

# Institute for Korean Studies

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

OCT 22 - NOV 21, 2019

### GWIKS NORTH KOREA PROGRAM

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, to be launched in Fall 2019, is designed to provide professionals in Washington, 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 one-month intensive courses covering the following topics:

- · 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
- · North Korea's Nuclear Program
- North Korea's Economy in the Midst of Tight UN Sanctions
- North Korean Literature and Film
- North Korea's Theory & Practice of Human Rights
- · Inside North Korea and the People's Daily Life
- Negotiating with North Koreans

The nine lecturers with exceptional academic and/or professional backgrounds will guide your successful intellectual exploration of North Korea. I look forward to the Program giving you a new distinctive lens through which to view North Korea.

Cordially,

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

OCT. 22, TUESDAY

**DAY 01** 

Welcoming Dinner

6PM OPENING DINNER

Participants Meet & Greet (Location TBD)

OCT. 24, THURSDAY

**DAY 02** 

**Cheehyung Kim** 

Assistant Professor, University of Hawaii

5.30PM **DINNER** 

6PM BETWEEN SOVEREIGNTY
AND INDUSTRY:
A HISTORY OF THE

NORTH KOREAN STATE

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**Ken Gause** 

Director of Adversary Analytics Program, CNA 5.30PM DINNER

6PM NORTH KOREAN

COMMAND AND CONTROL

OF ITS ARMED FORCES

OCT. 31, THURSDAY

**DAY 04** 

**Gregg A. Brazinsky,** Professor of History and International Affairs, the George Washington University 5.30PM **DINNER** 

6PM NORTH KOREA'S
RELATIONSHIP WITH
CHINA AND ITS FOREIGN
POLICY

NOV. 05, TUESDAY

**DAY 05** 

Olli Heinonen

Former Deputy Director General of IAEA 5.30PM DINNER

6PM NORTH KOREA'S
NUCLEAR PROGRAM

NOV. 07, THURSDAY

**DAY 06** 

William Brown

Adjunct Professor Georgetown University 5.30PM DINNER

6PM NORTH KOREA'S
ECONOMY IN THE MIDST
OF TIGHT UN SANCTIONS

NOV. 12, TUESDAY

**DAY 07** 

#### **Immanuel Kim**

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

5.30PM DINNER

6PM SHIFTS IN NORTH
KOREAN LITERATURE
AND FILM

NOV. 14, THURSDAY

**DAY 08** 

Sandra Fahy

Human Rights Program Visiting Fellow, Harvard Law School 5.30PM DINNER

6PM NORTH KOREA'S THEORY & PRACTICE OF HUMAN RIGHTS: PAST AND PRESENT

NOV. 19, TUESDAY

**DAY 09** 

**Andray Abrahamian** 

Visiting Scholar, George Mason University Korea 5.30PM DINNER

6PM INSIDE NORTH KOREA
AND THE PEOPLE'S
DAILY LIFE

NOV. 21 THURSDAY

**DAY 10** 

Joseph DeTrani

Former Special Envoy for Six Party Talks with North Korea 6PM RECEPTION & LECTURE

NEGOTIATING WITH NORTH KOREANS

All participants must attend at least SEVEN (out of nine) lectures.

### LECTURE DETAILS

#### OCT. 24, THURSDAY (DAY 2)

Cheehyung Kim, Assistant Professor, University of Hawaii

#### 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 (1910s) 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) and the pursuit of industrial progress (surplus accumulation, labor primacy). Such an approach requires the contextualization of the North Korean state within world history and as part of global economic development.



Cheehyung Harrison Kim is Assistant 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, in particular, 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.

#### OCT. 29, TUESDAY (DAY 3)

Ken Gause, Director of Adversary Analytics Program, CNA

### 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 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 the North Korean leadership and is the author of several books on the topic.

#### OCT. 31, THURSDAY (DAY 4)

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

#### 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 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 multifaceted 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.

#### NOV. 05, TUESDAY (DAY 5)

Olli Heinonen, Former Deputy Director General of IAEA

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

The lecture covers North Korea's pursuit of nuclear energy since 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) will be addressed. North Korea's non-compliance with its safeguards obligations will be explained together with the pros and cons of the 1994 Agreed Framework. The lecture will also cover the withdrawal of North Korea from the NPT, and subsequent further development of its nuclear weapons program with its current capabilities until today.



Dr. Olli Heinonen is a senior advisor on science and nonproliferation at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies (FDD). He is the former deputy director general of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), and head of its Department of Safeguards. Before joining FDD, he was a senior fellow at the Harvard Kennedy School of Government's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. Dr. Heinonen also served 27 years at the IAEA in Vienna. His posts at the IAEA included director at the Agency's various Operational Divisions, and as inspector, including at the IAEA's overseas office in Tokyo, Japan.

