

GWIKS ONLINE

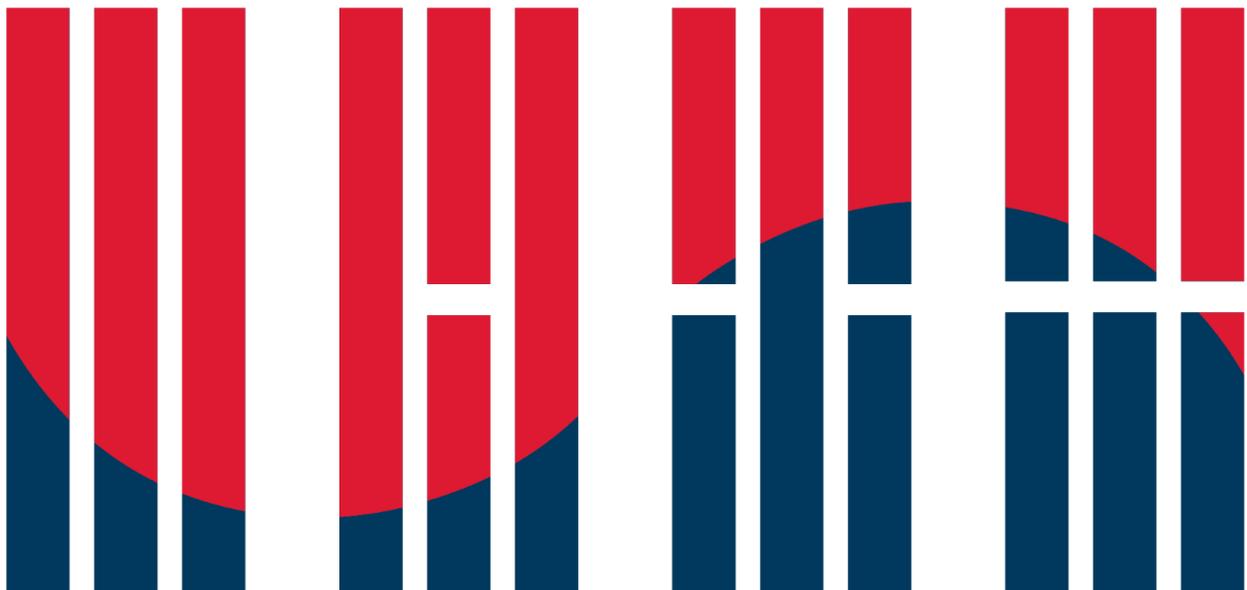
NORTH KOREA PROGRAM

OCTOBER 12 - NOVEMBER 18, 2020

GW INSTITUTE FOR KOREAN STUDIES

ELLIOTT SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

1957 E ST. NW, SUITE 503, WASHINGTON DC, 20052



WELCOME LETTER

Dear Prospective Participants:

Welcome to the North Korea Program of the George Washington University Institute for Korean Studies (GWIKS). The North Korea Program, launched in 2019, is designed to provide professionals in the nation, including Congressional staff, government officials, think tank and private sector experts, media, NGOs, and graduate students with a variety of perspectives about North Korea. An Acknowledgment of Participation will be awarded at the end of the Program. I am convinced that this unique opportunity will help professionals and students better understand North Korea that is often left as a black box in the policy discussions.



The Program is structured as a six-week intensive course covering the following topics:

- Between Sovereignty and Industry: A History of the North Korean State
- North Korean Command and Control of Its Armed Forces
- North Korea's Relationship with China and Its Foreign Policy
- Inter-Korean relations at Crossroad
- America's Korea Policy: A Diplomat's Perspective
- North Korea's Nuclear Program
- North Korea's Economy in the Midst of Tight U.N. Sanctions
- Shifts in North Korean Literature and Film
- The Role of Human Rights in Policy Toward North Korea
- Inside North Korea and the People's Daily Life
- Negotiating with North Koreans

The eleven lecturers with exceptional academic and/or professional backgrounds will guide your successful intellectual exploration of North Korea. At the end of the program the participants will have a roundtable discussion to share their newly gained thoughts and perspectives. I look forward to the Program giving you a new distinctive lens through which to view North Korea.

Cordially,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Jisoo".

Jisoo M. Kim, Ph.D.

