



# The North Korean Nuclear Issue

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# Beginning of North Korea's Nuclear Ambitions

- Nuclear ambitions go back to early DPRK history
  - DPRK asked for and got assistance in nuclear technology from the Soviet Union starting in 1956, but the Soviet Union (who first detonated a nuclear bomb in 1949) was careful to keep weapons technology out of DPRK hands
  - Soviet Union was also helping China, but by 1959 Khrushchev reneged on giving China access to nuclear weapons, yet he nevertheless agreed to establish a North Korean (civilian) nuclear program
  - By 1963 the East Germans were aware that the North Koreans were interested in processing North Korean (low grade) uranium
- In 1961 the Soviet Union signed a mutual defense treaty with DPRK, but they were wary of being drawn into an unwanted war by DPRK (as the US was with ROK)
  - DPRK military buildup begins in 1962 implying they felt the Soviet commitment was less than iron-clad



# Sino-Soviet Split

- Along with Destalinization, Nikita Khrushchev had inaugurated in 1956 a foreign policy of “peaceful coexistence” with capitalism (in light of the possibility of nuclear war)
  - Before that Lenin and the Bolsheviks advocated world revolution through workers’ “internal revolutions” within their own nations
  - China had a mixed policy—peaceful coexistence and non-support for local revolutions in Asia (Zhou Enlai), but Mao Zedong believed in the inevitable conflict of capitalism and communism (as did Cuba) and felt the Korean War proved his point
- The Soviet Union reneging on its nuclear weapons aid to China combined with its signing of the Limited Test Ban Treaty with the US in 1963 in the wake of the 1962 Cuban missile crisis was the straw that broke the camel’s back and split the Soviet Union and China
  - At this point North Korea was more sympathetic to China since it never signed onto the doctrine of peaceful coexistence (or Destalinization)
  - Desire to acquire nuclear weapons was understood then as an aspect of Juche defense



# China's Nuclear Program

- China rejected the limited test ban treaty and continued to work on a nuclear deterrent
  - First weapons test October 16, 1964
  - First H-bomb test June 17, 1967
  - Last nuclear test July 29, 1996
- Recognized as one of five nuclear states in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty that China ratified in 1992
  - However, China is thought to have aided Pakistan with its nuclear program in the 1980s
- Signed Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in 1996



# DPRK first nuclear steps

- 1965 got a small graphite moderated reactor from the Soviet Union that was up and running from 1967
  - Soviet Union was not willing to do more, so the DPRK made inquiries about nuclear technology with other communist states without success
  - The 1970s oil shocks made the DPRK even more interested in nuclear power
  - In 1974 India exploded its first bomb (and became a *de facto* nuclear state)
- The Soviet Union insisted that the DPRK sign the NPT before they would give the DPRK more nuclear aid
  - DPRK held off until 1985, but when they signed the NPT they didn't put a safeguards program in place with the IAEA until 1992 when IAEA inspections first began



# Prelude to Acceleration of DPRK Nuclear Program (Armstrong's Interpretation)

- July 1986 Gorbachev's Vladivostak speech ("New Thinking")
  - While reiterating traditional policy, he also noted economic growth in Japan and elsewhere, withdrawal of troops from Mongolia, expanding ties with ASEAN, peaceful relations with East Asian neighbors and US
- 1988 Soviet Union renounced Brezhnev Doctrine (use of force to retain socialism in satellites) and began withdrawing troops from Afghanistan
  - Had been reducing military aid to North Korea with last delivery in 1989
- June 1990, US Secretary of State James Baker arranges for South Korean President Rho Taewoo to meet Mikhail Gorbachov in San Francisco where he was meeting President Reagan in the last stop of his American tour
- September 1990 Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze visited DPRK to reassure them after Gorbachev-Roh meeting
  - Kim Jong Il refused to see him, and Kim Yöngnam gave him a diatribe threatening nuclear development since the Soviet Union was not living up to its treaty of 1961 (that promised aid in case of mutual attack)



# Lankov's Interpretation of Nukes as "Survival Diplomacy" (chapter 5)

- See nukes as a deterrent to attack
- Can use nukes for diplomatic blackmail (interpretation of the Agreed Framework)
  - US diplomacy
  - 386 generation in South Korea → Sunshine policy
- By 2008
  - Myungbak Lee elected in South (conservative)
  - Disillusion with Sunshine policy after 2006 DPRK nuclear test
- Notice no clear chronology or causal chain, nor mention of DPRK interest in nuclear energy



# By 1990s US was Concerned about the DPRK program

- 1993—IAEA inspection revealed diversion of fuel from DPRK's reactors
  - This was reported to the UN Security Council, and the DPRK threatened to withdraw from the NPT
  - US was preparing for evacuation of US civilians and a preemptive airstrike when former President Carter personally visited Kim Il Sung in P'yongyang in 1994 and announced a nuclear agreement
  - Kim Il Sung was supposed to subsequently meet with the South Korean President, but he died suddenly shortly after Carter's visit (Carter June 15<sup>th</sup>, KIS dies July 7<sup>th</sup>)
- **Agreed Framework of 1994** negotiated to keep DPRK in NPT
  - DPRK fully in compliance with NPT with IAEA inspecting DPRK nuclear reactors 24-7 to make sure no plutonium diverted—special inspections of non-declared sites
  - In exchange the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Corporation would build LWR in North Korea (financed mostly by Japan and South Korea)
    - Assumption—diversion of fuel from LWRs is more difficult than from conventional reactors and they are more suitable for electricity generation
  - US would provide fuel oil to help power generation while LWR being built





