Korea Update 2013

11 October 2013, 8.30am to 5.00pm

Lecture Theatre 1, Hedley Bull Centre [#130], Garran Road, The Australian National University

Convener  Professor Hyaewool Choi
Keynote Speaker  Professor David Kang, University of Southern California

Presented by
The Korea Institute
ANU College of
Asia & the Pacific

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For more information:
E: korea@anu.edu.au
# Korea Update 2013 Program

**Friday, 11 October 2013**

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| 11:45-12:45pm | Panel 2 | The Strategic Environment: Prospects for Productive Engagement | Brendan Taylor  
The Australian National University | Lecture Theatre 1, Hedley Bull Centre |
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The Australian National University |                                        |
|          |       | South Korea-Australia Security Cooperation                          | Park Jae Jeok  
Korea Institute for National Unification |                                        |
|          |       | Climate and Environment in North Korea: Why Pyongyang Engages       | Benjamin Habib  
La Trobe University |                                        |
|          |       | with the International Climate Change Regime                       |                                                                     |                                        |
|          |       |                                                                      | **Questions and Discussion**                                         |                                        |
| 12:45-2:00pm | Lunch  |                                                                     |                                                                     | Atrium, Hedley Bull Centre             |
| 2:00-3:00pm | Panel 3 | Economic Challenge and Change on the Korean Peninsula in            | Peter Drysdale  
The Australian National University | Lecture Theatre 1, Hedley Bull Centre |
|          |       | Comparative Context                                                  |                                                                     |                                        |
|          |       | China’s Sunshine Policy: Beijing’s Economic Influence on North Korea | James Reilly  
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|          |       | The Political Economy of Agriculture in South Korea: Some           | Andrew Walker  
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|          |       | Comparative Reflections                                              |                                                                     |                                        |
|          |       | Consolidating Democracy in Korea: Economy as Impetus, Corruption    | Fiona Yap  
The Australian National University |                                        |
|          |       | as an Issue                                                          |                                                                     |                                        |
|          |       |                                                                      | **Questions and Discussion**                                         |                                        |
| 3:00-3:15pm | Afternoon Tea |                                                                     |                                                                     | Atrium, Hedley Bull Centre             |
Panel 4  
3:15-4:15pm  
The Ebbs and Flows of Korea’s Contemporary Culture  
Lecture Theatre 1,  
Hedley Bull Centre

Chair: Roald Maliangkay  
The Australian National University

Murder on the Dance Floor: Why Feminists Have Got Their Work Cut Out with K-Pop  
Jo Elfving-Hwang  
The University of Western Australia

Brian Yecies  
The University of Wollongong

Islamic Embrace of Hallyu in Indonesia  
Ariel Heryanto  
The Australian National University

Questions and Discussion

Panel 5  
4:15-5:00pm  
Korea and Australia  
Lecture Theatre 1,  
Hedley Bull Centre

Chair: Tessa Morris-Suzuki  
The Australian National University

Ripple Effects: Investigating Regional Influences Between Korea, Australia and Southeast Asia  
Hyaeweol Choi  
The Australian National University

The Korea-Australia Relationship, Undervalued Ties: Some Suggestions for the New Australian Government  
Emma Campbell  
The Australian National University