Director, Institute for Korean Studies

Co-Director, East Asia National Resource Center

Korea Foundation Associate Professor of History, International Affairs & EALL

The George Washington University

PROGRAM SCHEDULE

Monday, Oct 12, 2020, 7-9 p.m. ET

DAY 1

Between Sovereignty and Industry: A History of the North Korean State

This talk examines the history of the North Korean state from the colonial period (1910-1945) to the contemporary period (today's post-nuclear era). While the historical narrative is broad, a particular focus guiding the talk is the relationship between the practice of sovereignty (Juche, nuclear weapons, statism) and the pursuit of industrial progress (surplus accumulation, labor primacy, factory work). Such an approach requires the contextualization of the North Korean state within world history, especially postcolonial history, and as part of global industrial development.



Cheehyung Harrison Kim | Associate Professor, University of Hawaii

Cheehyung Harrison Kim is Associate Professor in the Department of History at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. His research and teaching focus on socialism, labor, industrialism, everyday life, and urbanism in the context of East Asia and North Korea. He completed his undergraduate studies at the University of Texas at Austin and graduate studies at Columbia University. His awards include the Jacob K. Javits Fellowship and the American Council of Learned Societies Faculty Fellowship. *Heroes and Toilers: Work as Life in Postwar North Korea, 1953-1961* (Columbia University Press, 2018) is his first book. He is currently writing a transnational history of architecture and urbanization in North Korea.

Wednesday, Oct 14, 2020, 7-9 p.m. ET

DAY 2

How Kim Jong-un Controls a Crisis: What Do We Know About North Korean Command and Control of Its Armed Forces.

When it comes to the literature on North Korean provocations (missile/nuclear tests, operations around the NLL), the issue of command and control is often mentioned but rarely looked at in any depth. This is often due to the lack of sources and methodologies for approaching such a topic. This talk will try to address the issue by looking at what evidence has emerged on how C2 operated under Kim Jong-il and how it has evolved, along with the methods North Korea now uses to provoke and conduct a crisis, under Kim Jong-un. The lecture will address how the regime makes decisions at the strategic level, how it sets the stage for a provocation, and how decisions are executed and managed throughout the crisis at the operational level.

Ken Gause | Director of Adversary Analytics Program, CNA

Ken Gause is the Director of the Adversary Analytics Program at the CNA Corporation. His team is responsible for doing deep dive studies on the leadership/decision-making, armed forces, military doctrine, and capabilities of U.S. adversaries. Mr. Gause began his career as a Sovietologist for the U.S. government in the 1980s and has worked in think tanks since the late 1980s. He is a noted expert on North Korean leadership and is the author of several books on the topic.



Monday, Oct 19, 2020, 7-9 p.m. ET

DAY 3

North Korea's Relationship with China and Its Foreign Policy

North Korea's relationship with China is and almost always has been pivotal to its survival. This lecture will give an overview of Sino-North Korean relations from 1949 to the present. It will present a multi-dimensional view of the subject looking at diplomatic, economic and cultural relations between China and Korea. It will go over China's policy during the Korean War, Sino-North Korean relations during the Cold War, the evolution of the Sino-North Korean relationship during the 1980s and 1990s and the relationship between Beijing and Pyongyang today.



Gregg A. Brazinsky | Professor of History and International Affairs, the George Washington University

Gregg A. Brazinsky is Professor of History and International Affairs and Deputy Director of the Institute for Korean Studies at the George Washington University. His research seeks to understand the diverse and multi-faceted interactions among East Asian states and between Asia and the United States. He is the author of *Nation Building in South Korea: Koreans, Americans, and the Making of a Democracy* (University of North Carolina Press, 2007) and *Winning the Third World: Sino-American Rivalry during the Cold War* (University of North Carolina Press, 2017). He served as Interim Director of the GW Institute for Korean Studies during the Spring 2017 semester.

Wednesday, Oct 21, 2020, 7-9 p.m. ET

DAY 4

Inter-Korean Relations at Crossroad

This year marks the 70th anniversary of the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 and the 20th anniversary of the first historic summit between Kim Dae-Jung and Kim Jong-il. With President Moon's drive for Peace on the Korean Peninsula, the two Koreas agreed to end the Korean War with a pledge to peaceful coexistence in 2018. However, this year, North Korean authorities launched a propaganda war on Seoul with aggressive statements, and tension on the Peninsula is on the rise. The latest North Korean action of blowing up the Joint Communication Center in Kaesung jeopardized the whole peace process between the two Koreas. Whatever the reasons behind these actions, North Korea's behavior presents a serious challenge for Moon's effort to build a permanent peace regime on the Korean Peninsula as well as achieve denuclearization. With U.S.-North Korea nuclear talks deadlocked, inter-Korean relations are at crossroad again. With or without a third summit between Trump and Kim before the November election, how will Seoul manage this new challenge and revive the peace talks with Pyongyang?