# South Korea “Sunshine Policy”

- 1998 announced by President Kim Dae-jung
  - Name comes from Aesop’s fable “The North Wind and the Sun”
  - Kim Dae Jung felt confident that South Korea’s political stability due to democratization and its economic superiority allowed it to magnanimous to NK
- Peace and Cooperation with the North (대북화해협력정책)
  - No armed provocation by the North will be tolerated
  - The South with not attempt to absorb the North in any way
  - The South actively seeks cooperation and promotes reconciliation
- Kim Dae-jung visits P’yŏngyang June 13-15, 2000 after which a North South Joint Declaration
  - Kim Dae-jung won Nobel Peace Prize in 2000 for “his work for democracy and human rights in South Korea and in East Asia in general, and for peace and reconciliation with North Korea in particular”
  - It later came out that this visit was “facilitated” with payments of several hundred million dollars to North Korea

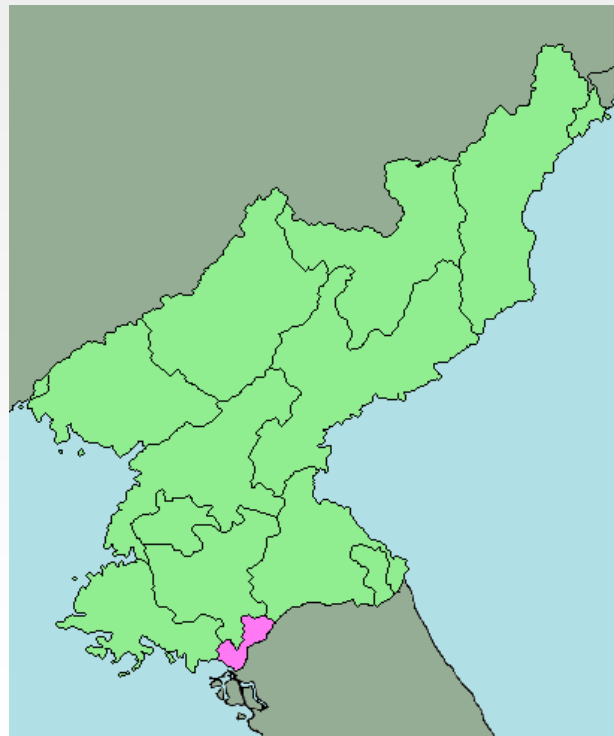


# North South Cooperation under Sunshine

- 1998 Mount Kumgang Tourist Region in North Korea opened to South Korean and international tourists
  - Initial travel North/South was by boat, but by 2002 land travel was arranged
- 2003 two rail lines (one in west, one in east) that had been severed during the Korean War were reconnected (as part of 2000 agreement) North South
- Series of north-south family reunions in Seoul, P'yŏngyang, and Kŭmgang
- 2003-4 Kaesŏng Industrial Park opened just North of the DMZ on the West Coast
  - 50 year lease, buildings, equipment and power supplied by South Korea
  - Manufacturing with North Korean labor under South Korean management, with labor paid in dollars through DPRK government



# Kaesŏng Industrial Zone





# Breakdown of Agreed Framework

- Bush Administration was very suspicious of the Agreed Framework negotiated under the Clinton administration
  - Kim Dae-jung visited the White House in March 2001 and some felt Bush slighted Kim's realism about North Korea
  - Some of Clinton's negotiators had assumed that DPRK would collapse, but it hadn't
  - By 2002 US had intelligence that DPRK had a *second* secret HEU program
    - Intelligence found DPRK contacts with Pakistan had transferred nuclear technology 1990-96
    - probably in exchange for missile technology
      - (Pakistan had exploded its own device in 1998 led by A.Q. Khan making an 8<sup>th</sup> de facto nuclear state)
- After US accused DPRK of cheating in 2002 DPRK ejected IAEA inspectors, and the following year withdrew from the NPT
  - The US could have treated the secret program under the Agreed Framework as an "undeclared nuclear site" and negotiated for inspections, but the Bush administration did not want to succumb to what it considered "nuclear blackmail"



# No Controls

- With the breakdown of the Agreed Framework and DPRK's withdrawal from the NPT in 2003 IAEA inspectors were kicked out and there were no controls on the DPRK nuclear program at all
  - DPRK "refueled" their reactor (which involved extracting the spent nuclear rods, and presumably extracting plutonium for further processing)
- Bush administration made strong statements, but now had little leverage
  - China became concerned that the US would act unilaterally in North Korea
  - China's slogan at the time was "peaceful rise" and they wanted stability in East Asia so they could concentrate on economic growth



