

**Prospects for Korean Reunification:  
Opportunities and Challenges for Neighboring Countries**

March 7, 2014  
9 am – 6 pm  
Goldman Auditorium  
David Brower Center  
2150 Allston Way  
Berkeley

Institute of East Asian Studies  
Center for Korean Studies,  
University of California, Berkeley

**Prospects for Korean Reunification:  
Opportunities and Challenges for Neighboring Countries**

Participants:

**Charles Armstrong**, Columbia University  
**Thomas Bernstein**, Columbia University, Emeritus  
**Emeritus Stephen Bosworth**, Chairman of the U.S.-Korea Institute,  
Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies  
**Jerome Cohen**, New York University  
**John Delury**, Yonsei University  
**Martin Dimitrov**, Tulane University  
**Thomas Gold**, UC Berkeley  
**Stephan Haggard**, UC San Diego  
**Jean Lee**, Associated Press, former AP Pyongyang Bureau Chief  
**Sunny Lee**, Stanford University  
**Jonathan Pollack**, Brookings Institution  
**Matthew Reichel**, Pyongyang Project  
**Orville Schell**, Asia Society Center on US-China Relations  
**Gi-wook Shin**, Stanford University  
**Kathleen Stephens**, Former Ambassador to South Korea

**This conference has been made possible by the generous support  
of the Consulate General of the Republic of Korea in San Francisco**

Publicity Co-sponsor: Asia Society of Northern California

## **Prospects for Korean Reunification: Opportunities and Challenges for Neighboring Countries**

### **Agenda**

8:30 am Continental Breakfast

9 am Welcome

9:15 Opening Reflections by Professor Jerome Cohen

9:45 am **Opportunities and Challenges of Reunification: Politics after the Purge**

Charles Armstrong, Thomas Bernstein, Martin Dimitrov, Stephan Haggard

Moderator: Thomas Gold

What is the direction of North Korea's domestic politics after the purge, and what are the implications for its relations in Northeast Asia and with the United States? How do we create an accurate model for factional struggles, bureaucratic competition, and other issues under the framework of one-man rule, and how can looking back at Chinese politics in the Mao era provide insights into the opportunities and challenges of reunification?

11:45 Lunch Break

1:00 pm **Inside Kim Jong Un's North Korea: Society and Economy**

Jean Lee, Sunny Lee, Matthew Reichel

Moderator: Orville Schell

What are the significant recent changes in North Korean society, and what are the implications for opening and reform, stability, and improvement in human rights? What roles might non-governmental organizations and media play in deepening outsiders' understanding of the situation inside North Korea?

2:45 pm Break

3:00 pm **U.S. and its Allies: Roles for Reunification**

Ambassador Stephen Bosworth, Jonathan Pollack, Gi-wook Shin, Ambassador Kathleen Stephens

Moderator: John Delury

How will the U.S. "pivot to Asia" influence relations among America and its allies, and their relations with China, in regards to North Korea, particularly on the nuclear issue? How do the U.S., South Korea, and others maintain policy coordination while at the same time taking proactive steps? What policy lessons can be learned from the experience of U.S.-China relations and applied to the case of North Korea?

4:45 pm Final Discussion

5:45 pm Closing Remarks

6:00 pm Adjourn

## Participants

### **Thomas P. Bernstein**

*Columbia University*

Thomas P. Bernstein (Ph.D., Columbia, 1970) was a member of the faculty of Columbia's Department of Political Science and of the East Asian Institute from 1975-2007, having previously taught at Yale and Indiana Universities. He is a specialist on comparative politics, with a focus on China as well as on the Soviet Union and communist systems. He has written on the collectivization of agriculture in the Soviet Union and China and on the two famines that each country experienced in the 1930's and late 1950's. Publications on China include a book on Chinese youth (Yale University Press, 1977), which was translated into Chinese in 1993, as well as articles and book chapters on the Mao era, and on China's reform period. This includes a chapter on China, "Growth without Political Liberalization", in James W. Morley, Ed., *Driven by Growth* (M.E.Sharpe, 1999), chapters on prospects for democratization, and on education. He has also researched various aspects of state-peasant relations in China's reform period. Together with Professor Xiaobo Lu (Columbia-Barnard), he co-authored *Taxation without Representation in Contemporary Rural China* (Cambridge University Press, 2003). In recent years, he has also worked on Sino-Soviet relations and comparisons. In 2010, he published a co-edited book with Hua-yu Li, *China Learns from the Soviet Union, 1949-Present* (Lexington Books), to which he contributed the Introduction. He also contributed a chapter, "Resilience and Collapse in China and the Soviet Union" to a book, *Why Communism Did Not Collapse*, edited by Martin K. Dimitrov (Cambridge University Press, 2013) He contributes book reviews to various scholarly journals. He has an

ongoing visiting scholar appointment where his wife, Professor Dorothy J. Solinger, teaches, the University of California, Irvine.

