

THE FOURTH NORTH KOREA ECONOMIC FORUM CONFERENCE:

# UNDERSTANDING MARKETS IN NORTH KOREA: REFORMS, NARCOTICS, AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Institute for  
Korean Studies  
THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

GW 한국학연구소



**KDI SCHOOL**  
KDI School of Public Policy and Management

Monday, October 17<sup>th</sup>, 2022, 9:00 AM – 3:00 EDT

Hybrid Event:

In Person at The George Washington University, Elliott School of International Affairs  
City View Room, 7<sup>th</sup> Floor  
1957 E St NW, Washington, DC, 20052  
Virtual Via Zoom

## ❖ EVENT DESCRIPTION

North Korea has long been considered one of the world's most politically and economically isolated countries. This seclusion has made it challenging for outside observers to gain a clear comprehension of how North Korea's markets function and has led to divergent views on the North Korean economy among many scholars and policy makers. Furthermore, North Korea's relative isolation from the broader global economy has resulted in the country pursuing informal (and sometimes illegal) trade outside the scope of normal international trade channels. Analyzing the role of North Korea's domestic markets and their relationship with the global marketplace is key to understanding the unique state of the North Korean economy. Drawing from a variety of academic disciplines and subject-matter specializations, this year's North Korea Economic Forum Conference will examine the role that markets play in shaping economic policy in North Korea and its wider economic relations with the outside world.

❖ PROGRAM

9:00-9:15	Check In
9:15-9:45	Breakfast Reception
9:45-10:05	<b>Congratulatory Remarks</b>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Moderator: <b>Jisoo M. Kim</b> (Director, GW Institute for Korean Studies)</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <b>Alyssa Ayres</b> (Dean, The Elliott School of International Affairs, GW)</li> <li>▪ <b>Jong-II You</b> (Dean, KDI School of Public Policy and Management)</li> <li>▪ <b>William Brown</b> (Chair, GW North Korea Economic Forum)</li> </ul>
10:00-12:00	<b>Session I. International Views of North Korea's Markets</b>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Moderator: <b>Yonho Kim</b> (Associate Director, GW Institute for Korean Studies)</li> </ul>
	<p><u>Speakers</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <b>Justin Hastings</b> (Professor, University of Sydney) “Market Integration in North Korea”</li> <li>▪ <b>Sung-Bae Kim</b> (Head of DPRK Cities Research Group, Soongsil Institute for Peace and Unification) “The Emergence of an Urban Rent-Seeking Regime in North Korea: The Case of Pyongyang City”</li> <li>▪ <b>Dennis P. Halpin</b> (Fellow, Institute for Corean-American Studies) “Failure of Market Reform in North Korea in Contrast to the Chinese Model”</li> </ul> <p><u>Discussants</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <b>William Brown</b> (Chair, GW North Korea Economic Forum)</li> <li>▪ <b>Rachel Minyoung Lee</b> (Regional Issues Manager and Senior Analyst, Open Nuclear Network)</li> <li>▪ <b>Byung Yeon Kim</b> (Professor, Seoul National University)</li> </ul>
12:00-12:30	Lunch
12:30-1:30	<b>Keynote Speech</b>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <b>Robert King</b> (Former US Special Envoy for North Korean Human Rights Issues) “Markets and Human Rights in North Korea”</li> </ul>
<b>1:30-3:00</b>	<b>Session II. North Korea’s Global Narcotics Trade and Trade with UK</b>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Moderator: <b>Jenny Town</b> (Director of 38 North Program, Stimson Center)</li> </ul> <p><u>Speakers</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <b>Matthew Abbott</b> (Director of Government and Diplomatic Programs, Chicago Council on Global Affairs) “North Korea and the Global Narcotics Trade: Effects of the COVID-19 Pandemic”</li> <li>▪ <b>Owen Miller</b> (Lecturer, University of London) “The Beginning of Trade Relations between North Korea and the UK, 1961-1969”</li> </ul> <p><u>Discussants</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <b>William Newcomb</b> (Former Member of UN Panel of Experts)</li> <li>▪ <b>John Everard</b> (Former UK Ambassador to North Korea)</li> </ul>