# Six Party Talks

- began in 2003 hosted by China
  - No progress in first three rounds (Aug 2003-June 2004 with James Kelly)
  - More progress in next three rounds (July 2005-Sept 2007)
  - Proliferation Security Initiative
    - bilateral Mutual Ship-boarding Pacts allowing mutual expedition of ship-boarding requests for ships under those national flags—designed to fight proliferation
  - October 18, 2004 North Korean Human Rights Act
  - **October 9, 2006 first DPRK nuclear test**
  - UNSC 1718
  - Joint Statement of goals February 2007
  - DPRK issues nuclear inventory November 2007
  - US calls inventory incomplete and suspends aid pending a complete inventory



# Problems with Six Party Talks

- China, Russia, Japan, South Korea, and the US all agreed that they didn't want North Korea to go nuclear, but beyond that there were serious differences
  - US would just as soon DPRK would collapse and wanted to apply maximum pressure
  - Japan insisted the question of citizens kidnapped to the DPRK be part of the talks
  - Russia mostly on the sidelines
  - South Korea had left-wing government with "Sunshine Policy" that sought to reduce tensions through contact and aid
  - China sought a "soft landing" for North Korea that would denuclearize it without forcing collapse, so they did not fully cooperate with US sanctions desires
- Within the Bush administration there was constant infighting between the hardliners in the NSC (Cheney, Rumsfeld, Bolton), and those who wanted a negotiated settlement (mostly in the State Department)
  - James Kelly 1<sup>st</sup> three rounds, Christopher Hill next three



# North Korean Human Rights Act

- Signed by President Bush October 18, 2004
- Provides humanitarian assistance to North Koreans inside North Korea [mostly food and medicine]
- Provide grants to private, non-profit organizations to promote human rights, and development of market economy in North Korea
- Increase availability of information in North Korea (i.e. broadcasts into North Korea, providing transistor radios, etc.)
- Provide humanitarian assistance to North Korean refugees, and allowing them to come to the US more easily
- **Controversial because the avowed aim of the law is to cause North Korea to collapse because of an outflow of refugees as in East Germany, and because many of the organizations that might be aided are religious or highly political**





# UNSC 1718 (10/06 following first DPRK nuclear test)

- North Korea must "not conduct any further nuclear test or launch of a ballistic missile", "suspend all activities related to its ballistic missile programme" and "abandon all nuclear weapons and existing nuclear programmes in a complete, verifiable and irreversible manner".
- The DPRK must also "return immediately to the six-party talks without precondition".
- Shipments of cargo going to and from North Korea may be stopped and inspected for weapons of mass destruction or associated items (however, there is no obligation placed on member states to perform such inspections).
- A ban is placed on imports and exports of "battle tanks, armoured combat vehicles, large calibre artillery systems, combat aircraft, attack helicopters, warships, missiles or missile systems", "related materiel including spare parts" and any other items identified by the sanctions committee.
- UN member states must freeze the overseas assets of individuals and companies involved with the DPRK's weapons programmes. An international travel ban is also placed on programme employees and their families.
- UN members are banned from exporting luxury goods to North Korea.



# February 13, 2007 Joint Statement

- North Korea will shut down and seal the Yongbyon nuclear facility, including the reprocessing facility and invite back IAEA personnel to conduct all necessary monitoring and verifications
- In return, the other five parties in the six-party talks will provide emergency energy assistance to North Korea in the initial phase of 50,000 tons of heavy fuel oil, to commence within 60 days.
- All six parties agree to take positive steps to increase mutual trust, and make joint efforts for lasting peace and stability in Northeast Asia. Directly related parties will negotiate a permanent peace regime on the Korean Peninsula at an appropriate separate forum.
- All six parties agree on establishing five working groups - on the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, normalization of North Korea-U.S. relations, normalization of North Korea-Japan relations, economy and energy cooperation, as well as a joint Northeast Asia peace and security mechanism.



# February 2007 Joint Statement (2)

- The working groups will form specific plans for implementing the September 19 statement in their respective areas.
- All parties agree that all working groups will meet within the next 30 days
- Details of assistance will be determined through consultations and appropriate assessments in the working group on economic and energy cooperation.
- Once the initial actions are implemented, the six parties will promptly hold a ministerial meeting to confirm implementation of the joint document and explore ways and means for promoting security cooperation in Northeast Asia.
- The sixth round of six-party talks will take place on March 19, 2007. This will be to hear reports of the working groups and discuss actions for the next phase.[33]



# Discontinuation of talks

- DPRK issues report of inventory to US in November 2007
  - DPRK said they had complied with the talks and demanded a resumption of fuel aid
  - US responded that the inventory was incomplete, and until such time as a complete inventory was forwarded it would suspend aid
- Although numerous meetings were held between US and DPRK in Beijing this impasse was never overcome



# South Korean Presidential Election 2008

- July 2008 South Korean tourist Park Wang-ja (53) shot to death after wandering out of the restricted zone, and by August 2008 after inconclusive negotiations about her death North Korea expelled South Koreans from the resort that has not reopened to South Koreans since then
- Conservative Myung-bak Lee won
  - North Korea was an issue in this election, as many South Koreans felt betrayed by North Korea's 2006 nuclear test after South Korea gave the North aid
  - Lee linked further cooperation with North Korea to progress on the nuclear issue, ending the Sunshine Policy



