

LOOKING FORWARD

The essential alliance of Korea and America on the world stage



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A SPECIAL REPORT PREPARED BY THE WASHINGTON TIMES ADVOCACY DEPARTMENT

Korea and the United States: Our Great Legacy



By Rep. Charles B. Rangel

Little did I know in 1950, when I went to Korea for the first time as a combat infantryman, that I would be welcoming the distinguished South Korean President Park Geun-hye during her visit to our nation's capital to confer with our president concerning the global community and the U.S.-Korea alliance.

I fought in the Korean War as a member of the 503rd Battalion, an all-black artillery unit, in the 2nd Infantry Division. In late November 1950, my unit was engaged in heavy fighting in North Korea and in the Battle of Kunu-ri, and I was part of a vehicle column that was trapped and attacked by the Chinese army.

During the attack, I was injured in the back by shrapnel from a Chinese shell. I was able to lead approximately 40 men from my unit out of the Chinese encirclement, enduring three days

of freezing temperatures. It was by the grace of God that we were spared because we later learned that nearly half of our battalion was killed in the overall battle. Since Kunu-ri — and I mean it with all my heart — I have never, ever had a bad day.

When I left the Korean Peninsula, wounded, it was a nightmare, and I thought I would never want to go back. So I could not be more proud to witness the rise of Korea from the ashes of war into becoming our nation's seventh-largest trading partner and an international giant. Ms. Park's historic ascendency to the presidency reflects the tremendous leaps that the Republic of Korea has made to become a shining example of one of the most successful democracies in the world.

The relationship between our two countries is precious. The Republic of Korea is among our nation's closest allies, having contributed troops in support of U.S. operations during the Vietnam War and the Gulf War, and in Iraq and Afghanistan, while also supporting numerous United Nations peacekeeping missions. We must remain committed to solidifying our alliance to help safeguard stability and prosperity in the region.

The global impact made by the Korean people at the highest levels of leadership, such as U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon and World Bank President Jim Yong Kim, as well as Seoul's skyscrapers, booming businesses and rising apartment buildings, are a testament to the determination of the people of South Korea to become successful and give back to the world. All across America, Koreans have inspired us with their entrepreneurialism

and perseverance toward strengthening the fabric of our nation.

It has been a particularly significant moment in history this year as Korea commemorates its 70th anniversary of independence, which also reminds us of the subsequent division of the Korean Peninsula. I strongly support Ms. Park's vision of a peaceful unification and her tireless efforts to reunite families that have been separated by war for more than six decades.

I would have never imagined 65 years ago that I would return to the war-torn country I left behind as a U.S. congressman. I am grateful to Ms. Park for the generous hospitality shown

The relationship between our two countries is a precious one. The Republic of Korea is among our nation's closest allies, having contributed troops in support of United States operations during the Vietnam War, Gulf War, and in Iraq and Afghanistan, while also supporting numerous United Nations peacekeeping missions.

to me by her countrymen during my recent trip to Korea, where I enjoyed meaningful conversations with different Cabinet members and heads of various organizations to discuss the U.S.-South Korean alliance, the implementation of the free trade agreement

between our countries and the peace-building process on the peninsula and the region.

To see this country now, to see what out of the ashes it has become, to see from a very poor country what a great democracy it has become, to see the leadership of this great president, to see what a friend we have in that region during this critical time in the economy and in peace and war, that this country always has our back, the great contributions Korea has made to our country, those who have become citizens, makes me proud to be an American.

More than 50,000 American soldiers did not make it back home after three brutal years of fighting in Korea from 1950 to 1953; 100,000 came back wounded, and 8,000 are unaccounted for. I could not be more pleased that my bills, the Korean War Veterans Recognition Act, as well as the resolution to encourage peace and reunification on the Korean Peninsula, passed in honor of the sacrifices and contributions the Korean War veterans have made to the great American legacy.

Korea will always have a place in my heart as I continue to work on bringing our two countries closer while promoting peace between the two Koreas, in hopes that the divided peninsula will be reunified in my lifetime.

Mr. Rangel, a decorated Korean War veteran with a Purple Heart and Bronze Star Medal, has served in Congress since 1971. A Democrat, he represents New York's 13th Congressional District.

Cherishing the Sacrifice

By THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Members of the Little Angels Children's Folk Ballet of Korea greet and salute Korean War veterans on this, the 65th anniversary of the beginning of the conflict. The children's dance troupe was founded in 1962 by Rev. and Mrs. Sun Myung Moon, who also founded The Washington Times.





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Tough, Decisive and Hands-on 'Notebook Princess'

By Dan Burton

At the end of this past summer, I visited South Korea as part of a delegation of former U.S. congressmen and other leaders who have a strong interest in the security of the Northeast Asia region. We knew it to be one of the more volatile flashpoints in the world. This is an area where a potential conflict could occur and go global. The Middle East is the other region seen as the most likely area where a wider war could occur. The delegation was made possible by Times Holdings, the parent company of The Washington Times.

Ambassador Christopher Hill, U.S. Ambassador to Korea five years ago and who was with us, remains extraordinarily popular there among the diverse political leadership as well as the average Korean for his straightforward and common sense approach to North Korea. As he told Chosun newspaper's monthly magazine last March, "North Korea wants trade agreements? We'll do that. You want an embassy in Pyongyang? We can give you one. Just give up your nuclear program. There is no reason for North Korea to have atomic weapons. There is nobody they can use them on without destroying themselves."

Our delegation had identified three issue areas we would focus on during our time in Korea: (1) the North-South Korean conflict, (2) the nuclear and missile threat, and (3) ways to lessen tensions between Korea and Japan (and better manage China's attempts to drive wedges between them). We also touched on cybersecurity issues as they figure heavily in the other three areas mentioned.

An unspoken fourth interest grew out of our shared profession. Nobody actually retires from politics anymore, and most of those in our delegation are active in foreign affairs from the platforms of academia or consulting with businesses and other political leaders. We were also keenly aware of the upcoming visit of President Park Geun-hye, and we were interested in observing her progress as president, and how she is regarded in the eyes of her countrymen.

In our meetings with the South Korean foreign minister, key legislators in the Korean National Assembly, and the U.S. side as well — the American Embassy's team and the U.N. Command/U.S. Forces Korea — we spent time discussing Ms. Park's leadership and the historical context of her being the nation's chief executive at this time.

Only days before our arrival in South Korea, loudspeaker broadcasts across



Above: Former U.S. congressman Dan Burton and South Korean Foreign Minister Yun Byoung-se share a point during their delegation's meeting with him in Seoul, August 28, 2015. Below: The delegation met with South Korean Assemblyman Joo Ho-young, who chairs the National Assembly's Intelligence Committee. Photos: Larry Moffitt



the DMZ that North Korea dictator Kim Jung-un found insulting, caused a temporary escalation of tensions between North and South Korea.

The president, and everyone else in her administration, were consumed in dealing with the cross-border hostilities. Several of the officials we met with, whether from the Foreign Ministry, the National Assembly or the U.S. side — embassy and military — greeted our delegation, alert but with a lack of sleep from dealing with the crisis.

Foreign Minister Yun Byoung-se was effusive talking of his respect for Ms. Park. He said, regarding tensions with North Korea, "President Park's approach was principled and based on her firm resolve. This was the first time the North made its apology clear through their use of the term 'regret.' We considered this an apology."

The Assembly personnel, the U.S. Embassy team and military briefers,

with whom we talked also showed confidence and respect for Ms. Park and her leadership.

Ms. Park, "married to Korea," in her own words, had been criticized as "the notebook princess" for carrying around a little black notebook to jot down things to follow up on or to jog her memory. It's unusual because we tend to think it's more presidential to work with a broad brush. Smile, handshake, thoughtful nod, "Sure, I'll look into it," and move on. But Ms. Park wants to make sure she handles problems quickly, and that none are forgotten. This is leadership.

When you grow up in a political family, like she has, and when both your parents were murdered by assassins, as hers were, you either get stronger or you fall apart. Ms. Park got stronger and I think the Korean people respect her and they appreciate her decisive approach.

Foreign Minister Yun graciously scheduled an interruption of his

vacation in order to receive our delegation. The brief hostilities with the North eliminated whatever was left of his holiday, and our scheduled 15-minute courtesy visit became an hour of substantive discussion.

In addition, we were happy to hear National Assemblyman Joo Ho-young's upbeat observations about the average Korean's feelings toward the U.S. and Americans. Mr. Joo, who chairs the Intelligence Committee, said pro-U.S. feelings are on the ascendency among Koreans. Gone is the American bashing of the mid-2000s

A number of things have brought our two countries closer together, including increased belligerence from North Korea and China, as well as some smaller acts one might not think of. One of these was allowing Koreans to visit the U.S. without a visa, a U.S. policy change that began during Mr. Hill's stint as ambassador. Mr. Hill said, "A Korean citizen can now jump on a plane and go to Hawaii without waiting in line at the consulate for three days. America received a lot of good will from that decision."

We feel our trip to Korea will help Korean-American relations as we discuss our trip with friends of ours who are still in Congress.

Dan Burton was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Indiana's 5th Congressional District from 1983 to 2013. He is currently the CEO of Dan Burton International, a business and political consulting firm.

North Korea's Endgame



**By Ambassador
Christopher Hill**

Last August, negotiators from the two Koreas resolved yet another crisis provoked by the North, in which South Korea's use of loudspeakers to broadcast messages across the Demilitarized Zone spurred threats of war from the North. That was welcome news for the region and the world: Amid growing fears about the Chinese economy, there are already plenty of reasons to worry about events in Northeast Asia. Nonetheless, the underlying uncertainty regarding North Korea's future under Kim Jong-un remains, and the latest episode provides an important opportunity to evaluate his leadership.

Mr. Kim's behavior was much in keeping with that of his father, Kim Jong-il, and grandfather, Kim Il-sung: Create a crisis for no apparent reason, and expect a reward for ending it. But, in the latest crisis, Mr. Kim gained little. North Korea received no new food deals, no economic or financial assistance, no help with energy or agriculture, and no warm words from the Chinese. Indeed, it is difficult to see why Mr. Kim started this crisis in the first place.

What Mr. Kim does seem to have received is South Korea's agreement to stop the broadcasts, which included some telling personal criticism of him. And that may have been enough.

By all accounts, Mr. Kim enjoys little personal legitimacy in North Korea. In Korean tradition, entrusting the family fortune to the youngest of a third generation is sometimes a dicey proposition. His father, Kim Jong-il, struggled mightily to fill Kim Il-sung's shoes. Kim Jong-un, it seems, is having even greater difficulty managing the family business.

Indeed, he has launched what many are calling a reign of terror: Scores of senior officials have been summarily and brutally executed, while others cower in fear. Despite the occasional

construction project — usually an amusement park — North Korea under Kim Jong-un continues on its path toward oblivion.

The country's economy is a shambles, with its agricultural base, in the absence of any modern engineering and technology, increasingly susceptible to the vicissitudes of the weather. The authorities' decision to allow markets to operate reflects the need to make a virtue of necessity: As has been true of decaying communist regimes elsewhere, the government cannot afford to pay the collective farms for their output.

China has essentially washed its hands of its small neighbor. Russia, challenged to court new friends but also struggling to manage its own

of delivering nuclear weapons. Its erstwhile partners — indeed the whole world — have been given no other choice but to tighten sanctions, increase vigilance and, in the case of the United States and its allies, develop high-tech defenses that could render North Korean offensive systems obsolete before they are even unveiled.

During the six-party process, over the course of four years, North Korea's interlocutors (the United States, South Korea, China, Russia and Japan) offered the regime what amounted to a grand bargain: Shut down the nuclear program in exchange for a broad range of assistance and assurances. Kim Jong-un has walked away from the benefits that would come from recognition as a member of the international com-

decide the particulars, they will not have much choice. Faced with such a historic challenge, Koreans, bearing in mind their descendants' prospects and their ancestors' wishes, will accept and ultimately embrace reunification.

The task will be monumental. The relatively recent example of German reunification offers some guidance, but Korea will have to chart its own course. It will need not only sound planning but also friends, allies and partners in the process.

On Oct. 16, South Korean President Park Geun-hye will have a summit with President Obama in Washington. There will be a full agenda of current issues to discuss. But, given Kim Jong-un's abysmal leadership in the North, it might be a good idea to make some



Technically, North and South Korea are still at war. While an armistice agreement was signed in 1953, no 'final peaceful settlement' of this conflict has been achieved. And if you've been following the news recently, you'll appreciate how tense the situation is. Taking a trip into the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) separating the two countries might seem like a risky endeavor, but in reality it has turned into a big tourist attraction and topped the list of things to do in Seoul.

weakening economy, is not interested in reviving a friendship with a country that seems to have made it a point of principle never to pay anyone for anything. One hallmark of Kim Jong-un's leadership has been his disinterest in negotiations to end North Korea's nuclear weapons program. Indeed, while the Chinese in recent years struggled to restart the six-party talks, the North Koreans quietly informed them, "No thanks."

North Korea under Kim Jong-un has invested heavily and worked hard to develop ballistic missiles capable

community in good standing, apparently intent on leading his country further into the wilderness.

Given this, it is easy to understand why many analysts have begun to focus on what North Korea's demise might mean for political arrangements on the Korean Peninsula. At some point, and in some undefined way, North Korea will be unable to function, and South Korea will become the successor state.

Many South Koreans are not sure they are prepared to accept the responsibility of absorbing the North's population. But, though they will debate and

time to talk about what an eventual border between China and a unified Korea might look like should North Korea not endure the test of time.