## PROFILES

### ❖ DISTINGUISHED SPEAKERS (Alphabetical Order)



**ALYSSA AYRES** is Dean of the Elliott School of International Affairs at George Washington University. Ayres is a foreign policy practitioner and award-winning author with senior experience in the government, nonprofit, and private sectors. From 2013 to 2021, she was senior fellow for India, Pakistan, and South Asia at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), where she remains an adjunct senior fellow. Her work focuses primarily on India’s role in the world and on U.S. relations with South Asia in the larger Indo-Pacific. Her book about India’s rise on the world stage, *Our Time Has Come: How India is Making Its Place in the World*, was published in 2018. Ayres is also interested in the emergence of subnational engagement in foreign policy, particularly the growth of international city networks, and her current book project (working title, *Bright Lights, Biggest Cities: The Urban Challenge to India’s Future*, under contract with Oxford University Press) examines India’s urban transformation and its international implications. From 2010 to 2013, Ayres served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia. She received an AB from Harvard College and an MA and Ph.D. from the University of Chicago.



**WILLIAM (BILL) B. BROWN** is Chair of the GW North Korea Economic Forum, 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.



**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 U.S. 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 non-resident Distinguished Fellow at the Korea Economic Institute of America (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 for the U.S. House Foreign Affairs Committee; as well as 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.



**JONG-IL YOU** is Dean of the KDI School of Public Policy and Management. He taught at University of Cambridge, University of Notre Dame and Ritsumeikan University before taking a professorship at the KDI School of Public Policy and Management. He also had Visiting Professor positions at University of California, San Diego and University of Beijing. Dr. You is widely published in such areas as economic growth and income distribution, macroeconomic and development policies, and labor issues. He has been active as a policy advisor and served as a member of the Presidential Committee on Northeast Asia Economic Hub and chaired the Special Committee on Economic Democracy of the Democratic Party. He also served as a member of the Public Funds Management Committee, the Advisory Committee for the Constitutional Revision Committee of the National Assembly, and the Commission on Financial Administration Reform. As a leader in civic movement, he is currently the Head of Knowledge Cooperative for Good Governance, a network of researchers, and the President of Jubilee Bank, an NGO working to help debt-stricken low-income individuals. He graduated from Seoul National University and received his Ph.D. in Economics from Harvard University

❖ **SPEAKERS (Alphabetical Order)**



**MATT ABBOTT** is the Director of Government and Diplomatic Programs at the Chicago Council on Global Affairs. Prior to joining the Council, he served as Director of Global and Economic Affairs for U.S. Senator Mark Kirk (IL). He also served on the staff of Mr. Kirk in the U.S. House of Representatives as well as the staff of Representative Philip Crane (IL). Abbott was a participant in the National Committee on American Foreign Policy's Emerging Leaders Program for Next Generation Korea Peninsula Specialists and completed a research project on U.S. legislative branch engagement with North Korea. He is the recipient of multiple other awards and fellowships including a Foreign Policy Fellowship with the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and a Kim Koo Fellowship with the Korea Society. Abbott is also a member of the National Committee on North Korea. His commentary and analysis have been featured in dozens of media outlets including *BBC World News*, *CNBC*, and *The Hill*. Abbott has participated in numerous conferences, including Track 1.5, and Track 2 sessions on East Asian security issues. He received his undergraduate education at Dartmouth College and completed his graduate education at the University of Chicago. Abbott also received a diploma from the United States Naval War College.



**SUNG-BAE KIM** is a Professor Emeritus of public administration at Soongsil University's College of Social Sciences and a head of the North Korean City research group at Soongsil Institute for Peace and Unification. He was the founding director of the Soongsil Institute for Peace and Reunification and served as the director until his retirement. His research has focused on urban and regional governance, local economic development, and institutional analysis. His current research interests are the institutional basis for unification, cities, and regions in North Korea, and he recently completed a study on the institutional infrastructure for establishing a normal market economy in North Korea. He has published several books and many articles both in Korean and English in various journals in the field of urban policy and local government. He graduated from Seoul National University with a degree in landscape architecture and earned his MA and Ph.D. in urban planning from UCLA and Harvard University, respectively.