#### NOV. 07, THURSDAY (DAY 6)

William Brown, Adjunct Assistant Professor, Georgetown University

#### North Korea's Economy in the Midst of Tight UN 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 to 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 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. He also is a non-resident fellow and Board member of the Korea Economic Institute of America, where he contributes to its Peninsula blog and he teaches an on-line course on Contemporary China for UMUC. 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.

#### NOV. 12, TUESDAY (DAY 7)

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

#### **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 the 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.



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 recent book *Rewriting Revolution: Women, Sexuality, and Memory in North Korean Fiction* explores the complex and dynamic literary culture that has deeply impacted the society. His current research 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.

#### NOV. 14, THURSDAY (DAY 8)

Sandra Fahy, Human Rights Program Visiting Fellow, Harvard Law School

#### North Korea's Theory & Practice of Human Rights: Past and Present

This talk has two primary points of focus: North Korea's theory of human rights, and the North's practice of rights. We begin with an overview of how human rights have been conceptualized by the North Korean state from its founding to the present, identifying consistencies and changes. We then move on to illustrations of how human rights have been practiced by the state, throughout the history of the country. Again, consistencies and changes are noted. Throughout the two points of focus, the talk points to key areas where the DPRK aligns and diverts from international human rights norms in theory and practice. Attendees will take away the following knowledge: (1) how North Korea conceptualizes human rights, (2) rights the DPRK has consistently failed to uphold, (3) how North Korea's human rights problem is unique, by global comparison, (4) how North Korean state representatives and media manipulate messaging on human rights, and (5) recommendations for how to practically improve human rights in the DPRK.



Sandra Fahy is Associate Professor of Anthropology in the Faculty of Liberal Arts and the Graduate Program in Global Studies at Sophia University in Tokyo. She is the author of *Marching Through Suffering: Loss and Survival in North Korea* (Columbia, 2015) and *Dying for Rights: Putting North Korea's Rights Abuses on the Record* (Columbia, 2019). She has written numerous policy papers and academic articles. She was awarded her PhD in Anthropology from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London in 2009. She is currently a visiting fellow with the Human Rights Program at Harvard Law School.

#### NOV. 19, TUESDAY (DAY 9)

Andray Abrahamian, Visiting Scholar, George Mason University Korea

#### 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 finding satisfactory policy options in response to the challenges the country presents.



Dr. Andray Abrahamian is a Visiting Scholar at George Mason University Korea and was the 2018-19 Koret Fellow in Korea Program at Stanford University's Shorenstein APARC. He is a member of the US National Committee on North Korea and an Adjunct Senior Fellow at Pacific Forum and at Griffith University. Working for a non-profit, Choson Exchange, has taken him to the DPRK over 30 times. He recently founded *Coreana Connect*, an organization that focuses on women's rights and empowerment in North Korea.

#### NOV. 21 THURSDAY (DAY 10)

Joseph DeTrani, Former Special Envoy for Six Party Talks with North Korea

#### Negotiating with North Koreans: Inside North Korea and the People's Daily Life

We have been in direct negotiations with North Korea since 1994, when we, in Geneva, were able to secure the Agreed Framework, that froze North Korea's Yongbyon Plutonium facility in exchange for heavy fuel oil shipments and when we constructed two Light Water Reactors in Kumho, North Korea would dismantle the Yongbyon facility and get out of the nuclear weapons business. That agreement ended in 2002, when the U.S. accused North Korea of having a secret uranium enrichment program, in violation of the North-South agreement of 1992 and the spirit of the Agreed Framework. We then commenced with the Six Party Talks, and an agreement – Joint Statement – on September 19, 2005. That agreement ended in 2008 when North Korea refused to permit nuclear monitors to leave the Yongbyon facility and inspect nondeclared suspect nuclear sites. 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 Foreign Minister, Ri Yong Ho, has 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.



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 Counter Proliferation 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. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, a Trustee at Marymount University and an adjunct Professor at Missouri State University's Graduate Department of Defense and Strategic Studies. Ambassador DeTrani served over two decades with the Central Intelligence Agency as a member of the Senior Executive Service. Through the years, he has been an outspoken advocate for greater publicprivate collaboration on national security issues. Ambassador DeTrani was an officer in the Air Force and graduated with honors from New York University (NYU). He attended NYU School of Law and Graduate School of Business Administration. He speaks Mandarin, Chinese and French and is a member of the National Committee on North Korea. He has published and spoken publicly on issues dealing with North Korea, China, Cyber security, nuclear nonproliferation and international organized crime.