Good afternoon! My name is Tae-Ung Baik, Director of the Center for Korean Studies, University of Hawaii at Mānoa. I am also a professor of law at the William S. Richardson School of Law. I am very pleased to host this event, entitled “Korean Peace Process” as the inaugural event of the Korea Vision Dialogue Series with our distinguished speaker, Mr. In-young Lee, Minister of Unification, Republic of Korea. I would like to thank all of you who joined today's webinar. I would especially like to express my sincere gratitude to my respectful friend, Mr. In-young Lee, who joined us today as speaker out of his extremely busy schedule. I also thank Dean Peter Arnade of College of Arts, Languages and Letters for offering greeting remarks. Professors Young-A Park of Asian Studies and Harrison Kim of the History Department serve as commentators. I am very glad that we are working as a team for the Strategic Research Institute projects sponsored by the Academy of Korean Studies. I also thank the Center staff, Mercy, Kortne, Hanmin, Claire, and Doyoung for their tireless work to make this event possible.

Today, we would like to explore the historical agenda of Korean peace, prosperity, and unity against the backdrop of the present and future of the US - South Korea relationships under the new Joe Biden administration. Under the Donald Trump administration, the relationship between the United States and South Korea have faced several challenges and ups and downs. The U.S. President Joe Biden, in his first telephone conversation with South Korean President Moon Jae-in, on February 3, 2021, emphasized his commitment to strengthening the United States-Republic of Korea alliance, calling it as "the linchpin for peace and prosperity in Northeast Asia." The two leaders agreed to closely coordinate on matters related to North Korean. With the Joe Biden administration starting, we should review the role of the US-Korea relations and need to find a way to achieve permanent peace on Korean peninsula including denuclearization, and promote good regional cooperative relationships in Asia. Especially, we should work to avoid the revival of the tensions of the new Cold War in light of the challenges of China and North Korea. The US and ROK should work together for a permanent peace regime, taking gradual steps to complete denuclearization, and co-prosperity in the region. The CKS at the University of Hawaii, which is located as a gateway to Asia and Pacific, hope that we will be able to contribute in whatever way to the cooperation, and peace and co-prosperity including North Korea and Asian region.

This event is happening in the form of a webinar, and you do not see each other. We currently have many participants, and this video will be uploaded on the CKS Facebook page and YouTube. We are using the Zoom subtitle function for Korean-English interpretation. If you want to read either Korean or English subtitles, please turn on the subtitle function by clicking the transcription button down on the screen. If you have questions to ask to the Minister Lee, please submit it through the Q&A box. We will collect those questions and ask on behalf of you.
to the speaker. I would like to introduce Dean Peter Arnade, College of Arts, Languages and Letters to offer greeting remarks on behalf of the University. Peter, please.

2. Greeting Remarks by Peter Arnade, Dean of College of Arts, Languages and Letters

Good afternoon, everybody. Good afternoon from Oahu, from Honolulu. You can see it in the background even though many of you can’t be here physically with us today. I wanted to say that the College of Arts, Languages and Letters is the newest college at UH Mānoa formed this year after the combination of some colleges, and it’s also the largest college at the university, and the School of Pacific and Asian Studies – venerable school, very well-known in Asia, is a part of the College of Arts, Languages and Letters. I’m very proud to be part of this event now and to say a few things. And I want that – the participants here may be too modest to say of what I can say, and that is, the Center for Korean Studies is really the jewel of the School of Pacific, Asian Studies. It’s the oldest center, established in 1972, and perhaps one of the most successful at the university. It was the first center established for the study of Korea in the United States, and it was also the first ‘area’ studies center established in the School of Pacific and Asian Studies and at UH Mānoa. It is home to a number of prestigious events, scholars, talents like the faculty you see here – our three faculty: Professor Baik, Professor Kim, Professor Park – and many others; up to 40 participants across the university are formally – perhaps more – associated with the center. And it has a very important book series through the university, and it also has an international flagship journal, *Korean Studies*. At the same time, in our college, separate but related to the Center for Korean Studies, we have a very important Korean language program. We are the most important university for the teaching of the Korean language in the United States, and we have federal funding through Title VI for a Flagship status of our Korean language program. [I am] very, very proud of the fact that our university has such a prestigious center and such a prestigious language program in support of Korea and its international importance. I’m honored to be helping to sponsor this event today. Minister Lee, I welcome you. I’ve had a chance to read your biography and to learn a little bit more about you and your work, and also the work of the Ministry and establishing North Korean policy and coordinating inter-Korean dialogue. This is an area of extreme international importance, as Professor Baik has just said, and something that concerns us greatly. So I welcome you and thank you, and wish [you] a very good webinar, and I’ll turn it over back to our host, and be able to enjoy being a listener for the rest of the event and learn something. Thank you.