**DENNIS HALPIN** is a Fellow at the Institute for Corean-American Studies. He has ties to Korea going back to February, 1971, when he served as a Peace Corps volunteer in Seoul. He taught English for two years at Kyunghee University and then at Seoul National University. Halpin returned to Korea a second time as a Foreign Service Officer working at the U.S. Embassy/Seoul from 1978 to 1982. He was an Embassy observer at the subsequent martial law trial of Mr. Kim Dae Jung. He came back to Korea for a third time as the American Consul in Pusan from 1989 to 1993. Halpin served as official notetaker for former President Clinton's first meeting with then ROK President Kim Young Sam at the Blue House in 1993. Halpin has visited North Korea once, when he attended a four-day UNDP-sponsored economic conference in Rajin/Sonbong in September 1996. He served as the Asian affairs advisor for the House Foreign Affairs Committee from 2000 to 2013. He was then a Fellow from 2013 to 2018 at the U.S.-Korea Institute at Johns Hopkins University. In 2020 Halpin was the co-editor, with Dr. Jung-sil Lee, of the book titled *Comfort Women: A Movement for Justice and Women's Rights in the United States*.



**JUSTIN HASTINGS** is a Professor of International Relations and Comparative Politics at the University of Sydney in Australia. Hastings' research uses concepts from political and economic geography and non-traditional security to look at the structure and behavior of terrorist groups, smuggling networks, maritime pirates, insurgents, gray and black markets, and nuclear weapons proliferation networks, mostly in Southeast Asia, Northeast Asia, and the Indian Ocean Region. He is the author of *A Most Enterprising Country: North Korea in the Global Economy* (2016) and *No Man's Land: Globalization, Territory, and Clandestine Groups in Southeast Asia* (2010), both from Cornell University Press, as well as several dozen journal articles and reports. On North Korea, he has published on the North Korean economy, including smuggling networks, Chinese investment strategies, entrepreneurialism, and the connection between market activities and civil society, as well as on security and other issues, including maritime security, environmental peacebuilding, nuclear weapons proliferation, and North Korean

scientific research collaboration networks. Hastings received an AB (2001) in Public and International Affairs from Princeton University, and an MA (2003) and Ph.D. (2008) in Political Science from the University of California, Berkeley.



**OWEN MILLER** is a Lecturer in Korean Studies in the Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures at SOAS, University of London, where he has taught since 2011. He specializes in the social and economic history of modern Korea and teaches courses including: ‘The Other Korea: North Korea since 1945’, ‘History and Memory in East Asian Cultures’, and ‘The Making of Modern Korea’. His research interests include: the urban and commercial history of Seoul; state capitalism in East Asia; Korean nationalist and Marxist historiographies; and the social history of North Korea. He is currently working on a book examining the history of the North Korean industrial city of Hŭngnam from the 1930s to the 1960s.

Miller initially studied East Asian history at SOAS as an undergraduate and subsequently lived in South Korea, where he studied Korean language at Yonsei University. He returned to SOAS in 2001 to study for an M.A. and then a Ph.D. in Korean history, focusing on merchant guilds in late nineteenth century Seoul.

#### ❖ **DISCUSSANTS (Alphabetical Order)**



**JOHN EVERARD** was educated at The Kings School, Chester and at King Edward VI School, Lichfield, before winning an exhibition to Emmanuel College Cambridge where he studied French, German and Chinese. He then attended Beijing University for a year, studying history and economics, as one of only the third group of foreign students allowed into China after the Cultural Revolution. He also holds an MBA from Manchester Business School. He served in the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office for 27 years, working in Austria, Bosnia, Chile, and China. He served as Ambassador to Belarus, to Uruguay, and finally to the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea from 2006 to 2008. After his retirement in 2008, he was appointed Pantech Fellow at the Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center at Stanford University from 2010 to 2011, when he wrote the book *Only Beautiful, Please* discussing his experiences of North Korea. From 2011-2012, he coordinated the UN Security Council Panel of Experts on North Korea. Since 2012, he has written extensively for the media, broadcast, and lectured, both on Korean issues and on international affairs generally.



