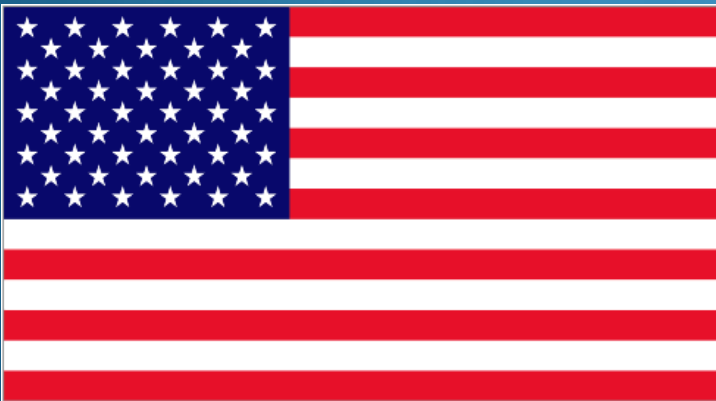




Masters of Misunderstanding Masters of Mistiming



Spencer H. Kim
Pacific Century Institute



DPRK Motivation

- **End of Cold War Robs DPRK of Strategic & Economic Depth**
- **U.S. is Existential Threat**
 - Military Superiority
 - Manipulation of “International Cooperation System” against DPRK
- **ROK Reality is Threat to Regime Narrative**
- **Regime Legitimacy Depends on “Glorious” Achievement**
 - Kim Il Sung: Defeat Japan & US, Establish DPRK, Juche
 - Kim Jong Il: “Tame” US (Peace Treaty/Normalization)? Nuclear Deterrent? Economic Progress?



DPRK Default Mode

- Force U.S. to Negotiate Under Threat of Dire Consequences; Negotiate as “Equals”; Never Appear Weak
- Only U.S. Can/Would Destroy DPRK
- Take what ROK will give; but Prevent Social Infection



US Motivation

- Maintain World Order
- Reign in “Rogue” States; Compliance with “Norms”
- Strong Non-Proliferation Regime
- Defense Treaty Commitment to ROK



Prevailing View



Cartoon Image: Crazy, scotch-swilling, partying, weird, pygmy, evil, machiavellian, “brinksmanship”

Media Portrayal: Impacts policy-makers subconsciously; Difficult to “defend” or “explain” DPRK; Not good for career

WANTED



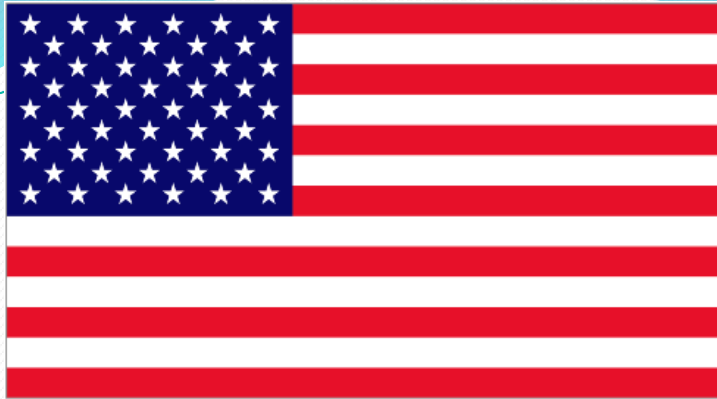
Kim Jong Il

MADE BY THE BUREAU OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCY



Always Somebody New

- Kanter, Gallucci, Carter, Kartman, Sherman, Perry, Kelly, Pritchard, DeTrani, Hill, Bosworth
- DPRK is a long learning/trust building curve
- Constant Subtle Impact of Cartoon Image on New Players



Need President's Attention

- Carter/Gallucci Clinton >> Agreed Framework
- Sherman/Albright Clinton Missile
Moratorium
- Hill/Rice Bush 6 Party Progress
- Otherwise Go to Default Mode



US Default Mode

- DPRK must follow “norms” first, then get (undefined) benefits
- If behavior bad, must be punished
- No direct relations, so tough “messages must be sent” publicly
- Mobilize China to “pressure” DPRK



ROK Motivation

- First World Economic, Political, Social Development Needs Stability
- Maintain Military Deterrence of DPRK
- Worry about Cost of Sudden Reunification
- US Alliance Gives Strategic Depth vis-à-vis China, Japan and Russia
- Emotional Attraction of Reunification
- Bitter Remembrance of DPRK Crimes



ROK Default Modes

- **Progressives:** Engage, no matter what
- **Conservatives:** Poke them in the eye whenever possible