Questions and Discussion

5:00-7:00pm  
Cocktails and Entertainment  
Atrium, Hedley Bull Centre

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Keynote Address

Dealing with the North Korea Problem
David Kang University of South California

Abstract
The North Korean nuclear issue has been the most important security issue in the region for at least two decades, and despite new developments, such as the rise of grandson Kim Jong Un as the new North Korean leader, the underlying issues remain depressingly the same: how to reign in North Korea’s nuclear and missile programs, deter North Korea from starting a second Korean War, and limit North Korea’s sale of its technology to other countries. The debate remains the same, as well: is pressure and isolation more likely to change North Korean behavior? Or are inducements and engagement more likely to produce results? Yet North Korea is a foreign policy problem for South Korea beyond the issues of nuclear proliferation and international security, and these same basic questions manifest themselves in the debates about North Korea’s economy and its deplorable record of human rights abuses. This talk will explore the nuclear, economic, and humanitarian challenges that North Korea poses to South Korea, arguing that a “mainstream” consensus has emerged in South Korea with a preference for selective engagement coupled with consistent and powerful responses to provocations and a strong military deterrent, and a willingness to ignore provocative North Korean rhetoric. Building trust with North Korea, however, faces numerous obstacles in its implementation, and will require considerable diplomatic and political skill. Whether this strategy can succeed, however, depends on both the specific actions taken and the responses that come from the new regime in North Korea.

About the Speaker
David C. Kang is Professor of International Relations and Business at the University of Southern California, with appointments in both the School of International Relations and the Marshall School of Business. At USC he is also director of the Korean Studies Institute. Kang’s latest book is East Asia Before the West: Five Centuries of Trade and Tribute (Columbia University Press, 2010). Kang is also author of China Rising: Peace, Power, and Order in East Asia (Columbia University Press, 2007); Crony Capitalism: Corruption and Development in South Korea and the Philippines (Cambridge University Press, 2002), and Nuclear North Korea: A Debate on Engagement Strategies (co-authored with Victor Cha). A regular consultant for U.S. government agencies, Kang has also written opinion pieces in the New York Times, the Financial Times, the Washington Post, and the Los Angeles Times, and has appeared regularly on CNN, BBC, and NPR. He received an A.B. with honors from Stanford University and his PhD from Berkeley.
Presentation Abstracts

PANEL 1 – Korea Under President Park Geun-hye

Social Class and South Korean Politics
Kang Won-taek Seoul National University

Park Geun-hye is rapidly approaching her first year anniversary as South Korea’s President. She came to power against a background of deep public discontent and distrust with the current political system. This dissatisfaction was evinced by the popularity of a third candidate – who subsequently withdrew to prevent a split of the progressive vote – Ahn Cheol-soo. Alongside this atmosphere of frustration were the two key electoral issues of employment and welfare. South Korean households are facing many everyday difficulties, Korea’s export-led economy is slowing due to falling overseas demand and Koreans are saddled with high rates of personal debt.

Previously, Korean politics was defined by personality and regional politics. However, as perceptions of social and economic hardship and disparity increase, and discontent with South Korea’s domestic politics and parties grows, Professor Kang will present on the changing role of social class in defining South Korea’s electoral politics.

About the Speaker
Won-Taek Kang is Professor of Politics at Seoul National University. He received his Ph.D. in political science at the London School of Economics and Political Science. His academic interests lie in election, political party, legislative studies, and democratization. Recently his research focuses on the influence of Internet on domestic politics and on the change of political attitudes among young generation in South Korea. He published many articles in various domestic and international journals, including Electoral Studies, Public Administration, and Journal of Theoretical Politics. His recent article includes ‘How Ideology divides Generation? The 2002 and 2004 South Korean elections’ (Canadian Journal of Political Science, 2008). He also published several books about constitutional and political reforms and election analysis (in Korean).

The Implications of Leadership Change for ROK-Japan Relations
Lauren Richardson The Australian National University

Abstract
The last twenty-four months have seen diplomatic tensions flare between the ROK and its former colonial overseer, Japan, over the perennial “history problem.” Under the respective Lee Myung-bak and Noda Yoshihiko administrations, Seoul ratcheted up the pressure on Tokyo to compensate former “comfort women,” establishing a task force in September 2011 to this end; Noda, however, failed to deliver on Lee’s demands. Following this, the two governments were set to sign a military accord (The General Security of Military Information Agreement) in July 2012, representing the most significant development since they normalized relations in 1965; yet moments before the signing ceremony was to commence, Lee pulled out amid fierce domestic opposition: Korean citizens were strongly averse to their government signing a security pact with a former colonizer, who, in their eyes, is yet to adequately atone for its colonial transgressions. Then in August 2012, tensions over territorial sovereignty escalated as Lee embarked on a visit to the disputed islet of Dokdo/Takeshima, bringing the diplomatic relationship to a standstill.
At the height of this turmoil, however, there was an ushering in of new leadership on both sides-Japan’s Abe Shinzo, in December 2012, and Korea’s Park Geun-hye, in February 2013. What have been the implications of this change in leadership and how will it bode for ROK-Japan relations? Drawing on interviews with government officials in Korea and Japan this paper examines these questions with central reference to the “history problem.”

