



Day One: Thursday, October 14, 2021, 9:00 – 11:00 a.m. EDT

Day Two: Friday, October 15, 2021, 9:00 – 11:30 a.m. EDT

Virtual Event via Zoom

❖ EVENT DESCRIPTION

As an isolated socialist country, North Korea has had to face a constant challenge of justifying its own vision of economic self-reliance and the dynamics of marketization. The North Korean people's greater access to foreign media and domestic market information has required different versions of legitimization of mass mobilization. Drawing from a variety of academic disciplines and subject-matter specializations, this year's North Korea Economic Forum Conference will examine the role that ideology has played in shaping and constraining economic policy and economic life in North Korea, both in the Kim Jong Un era and historically.

❖ PROGRAM

Oct. 14 (Thurs)	Session I. Mass Mobilization, Socialist Commerce, and Marketization
	Introductory Remarks
9:00 a.m. – 9:15 a.m.	<p>Moderator: Jisoo M. Kim (Director, GW Institute for Korean Studies)</p> <p>Speakers: Alyssa Ayres (Dean, Elliott School of International Affairs, GW) Jong-II You (Dean, KDI School of Public Policy and Management) William Brown (Chair, North Korea Economic Forum, GW Institute for Korean Studies)</p>
	Panel Discussion
9:15 a.m. – 11:00 a.m.	<p>Moderator: Celeste Arrington (Associate Professor, GW)</p> <p><u>Speakers</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Elli Kim (Faculty Member, Ramapo College of New Jersey) “North Korea’s Gambit of Marketization: Historical Resonances in the Socialist Legitimization of Market-Oriented Practices” ▪ Junhee Lee (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of History, Yonsei University) “The Establishment of North Korean Socialist Commerce and the Role of Private Merchants, 1945-1950” ▪ Pil Ho Kim (Assistant Professor, Ohio State University) “A Ten-times Faster Ch’öllima? The Kangsön Steel Mill and the Cultural Turn of North Korea’s Mass Mobilization Campaign under Kim Jong Un” <p><u>Discussants</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Suzy Kim (Associate Professor, Rutgers University) ▪ William Brown (Chair, North Korea Economic Forum, GW Institute for Korean Studies) ▪ Gregg A. Brazinsky (Deputy Director, GW Institute for Korean Studies)
Oct. 15 (Fri)	Session II. Global Financial Crises, Economic Aid, and Foreign Media
	Keynote Speech

9:00 a.m. – 9:45 a.m.	<p>Moderator: Alyssa Ayres (Dean, Elliott School of International Affairs, GW)</p> <p>Speaker: Stephen Biegun (Former US Deputy Secretary of State)</p>
	Panel Discussion
9:45 a.m. – 11:30 a.m.	<p>Moderator: William Newcomb (Fellow, C4ADS)</p> <p><u>Speakers</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Meredith Shaw (Associate Professor, University of Tokyo) “Global Finance through the Lens of North Korean State Propaganda” ▪ Tycho van der Hoog (Ph.D. student, Leiden University) “On the Failure of North Korean Development Aid in Africa” ▪ Jonathan Corrado (Director of Policy, The Korea Society and Nonresident Fellow, Pacific Forum) “Foreign Media Influence and Attitudes Towards Economic Policy Among North Korea’s General Population” <p><u>Discussants</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Eul-Chul Lim (Associate Professor, Kyungnam University) ▪ Benjamin R. Young (Assistant Professor, Virginia Commonwealth University) ▪ Jean Lee (Senior Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars)

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.



JONG-IL YOU graduated from Seoul National University and received his Ph. D in Economics from Harvard University. 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.



STEPHEN BIEGUN has more than three decades of international affairs experience in government and the private sector, including high-level government service with the Department of State, the White House, and the United States Congress. In 2021, Mr. Biegun concluded his most recent government service as Deputy Secretary of State, to which he was confirmed by the Senate with a strong bipartisan vote of 90-3. From 2018-2021 he also served as the United States Special Representative for North Korea, acting as lead negotiator with North Korea and leading US preparations for leader level summit meetings in Hanoi, Vietnam and Panmunjom Village. Prior to his most recent government service, Mr. Biegun served as 15 years as a corporate vice president with Ford Motor Company. Mr. Biegun began his career as a foreign policy specialist with the United States Congress, with a focus on Russia, the former Soviet Union, and Europe, ultimately rising to a number of senior-level positions including as chief of staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and as the national security advisor to Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist. He served two years as the Executive Secretary of the White House National Security Council, serving as an advisor and deputy to National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice. From 1992-1994, Mr. Biegun was the Resident Program Director in the Russian Federation for the International Republican Institute. Biegun has volunteered as a board member for several international, national, and local non-profit organizations and has led mentoring programs for next generation United States foreign policy and national security leaders. He graduated from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor with a Bachelor of Arts degree in Russian language and political science.



