

As of March 18, 2009

**KORET FOUNDATION-SPONSORED  
WORKSHOP ON KOREAN AFFAIRS**

**KOREAN STUDIES PROGRAM  
SHORENSTEIN ASIA-PACIFIC RESEARCH CENTER  
STANFORD UNIVERSITY  
MARCH 19-20, 2009**

**“ENHANCING SOUTH KOREA’S SECURITY:  
THE U.S. ALLIANCE AND BEYOND”**

Two decades ago, South Korea appeared on the path to greatly increased security. The Cold War was ending, fundamentally improving South Korea’s regional security environment. While retaining an alliance with the United States, South Korea was able to normalize relations with all of its neighbors except North Korea. It outpaced North Korea economically, technologically, politically, diplomatically, and militarily. Enjoying a dynamic democracy and firmly committed to the free market, South Korea seemed destined to grow only stronger vis-à-vis North Korea as the leading Korean state and to be well-positioned to preserve its security and integrity against much larger neighbors.

Today, however, South Korea unexpectedly faces a new constellation of significant threats to its security from both traditional and non-traditional sources.

- North Korea has developed and tested a nuclear device and continued to improve the capabilities of its long-range ballistic missiles. Despite virtual economic collapse, North Korea still fields one of the world’s largest conventional militaries. The North Korean regime continues to monopolize information to the North Korean people, clouding the prospects for North-South reconciliation.
- China’s rise presents not only major opportunities but also challenges for South Korean security. Russia’s resurgence based on its energy resources represents a very recent phenomenon that has not been explored in depth. Despite converging attitudes and interests in many respects, historical grievances continue to limit security and diplomatic cooperation between South Korea and Japan.
- The United States is focused on combating terrorism and managing the rise of China, while South Korean public opinion is divided about North Korea and the alliance with the United States.
- Global developments—financial crises, economic recession, energy shortages, pollution, and climate change—are also testing South Korea. The ROK has one of the world’s lowest birth rates; the resulting dearth of young people and the aging of society could have major implications for South Korea’s long-term security.

This closed workshop will examine the above issues from the viewpoint of enhancing South Korea’s security in coming decades.

## Conference Agenda

Bechtel Conference Center, Encina Hall, Stanford University

### DAY 1: Thursday, March 19

#### *INTRODUCTION*

**8:00 A.M.** Continental breakfast

**9:00 A.M. Welcome & Overview**

*Prof. Gi-Wook Shin, Director, Shorenstein APARC; Director, Korean Studies Program and Tong Yang, Korea Foundation, and Korea Stanford Alumni Chair of Korean Studies; Professor of Sociology; FSI Senior Fellow*  
Overview of issues; implications of identity politics and resulting political polarization in South Korea for ROK security in regard to North Korea, the U.S. alliance, and economic and social policies.

#### **Panel I: ROK Military Capabilities, U.S. Alliance, Triangular Relations with Japan**

**9:15 A.M. ROK Military Capabilities**

*General (RET) Byung Kwan Kim, Koret Fellow, Shorenstein APARC*  
An assessment of the military challenges confronting the ROK; the ROK's military capacity to meet likely challenges; options.

**9:35 P.M. U.S. Alliance**

*Mr. David Straub, Acting Director, Korean Studies Program, Shorenstein APARC; former director, Office of Korean Affairs, U.S. Department of State*  
How important is the alliance to the ROK? How will and should the alliance change? What are the disadvantages to the ROK of its alliance with the U.S.? Are there other options for the ROK?

**9:55 P.M. Triangular Relations**

*Mr. Benjamin Self, Takahashi Fellow in Japanese Studies, Shorenstein APARC*  
Would improved cooperation with Japan enhance South Korean security? What is the state of bilateral and triangular security cooperation today? What is the trend? Is Japan a long-term security challenge to South Korea? What is the best "balance" between the ROK's relations with Japan and with China?