Seong-ho Sheen | Professor of International Security and Director of
International Security Center at Graduate School of International
Studies, Seoul National University

Seong-ho Sheen is Professor of International Security, and Director of International Security Center at Graduate School of International Studies (GSIS), Seoul National University (SNU). Previously, he was a visiting fellow at the East-West Center DC, a CNAPS fellow at the Brookings Institution, an assistant research professor at Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies (APCSS) and a research fellow at Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis (IFPA). He has



taught at University of Massachusetts Boston. In addition, he advised various government organizations including ROK National Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Unification, and the ROK National Assembly. His area of interest includes International Security, US Foreign Policy, Northeast Asian Politics and the Korean Peninsula. Professor Sheen received Ph.D. and M.A. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University and B.A. from Seoul National University.

Monday, Oct 26, 2020, 7-9 p.m. ET

DAY 5

America's Korea Policy: A Diplomat's Perspective

Ambassador Stephens' lecture will touch upon the historical legacy of the U.S. role in the liberation and division of Korea, and of the Korean War, before turning to a discussion of the U.S.-South Korea relationship today, and U.S. efforts under successive administrations to address a range of policy objectives, including but not limited to the North Korean nuclear and missile threat. The lecture will draw on Stephens' experience in Washington and Seoul to analyze alliance diplomacy in divided Korea, and the challenges for Washington and Seoul in coordinating and implementing North Korea policies in pursuit of mostly shared but not identical goals and priorities.



Amb. Kathleen Stephens | President and CEO, Korea Economic Institute of America (KEI)

Ambassador (ret.) Kathleen Stephens is the President and CEO of the Korea Economic Institute of America (KEI). A former U.S. Foreign Service Officer, she served as U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Korea from 2008 to 2011. Her other overseas assignments included postings to China, former Yugoslavia, Portugal, Northern Ireland, where she was U.S. Consul General in Belfast during the negotiations culminating in the 1998 Good Friday Agreement, and India, where she was U.S. Charge 'd Affaires (2014-2015). Ambassador Stephens also served in a number of policy positions in Washington at the Department of State and the White House. These included acting Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs (2012), Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs (2005-2007), Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs (2003-2005), and National Security Council Director for European Affairs at the Clinton White House.

Wednesday, Oct 28, 2020, 7-9 p.m. ET

DAY 6

North Korea's Nuclear Program

The lecture covers North Korea's pursuit of nuclear energy from the 1950's describing the development of the independent scientific base in the 1960's and 70's and the establishment of indigenous nuclear fuel cycle capabilities in the 1980's. The implications of the December 1991 Joint Statement on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula (JS) is addressed. North Korea's non-compliance with its safeguards obligations is explained together with the pros and cons of the 1994 Agreed Framework. The withdrawal of North Korea from the NPT, and subsequent further development of its nuclear weapons program with its current capabilities after the Singapore Summit until today is described.

Olli Heinonen, Former Deputy Director General of IAEA

Olli Heinonen is a Distinguished Fellow with the 38 North program at the Stimson Center, Washington DC. He was Senior Advisor on Science and Nonproliferation at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies in Washington, DC from 2015 to January 2020. From 2010 to July 2017, he was a senior fellow at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. Before joining the Belfer Center, Heinonen served for 27 years at the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in Vienna. He was the deputy director general of the IAEA, and head of its Department of Safeguards. Prior to that, he was director at the Agency's various operational divisions, and an inspector, including at the IAEA's overseas office in Tokyo, Japan. Prior to joining the IAEA, Heinonen was a senior research officer at the Technical Research Centre of Finland Reactor Laboratory, in charge of research and development related to nuclear waste solidification and disposal.



