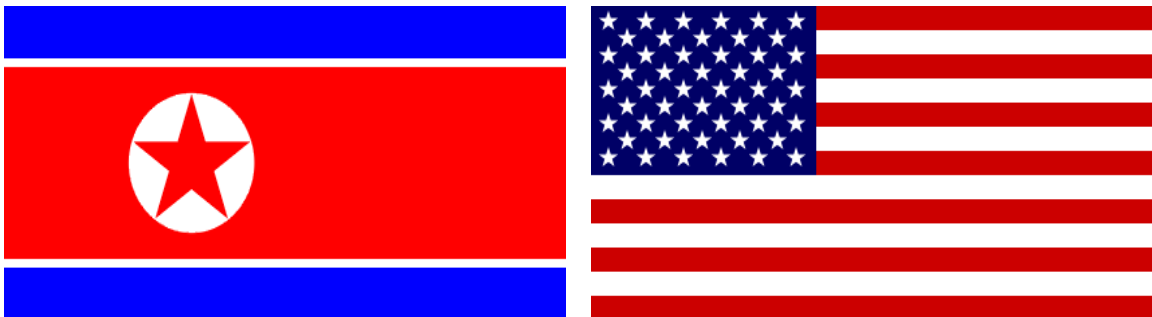


North Korea's *Juche* Ideology and its Implications on Pyongyang's Relations with Washington 1994-2004

A North Korean Perspective

Louise Waldenström



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Abstract (not more than 200 words) <p>In 2004 the political stalemate between North Korea and the United States continues. Pyongyang's and Washington's relations have been filled with hostility and antagonism since the division of the Korean Peninsula in 1945. During the Kim Il-sung era, the Cold War influenced the development of North Korean ideology, referred to as <i>Juche</i>, and formed an ideology based on self-reliance with strong anti-imperialist and U.S. rhetoric, which has determined North Korean foreign policy since 1955. The Kim Jong-il leadership is confronted with a unipolar system that has made North Korean ideology inadequate for the challenges of the new world order. As a consequence, <i>Juche</i> ideology had to be altered to fit the transformed conditions, and therefore, in 1998, Kim Jong-il implemented <i>Kangsung Taeguk</i> as the nation's guiding strategy. The intention behind <i>Kangsung Taeguk</i> is to make North Korea into a strong and powerful nation ideologically, militarily and economically in order to show foremost the United States that Pyongyang will not be toppled by the sole remaining super power. This report is an attempt to, from a North Korean perspective, analyze how <i>Juche</i> ideology and <i>Kangsung Taeguk</i> have developed and shaped North Korean relations with the United States from 1994 to 2004.</p>		
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Sammanfattning (högst 200 ord) Det politiska dödläget mellan Nordkorea och USA har fortsatt under 2004. Relationerna mellan Pyongyang och Washington har varit fyllda av fiendtligheter och motsättningar ända sedan delningen av den koreanska halvön 1945. Under Kim Il-sungs era påverkade det kalla kriget utvecklandet av den nordkoreanska ideologin, kallad <i>Juche</i> . Ideologin är grunden för en tilltro till den egna förmågan med starka antiimperialistiska och antiamerikanska undertoner som sedan 1955 har influerat nordkoreansk utrikespolitik. I Kim Jong-ils världsbild finns bara en stormakt som har gjort <i>Juche</i> -ideologin otillräcklig för de nya internationella utmaningar som den innebär. <i>Juche</i> -ideologin har därför blivit tvungen att anpassas till den nya omvärlden och av den anledningen implementerade Kim Jong-il <i>Kangsung Taeguk</i> som landets nya vägledande strategi. Intentionen bakom <i>Kangsung Taeguk</i> är att ideologiskt, militärt och ekonomiskt göra Nordkorea till en kraftfull stat för att bevisa för främst USA att Pyongyang inte kan krossas av den enda kvarvarande stormakten. Den här rapporten är ett försök att från en nordkoreansk utgångspunkt analysera hur <i>Juche</i> och <i>Kangsung Taeguk</i> har utvecklat och format Nordkoreas relationer med USA mellan 1994 och 2004.		
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Map of North Korea



Introduction

North Korea is today one of the most isolated nations in the world ruled by Kim Jong-il. North Korea is a state shrouded in mystery in where the rule has been limited to one family since 1945. Since President George W. Bush made North Korea a member of the “Axis of Evil”¹ in the beginning of 2002, together with Iran and Iraq, the interest for North Korea and how the state functions has increased in rapid pace. With the U.S. occupation and removal of Saddam Hussein in Iraq, the pressure on North Korea has increased, and the rhetoric between the two nations have, since 2001, become extremely harsh and tensions increased. North Korea saw what happened to Iraq after Baghdad agreed to dismantlement and inspections, and does not view the Bush administration as highly credible in their promises and proposals, thus making the situation extremely complicated.

Kim Il-sung founded North Korea in 1948 after three years of Soviet occupation, and under his almost five decade long reign he created a nation solely based on his own developed ideology named *Juche*. *Juche*, meaning self-reliance, has colored the actions taken by Pyongyang in economic, political and military matters since the 1960’s when the ideology became the pillar of the North Korean state. The main focus was to remain independent from China and the Soviet Union, and find a North Korean approach to solve domestic and international apprehensions. North Korea in 2004 is a nation that has been recurrent in media since October 2002 when Pyongyang allegedly, according to U.S. sources, admitted to have continued their nuclear program, even though the promise of a “freeze” under the 1994 Agreed Framework. It is evident that North Korea’s relations with the United States has become the main political objective for Pyongyang since 1994, and increased in importance after the death of Kim Il-sung in July the same year. The improvement of North Korea-U.S. relations seemed promising under the Clinton administration that implemented a North Korea policy based on bilateral diplomacy, economic multilateralism and to some extent military coercion leading to high-level meetings in both Pyongyang and Washington. However, after the inauguration of the George W. Bush administration, which in 2001 introduced an ABC policy i.e. anything but Clinton, based on unilateralism, military threats, and economic punishment, relations rapidly deteriorated. Hence, the fundamentals behind North Korea - U.S. relations are of utmost importance in order to comprehend the context within which the present diplomatic high-level game is conducted.