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Christopher R. Hill, a former assistant secretary of state for East Asia, was U.S. ambassador to Iraq, South Korea, Macedonia and Poland, a U.S. special envoy for Kosovo, a negotiator of the Dayton Peace Accords, and the chief U.S. negotiator with North Korea from 2005-2009. He is currently dean of the Korbel School of International Studies at the University of Denver.

Redefining Korea as a Global Leader

By Dr. John J. Hamre

South Korean President Park Geun-hye returns to Washington after proving her mettle this summer in a tense standoff with North Korea. North Korean agents planted land mines in a long-standing path patrolled by South Korean soldiers, setting off another round of escalating tension between North and South. South Korea stood firm, and North Korea blinked.

Ms. Park also comes after having attended the Victory Day celebrations in Beijing in early September. She was the only head of a democratic state to join President Xi Jinping on the reviewing stands watching a military parade, triggering concern here in Washington about Korea's direction.

These two episodes graphically define Park Geun-hye's presidency. Attending a military parade in Beijing illustrates a central pillar in the Park presidency. By seeking close ties with China, Ms. Park has achieved a long-standing aim of Korean diplomacy, which is to isolate North Korea and caused China to distance itself from the renegade Pyongyang regime. These close ties with China do not, however, threaten Korean-American relations. I know from numerous personal discussions with Ms. Park that she considers the U.S.-Korean alliance the foundation for Korean security.

This strategy is working. South Korea was able to stare down a petulant North Korea, adding momentum to what is inevitable — the eventual unification of a divided Korea in a manner that is acceptable to both China and the United States.

This has set her reputation in Korean history. But there is more to do. The Korean collective intellect is still scarred by a brutal civil war that left destitution. No country in the past 70 years has demonstrated such determination and success in transforming itself from

abject poverty to glittering prosperity. But Koreans still think of themselves as a small, vulnerable regional power, caught between two potentially

dangerous superpower neighbors — Japan and China.

Koreans do not think of themselves as the 11th largest economy in the world,

even as they continue to move up the ranks of the great states. Korea has played only minor roles in global affairs, most often as a loyal (and sometimes unenthusiastic) partner to American-led operations.

Understandably, Korea remains caught in the last standoff of the Cold War, worrying every day that a crazy North Korean leader or a desperate rogue officer might trigger a military cataclysm. But Korea is now at a stage of development and success that it can look beyond its immediate trials.

Ms. Park's greatest contribution would be to help redefine the Republic of Korea as a global leader, not a small regional power. Korea should become the champion of global goods — such as becoming a leader in the non-proliferation campaign as Asia builds out a new generation of commercial reactors. Korea could become a global leader for humanitarian response following disasters, drawing on its energetic NGO community and its sophisticated biomedical industry. It could become a global champion for active diplomacy on disputed territories covered by the U.N. Convention on Law of the Sea. Korea could become the most dynamic terminus for the new Silk Route being recreated in the great Eurasian supercontinent. Korea has agreed to host the 2017 Global Health

Security Agenda, but rather than host a one-time event, Korea should take a global leadership role on public health issues.

Korea has worked miracles to convert the devastation of war to the bright promise of modernity. Ms. Park can now give Korea a new focus — confidence to be a world leader, tackling the great problems of this century.

John J. Hamre is a specialist in international studies, a former U.S. government official and president and CEO of the Center for Strategic and International Studies.



President Park Geun-hye state visit to China. Photo: Cheong Wa Dae (Related Korea.net Article)

Close ties with China do not, however, threaten Korean-American relations. I know from numerous personal discussions with Ms. Park that she considers the U.S.-Korean alliance the foundation for Korean security.

A Historic Opportunity to Strengthen the Korean-American Partnership



By Rep. Ed Royce

When the President of the Republic of Korea Park Geun-hye visits Washington this week, there will be a historic opportunity to strengthen the partnership the United States shares with one of its closest allies and trusted friends.

Forged in the horrific destruction of the Korean War that began 65 years ago, the U.S.-Korea alliance has emerged strong, resolute, comprehensive and enduring. It has become a “Blood Alliance.” More than 1.7 million Korean American constituents represent yet another bond between our countries, with Southern California having the largest Korean population outside the Korean Peninsula.

In recent years, the two nations have taken strong steps to broaden this partnership, from regional stability and security to trade and investment.

This week, Ms. Park’s visit will provide yet another forum for further expanding our mutual cooperation on energy, space, health, education and cybersecurity, among other issues.

As the visit underscores, this alliance has been a bulwark of international security since the 1953 Mutual Defense Treaty, under which American and Korean troops have stood shoulder-to-shoulder against North Korean aggression and provocation.

Over six decades, the security relationship has become a more comprehensive partnership. Confronting the common threat posed by North Korea, we are also working together to counter North Korea’s nuclear blackmail of its neighbors, while calling attention to blatant human rights violations in one of the most brutal dictatorships on earth.

Meanwhile, South Korea’s economic prowess and geopolitical influence continues to grow, while Seoul remains grounded in our shared values and commitment to democracy, free market economy and respect for human rights. These principles are none more evident than in Ms. Park’s historic election as the first female president in Northeast Asia. Her speech to Congress in 2013 marked an important historical point in our alliance.

Bolstered by the Korea-U.S. free trade agreement, which I championed in the Congress in 2011, trade between our two economies reached \$116 billion in 2014, and South Korea now ranks sixth among U.S. trading partners. Supporting businesses and jobs throughout the country, American exports to Korea reached a record

level of \$44.5 billion last year — an increase of 7 percent over 2013. Major U.S. exports to Korea included aircraft, semiconductors, machinery and agricultural products. In fact, my home state of California exported \$8.6 billion worth of goods and services annually to Korea. To further strengthen our trade ties, I look forward to South Korea’s participation in the 12 nation Trans-Pacific Partnership in the near future.

Addressing 21st-century challenges, we achieved an important agreement this year supporting civil nuclear cooperation between our countries. Signed on June 15, this agreement will allow the U.S. and Korea to continue their trade in civilian nuclear energy. The deal promises to inject billions of dollars into the U.S. economy, supporting thousands of high-wage American jobs.

It also strengthens international nuclear nonproliferation standards — a critical concern whose urgency is heightened by North Korea’s nuclear brinkmanship.

Another issue of increasing importance, Korea’s role as a technological trailblazer makes it an indispensable partner for the U.S. In recognition of Ms. Park’s commitment to the “creative economy,” the U.S. will partner to support Korea’s efforts to foster innovation and entrepreneurship. In health care, we are promoting innovation, investment and growth in pharmaceuticals, biologics and medical devices.

Using their experience and expertise, Korean health care professionals are working with their American colleagues to respond to health care

crises around the world, including the epidemic of Ebola in West Africa. South Korea hosted the Global Health Security Agenda Ministerial meeting in Seoul last September, which seeks to make progress toward achieving a world safe and secure from biological threats.

Similarly, in cybersecurity, our two countries are working to counter transnational hackers, such as the North Koreans who hacked into South Korea’s financial sector and stole confidential data from Sony Studios in Southern California.

This relationship knows no bounds. NASA and the Korean Aerospace Research Institute are discussing collaboration in space exploration and aeronautics research. The U.S. and Korea will work together in the International Space Exploration Coordination Group.

From preventing aggression on the Korean Peninsula to protecting the world community against thermonuclear threats and promoting technological progress from cyberspace to outer space, Korea remains a linchpin of America’s foreign policy in Northeast Asia. The U.S.-Korea alliance has never been stronger, our ties have never been deeper, and our global partnership more comprehensive. As president of the Republic of Korea, Park Geun-hye deserves America’s warmest welcome.

Mr. Royce, R-Calif., is the Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and former Chairman of the U.S.-Republic of Korea Interparliamentary Exchange.

Korea: A Remarkable Economic Transformation and U.S. Policy Success



By Rep. Loretta Sanchez

This year marks the 65th anniversary of the outbreak of the Korean War. As Korea has transformed itself in six decades from a war-torn basket economy into the 13th largest economy in the world, it represents one of America’s greatest foreign policy success stories in the post-WWII era.

The Republic of Korea has been a strong and steadfast economic and strategic partner of the United States.

Both countries are bound not only by history but by their shared commitment to democratic values.

My home state of California has a vibrant Korean-American community that contributes to all facets of our society, from thriving businesses to our local churches.

This week, the President of the Republic of Korea, the Honorable Park Geun-hye, will be making her second visit to Washington, D.C.

I hope we will take this opportunity to discuss the rising tensions on the Korean Peninsula, the continued threat that North Korea’s nuclear program imposes on the region and the regional concerns regarding the East Sea dispute.

One of President Obama’s central

foreign policy decisions has been to pivot attention back to Asia. As we look to further strengthen U.S. relations with the region, I believe the Republic of Korea will continue to be one of our strongest friends and allies.

Rep. Loretta Sanchez, California Democrat, represents California’s 46th Congressional District. She serves as co-chair of the Congressional Caucus on Korea and is a member of the Congressional Asian Pacific Caucus. She is also ranking member of the House Armed Services Subcommittee on Tactical Air and Land Forces.



By Dr. Kongdan Oh

On a cold December day in 2012, Korea elected a new president. And not just another aging political leader, but a relatively youthful 60-year-old woman, Park Geun-hye, who became the country's 11th president. As a former citizen of South Korea who left the country over three decades ago to escape its male-dominated culture, I was filled with encouragement and pride.

During those 30 years, Korea had made almost miraculous progress in its politics and economy, and now its society was catching up. Although I was no longer a Korean citizen and couldn't take any credit for getting Ms. Park elected, I did have one small connection with the new president.

Immediately after the election, I received a phone call from the BBC inviting me to comment on the outcome. The BBC had somehow learned that I had been one of Ms. Park's instructors when she was studying electrical engineering at Seoul's Sogang University in the early 1970s.

The course was "Korean 101," otherwise known as "Basic Korean," comparable to English composition in American universities. In this mandatory class, freshmen practiced their writing skills and learned a minimum of 1,800 Chinese characters to enable them to read

contemporary Korean literature.

Most students hated the course because had to read literature and write review essays, not to mention memorize those Chinese characters that seemed to be left over from a bygone era. They considered that their Korean was good enough to succeed in life, and if they had to learn a language, they wanted to learn a modern language like English or French. I imagine Korean students feel the same way today.

As a young graduate student and research assistant at Seoul National University, I took the teaching job at my alma mater Sogang University very seriously. I think I was a pretty tough teacher and took extra time to combat the prevailing tendency of Korean students to plagiarize assignments that they considered unimportant or uninteresting.

As for the future president, she stood out as an honest, sincere and studious student. She submitted her assignments on time and did her own homework. Her writing clearly and plainly conveyed her

President Park Geun-hye: Then and Now

sentiments, and she received an A in my class.

It is my impression that personality is formed early in life, and in the absence of a near-death experience, stays on the same track over the years. In the young student, I could see the current leader of South Korea as a person of integrity and honesty who worked hard and had little patience with liars and cheaters. Such a person is not always popular, but in the end can be trusted.

Ms. Park did not enter politics after graduation, nor did she become an engineer. Her father was, of course, president of the country, a job he held from 1963 until 1979. He was, in fact, one of the last of the military generals turned presidents, and as such had plenty of detractors among the growing segment of the population that believed Korea deserved to become a democracy.

He is remembered for three things: his dictatorial tendencies, his tough anti-communism and his central role in transforming Korea from a poor developing

nation into an economic powerhouse run on rational principles.

Not long after Ms. Park graduated, tragedy struck the first family. On Aug. 15, 1974, a mentally unstable Korean-Japanese resident living in Japan attempted to assassinate President Park. He escaped, but his wife was shot dead. The young Ms. Park took on the duties of a first lady for the next five years.

Tragedy returned to the family in 1979 when her father was shot by his hand-picked director of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency in what was apparently a political power struggle. When the president's chief of staff informed Ms. Park of her father's death, she is quoted as asking, with great presence of mind, "Is our front secure?"

It was a reference to the possibility that the assassination was part of a broader North Korean plot. After all, the North Korean government had dispatched an assassination team that almost made it to the Blue House in the late 1960s, and for that matter even today threatens to destroy the presidential mansion and kill the president.

Ms. Park did not jump into national politics after her father was killed. Instead, she spent most of the next two decades in other pursuits, during which time a succession of senior generals and then civilian politicians gradually steered the country to peace and prosperity. It

was not until 1997, during the great Asian financial crisis, that she decided to enter politics.

In her autobiography, she writes that she could not stand to see the economy that had been championed by her father wither away. As it turned out, the “Miracle on the Han River” was not washed away by the financial crisis, but recovered quite well. By 1998 a few women were entering Korean politics, and Ms. Park was elected to the Korean National Assembly with a landslide victory, which could be explained in part by a feeling of nostalgia among voters who remembered her father’s accomplishments three decades earlier.

Many anti-Park progressive and pro-North Korean activists belittled her win as no more than a sympathy vote, but this turned out to be a shortsighted and wrong assumption. Ms. Park took her new job as an Assembly member as seriously as she had taken her studies in college, becoming a dedicated, sincere and people-oriented leader not only for her own constituency but also for the national interest.

Still single, she sometimes joked that she had married Korea. Unlike certain other female political leaders who emerged in Asia, she succeeded by dint of hard work rather than corruption. One of her nicknames was “Princess of the Little Notebook” because she got into the habit of carrying a small notebook to jot down ideas, observations and reminders — doing her own work rather than relying on lackeys as the North Korean rulers did. When people are surprised at how good her memory is, she lightly jokes, “Have you forgotten that I’m the Princess of the Little Notebook?”