About the speaker
Lauren Richardson is a PhD candidate in the School of International, Political and Strategic Studies. Her doctoral thesis examines the role of transnational activist networks in Japan and Korea’s “history problems,” and as part of her research she undertook extensive fieldwork in both countries. In 2012, Lauren was a recipient of the Prime Minister’s Australia Asia Award.
PANEL 2 – The Strategic Environment: Prospects for Productive Engagement

Current Trends in South Korean Foreign Policy
Yongwook Ryu The Australian National University

Abstract
Reflecting its growing economic importance, the Republic of Korea has looked to expand its international influence. In 2010, for example, Korea was host to the G20 Heads of Government Summit, the first Asian nation to do so. Increasing interest is being shown toward the foreign policy of emerging middle powers such as Korea as they establish a role for themselves in the international community. With reference to this changing foreign policy environment, Dr Ryu will talk about current trends within sections of Korea’s political elite toward foreign and aid policy. His presentation will build on data that he has recently collected during fieldwork to Republic of Korea.

About the Speaker
Yongwook Ryu specialises in IR theory, the international relations of East Asia, identity politics, regionalisation, and the foreign policies of China, Japan, and Korea. His doctoral work develops an original concept – identity distance – and shows how changes in identity distance affect various security issues such as the level of conflict, threat perception, and security cooperation. He is currently revising the dissertation for a book manuscript and working on two other projects: North Korea and the effect of identity on audience costs. For five years, he led the Security Workshop for the Harvard Project for Asian and International Relations, a student organisation based at Harvard.

South Korea-Australia Security Cooperation
Park Jae Jeok Korea Institute for National Unification

Abstract
Security cooperation between South Korea and Australia has been on the rise to the extent that the two states held their first Foreign and Defence Ministers (2+2) meeting in July 2013. In that context, some may argue that “successful South Korea-Australia security cooperation could imply the possibility of Japan-Australia-South Korea security operation, US-South Korea-Australia security cooperation, or US-South Korea-Australia-Japan security cooperation in the future.” Then, questions arise: given that China perceives the linkage of the US-led alliances as the encirclement of China, what would be the opportunities and challenges for such groupings? What would be the main agenda for such mini-lateral gatherings? My presentation will attempt to address these questions from South Korea’s and Australia’s perspectives.

About the Speaker
Jae Jeok Park is currently Research Fellow at Korea Institute for National Unification (KINU). His research interests include alliance politics, US security policy in the Asia-Pacific, the US-ROK alliance, and the US-Australia alliance. He received his B.A and M.I.S. from Yonsei University, M.A. and M.S. from Northwestern University, and Ph.D. from Australian National University (December 2009). He has published articles in scholarly journals, including Pacific Review, Asian Survey, Australian Journal of International Affairs and International Relations of Asia-Pacific. Before joining the KINU (in September 2010), he worked for the Institute for Foreign Affairs and National Security (IFANS) as a visiting professor (between Jan 2010 and Aug 2010).
Climate and Environment in North Korea: Why Pyongyang Engages with the International Climate Change Regime
Benjamin Habib La Trobe University

Abstract
North Korea faces significant environmental challenges that it is attempting to address through its compliance with the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and related Rio Conventions. My research identifies six possible explanations for North Korea’s compliance with the UNFCCC. These include greenhouse gas abatement to combat the country’s high climate change vulnerability, capacity building across the energy and agricultural sectors, institutional capacity building, using the Clean Development Mechanism as a foreign currency revenue vehicle, and boosting the Kim government’s international legitimacy. I compare the findings of the previous section with related treaty interactions—the interface of Central Asian authoritarian states with the UNFCCC, along with North Korea’s contrasting compliance record with the hazardous chemicals and wastes conventions and the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT)—as a secondary line of corroborating evidence to assess the probability of these motivations for UNFCCC compliance. Taken together, we can infer a strong leadership consolidation imperative from these variables.