This report will examine North Korea’s relations with the United States under Kim Jong-il from a North Korean perspective to show how the foundation of Pyongyang’s actions, based on ideology and the nation’s guiding strategy *Kangsung Taeguk*², can aid in the comprehension of Pyongyang’s political behavior in regards to diplomatic interaction with Washington. Even though North Korea is often labeled as a rogue³ and

¹ The term “**Axis of Evil**” is a phrase used by United States President George W. Bush in his State of the Union Address on January 29, 2002 to describe "regimes that sponsor terror". The nation-states Bush originally gave in his speech were Iraq, Iran, North Korea and then later Syria, but the definition could be interpreted broadly to include other governments.

² *Kangsung Taeguk* means turning North Korea into a great and powerful state ideologically, militarily and economically

³ A rogue state is a nation which is hostile to the West, considered a developing nation, and a state which does not follow normal international relations behavior, It is also a state which is believed to possess weapons of mass destruction, missile and nuclear programs and might be a haven for terrorists.

hostile state, Kim Jong-il has been adamant in his assurances that North Korea is a state with no offensive purposes. The actions taken since 2001, such as the North Korean withdrawal from the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and the restart of the nuclear reactor at Yongbyon have instead been responsive acts to American diplomatic action and unwillingness to meet North Korean proposals. The most unyielding demand from Pyongyang the past three years has been to obtain a non-aggression treaty from Washington in exchange for the dismantlement of the North Korean nuclear program. Diplomatic recognition, easing of economic sanctions and the removal of North Korea from the list of nations sponsoring terrorism are additional issues of concern.

Chapter 1 provides a brief overview of North Korea's *Juche* ideology and how it has developed into a state religion embracing the entire population under Kim Il-sung.

Chapter 2 gives a short introduction of North Korea's current leader Kim Jong-il and the new government structure that was established in 1998 with the implementation of the *Kimilsung* Constitution, after a four-year long mourning period.

Chapter 3 introduces North Korea's guiding strategy *Kangsung Taeguk* that was implemented in 1998 as a response to the altered international environment, which has instituted a military emphasis under the Kim Jong-il leadership. *Kangsung Taeguk* will be explained and its implications on North Korean U.S. policy is examined to show how the strategy has been used to attract Washington's attention by portraying North Korea as foremost a deterrent and powerful military power.

Chapter 4 looks at Pyongyang-Washington relations from 1993 to 2001 under the Clinton administration, a period that showed remarkable progress in bilateral relations regarding engagement and rapprochement.

Chapter 5 investigates North Korea's relations with Washington under the Bush administration from 2001 to the end of 2004, and attempts to show why the relationship has turned hostile and antagonistic due to Washington's reluctance to engage with the Kim Jong-il leadership.

Conclusion and Discussion gives a summation of findings, and comments on the present and future status of North Korea-United States relations, and the importance of understanding the dynamics under which North Korea functions, i.e. *Juche* and *Kangsung Taeguk*.

In order to comprehend the Korean glossary and the abbreviations used in this report please use Appendix 1 as reference.

1 *Juche* under Kim Il-sung

North Korea's political ideology is referred to as *Juche*. *Juche* is Kim Il-sung's creative application of Marxist-Leninism to North Korean conditions, and prioritizes Korean issues as having primary importance, and foreign ideas as secondary. The *Juche* ideology is the heart of North Korea's behavior and provides the worldview and philosophy of the North Korean people, and means "self-identity", "subjectivity", "self-reliance", or "autonomy. *Juche* has formed a nationalistic state and is the foundation of North Korean national identity. *Juche* is also the key to understanding the behavior behind North Korean foreign policy conduct, and in order to engage this unique nation in future fruitful dialogue, the comprehension of *Juche* ideology and its components is essential.

In North Korea, the national identity, constructed by some kind of symbioses between nationalistic and historical sentiments, and *Juche* ideology, set up the domestic context and the worldview against which policy is conducted. Prior to the establishment of *Juche* ideology, the memories of Japanese colonialism and subservience to bigger powers formed the Korean concept of the world. After the Korean War, the North Korean worldview became more anti-imperialistic and especially anti-American. In North Korea the *Juche* ideology provides a worldview for foreign policymaking and attitudes towards other nations. According to Dae-sook Suh, the North Korean worldview "is firmly rooted in the experience of the North Korean people, and is basically a North Korean effort to be self-reliant; a reaction to their past political subjugation, economic dependence, and need for military assistance from the Soviet Union and China".⁴

1.1 The Main Components of *Juche*

The shifting international conditions in the 1950s and 1960s pushed North Korea to undertake steps to build a completely self-reliant nation under *Juche* (Table 1). The first was the proclamation of *Juche* in 1955, largely due to the shifts in the Communist bloc that followed Stalin's death. What Kim Il-sung wanted to establish by the implementation of *Juche* was that North Korea had to solve its problems by its own talents and initiatives, without dependence on foreign powers.

When the Soviet Union reduced its military and economic aid in 1956, even though North Korea was still in desperate need of assistance, Kim Il-sung realized that he could no longer trust his Communist collaborator as he had before. As a response, Kim Il-sung instituted *Charip* as a principle of *Juche* ideology that called for an independent and self-sufficient economy.

⁴ Suh, Dae-sook, *Leadership and Political Culture in Korea* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 2000), 38

Table 1. Formation of the *Juche* Ideological System

Content	Time of Institution	Background
<i>Juche</i> self-reliance in ideology	Propaganda agitation meeting (Dec. 28 1955)	- Stalin's death - Purge of the domestic faction
Economic self-sustenance – <i>Charip</i>	Central Committee plenary meeting (Dec. 11 1956)	- External aid reduced (problems with five-year economic plan) - Anti-Kim Il-sung movement high within the party
Political independence – <i>Chaju</i>	Central Committee plenary meeting (Dec. 5 1957)	- Resistance against rising power of one person - Yen-an and Russian factions overthrown
Self-defense in military affairs – <i>Chawi</i>	Central Committee plenary meeting (Dec. 10 1962)	- China/ Soviet struggle worsens - US/ Soviet explore coexistence - Military coup in South Korea
Independence in foreign policy	Second meeting of party leaders (Oct. 5 1966)	- China/ Soviet struggle spreads - Development of non-aligned movement
Comprehensive systemization	16th meeting of the 4 th Central Committee (June 28 1967) 5th party congress (Dec. 11 1970)	- Kim Il-sung's dictatorship established - Expansion of Kim Il-sung's personal victory
Kim Il-sungism	6th party congress (Oct 10, 1980.)	- Solidification of father/ son hereditary line

Source: *Formation of the Juche Ideological System*, Yonsei University, Seoul, South Korea 1997.