Now that she was in the political arena, Ms. Park had to master not only the art of governing, but also the skills of political maneuvering. In a political system still largely populated by men, she had to identify and ally with those who would take her seriously as a politician. Like all other Korean politicians at the national level, she had to create a political group around herself that would support her work, regardless of political party. She became known as a political reformer and as someone who had an almost uncanny ability to win elections, thus earning her another nickname: “Queen of elections.”

To gain stature as a “statesman,” she developed skills in international politics, harking back to the time when she met foreign leaders as the lady of the Blue House. In 2002, she even took the opportunity to meet South Korea’s archenemy, North Korea’s Kim Jong-il, thus providing her with some credibility in the important issue of national unification.



U.S. President Barack Obama, second right, walks with South Korean President Park Geun-hye, right, and Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper, second left, and his wife, Laureen, at the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Summit family photo, Monday, Nov. 10, 2014 in Beijing. (AP Photo/Pablo Martinez Monsivais)



U.S. Army armored vehicles are parked for an exercise during annual military drills with South Korea in Yeoncheon, South Korea, near the border with North Korea, Wednesday, April 10, 2013. The prospect of a North Korean missile launch is “considerably high,” South Korea’s foreign minister told lawmakers Wednesday as Pyongyang prepared to mark the April 15 birthday of its founder, historically a time when it seeks to draw the world’s attention with dramatic displays of military power. (AP Photo/Ahn Young-joon)

In 2012, the “personal politics” of South Korea seemed ready to accept a female presidential candidate, and Ms. Park, building on her experience, influence and accomplishments in the National Assembly, ran a successful campaign to become Korea’s first female president. Without the name recognition of her father, she would likely not have come this far, but by election time everyone had become used to her political presence and she could not count on political nostalgia to win. Her political platform was marked by pragmatism, backed by a conservative bent that she inherited from her father.

The question of how to deal with

North Korea and its provocations is always important in Korean politics, and she adopted the slogan of “trust politics,” which could be taken to mean any number of things. Her version was somewhat reminiscent of the political position of the American conservative president, Ronald Reagan, who adopted the policy of “trust but verify” in dealing with the Soviet Union. In Ms. Park’s case, the policy might be called “trust but deter.”

Realizing that the North Korean regime of male chauvinists might try to take advantage of a female South Korean president, Ms. Park made it clear from the beginning that her government

would not shy away from using force to repel any North Korean provocations. She also strongly adhered to the U.S.-Korean military alliance that provides an incalculable measure of deterrence against North Korea.

There is a limit to what any leader of a democracy can do. During the first half of her five-year term, South Korea has maintained a successful course in its economy and politics. The South Korean economy has continued to grow and become more integrated with the international economy.

North Korean provocations have been stymied without resort to war, most recently thanks to the willingness of the Park administration to accept an insincere apology from North Korea for its latest provocation. Korea’s relations with China have developed, so far without damaging its relations with the United States. In domestic politics, small scandals have been quickly addressed, thus preventing the emergence of the large scandals that have tarnished other South Korean administrations.

Ms. Park’s popularity has waxed and waned. At the moment, thanks in part to her administration’s ability to defuse the most recent North Korean provocation and her adroit handling of Korea’s relationship with China, her approval rating is above 50 percent, which for a Korean president is comfortably high. Apart from the successes and challenges that a country faces beyond the control of its political leaders, Ms. Park has been most severely criticized for her secrecy and failure to communicate with the public and even with her advisers.

Transparency is considered a virtue in a democracy, even when it limits the scope of its leaders to pursue their favored policies. This reluctance to be open might be traced in part to the model of her father, who ruled with an iron hand during a time when the Korean president was immune to public opinion. Ms. Park’s secrecy might also reflect the cultural milieu in which she is surrounded by male politicians whom she doesn’t completely trust.

Korean politics can be rough. That Ms. Park can hold her own in the arena is a great credit to her intelligence, personal strength and confidence. Up until recently, the National Assembly hall was no stranger to fistfights. A Korean leader can expect little in the way of a political honeymoon and can count on being slandered by the North Korean media, which has an influence on a small but vocal segment of South Korean society.

It is too soon to determine what Ms. Park’s legacy will be, but without doubt it will include her honesty, strength and ability to learn from the hardships she has encountered in Korean political life.

Kongdan Oh is an Asian Studies specialist at the Institute for Defense Analyses in Alexandria, Virginia.

Nurturing a Crucial Alliance

By Ed Feulner

South Korean President Park Geun-hye is in Washington this week as the third of President Obama's summit trifecta with Northeast Asian leaders. She has the opportunity to address growing regional security challenges and reassert an important Korean role on the world stage.

When I attended President Park's inauguration in 2013, I stated that I had "every confidence that she would carry South Korea's success and the relationship with the United States to new heights." Two years later, I believe my confidence was well-placed.

Indeed, South Korea is a beacon of leadership for so many other nations aspiring to greater security and prosperity for their people. And it plays a critical role in advancing freedom in the region.

When I first traveled there in the early 1970s, gross domestic product per capita was less than \$2,000. Over the past four decades, South Korea has achieved truly remarkable economic development, reaching GDP per capita

of over \$30,000. Today, as a dynamic, free market democracy, South Korea's innovative and vibrant economy is among the world's 30 freest in The Heritage Foundation's Index of Economic Freedom.

This week's summit follows a number of notable accomplishments over the past years. Washington and Seoul have already put into practice a bilateral free trade agreement, revised and expanded alliance guidelines, implemented new contingency plans for North Korean provocations, and signed an updated civilian nuclear agreement.

North Korea's recent provocations have pushed the regime to the top of items to be discussed between Mr. Obama and Ms. Park. Pyongyang did not launch a long-range missile on Oct. 10 to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Korean Workers Party, as some had predicted. But it is only a matter of time before the regime does so, once again violating numerous U.N. resolutions.

When it does, Mr. Obama and Ms. Park should coordinate a common response by calling on the U.N. Security Council to press for stronger, more effective sanctions. There are also

numerous targeted financial measures that the U.S. has yet to impose on Pyongyang.

Washington should publicly affirm its commitment to use all necessary means to defend our important ally against its despotic neighbor to the north. U.S. allies worldwide have begun to question American resolve after devastating cuts to our defense budget and unfulfilled "red lines" of commitment.

There should be no doubt in Seoul's — or Pyongyang's — mind that the U.S.-South Korean alliance forged in the crucible of war remains just as strong and unbreakable today. The North Korean military threat overshadows another tragedy on the Korean Peninsula: the plight of the North Korean people. They suffer under the scourge of human rights violations so widespread, systemic and egregious that a U.N. Commission of Inquiry concluded they constituted "crimes against humanity."

Despite 18 months since the release of the U.N. report, the Obama administration has not taken any action. The U.S. has sanctioned zero — yes, zero — North Korean entities for human rights violations, and the South Korean legislature remains mired in a decadelong

debate over whether to approve a North Korean Human Rights Act. The North Korean people deserve better.

Ms. Park's firm response to a North Korean military incursion in August included reinstituting broadcasting information into North Korea along the Demilitarized Zone. Pyongyang's strong response showed how sensitive it was to its citizens being exposed to truth from the outside world. Mr. Obama and Ms. Park should discuss ways in which the allies can use the power of information to induce reform — as was done against the Soviet Union during the Cold War.

But South Korea is more than just an ally. It is a strong U.S. partner in addressing an array of global security threats as well as diplomatic opportunities. Though a small nation, South Korea has frequently "punched above its weight" on the world stage.

That is why Mr. Obama and Ms. Park should look beyond the Korean Peninsula to discuss ways in which the U.S. and South Korea can further nurture the vital partnership around the globe.

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Ed Feulner is founder of The Heritage Foundation (www.heritage.org).

An Alliance that Extends to the Stars

By Rep. Matt Salmon

The alliance between the United States and the Republic of Korea has been one of the pillars guaranteeing peace, stability and prosperity in Northeast Asia for more than 60 years.

Our alliance, forged in the conflict of the Korean War, has evolved into a close security and economic partnership and a growing global relationship. Just last week, I spoke on the House floor to welcome Republic of Korea's President Park Geun-hye to Washington this week to further advance our strong alliance.

Security remains at the core of the alliance, as we stand united against the threat of the rogue regime in North Korea. About 28,500 members of the U.S. Armed Forces stationed in South Korea stand with their Korean counterparts in defense of the South. Our governments are united both diplomatically and militarily in opposition to North Korea's proscribed nuclear and missile programs. We know, however, that the totalitarian regime in the North, one of the world's worst abusers of human rights, cannot stand against the tide of history, and so we support Ms. Park's principled vision

for a peaceful, prosperous, democratic, unified Korean Peninsula.

Our defense cooperation also includes our close ally, Japan, and our three countries have agreed to tighter trilateral defense cooperation. A trilateral information sharing agreement, focused on North Korea's nuclear and missile threat, represents an important concrete step toward strengthening our trilateral ties. Our militaries are looking at ways to better coordinate on humanitarian aid and disaster relief, counterpiracy, and new threats like that of the Islamic State. Our three nations likewise share common democratic values that serve as a model to the region as a whole. While tension remains between our allies over deep-seated issues of history, I hope our two partners can work to constructively resolve their differences, strengthening both their bilateral ties and our trilateral coordination.

Our commitment to mutual defense is just part of the story. Today the U.S.-South Korea alliance has progressed far beyond a single security threat as, over the past 60 years, South Korea has grown into a vibrant democracy and economic powerhouse. The KORUS free trade agreement, a true "win-win" for both our nations, has strengthened

our economic ties since it was concluded in 2012, and South Korea is now the United States' sixth-largest trading partner. In 2014, U.S. goods and exports to Korea, including aerospace products from my home state of Arizona, reached a record level of \$44.5 billion. More than 160 South Korean business leaders will travel with Ms. Park to Washington to help expand business ties between our countries. While South Korea is not yet part of the recently concluded Trans-Pacific Partnership, which Congress will soon be reviewing, it is my hope that they will be among the first new countries to gain admittance.

Our two nations are likewise expanding our cooperation into new frontiers. South Korea is one of the most wired nations in the world, and a logical partner for greater coordination on cybersecurity. Furthermore, a recently concluded "123 agreement" allows new cooperation on civilian nuclear energy between our countries, an important development for energy security in the region. Beyond the Asia-Pacific region, our two nations are now partnering globally, from working together on an Ebola response in Africa and disaster relief after the earthquakes in Nepal. There is plenty of room, still,

to do more. Our alliance may soon even extend to the stars, as Ms. Park explores with NASA possible new space cooperation between our two countries.

Our people-to-people ties also continue to grow. South Korea is the third largest source of foreign students in the United States, after only China and India. These students typically return home with a lifelong affection for the United States, and a greater cultural understanding. American students are also studying and teaching English in Korea, and bringing home the same positive views. Korean cuisine has become a staple in America's cities and modern Korean culture — from K-pop to Korean TV dramas — is rapidly growing in popularity among America's youth.

For the United States, our alliances in Asia form the foundation of our engagement in this dynamic region. As I look back at what the U.S.-South Korea alliance has accomplished over the past 60 years, and how it has evolved, I am optimistic about what the next 60 years hold.

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Matt Salmon represents Arizona's 5th Congressional District and is the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific.

The Korea-U.S. Friendship, Partnership and Alliance: Shared Values for a Free and Prosperous Future

By Katrina Lantos, Gordon Flake and Greg Scarlatoiu

The Committee for Human Rights in North Korea (HRNK) warmly welcomes Republic of Korea President Park Geun-hye to Washington, D.C., and commends Her Excellency's vision and efforts toward a peaceful, prosperous, democratic and unified Korean Peninsula. The only U.S.-based bipartisan independent NGO tasked to investigate and report on North Korea's human rights situation, our committee looks forward to President Park's continued involvement in bringing freedom, justice and economic development to the people of North Korea.

Six decades ago, the Republic of Korea was one of the world's most destitute countries. Through the tireless efforts and sacrifice of its people, through the friendship, partnership and protection provided by the ROK-U.S. alliance, and based on a host of quintessentially Korean values, the Republic of Korea accomplished "The Miracle on the Han River." The economic, social and political development that took other nations centuries to accomplish was achieved in the Republic of Korea in just decades. Once a recipient of international humanitarian, development and security assistance, the Republic of Korea has become a provider of such assistance to countries in the developing world today.

In the Republic of Korea, 50 million people benefit from freedom, prosperity and opportunity. North of the 160-mile-long, 2.5-mile-wide DMZ, one of the world's most heavily militarized borders, 25 million fellow Koreans have been precluded by their own government from seeking the freedom to improve their lives. A quarter-century after the collapse of communist dictatorships in the former Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe, the Kim family regime in North Korea has not only survived, but also succeeded in undertaking two hereditary transmissions of power, from grandfather Kim Il Sung to father Kim Jong Il in July 1994, and to grandson Kim Jong Un in December 2011.

