of conditions, the Center was able to examine reactions by different players and to search for the best responses that can be achieved with limited resources. Political-Military (Pol-Mil) games have been organized before by government and military personnel that focus on the tactical aspects of Pol-Mil scenarios. The Institute's Pol-Mil games will be differentiated from those of government and military Pol-Mil games by focusing on selected scenarios from the strategic perspective, thereby exploring potentially important political and



Annual Report 2012 34 / 35

military problems that might arise in future confrontations or conflict situations.

In November, the Center for Security Policy hosted a second *Seoul Political-Military Game*, entitled "Crisis Simulation: Preparing for Instability in Korea." The goal of this Pol-Mil game was to anticipate and challenge different notions held by conventional wisdom on the threat perception of each individual country, as well as to assess possible policies that might be of common interest to prevent unilateral action, and define conditions for cooperation within the region.

In pursuing its projects in 2013, the Center for Security Policy has three main prerogatives. First, the Center will focus on planning and creating scenarios of different intensity on the possible collapse of North Korea. Second, the Center will focus on framing the political and military reactions of regional actors were such a collapse to occur. As part of the Center's unique methodology, analyses will be conducted through various interviews with experts, along with continuous efforts to develop Pol-Mil games. Finally, the Center will focus on developing strategies for emergency planning and coordination for tackling the outflow of North Korean refugees into South Korea and the rest of the East Asian region. The Center for Security Policy will continue to search for scholars and experts who can provide valuable feedback and informed advice.



Dr. Shin Chang-Hoon, Director Dr. Baek Buhm-Suk, Research Fellow

Mission

The International Law and Conflict Resolution Center (ILCRC) investigates the fundamental rules and principles of public international law as part of global governance regimes. The Center's primary goal is to analyze and understand how international law and global governance can contribute to the peaceful resolution and management of international conflicts. Through a comprehensive analysis of international legal instruments and benchmark cases before international tribunals, the Center aims to discover new foreign policy options based upon the role of the law.

Highlights

At the beginning of 2012, the unprecedented number of leadership transitions expected to occur in Northeast Asia led some experts to assert that regional tensions would likely increase. And rise they did. Surprisingly, however, it was not necessarily the changes in top leadership that sparked the growing regional frictions but rather long-standing problems linked to territorial issues and conflicts over the interpretation of history that created the major difficulties in the region. Throughout the year, experts in the ILCRC tackled many of these issues, including territorial disputes and human rights. Other sensitive issues, such as energy security and nuclear nonproliferation, were also addressed through various ILCRC events and research activities.

Dr. Shin Chang-Hoon, the director of the ILCRC and a well-known expert on The Law of the Sea and territorial disputes, began the year by writing an *Issue*







Brief entitled "Perspectives on the Ieo Island Dispute and Korea's Response." In this brief, he summarized the history and legal perspectives on the conflict and argued that the Republic of Korea should respond with appropriate diplomatic measures to avoid further escalation. Later in the year, as tensions rapidly escalated between South Korea and Japan over the Dokdo Island dispute, and as the conflict between China and Japan grew over the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands, Dr. Shin's perspectives on the issues were highly sought after by various government organizations and the media.

In addition to regional territorial disputes, issues related to North Korea continued to dominate news headlines throughout the year. In February, North Korea and the United States agreed to the "Leap Day Agreement," whereby the United States would provide aid to North Korea in exchange for freezing and dismantling their nuclear weapons program. Hopes were high that the denuclearization of North Korea might actually be an achievable goal, however, these expectations were dashed only two weeks later as North Korea launched a so-called "space satellite" using long-range

missile technology. In the aftermath of this broken agreement and failed launch, the Asan Institute hosted a conference titled "What Does North Korea Want: A Deal or A Disaster?" At this conference in March, regional security experts, including Scott Snyder from CFR, Ralph Cossa from Pacific Forum CSIS, Su Mi Terry from Gerson Global Advisors, and Abe Nobuyasu from Japan Institute of International Affairs, presented their perspectives on these developments. Nuclear experts including William Tobey from the Belfer Center at Harvard University, Sharon Squassoni from CSIS and Ken Luongo from the Partnership for Global Security also presented their views on a comprehensive approach to the denuclearization of North Korea.

In October, Dr. Baek Buhm-Suk, an expert on international law and human rights, joined the Center and subsequently organized an event titled "The Comfort Women Problem: What is the Solution?" which sought to discuss both the human rights of the surviving comfort women and the positions of the South Korean government and the Japanese government on this issue. The mayor of Palisades Park in New Jersey and a panel of experts and activists on this issue described the backstory behind the erection of the Comfort Women memorial in the city. Experts also presented their opinions on the subsequent movement to erect additional memorial statues throughout the United States and the diplomatic row that erupted between the South Korean and Japanese government as a result. This continued to be a hot-button issue and a major diplomatic challenge for the two governments for the remainder of the year.

The Center also tackled the important issue of energy security later in the year. In September, Dr. Shin led a group of experts from the Asan Institute to Russia to participate in an international conference organized by the Center for Energy and Security Studies in Moscow. While in Moscow, Asan experts met with other scholars from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (Moscow Center), the Journal of Russian Affairs and the Russian Academy of Sciences to discuss cooperation in the fields of energy security, nonproliferation and nuclear security. This visit followed closely on the heels of an *Asan Dosirak Series* lecture given by Kent Calder, a professor from the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University, entitled "The New Continentalism: Energy and Twenty-First-Century Eurasian Geopolitics." In this lecture Professor Calder shared his thoughts on the important role of energy-driven continentalism in reshaping the international order. He argued that the geographical proximity of importing and exporting nations and the growing interdependence between countries in East Asia and the Middle East is driving a new process that is creat-

Annual Report 2012 38 / 39

ing a solid foundation for continentalism.

Throughout the year, the Center also invited various experts to present their views on issues related to international law and security including: Van Jackson, the Senior Country Director for Korea in the Office of the US Secretary of Defense; Kristin Chambers, the Advisor for the Proliferation Security Initiative in the Department of Defense; Bradley R. Roberts, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense; and John B. Bellinger III, formerly the Legal Adviser to the U.S. Department of State and a partner at Arnold & Porter LLP.

In 2013, the Center plans to embark on several new projects, including Maritime Security and Territorial Disputes, Transitional Justice (Peace-building and Reconciliation) and a Rights-Based Approach to North Korean Human Rights. In conjunction with other research centers, the ILCRC is also planning a project entitled "The Korean War Armistice Agreement and International Law."



Dr. Jang Ji-Hyang, Director

Mission

The Middle East and North Africa (MENA) Center is South Korea's leading independent research center devoted to the study of the Middle East and North Africa region. Recognizing the enormous economic and geopolitical importance of the region to Korea's long-term interests, the MENA Center provides policy-makers, academics, and the general public with timely analyses of the major trends and developments unfolding across the region as well as their implications for South Korea.