WILLIAM B. BROWN (Bill) is Chair of the North Korea Economic Forum at the GW Institute for Korean Studies (GWIKS). He is also 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.

❖ **SPEAKERS (Alphabetical Order)**



1950s-1960s."

ELLI KIM completed her Ph.D. in modern Korean history at the UCLA Department of Asian Languages and Cultures in 2014. After finishing her Postdoctoral program at USC, she taught at USC as a visiting assistant professor. Since 2018, she has been teaching at Ramapo College of New Jersey as an adjunct professor. Her research focuses on North Korean history within the global context and topics on North Korean intellectuals, the Cold War, (post-)colonialism, and popular culture. Currently, she is in the process of revising her dissertation into a book manuscript entitled "*Inner-Migrant Intellectuals of the Cold War: North Korea in the Socialist Landscape of the*



JONATHAN CORRADO is Director of Policy for The Korea Society, where he produces programming and conducts research on a range of security, diplomacy, and socioeconomic issues impacting the U.S.-Korea Alliance, the Korean Peninsula, and Northeast Asia. Jonathan is a non-resident James A. Kelly Fellow at Pacific Forum, an Emerging Leader at the National Committee on American Foreign Policy, and a contributor to NK Pro. He has published peer-reviewed articles in the International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence, the Journal of the Royal Society for Asian Affairs, and Asian Politics & Policy. He has also published analysis in diverse outlets such as Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy, War on the Rocks, 38 North, The Diplomat, The Japan Times, The National Interest, Yahoo News, Pacific Forum PacNet and Issues & Insights, NK News, and NK Pro. He has been quoted in Reuters, The South China Morning Post, The Korea Times, Radio Free

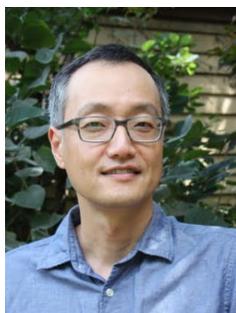
Asia, and Voice of America. Jonathan was previously a translator for Daily NK (Korean to English), an FCPA due diligence investigator for Steele Compliance Solutions, a graduate fellow for McLarty Associates, and a volunteer analyst for the Congressional Research Service. He received an MA from Georgetown University's Asian Studies Program in the Walsh School of Foreign Service and a BA in anthropology and philosophy from the University of Maryland College Park.



JUNHEE LEE is a Ph.D. candidate in the department of History at Yonsei University. Currently, he is teaching at Jeju National University as a lecturer. His research focuses on North Korean socio-economic history. He is writing his dissertation entitled, *“The Establishment of North Korean Socialist Commerce and Abolishing the Private Market, 1945-1958”*. This study analyzes the North Korean socialist commerce system and depicts abolishing the private market. He also published several articles including, *“1950’s Agricultural Cooperation of ‘New Liberation Area’ in Kaesong: The Case of October Agricultural Cooperatives,”* (Critical Studies on Modern Korean History, 2017), *“Reorganization and Socialization of the Kaesong Ginseng Industry from 1945 to 1958,”* (DONGBANGHAKCHI, 2017), and *“During the 1950s, North Korea Socialism commerce and ‘Ok-sim’s Shop”*, (Korean Classics Studies, 2019).



MEREDITH SHAW is an associate professor in the Institute of Social Science at the University of Tokyo and the managing editor of Social Science Japan Journal. She earned her Ph.D. in Political Science and International Relations from the University of Southern California. Her research focuses on the intersection of culture and politics in East Asia, with a particular focus on the two Koreas. Since 2017 she has maintained the North Korean Literature in English project (<http://dprklit.blogspot.com/>).

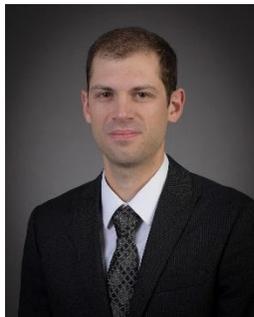


PIL HO KIM is an assistant professor of Korean studies at the Ohio State University. A sociologist by training, he has been studying and teaching a wide range of topics related to modern Korea, including popular music, cinema, literature, and urban regeneration/gentrification. He is currently working on a monograph tentatively entitled, *Polarizing Dreams: Gangnam and Popular Culture in Globalizing Korea*, which casts a new light on the global rise of South Korean economy and popular culture by focusing on its geographic symbol, Gangnam. His recent publications include “In Liberation Village: The Production of Cinematic Space for Early North Korean Refugees,” *Journal of Japanese and Korean Cinema* 11:2 (2019) and “Will the Dormant Volcano Erupt Again? Mt. Paektu and Contemporary Sino-Korean Relations,” *The Asia-Pacific Journal* 17:4 (with Katy Kwon, 2019).