Despite some positive changes brought about by informal bottom-up marketization developed as a survival mechanism, North Koreans continue to be methodically indoctrinated, closely monitored, thoroughly isolated and perpetually repressed. In the 21st century, North Korea is the only country on the planet that strictly classifies its

population into categories and sub-categories, pursuant to "songbun," a loyalty-based system of social discrimination. Today, North Korea is the only country on Earth that is still running a

situation of human rights in North Korea (U.N. COI). Following a yearlong meticulous investigation, the commission determined that crimes against humanity continue to be committed



Through the tireless efforts and sacrifice of its people, through the friendship, partnership and protection provided by the ROK-US alliance, and based on a host of quintessentially Korean values, the Republic of Korea accomplished "The Miracle on the River Han." The economic, social and political development that took other nations centuries to accomplish was achieved in the Republic of Korea in just decades.

political prison camp system. As many as 120,000 prisoners, oftentimes members of three generations of the same family, are currently detained inside North Korea's vast system of unlawful imprisonment.

Our committee was the first organization to use satellite imagery, corroborated with testimony by former inmates and guards, to concentrate international attention on North Korea's political prison camps. The committee was the group that first recommended that the U.N. Security Council address North Korea's human rights violations. In March 2013, the 47 member states of the U.N. Human Rights Council passed by consensus a resolution to establish a U.N. Commission of Inquiry on the

in North Korea pursuant to policies established at the highest level of the state. The commission's report recommended that the U.N. Security Council refer the North Korean human rights situation to the International Criminal Court (ICC). The report changed fundamental perceptions of North Korea: Once seen as a bizarre remnant of the Cold War, North Korea is now understood as a human rights wasteland, where fundamental rights are denied and atrocities committed.

Keen on its own survival, North Korea's Kim regime invested heavily in its nuclear weapons, long-range ballistic missiles, jet fighters and other weapons, while hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of its people starved to

death or fell victim to malnutrition-induced disease. The North Korea sanctions regime grounded in U.N. Security Council Resolutions 1718, 1874, 2087 and 2094 aims to prevent the development and proliferation of nuclear and missile technology by North Korea. Regrettably, that sanctions regime fails to address any of the grave human rights concerns.

Nonetheless, the U.N. COI report created significant momentum, resulting in resolutions of the U.N. Human Rights Council and U.N. General Assembly in 2014. In December 2014, North Korean human rights was included in the U.N. Security Council's permanent agenda. Previously overshadowed by nukes and missiles, human rights would easily disappear off the radar screen of the international community. Now human rights is here to stay.

What is needed in order to bring freedom and human rights to the people of North Korea is an international grass-roots campaign on a par with action taken to bring down South Africa's apartheid in the 1980s. In Washington, D.C., the U.S. Congress must seek creative ways to implement an effective and targeted sanctions regime, and to collaborate with the legislative branches of like-minded democracies, including the Republic of Korea, for that purpose. In Seoul, the long-overdue passage of the North Korean Human Rights Act through the National Assembly would generate critical resources needed to seek accountability, but also meaningful human rights and humanitarian engagement with North Korea. By hosting the U.N. Human Rights Office in Seoul, the government of the Republic of Korea is implementing an essential recommendation of the U.N. COI. Our committee calls on Her Excellency President Park to further support our efforts on the international scene by encouraging North Korea to engage through available human rights mechanisms, including the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights and the U.N. Special Rapporteur on the human rights situation in North Korea.

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Katrina Lantos Swett is HRNK co-chair and president and CEO of Lantos Foundation for Human Rights and Justice. Gordon Flake is co-chair of the Committee for Human Rights in North Korea and CEO, Perth USAsia Centre, The University of Western Australia. Greg Scarlatoiu is HRNK's executive director.



President Park: A Symbol of Hope



By Yumi Hogan

Growing up on a farm in Jeollanam-do province, I never thought I would have the opportunity to meet with the president of South Korea. Indeed, it is difficult to describe what an honor it is for me — a first-generation Korean-American and the first Korean-American first lady in the United States — to meet with another “first”: the first female leader of Korea, President Park Geun-hye.

Ms. Park has impressed the world with her exemplary leadership. Her strength and resolve and her admiration for Margaret Thatcher have earned her the nickname the “Iron Lady of South Korea.” Political

confrontations, no matter how pointed and personal, have little impact on her, for she has been the victim of real attacks. But Ms. Park is a fighter and a symbol of hope in a country that is still making strides in terms of gender equality. She was named the world’s 11th most powerful woman by Forbes magazine in 2013 and 2014 — a well-deserved recognition.

We in Maryland are especially grateful that, despite her many demands back home, Ms. Park kept her promise to visit the United States and meet President Obama on topics of concern to both of our nations: economic development, technology and the many challenges that North Korea presents to both of our countries.

Ms. Park and I had the pleasure of touring NASA’s Goddard Space Flight Center in Greenbelt, Maryland. We marveled at the center’s space artifacts and its innovative, exciting and unique projects that help make America’s space program the greatest in the world.

The Goddard Space Flight Center is a testament to what dreamers can do with hard work, technology and opportunity. The center is truly a “window to the future.” I hope that the time I spent with Ms. Park will also offer a glimpse into a future of cooperation, friendship, and economic, technological and cultural opportunities between the United States and South Korea.

The relationship between the U.S. and Korea will always be special, but

the relationship between Maryland and Korea is special as well. Maryland is home to at least 11 companies with headquarters in Korea. Over 45,000 Korean-Americans call Maryland home, and Montgomery County has one of the highest concentrations of Korean speakers in the entire country.

It was with the knowledge of this special relationship that I joined Gov. Larry Hogan on a trade mission to South Korea in May to illustrate what Maryland has to offer, and to explain why the United States, and Maryland in particular, is a great place to strengthen our cultural and economic ties. During the trip, we articulated how Maryland is not just one of many options for companies that are considering North American investments. It is the only option on the East Coast of the United States for companies that want access to an educated workforce, world-class infrastructure and transportation, and a business-friendly environment.

Maryland companies are already investing in South Korea and are actively looking for growth opportunities there. Mr. Hogan has spent almost his entire professional life in the private sector running small businesses. He understands firsthand the challenges that business leaders face, just as he understands the many advantages Maryland has to offer the international business community.

Our mission to South Korea has also helped open doors and forge

relationships between our respective institutions of higher education. A great example is the University of Maryland-Baltimore and Ajou University joining together and working toward developing best practices for pharmaceutical regulations. Additionally, the Korean American Society in Biotech and Pharmaceuticals is planning to conduct a conference in Maryland this fall.

Joining Ms. Park for her visit are representatives from over 160 companies, many of whom will have the opportunity to see firsthand that our state is home to some of America’s hardest-working and most-educated people. We rank first in percentage of doctoral scientists and engineers in the workforce and fourth among all 50 states in percentage of technology jobs in the private sector alone. We are home to world-class universities and colleges such as the University of Maryland and Johns Hopkins University — giving us one of America’s most highly skilled workforces.

Korea and the United States have a strong business partnership, and here in Maryland we want those ties to be even stronger, and go even deeper. Our shared history, intertwined economies and deep cultural ties must be celebrated and encouraged, and I thank Ms. Park for her commitment to strengthen the ties that bind us to one another.

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Yumi Hogan is the first lady of Maryland.

The Korea-U.S. Alliance: Ready for the Next Chapter?

By David S. Maxwell

Despite all the foreign policy challenges that exist around the world for the United States, the ROK-U.S. alliance is arguably not one of them. The alliance in 2015 is as solid as it has ever been. The ROK-U.S. relationship is a success story for both nations, yet it is not without current and future challenges, and as strong as it is — resting on the foundation of the blood of soldiers spilled together in the defense of freedom and a long history of shared values — the relationship cannot be taken for granted as very real threats and important opportunities lie ahead.

A review of the successes shows how this blood alliance allowed the ROK to first survive the ruthless attack from the communist North and, in the aftermath, to rebuild a nation from the ashes of the war. The “Miracle on the Han” has resulted in the rise of the Republic of Korea as a major middle power that has developed a military that can deter and defend against the enemy to the north and contributes to global security from leading U.N. peacekeeping missions, as in East Timor, to successful counterterrorism and counterpiracy operations off the Horn of Africa and major military contributions in Vietnam, Afghanistan and Iraq.

The Korean economy is among the most vibrant in the world, leading in many areas from steel and shipbuilding to auto manufacturing to advanced technology such as televisions, computers and cellphones. The “Korean Wave” has been a global cultural phenomenon, and Korea is set to host the Olympic Games for a second time in 2016. Korea has transformed from a major aid recipient to a major global donor. The ROK economy is some 40 times larger than that of its ailing brother to the north.

So what lies ahead for the alliance? The three most important challenges are from the North: the threat of military attack, the nuclear weapons program and the crimes against humanity being perpetrated against the Korean people living in the North. The alliance must always be vigilant in deterrence and defense, and if the Kim family regime does attack, there can be no doubt that the alliance will decisively defeat the North and put the nation on the path to unification.

Yes, unification.

The key to the future is unification. Although peaceful unification has been the stated goal of the alliance since the 2009 Joint Vision Statement and was reaffirmed during President Park’s

previous visit to the White House in May 2013, unification has rarely been a topic for alliance policy, planning and strategy. Many think it is too expensive and that too many Korean people in the South do not want it. Some think that it is impossible to achieve as there are too many obstacles — from the Kim family

family regime has perpetrated on the Korean people living in the North for 70 years.

For policymakers and strategists I would offer this as the end state for which the alliance must strive to achieve: “a stable, secure, peaceful, economically vibrant, non-nuclear pen-

Given the strategic objective of unification, how should the ROK-U.S. alliance proceed? As the ROK plans and prepares for unification, the alliance must continue to transform its military capabilities to deter and, if necessary, fight and win against the North’s Korean People’s Army. It must prepare for the



regime, China and the cost, to fearing the possibility of war or regime collapse — that literally paralyze strategic planning for unification.

The Korean economy is among the most vibrant in the world, leading in many areas from steel and shipbuilding to auto manufacturing to advanced technology such as televisions, computers and cellphones.

This has not deterred President Park. In 2014 she announced the Dresden Initiative to seek peaceful unification. She has set this as the strategic goal. I would offer the following points on why her focus is correct and necessary. First, unification is the only outcome that will ensure the complete elimination of the North’s nuclear program and weapons and end the human rights atrocities and crimes against humanity that the Kim

insula, reunified under a liberal constitutional form of government determined by the Korean people.” This will lead to stability in Northeast Asia and is in keeping with the common values that bind the ROK and United States.

There are four paths to unification. The ideal path would be peaceful and built on the “5 R’s”: respect, reconciliation, reform, rebuilding and reunification. However, North Korea has the deciding vote on peaceful unification. The second is a war that would eliminate the Kim family regime, although with great expenditure of blood and treasure on the peninsula. However, the effects of war would be global, as the security and economies of nations in Northeast Asia would be impacted. Third, regime collapse also would likely cause a significant level of conflict as well as tremendous human suffering. Lastly, unification could occur if a new ruling regime were to emerge following the elimination of the Kim family regime that would seek unification through the “5 R’s.” Internal resistance appears to be growing among the Korean people living in the North, so this path may be possible in the future.

complexities of the possibility of regime collapse. Finally, it should seek support for the growing internal resistance among the Korean people living in the North and the second-tier leaders who might be able to mobilize support for a new representative transitional structure that would seek peaceful unification.

In closing, I think we should all learn two phrases that I learned from my Korean comrades in arms — “tong il,” which means unification, and which is said whenever Korean Special Forces soldiers meet and salute. The other is the motto of Korean Special Forces: “An dwoe myeon dwoe-ge ha-ra!,” meaning “make the impossible possible.” It is now time to make Korean unification possible from Halla Mountain on Jeju Island to Mount Paektu in the North.

David S. Maxwell is associate director of the Center for Security Studies in the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University. He is a retired U.S. Army Special Forces colonel who has served five tours in the Republic of Korea.

The Search for an Effective U.S. Strategy on North Korea

By THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Senators on Oct. 7 convened a hearing entitled "Assessing the North Korea Threat and U.S. Policy: Strategic Patience or Effective Deterrence?" Here are excerpts from four leaders who offered testimony that day.



Sen. Cory Gardner, Colorado Republican, chairman of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on East Asia, the Pacific, and International Cybersecurity Policy:

According to experts, North Korea may already have as many as 20 nuclear warheads, and may have as many as 100 within the next five years. The regime has already tested nuclear weapons on three separate occasions: in 2006, 2009 and 2013, in violation of multiple U.N. Security Council resolutions.

In April of this year, Adm. Bill Gortney, the commander of North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD), said that North Korea has developed the ability to launch a nuclear payload on its very own KN-08 intercontinental ballistic missile that is capable of reaching the United States.

Yet efforts to counter these destabilizing North Korean policies and the imminent threat the Kim Jong Un regime poses to the world have yet to be completely dealt with. The policy of "strategic patience," in my view, has been a strategic failure.

This past August, I traveled to the region and met with top leaders in Japan and South Korea, including President Park, who will be visiting Washington next week. In these meetings I heard a tremendous amount of concern regarding the growing North Korean threat and the direction of U.S. policy. So if this strategic policy will not change behavior, then I believe Congress needs to change the

behavior.

Yesterday, I introduced a bill with several of my colleagues on this committee called the North Korea Sanctions and Policy Enhancement Act of 2015, which seeks to take decisive new action to counter the North Korean threat. This legislation corrects our policy and mandates broad new sanctions against individuals involved in North Korea's nuclear program and proliferation activities, as well as against officials involved in the regime's continued human rights abuses and destabilizing cyberactivities. It would also codify two executive orders released in 2015 authorizing sanctions against entities undermining U.S. national and economic security in cyberspace.

We must remember that more than 20 years ago, North Korea already pledged to dismantle its nuclear pro-

capabilities every day and is slowly but surely seeking to alter the strategic balance on the peninsula and in the region.