The MENA Center examines how the critical processes of democracy, capitalism, and globalization are fundamentally transforming the region and the impact that this will have on Korea's relations with the Middle East. Specifically, the Center conducts research on four distinct trends: (1) democratization & state-building; (2) market liberalization & oil; (3) civil society & Islam; and (4) regional security & terrorism. In addition, the MENA Center collaborates closely with research institutes around the world via frequent Track II dialogues and exchanges to ensure that it continues to conduct innovative policy work.

Highlights

We are living in a period of unprecedented transformation in the Middle East and North Africa. Yet, as throughout much of its tumultuous history, change in the region is unfolding in complex dichotomies. The high hopes and optimism of the "Arab Spring" continue to be challenged by the remnants of authoritarianism and the uncertainty of the new orders. Democracy and development often seem to march hand in hand with chaos and conflict. However, there has

Annual Report 2012 40 / 41

been a distinct lack of research into the broader relationship. For too long, Korean interest in the Middle East has been limited to oil and gas imports and construction opportunities, while the Middle East has viewed Korea largely as a source of manufactured goods. The Middle East and North Africa (MENA) Center seeks to fill this knowledge deficit.

The flagship event of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) Center this year was the *Asan Middle East Dialogue*, a wide-ranging dialogue with leading think tanks, research organizations, government agencies, and universities across the Middle East examining the multiple facets of East Asia-Middle East relations. This year, the MENA Center visited seven countries including Egypt, Israel, Iran, Jordan, Qatar, Turkey, and the United Arab Emirates, and had roundtable meetings, workshops, and conferences with more than thirty different organizations.

The MENA Center also released a number of publications throughout the year covering a broad range of issues, ranging from Korea's energy dependence on the Gulf to the long-term prospects of the "Arab Spring." The leading publication for 2012









was a co-edited book by Dr. Jang Ji-Hyang and Dr. Clement Henry, Chair of the Political Science Department at the American University in Cairo, entitled *The Arab Spring: Will It Lead to Democratic Transitions?* With contributions from some of the world's preeminent Middle East scholars, the book seeks to offer a more nuanced appreciation of the multiple dimensions to the political turbulence that has fundamentally transformed the Middle East and North Africa.

The Center also published a conference proceedings report, titled "The 'Second Middle East Boom' and the Search for South Korea's Middle East Strategy." In addition, the center released a number of issue briefs throughout the year, including one titled "Oil Price Stability Expected despite the Iranian Crisis." The brief argued that public anxiety over financial fallout from a potential military escalation in the Iranian nuclear standoff tends to ignore the systemic factors that worked to maintain price stability. In September, the Center also wrote a piece entitled "The Curious Case of Post-Authoritarian Politics" which examined the factors behind why protests across the Muslim world appear to erupt so suddenly and intensely. The piece argued that in newly-democratizing countries, political instability frequently allows room for fringe elements to dominate the public discourse even as political mobilization as a whole increases.

Koreans increasingly talk about "Global Korea" and the country's emergence on the world stage. In the globalized world that we inhabit, developments in the Middle East and North Africa will continue to have profound consequences for Korea's interests. As South Korea takes its place as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, and as it prepares to share in the responsibilities of global leadership, the MENA Center will continue to fulfill its mandate to provide timely analysis of this ever-changing region.

Annual Report 2012 42 / 43

Public Opinion Studies Center



Dr. Kim Jiyoon, Director Dr. Woo Jung-Yeop, Research Fellow

Mission

Leaders and policymakers rely on public opinion surveys to gauge public sentiment regarding specific policy issues. To this end, the Asan Institute's Public Opinion Studies Center conducts regular polls to obtain reliable data about the South Korean polity for political leaders and the general public, thereby fostering more informed policy debates and decisions. The Center's goal for the next five years is to become the most trusted source for analysis of South Korean public opinion. Its extensive coverage of the 2012 South Korean elections was an important step towards fulfilling that goal, and that momentum will be carried over to 2013 as it continues its analysis as a new administration takes office.

Highlights

In 2012, the Asan Institute's Public Opinion Studies Center, under the leadership of its director, Dr. Jiyoon Kim, expanded its activities, undertaking several new projects. These projects adopted new methodologies for tracking and analyzing public opinion throughout the country and set the standard as the most representative and accurate surveys about the South Korean polity.

Much of the Center's focus throughout 2012 was on the South Korean national elections, and it accordingly found its analysis in high demand. Ahead of the April National Assembly election, many had predicted a victory for the progressive Democratic United Party (DUP). However, a detailed analysis of the public opinion surveys conducted by the Center showed that the conservative Saenuri Party would surprise on the upside. This analysis turned out to be correct—the Saenuri Party

won a majority in the National Assembly.

Ahead of the presidential election in December, members of the Center were again in high demand. Its experts were quoted in the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, on CNN, the *Guardian*, as well as extensively in the domestic press. While the race was tight entering the final week of the campaign, the Center's *Public Opinion Report* for December was among the first to point out the fact that the demographic numbers, combined with several other factors, made the path to victory for Moon Jae-in a difficult one. This analysis proved to be correct as Park Geun-Hye won the presidency by a wider than expected margin.

As a part of its extensive election coverage, the Center also undertook a major Election Studies project, conducting seven panel surveys over the course of the year. The project gathered the leading public opinion and political experts to construct questionnaires and analyze the results of the surveys. The first deliverable of this project was the Center's first book, *Korean Voter's Choice: 2012 General Election*, published in Korean. This was the first in a series of books, with the second in the series to be published in early 2013, and a third expected in mid-2013. The Center will continue its post-election analysis throughout 2013 in an attempt to build on and improve the broader understanding of politics and elections in South Korea.

The Center also undertook several projects with the preeminent public opinion centers around the world. The first project was done in partnership with The German



Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF), based in Berlin. For the past decade GMF has conducted a survey across Europe and the United States to measure attitudes on a range of issues affecting international relations and foreign affairs. For the first time, the Public Opinion Studies Center extended that survey into Asia, writing a collaborative report with GMF entitled *International Trends: Korea*. This was an important first step in a collaborative partnership that will allow the Center to put South Korean public opinion into context by directly comparing it to how others from around the world perceive the same issues.

A second collaborative project was done in partnership with the Chicago Council on Global Affairs. While the Chicago Council regularly includes perceptions of Americans toward South Korea, this year the Center included the same questions in its survey of the South Korean public to better understand how the citizens of the two alliance partners view one another. The results of this were presented in Washington, DC at the Korea Economic Institute, and a paper covering the results was published in late 2012.

The Center also carried out its first survey in Japan. The year was filled with turmoil between South Korea and Japan on account of territorial and historical disputes. To better understand public opinion in both countries, the Center undertook surveys in both countries. Those results will be published in a written report in 2013.