About the Speaker
Benjamin Habib is a Lecturer in Politics and International Relations at La Trobe University, Melbourne, Australia. Ben has research and teaching interests including the political economy of North Korea’s nuclear program, East Asian security, international politics of climate change. He also teaches in Australian politics and Chinese studies. Ben undertook his PhD candidature at Flinders University in Adelaide, Australia. He is an Asia Literacy Ambassador for the Asia Education Foundation and has worked previously for Flinders University, the University of South Australia, and the Australian Department of Immigration and Citizenship. He has spent time teaching English in Dandong, China, and has also studied at Keimyung University in Daegu, South Korea.
PANEL 3 – Economic Challenge and Change on the Korean Peninsula in Comparative Context

China’s Sunshine Policy: Beijing’s Economic Influence on North Korea
James Reilly The University of Sydney

Abstract
Drawing upon extensive interviews and field visits, this presentation examines China’s transformation influence on North Korea’s economic reforms. While North Korea’s national economic reforms remain limited, deepening economic interactions with China have encouraged localized changes toward a more market-oriented and externally engaged society. This presentation develops the concept of transformational influence, and compares China’s engagement strategy to Korea’s ‘Sunshine Policy.’ It then assesses China’s influence on North Korean institutions, cross-border cooperation, and upon North Korean businesspeople and consumers.

About the Speaker

The Political Economy of Agriculture in South Korea: Some Comparative Reflections
Andrew Walker The Australian National University

As countries develop, governments typically move from taxing the agricultural sector to subsidising it. South Korea has moved a long way along this path, with high rates of subsidy and protection for many parts of the rural economy. This presentation will examine the main dimensions of this modern relationship between the state and the agricultural sector in South Korea, placing it alongside the experience of some other countries in Asia. It will also raise some questions about South Korean rural politics in the light of state action which both transforms and preserves the rural economy.

About the Speaker
Andrew Walker has only recently started working on Korean agriculture, after twenty years of research on trade, rural development, resource management, modernisation and politics in mainland Southeast Asia. His latest book Thailand’s Political Peasants, based on ethnographic fieldwork in northern Thailand, argues that rural politics is informed by a new relationship between a middle-income peasantry and a subsidising state. He is now exploring the modern rural politics in a broader regional context, with South Korea being his first point of comparison. Andrew is the co-founder of the New Mandala blog which provides anecdote, analysis and new perspectives on mainland southeast Asia.
Consolidating Democracy in Korea: Economy as Impetus, Corruption as an Issue
Fiona Yap The Australian National University

Abstract
The context within which Korean democratization occurs, as well as the issues that potentially galvanize citizens to demand government accountability – i.e., the contexts or issues that frame credible players’ threats or actions – are significant towards continued consolidation and political development. This paper shows that weak economic conditions provide an essential impetus for democratization in Korea. Specifically, using a game-theory model, I show that when economic performance is weak, citizens are highly credible in their threat to withdraw support from the government while the government is not credible in its threat to be unresponsive to citizens’ demands. This conclusion is evaluated with empirical data from Korea between the 1970s and 2000 to support the argument that weak economic conditions provide essential fodder in propelling democratization in the country. The good news from the extant studies is that as democratization progresses, the pressures of economic performance ease because political trust grows, i.e., political trust buffers the political system from the pressures of economic performance; the bad news is that corruption corrodes political trust. Corruption is defined as the misuse of public office for private gain. Using survey data from the East Asia Barometer, I show how these are reflected for Korea.