# Continued Development in Transition to Obama Administration

- October 2008 DPRK orders IAEA inspectors away from site
  - Note timing just before November Presidential election
- April 5, 2009 Satellite launch (probably test of Taep'odong multi-stage rocket, though the test failed)
  - US responded with new UN Sanctions April 13<sup>th</sup>
  - DPRK called sanctions "unbearable" and on April 25<sup>th</sup> announced reactivation of their nuclear sites
- May 25, 2009 second nuclear test
  - UNSC Resolution 1874 (authorizes inspection of DPRK ships, prevents financial services)
  - November 2010 Siegfried Hecker (of Stanford's Center for International Security and Cooperation) visits North Korea and is shown an operational HEU plant



# UNSC1874

- Authorizing member states to inspect, "in accordance with their national authorities and legislation, and consistent with international law," North Korean cargo on land, sea, and air, and to destroy any goods suspected of being connected to the DPRK's nuclear programme.[2]
- Requiring the North Korean government to return immediately to the six-party talks and renounce its announcement of withdrawal from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.[3]
- Preventing financial services that could contribute to the nuclear or ballistic missile related programmes.[4]
- Instructing member states not to provide financial assistance to the DPRK nuclear programme, or enter into loans with the country, except for humanitarian or developmental reasons.[4]
- Extending the arms embargo on North Korea by banning all weapons exports from the country and most imports, with an exception to small arms, light weapons and related material – though member states must notify the Security Council five days prior to selling the weapons.[5] [6]
- Demanding that North Korea halt its nuclear weapons program and conduct no further nuclear or missile tests.[5]
- Asking member states to notify the Council of steps they are taking to implement the sanctions within 45 days.[7]
- Affirming the Security Council's commitment to a peaceful, diplomatic resolution to the situation.[7]



# Subsequent Tests

- Third Nuclear Test February 12, 2013
- 2015 Kim Jong-un announces capacity for H-bomb
- Fourth Nuclear Test January 6, 2016
  - Announced as H-bomb (but not corroborated, and considered unlikely because of the small size of the explosion)
  - DPRK has made progress in weaponization, though re-entry mechanisms are not yet thought to be developed
- Fifth Nuclear Test September 9, 2016 (claimed test of nuclear warhead)





# North Korea Missile Program

- Early 1990s—North Korea reverse engineered Scud-B designed from Egypt and/or China
  - Nodong Missile with range of 1000-1500 miles (can reach South Korea and Japan)
  - Difficult to counter
- T'aep'ongdong 1 & 2
  - T'aep'odong 1—3 stage rocket tested 1998 to launch Kwangmyŏngsŏng satellite (failed)
  - T'aep'ogdong 2—2/3 stages, tested 2006 and failed
- Ŭnha rocket
  - 2009 test failed, but in 2012 able to launch a satellite, 2016 successful launch
- Hwasŏng (intercontinental)
  - August & September 2017 multistage rocket passing over Hokkaido



# In Violation of UNSC 1718?

- UNSC 1718 prohibits ballistic missile tests
- DPRK claims Ŭnha tests are satellite launches that are allowed
- Problem for US, Japan, and South Korea is that this is “dual use” technology
  - Possible submarine launch of missile in April 2016

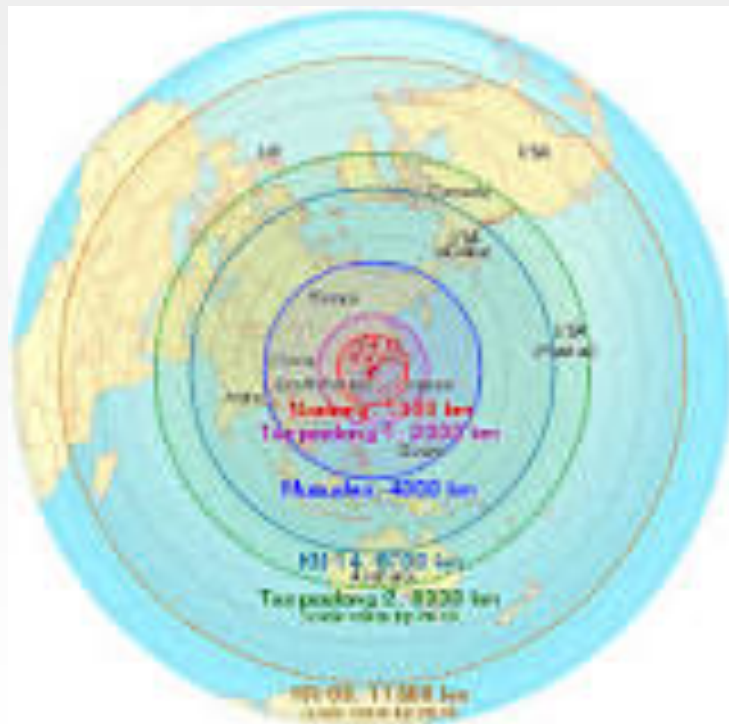


# What's the Problem?

- “Surgical Strike” not fully possible, and would likely lead to full-scale war with casualties comparable to the Korean War
  - Seoul—25 million people—within range of North Korean artillery and missiles so DPRK could kill tens of thousands in minutes (also chemical weapons)
- US leverage is limited because DPRK has limited contacts with the rest of the world
  - Sanctions hurt the DPRK, but they are hard to administer over the long run because DPRK is always coming up with new ways to get around them, and because maintaining international coalitions over the long haul is difficult
- Forging a foreign policy consensus over the DPRK has been difficult in the US
  - No negotiation has considered concluding a treaty because passing a treaty through the US Senate is considered impossible



