Korea Policy Forum

Virtual Roundtable Discussion:
Prospects for U.S.-China Strategic Rivalry and U.S.-ROK Relations under the Biden Administration

Wednesday, December 9, 2020
9:00 AM - 11:00 AM (EST)
11:00 PM - 1:00 AM (KST)

EVENT DESCRIPTION

The intensifying strategic rivalry between the U.S. and China under the Trump administration has exposed the U.S.-ROK relationship to a greater deal of uncertainty. South Korea saw both challenges and opportunities in President Trump's top-down approach toward addressing the North Korean nuclear issue. The prolonged stalemate over U.S.-ROK defense cost-sharing negotiations raised questions about the characteristics of the decades-old alliance. President-Elect Joseph Biden has signaled supporting shifts in how the U.S. conducts its relations with China and South Korea. What are the foreign policy challenges and opportunities that face the incoming Biden administration, and what is in store in the near future for U.S.-China and U.S.-ROK relations? What are the necessary steps that Seoul and Washington should take to reduce the strategic risks in the coming months and years? Please join the GW Institute for Korean Studies for an online roundtable discussion with experts from both the U.S. and South Korea on prospects for the geopolitical dynamics in Northeast Asia under the new U.S. administration.
**ROUNDTABLE PARTICIPANTS (Alphabetical Order)**

(1) **South Korea**
- Beomchul Shin (Director, Diplomacy and Security Center, Korea Research Institute for National Strategy)
- Byung-Yeon Kim (Professor, Department of Economics, Seoul National University)
- Jina Kim (Research Fellow, Korea Institute of Defense Analyses)
- Heung-Kyu Kim (Director, U.S.-China Policy Institute, Ajou University)
- Sang Hyun Lee (Senior Research Fellow, Sejong Institute)
- Wang-hwi Lee (Professor, Division of International Studies, Ajou University)
- Young-kwan Yoon (Professor Emeritus, Department of Political Science and International Relations, Seoul National University, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs)

(2) **The United States**
- Frank Jannuzi (President and Chief Executive Officer, Maureen and Mike Mansfield Foundation)
- Joseph DeTrani (Former U.S. Special Envoy for the Six-Party Talks with North Korea)
- Joseph Yun (Senior Advisor, U.S. Institute of Peace, Former U.S. Special Representative for North Korea Policy)
- Mark Tokola (Vice President, Korea Economic Institute of America)
- Sharon Squassoni (Research Professor, Elliott School of International Affairs, The George Washington University)
- Sheena Chestnut Greitens (Associate Professor, LBJ School of Public Affairs, University of Texas at Austin)
- Yonho Kim (Associate Director, GW Institute for Korean Studies)

**PROGRAM**

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PROFILES (Alphabetical Order)

◊ SPEAKERS

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

**BYUNG-YEON KIM** is Professor in the Department of Economics at Seoul National University (SNU). His research interests lie in the fields of transition economics and applied econometrics, in particular with reference to North Korea as well as former socialist countries. He published a number of articles in international journals such as the Journal of Comparative Economics, Journal of Economic History and the British Journal of Political Science. His new book on the North Korean economy was recently published by Cambridge University Press (*Unveiling the North Korean Economy*, 2017). He has written numerous book chapters, books, and journal articles on the North Korean economy. He has received several prestigious academic awards such as Excellence in Academic Achievements granted by the National Academy of Sciences, SNU Award for Distinguished Researcher, T. S. Ashton Prize (Economic History Society), NEAR Academic Award, and Chungram Award (Korean Economic Association). He has served as a member of various government committees including the National Economic Advisory Council, the Presidential Committee for Unification Preparation and the Advisory Committee for the Korean Summit, and the Policy Advisory Committee for the Ministries of Unification and Foreign Affairs. He is a regular columnist for Joongang Daily mostly on North Korean issues. He received his B.A. and M.A. from SNU and his D.Phil. from the University of Oxford.
FRANK JANNUZI joined the Mansfield Foundation as President and Chief Executive Officer in April 2014. He previously served as Deputy Executive Director (Advocacy, Policy and Research) at Amnesty International, USA. There he shaped and promoted legislation and policies to advance universal human rights, protect individuals and communities at risk, and free prisoners of conscience. From 1997-2012 Mr. Jannuzi was Policy Director, East Asian and Pacific Affairs, for the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, where he advised Committee Chairmen Joseph Biden and John Kerry on a range of security, political, economic, and human rights issues pertinent to U.S. relations with East Asia. During his tenure with the Foreign Relations Committee he also was a Hitachi Fellow of the Council on Foreign Relations from 2006-2007, serving as a visiting lecturer at Keio University and a visiting scholar at the Institute of International Policy Studies in Tokyo. Early in his career he served for nine years as an analyst in the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Mr. Jannuzi holds a Bachelor of Arts degree from Yale University and Master in Public Policy degree from the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. He has traveled throughout Asia and has written extensively on East Asia policy issues, including U.S. relations with Japan, China, and North Korea.