TYCHO VAN DER HOOG is a Ph.D. student at the African Studies Centre of Leiden University. His ongoing Ph.D. research seeks to uncover the relations between the DPRK and ruling parties in southern Africa, both past and present. He has conducted extensive archival research and interviews in Namibia, South Africa, Zambia, Zimbabwe, the United Kingdom, and South Korea. His book *Monuments of Power: The North Korean Origin of Nationalist Monuments in Namibia and Zimbabwe* was published in 2019. Prior to his Ph.D.-project, Tycho has worked at the Center for Frugal Innovation in Africa and taught at the Korean studies department of Leiden University. He was a member of the Leiden Asia Center project that investigated the export of North Korean forced labor and contributed to the book *People for Profit: North Korean Labour on a Global Scale* (2018). He holds a BA in history, a BA in political science, a research MA in African studies and a MA in history (cum laude) from Leiden University.

❖ **DISCUSSANTS (Alphabetical Order)**



BENJAMIN R. YOUNG is an Assistant Professor of Homeland Security and Emergency Preparedness in the Wilder School of Government and Public Affairs at VCU (Virginia Commonwealth University). He is the author of *Guns, Guerillas, and the Great Leader: North Korea and the Third World* (Stanford University Press, 2021). He received his Ph.D. from The George Washington University in 2018. He has previously taught at the U.S Naval War College and Dakota State University. He has published peer-reviewed articles on North Korean history and politics in a number of scholarly journals and is a regular contributor to *NKNews.org*.



EUL-CHUL LIM is an Associate Professor and the Director of the ICNK Center at the Institute for Far Eastern Studies (IFES), Kyungnam University. He also serves as a member of the Policy Advisory Committee for the President for South-North Summit, National Security Council of the Blue House, ROK Ministry of Unification, and the other ministries. Prior to joining IFES, Professor Lim worked as a specialist in the Department of North Korea in the Korea Trade Investment Promotion Agency (KOTRA). He was a visiting researcher at Georgetown University. He received his B.A. in Trade from Yeungnam University, an M.A. in Area Studies from Korea University and a Ph.D. in Politics and Diplomacy from Kyungnam University.



GREGG A. BRAZINSKY is Professor of History and International Affairs and Deputy Director of the Institute for Korean Studies at GW. He also serves as Director of the Asian Studies Program at the Elliott School of International Affairs. 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. He received his Ph.D. from Cornell University.



JEAN LEE is a journalist and analyst who opened the first and only U.S. news bureau in Pyongyang, North Korea. She currently serves as co-host of The Lazarus Heist podcast for the BBC World Service and as a senior fellow with the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. As a journalist, Lee led the Associated Press news agency's coverage of the Korean Peninsula as bureau chief from 2008 to 2013. In 2011, she became the first American reporter granted extensive access on the ground in North Korea, and in January 2012, she opened AP's Pyongyang bureau. Lee made dozens of extended reporting trips to North Korea, visiting farms, factories, schools, military academies and homes in the course of her exclusive coverage across the country. Lee holds bachelor's and master's degrees from Columbia University. She worked as a reporter for the Korea Herald in Seoul, South Korea, before being posted with AP to the news agency's bureaus in Baltimore; Fresno, Calif.; San Francisco; New York; London; Seoul, South Korea, and Pyongyang, North Korea. Reporting assignments took her across Europe, North America and Asia. After leaving AP, Lee joined the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, DC, as a fellow, then as director of the Hyundai Motor-Korea Foundation Center for Korean History and Public Policy. She is currently a senior fellow with the Wilson Center. Lee has served as a CNN contributor and provided commentary to a wide range of media outlets. She appears in the National Geographic series "Inside North Korea" as well PBS' "Dictator's Playbook" and Netflix's "How to Become a Tyrant."



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. 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 Ph.D. 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).

❖ **MODERATORS (Alphabetical Order)**



CELESTE ARRINGTON is Korea Foundation Associate Professor of Political Science and International Affairs at the George Washington University. She specializes in comparative politics, with a regional focus on the Koreas and Japan. Her research and teaching focus on law and social movements, the media, lawyers, policy processes, historical justice, North Korean human rights, and qualitative methods. She is also interested in the international relations and security of Northeast Asia and transnational activism. She is the author of *Accidental Activists: Victims and Government Accountability in South Korea and Japan* (2016) and has published in *Comparative Political Studies*, *Law & Society Review*, *Journal of East Asian Studies*, *Pacific Affairs*, *Asian Survey*, and *the Washington Post*, among others. She received a Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley, an MPhil from the University of Cambridge, and an A.B. from Princeton University. She is currently writing a book that analyzes the role of lawyers and legal activism in Japanese and Korean policies related to persons with disabilities and tobacco control.



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.



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 US-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, US Department of State, and wrote extensively on developments in China, the DPRK and Vietnam for US 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, US Central Intelligence Agency. He served in the US Army 1970-1972.

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 the critical issues. Mr. William Brown is currently the chair of the NKEF and is leading the meetings. It also organizes special conferences made public throughout the academic year. 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.