Timing 1994



**Agreed
Framework**

Timing 1995



Republican Congress attacks
Agreed Framework; Democrats
equivocate

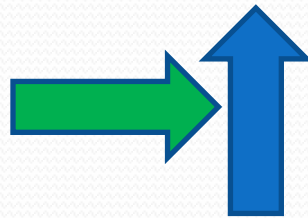
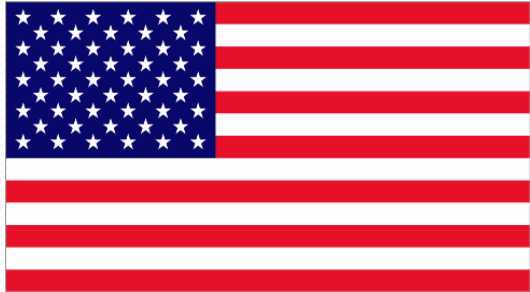


Postpones exchange of Liaison
Offices with US; Never
Achieved; No Diplomatic
Relations ever take place

Timing 1996-1998



**Starvation
Economic Decline
Missile Launch**



**Indifference,
KEDO Delays**

4PT Proposal



Timing 1999-2000



Kim Dae Jung to Pyongyang

Perry Process

Missile Moratorium

Albright to Pyongyang

Jo Myong Rok to White House

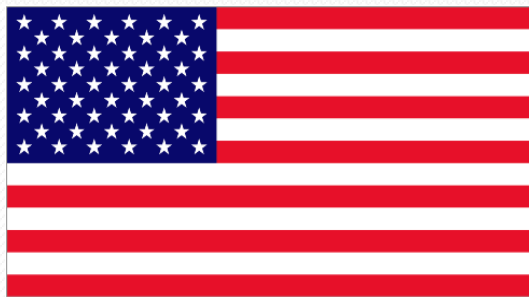
DPRK Private Markets

Timing 2001 - 2002



Announces major economic reforms based on "costs, prices and actual profits"; opens diplomatic relations with Australia, Bahrain, Brazil, Canada, European Union, Germany, Greece, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Kuwait, Philippines, Spain, Turkey and the UK; attends ASEAN Regional Forum; Kim Jong Il meets Koizumi; Sinuiju Hong Kong-like "Special Economic Zone"

Progress on Kaesong and Kumgang; ROK investment In DPRK; N-S Trade Increased; Divided Family Reunions

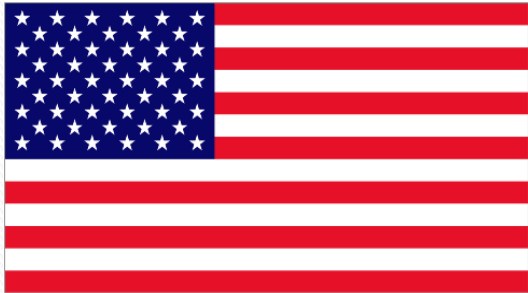


"Axis of Evil"; KDJ-Bush Meeting Fiasco; "Regime Change" talk; Enriched Uranium; Kelly Visit to Pyongyang; KEDO shut down