JINA KIM is a Research Fellow at the Korea Institute for Defense Analyses and Adjunct Professor at Yonsei Graduate School of International Studies. As a Chief of the North Korean Military Study Division, she specializes in US-North Korea relations and nonproliferation. She holds a PhD in International Relations from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. She is on the Advisory Committee for the Blue House National Security Office and Policy Evaluation Committee for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. She also serves as a member of the Advisory Committee for the ROK-US Combined Forces Command and Ministry of National Unification. Her recent publication in academic journals includes "Limiting North Korea's Coercive Nuclear Leverage" (Survival 2020) and "The Dilemma of Nuclear Disarmament" (International Spectator 2020). She recently authored Cooperative Threat Reduction and the Korean Peninsula (KIDA 2020), and co-authored Korean Peninsula and Indo-Pacific Power Politics (Routledge 2020), Pathways to Peace (Hudson Institute, 2020), Korea Net Assessment (CEIP 2020), EU-Korea Security Relations (Routledge forthcoming), The Sheathed Sword (Bloomsbury forthcoming) and many others.
JOSEPH DETRANI was the U.S. Special Envoy for the Six-Party Talks with North Korea and the U.S. representative to the Korea Energy Development Organization. Ambassador DeTrani was an Associate Director of National Intelligence and Mission Manager for North Korea and the Director of the National Counterproliferation Center, while also serving as a Special Adviser to the Director of National Intelligence. After government service, he was the President of the Intelligence and National Security Alliance (INSA), a professional think tank. Currently, he is on the Board of Managers at Sandia National Laboratories and is a Senior Advisor at Oak Ridge National Laboratories. Also, he is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and a Fellow with the Institute for Corean-American Studies.

JOSEPH YUN, recognized as one of the nation’s leading experts on relations with North Korea, as well as broader US-East Asia policy, most recently served as Special Representative for North Korea Policy. Currently, he is Senior Advisor with The Asia Group, a DC-based strategic consulting firm, and the U.S. Institute of Peace, an independent and non-partisan federal institute working on peace and reconciliation issues throughout the globe. He is also a Global Affairs Commentator for the CNN. Yun’s 33-year diplomatic career has been marked by his commitment to face-to-face engagement as the best avenue for resolving conflict and advancing cross-border cooperation. As Special Representative on North Korea from 2016 to 2018, Ambassador Yun led the U.S. efforts to align regional powers behind a united policy to denuclearize North Korea. He was instrumental in reopening the “New York channel,” a direct communication line with officials from Pyongyang. As Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs (2011-2013), Yun led efforts to normalize diplomatic relations with Myanmar. Yun also served as Ambassador to Malaysia (2013-16). Before joining the Foreign Service, Yun was a senior economist for Data Resources, Inc., in Lexington, Massachusetts. He holds a M. Phil. degree from the London School of Economics and a BS from the University of Wales.

MARK TOKOLA is Vice President of the Korea Economic Institute of America in Washington, DC. He retired as a U.S. Senior Foreign Service Officer with the rank of Minister-Counselor in September 2014. His last posting was as Minister Counselor for Political Affairs at US Embassy London. Previously he had served as Deputy Chief of Mission at the American Embassies in Seoul, Republic of Korea; Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia; and, Reykjavik, Iceland. Among his other postings were two tours at the US Mission to the European Union in Brussels, Minister-Counselor for Economic Affairs at Embassy London, and Economic Counselor at US Embassy The Hague. He also served as Director of the Iraq Transition Assistance Office (ITAO) in Baghdad from 2007-2008. Mr Tokola received the State Department’s Superior Honor Award for his work on implementing the Dayton Peace Accords while serving as Political Counselor in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina from 1997-1999. He holds a BA in International Relations from Pomona College in Claremont, California, and an LL.M. in European Community Law from the University of Edinburgh, Scoland. Mr. Tokola serves on the Board of Governors.
SANG HYUN LEE is a senior research fellow at the Sejong Institute in Korea. He also serves as President of the Korea Nuclear Policy Society (KNPS). He was a research fellow at the Korean Institute for International Studies (1987-88), the Korea Institute for Defense Analysis (1988-90), and policy advisor for Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of National Unification, and Ministry of National Defense. He has served as Director-General for Policy Planning, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) from May 2011 to April 2013. He is a member of Asia-Pacific Leadership Network (APLN) for Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament, and Korea-US Nuclear Policy Leadership Initiative (NPLI). He was a visiting scholar at Institute for Development and Security (ISDP) in Stockholm, Sweden, and Stimson Center in Washington DC. His main research interests include international politics and security, Korea-U.S. relations, inter-Korean relations, nuclear security and nonproliferation, and East Asian security issues. His recent publications include: “Trump Administration’s Nuclear Policy: Implications for Global Nuclear Energy and North Korean Nuclear Issue” (2019), “Trump Administration’s National Security Policy and Its Implications for Global Order and Korean Peninsula” (2018), Trump Administration and ROK-US Relations (2017, co-authored), and North Korea under Kim Jong-un: Evaluating Past Five Years (2017, co-authored). He received his B.A. and M.A. from Seoul National University and Ph.D. from the Department of Political Science at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in 1999.