About the Speaker
Fiona Yap is an Associate Professor at the Crawford School of Public Policy. Her main research interests are in policy and political economy in East and Southeast Asia. Her research work is available through journals such as the British Journal of Political Science, Comparative Political Studies, Journal of Theoretical Politics, Social Science Quarterly, Journal of East Asian Studies, Japanese Journal of Political Science, Korea Observer, and Australian Journal of Political Science, as well as chapter contributions in edited volumes. She is on the Advisory Board of the internationally-funded Korea Institute at the Australian National University, serves as co-editor of the journal Asia and the Pacific Policy Studies, is on the editorial board of Korea Observer and the Asian Journal of Political Science, served as editor of Annual Editions: Comparative Politics for McGraw-Hill and is a reviewer for numerous journals, including American Journal of Political Science, Journal of Politics, British Journal of Political Science, Comparative Politics, International Studies Quarterly, International Studies Perspective, Governance, Asian Survey, Political Research Quarterly, Social Science Quarterly, Legislative Studies Quarterly, and Journal of East Asian Studies.
K-pop is increasingly a global phenomenon and there is no denying that the producers of K-Pop seem to have found a magic formula of an appealing mix of girl and boy pop bands, catchy tunes and energetic dance choreographies that have found a receptive audience – at least for the time being – not only in East Asia but also in Europe, Australasia, the US and, to an extent, Africa. Unsurprisingly, Korean media regularly publishes and broadcasts rather triumphalist news items about the phenomenal success of Korean K-pop bands overseas. Such reports come with highly nationalistic overtones which emphasise Korea’s success not only as an exporter of high quality technology and related know-how, but now cultural products as well. Yet from a critical cultural studies – and particularly feminist – perspective such ‘success’ comes with a rather bitter taste, especially because now almost invariably dance choreographies and music video narratives (where they exist) appear to require conspicuous over-sexualisation and infantilisation of young artists in terms of dress, pose and even vocals. Within Korean domestic media, such images are not only tolerated, but are taken as signs of success, and the conspicuous overseas consumption and popularity of such music videos (particularly in the ‘West’) are used to validate dissemination of sexualised images that only a decade ago would have been considered highly inappropriate for public broadcast. This paper aims to highlight some concerns and questions that such trivialisation of hypersexualised images raise. Through a feminist analysis of gendered representations of femininity and masculinity in recent Korean music videos, I will argue that far from deserving national acclaim, representations of gender in contemporary K-pop videos should rather be addressed with critical concern. I will argue that rather than simply representing a triumph of Korean female or male entertainment success at home and overseas, the trend toward normalising objectified and oversexualised images of K-pop acts will be counterproductive not only in terms of domestic gender equality discourses, but also, by extension, the Korean ‘nation brand’ as well.

About the Speaker
Jo Elfving-Hwang is an Associate Professor of Korean Studies at the University of Western Australia. Before joining UWA, she was Director of Korean Studies at Frankfurt University (Goethe Universitat Frankfurt am Main, Germany), and has also researched and taught at University of Sheffield, Leeds University, and Sheffield Hallam University in the UK. Jo’s current research interests include representations of gender in Korean literature and popular culture, cosmetic cultures in Korea, and South Korean cultural diplomacy.

Brian Yecies University of Wollongong

Abstract
This talk considers how South Korean post-production practitioners are contributing to the professionalisation of Chinese cinema, and in turn, enhancing the film industry’s ‘absorptive capacity’ for change within the larger ‘soft power’ picture. Chua Beng-Huat (2012) contends that the technically developed East Asian countries, particularly Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Japan, have distinct advantages when it comes to producing ‘quality content’. China is seeking to catch up with their Asian neighbours by drawing technological expertise and knowledge from outside its borders through selective collaborative ventures. Korean collaborations in particular are pushing the technological frontier in the Chinese film industry, especially with respect to high-end digital effects – most notably through the distinctive visual sensibilities and practices of Lee Yong-gi and other Korean post-production specialists whom Lee has trained or inspired at home and abroad.
Islamic Embrace of Hallyu in Indonesia

