

# FREE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA: PROSPECTS FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT

## INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH CONFERENCE

**MAY 20, 2022** 



#### KIMEP UNIVERSITY

Since its foundation in 1992 by Dr. Chan Young Bang and commissioned by the First President Nursultan Nazarbayev, KIMEP University has provided its students with a world-class, Western-style education, unparalleled leadership training, and exceptional professional development and orientation, shaping the next generation of political and business leaders and specialists in Central Asia and abroad.

KIMEP University alumni are not only highly qualified, but committed to transparency, fairness and integrity, all values which foster a sense of empowerment and responsibility among them. They are recruited by top local and international firms and organizations, and they can be found in diverse professional roles around the world. One of our estimated alumni Alikhan Smailov (Class of 1996) currently serves as Prime Minister of the Republic of Kazakhstan. As the alma mater of such a distinguished alumnus, KIMEP University prides itself on the role it plays in the modernization of Kazakhstan. As an innovative and adaptive institution, KIMEP University will continue to tailor its services to the needs of its students and to those of the Kazakhstani state and society as a whole.

KIMEP University has established a tradition of excellence by offering programs of the highest academic quality. All programs are internationally accredited and are consistently rated by the Ministry of Education as the first in their class. KIMEP's MBA and Executive MBA programs have received a high-level recognition by business and legal communities of Kazakhstan. In addition to several national as well as international programmatic accreditations, KIMEP ranked first in the National Ranking of the Best Humanitarian and Economic Higher Education Institutions of Kazakhstan in 2021.

KIMEP University's world-class curriculum is based on international standards, and all the classes are taught in English. Its faculty has the largest concentration of Western-trained Ph.Ds. in the Commonwealth of Independent States. Their mission is to form well-educated citizens and to thereby improve the quality of life in the Central Asian region. It achieves this by imparting and diffusing knowledge in business, the social sciences, law and language studies. Our rigorous academic degree programs produce graduates who are both theoretically and experientially ready for the workplace: our alumni boast 93% employability within the first six months of graduating.

Furthermore, KIMEP produces high-quality, top-recruited graduates in an extremely cost-effective way. Upon graduating from KIMEP, a student can achieve full return on his or her investment within three and a half years. Our university strives to provide an invaluable academic experience for all its students and faculty. To this day, the quality of KIMEP University's programs maintains high approval ratings both from students and from the companies that employ them upon graduation. As a student based university, KIMEP sees its students' education and welfare as its utmost priority.

#### **DPRK STRATEGIC RESEARCH CENTER AT KIMEP UNIVERSITY**

The DPRK Strategic Research Center was established at KIMEP in 2018 to bring together faculty from several colleges through KIMEP (and from other institutions and organizations) with researchers in the Center to work on a variety of collaborative research projects and provide policy recommendations for DPRK and interest states.

The Center has a strong research team. Dr. Chan Young Bang, the Principal Investigator, and also the President of KIMEP University leads the team. He served as the Economic Advisor to President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan and also provided counsel to USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev. The Center also has international research team members with a diverse background to provide a diverse and professional point of view.

The DPRK Strategic Research Center at KIMEP University closely follows DPRK developments and collaborates with policy makers and experts in the Korean conflict. The center's mission is to construct policy recommendations for the establishment of peace and prosperity on the Korean Peninsula through economic reform and opening.

For several years, solving the North Korean problem has been the Center's primary research concentration. The Center has devoted itself towards the peaceful solution of the DPRK nuclear weapons issue while providing a genuine chance of survival for the 25 million North Koreans and a bright future for their wellbeing.

The Center regularly publishes its research and observations on major international media such as The Diplomat, Southern China Morning Post, NK News, and National Interest, Global Post.

The Center hosted international seminars and conferences for global scholars to share ideas and form discussion sessions for a better policy for DPRK with institutions such as the Charhar Institute in Beijing, Institute of World Economics and Politics at Academy of Social Sciences in China, Russian Institute of Far East Studies, Korea University, and Sejong Institute. We deeply value these collaborations and their input has been an important asset to our center.