- 10:15 A.M.** Coffee break
- 10:30 A.M.** Discussion (moderated by Mr. Keyser)
- 12:15 P.M.** Luncheon

***TRADITIONAL CHALLENGES TO SOUTH KOREA'S SECURITY***

**Panel II: Regional Dynamics, North Korea, Russia, and China**

**2:00 P.M. Regional Dynamics**

*Mr. Don Keyser, Pantech Fellow, Shorenstein APARC; former Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs*  
Implications of changing regional power relationships, emerging regional structures, technological developments, etc., for South Korea's security

**2:20 P.M. North Korea**

*Dr. Jong Seok Lee, Visiting Scholar, Korean Studies Program, Shorenstein APARC; former Minister of Unification, Republic of Korea*  
North Korean scenarios; analysis of South Korean options

**2:40 P.M. Russia**

*Dr. Alexandre Y. Mansourov, The National Committee on North Korea*  
Will Russia's influence on the ROK and the Korean Peninsula increase as it seeks to play a larger regional global role and benefits from increasing energy scarcity? In what ways? How should the ROK regard Russia? What are South Korea's options?

**3:00 P.M. China**

*Professor Jae Ho Chung, Seoul National University Department of International Studies*  
How South Korea regards rising China; how China regards Korea and the Korean Peninsula; challenges and opportunities for the ROK.

**3:20 P.M.**

Break

**3:35 P.M.**

Discussion (moderated by Ambassador Pritchard)

**6:30 P.M. Dinner**

Chantilly Rest., 3001 El Camino Real, Redwood City  
*Speaker: Dr. Thomas Fingar, Payne Distinguished Lecturer, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, Stanford University; former first Deputy Director of*

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*National Intelligence for Analysis and, concurrently,  
Chairman of the National Intelligence Council.*

**DAY 2: Friday, March 20**

**8:00 A.M.** Continental breakfast

***NON-TRADITIONAL CHALLENGES TO SOUTH KOREA'S SECURITY***

**Panel III: Energy, Demographics, Economy**

**9:00 A.M. Economic Challenges**

*Dr. Lee, Kyung-Tae, President, Korea Institute for  
International Economic Policy*

How will economic developments affect South Korean security? In terms of security, does the ROK need to do to continue to move up the ranks of developed countries? Challenges and opportunities. Is the ROK being “sandwiched” between China and Japan? Will the ROK economy be dominated by China? If so, what are the security implications?

**9:20 A.M. Energy & the Environment**

*Dr. Ji-Chul Ryu, Korea Energy Economics Institute*  
Implications for ROK security of the ROK's energy situation, securing energy, potential for conflict over undersea resources, moving away from carbon-based energy, mitigating climate change and yellow wind, etc.

**9:40 A.M. Demographic and Social Change**

*Professor Sheen, Seong-Ho, Seoul National University  
Graduate School of International Studies*

Implications for ROK security of absolute population decline, aging population, and other demographic and social changes; how should the ROK military adjust; how might South Korean priorities and politics change?

**10:00 A.M. Historical Issues**

*Mr. Daniel Sneider, Associate Director for Research,  
Shorenstein APARC*

How historical issues affect future security.

**10:20 A.M.** Break

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**10:35 A.M.** Discussion (moderated by Professor Shin)

**12:15-1:30 P.M.** Luncheon (wrap-up discussion moderated by Ambassador Armacost)

### **Discussants**

Charles L. “Jack” Pritchard, President of the Korea Economic Institute, Washington, D.C.; former U.S. Ambassador and Special Envoy for negotiations with North Korea

Professor T. J. Pempel, Department of Political Science, University of California at Berkeley; Chair, Working Group on Northeast Asian Security, CSCAP

Dr. Boaz Ganor, Koret Distinguished Visiting Fellow at Hoover Institution, Stanford University; Founder and Executive Director, ICT - The International Institute for Counter-Terrorism; Deputy Dean, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, The Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya, Israel

MG (RET) Kim Kook-Hun (ROK), Consultant to Korea Research Institute for Strategy

Mr. Maeng Ho Shin, Deputy Consul General of ROK, Consulate General, San Francisco