1.1.1 *Charip*: Self-Sustaining Economy

Charip stresses the need for the North Korean economy not to depend on other nations and rely on their own resources. *Charip* was to be free from dependence on others, stand on its own feet, and develop on the strength and efforts of the North Korean people.⁵

Kim Il-sung argued that unless a nation can be self-sufficient economically, that nation will always face the threats of subjugation and enslavement. Mutual co-operation and economic development between nation-states can only be achieved when each nation has its own self-providing economy. This self-supportive economy was to be the material guarantee for North Korea's political and military self-defense.

Charip also strengthens anti-imperialist thoughts by emphasizing the struggle against economic domination and subjugation by imperialist nations. Due to the continued presence of imperialist aggression, especially by the United States in South Korea, North Korea wants to build an economy that, unlike the capitalist economy that is geared toward profitability, is aimed at meeting the demands of the country and the

⁵ Kim, Jong-il, *On the Juche Idea*, (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1982) 45.

people.⁶ Another important aspect of *Charip* is its emphasis on technical independence, the need to establish reliable and independent sources of raw materials and international economic co-operation.

Charip led North Korea to focus its resources on heavy industry since it was to be the vertebrae of the national economy. The North Korean infrastructure had been left in tatters after the Korean War, and therefore its focus on machine building and manufacturing was essential. This rendered simultaneous development of light industry and agriculture easier to achieve, as heavy industry would guarantee technical and economic independence. This, in turn, would lead to improved living standards for the North Korean people, and increased the overall national development.

1.1.2 *Chaju*: Political Independence

Following to the establishment of *Charip* in 1956 the concept of political independence from other nations, *Chaju*, was introduced principally as a response to Khrushchev's revisionism in the Soviet Union, and his opposition to the rising power of a one-person leadership in North Korea. Another reason was the overthrow of the two remaining political factions in the North, the *Yenan* (Chinese) and Soviet factions. The Cultural Revolution⁷ was taking place in China, and the new Soviet leadership did not support Kim Il-sung's plans for North Korea's political development. Therefore Kim Il-sung saw the necessity of establishing an independent political program where he did not have to rely on Beijing and Moscow. The international circumstances of this time did not favor Kim Il-sung's push for independence as he was still in need of political, economic and military assistance from both China and the Soviet Union, therefore there was no public mentioning of *Chaju* until 1965.

According to *Chaju* political independence is crucial for any sovereign state, and only when a nation exercises its lawful right to political determination, it can guarantee the nation's absolute independence.⁸ Kim Il-sung argued that North Korea's foreign policy was independent and principled, and that,

it is the consistent foreign policy of the Government of the Republic [the DPRK] to struggle to check and frustrate the policies of aggression and war of the U.S. imperialists and other imperialists, defend the world peace and security and strengthen its solidarity with the people of all countries opposed to imperialism, upholding the revolutionary banner of the anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle.⁹

Kim's powerful rhetoric towards Washington in regards to North Korean foreign policy was largely connected to the painful memories of subservience to China, the Japanese colonial experience and the division of the Korean nation by the United States and the Soviet Union. In 1962 a new tenet of *Juche* was implemented, *Chawi*, which refers to the principle of military self-defense, and was incorporated due to inter-Korean and international developments.

⁶ Ibid. 46

⁷ **The Cultural Revolution** was a radical reform in China initiated by Mao Zedong in 1965 and carried out largely by the Red Guard; intended to eliminate counterrevolutionary elements in the government and to renew the spirit of the Chinese revolution. Fearing that China would develop along the lines of the Soviet model and concern about his own place in history, Mao Zedong initiated a revolution that resulted in purges of the intellectuals and socioeconomic chaos.

⁸ Kim, Il-sung, *On the Juche Idea*, (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1979) 63.

⁹ *Korean Review*, (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1974) 180.

1.1.3 *Chawi*: Self-Defense in Military Affairs

Chawi espouses the need to defend the North Korean people and the state from imperialist aggression. *Chawi* also calls for a self-reliant military build-up and preparedness of all Socialist and Communist nations against imperialistic aggressors. It "demands that every state build military forces on its own and not depend on the military forces of other countries".¹⁰ *Chawi* calls for each nation-state to prepare to fight any potential aggressors with its own military forces. Today the North Korean regime continues to believe that as long as there are imperialist nations like the United States in the world, a military oriented self-defense policy is the only mean to protect political independence and to foster economic development in the socialist world. The international environment of the 1960's made North Korea begin to elaborate and finally implement its self-reliant stand in all national policies. *Chaju* and *Charip* respectively were consolidated as a response to the cessation of Soviet military and economic assistance. In addition, the concept of *Chawi* was developed as a result of the fact that "Kim had to increase his national defense budget due to the sharp curtailment of military and technical assistance from the Soviet Union",¹¹ and to respond to a more threatening international and regional environment.

Kim Il-sung believed that military power was the basis of all power, and North Korea's current leader Kim Jong-il has officially stated that his power derives from the military. As long as imperialism existed, specifically the American forces in South Korea, Kim Il-sung warned that "a state that has not its own defense power to protect its sovereignty against the internal and external enemies is, in fact, not a fully independent and sovereign state".¹² He called for the armament of the entire nation, putting all its citizens under arms, and emphasized the importance of a purely North Korean defense industry with modern weapons. Today North Korea has the fifth largest military force in the world, with a military manpower availability of 6.1 million.¹³

Chawi is an essential element of North Korean politics from the perspective that "the line of self-defense in national defense is an essential requirement for the existence of an independent and sovereign state".¹⁴ It is particularly important as protection against foreign powers and as substantive a proof of a nation's complete independence, and serves as the main pillar of North Korea's guiding strategy *Kangsung Taeguk*.

1.2 *Juche* and Foreign Policy

Juche in foreign policy was the last tenet to be implemented in *Juche* policies in 1966. *Chaju* as a concept of international relations means that each sovereign state has to have equal rights and the right of self-determination. Kim sought to propagate the belief that North Korea must have freedom to make its own decisions for the future and prosperity of the Korean people. North Korean foreign policy also calls for total equality and respect among nation-states, and opposes subjugation and enslavement by other nations.