The Public Opinion Studies Center was not solely focused on political and security issues, however. It also has a deep interest in how South Koreans perceive their quickly-evolving society. To this end, the Center teamed with Harvard professor Michael Sandel to conduct a comparative study in South Korea and the United States. The focus of the survey was to measure attitudes on justice and fairness within the two societies. The results of that survey were subsequently used in lectures delivered by Professor Sandel.

The success of the Center is set to continue in 2013. It will pursue unique projects on a range of issues all aimed at increasing the understanding of the South Korean public, how it views itself and the world, and how that opinion influences policy both now and into the future.

Annual Report 2012 46 / 47



Dr. Park Jiyoung, Director

Mission

The Science & Technology Policy Center (STPC) aims to provide a comprehensive public understanding of science, technology, and innovation, while assisting organizations and governments in science and technology (S&T) policy decision-making.

The Center provides policy recommendations and alternatives through independent and interdisciplinary assessments of socio-economic contributions of science and technology programs to the nation.

The Center's main research areas are: (1) evidence-based policy in science and technology, including economic analysis of R&D, research on spillovers of S&T activities, and processes of innovation; (2) S&T security policy in addressing interface issues of science, technology, security, and their implications; and (3) science diplomacy when used as an effective foreign policy tool and to promote S&T cooperation.



Highlights

In recent years, the significance of science and technology policy in contemporary international society has become increasingly apparent, particularly in the rapidly-evolving South Korea. The Science & Technology Policy Center was founded in October 2012 to provide comprehensive public understanding of science, technology, and innovation and assist organizations and governments in S&T policy decision-making by offering policy recommendations and alternatives through independent and interdisciplinary assessments of the socioeconomic contributions of S&T programs.

Throughout the last quarter of 2012, the Science & Technology and Policy Center, under the leadership of its director, Dr. Park Jiyoung, met with Korean and international organizations to discuss prospects for forming partnerships on joint ventures, including with the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS), the Stanford Research Institute (SRI), and the Korea-based Science and Technology Policy Institute (STEPI).

In 2013, the Center will hold a series of workshops on a bi-monthly basis as part the Science, Technology, and Security Series to discuss the intersection between S&T and issues pertaining to national security. Topics addressed during these workshops will include climate change and energy security; space, satellites,. and national defense; agriculture, GMO, and food security; biotechnology and disease control; and scientific data security. The workshops will convene experts from around the world, including fromthIndustry, academia, as well as S&T research specialists. Papers presented at the Science, Technology, and Security Series workshops will be published in books produced by the Center for the benefit of experts and the general public. The first of this series' workshops will be held in March and May of 2013.

Between February and August 2013, the Center will also focus on producing a report on the major issues pertaining to science and technology from the perspective of their influence and relevance to foreign policy. Issues to be addressed will include the best and worst case scenarios of S&T foreign policy; technology transfer regimes; S&T international cooperation; areas for innovation and cooperation within East Asia, the Middle East and Africa; and future S&T foreign policy scenarios. The Center will also produce briefs on the most pressing issues that arise regarding S&T policy throughout the year.

Annual Report 2012 48 / 49



Asan Cold War Liberalism Project

Throughout the Cold War, Western democracies debated how best to balance the need for increasing democratization and individual liberty in the domestic context while maintaining strong national security. Through the Asan Cold War Liberalism Project, the Asan Institute seeks to introduce this debate to East Asia. This debate is especially relevant for Korea, where an ideological-military standoff between a liberal democracy and a totalitarian system persists to this day.

Each installment of the project focuses on a particular Cold War-era political philosopher and involves a two-day conference on the philosopher's life and thought. The first day consists of full-day discussions among experts gathered from Asia, Europe, and North America. The second day of the conference consists of a book launch of a Korean-language translation of a biography of the philosopher being discussed during the conference. Papers presented during each installment of the project will be published in separate volumes in 2013.

In August, the Asan Institute held the inaugural conference of this project on Isaiah Berlin, which included discussions on Berlin's commitment to liberty and pluralism and his opposition to totalitarianism. The conference concluded with the launch of a Korean-language translation of Professor Michael Ignatieff's *Isaiah Berlin: A Life*, presented by Professor Ignatieff. In November, the second installment of the project focused on Michael Oakeshott and included the launch of *Michael Oakeshott*, presented by Edmund Neill. This project will continue in February 2013 with an installment on Friedrich Hayek.



Annual Report 2012 52 / 53

54 / 55

Modern Society Studies Project

Over the last ten years, it has attracted attention from researchers that Korean history textbooks are ideologically biased. In recent Korean history textbooks, many aspects of modern history in particular are intentionally distorted by the texts' authors to match the authors' ideological leanings. The purpose of the Modern Society Studies Project is to examine the ways in which the writing of Korean history textbooks has changed and become distorted over time.

The Modern Society Studies Project analyzes Korean history textbooks and textbook writing guidelines. The South Korean government released its first Korean history textbook writing guidelines in 1956 and has since revised its guidelines seven times, the latest of which was released in 2009. This project's analysis of textbooks and textbook writing guidelines focuses on 14 significant topics, such as the Donghak Peasant Revolution, liberation, national division, the establishment of the Republic of Korea, and the Korean War. Additionally, the project investigates the career paths and ideological inclinations of authors of Korean history textbooks and textbook writing guidelines in order to examine how and why Korean textbooks interpretations of history have been distorted. Furthermore, to assess increasing similarities between North Korean and South Korean perceptions of modern Korean history (particularly among the authors of recent Korean history texts), the project also performs a cross-check between the two Koreas' history textbooks.

North Korea and China Relations Project

The aim of this project is to examine North Korea-China relations in transition throughout the history of the two countries' bilateral relations from the time before North Korea was established as a state, to the present Kim Jong-un regime, and to how North Korea-China relations may evolve in future. Through an evaluation of the present dynamics and future prospects for North Korea-China relations, this project seeks to offer political prescriptions for relations between the two Koreas and relations between South Korea and China for the purpose of maintaining peace and security on the Korean Peninsula.

The North Korea and China Relations Project divides the history of North Korea-China relations into eight periods—(1) the China-Japan War and the Chinese Civil War, (2) the Korean War, (3) the China-Soviet conflict and the North Korea-China alliance treaty, (4) the Cultural Revolution, (5) China's reform and opening, (6) the establishment of diplomatic relations between Korea and China, (7) the Kim Jong-il era, and (8) the Kim Jong-un era—in order to reassess the primary issues during these periods. The research also examines particular aspects of North Korea-China relations, such as the concepts of "blood brotherhood," "traditional friendship," etc., and evaluates prospects for North Korea-China relations in the Kim Jong-un and Xi Jinping era, as well as the bilateral relationship's effect on regional order in Northeast Asia.





South Korea's rapid national development in recent decades was made possible through great efforts on the part of the South Korean people. To pursue the further development of South Korea and to achieve the eventual reunification of the Korean Peninsula, there is urgent need for continued investment in South Korea's human resources. The Asan Academy, a partnered initiative by the Asan Institute for Policy Studies and the Asan Nanum Foundation, strives to foster and develop the talented youth of Korea's current and future generations.