Monday, Nov 2, 2020, 7-9 p.m. ET

DAY 7

North Korea's Economy in the Midst of Tight U.N. Sanctions

Brown will review the basic conditions of North Korea's economy and the challenges and decision points that it currently faces. His theory is that the economy is caught in a double trap, one familiar one being the poverty trap, wherein it consumes everything it produces so it has little left over for investment and growth or to repay debt. But the other more salient trap is being caught half way between a socialist type "command economy" ruled by rations and a market economy ruled by money. Severe sanctions imposed by the UNSC since 2017 may be forcing Kim Jong-un to move in the market direction. The lecture will cover (1) economic history since 1945-command economy to a dollarized economy in three generations, (2) North Korean natural and human resources, (3) trade situation, (4) monetary situation, and (5) half step reforms, challenges and opportunities.



William Brown | Adjunct Assistant Professor, Georgetown University

William B. Brown (Bill) is principal of his consulting company, Northeast Asia Economics and Intelligence Advisory, LLC (NAEIA.com) and is Adjunct Professor at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service, where he teaches courses on the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean economies. Mr. Brown served a career in the federal government, working as an economist and East Asia specialist at the Central Intelligence Agency, Commerce Department, and National Intelligence Council (NIC). At the NIC, he served as Senior Research Fellow for East Asia and as Deputy National Intelligence Officer for Economics. His most recent service was as Senior Advisor to the National Intelligence Manager for East Asia in the Office of the Director of National Intelligence. Mr. Brown's research is focused on the North Korean and Chinese economies and he is widely quoted in national and Korean media, especially with Voice of America. His publications include "Money and Markets in North Korea," an unclassified study for the National Intelligence Council, and the "Economics of Korean Unification" published by the Council of Foreign Relations.

Wednesday, Nov 4, 2020, 7-9 p.m. ET

DAY 8

Shifts in North Korean Literature and Film

This lecture will examine the transformation of North Korean literature and film from the 1950s to present day. Kim's position is that the literary and filmic culture have been shaped by the Party, but they also shaped the society, impacting the way these artistic works were conceived, produced, and disseminated. Literature is supposed to reflect Party directives and educate North Koreans about political ideology. At the same time, writers and filmmakers use their creativity to produce artistic works that question, evade, and resist Party directives. It would be, therefore, shortsighted to assume that all cultural products are designed by the state and that artists articulate only the Party slogans. The literary and filmic world in North Korea is dynamic and a medium through which artists express their creativity.

Immanuel Kim | Korea Foundation and Kim-Renaud Associate Professor of Korean Literature and Culture Studies, the George Washington University

Dr. Immanuel Kim is a specialist in North Korean literature and cinema. His research focuses on the changes and development, particularly in the representations of women, sexuality, and memory, of North Korean literature from the 1960s to present day. His book *Rewriting Revolution: Women, Sexuality, and Memory in North Korean Fiction* (University of Hawaii Press, 2018) explores the complex and dynamic literary culture that has deeply impacted the society. His second book called *Laughing North Koreans: Culture of the Film Industry* (Lexington Books, 2020) is on North Korean comedy films and the ways in which humor has been an integral component of the everyday life. By exploring comedy films and comedians, Dr. Kim looks past the ostensible propaganda and examines the agency of laughter. Dr. Kim has also translated a North Korean novel called *Friend* (Columbia University Press, 2020) by Paek Nam-nyong.



Monday, Nov 9, 2020, 7-9 p.m. ET

DAY 9

The Role of Human Rights in Policy Toward North Korea

In 2014, the UN Human Rights Council's Commission of Inquiry on North Korean Human Rights determined that North Korea's abuses constituted crimes against humanity. Ambassador King served as the U.S. Special Envoy for North Korean human rights where he coordinated U.S. efforts to deal with these human rights issues. His position was created by the U.S. Congress in the North Korean Human Rights Act. He will discuss U.S. efforts to deal with these human rights violations in the context of ongoing efforts to bring about denuclearization in North Korea and to encourage regional stability in Northeast Asia. He will focus on U.S. and other international efforts to deal with the human rights problems including the role of the United Nations, efforts to increase access to external news and information, the role of humanitarian assistance, North Korea's detention of U.S. citizens and others, and the out-migration of North Koreans, most of whom have settled in South Korea (North Korea "defectors").