Timing 2003-2004



Quits NPT
Restarts Reactor



6PT – Let China Do It
More Regime Change



Trying to Save Sunshine

Timing 2005



**Chris Hill gets Authority
To Negotiate**



**Sept. 2005 Six PT
Agreement**



Banco Delta Asia

Timing 2006



Banco Delta Asia

UNSC Sanctions



Nuclear Test



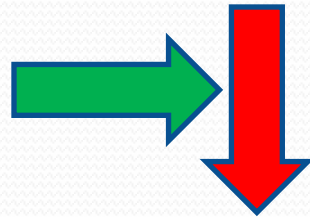
**Progress on Kaesong
And Kumgang**

Timing 2007 - 2008



Chris Hill Works Hard

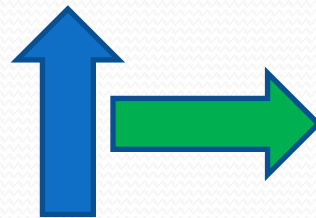
DPRK off Terrorism List



Equivocation on 6PT

Syrian Nuclear Connection

Kim Jong Il has Stroke

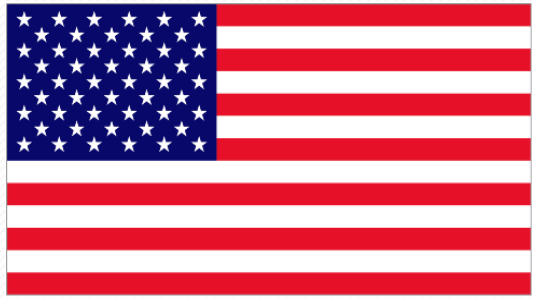


Roh - Kim Summit

LMB Election

Grand Bargain Policy

Timing 2009 - 2010



Second Nuclear Test

UNSC Sanctions

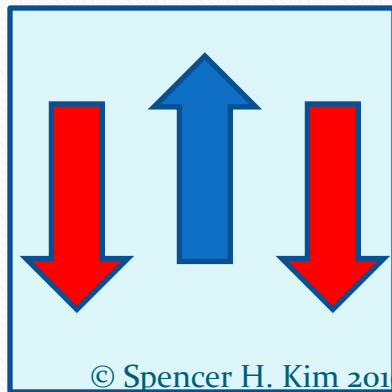
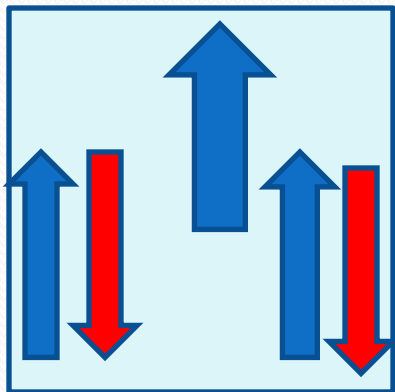
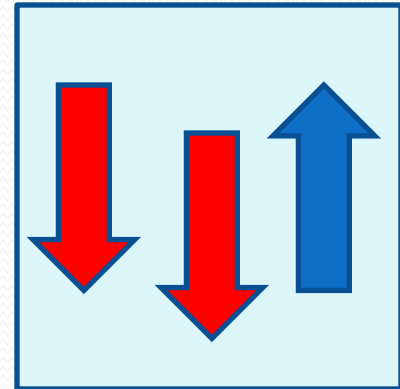
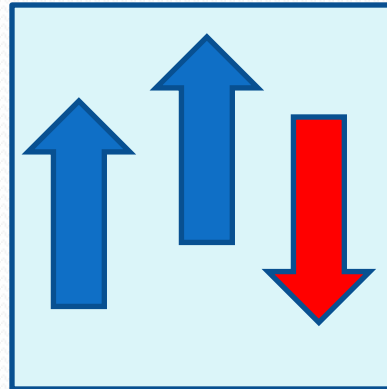
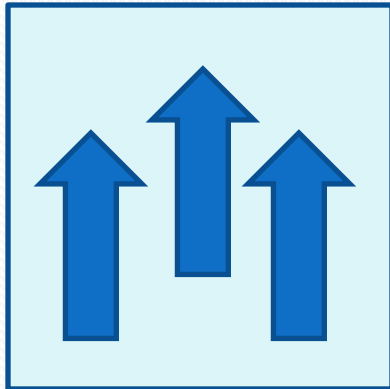
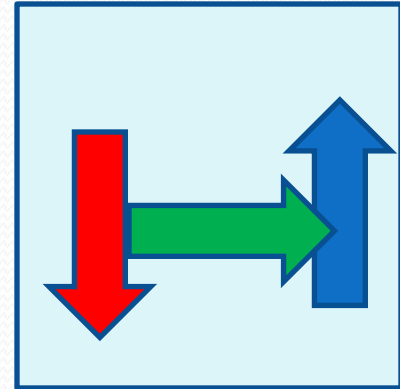
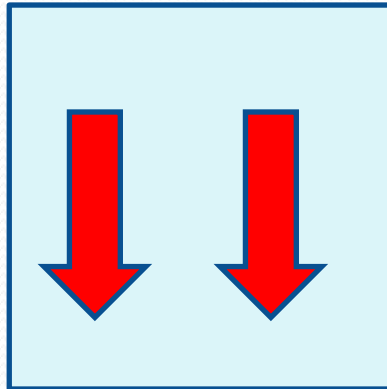
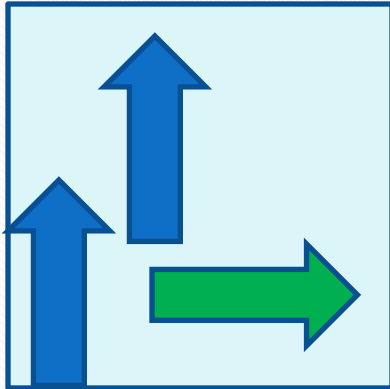
DPRK Succession

“Strategic Patience”

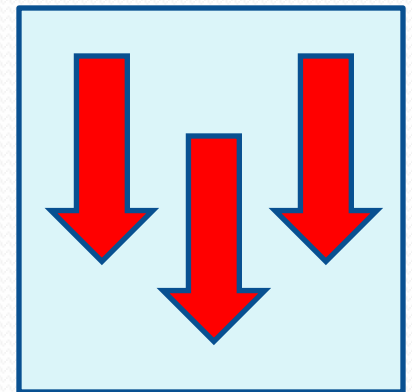
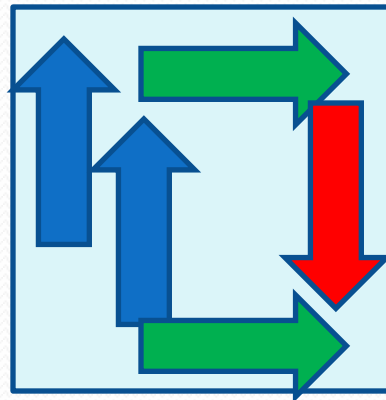
Cheonan