Thirty applicants are selected per term to join the Asan Academy as Asan Young Fellows. After their selection and orientation, Asan Young Fellows undertake fifteenweek long intensive liberal arts training modeled after Oxford University's prestigious "Philosophy, Politics, and Economics" program. Courses undertaken at the Asan Academy include lectures presented by senior experts and highly qualified professors in Korean history, Western and Oriental philosophy, politics, international politics, international political economy, economics, practical English, and rhetoric. Asan Young Fellows also take part in volunteer activities, special lectures, lessons in traditional Korean instruments, and cultural trips to Gyeongju and Ulsan to explore and experience the heritage sites of the Shila Dynasty.

After the completion of their coursework, Asan Young Fellows commence three-month internships at prominent think tanks and nonprofit organizations abroad. During their internship period, Asan Young Fellows gain first-hand experience in conducting research, writing reports, assisting in planning and hosting conferences, and visiting various international organizations and government agencies.

The first cohort of Asan Young Fellows began their eight-month long program on August 27, 2012. They will commence their three-month internship from January 14, 2013, as part of the Asan-Washington Fellowship Program at renowned



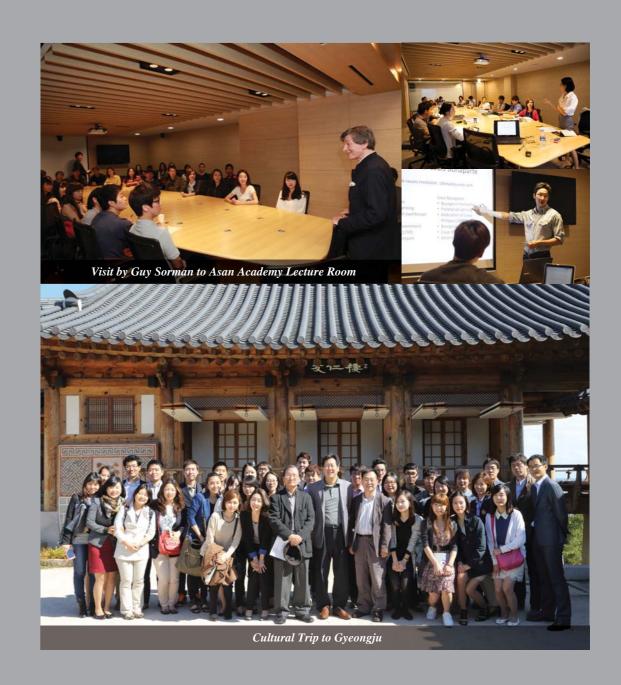
Annual Report 2012 58 / 59



think tanks and nonprofit organizations in Washington, DC, including the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Center for Strategic and International Studies, the Heritage Foundation, the Korea Economic Institute, Amnesty International, and many others.

The second cohort of Asan Young Fellows will begin their educational program on January 27, 2013. Twenty-eight of the Asan Young Fellows will be selected for the Asan-Washington Fellowship Program to work as interns in Washington, DC. Two Asan Young Fellows will be selected for the newly established Asan-Beijing Fellowship Program, which will give them the opportunity to gain first-hand experience working in a think tank or nonprofit organization in China—a country that is of rising importance to Korea, East Asia, and the international community.

The Asan Academy provides full scholarships for in-country tuition and accommodation. For the Asan-Washington Fellowship Program and the Asan-Beijing Fellowship Program, the Asan Academy offers Asan Young Fellows round-trip airfare, traveler's insurance, accommodation, and a fixed stipend.



Further information can be found at www.asanacademy.org.

ANNUAL REPORT 2012 60 / 61







From the uprisings across the Arab world to the seismic tremors in the European Union, and from the ravaged economy of the United States to the Fukushima disaster in Japan, the world is beset with crises, many of which resonate far beyond national borders. Such crises can unmake—or forge—political leaders. The year 2012 marks a particularly significant time for political leadership, with an unusually large number of elections and other political transitions taking place around the world. Dr. Lee Hong Koo, chairman of the Seoul Forum for International Affairs and former ROK prime minister, remarked during his keynote speech that "[e]verybody seems to believe that having good politics and good political leadership is the only way that you can come out of these crises. The people are depending on their leaders to make wise decisions and to be brave in selecting the right alternatives."

The *Asan Plenum 2012* convened policymakers, analysts, scholars and members of the media in Seoul for three days of intensive discussion about the role of leadership in responding to a wide range of political and economic crises around the globe. How are leaders responding to crises? Where have they been effective or ineffective and why? And how should new leaders prepare to face the challenges confronting them as they take office?

The Plenum featured such esteemed individuals as Bark Taeho (Minister of Trade, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Republic of Korea), Christopher Hill (Dean of the Josef Korbel School of International Studies, University of Denver and former US Ambassador and Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs), Jonathan Pollack (Senior Research Fellow, Brookings Institution), James Steinberg

(Dean, Maxwell School, Syracuse University), Jin Canrong (Professor and Associate Dean, School of International Studies, Renmin University), Funabashi Yoichi (Chairman, Rebuild Japan Initiative Foundation), and Edwin Feulner (President, The Heritage Foundation).







Annual Report 2012 66 / 67

"[The Asan Plenum was an] outstanding gathering of first-rate speakers from all over the world, addressing some of the most pressing issues of our time." (Jorge Heine, Chair in Global Governance, Centre for International Governance Innovation, Balsillie School of International Affairs)

"Asan did a superb job of organizing and carrying out this complex event. My compliments to the leadership and staff for their great work, particularly for their vision in selecting this year's topic." (Evans J. R. Revere, Nonresident Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution)

"This was overall a truly 'global' conference in terms of themes and regional representation for the individual panels. The combination of this, as well as the high quality of participants, and the overall very impressive logistical organization, certainly makes the *Asan Plenum* rank as one of the premier ones in its league, despite its very young age." (Diederik Vandewalle, Professor, Amos Tuck School of Business, Dartmouth College)

"The Asan Plenum 2012 represented a unique opportunity for the exchange of views and information between scholars and policy practitioners from all continents." (Andres Serbin, President, Regional Coordination for Economic and Social Research (CRIES), Buenos Aires)





"The Asan Plenum was a well-planned, meticulously implemented, and highly valuable opportunity for a wide range of scholars, officials, consultants, experts, and students to gather together to discuss major issues of international concern. The mix of ages, levels and areas of expertise, and nationality and viewpoints made for a robust and stimulating conference. Logistics and arrangements were outstanding, as was the welcome provided by the Asan Institute and staff. The Asan Institute and the hotel are to be highly commended for putting on a first-rate conference." (Christopher Clarke, Independent Analyst)

Annual Report 2012 68 / 69



A FOR CHINA FORUM

Asan China Forum 2012

The *Asan China Forum* convened leading China experts and policy analysts to discuss the most pertinent issues of the day pertaining to China. The *Asan China Forum 2012*, held from December 11-12, focused on "China in Transition" and met with success through the active participation of over 250 scholars, diplomats, policy analysts, and journalists from around the world. Topics addressed during the Forum included China's domestic political, economic, and social developments; China's relations with its neighbors in East Asia, as well as with other countries and regions of the world; and China's rising role as a global actor.