#### **FOREWORD**

## PERMANENT PEACE AND DENUCLEARIZATION OF KOREAN PENINSULA

The past 20 years of policy aimed at the denuclearization of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has singularly failed from all actors involved. From the abandonment of the Agreed Framework in 2002 to Pyongyang's unilateral walk-out of the Six-Party Talks in 2009, China, Russia, South Korea, the United States, and Japan have failed to achieve their original goal of peaceful denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. After DPRK conducted its fifth nuclear test on September 8, 2016, which was roundly condemned by the international community particularly China, Japan, South Korea, and the United States, severe UN sanctions were imposed and devastated North Korea's economy. While the two Koreas and the United States worked closer in 2018, this mood has changed again with DPRK's recent missile tests. The Six-Party Talks, which was the closest the international community has been to a workable framework for denuclearization, singularly failed because the involved parties lacked a common and cohesive plan with specific policy recommendations that reconciled their differing strategic objectives. To implement its will, the conference aims to represent ideas and research from all six party member states.

The conference will focus on the central questions concerning the denuclearization of the DPRK and will be organized into three main topics:

- 1. Why is the DPRK unable to survive as a nuclear state?
- 2. The importance of China's role in encouraging denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, and specifically to what extent will China implement sanctions adopted by the UN Security Council in response to further development of the DPRK's nuclear program.
- 3. In order to build peace and prosperity in the Korean peninsula, should the DPRK decide to trade denuclearization for market-oriented economic modernization, what would be the conditions for such exchange? Specifically, what kind of economic incentives package could persuade the DPRK to abandon its nuclear program?

This conference represents a unique scholastic assembly in a geopolitically neutral site - Almaty Kazakhstan, and the first of its kind to bring together distinguished experts and specialists from five different countries.

#### WELCOME SPEECH-DR. BANG



Dear Esteemed Delegates,

As the president of KIMEP University, it is with great pleasure that I welcome you to the "Permanent Peace and Denuclearization of Korean Peninsula" online conference here at the DPRK Strategic Research Center at KIMEP University.

As North Korea consistently tests ballistic missiles and refuse to denuclearize, such activities and intentions have profound implications well beyond the Korean Peninsula and the boundaries of Northeast Asia. As the previous attempt from South Korea and the United States failed to reach peace and stability with the Pyongyang government, I recognize the urgent need to gather all concerned parties to seek rational policies for achieving the denuclearization of the DPRK and a road that leads to the bright future for the people in North Korea.

Hosted by DPRK Strategic Research Center of KIMEP University in Almaty, Kazakhstan, a geopolitically neutral state, this unique conference embodies an unparalleled global collaboration from the brightest minds in government and academia spanning four different countries: China, Republic of Korea, U.K, and the United States. It is my sincere hope that distinguished experts will be able to exchange their objective point of views, which will lead to formulation of effective policies that will induce the denuclearization of the DPRK.

I look forward to substantive and meaningful discussions on how to achieve denuclearization of the DPRK that will finally pave the way for peace and prosperity in Northeast Asia. Please enjoy the conference and I look forward to meeting and welcoming each of you.

Yours sincerely, Chan Young Bang, Ph.D. President

## PROGRAM OF THE CONFERENCE

Time (Almaty)	Role	Minutes	Name	Institution	Position	Торіс		
9:00-9:30	Opening remark		Bang Chan young	KIMEP	President			
			Dr. Hang Fangming	Charhar Institute	Chairman			
Session I: A Road to Denuclearization of Korean Peninsula Chair: Dr. Gerald Pech								
9:30-10:15	Keynote 1	45	Zou Zhibo	CASS	Director	The North Korean Nuclear Issue: Root Causes and Solutions		
10:15-10:45	Present 1	30	Qiu Guohong	Charhar	International Advisory Committee, former Ambassador	Promoting North Korea's Nuclear abandonment requires addressing its rightful security concerns and development needs		
10:45-11:15	Question	30						
	Break	30						
11:15-11:45	Present 2	30	Meredith Shaw	University of Tokyo	Associate Professor	Learning to Love the Bomb: Nuclear and Missile Technology in North Korean State Literature		
11:45-12:15	Present 3	30	Seung-ok Ryu & Henry Huang	KIMEP	Junior Research Fellow & Research and Communications Assistant	Reasons why North Korea is unable to survive without Nuclear Weapons		
12:15-12:45	Question	30						
12:45-1:15	Break	30						