¹⁰ Mazarr, Michael J., *North Korea and the Bomb: A Case Study in Non-Proliferation* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1995), 22.

¹¹ Suh, *Kim Il-sung: The North Korean Leader*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988) 307.

¹² Kim, Il-sung, *On Some Problems of our Party's Juche Idea and the Government of the Republic's Internal and External Policies* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1972), 9.

¹³ *The CIA World Fact Book*, <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/kn.html>

¹⁴ *Juche Idea: The Current of Thought in the Present Time* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1977), 120.

What was important during the Kim Il-sung era in regards to foreign policy was the degree of independence it could achieve despite the interference of China, the Soviet Union, Japan, the United States and South Korea.

By the end of the Cold War in 1989 and in the beginning of the 1990's the international order underwent enormous changes. Firstly, the end of the Cold War reduced the importance of military capability. Secondly, every nation started to put more importance on the economic sector instead of the military sector; and thirdly, the zero-sum concept which had been spread during the Cold War, was replaced by an atmosphere favoring mutual co-operation.¹⁵ The traditional United States - Soviet Union alliances eroded and common security objectives were replaced by independent national and nationalistic agendas and historic military partners became economic competitors.¹⁶ The bilateral structure of the two superpowers, divided into two ideological camps with respective allies, switched into an interdependent arena with the United States as the remaining superpower in where independent nations were seeking their own ways, free from the limitations of Communist ideology.

Military power and arms-races were no longer as important to state survival, but instead an international arena of economic co-operation emerged. "The balance of power [had] lost much of its validity in the new world, with most nations looking for more flexible and multi-dimensional foreign relations rather than routine political-military ties...interdependence among states [would grow stronger.]"¹⁷ North Korea's former allies in the Eastern bloc adopted market economies and democratic political systems, the Soviet Union disintegrated into several new independent states, and China continued its modernization and reforms. In contrast North Korea remained salient in its self-reliant stand and military dependence. However, the remolding of the international arena forced Kim Il-sung to initiate some changes in its foreign policy, but the stronghold of ideology remained firm. North Korea was stunned when the drastic changes occurred in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union. The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, and later the absorption of East Germany by West Germany came as a shock to the North Korean regime as it materialized the nation's biggest fear. The rapid dismantling of Pyongyang's former allies in the Warsaw Pact, and the public execution of Kim Il-sung's old friend Nicolae Ceausescu in Romania made North Korea even more defensive in its relations to the international community. Additionally, the introduction of South Korea's *Nordpolitik*, which focused on establishing relations with nations that were located north of Korea, "contributed to the signing of ROK-USSR and ROK-PRC treaties of amity, even though the USSR and China were allies of North Korea".¹⁸

North Korea found itself diplomatically isolated and the foundation of its external relations was undermined due to the aforementioned circumstances. This led Kim Il-sung to focus his foreign policy on system survival based on the pursuit of practical

¹⁵ Yoo, Young-ock, "North Korea's Political System and Prospects for Change in its Power Structure", *East Asian Review*, 1993, 55. Included in a handout from Yonsei University, 1994.

¹⁶ Kim, Choong-nam, "Korea - US Relations in the Post-Cold War Era", *Korea and World Affairs*. 17 (1993):1, 79.

¹⁷ Kim, Youngsik, *The Process of Political Succession in North Korea and its Policy Implications*, Master's Thesis, (Seoul: Yonsei University, 1994), 46.

¹⁸ Yun, Duk-min, "US-North Korea Relations in the 1990s: US Foreign Policy Toward North Korea", *East Asian Review*, Volume 11 Number 1 Spring 1999, p.1. Institute of East Asian Studies, Retrieved August 23, 2003 www.ieas.or.kr/vol11_1/yundukmin.htm

interests. In 1992 North Korea was faced with three concerns: 1) the former Communist states were focusing their attention on internal reforms through peaceful and pragmatic international relations, only leaving Cuba and Vietnam in the same Communist camp as North Korea. 2) the strained relationship with China and the CIS (Russia) was a problem for Kim Il-sung. As China was battling economic hardships of its own, Pyongyang could not expect Beijing to make up the economic loss the nation suffered after the fall of the Soviet Union, and 3) the broadened failure of North Korean overall ability to compete with Seoul.¹⁹ The changed international environment shifted Pyongyang's earlier foreign policy focus on Korean revolution and national unification to one of state survival, regime stability and engagement with the Western world (internationally, not domestically). In the 1990s the shift was becoming the substance of North Korean foreign policy, and the U.S. emerged as the main asset that could aid Pyongyang in attaining the new objectives.

¹⁹ Kim, Youngsik, *The Process of Political Succession in North Korea and its Policy Implications*, Master's Thesis, Seoul: Yonsei University, 1994.

2 *Juche* under Kim Jong-il

On July 8th 1994 Kim Il-sung passed away and left behind an isolated nation in grief, but yet adherent to *Juche* beliefs. This year can be seen as a landmark in North Korean history, and it initiated a new era of *Juche* politics. By the death of Kim Il-sung, the international community did not know what political action to expect from North Korea. The nation did not collapse and Kim Jong-il succeeded his father as the nation's leader. Ever since the Soviet Union in 1990 and China in 1992 normalized relations with South Korea, North Korea was almost completely diplomatically secluded. North Korea faced economic and energy decline, as a result of suspended Soviet and Chinese oil supplies, a food shortage and a lack of foreign exchange. The North Korean responses to the international and regional alterations taking place were an intensified adherence and obedience to *Juche*, a focus on national survival, and a shift towards a more militant posture. The strengthening of the military was proclaimed by Kim Il-sung after the execution of Rumanian leader Ceausescu, who he believed had been “executed because he failed to control the military”.²⁰ By making Kim Jong-il Supreme Commander of the armed forces in 1991 and the Chairman of the National Defense Committee (NDC) in 1993, Kim Il-sung had transferred the most important pillar of strength in North Korea to his son, the power of the military. The transfer of military power was regarded as “the most important and urgent issue, because it concerned the very survival of the regime”.²¹