The recently concluded 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) ushered in the fifth generation of Chinese leadership. China's leadership transition is taking place in the midst of rapid and seemingly fundamental changes affecting East Asia as well as the world. The United States and the European Union are still struggling to emerge from major economic crises and Japan is entering into its third decade of lackluster growth. All the while, China continues its rise. The resulting shift in the global balance of power is affecting every aspect of the international political economy and geopolitics. What are the policy options confronting China's new leaders? What choices will they make? What constraints do they face? These are some of the fundamental questions that informed the discussions, debates, and analyses during the Forum.

"I was very impressed by the Asan China Forum—it has instantly become one of the very best on the international circuit of China watching events." (David Shambaugh, George Washington University)



"The forum was well-organized and informative. Participants benefited greatly from the panel discussions of topics they are interested in. This was also a rare chance to communicate face-to-face with those big name China experts from across the world. Such effective communications will turn out to be fruitful in the future, not just for the participants themselves but also for their institutions." (Chen Ping, *The Global Times* English Edition)

"Asan is to be commended for bringing such a superb group of Chinese foreign policy thinkers to town. Well done." (John Delury, Senior Fellow, Center on US-China Relations; Assistant Professor of International Studies, Yonsei University)

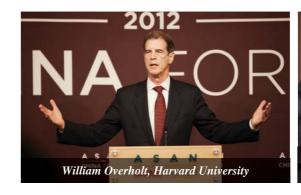




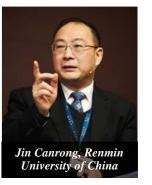
"The Asan China Forum 2012 is a wonderful conference. It helps a lot to deepen the relationship between Koreans and Chinese. As a Chinese individual, I understand Koreans' serious concern with regional security. I hope Korea can find a way to permanent peace with help from China." (Liu Mei, Global Finance Magazine)



"I believe this forum can be the stepping stone to becoming a world renowned event regarding China issues from outsiders' viewpoints." (Ahn Dukgeun, Seoul National University)









VI. Asan in the Media

76 / 77

The Asan Institute for Policy Studies was heavily quoted throughout 2012, appearing in hundreds of articles and televised interviews in national and international media. Asan experts were frequently sought out and cited to provide informed analyses of current events, long-term trends, and to raise public awareness of critical issues. They appeared in major international media outlets such as the *New York Times*, *Bloomberg*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, and CNN.

Within South Korea itself, the Asan Institute was instrumental in keeping the Korean public informed on current affairs. Asan experts were quoted and interviewed by major Korean media outlets such as the *Korea Times*, the *Chosun Ilbo*, the *Joongang Ilbo*, and many others. They also gave multiple televised interviews for Arirang TV, Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) News, Yonhap Television News (YTN), KTV, and others throughout the year.





In addition to major media outlets based in South Korea and the United States, Asan Institute analyses were also sought by media outlets around the globe for in-depth explanations of current events. Within Europe, Asan experts were quoted in the *Guardian* (United Kingdom), *Agence France-Presse* (France), *Le Temps* (Switzerland), and many others. The Asan Institute also appeared in articles by the *Sydney Morning Herald* in Australia and in media outlets across Asia, including the Singapore-based pan-Asian Channel News Asia.

Asan Institute experts were also relied on by media outlets from across the Middle East and Southwest Asia. During the South Korean elections, President Hahm Chaibong was interviewed by *Al Jazeera* and cited in the *Oman Tribune*, Dr. Kim Jiyoon was quoted in Pakistan's *Business Recorder* and the *Oman Daily*, and Dr. Woo Jung-Yeop was quoted by the Dubai-based *Gulf News*. The Korean press in turn looked to Asan Institute experts for analyses on how Korean democratization might

provide a model for countries in the Middle East such as Egypt, including an article from the *Munhwa Ilbo* quoting analyses by Dr. Jang Ji-Hyang from the Asan Institute's Middle East and North Africa Center. Dr. Kim Hankwon was also quoted by the Iran-based Press TV in October after an incident between a South Korean coast guard and a Chinese fisherman.



The Chinese media took a strong interest in the Asan Institute's analyses in 2012. During heated territorial disputes, Dr. Bong Youngshik was quoted by *Xinhua News* for his analysis of the implications of Japan's occupation of Diaoyu/Senkaku. Dr. Shin Chang-Hoon was interviewed by CCTV for his analysis of how North Korea violated UN Security Council resolutions by launching a missile in April. Asan experts were also quoted by the *China Daily* during the South Korean presidential election.

In December, Mr. Karl Friedhoff, a program officer with the Asan Institute's Public Opinion Studies Center, appeared in the *Guardian*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and the *China Daily* for the Center's analysis of the South Korean presidential election. He also gave multiple televised interviews from September to December for Korea's Arirang TV.



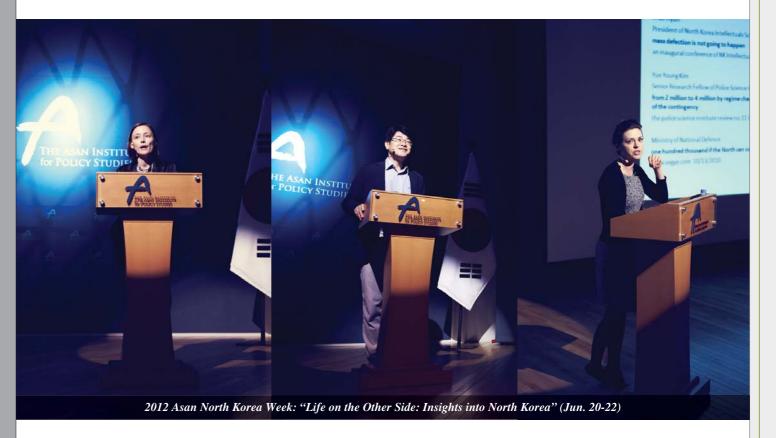
Annual Report 2012

VI. Asan in the Media

In 2012, the Asan Institute for Policy Studies hosted over 200 events featuring world-renowned intellectuals from various governments, think tanks, academia, and the media. Through the insights shared at these events, the Asan Institute sought to promote the development of innovative policy options to tackle domestic, regional, and international challenges. The Asan Institute invited leading scholars from around the world to engage the general public in order to shape a more peaceful and prosperous future. The following section provides brief descriptions of each of the Institute's major event formats.