The United States must maintain resolute deterrence and stand ready to respond with overwhelming force to North Korean threats even as Washington seeks a peaceful, diplomatic solution. Diplomacy cannot wholly remove the use of force from the table if there is to be any urgency on China's part to work with the other parties to denuclearize the North.

The international community cannot countenance further tests and/or provocations, as this would only exacerbate an already acute moral hazard problem in our policy. A battery of financial sanctions on individuals involved in proliferation, cyberoperations and human rights abuses must be applied, the authorities of which were

According to experts, North Korea may already have as many as 20 nuclear warheads, and may have as many as 100 within the next five years. The regime has already tested nuclear weapons on three separate occasions: in 2006, 2009 and 2013, in violation of multiple U.N. Security Council resolutions.

gram, yet we now see a regime that has no respect for international agreements or international norms. The United States should never engage in negotiations with Pyongyang without imposing strict preconditions that North Korea take immediate steps to halt its nuclear program, cease all military provocations and make credible steps to respecting the human rights of its own people.

Dr. Victor D. Cha, Korea Chair, Center for Strategic and International Studies:

A caveat: Our knowledge of North Korea leaves much to be desired. It is indeed one of the hardest intelligence targets in the world given the regime's opacity. I believe the Chinese have lost a great deal of insight after the execution of Jang Song-thaek in December 2013. There are far fewer NGOs operating in the country compared to the past. And overhead satellite imagery provides us with a bird's-eye view only of happenings on the ground. Thus our assessments are often based on assumptions, judgments, hunches and even guesses with the modest data that is available.

Pyongyang is growing its

established in the Presidential Executive Orders 13382, 13466, 13551, 13570, 13619 and 13687, but these have yet to be implemented fully.



The North Koreans also must be made to understand the "nonutility" of their nuclear arsenal and that any such use would lead to their ultimate destruction.

The North Korean threat provides proximate cause for a tightening of

trilateral political and defense cooperation between the United States, Japan and the Republic of Korea (ROK), which has been weakened recently. Allied trilateralism is not just important for deterrence against a nuclear North Korea but for conveying to China the long-term strategic costs of its support of the regime.

The Six-Party Talks need to be modified in the aftermath of the next North Korean provocation to other forms of multilateral coordination, including a five-party format involving the United States, Japan, ROK, China and Russia to include a more open discussion about the future of the peninsula and unification.

Finally, any future denuclearization strategy for North Korea must not ignore the human rights condition in the country. The international mobilization on North Korean human rights lacks partisan coloring, remains resilient and puts as much pressure on the regime as the standing UNSCR sanctions regime.



Ambassador Robert L. Gallucci, former chief U.S. negotiator with North Korea:

Most directly threatening to the United States will be the emerging reality that America's West Coast cities will be targetable by North Korean nuclear-armed ballistic missiles. Deterrence, and some defense, will mitigate that new reality, but the essential psychological nature of a deterrent begs the question of effectiveness when dealing with what some suspect may be a psychopathic leader.

Perhaps the most dangerous activity that the North has pursued over the last couple of decades has been the transfer of sensitive nuclear

technology and ballistic missiles to other countries.

So while there are very good reasons not to be passive in designing policy and strategy to deal with North Korea, the question remains of what might work to reduce this threat. Nine points follow that aim to define a policy and create a strategy to manage and eventually reduce the threat.

First, continued visible security consultations and exercises with friends and allies in the region, Japan and the ROK, most importantly, will serve to sustain deterrence of the North while reassuring allies of the U.S. commitment to their security.

Second, we should continue to maintain a sanctions regime aimed at isolating and weakening North Korea but not delude ourselves into thinking that sanctions alone will bring about the changes we seek in the North's behavior — not so long as China continues to moderate the impact of sanctions.

Third, we should not resist the urge to remind Beijing of its responsibility to use its influence with its clients in Pyongyang to avoid adventures and enter negotiations when the opportunity arises.

Fourth, we should avoid making the goals of any negotiations with the DPRK preconditions for entering those negotiations. At the same time, any U.S. administration must be wary of entering protracted negotiations with North Korea where they may visibly continue to advance their nuclear or ballistic capability while negotiations are underway.

Fifth, we should not hold preconceived notions of the modality for negotiations. Six-Party Talks may be dead — or not — but the essential participants will be the U.S. and North Korea, whatever the formal structure may be.

Sixth, the days of isolating nuclear negotiations from human rights issues and a broader political settlement are over. We should expect such a settlement to eventually include a peace treaty to formally end a 60-year state of war.

Seventh, notwithstanding point No. 4 above, we should insist that the outcome of negotiations include the eventual reentry of the North into the Non-Proliferation Treaty regime — lest our negotiations legitimize their nuclear weapons program.

Eighth, we should find an opportunity to unambiguously warn the North Koreans at the highest level that the transfer of sensitive nuclear technology to another state or non-national actor cannot and will not be tolerated by the United States — drawing a

genuine red line.

Ninth, we should take prudent steps with our allies to prepare for the realization of our ultimate goal of a unified Korea, whether through the slow transformation of the North Korean state or its sudden collapse. It is possible, of course, that negotiations on the terms envisioned here cannot be launched, and we will be left with one or another version of containment.



Jay Lefkowitz, former Special Envoy for Human Rights in North Korea:

Over the last 21 years, since President Clinton signed a nuclear freeze agreement with North Korea (known as the Agreed Framework), the ironically named Democratic People's Republic of Korea has become a nuclear state. The consensus among experts is that North Korea now possesses approximately six to eight plutonium nuclear weapons and four to eight ura-

to those well beyond South Korea, next to whose border a significant portion of North Korea's million-man army is permanently stationed.

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We should not be surprised that a government that behaves this way mistreats its own citizens. And, as is by now well documented, there is no nation in the world with a more egregious human rights record than North Korea. Its citizens have no say in their government's conduct, and they have extremely little say in their own lives. To live in North Korea is to be subjected to the total suppression of freedom of speech, freedom of expression and freedom of religion. The regime operates a network of political concentration camps, where as many as 200,000 North Koreans are incarcerated without any due process and subjected to systematic rape and torture, the intentional destruction of families and even executions. Access to outside information is so restricted that citizens must report purchases of radios and TVs, and the police often make inspections to ensure sets are tuned to official programming, with draconian consequences for those who disobey the law. Possession of foreign books, magazines and newspapers also is forbidden, although increasingly news of the outside world filters in through illegal radios and cellphones that are smuggled into the country and used near the borders.

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In my role as special envoy, I tried to spotlight the regime's human rights abuses and, in particular, assist those brave North Koreans who managed to

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nium nuclear weapons. And earlier this year, U.S. Adm. Bill Gortney, who is in charge of the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD), announced that North Korea has developed the ability to miniaturize nuclear warheads and launch them at the United States, though there is no evidence that the regime has tested the necessary missile yet.

It is also widely known that North Korea proliferates its nuclear technology. In 2007 Israel destroyed a nuclear facility in Syria that had been the beneficiary of North Korean nuclear technology, and, this past spring, Secretary of Defense Ashton Carter stated that North Korea and Iran "could be" cooperating to develop a nuclear weapon. There is no doubt, therefore, that North Korea now poses a grave threat

escape and make their way across the border into China. Our administration worked closely with our friends and allies in the region to help accommodate increasing numbers of refugees, and on those occasions when China violated international law by sending captured North Korean refugees back into North Korea, we called them out on their unlawful conduct loudly and clearly. We also worked to expedite family reunifications for Korean families who live on opposite sides of the 38th parallel, and we increased our efforts, both governmental and in support of NGOs, to broadcast news from free nations into North Korea. President Bush also sought to put his personal spotlight on North Korea's human rights abuses by meeting very publicly with defectors such as Kang Chol-hwan, the author of

"Aquariums of Pyongyang," and Kim Seong Min, the founder of Free North Korea Radio.

What we were unable to do sufficiently, however, and what the Obama administration has likewise failed to do, is link our focus on human rights issues to the broader security dialogue that we were having with Pyongyang. Whereas during the latter years of the Cold War, the United States regularly raised the issue of human rights in its direct dialogue with the Soviets (and even spoke directly to the Soviet premiers about the plight of particular Jewish refuseniks), and Congress in 1974 passed the Jackson-Vanik law, an amendment to the Trade Act that imposed limitations on U.S. trade with countries that restricted freedom of emigration and violated other human rights, the United States has thus far refused to adopt a similar policy of linkage with North Korea. This is regrettable. While changing the human rights situation in North Korea, though clearly a commendable goal, may not be an appropriate end in itself for our policy toward Pyongyang, there is surely a role for human rights in a multifaceted strategy toward North Korea.

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So what should the United States do? While a policy of regime change is still premature, a policy focused only on containment is not likely to succeed given North Korea's increasing offensive capabilities and belligerence and the unwillingness of China to cut trade with Pyongyang. Instead, the United States should remain open to a policy of constructive engagement alongside containment, but with engagement on all issues, security, economic and human rights. Ultimately, security will only come when North Korean citizens are empowered to take their destiny into their own hands.

This means the United States should support the instincts and desires for self-governance that we know from defectors many North Koreans possess, and give nonviolent, nonmilitary tools of statecraft a chance. Congress should pass the North Korea Sanctions Enforcement Act; make available significantly more financial resources for independent civilian broadcasts like Free North Korea Radio; help those North Koreans who defect to travel safely to South Korea or other safe havens; and promote family reunification visits (ideally on both sides of the DMZ) and cultural exchanges with the West. The president should also use the bully pulpit to speak clearly about the threat posed by North Korea and about China's enablement of the North Korean government. And because China has greater influence over North Korea than any other nation, our North Korea policy must be part and parcel of our China policy.

The North Korean Military Threat An Ongoing Challenge for the ROK-U.S. Alliance

By Bruce E. Bechtol, Jr.

Following North Korea's most recent "shows of force" — including a parade that showed off a swath of new or upgraded weapons systems and a provocation along the DMZ that left two South Korean soldiers badly maimed — one cannot help but wonder how

alliance? As President Park visits the United States, I believe it is important to consider this — and why the ROK-U.S. alliance is still so important.

There are three pillars for North Korea's best-trained, best-fed and best-equipped forces. These elite forces with asymmetric capabilities are composed of long-range artillery units, short-range ballistic missile units (SRBM) and Special Operations

and U.S. DOD to cause up to 200,000 casualties on the first day of any attack against the South. Thus, as I have said in the past, "North Korea's artillery could shell Seoul, South Korea's political, commercial and cultural center, back to the 1980s in a matter of hours."

Short-range ballistic missiles are also a key threat against South Korea. The DPRK has made a concerted effort to raise its SRBM capabilities in terms

According to South Korea's Ministry of National Defense, there are about 200,000 men in North Korea's special operations forces (SOF). As I have stated in the past, "North Korean SOF are probably among the best-trained, best-fed and most motivated of all the forces in their military." According to a recent defector, their SOF routinely conducts training that involves "carrying 50 pounds of sand for 10 km in one hour, hiking in extreme cold weather, martial arts methodologies that include fighting with three to 15 opponents and even using spoons and forks as weapons." These elite troops also are well known for both marksmanship and knife-fighting skills. In wartime these troops would target (preplanned) key nodes in South Korea using aircraft, infiltrating south using tunnels under the DMZ or by using the many maritime infiltration vessels in North Korea's arsenal.

In wartime, the well-planned, combined use of these forces would create panic in Seoul and other targeted areas in the initial hours and days of any attack. As the confusion ensued, these forces would attempt to create cracks in the combined ROK-U.S. defenses. These cracks would then make it possible for follow-on forces such as armor, mechanized units and infantry to advance and occupy key ground (including Seoul). In fact, based on captured war plans, we now know that this is Pyongyang's plan. Since the late 1990s North Korea has deployed many of its key conventional units to bases on or near invasion corridors into South Korea. If one is to make an assessment on all of these activities, the evidence shows that the casualties during the first days of a North Korean attack would be in the hundreds of thousands — many (if not most) of them in Seoul, and the majority of them civilians.

North Korea continues to maintain and improve its conventional, asymmetric and conventional forces. As long as Pyongyang continues to maintain its military in a semistate of war, conduct provocations and develop capabilities that create instability on the Korean Peninsula, the ROK-U.S. alliance will be vital in order to defend and deter against one of the most rogue nations on earth.

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Bruce Bechtol is a professor of political science at Angelo State University. A retired Marine, he also is a former senior intelligence analyst at the Defense Intelligence Agency. His latest book is entitled "North Korea and Regional Security in the Kim Jong-un Era."



ASSOCIATED PRESS

North Korean leader Kim Jong Un (right) waves alongside Chinese official Liu Yunshan during a military parade to mark the 70th anniversary of the North's ruling party and trumpet Mr. Kim's third-generation leadership in Pyongyang, North Korea. The two men raised their clasped hands above their heads like a pair of victorious athletes, as international media and tens of thousands of North Koreans looked on. The gesture during a high-profile celebration in Pyongyang seemed designed to scotch appearances that their countries have been drifting apart.

worried we should be. In the wake of a North Korea that may test both a long-range missile and a nuclear weapon in coming weeks or months, many tend to forget the entire reason for the ROK-U.S. alliance: to defend South Korea from attack and deter the North Korean threat. What many fail to realize is that this threat is largely composed of one of the world's largest conventional militaries. Those who analyze North Korea on a daily basis continue to debate the strength of North Korea's military, and if they were to ever actually attack the South, how effective they would be. If it happened, what kind of threat does North Korea truly present, and how does this affect the ROK-U.S.