However, Kim Il-sung's death did not mean alterations in North Korean hallmark policies. *Juche* ideology continued to rule, “and the increasingly quixotic quest to ‘live in our own way’ as the world's last unreconstructed Communist state continued”.²² It soon became evident that Kim Jong-il's political structure and policies under the four year long mourning period, or the period of de-facto leadership (July 1994 – September 1998) would be dependent on “teachings left behind (*Yuhun*) by Kim Il-sung”,²³ showing little deviation from Kim Il-sung's last years of leadership. This meant that during the period of mourning “Kim Il-sung [*reigned*], while Kim Jong-il [*ruled*]” North Korea.²⁴

2.1 Kim Jong-il's Official and Unofficial Saga

Kim Jong-il was born with the Russian name Yura Kim on February 16, 1942, in the Siberian village of Vyatusk near Khabarovsk. North Korean propagandists claim, however, that he was born in a log cabin on the sacred Mount Paekdu in North Korea. The Kim family included a younger brother named Shura, and a sister, Kyong-hui, who was born in Pyongyang. Kim Jong-il arrived with his mother Kim Jong-suk and brother in North Korea from Russia in November of 1945. Shura died in a drowning accident in 1948, and the following year his mother passed away after giving birth to a stillborn

²⁰ *Hwang Jang-yop Speaks: Testimonies of North Korean Defectors*, Federation of American Scientists, Retrieved September 21, 2002 www.fas.org/irp/world/rok/nis-docs/hwang3.htm

²¹ Suh, Dae-sook “New Political Leadership”, *North Korean System in the Post-Cold War Era Ed.* Samuel S. Kim (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 73.

²² Buzo, Adrian, *The Making of Modern Korea* (London: Routledge, 2002), 172.

²³ Koh, Byung-chul, Ed. “The North Korean Political System Under Kim Jong-il”, *Korea: Dynamics of Diplomacy and Reunification*. (Claremont: Claremont McKenna College, 2001) 34.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 34

baby. At the age of seven, in September 1949, Kim Jong-il entered the Namsan Primary School located in Pyongyang, but one year later, due to the outbreak of the Korean War, he and his father fled to the Chinese city of Jilin. In Jilin, Kim Jong-il continued his studies at the Mangyongdae Revolutionary School from November 1952 until the signing of the armistice agreement on July 27th, 1953.

After his return to the North Korean capital in August 1953, he attended the Fourth Pyongyang Primary School, from which he graduated in 1954. Kim Jong-il then continued his education at the First Pyongyang Junior High School and the Namsan Senior High School. In 1960 he entered Kimilsung University, with a double major in economics and politics, and at this time he changed his name from Yura to Jong-il. In the beginning to the 1960's Kim Il-sung remarried and subsequently fathered two sons and two daughters with his second wife, Kim Song-ae. Kim Jong-il's sister and his half brothers/sisters are regarded as "all powerful" people within the North Korean ruling elite. Since *Juche* ideology has made North Korea "a corporate state and a family state,...family members and in-laws hold very large number of the top leadership posts in the country".²⁵ In regards to Kim Jong-il's immediate family information is secretive and accounts vary of the size and members of the North Korean "first family". In the mid- 1960's Kim Jong-il married Hong Il-chon, who he later divorced, and they had a daughter. In 1972 Kim Jong-il had an illegitimate son, Kim Jong-nam, with his mistress Rim Sung-hee. Until 2001 Kim Jong-nam was thought to be the heir apparent, but this is now regarded as unlikely after his arrest in Japan traveling under a false passport. In 1973 Kim Il-sung arranged the marriage between Kim Jong-il and Kim Young-sook who is regarded as his official wife, and the couple had one son and two daughters.²⁶ However, the believed successor to Kim Jong-il is thought to be Kim Jong-chul, who is the son of yet another mistress, Ko Young-hee. Kim Jong-chul is currently 23 years old and works at the Party's propaganda department, the same position as his father had when he was groomed as successor to Kim Il-sung. Kim Jong-il and Ko Young-hee also has a 19 year old son, Kim Jong-woong, who is regarded to be too young to be appointed as successor.²⁷

2.2 The Formal Succession of Kim Jong-il

During the mourning period Kim Jong-il ruled North Korea in the capacity of the supreme commander of the People's Army and as the Chairman of the National Defense Commission (NDC). On September 5, 1998, the time was right for the organization of Kim Jong-il's own government with the adoption of the new "*Kimilsung Constitution*". There were notable changes made in the remodeling of the North Korean state apparatus, especially in regards of the leadership structure. The most important alteration was Kim Jong-Il's highlighting of the military in the government structure, and his establishment of what can be viewed as a military government since according to the North Korean leader, his power stems from the military.

My power derives from the military. There are two sources of my power. The first source is the united people standing behind me and the second is the military might. You need a

²⁵ Oberdorfer, Dan *The Two Koreas: A Contemporary History, Revised and Updated*. (Indianapolis: Basic Books, 2001) 347.

²⁶ *The True Story of Kim Jong-il*, (Seoul: The Institute for South and North Korea Studies, 1993), 83.

²⁷ Buckley, Sarah, *North Korea's secretive 'first family'*, BBC News, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/3203523.stm>

strong army to deal with other nations. Strong military leads to good relations with other nations.²⁸

The elevation of the military has been Kim Jong-il's primary concern since the death of his father due to "the belief that defense preparedness precedes any other national goal, including the peoples' livelihoods".²⁹ The importance of the military principle *Chawi* has been present in North Korea since the end of the Korean War, but it has not been "given the ultimate and key authority in policy-making as it has [since 1998]".³⁰ The understanding of military supremacy and its connection to *Juche* in North Korean politics is crucial since it includes more than physical preparedness for war. Han S. Park explained: "The ideology of *Juche* has been undergoing transformation from an abstract worldview to a concrete nationalist doctrine that uses militarism as a guiding principle",³¹ and this doctrine was formalized under the *Kimilsung* Constitution. The formal succession of Kim Jong-il showed a move toward a leadership system different from the one of Kim Il-sung by moving a way from reliance of the Party to the military.

2.2.1 The *Kimilsung* Constitution

The implementation of the "*Kimilsung* Constitution" finalized the political succession of Kim Jong-il. The preface of the constitution proclaimed Kim Il-sung as the eternal President of North Korea, and the importance of *Juche*.