### **Stephen W. Bosworth**

*Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies*

Stephen W. Bosworth is the Dean Emeritus of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, a position he assumed in February 2001. Prior to his appointment at The Fletcher School, he served as the United States Ambassador to the Republic of Korea from November 1997 to February 2001. From March 2009 through October 2011, he served as U.S. Special Representative for North Korea Policy for the Obama Administration. From 1995-1997, Mr. Bosworth was the Executive Director of the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization [KEDO], an inter-governmental organization established by the United States, the Republic of Korea, and Japan to deal with North Korea. Before joining KEDO, he served seven years as President of the United States Japan Foundation, a private American grant-making institution. A graduate of Dartmouth College, he taught International Relations at Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs from 1990 to 1994. He has co-authored several studies on public policy issues for the Carnegie Endowment and the Century Fund, and, in 2006, he co-authored a book entitled *Chasing the Sun, Rethinking East Asian Policy*.

### **Jerome Cohen**

*New York University*

Professor Jerome Cohen is the senior American expert on East Asian law. As Director of East Asian Legal Studies at Harvard Law School from 1964-1979, he helped pioneer the introduction of East Asian

legal systems and perspectives into American legal curricula. Each year, Jerome Cohen teaches a course on Chinese law and society. In some years he offers a third course on comparative international law, analyzing how countries with a Confucian tradition relate to the international laws and traditions of the "Christian West." In another course, he explores international business contracts and economic cooperation with East Asia. In addition to these formal courses, Professor Cohen coordinates a Chinese language colloquium that attracts key figures in Chinese law and hosts a weekly Asia Hour for students, featuring informal (and frequently autobiographical) talks by prominent diplomatic and government officials, leading academics, and other influential practitioners in the East Asian legal area. His publications include *Investment Law and Practice in Vietnam* (Longman Group, 1990); *Contract Law of the People's Republic of China* (Longman Group, 1988) (with Yvonne Y.F. Chan and Ho Yuk Ming); *People's China and International Law* (Princeton University Press, 1974) (with H.D. Chiu); *The Criminal Process in the People's Republic of China, 1949-63: An Introduction* (Harvard University Press, 1968)

### **John Delury**

*Yonsei University*

John Delury is an Assistant Professor of East Asian Studies at Yonsei University's Graduate School of International Studies and Underwood International College in Seoul, South Korea. Before moving to Korea, Delury taught Chinese history and politics at Brown University, Columbia University, and Peking University. He is a term member of the Council on Foreign Relations, member of the National Committee on North Korea, and sits on the 21st Century Leadership Council of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy. DeLury received his Ph.D. in History from Yale University in

2007, as well as an M.A. and B.A. in History from Yale. Delury is currently a Senior Fellow of Asia Society's Center on U.S.-China Relations, and is a former Associate Director of the Center, where he directed the China Boom Project as well as a task force on economic engagement with North Korea. He co-authored with Orville Schell *Wealth and Power: China's Long March to the Twenty-first Century* (Random House, 2013).

### **Martin Dimitrov**

*Tulane University*

Martin Dimitrov is Associate Professor of Political Science and Director of the Asian Studies Program at Tulane University. He received his Ph.D. in Political Science from Stanford University in 2004. His recent publications include: *Piracy and the State: The Politics of Intellectual Property Rights in China* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009 [paperback edition 2012]) and *Why Communism Did Not Collapse: Understanding Authoritarian Regime Resilience in Asia and Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013). He is also completing a book manuscript entitled *Dictatorship and Information: Autocratic Regime Resilience in Communist Europe and China*. His research interests focus on Chinese politics; authoritarian regime resilience; property rights; and the rule of law.