Forces. When it comes to long-range artillery, North Korea produces its own versions of Soviet 240 mm multiple rocket launchers and 170 mm guns. The DPRK can fire these systems at ranges of 40,000 meters or more. At least 250 of them are now deployed to positions along the DMZ, where they can hit Seoul. They are capable of targeting the South Korean capital on a moment's notice. According to military assessments, between 5 percent and 20 percent of the systems are equipped with chemical munitions.

These artillery systems, (extremely difficult to target except with a pre-emptive strike), are estimated by the ROK Ministry of National Defense

of command and control, doctrine and, of course, numbers. When it comes to missiles that would be used against ROK-U.S. forces in a conflict, there are about 200 No Dong missiles and approximately 600 Scuds. The various Scuds in North Korea have ranges of 300 to 850 kilometers. North Korea can target every single inch of South Korea. The KN-02 is an indigenously produced version of the SS-21 that is road-mobile, highly accurate and uses solid fuel. This improved short-range missile that North Korea has now both tested and deployed, has a range of 120 to 160 kilometers, and can target American bases south of Seoul with deadly accuracy.

Strategic Trends and Shifting Balances in Northeast Asia

By Ambassador Joseph DeTrani

The Intelligence and National Security Alliance established the Asia-Pacific Task Force, with Ambassador Bob Joseph as chairman, to examine the evolving U.S. strategy in the region and assess the implications for the national security and intelligence communities. This article is a brief overview excerpted from a much more comprehensive and regionwide military, political and economic analysis contained in a white paper: “INSA Asia-Pacific Task Force Interim Report on Defense and Military Strategic Trends.”

This excerpt focuses on strategic issues in Northeast Asia only.

United States

In response to Beijing’s increased assertiveness, Washington has taken measures to ensure a credible extended deterrent necessary to maintain the stabilizing influence that the United States has performed since the end of the second World War.

These range from announcements such as the rotational deployment of U.S. Marines to Darwin, Australia, and the commitment to allocate 60 percent of U.S. naval assets to the Pacific, to quieter arrangements including expanding access agreements with allies such as the Philippines.

Missile defenses have played a particularly central role in the U.S. response, especially given the North Korean missile and nuclear threat. The trend nearly everywhere is toward more engagement and — with South Korea and especially Japan — more “jointness.”

The success of the overall U.S. strategy in the Asia-Pacific also depends on the military investments and political support of allies and other partners. While the United States will remain the “indispensable ally” committed to a strong regional presence, both Washington and its allies understand that U.S. partners must carry a larger share of the burden.

South Korea

The security posture of the Republic of Korea is focused primarily on North Korea and on maintaining a strong alliance with the United States to deter aggression. Concerns about the

adequacy of the defense of South Korea have grown in the last half-decade, especially since the shelling of Yeonpyeong Island, the sinking of the Cheonan and the increasingly belligerent behavior of Pyongyang since Kim Jong Un’s assumption of power.

Buoyed by its highly advanced and growing economy, Seoul has focused on improving the technological sophistication and professionalism of its armed forces, in part to dissuade and deter Pyongyang from further provocations and in part to approximate more the capabilities of its U.S. ally, as seen in the decision to buy the Joint Strike Fighter.

At the same time, while Seoul remains closely tied to Washington, Korea has shown notable interest in developing longer-range conventional missiles. On the political side, South Korea continues to encounter challenges to improved relations with Japan while its economic and political ties with China grow.

Going forward, it seems likely that Seoul will continue to adhere closely to the alliance with the United States, especially given the persistent threat from the North.

Japan

Japan has undergone significant change in its perception of the security landscape, beginning in the late 1990s with the threat posed by North Korea’s missile and nuclear programs — a threat that has only grown over the years. China’s military buildup, especially the perceived threat to the Senkaku Islands, has raised additional concerns that have

altered long-standing Japanese policies.

Looking forward, Japan’s shift toward a more active military posture appears likely to continue, given the probable persistence of the challenges to its security from North Korea and China.

Under almost any circumstance, Japan will continue to place high value on the U.S. security commitment and specifically on the extended deterrence provided by the U.S. nuclear umbrella. The continuing credibility of the U.S. nuclear force remains a principal stabilizing factor throughout the region.

North Korea

North Korea has one of the largest standing armies in the world. While its weaponry is outdated, it reportedly has both the world’s largest artillery force and elite special operational capabilities trained and ready to attack South Korea’s capital, Seoul, situated 35 miles from the demilitarized zone.

The North also has a formidable missile and nuclear capability, and is also reportedly close to flight testing its new KN-08, a solid-fuel, mobile ICBM capable of reaching the whole of the United States. Perhaps for political reasons, including possibly pressure from China, the leadership has deferred testing this new missile.

North Korea has a very active nuclear weapons program. It is assessed that Pyongyang has between 6 and 12 plutonium weapons. Its uranium enrichment program reportedly has been operational for a number of years,

in undisclosed locations. Recently, the Institute for Science and International Security assessed that by 2020, North Korea could have between 20 and 100 nuclear weapons.

North Korea reportedly has a large stockpile of chemical weapons and an active biological weapons program. The regime’s cyber capabilities also are formidable. Last year’s cyberattacks against banks and the media in South Korea were attributed to North Korea, as was the Sony attack this year.

China

Perhaps the defining element of the Asia-Pacific security setting is the transformation of China’s military capabilities and the likelihood that Beijing will continue to improve its defense posture going forward. Beijing’s military buildup and growing regional activism, sustained by impressive economic modernization, underscore Beijing’s apparent goal to replace the United States as the preeminent regional power over time.

This does not mean that China has decided that military conflict with the United States is inevitable or desirable. But China’s preparation for such conflict must be part of any understanding of the security dimensions of the Asia-Pacific region.

China has developed particular strengths in areas such as missile technology and now fields a substantial arsenal, including a larger and more advanced nuclear force comprised primarily of land-based ICBMs but also with a growing sea-based component.

Understanding the implications of the defense and military trends in the region is essential for the formulation of a successful U.S. regional strategy and, in that context, for establishing intelligence requirements and priorities.

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Joseph DeTrani is president and CEO of the Intelligence and National Security Alliance (INSA), a Washington-based research institute. Previously, in three decades of U.S. government service, he served as the State Department’s special envoy for the Six-Party Talks with North Korea, with the rank of ambassador. These views represent the views of the INSA Task Force and are not the views of any government agency.



ILLUSTRATION BY GREG GROESCH

U.S. a Midwife to Peninsula Unification

By Sue Mi Terry

North Korea has been one of the most vexing and persistent problems in U.S. foreign policy since World War II, and it is certain to be a major topic of discussion this week during South Korean President Park Geun-hye's meeting with President Obama.

The North Korean threat has not declined with the end of the Cold War, as many once predicted. North Korea continues to pose as big a threat as ever under the unpredictable rule of third-generation strongman Kim Jong Un. Soon, if not already, it may have a nuclear-tipped ICBM capable of hitting the United States.

American administrations going back to the days of Bill Clinton in the 1990s have tried to address the North Korean threat through negotiations and by offering incentives like food aid and energy supplies. The North Koreans have been happy to pocket the aid, but they haven't delivered on their promises of ending their nuclear program. Aid and negotiations won't work any better in the future. There is only one way that the threat from North Korea will end: The North Korean state itself must end.

The U.S. should therefore set a long-term goal to peacefully reunify the two Koreas into a single, democratic, free market state that would be a bigger version of today's South Korea. The collapse of the North may seem unthinkable today, but then East Germany and the Soviet Union also once seemed as if they would last forever. History shows that failed states cannot continue

forever, and North Korea is one of the world's most failed states.

Admittedly, unification is a difficult and risky course to pursue because the U.S. or any other outside power has only limited leverage over the "hermit kingdom" built by the Kims. But without resorting to conflict, there are still concrete steps that the U.S. and its allies can take to support unification.

As a first step, the U.S. should do what it can to help the North Korean people, including helping refugees and dissidents gain asylum in the U.S. and elsewhere. The U.S. needs to vastly expand radio broadcasts and other efforts to transmit information from the outside world into the North. The U.S. should also step up its efforts to highlight the North's gulags and other human rights abuses, which the U.N. has called "crimes against humanity."

Simultaneously, the U.S. must step up pressure against the North akin to the sanctions regime that forced Iran to the negotiating table. Washington, in particular, should target illicit and criminal activities such as smuggling, counterfeiting and money laundering to cut off the money that Mr. Kim uses to buy luxury goods for the elites. The U.S. can freeze the assets of Chinese and other third-country entities that trade with North Koreans on the sanctions list, export prohibited items or are suspected of helping North Korea's nuclear and missile programs. A good place to start is by enacting the North Korea Sanctions Enforcement Act recently introduced by Sens. Cory Gardner, Marco Rubio and James E. Risch in the Senate and similar House legislation introduced by Reps. Edward R. Royce and Eliot L. Engel.

The next step is undertaking a diplomatic offensive to secure regional cooperation on the prospect of Korean unification. The U.S. needs to support President Park's unification agenda by augmenting current joint military planning between the U.S. and South Korea with a detailed political, diplomatic, economic, cultural, educational, public relations and legal strategy to tackle the core unification issues likely to arise. The U.S. has much to contribute to South Korea's efforts in achieving unification. There are lessons learned from its experiences, both good and bad, with nation-building in states such as Germany, Japan, Kosovo, Colombia, the Philippines, El Salvador, Iraq and Afghanistan. Once a common vision is developed, the U.S. and South Korea could then actively identify and engage other interested parties, beginning with America's leading ally in Northeast Asia: Japan.

The U.S., South Korea and Japan then need to appeal to China, Mr. Kim's No. 1 patron, to stop subsidizing the North, undoubtedly no easy task. The U.S. should be working behind the scenes to make China understand that a unified Korea could be in its interest as well as ours, and that continuing to provide the Kim family dynasty with a virtual blank check is a strategic liability for China. We could even offer Beijing a deal: If you stop subsidizing the North, and if Korea is unified, we will not put any U.S. troops in the northern party of the country. We could even offer to pull out all of our troops out of a unified Korea once their job is done and there is no more threat to confront from the North.

There are, to be sure, many problems associated with reunification. Iraq,

Syria, Libya and Afghanistan demonstrate what could follow the collapse of despotic regimes. There could be refugee flows, disorder, humanitarian crisis, armed resistance and, worst of all, the possibility of nuclear weapons getting loose. Unification will be also fraught with numerous difficulties including property ownership and inheritance disputes, transitional justice issues and the need to modernize North Korea's antiquated and inadequate infrastructure and services. But with the right planning and preparation, these problems can be managed by South Korea, the U.S. and our allies.

Assuming unification is handled properly, there will be manifold benefits not only for the Korean Peninsula and the region but for the United States. The disappearance of North Korea would eliminate the biggest source of instability, human rights abuses and weapons proliferation in Northeast Asia. The new Korea, a democratic country with 75 million hard-working people, would emerge as a new economic powerhouse, a force for stability in the region and a likely American ally — with or without U.S. troops on its soil.

The unification of Korea is an opportunity that should be strongly pursued, not a danger to be feared. The sooner the Kim family dynasty — now into its third generation — goes, the better, and the U.S. should do whatever it can to bring that day closer.

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Sue Mi Terry, a former analyst at the Central Intelligence Agency, is managing director at BowerGroupAsia.

By William Won Kyun Hwang

National Unification Advisory Council-Washington Chapter welcomes Her Excellency Park Geun-hye, president of Korea, and wishes for a successful U.S.-Korea Summit.

It is our fervent desire that the leadership of the Republic of Korea and the United States will continue to strengthen their alliance and the global partnership between the two countries.

Freedom is the signature spirit of the United States and of South Korea. We should be humble, never forgetting that our brothers and sisters in North Korea are starving, in pain and have no human rights. We must redouble our efforts to bring about a reunion among the thousands of families separated between North and South Korea. We must do this before more of those separated by the war pass away.

National Unification Advisory Council welcomes President Park Guen-Hye

The wall separating East and West Berlin has been torn down. Now it is time for the barbed-wire fences that have separated South and North Korea for 70 years to be pulled down. Unification must be given the highest priority and this movement should be shared with other countries around the world, especially our American brothers and sisters.

Unification is a global issue. Unification of the Korean Peninsula may help to position South Korea from the country who has been receiving aid to the country giving aid to the world with the United States as cooperating

partners in world peace and democracy. Korean-Americans cherish the alliance that exists between the United States and Korea. It is our promise that we will remain committed to support the common prosperity and unification of the Korean Peninsula.

About The National Unification Advisory Council (NUAC):

The current objectives of the NUAC are to build the foundation for the peaceful unification of the Korean Peninsula based on free democratic order and establish a unified Korea where 80 million Korean people can achieve happiness and prosperity

based on peaceful unification and true liberty.

NUAC seeks to 1) encourage policies for unification that will gain broad support, 2) promote preparation for the national unification of Korea on a full scale, 3) engage young professionals who will undertake key leadership roles in the era of national unification to be talented people for unification, and 4) realize an integrated and shared image of NUAC.

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William Won Kyun Hwang is president of the Washington Chapter of the National Unification Advisory Council (NUAC), a presidential consultative body on the reunification of the Korean Peninsula, formulating and implementing policies on democratic and peaceful unification through the consensus of political parties and the public.