- The DPRK is a socialist fatherland of *Juche* which embodies the idea of, and guidance by, the great leader Comrade Kim Il-sung.
- The DPRK and the entire Korean people will uphold the great leader Comrade Kim Il-sung as the Eternal President of the Republic, defend and carry forward his ideas and exploits and complete *Juche* revolution under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea.³²

During the Kim Il-sung era the President had been the head of state, and the Central People's Committee (CPC) was directly responsible for translating the Great Leaders directives into state policies (Figure 1). In the amended 1998 Constitution the functions of the President, which were abolished, as the CPC, were broaden to the National Defense Committee (NDC,) the Supreme People's Assembly Presidium (SPA,) and the Cabinet (Figure 2).

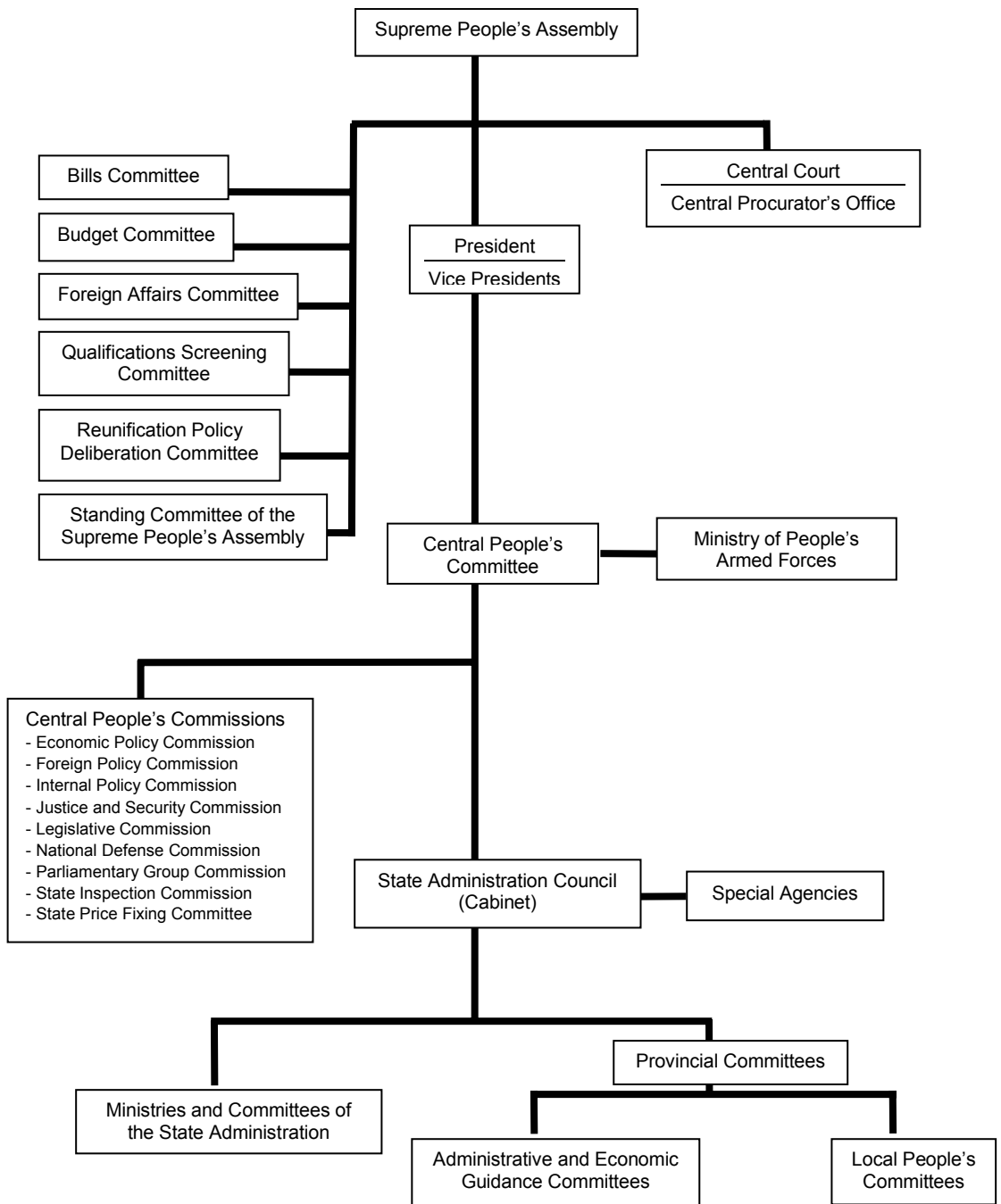
²⁸ *South Korean Media Heads Interview Kim Jong-il*, Korea Web Weekly, www.kimsoft.com/2000/sk-press.htm

²⁹Park, Han S., "North Korean Perceptions of Self and Others: Implications for Policy Choices", *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 73, No. 4, Winter 2000-2001, 511.

³⁰ Ibid..