# North Korean Missile Ranges



- Red = Nodong
- Blue = Musudan
- Green = T'aep'odong
- Brown = Hwasŏng



# Latest Sanctions

- UNSCR 2270 & 2321
  - 2016 after 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> nuclear tests banned DPRK export of precious metals, coal and iron (except for subsistence)
- UNSCR 2371 & 2375
  - 2017 after missile tests and 2017 6<sup>th</sup> nuclear test banned all export of coal, iron, lead and seafood, joint ventures, textile exports, and North Korean nationals working overseas
- US Presidential Executive Orders 2017
  - Cuts DPRK from US financial system, as well as any firms that trade with North Korea from this system



# Will Sanctions work?

- Quid pro quo sanctions—I give you this and you give me that (Agreed Framework)
- Positive sanctions—aimed at inducing broad changes in society that empower those forces within the country who want trade and peace (Sunshine Policy)
- Threat sanctions—I'm going to make you hurt unless you do what I want (present?) will only work under certain conditions
  - If the ruling class is directly hurt by the sanctions, they might change policy
  - Or, if the people who are hurt by sanctions can pressure the government to respond
  - Or, if the political order truly collapses



# Otto Warmbier June 2017

- College student from Ohio who visited North Korea on a package tour in was arrested on January 2, 2016
  - Made a public confession of attempting to steal a propaganda poster
  - Bill Richardson met with the North Koreans in New York to negotiate Warmbier's release, but the next day he was convicted of "anti-state activity" and sentenced to 15 years hard labor
  - Diplomatic attempts to free Warmbier under the Obama administration were not successful
- On June 2, 2017 Secretary of State Rex Tillerson announced Warmbier's release negotiated by the State Department at President Trump's behest
  - Warmbier arrived in the US in a coma (that North Korea claimed he had been in for 17 months), and he died shortly after arriving in the US



# North Korea Tests in 2017

- July 4, 2017 test of Hwasŏng 14 missile
  - Two-stage mobile intercontinental missile 2,800 miles with Russian-style engine
- July 28, 2017 test of Hwasŏng 14 missile
  - 2341 mile range but different trajectory might go 10,000 miles putting most of US in range
- **September 3, 2017 Sixth Nuclear Test**
  - 4 to 16 times more powerful than previous tests
  - US warns of “massive military response”
- **November 28, 2017 Hwasŏng 15 capable of reaching all of US**





# Fall 2017 Talk on North Korea Options

- McMaster
- Mattis
- Tillerson



# Kim Jong Un's 2018 New Year's Address

- “Last year the moves of the United States and its vassal forces to isolate and stifle our country went to extremes, and our revolution faced the harshest ever challenges.”
- “By also conducting tests of various means of nuclear delivery of super-intense thermonuclear weapons, we attained our general orientation and strategic goal with success. . . Out country's nuclear forces are capable of thwarting and countering any nuclear threat from the United States, and they constitute a powerful and reliable war deterrent, which no force can reverse. . .The whole of its [US] mainland is within the range of our nuclear strike, and the nuclear button is on my office desk at all times”



## President Trump January 2 Tweet

- “North Korean Leader Kim Jong Un just stated that the “Nuclear Button is on his desk at all times. Will someone from his depleted and food starved regime please inform him that I too have a Nuclear Button, but it is a much bigger and more powerful one than his, and my Button works!”



## 2<sup>nd</sup> Part of Kim Jung Un's New Year Speech

- After blaming the previous South Korea President for being fascist vassal forces of the US desperate to ignite war that collapsed “thanks to the massive resistance of the enraged people” he noted that nothing has changed in North-South relations
- “This year is significant both for the north and south as in the north the people will greet the 70<sup>th</sup> founding anniversary of their Republic as a great, auspicious event and in the south the Winter Olympic games will take place. . . We should improve the frozen inter-Korean relations and glorify their meaningful year as an eventful one noteworthy in the history of the nation.
- The Olympics “will serve as a good occasion for demonstrating our nation’s prestige and we earnestly wish the Olympic games a success. From this point of view we are willing to dispatch our delegation and adopt other necessary measures; with regard to this matter, the authorities of the north and the south may meet together soon.”