The Han Unbound: Korea Goes Global

By Alexandre Mansourov

Recent international headlines highlight the spectacular success of Korea's globalization campaign better than any academic study: "K-Pop madness sweeps Vietnam," "Dresden opens Korean Plaza," "Korean Online Comics Go Global," "16 new King Sejong Institute branches to be built in four continents," "Bibimbab, Kimchi await you in Milan," "Saemaul Undong becomes a global development model," "Korea tops Global Information and Communications Technology (ICT) Development Index."

Once a war-torn backward economic basket-case unable to feed its illiterate and poor people, Korea lifted itself by the bootstraps in the past half a century to join the world's exclusive trillion-dollar economy club, boasting over \$33,000 GDP per capita and one of the world's most dynamic, technologically advanced and export-oriented economies, which has a competitive advantage in electronics, shipbuilding, automotive, petrochemicals, metal and machinery products, maintains the world's lowest unemployment rate and sixth largest foreign exchange reserves of \$375 billion and has a highly educated workforce that manufactures such global household brand names as Hyundai automobiles, Samsung electronics and LG home appliances. Korea is a global leader in green growth, patent activity and drug development, IT innovation, biotechnology and robotics.

Once a recipient of foreign aid in the total amount of \$12 billion, ranging from emergency relief to structural readjustment programs, Korea joined the Development Assistance Committee, the international donor's club, in 2010. It is now one of the world's major Overseas Development Assistance donors, serving as a bridge among developed, emerging and developing countries, sharing its experience of democratization and economic development, and leading the Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation.

Once deprived of national identity when its people were facing death if they dared to speak their native language, use their proper names, and wear their traditional dresses and customary hairstyle, let alone play their national music and teach their local traditions, now Korea has become an Asian cultural hub and thought leader. It is setting global trends and making billions of dollars from the export of cultural and educational products — with the Korean wave, hallyu, conquering the world and Korean music, television, film, cuisine, arts and styles increasingly shaping mankind's cultural tastes and artistic preferences, personal

likes and dislikes. Korea once suffered from a debilitating brain drain, but, today, its highly competitive educational system, world-class research and development facilities and enviable quality of life act as a powerful magnet attracting the world's best and brightest: Korea is an education destination of choice for over 100,000 innovation-oriented international elite students.

Once fairly xenophobic and obsessed with safeguarding the purity of their blood, 50 million Koreans have now embraced almost 2 million foreign immigrants who came to Korea in search of the "Korean Dream" and regard the "land of morning calm" as their home

in Pyeongchang.

Once a subjugated colony deprived of any say or rights, Korea has now become a fully sovereign, free, open and democratic society, independently promoting human rights and individual freedoms in all corners of the world. Korea was ranked first in terms of government transparency and accountability in the "Government at a Glance 2015" survey, recently published by the Organization for Economic and Social Development. Once a lure for proselytizers of all sorts who wanted "to enlighten the barbarians in the Orient," Korean missionaries now constitute a major force in the worldwide spread of Christianity, Buddhism and

tactics — China, Japan and Russia.

Despite China's traditionally strong gravitational pull, Korea wants some breathing space and seeks to leverage its position by using a global platform and its reliance on the U.S. security alliance and strategic partnerships with Europe, Australia, India and others. Korea stands to capitalize on the global power shift from the declining West to the rising East.

Korea is positioning itself as a global power and a potential catch-all solution provider vis-a-vis the intractable problem that the international community has with the nuclear North Korea that flouts international obligations, threatens inter-



second to none, thanks to President Park Geun-hye's policy of promoting multiculturalism. The Korean diaspora abroad numbers almost 7 million people, including 2.34 million in China and 2.1 million in the United States. From U.N. Secretary General Ban Ki-moon to World Bank President Jim Yong Kim, Koreans and Korean-Americans hold critical leadership roles in global institutions, too.

Once a "hermit kingdom" isolated even from its closest neighbors, Korea has now become a vibrant hub of global commerce and multilateral diplomacy. Its annual trade volume was worth more than \$1.075 trillion in 2013, exceeding the \$1 trillion mark for the third consecutive year. In the past several years, Korea formed free-trade zones with its principal trading partners, hosted the Seoul G20 in 2010 and Nuclear Security Summit in 2012, and stands ready to successfully host the 2018 Winter Olympics

universal ecumenism, and the global fight to defend religious freedoms and traditional family values.

In the past two decades, Korea became a major contributor to international security through increased participation in peacekeeping in Africa, antipiracy in the Indian Ocean, post-conflict stabilization in Iraq and Afghanistan, counterproliferation in Asia and other activities designed to safeguard global stability. Korea, a midsize country, understands the need to protect the global commons, in contrast to some of its outsized neighbors who have global aspirations but act provincially, obsessed with their internal politics and nationalistic dreams.

Once known as "a small shrimp sandwiched between big whales," Korea wants to be recognized as a significant player in world affairs and strives to maintain balance with its much larger neighbors known for their heavy arm

national peace and security, and deprives its own people of elementary rights and human conditions. Convincing skeptical neighbors that the cause of freedom and human dignity will prevail, the victory over the North Korean totalitarianism is inevitable, and the enlarged Republic of Korea is the global power to be reckoned with and the only viable successor state in the Korean peninsula is what global Korea is all about.

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Alexandre Mansourov, PhD, is a visiting scholar at the U.S.-Korea Institute in The Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies. He is also CEO of Great Falls Solutions International, LLC, which provides strategic and investment advice and problem-solving support to leading global businesses, government agencies and civilian organizations.

The Future of the ‘Comfort Women’ Movement

By Jungsil Lee

To this day, religious and some Korean political leaders have withheld their support for comfort women, choosing not to take a stance on this issue.

Although disappointed, I remain resolute in our mission. Now it has fallen upon me and our organization to outline the direction that the Washington Coalition for Comfort Women Issues should take.

The issue of “comfort women” has been the epicenter of heated debates for the past two decades. These women were coerced by the Japanese imperial military into sexual slavery during World War II. During his last visit to the United States, Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe produced an official statement that clearly fell short of a sincere apology, disappointing both the victims and their supporters.

Of course, it is hard to avoid the issue’s political ramifications, but we should remain cognizant of and keep fresh the horrific atrocities that these women, most of them barely into their teens, endured. If this were not enough, the silence and inaction of the Japanese government have only added to their suffering.

There are several dimensions that add depth to this issue: the human rights grass-roots movement, the feminist perspective, anti-war sentiment, healing rituals, artistic expressions, educational possibilities and many more.

In spite of these many approaches, the comfort women issue has generally been viewed through a pinhole, creating a moral dichotomy, an all-or-nothing, black-or-white outlook. The impression that it is only a Korean-Japanese issue has prevented the movement from achieving global attention. Despite its worldwide implications, having the two countries at the root has kept others from seeing the larger picture.

Although the experiences of the comfort women led to some of the most appalling wartime atrocities, the inaction of world powers and the general ambivalence regarding these human rights violations are baffling and unacceptable. Such is the frustration of the supporters of the movement. Although we have protested and continue to protest the Japanese government’s wartime injustices, our demands for an official apology and reparations have been met with silence. Despite passage in 2007 of House Resolution 121, sponsored by Rep. Mike Honda, there has not been much progress in shifting the mindset of the Japanese government.

As Japan continues to sidestep the issue, the fight for justice has slowly



Artwork by Kim Sun-deok and Kang Duck-young. All image rights belong to the Sharing House, the shelter for the victims, built and run by the Buddhist temple located in Kyungido, Korea. Used with permission.



become one of attrition. One by one, the victims are passing away, and soon none will be left to tell the tale. Yet those of us in this fight refuse to keep silent, not allowing the Japanese government to sweep the matter under the rug. The Washington Coalition for Comfort Women Issues will make sure that these women occupy a prominent place in the annals of history. What are we doing to make this happen?

I first encountered the issue back in 2009. At the time, while I was organizing art exhibitions and seminars, I saw that this could be used as a powerful tool to highlight the matter. I also learned that a traveling exhibition in

Japan depicting artwork created by the surviving comfort women had moved many Japanese. Letters poured in from them, apologizing on behalf of their government. Japanese children wrote letters to the sufferers, which were later compiled into a book, creating one strand between Korea and Japan. Even these small gestures have contributed to the healing that these women desperately need.

This summer, I attended a concert dedicated to comfort women where three distinguished Japanese musicians performed. It was another gesture toward healing. Before that, I watched the musical “Comfort Women” at an off-Broadway theater in New York. These events have unlocked the gates of artistic expression, and more continue to pour in. Last year, we celebrated the publication of a book about comfort women, “Daughters of the Dragon” by William Andrews. And this summer I saw the “Last Tear,” a documentary film on this issue directed by Christopher Lee. The Washington Coalition for Comfort Women Issues was active in promoting all these events.

I was even asked to teach a graduate course on comfort women as part of a curriculum on feminist narratives and women’s rights. While this course couldn’t be organized, the Washington Coalition for Comfort Women Issues has launched a Web seminar for people around the world who want to learn more about this unfortunate time. Among other things, the students research and archive the stories of victims and connect their experiences to atrocities committed against women

today. These include women trafficked by the Islamic State group and children kidnapped and used as sex slaves. We will even turn our sights inward, to our own borders, and link this issue to sex trafficking in the United States.

The Washington Coalition for Comfort Women Issues will take a leading role in teaching others and working toward a just and equitable resolution to this problem. Each little gesture, each letter written, each song sung, and each book written in honor of these victims is like a drop of water. As more drops come together, they create ponds, which grow into lakes, which grow into roaring oceans. Our movement will become like the waves of a tsunami — unstoppable.

The rainwaters are calm yet rapid, incessant in their descent. These waters will one day cut through mountains. We at the Washington Coalition for Comfort Women Issues continue to urge President Obama and Congress to pressure the Japanese government to issue a long-overdue apology to these women, who have suffered enough. We also welcome support from anybody who would like to help us in this pursuit, especially by expressions in artistic or academic forms.

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Jungsil Lee, PhD, is an art historian and professor and director at the Washington University of Virginia. She is also president of Washington Coalition for Comfort Women Issues (Comfort-Women.org).

Korean-Americans at NASA Make a Better ISS-CREAM

By Eun-Suk Seo

The historic visit of Park Geun-hye, president of the Republic of South Korea, to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) is not surprising considering her plan to move the country toward a “creative economy.” The words “exploration” and “innovation” could not be excluded from the many words that describe NASA because of its sense of creativeness and daring boldness. NASA is also well known for its spinoff technologies.

Commercial products and services have been developed via cooperation with NASA, including research and development contracts and use of NASA facilities. Technical assistance from NASA personnel and data from NASA research are also invaluable. The Korean economy has reached the limits of the catch-up strategy that has driven economic growth for the last 40 years, so a new growth model based on innovation and entrepreneurship is now being promoted.

The NASA Goddard Space Flight Center (GSFC) plans to highlight a few successful collaborations with the Republic of South Korea for President Park’s visit. Among these, ISS-CREAM (pronounced “ice-cream”) led by a Korean American professor at the University of Maryland (UMD) illustrates how innovative ideas culminate in a space mission.

The balloon-borne Cosmic Ray Energetics and Mass (CREAM) experiment was flown for a record-setting 161 days in six flights over Antarctica. Building on the success of those balloon flights, the payload has recently been converted for exposure on the International Space Station (ISS). Professor Seo was on the cover of *The Washington Post* magazine last year with a note: “Professor Seo and the Cosmic Rays: Not a band, just out-of-this world research.” An article entitled “UMD-Goddard programs offer students out-of-this-world opportunities” featured ISS-CREAM, the highest energy frontier for direct measurements of cosmic rays.

After completion of qualification and verification tests at NASA GSFC, the ISS-CREAM payload was recently delivered to the Kennedy Space Center (KSC) for integration with the SpaceX launch vehicle. Its launch is scheduled for 2016. It is planned that ISS-CREAM will take data for three or more years on the ISS to solve long-standing mysteries of cosmic rays. This mission is managed



South Korean President Park Geun-hye operates a robotic arm during a tour of projects and programs that are underway at the agency's Goddard Space Flight Center, Wednesday, Oct. 14, 2015, in Greenbelt, Md. (AP Photo/Patrick Semansky)

by the NASA GSFC Wallops Flight Facility as a pathfinder for low-cost space missions.

The collaboration among NASA, universities and industry has been a fruitful and leading, world-class success story. In the implementation of space missions, there are moments to take risks. What appears to be an impossible challenge can bring opportunities for innovation. Sometimes the bold decisions that have to be made provide excitement and passion that drive dedicated people to come up with new and creative ideas. This is the type of environment where innovation is ignited with inspiration [and] fueled by imagination that results in an idea that can then be put into a process to create change. A sense of mission is the basis for a dedicated team, such as the Korean collaborators, who provided a state-of-the-art detector for particle identification, key to the successful delivery of ISS-CREAM.

President Park’s “creative economy” approach requires interdisciplinary integration and innovation. The greatest asset of the science and engineering

sector central to this effort is its incredibly talented population, not only in Korea but in the U.S.

Needless to say, the Korean-American Scientists and Engineers’ role is critical (KSEA). The KSEA, established in 1971 as a nonprofit professional organization, has grown to over 10,000 registered members with 70 local chapters (including four branches) and 13 technical groups across the United States. Its objectives are to promote application of science and technology for the general welfare of society, to foster international cooperation — especially between the U.S. and Korea — and to help the organization members develop their full career potential.