### **Thomas B. Gold**

*University of California, Berkeley*

Thomas B. Gold is Professor of Sociology at the University of California. He received a Masters in Regional Studies-East Asia and a PhD in Sociology from Harvard University. Since 2000 he has also served as Executive Director of the Inter-University Program for

Chinese Language Studies (IUP), a consortium of 14 American universities that administer an advanced Chinese language program at Tsinghua University in Beijing. Gold's research focuses on many aspects of the societies of East Asia, primarily mainland China and Taiwan. In the largest sense, he examines the process of the emergence of the increasingly empowered and autonomous individual and a private sphere in societies which have combined traditional and modern forms of authoritarian rule. He explores this from many angles: youth and the life course; personal relations (guanxi, social capital), private business and entrepreneurship, popular culture, non-governmental organizations, and civil society. His book, *State and Society in the Taiwan Miracle* (1986) was the first to apply theories of dependency, world systems and dependent development – up to that time based mainly on the experience of Latin America - to an East Asian case. Gold continues to write about changes in Taiwan society since the end of Martial Law in 1987. He traveled to North Korea in 2009.

**Stephan M. Haggard**

*University of California, San Diego*

Stephan Haggard is the Lawrence and Sallye Krause Distinguished Professor of Korea-Pacific Studies and Director, Korea-Pacific Program (KPP) at the University of California, San Diego. Professor Haggard has written extensively on the political economy of North Korea with Marcus Noland, including *Famine in North Korea: Markets, Aid, and Reform* (2007) and *Witness to Transformation: Refugee Insights into North Korea* (2011). Haggard and Noland co-author the "North Korea: Witness to Transformation" blog at the Peterson Institute for International Economics and are finishing a manuscript on the political economy of engagement in North Korea. Professor Haggard is the editor of the *Journal of East Asian*

*Studies* and also the author of *Pathways from the Periphery: The Politics of Growth in the Newly Industrializing Countries* (1990), *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions* (1995, with Robert Kaufman), *The Political Economy of the Asian Financial Crisis* (2000) and *Development, Democracy and Welfare States: Latin America, East Asia, Eastern Europe* (2008, with Robert Kaufman). He is currently working with Robert Kaufman on the relationship between inequality, democratization and authoritarianism in developing countries.

**Jean H. Lee**

*Associated Press*

Jean H. Lee is a foreign correspondent for the Associated Press. Lee, who led AP's coverage of the Korean Peninsula for six years, is the first American journalist granted extensive access to North Korea and has made nearly 30 extensive reporting trips to North Korea. In January 2012, she opened an AP bureau in Pyongyang. She is currently on fellowship leave to carry out reporting and research for the Alicia Patterson Foundation. During her AP career, Lee has reported from across the United States, Europe, Asia and Africa. She has bachelor's and master's degrees from Columbia University. Before joining AP, she worked as a reporter at the Korea Herald in Seoul, South Korea.

**Sunny Seong-Hyon Lee**

*Stanford University*

Sunny Seong-hyon Lee is Pantech Fellow at Stanford University Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center. He lived in China for 11 years mostly as a foreign correspondent covering North Korea and Sino-North Korean relations. He has a master's degree from Harvard

and has his Ph.D. from Tsinghua University in China. He served as an internal reviewer of the North Korean analysis by the International Crisis Group (ICG). At Stanford, he is working on a book manuscript on China-Korea relations, especially since the death of North Korean leader Kim Jong-il.

**Jonathan D. Pollack**  
*Brookings Institution*

Jonathan D. Pollack is a senior fellow in the Foreign Policy program and director of the John L. Thornton China Center at the Brookings Institution. He received his M.A. and Ph.D. in political science from the University of Michigan, and was a post-doctoral research fellow at Harvard University. Prior to joining Brookings in December 2010, he was professor of Asian and Pacific Studies and chairman of the Strategic Research Department at the U.S. Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island. He previously worked at the Rand Corporation in Santa Monica, California, where he served in various senior research and management positions. His principal research interests include Chinese national security strategy; U.S.-China relations; U.S. strategy in Asia and the Pacific; Korean politics and foreign policy; Asian international politics; and nuclear weapons and international security. He has authored or edited over two dozen books and research reports; has contributed to numerous edited volumes and leading professional journals in the United States, Asia and Europe on China's international strategies, the political and security dynamics of the Korean Peninsula, East Asian international politics and U.S. foreign and defense policies in Asia and the Pacific. His publications include: *Strategic Surprise? U.S.-China Relations in the Early 21st Century* (2004); *Korea-The East Asian Pivot* (2006) and *Asia Eyes America: Regional Perspectives on U.S. Asia-Pacific Strategy in the 21st Century* (2007). His latest book, *No Exit: North*

*Korea, Nuclear Weapons, and International Security*, was published in 2011 by Routledge for the International Institute for Strategic Studies; the Asian Institute of Policy Studies published a revised Korean language edition in 2012. His current research focuses on American and Chinese conceptions of international security and regional order in East Asia.