**DPRK Reliance on
China**

(Mis)Timing Recap



© Spencer H. Kim 2019

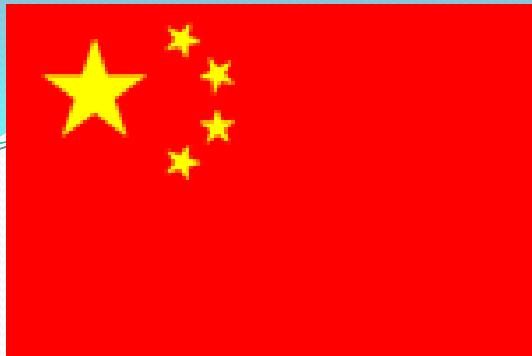


Whither China in All This?



Rise of China...

...Biggest Story of 21st Century



Chinese Motivation

- **Economic Growth**
- **Geostrategic Great Power Revival**
 - **DPRK as Buffer to US/ROK Alliance**
 - **Become DPRK Banking System?**
 - **Dominate DPRK Economy?**
 - **Play Role in Succession?**
 - **DPRK in PRC “Sphere of Influence”?**

Chinese Veto on Reunification?



**Will
Korean
Reunification
Have To Pass
Through
Beijing?**

Conclusions



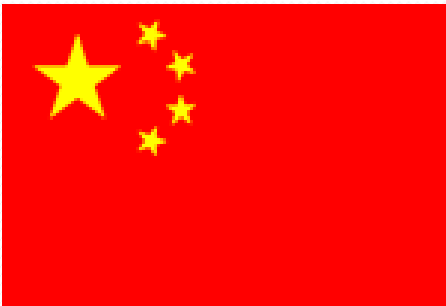
Pressure & “Strategic Patience” Will Never Work; China is Bottomless Pressure Release Valve



Nuclear Program Will Eventually Make DPRK *de facto* PRC Province; Need \$\$ → Sell Nuclear Technology



North-South Issues Complicated & Delicate; Take Time and Patience; No Grand Bargains; No De-nuke First



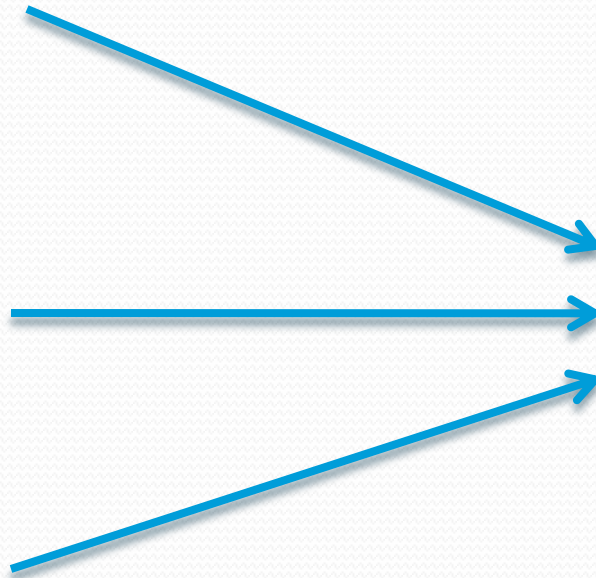
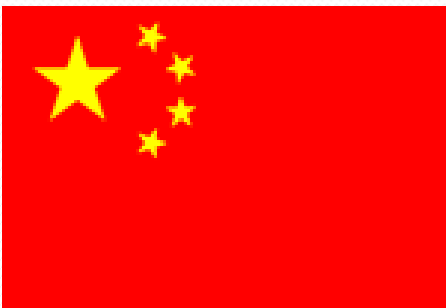
If Crisis/War Avoided, Status Quo is Fine; Direction of Events OK

Recommendations

- US name high-profile, bi-partisan acceptable negotiator willing to serve for ten years
- ROK do the same
- Two-tracks: **US-DPRK = Security Assurances, Peace Treaty, De-nuclearization; ROK-DPRK = N-S Coop, CBMs, Long-term Reunification Template**
- No central role for China; 6PT Ratifies Bi-lat Deals
- Never break off talks for the crisis of the day

Grind it out!

Remember Timing



**Time is not on
their side; best to
start before KJI dies**