# South Korean reaction

- South Korean President Mun Jae In (elected May 10<sup>th</sup> 2017 after impeachment of former President Park Keunhye) is center left and wished for negotiations with the North, but in 2017 had been rebuffed by the North
- China had boycotted Korean cultural exports in retaliation for South Korea installation of THAAD missile batteries in April 2017 (before election of Mun)
  - THAAD batteries exist in Hawaii, Wake and Guam but China objected to these
  - Mun negotiated with China by promising not to install any more THAAD
- Mun needed North Korean cooperation for successful Olympics
  - He thus welcomed North Korea's initiative, North Korea reopened hot line with Seoul, and talks for North Korean participation in the Olympics were completed



# State of the Union Speech January 20, 2018

- “No regime has oppressed its own citizens more totally or brutally than the cruel dictatorship in North Korea. North Korea’s reckless pursuit of nuclear missiles could very soon threaten our homeland.
- “Past experience has taught us that complacency and concessions only invite aggression and provocation.
- Invoking Otto Wambier Trump recognized Wambier’s parents in the audience as well as North Korean refugee Ji Seong-ho, and then ended the speech invoking freedom as an American value.



# South Korean Ambassadorship

- One year into the Trump administration there was still no ambassador appointed for South Korea
- January 30 Victor Cha Op-ed in *Washington Post* “Giving North Korea a ‘bloody nose’ carries a huge risk to Americans” outlined risks
  - Victor Cha, a Professor at Georgetown, was formerly Director for Asian Affairs in the Bush Administration National Security Council
  - Had been close to appointment by the Trump Administration for South Korean Ambassador but reported in late January to have been nixed because he advised against a preemptive strike
    - If “Kim is undeterrable without such a strike, how can we also believe that a strike will deter him from responding in kind? And if Kim is unpredictable, impulsive and bordering on irrational, how can we control the escalation ladder, which is premised on an adversary’s rational understanding of signals and deterrence.”
    - Advocates enhanced and sustained regional and global pressure
- June 29, 2018 Harry B. Harris former Commander, US Pacific Fleet, appointed Ambassador to South Korea



# 2018 Winter Olympics

- Kim Jung Un New Year Speech expressed desire to participate in Winter Olympics and talk with South Korea
  - Hotline reestablished, talks commenced, and North Korea agreed to come
  - US agreed to postpone annual US-South Korea joint military exercises until after the Olympics and Paralympics
- Delegation of 10 athletes and two hundred cheerleading beauties dispatched to P'yŏngch'ang
  - Didn't win any medals





# Charm Offensive?

- Kim Jong Un's younger sister Kim Yojong (Party Central Committee Vice Chair) sent along with Kim Yŏngnam (Chair of Presidium) to opening ceremony
  - Had dinner with South Korean President Mun Jae In and delivered letter inviting Mun to P'yŏngyang
- Vice President Mike Pence represented the US
  - Visited Prime Minister Abe in Japan and announced tough new sanctions while denouncing North Korea
  - In South Korea Pence met the South Korean president but refused to acknowledge Kim Yojong, and was accompanied by Otto Warmbier's father
- In interview on the flight home with Josh Rogin of *The Washington Post* Pence clarified that the US will continue sanctions, but is willing to talk with North Korea about denuclearization
  - Subsequently it was reported that the North Koreans cancelled a planned meeting with the US (that was supposed to be unpublicized) because of Pence's announced plan to demand that the North Koreans denuclearize
  - Reiterated support for the Bush era policy of CVID (Complete, Verifiable, and Irreversible Denuclearization) and that sanctions would continue during talks until results are obtained



## Charm Offensive II?

- Ivanka Trump attended the closing ceremony of the Olympic games
- North Koreans sent General Kim Yŏngch'ŏl (Central Committee Vice Chair, and since 2016 Chair of Central Committee's United Front Department) and Ri Son Gwon Chairman of the Committee for the Peaceful Unification of the Fatherland
  - Met with South Korean President Mun, and conveyed desire for talks with the US, and agreed the inter-Korean relations should be developed along with relations with the US
  - As head of the Reconnaissance General Bureau 총찰총국, the bureau responsible for operations against South Korea and Japan, Kim Yŏngch'ŏl is thought to be responsible for the sinking of the Ch'ŏnan and shelling of Yŏnp'yŏng Island in 2010



# Recent Developments

- President Trump told governors on February 26, 2018 he is willing to talk “only under the right conditions. Otherwise, we’re not talking.”
- However, on the same day the senior-most expert in the State Department on North Korea, Peter Yun, announced his retirement by the end of the week
  - He had negotiated the release of Otto Warmbrier
  - He favors negotiations saying that while CVID is the ultimate goal, talks might begin with a freeze on nuclear and missile testing
- Meanwhile Sarah Huckabee Sanders, White House Press Secretary, said, “Denuclearization must be the result of any dialogue with North Korea.”