**Matthew Reichel**  
*Pyongyang Project*

Matthew Reichel is the Executive Director of the East West Coalition and the Pyongyang Project, an activity of the East West Coalition, a Vancouver-based educational and social entrepreneurship-focused organization dedicated to providing academic enrichment opportunities for university students and faculty as well as developing sustainable social and humanitarian ventures in the DPRK. Projects have included placing North Korean university students abroad, implementing a six-month educational program for Kim Il Sung University students and faculty in business, economics and foreign language at Yanbian University in China, organizing various Track-II exchanges and student programs in the DPRK, and most recently working on developing a system for sustainable social entrepreneurship in the DPRK. Matthew Reichel has worked with multiple institutions in the DPRK, including Kim Il Sung University, the Pyongyang Technology Services Centre, the Kim Il Sung Socialist Youth League, the Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, the DPRK Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Rason People's Committee. Reichel received his BA from Brown University with degrees in International Relations and East Asian Studies, with a focus on Chinese-Korean relations.

**Orville Schell**

*Asia Society Center on US-China Relations*

Orville Schell is the Arthur Ross Director of the Center on U.S.-China Relations at Asia Society in New York. He earned a PhD (Abd) at University of California, Berkeley in Chinese History, and a B.A. in Far Eastern History from Harvard University. He is a former professor and Dean at the University of California, Berkeley's Graduate School of Journalism. Schell is the author of fifteen books, ten of them about China, has traveled widely in China since the mid-70s, and a contributor to numerous edited volumes. His most recent books are, *Virtual Tibet*, *The China Reader: The Reform Years, and Mandate of Heaven: The Legacy of Tiananmen Square and the Next Generation of China's Leaders and Wealth and Power: China's Long March to the 21st Century*. He has also been a contributor to such magazines as *The Atlantic*, *The New York Times Magazine*, *The Nation*, *Time*, *Granta*, *Wired*, *Mother Jones*, *The China Quarterly*, *The New Yorker*, and *The New York Review of Books*.

**Gi-Wook Shin**

*Stanford University*

Gi-Wook Shin is a professor of sociology and a senior fellow of the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford University. He has established Stanford's Korean Studies Program in 2001 and has been director of the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center since 2005. After receiving his BA from Yonsei University in Korea, he was awarded his MA and PhD from the University of Washington. Before coming to Stanford, Shin taught at the University of Iowa and the University of California, Los Angeles. As a historical-comparative and political sociologist, his research has concentrated on social movements, nationalism,

development, and international relations. He is the author/editor of sixteen books and numerous articles. His recent books include *Confronting Memories of World War II* (2014); *New Challenges for Maturing Democracies in Korea and Taiwan* (2014); *Troubled Transition: North Korea's Politics, Economy and External Relations* (2013); and *One Alliance, Two Lenses: U.S.-Korea Relations in a New Era* (2010). Shin is currently writing two books with his colleagues: one on historical memories of the Asia-Pacific wars and the other on global talent.

**Kathleen Stephens**

*Former Ambassador to South Korea*

Kathleen Stephens, former U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Korea, is currently the 2013–14 Koret Fellow in the Korean Studies Program (KSP) at Stanford University's Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center (Shorenstein APARC). Stephens served thirty-five years as a career diplomat in the U.S. Foreign Service, including postings in Washington, Asia, and Europe, as well as serving as Acting under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs in 2012, and U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Korea, 2008 to 2011. Ambassador Stephens graduated from Prescott College, and holds a master's degree from Harvard University, along with honorary doctoral degrees from Chungnam National University and the University of Maryland. Her research interest focuses on Korea's modern journey, with particular attention to South Korea's political development, to the impact of cultural and social change on its politics, and to the role of the United States.