Amb. Robert R. King | Former Special Envoy for North Korean Human Rights Issues

Ambassador Robert R. King was Special Envoy for North Korean Human Rights Issues with Rank of Ambassador at the Department of State (2009-2017). He coordinated and promoted United States efforts to improve human rights in North Korea, negotiated with senior North Korean officials on humanitarian assistance and other issues, secured the release of an American citizen held in North Korea, and represented the United States at the United Nations in Geneva and New York on North Korea human rights issues. King is currently Senior Advisor to the Korea Chair at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), a Senior Fellow at the Korea Economic Institute (KEI), and a Board Member of the Committee for Human Rights in North Korea (HRNK). Previously, King was Chief of Staff to Congressman Tom Lantos, Democratic Staff Director on U.S. House Foreign Affairs Committee, and a White House Fellow assigned to the staff of the National Security Council in the Jimmy Carter Administration.

Thursday, Nov 12, 2020, 7-9 p.m. ET

Please note the adjusted date in observance of Veterans Day.

DAY 10

Inside North Korea and the People's Daily Life

The lecture will focus on how the other elements of this class, from foreign policy to marketization and human rights, manifest themselves in the daily lives of North Koreans. We will look at how history is taught, for example, and how historical narratives are weaved into the lives of North Koreans today, justifying the state and its foreign and economic policies. We will also look at how the policy choices of Kim Jong-un have created an economy vastly different to the command economy of his father's era and how markets and monetization have created new challenges and opportunities for DPRK citizens. We will also attempt to understand how North Koreans perceive their country, the world around them, while also exploring how we are limited in both our understanding of North Korea, as well as in how we deal with this country as a long term challenge.



Andray Abrahamian | Adjunct Senior Fellow at Pacific Forum

Dr. Andray Abrahamian was the 2018-19 Koret Fellow in Korea Program at Stanford University's Shorenstein APARC. He has also been a member of the US National Committee on North Korea, a Visiting Scholar at George Mason University Korea and a Adjunct Senior Fellow at Pacific Forum and at Griffith University. Working for a non-profit, Choson Exchange, took him to the DPRK over 30 times. He also co-founded Coreana Connect, an organization that focuses on women's rights and empowerment in North Korea. He recently published *Being in North Korea* (Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center, 2019) about his experiences in the DPRK.

Monday, Nov 16, 2020, 7-9 p.m. ET

DAY 11

Negotiating with North Koreans

The U.S. has been in direct negotiations with North Korea since 1994 when we were able to secure the Agreed Framework that froze North Korea's Yongbyon Plutonium facility. We then commenced with the Six Party Talks, and an agreement–Joint Statement–on September 19, 2005. From 2009 to 2018, negotiations were on and off, with the Leap Day Agreement of 29 February 2012, the return of the two U.S. journalists held in North Korea in 2009 and various other discrete contacts. Since 2018, we have had President Trump conduct two summits and a DMZ meeting with his counterpart, Kim Jong-un. During this 25-year period, the U.S. has been meeting and negotiating with a cadre of North Korean officials from their Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Their officials who have worked with the U.S. have remained on the job; most have not changed during this period. This is in stark contrast to the U.S., where we have had routine changes. So, North Korea's former Foreign Minister, Ri Yong-ho, had been working with the U.S. since 1994. The same applies to his subordinates. How do they negotiate? Who are they? What have we learned? These are some of the questions we will discuss.



Amb. Joseph DeTrani | Former Special Envoy for Six-Party Talks with North Korea

Ambassador DeTrani was the U.S. Special Envoy for the Six-Party Talks with North Korea and the U.S. representative to the Korea Energy Development Organization. Ambassador DeTrani was an Associate Director of National Intelligence and Mission Manager for North Korea and the Director of the National Counterproliferation Center, while also serving as a Special Adviser to the Director of National Intelligence.

After government service, he was the President of the Intelligence and National Security Alliance (INSA), a professional think tank. Currently, he is on the Board of Managers at Sandia National Laboratories and is a Senior Advisor at Oak Ridge National Laboratories. Also, he is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and a Fellow with the Institute for Corean-American Studies.

Friday, Nov 18, 2020, 7-9 p.m. ET

DAY 12

Participants Roundtable Discussion

The roundtable is designed to provide the participants with an opportunity to share their newly gained thoughts and perspectives throughout the lecture series. This wrapup session will help the participants clarify their understanding of the topics covered in the program and learn how professionals in different fields approach the same topics. Without in-person meetings, the roundtable will also be a great opportunity for networking with fellow participants.

All participants must attend at least EIGHT (out of eleven) lectures and the Participants Roundtable.