### PROGRAM OF THE CONFERENCE

## Session II: Reaching Peace and Economic Prosperity in Korean Peninsula Chair: Dr. JeongWon Bourdais Park

1:15-2:00	Keynote 2	45	Sung Wook Nam	Korea University	Director at Center for North Koreanology	North Korea's nuclear capability and implications are for wider east Asia
2:00-2:30	Present 4	30	John Everad	-	Former British Ambassador to DPRK	Can the DPRK preserve its sovereignty without nuclear armaments?
2:30-3:00	Present 5	30	Li Tianguo	CASS	Senior Fellow	Research on Breaking the Dilemma of Peace and Development on the Peninsula with Economic Cooperation
3:00-3:30	Question	30				
3:30-4:00	Break	30				

## Session III: Reaching Peace and Economic Prosperity in Korean Peninsula (continue)

#### Chair: Dr. Jacob Reidhead

4:30-5:00	Present 6	30	Kwang Kyu Nam	Korea University	Center Director	Yoon Seok-yeol administration's North Korea policy and the foreign policy centered on Korea-U.S. relations
5:00-5:30	Present 7	30	Wang Lei	CASS	Assistant Research Fellow	Armistice, North Korean nuclear crisis and peace regime on the Korean Peninsula
5:30-6:00	Question	30				

#### Chan Young Bang, Ph.D.

President, KIMEP University, Former Economic Advisor, President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan

Dr. Bang is one of the founders and currently president of KIMEP University, the leading and innovative North-American style educational institution in the Commonwealth of Independent States.

In 1990, Dr. Bang was invited by Nursultan Nazarbayev, the President of Kazakhstan, to serve as the Vice Chairman of the Economic Expert Committee, which the President himself chaired. During his tenure on the committee, Dr. Bang led the development of the country's economic policy, particularly the introduction of market reforms and privatization in Kazakhstan. Following his service as Chief Economic Advisor to the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Dr. Bang was instated as the founding director of KIMEP in 1992. As the central figure of reform and the opening of the Kazakhstan economy, Dr. Bang visited the DPRK twice, in 1993 and 1994. While there, Dr. Bang had an opportunity to meet Kim Yong-sun, Vice Chairman of the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland to consult him on how North Korea should open its economy.

#### **Reseat publications:**

"Should Kim Jong Un Suddenly Exit His Reign, It Would Spell the End of the DPRK," *The Geopolitics*, January 21, 2022

"Class Struggle, the Biggest Challenge to North Korea's Economic Development," *The Diplomat*, December 11, 2021

"The US must work with China to denuclearize North Korea," *NK News*, November 17, 2021

"With North Korea on the edge, Kim Jong-un has three options - but only one will ensure regime survival," *South China Morning Post*, October 4, 2021

"Can North Korea Survive Without Its Chairman?," The Diplomat, Jul 2, 2021

#### Zhibo Zou, Ph.D.

Deputy General Director, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Research Paper: The North Korean Nuclear Issue: Root Causes and Solutions

Dr. Zou is senior fellow and deputy director of Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. His major research domains are international politics and strategic security. Professor Zou graduated from Beijing University of Aeronautics and Astronautics and obtained his master's degree in engineering. He had been engaged in research on nuclear strategy, arms control and nonproliferation, served as head of research division and deputy director of the institute under the Ministry of Defense, inspector of United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Committee and counselor for disarmament of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs successively. He is also the council member of China Arms Control and Disarmament Association.