Asan Conferences are two-day events open to the public that convene political leaders, policy professionals, and experts for focused discussion on a broad regional or topical theme. Participants are organized into thematic panels and deliver presentations that provide a basis for further discussion. Distinguished discussants offer their own insight into panel presentations and help conference participants draw linkages among disparate topics. At the end of the conference, panelists discuss policy recommendations that arise from their collective conversations. Typically, panelists are asked to revise their presentations as essays that are then published by the Asan Institute in bound form.

Asan Conferences in 2012 included "Leadership Changes and Security Prospects in Northeast Asia" (Mar. 31), "Contemporary World and East Asian Civilization" (May 31-Jun. 1), the 2012 Asan North Korea Week conference entitled "Life on the Other Side: Insights into North Korea" (Jun. 20-22), "Advancing Strategic Cooperation Partnership" (Sept. 3-4), and "Making Public Diplomacy Work" (Oct. 8).

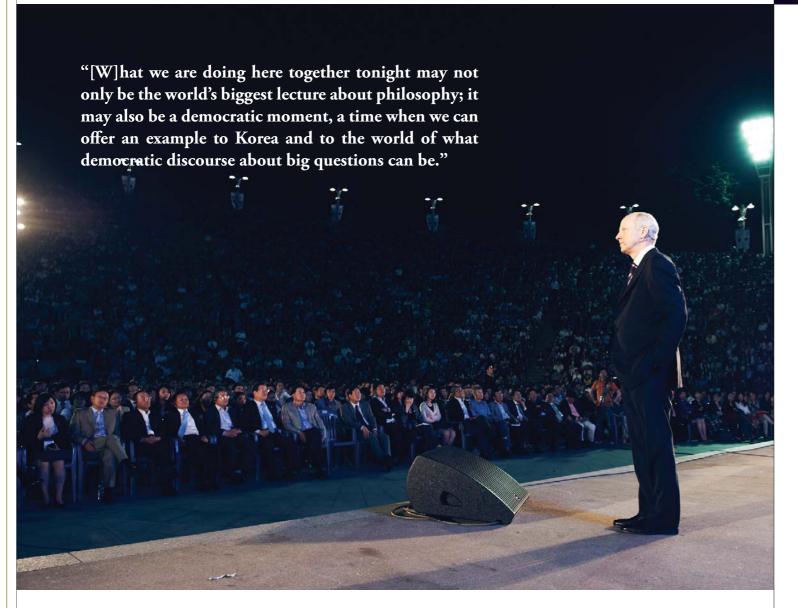


Annual Report 2012

VI. Asan in the Media

The Asan Special Lecture Series offers the public the opportunity to listen to presentations from world-renowned public intellectuals. These lectures offer unparalleled opportunities for audience members—who frequently include students, government officials, and members of the Korean policy-making community—to listen to the world's leading thinkers.

On June 1, the Asan Institute and Yonsei University jointly hosted a lecture presented by Professor Michael Sandel entitled "What Money Can't Buy" at the Yonsei University Amphitheatre before an audience of 15,000 students, as well as several dignitaries from Korea and abroad.





The second *Asan Special Lecture Series* presentation of the year was delivered by Dr. Guy Sorman, a celebrated French economist and philosopher, entitled the "European Union and Eurozone Crisis" (Jul. 12). Dr. Sorman highlighted the European Union's successes and failures across its 60 years of development and proposed solutions for how it might adapt to the new world economy. He argued that the European Union represents not only economic and political cooperation , but also a new identity for Europe as a whole.



The Asan Strategic Dialogues are closed meetings that bring together policy-makers acting in their capacity as private citizens as well as prominent experts from major think tanks around the world to candidly discuss regional and global challenges and develop practical approaches to handling them. As a form of unofficial or "Track II" diplomacy, the *Asan Strategic Dialogues* offer an environment in which experts and policymakers are insulated from political and media pressure and free to experiment with ideas and solicit candid feedback from one another. Such backchannel dialogues have proved to be vital in sustaining bilateral and multilateral cooperation.





The Asan Distinguished Speaker Series delivers stimulating public lectures by prominent researchers and policymakers on a wide variety of topics in global politics, economics and society. The Asan Institute provides an opportunity to share these signature lectures and diverse perspectives not only with students but also government officials and a wide range of professionals.

In 2012, the *Asan Distinguished Speaker Series* included a lecture presented by Alexander A. Dynkin, director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), entitled "Russian Foreign Policy in the Global Context," and a lecture presented by Fred R. Dallmayr, professor in the departments of philosophy and political science at the University of Nortre Dame, entitled "Confucianism and Cosmopolitanism."

Annual Report 2012 82 / 83



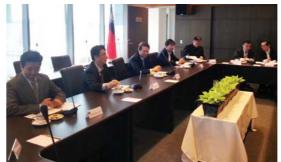
The Asan Dosirak Series is an informal roundtable series that brings visiting foreign scholars and policy officials together with the public for an hour and a half of open discussion. Named after the Korean word for "lunch box," the *Asan Dosirak Series* allows for a more conversational and free-flowing discussion between speakers and participants.

The Asan Institute hosted Dosirak events throughout the year covering a diverse range of topics such ROK-China relations, the US elections and its implications for both Asia and the ROK-US alliance, Syria and the Arab Spring, and the challenges posed by North Korea. Speakers this year included Gordon Flake (The Maureen and Mike Mansfield Foundation), Allan J. Lichtman (American University), Brad Glosserman (Pacific Forum CSIS), John B. Bellinger III (Arnold & Porter LLP), T. J. Pempel (University of California, Berkeley), and many others.

The Asan Road Show is a series of presentations and conferences by Asan researchers hosted at overseas partner institutions and aimed at informing international audiences about the Asan Institute's activities and strengthening cooperation with our global network of experts.

In August and September, Asan experts travelled to Boston, Washington, DC, San Francisco, Chicago and New York to promote the work of the Asan Nuclear Policy and Technology Center (ANPTC), to hold discussions on long-term ROK-US nuclear cooperation, and to appoint ANPTC foreign advisory board members. Asan experts conducted another road show in December to promote the work of the Center for China Policy, including meetings with organizations such as the Institute of Diplomacy and International Affairs, the Korean Mission in Taipei, National Quemoy University, Xiamen University, and the Guangdong Academy of Social Sciences.







Annual Report 2012 84 / 85



One of the primary goals of the Asan Institute is the production and publication of rigorous, timely, and policy-relevant research. The Asan Institute's publications are essential resources for government, academia, the media, and the general public. Publications produced by the Asan Institute can be downloaded in PDF format at www.asaninst.org/eng. Additionally, hard copies of all materials can be made available upon request. The following are some brief descriptions of the Asan Institute's major publications.