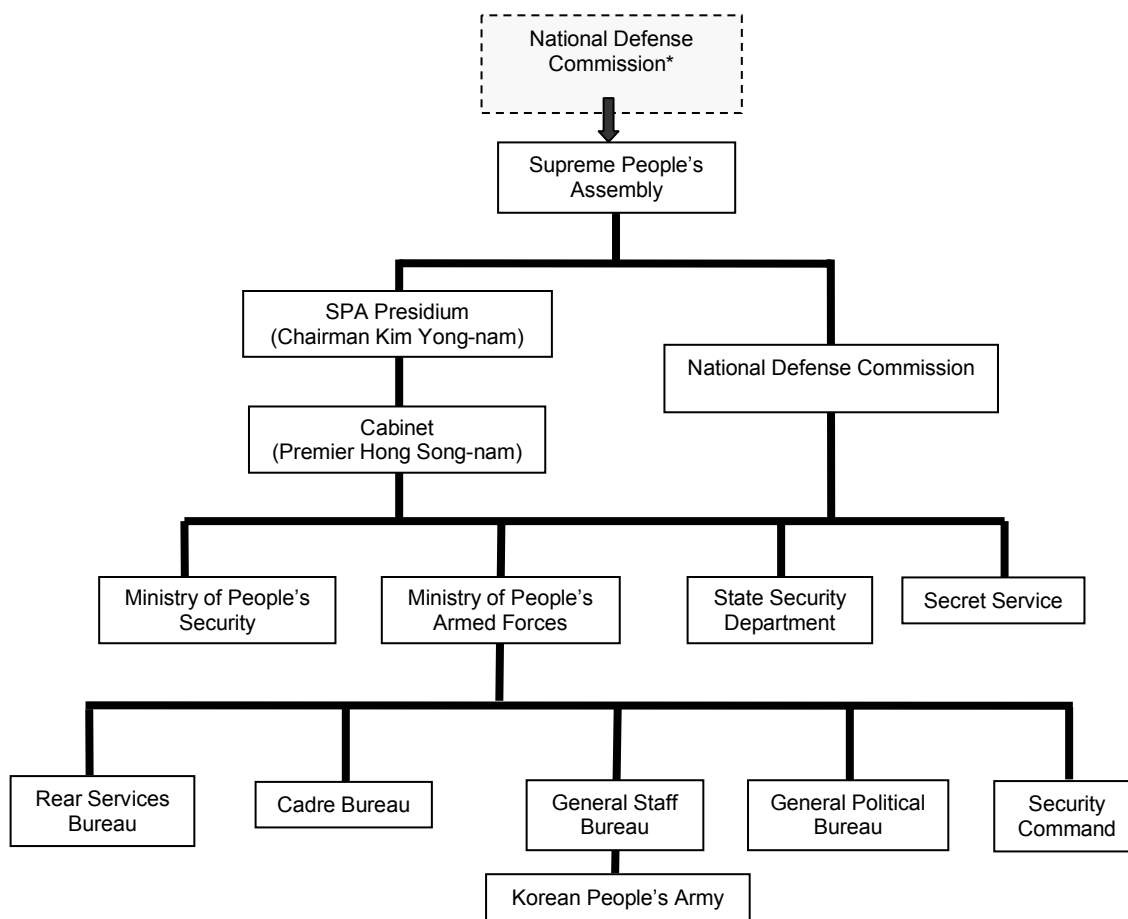
³¹ Ibid.

³² Reese, David, *The Prospects for North Korea's Survival* (London, Oxford University Press, 1998), 85.



Source: The U.S. Library of Congress

Figure 1. Government structure under Kim Il-sung



*Although Kim Jong-il is Chairman of the National Defense Commission (NDC) and therefore logically subordinate to the Supreme People's Assembly (SPA), in practice he sits above the SPA because North Korean doctrine states that the Chairman of the NDC is the Head of State. However the SPA still presides officially over the NDC and is therefore reflected as subordinate in the organizational chart.

Source: Kongdan Oh and Ralph C. Hassig, *North Korea Through the Looking Glass*, 2000, 117.

Figure 2. Government Structure under Kim Jong-il

The restructure was organized as follows:

The power and duties of the president, especially on the ideological and military affairs, went to the Chairman of the NDC, [i.e. Kim Jong-il] diplomatic authority to the Presidium of the SPA, and responsibilities in economic management and administration to the Cabinet.³³

During Kim Il-sung's rule, he held three posts: "he was the General Secretary of the party (Chairman of the Korean Workers' Party (KWP)), President of the Republic (Chairman of the Central Peoples' Committee), and the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces".³⁴ The new constitution made the NDC and its Chairman the highest position in the nation. Even though the post is only entitled to direct and command the armed forces and preside over military affairs regarding national defense, it is the one post entrusted with being the highest position of the nation, making Kim Jong-il head of state. Thus the chairmanship of the NDC comes with complete powers to control

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Suh, Dae-sook and Lee, Jae-jin, Eds. *North Korea After Kim Il-sung*. (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998) 73-74.

political, military and economic affairs.³⁵ It is also the NDC chairman who has the right to proclaim a state of war and orders for mobilization.³⁶

The President of the SPA presidium, Kim Young-nam is the representative of the North Korean state and handles all diplomatic ceremonies. The Cabinet is ruled by the premier, Park Pong-chu, who “organizes and guides the work of the cabinet and represents the government of the DPRK”.³⁷ Its duties are to adopt measures to execute state policy, compile the state budget, strengthen the economy, establish treaties with foreign nations, and conduct external activities. The diversion of issues regarding foreign representation and economic matters to the SPA Presidium and the Cabinet shows the willingness of Kim Jong-il to concentrate on foremost ideological and military affairs central to North Korea’s guiding strategy *Kangsung Taeguk*.

³⁵Koh, Yu-hwan, *An Analysis of the Constitutional Amendment and the Reorganization of Power Structure in North Korea*, Retrieved March 12, 2001.

http://www.../view.jsp?kind=engetc199811&tableName=t_treatise&page=1&no=

³⁶ *SPA presidium elected*, The Korean Central News Agency. September 9, 1998.

www.kcna.co.jp/item/1998/9809/news09/05htm

³⁷ Ibid.

3 North Korea's New Guiding Strategy: *Kangsung Taeguk*

The constitutional change introduced a government structure with a new guiding strategy, *Kangsung Taeguk*, that was implemented as a means to find a way to make North Korea a strong and powerful nation in the new international world order. *Kangsung Taeguk* means turning North Korea into a state “which is unswerving ideologically, powerful militarily and prosperous economically”. *Kangsung Taeguk* has become the new guideline for the Kim Jong-il regime, and serves as the basis for North Korean foreign policy, particularly towards the United States. *Kangsung Taeguk*'s primary focus is on military and ideological matters to come. Once those matters are secured, it seeks focus on the strength of the economy. Thus the importance of *Juche* ideology continues, and it is clear that while Kim Il-sung's policies still remains, Kim Jong-il has altered aspects of *Juche* principles in order to make them suit international and regional conditions in a changing environment. Kim Jong-il focuses on shifting *Juche* away from the previous national goal of unification towards the more militant objective of regime survival and system sustainability based on military deterrence.

3.1 *Kangsung Taeguk*

The proclamation of *Kangsung Taeguk* (literally, “a great and powerful state”),³⁸ in 1998 is the most important development in North Korean ideology since the conception of *Juche*. The goal of *Kangsung Taeguk* is “to eternalize Kim Jong-il's regime and preserve the socialist system in the North...and the slogan espouses the military-first policy”.³⁹ It became evident to Kim Jong-il that *Juche* could function domestically, but could not survive internationally in the new world order. Thus an “adapter”, or modifier, was needed and *Kangsung Taeguk* was the key. *Kangsung Taeguk* takes *Juche* thought and transforms it into a policy to fit the international order, a policy that has come to put a strong emphasis on military and deterrence related matters in order to ensure national security.