# Kim Jung Un Breaks out

- South Korean National Security Advisor Chung Eui-young (국가안보실장 정의용鄭義溶) and Director of National Intelligence Suh Hoon (국가정보원 서훈徐薰) visited P'yŏngyang on March 3, 2018
  - First South Korean envoy since 2007 (the last time there was a Korean Democratic Party President)
  - Met with Kim Jong Un in KWP headquarters, and Kim also hosted a dinner for them
  - Later visit White House carrying invitation from Kim Jung Un that President Trump accepts
- March 26, 2018—Kim Jung Un meets Xi Jinping in Beijing (after six years of frosty Sino-North Korean relations)
- April 1, 2018—Secretary of State Mike Pompeo visits P'yŏngyang and meets Kim Jung Un
- April 27, 2018—South Korean President Mun Jae-in and Kim Jung Un meet at P'anmunjŏm
- April/May, 2018—Chinese Party International Liaison and Foreign Minister make separate visits to North Korea



# P'anmunjŏm Declaration

- Promote common prosperity and reunification of Korea through dramatic improvement and development of inter-Korean relations
  - Joint Liaison Office in Kaesŏng between north and south Korea
  - Family reunification
  - Connect roads and rail (Tonghae and Kyŏngŭi lines)
- Elimination of military tension and substantial elimination of war risk
- Establish a permanent and peaceful Korean peninsula
  - Stepwise disarmament
  - Peace treaty to end Korean War
  - Finalize complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula



# Dualing US/China Visits

- May 7-8 Xi Jinping and Kim Jong Un hold talks in Dalian
  - Kim Yŏngch'ŏl, Ri Su Yong, Kim Yŏjŏng, and Ch'oe Sŏnhŭi also present
- 4 point Xinhua statement
  - Traditional friendship of the countries a treasure
  - Bilateral relations are of major strategic significance
  - Both side should maintain frequent exchanges
  - People-to-people friendship is important
- Xinhua reported Kim's hope that "the DPRK and US would build mutual trust through dialogue and the relevant sides would take phased and synchronous measures in a responsible manner"
- May 9, Mike Pompeo visits P'yŏngyang
  - Met by Kim Yŏngch'ŏl, Ri Su Yong, and later met Kim Jong Un
  - Three detainees amnestied by Kim and freed as a good will gesture
    - Korean American Kim Dong-chul, Yanji-based trader
    - Tony Kim (Kim Sang Duk) teaching at PUST
    - Kim Hak-song, Chinese-born Korean American teaching at PUST
  - Pompeo offered, "all the opportunities your people so richly deserve" in exchange for the DPRK shutting down its nuclear program
  - Accompanied by Andrew Kim, Head of the CIA Korea Mission Center
    - Kim has school ties with South Korean Intelligence Head Sŏ Hun and South Korean Security Advisor Chŏng Ŭi-yong (who is his mother's uncle)
    - Said to be hawkish
  - Also accompanied by Randal Schriver, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Asian and Pacific Security Affairs



# July 12, Tump-Kim Summit

- President Trump and Secretary Kim met, shook hands, and had a 45 minute talk with only interpreters
- Later had lunch
  - President Trump, Secretary Pompeo, Chief-of-Staff Kelly and National Security Advisor John Bolton
  - State Affairs Commission Chair Kim Jong Un, Foreign Secretary Ri Yŏnggho, Vice Chair Kim Yŏngch'ŏl
- Signed joint statement
  - Confirms P'anmunjŏm declaration and aim of "complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula"
  - Commits to recovering POW/MIA remains from the Korean War
- Optimistic News Conference
  - [North Korea] "has the potential to become an incredible place"
  - "I stand before you as an emissary of the American people to deliver a message of hope and vision and a message of peace"
  - Thanked hosts, President Mun, Prime Minister Abe
  - Announced Kim "is already destroying a major missile engine testing site"
  - In answer to question on security assurances, "We will be stopping the war games which will save us a tremendous amount of money, unless and until we see the future negotiation is not going along like it should."



# Singapore Summit







# Conference personnel

- Ri Suyong, former Foreign Minister
- Interpreter
- Kim Jong Un, State Affairs Commission Chair
- Kim Yŏngch'ŏl, KWP Central Committee Vice Chair and Unification Bureau
- Ri Yongho, Foreign Minister
- John Kelly, Chief of Staff
- Interpreter
- President Trump
- Mike Pompeo, Secretary of State
- John R. Bolton, National Security Advisor



# What War Games Stopped?

- Key Resolve
  - Descendant of “Team Spirit” held between February and April by the United States Pacific Command
  - Joint exercises with South Korea in which extra US forces are brought into Korea for the exercise
- Foal Eagle
  - Joint exercises with the Republic of Korea and US under auspices of Combined Forces Command
  - One of the largest military exercises in the world monitored by the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission under the Korean Armistice Agreement
  - Combined with Key Resolve, and involved other allied forces (Britain), as well
  - Ended in June 2018, but resumed on smaller scale in November
- Replaced with “Tongmaeng” (alliance) training on smaller scale



# Mike Pompeo's Visits to P'yŏngyang

- July 7, 2018 delegation led by Mike Pompeo
  - Pompeo did not meet KJU but Kim Yong Chol
    - Pompeo said talks were “productive”
    - North said Pompeo made “one-sided robber-like” demands for CVID rather than constructive measures that would build trust
- August 24, 2018—President Trump calls off Pompeo visit to P'yŏngyang for lack of progress



# February 28, 2019 Trump Kim Summit

- Trump and Kim meet
  - February 27 private dinner at Metropole Hotel
  - February 28 meeting with aides
- No agreement and February 28<sup>th</sup> meeting broke off early
- End amicably
  - While both sides noted no agreement, there were no angry words, each side said talks would continue