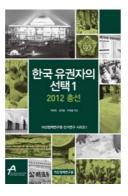
Issue Briefs are time-sensitive reports that provide overviews and rapid analysis of current events. *Issue Briefs* are written by both Asan's own experts as well as outside scholars. In 2012, the Asan Institute published 24 briefs covering a wide range of international and domestic affairs. Topics included the US "pivot to Asia," political reform in Myanmar, prospects for ROK-China FTA negotiations, the impact of presidential elections on North Korea policy, Korea's public diplomacy, and analyses of the ROK presidential elections.



The Asan Newsletter is a summary of the Institute's major events and publications, which is sent by e-mail at the beginning of each month to over 4,000 subscribers worldwide. The Institute launched the *Asan Newsletter* at the beginning of 2011 to better inform outside experts and the public of its activities. The newsletter series provides relevant links to the Institute's online resources, including regular publications, conference photos, and videos to allow website visitors to conveniently access this information.

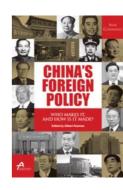


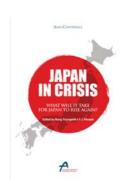
The Asan Public Opinion Surveys are conducted by the Asan Institute and the polling company Research & Research. In anticipation of the December presidential election in South Korea, the Asan Institute moved to daily polling in August, allowing it to cover every angle of the campaign. The results were then used to write in-depth reports distributed to governments, diplomats, analysts, and media around the world. In 2013, the Public Opinion Studies Center will continue to perform its role in creating a better informed debate on both domestic policy and foreign affairs in South Korea through the use of its extensive polling and analyses.

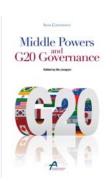


Asan Conference consists of books produced as the result of Asan Institute conferences. These books include papers written by distinguished scholars, practitioners, and experts in their fields, which provide useful analyses to better inform government officials and the public. *Asan Conference* publications in 2012 include *China's Foreign Policy* (edited by Gilbert Rozman), *Japan in Crisis: What Will it Take for Japan to Rise Again?* (edited by Bong Youngshik and T.J. Pempel), *The Arab Spring: Will it Lead to Democratic Transitions?* (edited by Clement Henry and Jang Ji-Hyang), and *Middle Powers and G20 Governance* (edited by Mo Jongryn).



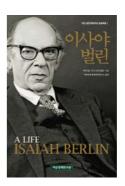




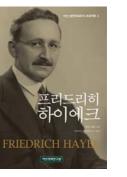


The Asan Book Series aims to translate some of the world's most engaging and important books on politics, economics, and society into Korean and thus contribute to Korea's participation in the global marketplace of ideas. In 2012, the *Asan Book Series* included the launch of a Korean translation of Jonathan D. Pollack's *No Exit: North Korea, Nuclear Weapons, and International Security.* As part of the Asan Cold War Liberalism Project, the Asan Institute also produced Korean translations of *Isaiah Berlin: A Life* by Michael Ignatieff and *Michael Oakeshott* by Edmund Neill.









ANNUAL REPORT 2012



The Asan Institute's internship program offers highly motivated individuals an opportunity to gain hands-on experience assisting and participating in the various activities of the Asan Institute for Policy Studies. Three times a year, the Asan Institute selects twenty-four interns, consisting of undergraduate and graduate students, to work at the Institute for a term of 16 weeks, subject to renewal based on performance.

Asan interns assist in planning, organizing, and hosting Asan Institute events, such as roundtables, conferences, and forums. Asan interns also assist in conducting research and collecting data for the Asan Institute's research centers. Based on the research conducted by the Institute, interns also assist in writing, editing, and translating Asan Institute publications, including *Asan Conference* books, *Asan Reports*, *Issue Briefs*, and press articles. Furthermore, interns work on publicizing Institute events through various media channels.

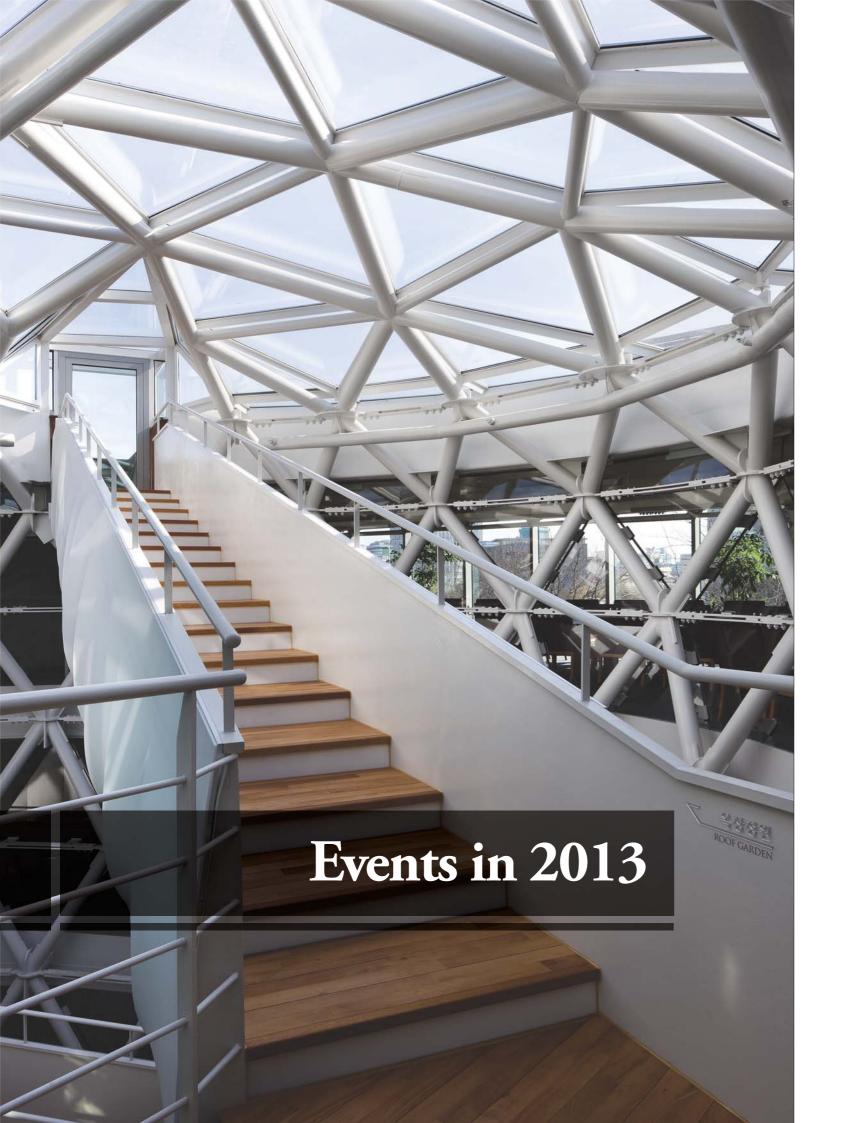
As a leading global hub for policymakers, researchers, and scholars from around the world, work with the Asan Institute offers Asan interns the chance to meet with and glean insights from renowned domestic and international policymakers, scholars, and policy experts. Asan interns work directly alongside many of the leading researchers in Korean, East Asian, and international affairs, with whom they learn to contribute

to substantial long-term research projects.