3. Minister In-young Lee’s speech

Baik: Thank you very much. Now I’d like to introduce today’s speaker, Lee In-young, who is the current Minister of Unification of the Republic of Korea. He is actually a very well-known student activist grown into a politician, and he is one of the candidates for future president of the Republic of Korea. He has been a member of the National Assembly for four terms, and has been the leader of South Korea’s current ruling party, and has been leading the Korean Peace Process Initiatives in South Korea. It is our great honor to invite Mr. In-young Lee here again. Thank you very much for taking your time to join us. Without further ado, I’d like to ask Minister Lee to begin his presentation.
Lee: Good afternoon, my name is Lee In-young Minister of Unification of the Republic of Korea. I would like to welcome all of you who are with us today to discuss the Korean Peninsula Peace Process. First of all, I would like to thank Professor Tae-Ung Baik and Professor Peter Arnade, the Dean of the College of Arts, Languages and Letters of the University of Hawaii for their warm welcome and remarks. I would also like to extend my appreciation for Professor Young-a Park and Professor Harrison Kim for joining today’s discussion. Today, when the ROK-US cooperation is especially important, I’m glad to have this opportunity to explain the ROK government’s initiatives and efforts for peace to scholars, citizens and students in the United States. Hawaii, an island with beautiful scenery is more special to Korean people. This is the place of joy and sorrow for the 1st generation of Korean immigrants who had to live under sadness following the ruin of the country. However, despite the tragedy, the 1st generation of Korean immigrants did not forget their country and continued their struggle for independence. This is the place where strong spirits for independence live on. I sincerely hope that we will be able to remember their spirit for peace and freedom, and have meaningful dialogue for permanent peace of the Korean Peninsula today.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

This year marks the 71st year since the start of the Korean War. The Republic of Korea stood up on the ashes of the Korean War and achieved a proud history of democratization and economic development that surprised the world. However, the war is still not over and separation is still part of us. To the Korean people living in the last divided country in the world, peace is a matter of survival and the most important value. Thus, the Moon Jae-in administration has invested unwavering efforts for the Korean Peninsula Peace Process that will bring denuclearization and the peace regime of the Korean Peninsula. When the Moon administration was inaugurated in 2017, people talked about possible war on the Korean peninsula following North Korea’s nuclear weapons and missiles tests. Through the Berlin Initiatives and other occasions, President Moon continuously worked for the peaceful coexistence and mutual prosperity of the Korean Peninsula. Throughout this process, the ROK government emphasized three principles: that we do not want the collapse of North Korea, we will not try to reunify two Koreas through absorbing the North and we do not want unification through artificial means. At the same time, we were able to bring North Korea to the negotiation table by focusing on North Korea’s nuclear weapon. As a result, two Koreas participated in the 2018 Pyeongchang Winter Olympics together, and in April 2018, leaders of two Koreas made agreement for denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and establishment of the peace regime. Since then, we were able to achieve ‘peace in our daily lives’ one by one with the Pyongyang Joint Declaration and the Comprehensive Military Agreement signed in September 2018 that stopped hostile activities along the border area. At the midst of the peace process led by two Koreas, a historic summit between the US and North Korea was held for the first time. In Singapore, the US and North Korea agreed on complete denuclearization of North Korea, regime security for North Korea and an end to hostile relations between the two countries. However, as they were unable to come to an agreement on specific details and sequence of the implementation in Hanoi, the Korean Peninsula situation faced a deadlock.

Ladies and Gentlemen,
Recently, we are witnessing opportunities to change the situation with the inauguration of the new U.S. administration and North Korea’s 8th Party Congress. It is clear that we are at the turning point for the Korean Peninsula to take another step toward peace. During the 8th Party Congress, North Korea did not specify its position on how to engage the ROK and the United States, and decided to take a wait and see approach. It is likely that North Korea will carefully observe North Korea policy of the U.S. government and the ROK-US coordination before making their action. It seems like the Biden administration is having a thoughtful and serious consideration of their Korean Peninsula policy while recognizing that the North Korea nuclear issue is a serious threat. Korean Peninsula experts were assigned to key positions in charge of diplomacy and national security. Everything from previous sanctions to diplomatic measures is under review. We are at a critical moment which makes our effort for progress, close coordination between ROK-US and situation management to be ever more important. I’m confident that we can create a more favorable condition and environment to carry out the Korean Peninsula Peace Process during the Biden administration’s time. When President Biden was a candidate, he clearly stated that he is willing to have a US-DPRK summit if North Korea agrees to reduce its nuclear weapons capability. To the sanctions issue, he stated that it is important to find the ‘right formula between strengthening sanction and relief of sanction to make North Korea understand the vision for future.’ ROK and the U.S. can find middle ground by agreeing on ‘comprehensive agreement and gradual implementation’ for North Korea’s nuclear weapon issue. And President Biden’s comment is in line with our approach to facilitate denuclearization negotiation with the flexible usage of sanctions. I hope ‘the special chemistry toward peace’ between ROK-U.S. governments led by democratic parties will be revitalized through numerous opportunities in front of us. During the Kim Dae-Jung and Clinton era, ROK and the U.S. worked on engagement policy toward North Korea together to create a virtuous cycle for cooperation between inter-Korean relations and the US-DPRK relations. The Perry Process for comprehensive and phased solution for North Korean nuclear issue (October 1999), June 15th Inter-Korean Joint Declaration that opened new era of reconciliation on the Korean Peninsula (15th June 2000), and the Joint Communiqué between the U.S.-DPRK that addresses improvement of relations between the two countries (October 2000) are important assets that brought us closer to fundamental resolution of the Korean Peninsula problems. Once again, I have a strong belief that if ROK and the U.S. can closely coordinate policies, we will be able to write new history for peace on the Korean Peninsula. We will work with the U.S. government, congress, think tanks and civil societies to diversify our channel of dialogue to enhance mutual understanding.