Ariel Heryanto The Australian National University

Abstract

Two historical conditions distinguish the moral and political significance of Hallyu-mania in Indonesia from its counterparts in most of other countries: a long history of hostility towards Chineseness (including Oriental-looking persons and things), and the recent rise of Islamisation of public life. While anti-Chinese sentiments have eased considerably for various reasons, one cannot underestimate the contributing factor of Hallyu-mania. More remarkable and confronting is the massive embrace of Hallyu by young Muslim girls in veils. The majority of Hallyu fans in this society were born and raised during the height of Islamisation. They have to reconcile the dissonant juxtaposition of opposites: religious piety with strict commitment to self-discipline and adherence to decorum on the one hand, and a global celebration of consumerist and worldly pleasure on the other.

About the Speaker

Ripple Effects: Investigating Regional Influences between Korea, Australia and Southeast Asia

Hyaeweol Choi - The Australian National University

Abstract
This presentation considers the transnational flow of people between Australia, Korea and Southeast Asia with primary focus on the example presented by (Protestant) Christian missionaries. In the late nineteenth century, Western missionaries from the US, Canada, and Australia arrived in Korea with the goal of evangelism. Within a generation, Koreans themselves were sending missionaries overseas. South Korea now ranks second only to the US in terms of the number of missionaries sent to foreign countries. Southeast Asia is the most frequent destination for South Korean missionaries. This exploratory paper presents a brief history of the transnational nature of the Christian movement and the particular nexus of Australia, Korea and Southeast Asia within the changing context of global and regional politics and economy.

About the Speaker
Hyaeweol Choi is ANU-Korea Foundation Professor of Korean Studies and Director of ANU Korea Institute. Her research interests are gender, culture, religion and diaspora. Her latest book, entitled Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways (University of California Press, 2009), examines the genealogies of the "modern" woman among American Protestant missionaries and Korean intellectuals within the context of Korea's colonization by Japan at the turn of the twentieth century. She is completing translations into English of some key archival material concerning the "New Woman" in Korea from the 1920s and 1930s. A new book project, funded by a Fulbright fellowship, will reexamine the modern history of women in Korea from a transnational perspective by focusing on the dynamic flow of ideas, discourses and people across national boundaries that have triggered new gender images and practices.
The Korea-Australia Relationship, Undervalued Ties: Some Suggestions for the New Australian Government

Emma Campbell The Australian National University

Abstract
South Korea is Australia’s third largest export market and fourth largest two-way trading partner. Beyond the economic ties, Australia and Korea have deepening cultural ties as evidenced by the growing Korean diaspora in Australia and the increasing popularity of Korean studies. However, despite the relative importance of Korea to Australia’s prosperity it seems to play a limited role, at least in public, in discussions on Australia’s foreign affairs and defence priorities. Australia must also heed the security challenges emerging from the nuclear crisis and the ongoing decay in the political, economic and social fabric of the DPRK. Despite 60 years of relative peace on the Korean peninsula, in the case of conflict, the pressures to commit Australian forces will be intense. Dr Campbell takes this opportunity to highlight some of the key issues - and offer some suggestions - for the new Australian government.

About the Speaker
Emma Campbell is the Korea Institute Postdoctoral Fellow, based in the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, College of the Asia and the Pacific, Australian National University. She has previously worked in the field with Médecins Sans Frontières and as a researcher and editor at the North Korea Database Centre, a Seoul-based NGO specialising in North Korean human rights and welfare of North Korean refugees living in South Korea. She received her PhD from the Australian National University in 2011 where she was a Korea Foundation Scholar and Cheung Kong Australia Endeavour Research Fellow. Emma’s recent publications include ‘Changing South Korea: Issues of Identity and Reunification in Formulating the Australia-Korea Security Policy, Foreign Policy and Wider Relationship’ in the Korea Observer. She is currently finalising a book based on her PhD thesis entitled Eternal division? The end of ‘one Korea’ and the rise of South Korean nationalism. She appears frequently in international and Australian media and blogs, including Al Jazeera, the Australian Financial Review and the East Asia Forum, as a commentator on Korean peninsula issues.