After selection, Asan interns are given an orientation where they are presented with *Internship Guidelines*. Thereafter, Asan interns participate in bi-weekly meetings in which they are kept informed of the Institute's upcoming events and are given the opportunity to provide feedback on how the overall performance of the Asan Institute might be improved.

In addition to their work experience, Asan interns participate in further educational programs, including special lectures by prominent experts on politics, history, and culture. Furthermore, Asan interns receive regular instruction from specialists on the practical aspects of working in an international environment, such as global business etiquette and professional writing in English. Asan interns are taken on cultural trips to Ulsan for a tour of the Hyundai Heavy Industries headquarters, as well as to Gyeongju, the ancient capital of the Shila Kingdom.

At the end of the business year, the Asan Institute hosts a homecoming party that allows Asan intern alumni to maintain strong connections both with one another and with the Asan Institute for Policy Studies.

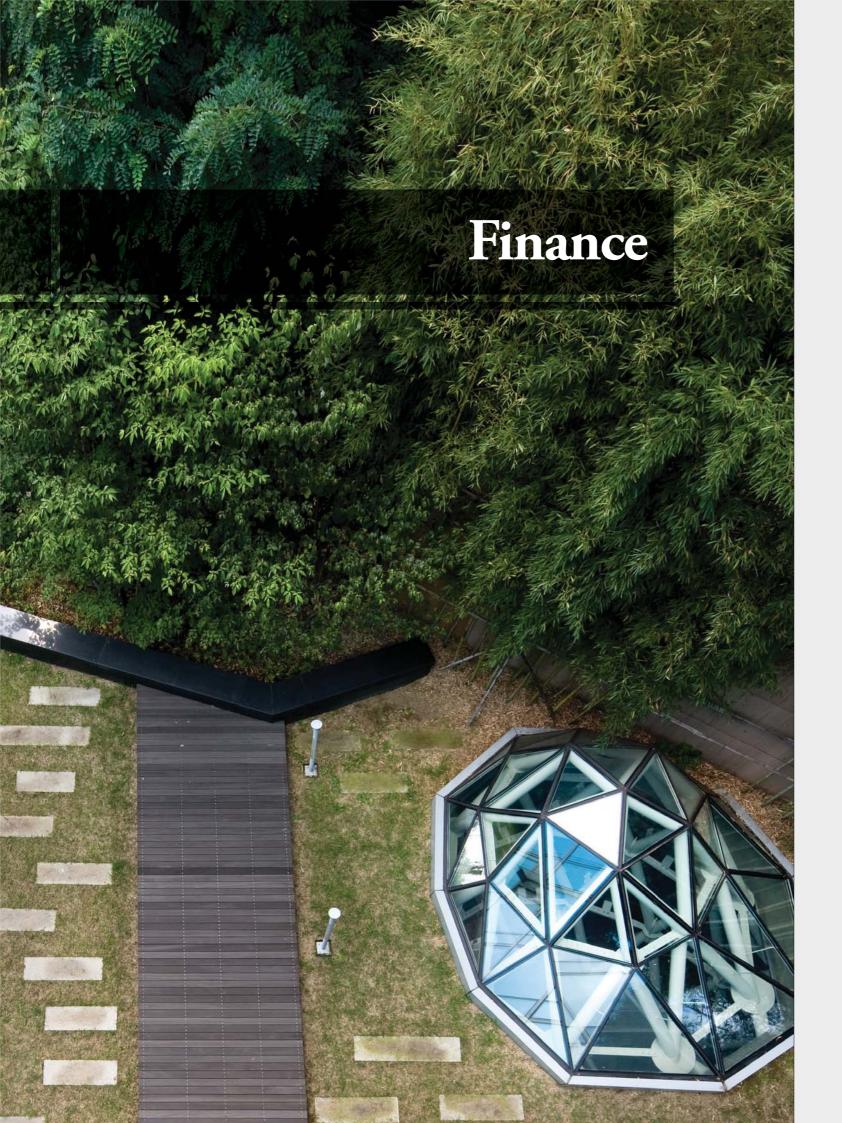


Asan Nuclear Forum 2013

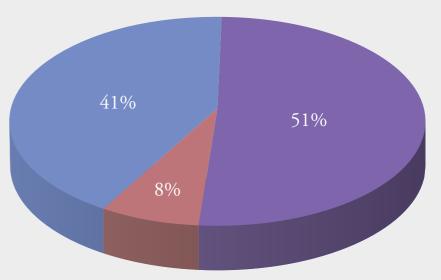
The Asan Institute for Policy Studies will hold the first Asan Nuclear Forum at the Grand Hyatt Hotel in Seoul on February 19-20, 2013. The Asan Nuclear Forum will convene 200 leading nuclear experts from over 30 countries and international organizations. Experts will discuss major issues in nuclear nonproliferation, peaceful use of nuclear energy, and nuclear security. The Forum will feature four plenary sessions and 18 panels over two days. Key panelists will include Robert Gallucci (President, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation), Luis E. Echavarri (Director-General, OECD Nuclear Energy Agency / Member of the IAEA's International Nuclear Safety Advisory Group), Gareth Evans (Professor and Chancellor, Australian National University / President Emeritus of the Brussels-based International Crisis Group), Alfredo Labbe (Ambassador of Chile to the Republic of Austria), Mushahid Hussain Sayed (Secretary General, Pakistan Muslim League / Senator and Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Pakistan Senate), and Scott Sagan (Caroline S.G. Munro Professor of Political Science, Stanford University / Co-chair, American Academy of Arts and Science's Global Nuclear Future Initiative).

Asan Plenum 2013

The *Asan Plenum 2013* will be held at the Grand Hyatt Hotel in Seoul from April 30 to May 1 on the theme of "New World Disorder." In recent years, we have witnessed a global financial crisis whose tremors continue to be felt around the world, uprisings in the Middle East, and the rise of China, just to name a few of the most significant events. Coupled with ongoing leadership transitions in countries around the world, questions regarding the stability and durability of the current world order continue to be raised. This year's Plenum will bring together distinguished experts, policymakers, scholars, and members of the media in Seoul to share their insights into the nature and implications of the current world order and prospects for the emergence of a new one.







Expenditures: 11,742,000,000 KRW

Programs 5,958,000,000 Management & General 4,842,000,000 Supporting Services 942,000,000

> Total 11,742,000,000



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Annual Report 2012

100 / 101

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Modern Society Studies Project

Han Minjeong

Center for American Politics and Policy

Joo Haeri

Center for ASEAN and Oceania Studies

Kang Chungku

Public Opinion Studies Center

Kim Do Hyun

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