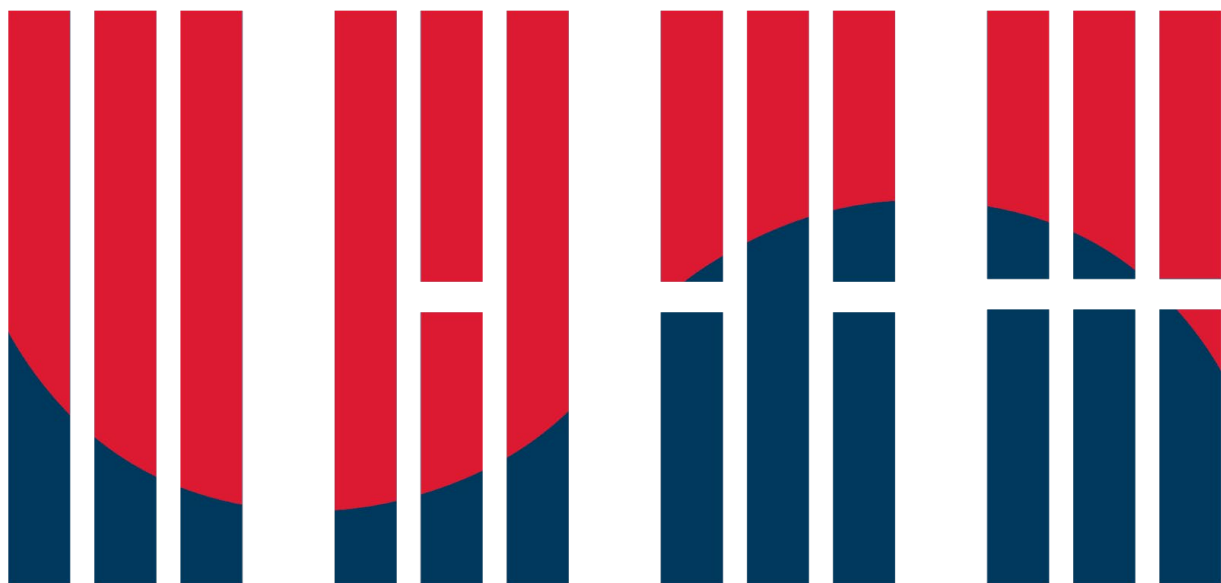


# GWIKS

# NORTH KOREA PROGRAM

**OCTOBER 11 - NOVEMBER 17, 2022**

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:

- A Brief History of DPR Korea through Archives
- Power Structure, Succession, and Regime Stability in North Korea
- North Korea's Relationship with China and Its Foreign Policy
- Inter-Korean relations at Crossroad
- North Korea's Economy in the Midst of Tight U.N. Sanctions
- North Korea's Nuclear Program
- Negotiating with North Koreans
- Millennial North Korea: New Media Technology and Living Creatively with Surveillance
- The Role of Human Rights in Policy Toward North Korea
- Inside North Korea and the People's Daily Life
- America's Korea Policy: A Diplomat's Perspective

**\*\*Please note that due to the uncertainty of COVID-19 situations, this program may shift to an all-virtual space for the safety of our participants and speakers.**

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

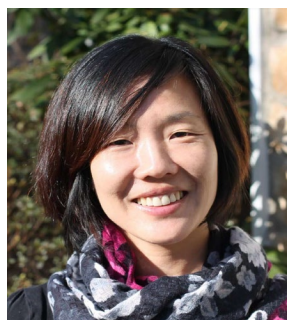
Tuesday, October 11, 2022, 7-9 p.m. ET

Virtual Lecture, Zoom

### DAY 1

#### A Brief History of DPR Korea through Archives

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, better known as North Korea, is often portrayed in mainstream media as a backward place, a Stalinist relic without a history worth knowing. But during its founding years (1945-1950), North Korea experienced a radical social revolution when everyday life became the primary site of political struggle. With historical comparisons to revolutions in the early 20th century, this presentation draws on the speaker's research to introduce rarely seen archival materials from North Korea's formative stage, situating its development within the broader history of the Cold War. By attending to the importance of history in understanding contemporary North Korea, the talk aims to demystify the myths that pose a challenge to resolving current conflicts.



Suzy Kim | Associate Professor, Rutgers University

Suzy Kim is a historian and author of the award-winning *Everyday Life in the North Korean Revolution, 1945-1950* published by Cornell University Press in 2013. Her work has appeared in *positions: asia critique*, *Journal of Korean Studies*, *Asia-Pacific Journal*, *Cross-Currents*, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, and *Gender & History*. She holds a PhD from the University of Chicago, and teaches at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey in New Brunswick, USA. She recently completed a book about the history of North Korean women during the Cold War, after spending a year in South Korea as a Fulbright Senior Fellow (2020-2021).