# Hanoi Summit February 28, 2019

- Nick Mulvaney (Acting Chief-of-Staff)
- Yun Hyang Lee (Interpreter)
- President Trump
- Mike Pompeo (Secretary of State)
- John Bolton (National Security Advisor)
- Ri Yongho (Foreign Minister)
- State Affairs Commission Chair Kim Jong Un
- Sin Hye-yong (Interpreter)
- Kim Yŏng-ch'ŏl (KWP Central Committee Vice Chair and Unification Bureau)





# Analysis of Personnel

- Nick Mulvaney, Mike Pompeo, and John Bolton have all advocated eliminated sanctions only for CVID, but otherwise believe in forcing North Korea to comply via sanctions rather than incentives (In June 2018 meeting John F. Kelly was Chief-of-Staff)
- Stephen Biegun is said to believe that positive incentives can reduce North Korean belligerence
- Notice that Stephen Biegun was not at the table
- Foreign Minister Ri Yongho visited Vietnam and China in late 2018, and in 2017 gave speech in UN insulting Trump
- KWP Central Committee Vice Chair and Unification Department Chair Kim Yŏngch'ŏl comes from the Reconnaissance Bureau (special intelligence operations), and is thought to have arranged the sinking of the Ch'ŏnan in 2010



# US Assessment of Talks

- President Trump—“They wanted us to lift all the sanctions, and we couldn’t do that.”
- Mike Pompeo noted that the North Korean proposal would leave already-produced nuclear weapons and missiles in place, as well as production facilities outside of the Yŏngbyŏn complex that the US knows about
- Mike Pompeo briefed the foreign ministers of China, South Korea, and Japan on the Hanoi summit (by phone)
  - China Yang Jiechi
  - South Korea Kang Kyun—hwa
  - Japan Kono Tarō



# North Korean Assessments of Talks

- Ri Yongho (Foreign Minister) March 1 1:00am news conference:
  - “What we call for is not complete removal of sanctions, but partial removal, concretely, first removal of five of the eleven items in UN sanctions resolutions that were adopted in 2016 and 2017, among them those that block the civilian economy and people’s livelihood. Considering the current level of North Korean-American trust, these are the broadest denuclearization measures we can take in stride in the current stage.
  - “For us security guarantees are a more important question than adopting denuclearization measures, but we consider it burdensome that America still adopts military measures and so have proposed corresponding measures of partially lifting sanctions.
  - “In this round of talks we have clarified our readiness to permanently stop nuclear tests and long-range missile tests through promises and documents in order to reduce America’s concerns “
  - “In the future if we reach the stage of building trust the denuclearization process will be able to proceed faster. However as the talks progressed America insisted until the end that we had to do other things in addition to measures to close the Yŏngbyŏn district nuclear facilities, and it accordingly became clear that America was not prepared to accept our proposal.
- Ch’oe Sŏnhŭi (Vice Foreign Minister)—“I got the feeling that going forward our Comrade State Affairs Commission Chair might have lost the will for exchange between Chosŏn and America.” (March 1, 2019 1:00 AM news conference)





# UN Security Council Sanctions from 2016

- UNSC 2270 3/2/2016—response to 4<sup>th</sup> nuclear test 1/6/2016
  - Prohibited weapons trading and called for inspection of DPRK cargos, and banned export of gold, vanadium, titanium, rare earths
- UNSC 2321 11/2016—response to 5<sup>th</sup> nuclear test 9/9/2016
  - Banned coal exports and exports of copper, nickel, zinc, and silver
- UNSC 2371 8/5/17—in response to 14 2017 missile tests
  - Ban on export of coal, iron and iron ore, seafood exports, and lead exports
  - Financial sanctions
- UNSC 2375 9/11/2017—in response to 9/3/2017 6<sup>th</sup> nuclear test
  - Ban on selling natural gas to DPRK, strict quota on oil imports, limited visas for overseas North Korean laborer, ban on joint ventures, textile exports, ship inspections
- UNSC 2397 12/22/2017—in response to launching of Hwasŏng missile
  - Limits imports of petroleum, and exports of food, machinery, electrical equipment, earth and stones, wood and vessels, also asset freezes on North Korea military accounts abroad



# Strategic Considerations

- North Korea proposal would lift sanctions on most imports and exports except for weapons
- Pompeo knew working level talks hadn't reached an agreement but gambled that Kim Jong Un could make concessions
  - Location in Hanoi designed to tell North Koreans "you could be like this if you denuclearized and reformed" (Vietnam has growth rate second only to China, and PPP per capita income twice North Korea's)
- The North Koreans knew Pompeo wouldn't compromise on sanctions but gambled that Trump could make concessions (like ending large scale military exercises in Singapore)
- Kim Hyökch'öl/Kim Yöngch'öl line
  - Kim Hyökch'öl—Special Representative on America of the State Affairs Commission
  - More working level discussions with Mike Pompeo and Steve Biegun
- Ri Yongho/Ch'oe Sönhüi line
  - More public diplomacy to fit the style of Trump
  - In situations in which the US has to be rebutted it is best for specialists (in the Foreign Ministry) to do it