SHARON SQUIASSONI is research professor at the Institute for International Science and Technology Policy, Elliott School of International Affairs, at the George Washington University. Previously, she directed the Proliferation Prevention Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and was a senior scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, both in Washington, DC. She has specialized in nuclear nonproliferation, arms control and security policy for three decades, serving in the US government at the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the State Department, and the Congressional Research Service. She received a Bachelor of Arts degree from the State University of New York at Albany, a master’s in public management from the University of Maryland, and a master’s in national security strategy from the National War College.
SHEENA CHESTNUT GREITENS is an associate professor at the LBJ School of Public Affairs at UT-Austin, as well as a faculty fellow with UT's Clements Center for National Security and a distinguished scholar with the Strauss Center for International Security and Law. She is also a non-resident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, an adjunct fellow with the Korea Chair at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, an associate in research at the Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies at Harvard University, and a member of the Digital Freedom Forum at the Center for a New American Security. From January 2015 to August 2020, Greitens was an assistant professor of political science at the University of Missouri, and co-director of the University's Institute for Korean Studies. Her work on China and North Korea has appeared in academic journals and edited volumes in English, Chinese, and Korean, and in major media outlets. She has also previously testified to Congress on security issues in the Indo-Pacific. Her first book, *Dictators and their Secret Police: Coercive Institutions and State Violence* (Cambridge, 2016) received the 2017 Best Book Award from both the International Studies Association and the Comparative Democratization section of the American Political Science Association. In 2017-18, Greitens served as the First Lady of Missouri, where she helped lead the state's trade mission to China and South Korea, and successfully advocated for major legislative and administrative reforms to Missouri's policies on foster care, adoption, and child abuse prevention. She is currently working on two main research projects: one on China's internal security policies and their implications for China in the world, and another on authoritarian diasporas, particularly focused on North Korea. She holds a doctorate from Harvard University; an M.Phil from Oxford University, where she studied as a Marshall Scholar; and a bachelor's from Stanford University.

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

YOUNG-KWAN YOON (Ph.D., SAIS, The Johns Hopkins University) is professor emeritus at Department of Political Science and International Relations, Seoul National University. He served as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade of the Korean government (2003-04). Before joining the faculty of Seoul National University in 1990, he taught at University of California at Davis. He served as Korea’s eminent representative to and the Co-chair of the East Asia Vision Group II (ASEAN+3 Summit) from September 2011 to October 2012. He also served as Chairman of the Advisory Committee of Parliamentary Diplomacy for Korean National Assembly (2019-2020). He published several books and about 70 articles in the field of international political economy,
Korea’s foreign policy, and inter-Korean relations, some of which appeared in *World Politics*, *International Political Science Review*, *Asian Survey*, *Project Syndicate*, etc.

◊ **MODERATORS**

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

**YONHO KIM** is an Associate Research Professor of Practice and the Associate Director of GW Institute for Korean Studies. He specializes in North Korea’s mobile telecommunications and U.S. policy towards North Korea. Kim is the author of *North Korean Phone Money: Airtime Transfers as a Precursor to Mobile Payment System* (2020), *North Korea’s Mobile Telecommunications and Private Transportation Services in the Kim Jong-un Era* (2019) and *Cell Phones in North Korea: Has North Korea Entered the Telecommunications Revolution?* (2014). His research findings were covered by various media outlets, including Wall Street Journal, The Atlantic, Yonhap News, and Libération. Prior to joining GWIKS, he extensively interacted with the Washington policy circle on the Korean peninsula as Senior Researcher of the U.S.-Korea Institute at Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, Senior Reporter for Voice of America’s Korean Service, and Assistant Director of the Atlantic Council’s Program on Korea in Transition. He holds a B.A. and M.A. in International Relations from Seoul National University, and an M.A. in International Relations and International Economics from Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies.
This event is on the record and open to the public.
The event will be recorded and made available on GWIKS’ YouTube channel.