Thursday, October 13, 2022, 7-9 p.m. ET

Virtual Lecture, Zoom

## DAY 2

### **Power Structure, Succession, and Regime Stability in North Korea**

This talk will assess how power works in North Korea, particularly looking at how power is wielded by those without inside and outside of Kim family bloodlines. How do officials and elites leverage their personal networks to impact Kim's thinking and influence policy? Who outside the KJU wields power or influence? Who are the powerbrokers and how do they exert their power? The lecture will also address the recent personnel turnovers and organizational changes within the North Korean leadership, followed by a discussion about what this might mean for the future of the regime and possible succession.

[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 US adversaries. Mr. Gause began his career as a Sovietologist for the US 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.



Tuesday, October 18, 2022, 7-9 p.m. ET

In-Person Lecture, Suite 503 Conference Room

## 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 GW. 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.

Thursday, October 20, 2022, 7-9 p.m. ET  
Virtual Lecture, Zoom

## DAY 4

### Inter-Korean Relations at Crossroad

South Korea's policy toward North Korea under the Yoon administration is redirected to deterrence and defense in order to preserve "peace through strength." Therefore, the next five years of South Korea's policy towards North Korea will focus primarily on pressuring Pyongyang to abandon its nuclear program, strengthening security cooperation with Washington and Tokyo, and making a shift in its military strategy and posture in a way to ensure escalation dominance in crisis. North Korea is also escalating regional tensions with more missile launches, enjoying the tacit support of China and Russia. The natural outcome in the coming years can be an intensive arms race on the Korean Peninsula and beyond. This lecture will examine how the discussion of arms control between the two Koreas has progressed from the past to the present and what limitations there are. It will also examine how the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and the establishment of a peace regime are interconnected and what challenges South Korea faces.

Jina Kim | Dean of Language and Diplomacy Division, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies

Prof. Jina Kim is Dean of Language and Diplomacy Division at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies. Previously, she was Chief of the North Korean Military Division at Korea Institute for Defense Analyses and Adjunct Professor at Yonsei Graduate School of International Studies. She is on multiple advisory boards for the Republic of Korea Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of National Unification, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Air Force, Seoul Metropolitan Government, and Peaceful Unification Advisory Council. She also served as a member of the advisory board for the Blue House National Security Office, US-ROK Combined Forces Command, and Policy Evaluation Committee for the Prime Minister's Office. She authored *North Korean Nuclear Weapons Crisis* (Palgrave MacMillan 2014), *US Policy toward North Korea: Change for the Future* (KIDA 2022), and *Cooperative Threat Reduction and the Korean Peninsula* (KIDA 2020) and co-authored many books including *Handbook of Europe-Korea Relations* (Routledge 2021) and *The Sheathed Sword* (Bloomsbury 2022). She published more than 50 monographs and articles in academic journals such as *Survival*, *International Spectator*, *Journal of International Relations*, *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, and others. She holds a Ph.D. in International Relations from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, and an MA in International Studies from Yonsei Graduate School of International Studies.



**Tuesday, October 25, 2022, 7-9 p.m. ET**  
**In-Person Lecture, Suite 503 Conference Room**

## DAY 5

### **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 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 | Principal, Northeast Asia Economics and Intelligence, Advisory, LLC.**

William B. Brown (Bill) is principal of his consulting company, Northeast Asia Economics and Intelligence Advisory, LLC (NAEIA.com) and a Board member of the Korea Economic Institute of America. He has taught courses on Chinese, Japanese, and Korean economies for many years in the "Three Georges" of Washington; Georgetown, George Washington, and George Mason Universities, as an Adjunct Professor and currently teaches at UMUC a course on contemporary China. 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 and with the Mission Manager for North Korea. 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. He holds an M.A. in Economics from Washington University in St. Louis and a B.A. in International Studies from Rhodes College in Memphis.



**Thursday, October 27, 2022, 7-9 p.m. ET**  
**In-Person Lecture, Suite 503 Conference Room**

## DAY 6

### **North Korea's Nuclear Program**

The lecture covers North Korea's pursuit of on nuclear energy from the 1950's until today describing the development of the independent scientific base and the establishment of nuclear weapons capabilities. 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 and Hanoi Summits 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 of the Harvard Kennedy School. 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 assignment to the IAEA's overseas office in Tokyo, Japan. Prior to joining the IAEA, Heinonen was a senior research officer at the Reactor Laboratory of the Technical Research Centre of Finland, in charge of research and development related to nuclear waste solidification and disposal.



**Tuesday, November 1, 2022, 7-9 p.m. ET**  
**In-Person Lecture, Suite 503 Conference Room**

## DAY 7

### **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 Jung 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 and a professor at the Graduate Department of Defense and Strategic Studies at Missouri State University.

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 a senior advisor at Sandia National Laboratories and a member of the Council of Foreign Relations and the National Committee on North Korea.