Its annual U.S.-Korea Conference on Science, Technology, and Entrepreneurship draws more than 1,000 attendees each year. It organizes numerous conferences, seminars and forums, including the Young Generation Technology & Leadership Conference and the Early Career Development Workshop. KSEA also organizes National Mathematics & Science Competitions (NMSC) for 4th to 11th grade students annually to

promote science, technology, engineering and math education. Over 2,000 students participate in NMSC each year. In addition, it gives approximately 50 scholarships for undergraduate and graduate students in collaboration with the Korea-U.S. Science Cooperation Center (KUSCO).

More attention on diversity could be helpful. Korean-American Women in Science and Engineering (KWise), established in 2004, now has about 1,000 Korean women scientists and engineers in the U.S. as its members. Most members are Ph.D.s in broad disciplines, and a significant fraction of talented members are in biomedical area. The timing is ripe for the U.S. and Korea to form an innovation alliance. The success of this “creative economy” approach may depend on how well the Korean-American scientific community serves as a major resource for the creative economy.

Eun-Suk Seo, PhD, is professor of physics at the University of Maryland and vice president of the Korean-American Scientists and Engineers Association.

Innovation and Entrepreneurship: A New Horizon for the U.S.-Korea Alliance

By Jay S. Kim

The newest chapter of the 70-year alliance between Korea and the U.S. is emerging as the two nations begin to collaborate in the area of technological innovations and entrepreneurship. While previous chapters of this most dynamic bilateral alliance were characterized by the massive and efficient flows of supportive resources from the American government and industries to Korea, this new chapter of partnership starts with the curious and energetic pilgrimage of Korea's young innovators and entrepreneurs to Silicon Valley and Boston, the hottest innovation and entrepreneurial hubs of America.

While the direction of flows have reversed, the outcome of new alliance remains the same as before. It benefits the people of both nations by creating venues of economic growth and contributes to the entire world by providing extraordinary solutions to the toughest problems using the most innovative technologies and scientific discoveries.

Just as the Obama administration focused on innovative entrepreneurship as the newest economic growth engine, the Korean government under the leadership of President Park Geun-hye formulated economic growth policies on the basis of creative economy principles. By stimulating entrepreneurial spirits of the millennial generation and taking advantage of explosive and exponential advance of information technology, the creative economy policies aim to develop businesses and industries that create exciting and sustainable employment opportunities.

From its inception, Korea's creative economy policy included the globalization principle as one of the most critical success factors. In this era of global economy and open innovation, the economic outcome of innovation multiplies when the business model is connected to the diverse markets abroad and potential partners around the world can collaborate in the creation of exceptional solutions. The Korea Innovation Centers were thus established in Washington and Silicon Valley, the two hottest hubs of innovation economy in the world, with the mission to help Korea's scientists and entrepreneurs engage with America's innovation ecosystem via market participation and investment exploration.

At the same time, KIC is trying to examine and learn the most critical elements of America's advanced practices

and processes that support the world's most admired innovation economy. For example, KIC in Washington works with the National Science Foundation (I-Corps) curriculum to Korea's aspiring scientists and engineers so that they could develop entrepreneurial skills and perspectives. Young scientists from Korea's prominent national technology institutes learn from America's I-Corps instructors and mentors how to identify potential customers' pain points, build business models to maximize the value

entrepreneurs in Korea. Also listening to these stories are innovation community leaders, in universities, national labs, technology park administrators, and government ministries, all endeavoring to improve Korea's young innovation ecosystem.

There is no doubt this innovation alliance is highly beneficial for Korea's creative economy. While the administration has successfully completed the aggressive goal of establishing 17 Centers for Creative Economy and Innovation across the nation, they need

this era of open innovation, American innovations can find useful complementary solutions from their Korea partners, thus shortening the time to market and enabling reliable deliveries.

Lastly, the U.S.-Korea alliance benefits a larger world, particularly the customers in underdeveloped nations awaiting breakthrough solutions for their pervasive problems. In a country that overcame the challenges of postwar destruction and poverty in a miraculous time and simultaneously achieved economic development and political



propositions from their technical solutions, and ultimately create commercial and economic values from their laboratory research.

In another program, KIC is assisting Korean startups to enter prominent America's private-sector incubators such as MassChallenge. As the largest accelerator in the world, MassChallenge runs an annual innovation competition and provides mentoring and business development assistance to aspiring entrepreneurs from around the world. By winning a seat as one of the 128 "finalists," a Korean startup team last spring earned the opportunity to work with other competitors who gathered in Boston to take advantage of world's richest startup ecosystem.

Indeed, through various programs offered by two KICs, close to 100 innovators and startups came to America in the first year of operation. This number is expected to double in 2016 as the experiences and lessons learned by these pioneers are shared intensively via social media among aspiring

to fill these centers with effective and efficient processes and platforms, which would help future entrepreneurs create extraordinary business models and startup organizations. The U.S. has accumulated a vast amount of knowledge in this area and has established efficient mechanisms to run an end-to-end innovation system, and when transferred systemically, these advanced practices will transform the innovation and entrepreneurship culture and systems in Korea.

This dramatic inflow of Korean innovators also benefits the U.S. economy and society. In this globalized economy, U.S. innovators need an efficient access to the global supply chain in order to deliver their extraordinary solutions and values to global customers, and these Korean startups are natural connectors to that critical link. When U.S. entrepreneurs want to find demands and develop markets in the rapidly growing Asia, particularly in China, Korean counterparts working in the same ecosystem become natural partners. In addition, in

democratization, Korean entrepreneurs still possesses institutional memories of how things work in emerging economies. Innovative firms and organizations of the U.S. and Korea, working together with shared entrepreneurial spirits and processes, can greatly contribute to solving global humanitarian problems.

Since the end of World War II, the U.S.-Korea alliance has for the past 70 years contributed to the peaceful and prosperous world, overcoming numerous challenges of the Cold War-era conflicts, global economic crises and environmental sustainability threats. The newest chapter of this most productive and coherent bilateral alliance now reaches to the field of innovation and entrepreneurship, and it will undoubtedly create a new plateau of accomplishments for the people of the two nations and the entire world.

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Jay S. Kim, PhD, is Director General of the Korea Innovation Center in Washington.

Admiral: North Korea Can Hit U.S. with Long-Range Nuclear Missile

By **BILL GERTZ**

THE WASHINGTON FREE BEACON

North Korea is capable of hitting the United States with a long-range nuclear missile, the commander of the U.S. Northern Command said this week.

"I agree with the intel community that we assess that they have the ability, they have the weapons, and they have the ability to miniaturize those weapons, and they have the ability to put them on a rocket that can range the homelands," said Adm. William Gortney, the Northcom commander who is also in charge of defending the United States from long-range missile attack.

"And as the defender of North America, the United States officially, in ballistic missile defense, I think the American people expect me to take the threat seriously," he said Wednesday at the Atlantic Council.

The comments by Gortney were made days before North Korea held a military parade in Pyongyang marking the anniversary of the founding of the ruling communist Workers' Party of Korea. Military analysts say the parade showcased a new variant of a long-range road-mobile missile built with Chinese assistance.

The parade showed what state-run North Korean media claimed was a variant of the KN-08 road-mobile missile, first shown several years ago in another military parade. The missile was shown carried on a Chinese-made transporter erector launcher.

"With the vengeful desire to turn the citadel of our enemies into a sea of fire, our powerful tactical rockets loaded with diversified and miniaturized nuclear warheads are on the move," a North Korean commentator said during the parade as several columns of the mobile missiles were shown on television.

Mobile missiles are considered a greater strategic threat than silo-based missiles because they are more difficult to track and can be set up and launched with little or no warning.

The celebration Saturday included a rare public address by Kim Jong Un, the North Korean leader, who stated in a speech that his military forces were capable of "fighting any kind of war provoked by the U.S. and we are ready to protect our people and the blue sky of our motherland."

North Korea was widely believed by U.S., South Korean and Japanese intelligence agencies to be preparing a long-range missile test that was to coincide with the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Workers' Party. As of Sunday, no missile test had been carried out.



Gortney warned that U.S. forces are ready to respond to any North Korean missile launch.

The Pentagon operates a network of missile defenses that include Navy Aegis destroyers in waters near the Korean peninsula and long-range anti-missile interceptors deployed in California and Alaska. Radar and satellite sensors also are part of the national missile defense.

Asked about the possible missile test, Gortney said: "So I just don't know, but we're ready for him and we're ready 24 hours a day should he be dumb enough to shoot something."

Earlier North Korean long-range missile launches several years ago increased instability in the region and prompted UN sanctions.

Rick Fisher, a military analyst, said that photo analysis of the missile indicates it is a new version of the KN-08.

"This version of the KN-08 has a much more credible design for the purpose of delivering nuclear warheads to American cities," Fisher said.

"Instead of having a smaller diameter third stage compared to the first two stages, as seen in the earlier 2012 missile, the Oct. 10 version shows all stages having uniform diameter."

Northcom's Gortney said that there are important unanswered questions about North Korea's Kim Jong Un, including when he will use his nuclear forces and for what reasons.

"Those are all questions that no one really understands because no one really understands the 'great leader,'" he said, referring to the North Korean dictator.

Gortney said he "looks longingly" back to the time of Kim's father and predecessor, Kim Jong Il, who, while threatening, was more predictable than the younger Kim.

Kim Jong Un, only 32 years old, is both

young and inexperienced but has been ruthlessly consolidating power by purging potential rivals since taking control in 2012.

Asked about Kim, Gortney said the North Korean leader is solidifying his power base within a closed leadership circle that is dominated by Kim family members, Workers' Party leaders and military commanders.

Gortney noted that Kim has used unusually brutal means to execute his rivals, including his uncle Jang Sang Taek, who in December 2013 was executed by large caliber anti-aircraft guns after being charged with seeking to usurp power.

Kim's "form of non-judicial punishment is pretty interesting—shooting people with anti-aircraft guns," Gortney said, adding that Kim is "just not predictable."

"We can live with some pretty ugly opponents as long as they're predictable," he said. "This guy I just can't predict. ... It's just a very, very unpredictable and unstable situation over there."

Gortney emphasized that as Northcom commander he is responsible for dealing with the missile threat from North Korea, while the Pacific Command commander, Adm. Harry Harris, must deal with the dangers to U.S. and allied forces in the region.

North Korea has one of the largest militaries in the world, with more than 9 million active-duty, reserve and paramilitary forces.

While equipped with outdated arms, the North Koreans still pose a major threat to regional stability, frequently engaging in provocations like the 2010 sinking of the South Korean ship Choenan and the artillery shelling of Yeonpyeong, a South Korean border island. Earlier this year, North Korea was blamed for planting mines on the South Korean side

of the demilitarized zone that severely injured two South Korean soldiers.

Harris told the Senate Armed Services Committee earlier this month that "North Korea is the greatest threat that I face in the Pacific as the Pacific Command commander."

"I think that you have a leader in North Korea who has nuclear weapons and is seeking the means to militarize them and deliver them intercontinentally, and that causes me great concern," Harris said.

Conventional North Korean forces include 20,000 to 30,000 artillery pieces within range of Seoul, the South Korean capital, as well as some 100,000 rockets within range of 28,000 American troops and their families along with another 700,000 American citizens who live in South Korea. "So I view the threat from North Korea very seriously," Harris said.

As China's influence in moderating provocative North Korean behavior has waned under Kim Jong Un, the United States has chosen a policy of diplomacy and pressure, according to Pentagon officials.

However, Fisher, a senior research fellow with the International Assessment and Strategy Center, said the latest KN-08 variant highlights the failure of the Obama administration to rein in China's sharing of military technology with North Korea.

The KN-08 "continues to use the Chinese-made China Aerospace Science and Industry Corp Sanjiang-built transporter-erector-launcher (TEL) that continues to raise questions regarding the extent of Chinese assistance to North Korea's ICBM," Fisher said.

"One of the Obama administration's key failures of resolve was its failure in 2012 to sanction Beijing over its sale to North Korea of the large sophisticated 16-wheel trucks that now carry North Korea's nuclear ICBMs aimed at the United States," he said.

China claimed the missile launcher vehicles were exported as lumber carriers, even though analysts say the transporters are too wide for most North Korean logging roads.

Fisher estimates the KN-08 could have a greater range than the first variant, which is estimated to be able to reach between 3,400 and 3,700 miles.

"The warhead has four thrusters to enable separation from the third stage," Fisher said. "If separation occurred later in the flight, this could complicate interception by presenting U.S. radar with two large targets."

Bill Gertz serves as the Inside the Ring columnist for *The Washington Times*.

WELCOME

The Korean American community
of the Washington Metro area welcomes
Her Excellency Park Geun-hye,
President of Korea, and wishes her
a most successful US-Korea Summit.



(Photo by Yonhapnews)



**The National Unification
Advisory Council
Washington Chapter**
*William Won Kyun
Hwang, President*

It is our profound hope that the bonds of friendship, understanding and shared values between President Park Geun-hye and President Barack Obama will greatly enhance the global partnership between our countries and our peoples.

We envision a unified Korean peninsula in which Korean people in the North and the South will be equally protected under the rule of law, enjoy the fruits of lasting peace and live in one nation dedicated to human rights and human flourishing.

A new United Korea will become a dynamic growth engine in Northeast and Central Asia, contributing substantially toward world peace and prosperity.

Korean Americans have always cherished the Korea-US friendship and cooperation. We will always defend our common value and prosperity for the sake of future generations. We ask for your continued friendship and partnership on our journey.

**Korean American Womens
Chamber of Commerce**
Christina Shin, President



Linda Han, President