On the other hand, rather than simply wait and see the resumption of the U.S.-DPRK dialogue and wait for changes, we will be more vigorous and take initiatives in areas where we can. First of all, we will do our best to recover inter-Korean relations and bring Korean Peninsula Process back on to the track within this year. This will start with recovering inter-Korean communication channels and dialogues before COVID-19 calms down. We hope we can start our conversation with video meetings between two Koreas or other means. We are currently doing our part of preparation. In addition, we will consistently carry out inter-Korean humanitarian cooperation. This will be done by establishing a foundation for cooperation by starting dialogue with a joint response for COVID-19 and expanding our cooperation to healthcare, disaster relief and climate change. This will open a path for practical cooperation to return to our daily lives and solve problems people on the Korean Peninsula face today. As the new U.S. administration has expressed strong support for humanitarian cooperation, I sincerely hope that two Koreas and the
United States will be able to create an unwavering and wider road for humanitarian cooperation. In the midst of a virtuous cycle between inter-Korean and the U.S.-DPRK relations, making progress for the peace of the Korean peninsula will strengthen peace and safety of the United States and countries surrounding the Korean Peninsula.

The Korean Peninsula issue is not just an issue between two Koreas. If we can use solid ROK-US alliance to make progress for inter-Korean relations and the U.S.-DPRK relations, establish peace regime and accomplish denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, The ROK-U.S. alliance can be developed into an alliance for peace. This will also contribute to the U.S.’s ‘Build Back Better.’ Ladies and gentlemen, whether the Korean Peninsula’s division remains an unfinished task and pain of the present, or whether we can move on and create a new path for peace and prosperity, depends on our choice and effort. I sincerely hope our joint strength will create the change that the international community can trust, the change that our people can sympathize and the change that North Korea will respond to. Thank you very much for this precious opportunity, and I sincerely hope that you will bring together your wisdom and insights to light our path for peaceful coexistence and mutual prosperity. I wish happiness and health for all of you. Thank you.

4. Q&A with Professors Young-a Park and C. Harrison Kim

Baik: Thank you so much for your wonderful presentation. We currently have two discussions for comments, as well as some representative questions, and we are also receiving questions through Q&A box through Zoom. Please feel free to send more questions. With regard to the questions, I’d like to invite the two professors, my respectful colleagues, professors Young-A Park and Cheehyung Harrison Kim.

Park: Minister Lee, thank you so much for talking with the UH community and for sharing your thoughts on the pressing issues, facing the Korean peninsula. I truly appreciate it. In your speech, you provided a vision for the two Koreas and the US in navigating its peace process on the peninsula in the ever-changing contexts of East-Asian political landscape, the pandemic, and the new administration in the U.S. What I find striking is the fact that two terms “unification” and “ethnic nation” were not mentioned as key concepts in relation to the peace process on the peninsula. Given how these concepts were considered the cornerstones of the inter-Korean political discourses in the past, I found your focus on practical goals such as peaceful coexistence and mutual prosperity of the two Koreas a refreshing departure. I believe there are clear reasons for this shift. South Korea now is a multiethnic and multicultural country, which makes using the concept “ethnic nation” less relevant. You are also signaling that the current administration’s approach valorizes pragmatic values rather than normative values.

I have two questions for you:

First, you discussed collaborating with the Biden administration in engaging North Korea.

However, do you have any concrete signals that the Biden administration is sending, indicating that it would be different from the Democrats’ default position, which is as hawkish as, if not more hawkish than, its Republican counterpart? Also, if there is anything that a global civil
society can do to stop the Biden administration from reverting back to the Obama era “Strategic Patience” approach, please share your ideas with us.

Lee: 네 교수님, 좋은 질문 주셨습니다. 아직도 저는 ‘조국통일’이라는 표현을 들으면 가슴이 두근거릴 정도로 저의 신념을 갖고 있습니다. 그러나 현실은 우리가 긴 평화의 시간을 거쳐야 할 것으로 보입니다. 이 긴 평화의 시간을 우리가 어떻게 디자인 할 것인가가 실천적으로는 매우 중요하겠다는 생각입니다. 평화가 우리에게 있어서는 통일의 전단계로서, 혹은 통일의 기반이므로서 매우 중요하겠습니다. 이 평화를 통해서 공존하는 경험을 우리가 하는 것은, 어떤 의미에서는 통일을 ‘전 체험’하는 시간일 수도 있다고 생각합니다. 앞으로 이 평화를 통해서 공동의 번영을 이루어 놓는 것은 우리가 동일로 들여가는 과정에서 보다 동일의 이용 등을 포함해서 합리적으로 갈 수 있는 좋은 지혜의 시간일 수도 있다고 생각합니다. 그런 점에서 조금은 더 실천적이고, 실사구시적인 태도로 임했습니다, 이렇게 기억해 주시면 좋겠습니다.

Translation: Professor park, first of all, thank you very much for your wonderful question. When I hear the word ‘unification of the Korean nation and the Korean people’, it still makes me very excited and enthusiastic. However, when it comes to the practical implementation of the unification process, I think we first need to have a long period of peace. And it is about how we design the peace that will determine how we will achieve the unification. So we are thinking of peace as a stepping stone and foundation for achieving unification. So if the Korean people experience coexistence through the peace process, then you will have an indirect way of experiencing the unification [inaudible]. And at the same time, this peace will lead into a mutual prosperity of the two Koreas, which will eventually reduce the cost for the unification and try to set a rational ground for unification in the future. So we are taking a more practical and reasonable approach in terms of achieving the unification and the peace process.