Thursday, November 3, 2022, 7-9 p.m. ET

Virtual Lecture, Zoom

## DAY 8

### Millennial North Korea: New Media Technology and Living Creatively with Surveillance

North Korea might be known as the world's most secluded society, but during the new millennium it too has witnessed the rapid rise of new media technologies. While the North Korean state is anxiously trying to catch up with the world standard when it comes to communication technology, it is also faced with the need to block the open influx of outside information by designing its own "intranet" for its people. In a country where the smuggling of foreign media is still punishable by public execution, how do North Koreans manage to access outside information? How does the state attempt to balance the need for introducing latest technologies while keeping a tight grip on free information flow? By taking a simultaneous look at the top-down and bottom-up view of millennial North Korea and North Korean millennial's, this project asks how North Koreans today manage to bring in creative measures to cope with the constant state surveillance.

Suk-Young Kim | Professor, UCLA

Suk-Young Kim is Professor of Theater at UCLA where she also directs Center for Performance Studies. She is the author of *Illusive Utopia: Theater, Film, and Everyday Performance in North Korea* (University of Michigan Press, 2010), *DMZ Crossing: Performing Emotional Citizenship Along the Korean Border* (Columbia University Press, 2014), and most recently, *K-pop Live: Fans, Idols, and Multimedia Performance* (Stanford University Press, 2018). In collaboration with Kim Yong, she also co-authored *Long Road Home* (Columbia University Press, 2009), which



investigates transnational human rights and the efficacy of oral history through the testimony of a North Korean labor camp survivor. Her scholarship has been recognized by the James Palais Book Prize from the Association for Asian Studies, the Association for Theater in Higher Education Outstanding Book Award, and ACLS/SSRC/NEH International and Area Studies Fellowship. She is currently working on several book-length projects: Millennial North Korea, Korean Language Theater in Kazakhstan and Russian Theatrical Costumes and the Vestige of Empire.

**Tuesday, November 8, 2022, 7-9 p.m. ET**  
**In-Person Lecture, Suite 503 Conference Room**

## 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 and Democratic Staff Director, U.S. House Foreign Affairs Committee; a White House Fellow assigned to the staff of the National Security Council in the Jimmy Carter Administration. King is the author of *Patterns of Impunity: Human Rights in North Korea and the Role of the U.S. Special Envoy* and editor of *The North Korean Conundrum: Balancing Human Rights and Nuclear Security*, both published in 2021 by Stanford University's Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center.

**Thursday, November 10, 2022, 7-9 p.m. ET**  
**Virtual Lecture, Zoom**

## DAY 10

### **Inside North Korea and the People's Daily Life**

In 2002 President Bush in his state of the Union message labeled the DPRK as part of the “Axis of Evil,” marking a change in American perceptions of North Korea. Two decades later, the country is almost always portrayed in the media and other representations as a rogue state, a serious threat to the world, and a dangerous place—unknowable and unpredictable - with irrational leaders, and miserable, brainwashed, starving citizens. Is the DPRK such a dangerous place, and how has this portrayal shaped US policy and affected the country's isolation? This lecture will focus on the lives of DPRK citizens in the agrarian sector of the North Korean economy. We will look at farm life, gender, and food security, and will discuss how Kim Jong Un era reforms created space for new opportunities for farmers. We will also consider the barriers and limitations to our understanding of North Korea and the challenges of dealing with this country, particularly during the Covid pandemic.



#### **Linda Lewis | Retired AFSC North Korea Program Director**

Linda Lewis recently retired after working for ten years for the non-profit American Friends Service Committee as AFSC Country Representative for the DPRK. Based in China, she was responsible for AFSC's program in North Korea, including its long-standing agricultural development project. A regular visitor to the DPRK, she also organized numerous study tours and exchanges for DPRK partners. A cultural anthropologist and Korea specialist, Dr. Lewis has lived and worked in Asia for many years, including as a Peace Corps Volunteer, Fulbright research fellow, and international program director in the ROK. Before joining AFSC in 2010, she was Vice President for Academic Affairs at the Institute for Study Abroad, and Director of Asian and Pacific Studies at the School for International Training. Dr. Lewis received her Ph.D. from Columbia and taught at Wittenberg University, where she was Professor of Anthropology and Director of the East Asian Studies Program. She has also held visiting appointments at Amherst, Dartmouth, and the University of Washington.

**Tuesday, November 15, 2022, 7-9 p.m. ET**  
**In-Person Lecture, Suite 503 Conference Room**

## DAY 11

### **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.

**Thursday, November 17, 2022, 7-9 p.m. ET  
In-Person Lecture, Suite 503 Conference Room**

## **DAY 12**

### **Participants Closing Dinner & Round Table Discussion**

The round table is designed to provide the participants with an opportunity to share their newly gained thoughts and perspectives throughout the lecture series. This wrap-up 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. The round table 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 Round table.**