**BYUNG-YEON KIM** is a Professor in the Department of Economics at Seoul National University (SNU). His research interests lie in the fields of transition economics and applied econometrics, in particular with reference to North Korea as well as former socialist countries. He has published a number of articles in international journals such as the *Journal of Comparative Economics*, *Journal of Economic History*, and the *British Journal of Political Science*. His book on the North Korean economy was published by Cambridge University Press (*Unveiling the North Korean Economy*, 2017). He has

written numerous book chapters, books, and journal articles on the North Korean economy. He has received several prestigious academic awards, such as Excellence in Academic Achievements granted by the National Academy of Sciences, the SNU Award for Distinguished Researcher, the T. S. Ashton Prize (Economic History Society), the NEAR Academic Award, and the Chungnam Award (Korean Economic Association). He has served as a member of various government committees, including the National Economic Advisory Council, the Presidential Committee for Unification Preparation, the Advisory Committee for the Korean Summit, and the Policy Advisory Committees for the Ministries of Unification and Foreign Affairs. He is a regular columnist for the *Joongang Daily*, mostly on North Korean issues. He received his B.A. and M.A. from SNU and his D.Phil. from the University of Oxford.



**RACHEL MINYOUNG LEE** is the Regional Issues Manager and Senior Analyst with the Vienna-based Open Nuclear Network and a Nonresident Fellow with the 38 North Program at the Stimson Center. Lee was a North Korea collection expert and analyst with Open Source Enterprise under the CIA from 2000 to 2019. During that time, she wrote on the gamut of North Korean issues, from leadership, domestic politics and the economy, and foreign policy, to social and cultural developments. As Analysis Team Lead, Lee led a team of collection officers and analysts to track and analyze North and South Korean issues with implications for Pyongyang's regime stability and regional security. Since leaving OSE, Lee has been cited regularly by leading global media outlets, to include *The Washington Post*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and *The Financial Times*. Lee earned her B.A. in English literature and her M.A. in international law, both at Korea University.



**WILLIAM J. NEWCOMB** is a member and former chair of the North Korea Economic Forum at the Institute for Korean Studies, George Washington University. He is a Fellow at C4ADS (Center for Advanced Defense Studies) and a member of the National Committee on North Korea. From October 2014 to May 2018, he was a Visiting Scholar at the U.S.-Korea Institute, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, and from July 2014 to December 2015 he was a Senior Advisor at Global Threat Advisory Services LLC. In 2011, Mr. Newcomb was appointed by UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon to serve on the Panel of Experts established pursuant to resolution 1874 (2009). He subsequently was reappointed to the DPRK sanctions panel for successive mandates as the expert on finance through June 2014, when he resigned. A former US government economist, Mr. Newcomb in 2008 retired from the Treasury Department, where he was Senior Economic Advisor to the Assistant Secretary for Intelligence and Analysis. At the Treasury, he led the investigation into Macao's Banco Delta Asia, which had been identified as being instrumental in DPRK money laundering. During 2003-2005, Mr. Newcomb was Deputy Coordinator of the State Department's North Korea Working Group and alternate co-chair of the North Korean Policy Coordinating Committee. From 1984 to 2005, he served as the Senior Economist for Asia, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State, and wrote extensively on developments in China, the DPRK and Vietnam for U.S. policymakers. Prior to joining the State



Department, he followed East Asian and East European economies in the Office of East Asian Analysis and the Office of Economic Research, U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. He served in the U.S. Army 1970-1972.