바이든 정부가 어떠한 한반도 정책의 방향을 설정할 지 저도 매우 궁금합니다. 그러나 두 가지 정도로 요약해서 말씀드리겠습니다. 우선, ABT: 어떻게 트럼프 정부와 달라질 것인지가 궁금합니다. 그런 점을 주목하고 있습니다. 형식적으로는 동맹을 선하고, 동맹의 의견을 중시하겠다, 이런 점은 트럼프 정부 시절보다는 더 좋아지지 않을까 기대합니다. 내용적으로는, 인도주의의 실천의 문제에 있어서는, 트럼프 정부보다도 혁신 더 분명하고 확고하게 추진하지 않을까, 이런 점을 기대하고 있습니다. 그러나, 트럼프 정부와는 달라지는 것을 넘어서, 오바마 정부와는 또 어떻게 달라질 것인가, 이런 점에서, 혼히들 ‘전략적 인내’와는 어떻게 달라질 것인지, 이런 부분들은 주목하고 있는 것으로 보입니다.

Translation: And when it comes to [the] Biden administration’s approach and directions for those policies, [I am] also very curious of how [the] Biden administration [inaudible] Korea. [inaudible] I think that it really comes down to two different points. The first one is how they will see the concept of anything but Trump or how they will differentiate from the Trump administration. On the surface, the Biden administration has repeatedly emphasized the importance of putting alliance as a top priority in engaging [inaudible] policy. So they might have more respect and coordination with the alliance like South Korea. In [the] second one, it’s in the context [inaudible] more emphasis on the humanitarian aspect of the North Korean policy. So [that it] will be more clear and active in terms of providing humanitarian assistance to the people in [inaudible] North Korea. And so, in summary, we’ll [inaudible] to see how [inaudible]
will try to draw a line [against the] Trump administration. At the same time, we have to take into consideration how [the] Biden administration will differentiate itself from [the] Obama administration [inaudible] strategies as well.


Translation: So I guess [inaudible] goes beyond the Strategic Patience in trying to think about our approach. During the Clinton era, Korea and the United States had a very clear and close coordination based on the common understanding of the problem. So we sincerely hope that the Biden administration can go beyond the Strategic Patience.

미국정부가 그동안 전 정부의 정책을 리뷰하고 있기 때문에 많은 말씀을 드리는 것은 조금 조심스럽습니다만, 미국 정부의 대한반도 정책을 완성하기 전에 준비하는 과정부터, 한미가 긴밀한 소통을 통해서 서로의 입장을 존중하고 반영할 수 있기를 바라고, 또 너무 긴 시간이 걸려서 그 사이에 북쪽에서 다른 반발의 변수들이 생기지 않기를 기대하고 있습니다.

Translation: And at the same time, as the U.S. administration is currently having their policy review on North Korea policy, I have [inaudible] be careful, but in the process of this policy review, [inaudible] trying to actively coordinate with the U.S. government, so that our coordinated effort will be reflected on the North Korean policy of the Biden Administration. And I sincerely hope that the Biden Administration will not take too long in their policy review which might trigger [inaudible] reaction to this policy review process.

최근에 한미 간의 정상 통화를 통해서 한반도 비핵화의 선구적 평화 정착이 한미간의 공동 목표임을 확인하고, 가급적 조속히 포괄적인 대북전략을 함께 마련해나갈 필요가 있다는 점에 인식을 함께 했었던 만큼, 제가 앞에 말씀드렸던 단계적인 접근과 제제를 강화하고, 또 완화하는, 이런 것을 적절하게 배합하는, 유연한 접근들, 이런 것들이 논의될 수 있기를 희망하고 있습니다.

Translation: As the presidents of the Republic of Korea and the United States had a phone call to discuss the importance of having a clear and close coordination for the denuclearization and establishment of lasting peace on the Korean peninsula, we sincerely hope that we can continue coordinating this North Korean policy with the United States soon. And at the same time, as I’ve mentioned previously, I sincerely hope we’ll be able to find a way to [inaudible] a gradual approach to North Korea to try to find a right balance between sensuous belief and engagement with North Korea to make sure that we can have a fruitful outcome with [inaudible] North Korea.

Baik: Thank you very much. Professor Park, please continue your question.
Park: Thank you very much for your thoughtful response. You mentioned that the two Koreas will start engaging with each other in their cooperative response to COVID and lay the cornerstone for collaboration in the areas of public health, disaster relief, and climate change. I understand this new focus to be a departure from an older developmentalist framework that underpinned the inter-Korean economic projects of the past.

If you can elaborate on your new vision and concrete plans, that would be great. I was also wondering why you did not mention resuming the inter-Korean economic projects such as Kaesung Industrial Park and Kumkang Mountain tourism as part of the endeavors for South-North collaboration. Is the omission due to the UN economic sanctions that are hard to bypass or is it due to the Moon administration’s new vision for inter-Korean collaboration? That’s my final and last question. Thank you very much.

Lee: We are moving forward to fulfill the promise that we made, it is true. And we believe that the joint prevention of disasters, climatic events, and other problems such as disease, forest fires, and food, fertilizer, and other民生 issues are, in a certain sense, the meaning of life. From this perspective, the peace community, the economic community, and the life safety community that our President is advocating is a vision that moves beyond them.

Translation: [inaudible]

And we believe that the United States government also believes that we should not be the subject of sanction. And I believe President Biden and the Democratic party in the United States will not object to [inaudible].
제재가 오랫동안 지속되면서 북쪽주민들의 삶이 어려워지고, 남쪽의 발전에 장애가 된다면, 한 번쯤은 제재문제를 좀 더 유연하게 접근하는 것에 대해서 검토할 수 있기를 희망합니다. As the sanction [inaudible] significant impact on the lives of people in North Korea. And if [inaudible] to the lives of people in South Korea, [inaudible].