#### **Ambassador Qiu Guohong**

Former Chinese Ambassador to South Korea

**Research paper:** Promoting North Korea's Nuclear abandonment requires addressing its rightful security concerns and development needs

Ambassador Qiu is the Former Chinese Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to South Korea. Chief Research Fellow of Northeast Asian Affairs at the Charhar Institute. Qiu Guohong was born and raised in Shanghai. After graduating from Shanghai International Studies University he was assigned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. Mr. Qiu spent 20 years working in the Chinese Embassy in Japan before serving as Deputy Director of the Asian Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China in 2006. In 2008 Ambassador Qiu was promoted to become the Chinese Ambassador to Nepal, a position he held until April 2011. From 2011 to 2014, he was Director of Security Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. In January 2014, he was appointed the Chinese Ambassador to South Korea by the 12th Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. After his assignment in South Korea ended in 2020, he acted as Chief Research Fellow of Northeast Asian Affairs at the Charhar Institute.

#### John Everard

Former British Ambassador to Democratic People's Republic of Korea

**Research paper:** Can the DPRK preserve its sovereignty without nuclear armaments?

Mr. John Everard, a former British diplomat, served as a British Ambassador to Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In October 2006, only a few short months after Mr. Everard arrived in Pyongyang to serve as the British ambassador, the DPRK conducted its first-ever nuclear test. He spent the next two-and-a-half years meeting with North Korean government officials and attending the official events so beloved by the North Korean regime. During this complicated period he provided crucial reports back to the British government on political developments.

His distinguished career with the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office spanned nearly 30 years and four continents (Africa, Asia, Europe, and Latin America), and included a number of politically sensitive posts. As the youngest-ever British ambassador when he was appointed to Belarus (1993 to 1995), he built an embassy from the ground up just a few short years after the fall of the Soviet Union. He also skillfully managed diplomatic relations as the UK ambassador to Uruguay (2001 to 2005) during a period of economic crisis and the country's election of its first left-wing government.

From 2010 to 2011 Everard spent one year at Stanford University's Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center, conducting research, writing, and participating in major international conferences on North Korea.

He holds BA and MA degrees in Chinese from Emmanuel College at Cambridge University, and a diploma in economics from Beijing University. Everard also earned an MBA from Manchester Business School, and is proficient in Chinese, Spanish, German, Russian, and French.

#### Sung Wook Nam, Ph.D.

Dean of Korea University's Graduate School of Public Administration

**Research Paper:** North Korea's nuclear capability and implications are for wider east Asia

Dr. Sung-wook Nam is an East Asia expert with theoretical and practical experience in academia, government and intelligence services on North Korea and China. He has worked as an analyst for Korean National Intelligence Service and an advisor to Ministry of National Defense, Ministry of National Unification and Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Nam is director of Center for North Koreanology at the Asiatic Research Institute, Korea University since 2013. He received his PhD in Applied Economics from the University of Missouri-Columbia, USA. He also works as a commentator on international affairs at the Korea Broadcasting Service since 2008. His academic career includes four years as Professor of North Korean Studies at Ewha Women's University and five years as the head of the School of National Intelligence Academy.

His positions in the government since entering academia in 1999 include the President of Institute for National Security Strategy in 2008–2011. Also, he was the general director of National Unification Council Advisory (vice-minister level) in 2012–2013. In addition to numerous papers and books, he is the author of North Korean Food Shortage and Reform of Collective Farm (Munchen Germany: Hertze Verlag, 2006). He is co-author of South Korea's 70-Year Endeavor for Foreign Policy, National Defense, and Unification (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018). "Mysterious Pyoungyang: Cosmetics, Beauty Culture and North Korea" (Macmillan Palgrave, UK,, 2020) "North Korean Nuclear Weapon and Reunification of Korean Peninsula" (World Scientific, Singapore, 2019)

#### Meredith Shaw, Ph.D.

Tokyo University

**Research paper:** Learning to Love the Bomb: Nuclear and Missile Technology in North Korean State Literature

Dr. 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*. Her work, which has been supported by a grant from the Fulbright Foundation, examines cultural politics and state efforts to manipulate culture in East Asia. Her research has been published in *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *The Pacific Review*, and *Journal of East Asian Studies*, and she has also written for *The National Interest*, *Global Asia* and *The Diplomat*. Dr. Shaw worked for several years as a research assistant and translator at the Korea Institute for National Unification before obtaining a Ph.D. in Political Science and International Relations from University of Southern California. She was a 2019 Korea-US NextGen Scholar and is in the inaugural cohort of the Mansfield-Luce Asia Scholars Network. Since 2017, she has maintained the North Korean Literature in English blog project (http://dprklit.blogspot.com/).