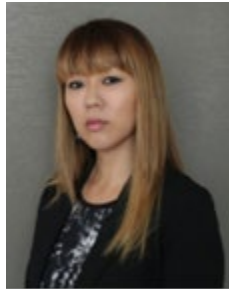
❖ **MODERATORS (Alphabetical Order)**



**JISOO M. KIM** is Korea Foundation Associate Professor of History, International Affairs, and East Asian Languages and Literatures. She currently serves as the Director of the Institute for Korean Studies and the Co-Director of the East Asia National Resource Center at GW. She also serves as the Editor-in-Chief of the *Journal of Korean Studies*. She is a specialist in gender, law, and emotions in Korean history. Her broader research interests include gender and sexuality, crime and justice, forensic medicine, literary representations of the law, history of emotions, vernacular, and gender writing. She is the author of *The Emotions of Justice: Gender, Status, and Legal Performance in Chosŏn Korea* (University of Washington Press, 2015), which was awarded the 2017 James Palais Prize of the Association for Asian Studies. She is also the co-editor of *The Great East Asian War and the Birth of the Korean Nation* by JaHyun Kim Haboush (Columbia University Press, 2016). She is currently working on a book project tentatively entitled *Sexual Desire, Crime, and Gendered Subjects: A History of Adultery Law in Korea*. She received her M.A., M.Phil., and Ph.D. in East Asian Languages and Cultures from Columbia University.



**YONHO KIM** is an Associate Research Professor of Practice and the Associate Director of the GW Institute for Korean Studies (GWIKS). He specializes in North Korea's mobile telecommunications and U.S. policy towards North Korea. Kim is the author of *North Korean Phone Money: Airtime Transfers as a Precursor to Mobile Payment System* (2020), *North Korea's Mobile Telecommunications and Private Transportation Services in the Kim Jong-un Era* (2019) and *Cell Phones in North Korea: Has North Korea Entered the Telecommunications Revolution?* (2014). His research findings were covered by various media outlets, including the *Wall Street Journal*, *The Atlantic*, Yonhap News, and *Libération*. Prior to joining GWIKS, he extensively interacted with the Washington policy circle on the Korean peninsula as Senior Researcher of the U.S.-Korea Institute at Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, Senior Reporter for Voice of America's Korean Service, and Assistant Director of the Atlantic Council's Program on Korea in Transition. He holds a B.A. and M.A. in International Relations from Seoul National University, and an M.A. in International Relations and International Economics from Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies.



**JENNY TOWN** is a Senior Fellow at the Stimson Center and the Director of Stimson's 38 North Program. Her expertise is in North Korea, U.S.-DPRK relations, the U.S.-ROK alliance and Northeast Asian regional security. She was named one of Worth Magazine's "Groundbreakers 2020: 50 Women Changing the World" and one of Fast Company's Most Creative People in Business in 2019 for her role in co-founding and managing the 38 North website, which provides policy and technical analysis on North Korea. Ms. Town is also an expert reviewer for Freedom House's Freedom in the World Index, where she previously worked on the Human Rights in North Korea Project; an Associate Fellow at the Foreign Policy Institute at Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), a Member of the National Committee on North Korea, and an Associate Member of the Council of Korean Americans. She serves on the Editorial Board for *Inkstick*, an online foreign policy journal for emerging scholars. From 2008-2018, Ms. Town served as the Assistant Director of the U.S.-Korea Institute at SAIS. She holds a BA in East Asian Studies and International Relations from Westmar University and a Master of International Affairs from Columbia University School of International and Public Affairs.

## BACKGROUND

The North Korea Economic Forum (NKEF) is part of the policy program at the George Washington University's Institute for Korean Studies (GWIKS). The Forum aims to promote the understanding of North Korean economic issues, distribute well-balanced, deeply touched, and multi-dimensionally explored pictures of the North Korean economy and to expand the network among the various North Korean economy watchers. The Forum is mostly a closed and off-the-record meeting where participants can freely and seriously discuss critical issues. It also organizes special conferences made public throughout the academic year. Mr. William Brown is currently the chair of the NKEF. The Forum is made possible by a generous grant provided by the KDI School of Public Policy and Management.

*This event is on the record and open to the public.*