이 점은 결코 북의 정권이나 핵 개발의 과정과는 철저히 다른 것이라고 생각합니다.

Translation: [inaudible]

이미 바이든 대통령도, 헌팅턴 장관도 그런 점에서 제재의 문제와, 외교적인 해법은 무엇인지, 이런 것을 동시에 여러번 검토한 것으로 알고 있습니다.

Translation: It is my understanding that President Biden and Secretary Blinken [inaudible].

제제의 과정에서 인도주의의 문제를 결코 간과하지 않겠다, 이런 메세지를 매우 환영하고 긍정적으로 생각합니다.

Translation: And we welcome the U.S. government’s statements that they will not abandon the humanitarian [inaudible].

그 다음에 본격적인 제재문제를 검토해야 할 것 같습니다.

Translation: And after these issues, [inaudible] move on to other [inaudible].

박영아 교수님이 말씀하신 대로, 제재문제로 인해서 남북 간의 본격적인 경제협력이 이루어지지 못하는 점은 분명히 있습니다.

Translation: And as Professor Park has mentioned, [inaudible].

국제사회가 어떤 점들을 우려하는지 우리도 잘 알고 있기 때문에, 기본적으로는 국제사회의 제재문제에 대해서 대한민국 정부도 지금까지 함께 해왔다고 생각합니다.

Translation: [inaudible].

비핵화의 과정들, 그리고 평화 정착의 과정들, 그리고 이런 부분들과 연결된 협상의 진행에 따라서 본격적인 경제 제제의 문제들은 단계적으로 해범을 찾아갈 수 있지 않을까 싶습니다.

Translation: [inaudible].

그 외 시각의 차이 때문에 지금 개성공단을 재가동하는 문제들이 우리한테는 매우 큰 무담이 되었습니다만, 저희가 인내하면서 감내하고 있습니다.

Translation: [inaudible].
그러나 금강산 문제는 조금 다르게 국제사회가 [inaudible] 유연하게 바꾸었으면 좋겠습니다.

Translation: [inaudible].

예를 들어서, 집단적으로 단체 관광을 가는 것이 아니라, 개별적인 방문의 형태를 띄는 것들은, 인도주의에 부합하기도 하고, 제재의 대상과는 차원이 다른 문제라고 생각합니다.

Translation: [inaudible].

그래서 우리 정부는 코로나 상황이 완화되면, 금강산에 대한 개별 방문부터 재개될 수 있기를 희망합니다.

Translation: [inaudible].

그리고, 철도/도로 협력이 평상시 오랜 시간 지체되고 있는데, 부분적으로 철도/도로와 관련해서도, 비상업용 공공 인프라와 관련해서는 제재를 조금 더 유연하게 적용한다, 이런 정신이 있어 왔기 때문에, 이것이 실천 될 수 있기를 바랍니다.

Translation: [inaudible].

철도문제는 북한 만의 문제가 아니라, 또 남북 만의 문제가 아니라, 국제적인 철도망들을 연결하는, 이런 것과 관련된 문제이기 때문에 그 점을 국제사회가 주목하고, 좀 더 유연하게 판단했으면 좋겠습니다.

Translation: [inaudible].

또한, 저는 제재의 대상이 아닌 품목들을 중심으로 해서, 우선적으로 작은 교역들을 해보는 것들도 구상하고 있습니다.

Translation: [inaudible] with the items that are not subjected to sanction.

예를 들면, 쌀이나, 물, 그리고 술과 약품, 이런 것들은 제재의 대상 품목이 아니지 않습니까?

Translation: So when it comes to rice, water, alcohols, and medicine, they are not subjected to sanctions at this point.

인도주의와 관련한 분야여서부터의 품목, 인도주의와 관련된 품목에서부터의 작은 교역들, 이런 것들은 제재 하에서도 우리가 얼마나든지 [inaudible]볼 수 있는 구상이라고 생각합니다.

Translation: [inaudible].
Baik: Thank you very much. This is very extensive and informative discussion. We have another commentator, Professor Cheehyung Harrison Kim. Professor Kim, will you please present your comments first, and then ask your questions?

Kim: Thank you very much, Minister Lee, for this amazing chance to speak with you, and also to all the audience members who are able to join us today. Oh, and big thanks to the translator; that’s a very tough job, and you are doing a very fine job, I must say. In my understanding, the Biden Administration does not seem to have a different policy toward North Korea yet. To me—I also work at this university, but I’m also a member of the nationwide organization called Korea Peace Now—this is a major problem. And one big issue that we are kind of focusing on is that the Korea experts in Washington D.C. are still depending on denuclearization and sanctions as the only method toward dialogue and change. So, in a way, the Korea experts in Washington take a more conservative side -- a non-engagement approach. So, I think there has to be an alternative influence in D.C., and I hope the Ministry of Unification can eventually work with organizations like Korea Peace Now and other more progressive, engagement-focused organizations in the U.S. to help teach and inform the American public. -- That’s my first comment. And the second comment is that, of course, resuming dialogue with North Korea is a priority as you said, but I see some difficulties here right now as South Korea - U.S. military exercises are continuing. In fact, I see these joint military exercises as a serious barrier to dialogue between North and South. The joint military drills are antagonistic to the Korean Peace Process. I think a time has come to rethink and redefine the South Korea-US alliance as a relationship not based on military priorities but on shared democratic progress. I think that this is something that you have already addressed.