#### Li Tianguo, Ph.D.

Fellow, China Academy of Social Sciences

**Research paper:** Research on Breaking the Dilemma of Peace and Development on the Peninsula with Economic Cooperation

Li, Tianguo received his Ph.D. in economics from Seoul National University in South Korea. He is now an Associate Professor in National Institute of International Strategy, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. His main research interests are international economics, emerging markets economy and Korean economy, and he has published several books and papers in both national and international journals, including Journal of Computational and Applied Mathematics, Business Management Journal, Population Journal, Chinese Economic Theory and Business Management, etc. He was awarded several prizes by some society and institutions, including Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, China Society of Emerging Economies, Social Science Academy of Jilin Province(China).

#### Kwang Kyu Nam, Ph.D.

Center Director, Center for North Korean Studies, Asiatic Research Institute, University of Korea

Kwang Kyu Nam is director of the <Center for Unification and International Peace> in Asiatic Research Institute at Korea University, South Korea. He is also director of the <Maebong Institute for One Korea>. He received his Ph.D., Dept. of Political Science, Korea University. His areas of research cover the fields of modern Korean politics, inter-Korean politics, foreign policy. His recent publications include National Interests of United States, China, Japan and Russia to the North Korea (Editor, Asiatic Research Institute, 2021), the North Korea and South Korea (Co-Authors, nova sciences publisher, New York,2020), ""The North Korea Policy of Moon Jae-in administration and the relations of South Korea-U.S.,"" The Asian Education and Development Studies (Vol.8, No.1, 2019) etc.

#### Wang Lei, Ph.D.

Fellow, China Academy of Social Sciences

**Research paper:** Armistice, North Korean nuclear crisis and peace regime on the Korean Peninsula

Wang Lei received his Ph.D. in international politics from Renmin University of China. He was a visiting scholar of Seoul National University. He is now an assistant researcher in Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences(CASS). His main research interests are the transformation of international order, China's regional security environment, China's foreign policy and strategy, Northeast Asia security, North Korea nuclear issue and Iran nuclear issue. He has published several papers in high quality journals, including Journal of world Economics and Politics, Diplomatic Review, Contemporary World and Socialism. In the field of policy research, Dr. Wang is the author of many policy research reports of CASS, including the assessment of China's border security environment, the security situation of Korean peninsula. He has received many research awards from universities and institutions.

#### **CORRESPONDING PARTNERS**

#### Charhar Institute

The Charhar Institute is an open organization comprised of a group of intellectuals with high professional ethics and global vision. It is ready to cooperate with all social sectors to contribute insights and suggestions for promoting peace, stability and harmony in China and the whole international community. As a new Non-governmental think tank on diplomacy and international relations, the Charhar Institute is committed to promoting progress in China's foreign policies and the development of international relations in a more orderly manner.

Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Institute of World Economics and Politics The Institute of World Economics and Politics (IWEP) was founded in 1964. It is an Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Science(CASS) and is devoted to the study of international economics and politics. IWEP is engaged in policy-oriented and theoretical research, mainly covering global macroeconomy, international finance, international trade, international investment, developmental economics, international politics, international strategy, international political economy, global governance and world energy. It is one of the most influential think-tanks in areas of China's economic policies, the international economic policies and China's foreign policies.

Center for North Korean Studies, Asiatic Research Institute, Korea University The Center for North Korean Studies was established in October 2014 under the Asiatic Research Institute (ARI) as a dedication to the Northern part responsible for all issues pertaining to North Korea Study. Professor Nam Kwang Kyu serves as the head of the ARI Center for North Korean Studies. The Center conducts a total study about politics, economy, society, culture and history of North Korea aims to contribute mutual understanding of humanity and enhancement of culture.

Dr. Gerald Pech, KIMEP University

Dr. Jeong Wong Bourdais Park, KIMEP University

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