I have two questions, but I think I can just ask one:

You talked about the flexibility of sanctions, and you’ve already talked about this, but I wonder what other specific examples can there be? For example, would the Ministry of Unification consider college exchange programs between North and South? And even further down the road, official opening and access to TV, music, and movies between North and South? In other words, is the ministry seriously considering some kind of an open, official cultural exchange between the two countries? I think I can pause here. Thank you.

Baik: Thank you very much. Professor Kim is so understanding that he reduced one of his questions. Originally, our event was scheduled for one hour [inaudible] three-o-clock, but we might extend it if Minister Lee permits for ten more minutes. Would it be okay, Minister Lee?

Lee: Yes, we can have that.

네, 김교수님, 좋은 질문 주셨습니다. 우선, 부인할 수 없는 사실이 하나 있습니다. 제재하고, 압박을 강화하는 것을 넘어서, 트럼프 정부 시절에도 대화하고 협상을 시도했다는 것입니다.

Translator: Thank you, Professor Kim, for your question. [inaudible].

우리가 명확하게 문제를 해결하는 과정으로까지 나아지는 못했지만, 일상적인 제재와 압박을 넘어서, 대화와 협상의 과정으로까지 왔다는 점을 다시 한 번 강조하고 싶습니다.

Translator: [inaudible].

그러면 이제, 다시 일방적인 제재와 압박으로 돌아갈 것이 아니라면, 대화와 협상을 통해서 문제를 해결해야 합니다. 그 문제를 해결하기 위해서는 한 걸음 더 나아가야 한다고 생각하는데, 그것이,
부분적으로 제재를 유연화하면서, 북의 핵문제를 해결하는 비핵화협상을 촉진하는 쪽으로 유인하는, 이런 방안을 우리가 검토해야 하지 않나, 이런 생각입니다.

Translator: [inaudible].

앞에 잠깐 박영아 교수님의 질문에 대답하면서 말씀 드렸습니다만, 인도주의의 문제는 더 이상 주저함 없이 제재 대상에서 제외해야한다고 생각합니다.

Translator: As I mentioned while answering Professor Park’s comment, we should not hesitate [inaudible].

부분적으로, 생필품과 관련한 부분들에서도 제재가 완화될 수 있으며, 이것은 명백히 [inaudible] 나오도록 하는, 그리고 완전한 비핵화의 해법을 마련하는 데에 촉진제로 작용할 것이라고 봅니다.

Translator: [inaudible].

이런 점들이 미국의 시민사회, 의회, 그리고 싱크탱크의 주요 전문가들에게서도 공유될 수 있기를 바랍니다.

Translator: [inaudible].

트럼프 시절과 달리, 바이든 대통령 시절에 이런 아래로 부터의 공감과 공통된 인식, 이런 것들이 더 확산되면, 저는 더 단단한 한미동맹의 인식의 지표를 만들 수 있다고 믿고 있습니다.

Translator: [inaudible].

김교수님, 동맹의 어떤 민주적 영점, 말씀하셨는데, 저도 전적으로 동감합니다.

Translator: [inaudible].

동맹 간의 일방적 소통보다는, 상호 간의 존중에 기반한 소통, 이것이 동맹을 민주적으로 재구성하는데 있어서 핵심적인 정신이라고 봅니다.

Translation: [inaudible].

그런 점에서, 바이든 정부는 동맹을 중시하겠다고 하기 때문에, 우리 정부가 가진 한반도 평화 프로세스에 대한 문제의식, 이것을 훨씬 더 존중하는 과정이 될 것으로 기대합니다.

Translation: [inaudible].

바이든 대통령께서 당선 인사 속에서, 힘에 의한 미국이 아니라, 모범으로 인한 미국, 이런 모습을 보이며면 미국이 돌아왔다는 선언을 하신 것을 저는 굉장히 놀이 평가합니다.

Translation: [inaudible].

이런 종합적인 과정들이 바이든 대통령 시절에 한미가 가치도 공유하면서, 동맹의 질서도 한 단계 상승시키는, 이런 과정을 만들어나면서, 그러면서도 동시에 실질적인 한반도 비핵화의 해법을 만드는 과정으로 우리가 성과를 낼 수 있도록 기대할 수 있게 한다고 저는 생각합니다.
마지막으로, 문화, 방송, 음악, 영화 등등에 대한 개방과 관련해서, 저로서는 적극적으로 찬성합니다.

내용에 대한 논문과 관련해서, 저로서는 적극적으로 찬성합니다.

Channels, radio, music, film, and the like related to the opening and the related, I express support.

이런 과정에서 자연스러운 교류와 왕래의 과정에서 이런 부분들이 공유 된다면, 서로에 대해서 더 자연스러운 통합의 과정들이 생길 수도 있으리라고 봅니다.

제제와 관련해서도 유용성이 있다고 평가합니다.

제제의 주 목적이 핵개발이나 군사적인 전[inaudible]을 막아내는 것이라면, 지금 교수님이 말씀하셨던 문화적인 분야는 그것과 무관합니다.

그러나 문화와 방송이 공유되는 과정에서, 적어도 국제사회가 북의 정권을 붕괴시킬 의도가 없다, 이런 것들을 오랜 기간 인식하게 된다면, 북쪽의 변화도 있지 않을까, 이렇게 기대해 볼 수 있지 않겠습니까?

우리의 인식은 이렇게 분명히 바뀌어 있고, 개방되어 있는데, 다만 문제는, 아직 북쪽이 준비가 안 된 것 같습니다.

Baik: Minister Lee, if the University of Hawaii or the Center for Korean Studies initiated any exchange with, say, Professor [inaudible] at Kim Il-Sung University, through Zoom at this time, for example, or in other ways, would your government and yourself be supportive of that idea?
Lee: 제가 이 자리에서 분명히 말씀드리지만, 제가 통일부장관으로 있는 동안은 저는 적극적으로
환영하고, 지지하고, 또 지원할 의사가 있다는 점을 말씀드릴니다.

Translation: As long as I’m the minister of Unification, I’ll be open to your proposals [inaudible] plans
that you have.

우리가 한순간에 큰 만남으로 모든 것을 해결하는, 이런 생각에서 벗어나서, 여러 곳에서 다양한
만남을 통해서, 또 작은 만남들도 많이 모아서, 큰 변화로 가는, 이런 과정에 대한 발상의 전환도
있어야 있다고 생각합니다.

Translation: We should move away from the idea that we should have this kind of large, spotlighted event
to make a change in the Korean peninsula issues. We can start with the different and diverse meetings, in
small scales, and use that to make larger meetings and larger changes.

하와이대에서 한국학 연구소가 그런 기회를 만든다면, 거듭 말씀드리지만, 아주 적극적으로
환영하고, 저희가 함께 협력할 수 있는 방안이 있으면 다할 수 있도록, 그렇게 하겠습니다.

Translation: If the University of Hawaii and your Center are willing to pursue such an event, we will try
our best to try to support your efforts.

5. Q&A with the Audience

Baik: Thank you. We have several questions in our Q&A box. I think all of the participants, the audience,
could read them. And as I suggested, the two professors will be collecting the questions and maybe
combing or picking up some and will [inaudible]. And I’d like to ask Professor Harrison Kim to begin,
but because we are running out of time, so in the interest of time, probably, we may have two questions.
One by Professor Lee (Kim?) and another by Professor Park. Professor Kim, please.

Kim: There’s a very interesting question from a faculty member from the University of Maryland, and
she’s asking about the current situation in South Korea, where there is a divide between right wing, left
wing, liberal and progressive political sides. Is this going to make the project of the Ministry of
Unification difficult? Do you see this as a barrier or some kind of an obstacle to the past policies, the
Sunshine policies and the Korean Peace Process when there’s such a strong opposition in the political
arena?

Lee: 우선, 정도의 차이가 있겠습니다만, 한국에서의 진보와 보수 간의 인도주의 협력에 대해서는
이론의 여지가 없어야 한다고 생각합니다.

Translation: First of all, we might have different views or different levels, of course, but I think it’s
important that we should not have any objection to the humanitarian corporation whether you’re liberal or
conservative.

[inaudible] 보수정부 시절에 인도주의 협력의 문제도 [inaudible] 상황 때문에 중단되고, 그랬던
사례가 있었습니다만, 궁극적으로, 인도주의 협력의 문제는, [inaudible] 무관하게 일관되게
추진되어야 한다. 이런 부분들은 국민의 공감대를 어느 정도 확득하고 있는 것으로 보입니다.

Translation: [inaudible].

평화를 만드는 과정에 대해서는 원론적으로 다 공감합니다. 그러나 이 평화를 만드는 방식과
속도의 차이는 있어 보입니다.
Translation: And sometimes, we have a general consensus on the need for having a peace process on the Korean peninsula, but the liberals and the conservatives may have different views on how we should approach this peace process, and [inaudible].

핵심적으로는 두 가지인데요, 우선 하나는 ‘비핵화 후에 경제협력도 전반적 협력의 과정으로 나가자,’ 이런 주장과, ‘비핵화와 경제협력을 포함한 전반적 협력을 두 가지를 동시에 추진하자,’ 이런 부분들의 차이가 있으리라고 생각합니다.

Translation: And the other thing is, whether we should prioritize the ROK-US alliance, or whether we should have simultaneous improvements in the ROK-US alliance and the inter-Korean relations.

이런 것에 따라서, دائما 정치적인 갈등으로 작용하기는 하지만, 그래도 그 갈등을 가진 채, 한국 정치는 한 발자국, 한 발자국 전진해 나가고 있습니다, 평화를 향해.

Translation: So, sometimes we have different views on this kind of issue, sometimes we have political tensions between the different people with different ideas, however we [inaudible].

최근에 한국 시민사회에 광범위하게 주목할 만한 활동들이 있었습니다. 평화통일과 관련한 국민적 협약을 추진하는 과정인데요, 여기는 한국을 대표하는 진보적인 시민단체 뿐만 아니라, 보수적인 시민단체도 모두 포함해서, 최근 한 3 년의 활동을 함께 했습니다.

Translation: And there was an interesting event that happened in the Korean citizen societies. So we are currently having [inaudible] work to create a peace process and how we can have a national consensus on this kind of peace process. So in this dialogue, not only do we have liberal civil societies, but we also have conservatives, and they have been having this kind of discussions [inaudible] for over three years now.

어느 시점에선가 이런 시민사회의 좋은 활동들이 정치권에도 영향을 주고, 정치권에서도 경우에 따라서는 [inaudible] 이런 과정이 될 수 있을기를 희망합니다.

Translation: So I sincerely hope that this kind of [inaudible] will eventually expand to cause an influence to the National Assembly and the political parties, so that we can have bipartisan cooperation in dealing with those [inaudible].

Baik: Thank you very much. We don’t have enough time but… Professor Park was reading all the questions… Can you summarize them in 30 seconds? Let’s have a one-minute answer to that.

Park: There was a question posed by Professor Hye-ryun Lee at UH Mānoa. She asked: “What concrete steps will the current Korean government take to lead to some tangible positive outcomes related to denuclearization?” Another question from the audience was about whether there is a general understanding that North Korean citizens want peace with South Korea. That is... a kind of a fundamental assumption-type of question. I’ll stop here, and ask Minister Lee to respond. Thank you.
Lee: 그동안의 모든 매체나, 아니면 우리가, 한국 국민들이, 북한을 방문했을 때 만났던, 적절했던 북한 주민들의 반응은 일관되게 평화통일을 희망하는, 이런 의지와 의사를 보여 왔었습니다.

Translation: So our experience with North Korea is that we’ve seen the North Korean media coverages, and we [inaudible], and through these exchanges we talked about this peaceful coexistence and unification [inaudible] peace process.

체제의 위협이나, 정권의 붕괴, 이런 것과 관련한 적대감이 완화한다면, 북한의 주민들은 남한의 국민들과 평화 속에서 공존하면서 함께 발전해가는 길을 찾고, 또 궁극적 통일의 길로 나오려는, 이런 의사를 가지고 있다고 생각합니다.

Translation: And once we [inaudible] that we are working to [inaudible] their regime, once the North Korean people remove their hostile feelings about South Korea, I think we may be able to move on to the next level of operations to make development of the Korean peninsula and bring a peace towards coexistence.

북의 비핵화와 관련해서 성과를 만들어내기 위해서, 우리로서는 우선 대화가 복원되고, 관계가 다시 재가동되는, 개선되는, 이런 과정으로 들어가는 것이 급하다고 생각합니다.

Translation: So if we wanted to bring denuclearization to North Korea, I guess the priority is to [inaudible] establish the dialogue and engagement in North Korea, so we can have better relations to deal with this issue.

미국정부의 입장이 정리될 때까지 기다릴 수는 없다고 생각하지만, 이런 접근에 대해서 완전히 거부하다, 이렇게 평가하는 것도 좀 어려울 것 같습니다.

Translation: It is very important for us to have the U.S. government’s policy for North Korea in terms of the denuclearization process. So before the U.S. government makes determination on their approach to North Korea, we’ll do our part [inaudible].

인도주의의 분야, 민생분야, 이런 것을 중심으로 한 실질적인 협력을 먼저 이루는 것이고, 거기서 남북관계의 개선이 일어난다면, 이것이 결국은 북-미간의 비핵화 협상을 촉진하는 데에도 도움이 될 거다, 이렇게 판단하고 있습니다.

Translation: We have pragmatic cooperations like humanitarian cooperation towards the improvement of the people’s lives in North Korea, and [inaudible] that may contribute to improve the overall relations in between the two Koreas, at the same time contribute to the [inaudible].

북은 “지급으로서는 군사문제를 해결하는 것이 근본 문제다,” 이렇게 문을 닫고 있습니까만, 우리가 생각하는 이런 접근에 대해서 완전히 거부하다, 이렇게 평가하는 것도 좀 어려울 것 같습니다.

Translation: While North Korea has stated, “The military issues [inaudible] fundamental [inaudible] that they have to completely shut down doors for this humanitarian cooperation [inaudible].

미국정부의 입장이 정리될 때까지 마냥 기다릴 수는 없기 때문에, 코로나 협력, 인도주의 협력, 민생 협력, 이런데서부터 남북관계를 착실하게 발전시키고, 그 협을 바탕으로 해서 어느
시점에선가 남-북-미가 한반도 비핵화와 관련한 솔루션을 찾아 나가는, 이런 과정으로 본격적으로 점어들 수 있도록, 그렇게 해 나가려고 합니다.

Translation: We can’t wait until the U.S. government makes their determination on their North Korean policy, so in between this [inaudible] we’ll use these three cooperations -- Humanitarian cooperation, People’s Lives cooperation and COVID-19 related cooperation -- to try to improve the lives that we have at this point, and then maybe to use that as foundation for additional [inaudible].

비핵화 그 자체의 해법과 관련해서는 나중에 조금 더 다시 긴 시간을 가지고 논의할 수 있거나, 혹은 소개할 수 있는 시간이 있으리라고 생각합니다.

Translation: Regarding our [inaudible] denuclearization, I sincerely hope that we might have next [inaudible].

Baik: Thank you so much. We have some other questions as well, including one of my colleagues, Professor Sang-Hyop Lee, who is the former director of the Center for Korean Studies, and I can keep this question for our later occasion. Because of this COVID situation, we could not have this type of dialogue face-to-face, but I hope we will continue this dialogue either in Korea or in the United States. I also hope that Minister Lee will be able to visit our center one more time, so that we can continue dialogue. I wish all the best for the effort you are doing at this time, I would like to thank you again for taking your time to talk with us at this inaugural event of the Korean Vision Dialogue. And I would like to also thank all of the audience and today’s panelists -- the two professors and the dean -- and also would like to thank the interpreter who was hiding behind the screen, but this was wonderful. Thank you very much. Minister Lee, will you say final greetings, [inaudible].

Lee: 네, 저도 기회가 되면 미국 방문해서 미국에 있는 주요 정책 [inaudible]이나 담당자들, 그리고 싱크탱크의 주요 전문가들, 그리고 교수님들을 비롯한 그런 오피니언 리더들, 또 의회 지도자들과 폭넓은 대화를 할 수 있는 시간을 가지고 싶습니다. 그런 과정에서 기회가 된다면, 혹시 시간이 허락한다면, 하와이 가서 다시 될 수 있기를 희망합니다. 오늘 좋은 시간 되었습니다. 감사합니다.

Translation: [inaudible].