Pyongyang's efforts to strengthen its security have emerged as one of the most important goals under *Kangsung Taeguk*. Until 1990, much of North Korea's security was related to its ties and mutual security treaties with China and the Soviet Union, while the U.S. was viewed as its main foe. However, in the 1990s the U.S. emerged as a substitute to the roles played by its former Communist allies. North Korea has used and uses nuclear development, missile technology and exports, and other aspects of threats to gain political, humanitarian and energy related concessions from foremost the United States. Consequently, North Korea has reinforced its armory of rockets, guns and missiles, and made continuous monetary efforts to restore its air superiority and engage in costly military exercises despite economic decline. In the Kim Il-sung era, Pyongyang proved to Washington that it was able to attain nuclear capabilities and develop long-range missiles, which showed its strength as a military power. To Kim Jong-il, the most important aspect of *Kangsung Taeguk* is to portray to Washington that North Korea is a strong military nation, and this in turn will motivate the U.S. to engage in negotiations in where Pyongyang can gain concessions of various kinds. The power

³⁸ Chapter 3: North Korean Situation and Military Threat, The Ministry of Defense (South Korea), February 1999. www.mnd.go.kr/english/html/02/1999/131.html

³⁹ Ibid.

of the military has “always been the heart and soul of the North Korean regime”.⁴⁰ Under *Kangsung Taeguk* a military-first policy is propagated to enhance the status of the military since it is the only conceivable means that provides assurances for regime survival as “the military provides deterrence, defense, and a massive offensive threat, as well as leverage in international negotiations”.⁴¹

The military-first policy was further enhanced in 2002, after George W. Bush’s “Axis of Evil” statement, and explained by the North Korean leadership as, “the core of army-based politics is the army, and its main principle is to give priority to military affairs”.⁴² Military-first politics are heralded and assured to guarantee independent politics, which is the core of *Juche* and manifested in *Kangsung Taeguk*. Military power and a strong military defense are becoming increasingly important, and according to Kim Jong-il “independence cannot be defended without a strong military power”.⁴³

The importance of *Kangsung Taeguk* and the prominence of the military-first policy can be detected in North Korean defense expenditure and the percentage of the gross domestic product⁴⁴ (GDP) used for defensive purposes. North Korean defense expenditure can roughly be estimated to around somewhere between \$U.S. 4.5-5.1 million (Figure 3), but in addition to the official military budget, North Korea is also known to have an unofficial second economy used to finance the military machinery. The revenues come from missile sales that in 2001 accounted for \$U.S. 580 million, until November 2002, from the Korean Energy Development Organization (KEDO), international drug trafficking, which generates about \$U.S 500 million a year, and counterfeiting constituting about U.S. 15-20 million annually.⁴⁵ The South Korean government also paid \$U.S. 500 million for the North Korean participation in the Korean Summit 2000, and South Korean companies have invested large sums of money for tourism. All these proceeds are free for the Pyongyang leadership to use for military purposes, and are not seen in official statistics.

However, compared to the amounts spent under the height of the Cold War, the amount of \$U.S. millions used for defense spending has decreased under the Kim Jong-il leadership, while the GDP percentage used for defense has increased.

⁴⁰ *Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea*, Global Security Organization, www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/dprk/intro.htm

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² *Rodong Sinmun on army-based policy*, The Korean Central News Agency, January 27, 2002. www.kcna.co.jp/item/2002/200201/news01/27.htm

⁴³ *Army-based policy, DPRK’s mode of politics*, The Korean Central News Agency, November 13, 2002. www.kcna.co.jp/item/2002/200211/news11/13.htm

⁴⁴ GDP = the total market values of goods and services produced within North Korea in a given year. GDP includes only goods and services produced in North Korea, regardless of the producer’s nationality.

⁴⁵ Cho, Myeong-chin, “An Assessment of the Military Capability of the North Korean Armed Forces”, Presentation at the Swedish Defense Research Agency (FOI), Stockholm, 16 June 2003.

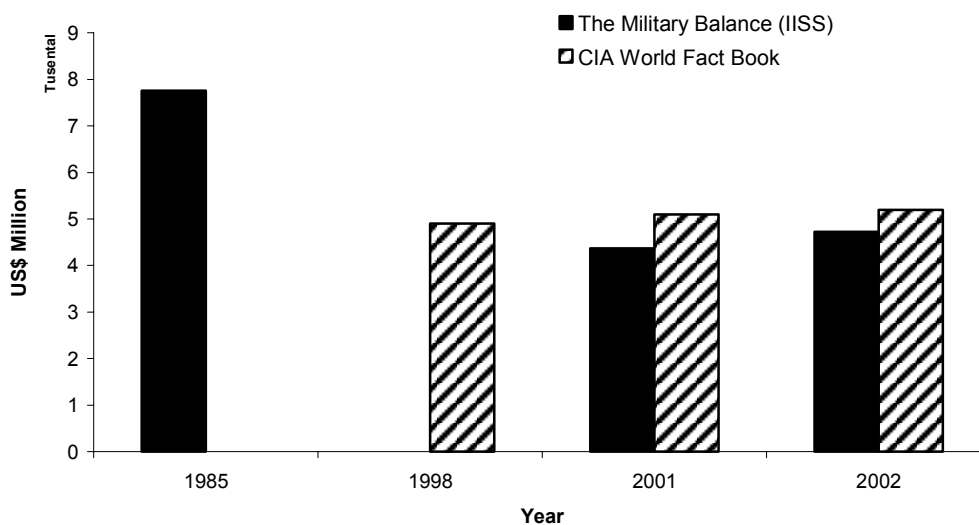


Figure 3. North Korean Defense Expenditure in U.S. \$ Millions

North Korea has one of the world's highest percentages of GDP used for defense expenditure compared to the world average, which is about 2.4 percent.⁴⁶ The percentage figures showed in Figure 4 are the amounts used of the GDP for defense spending by Pyongyang. Even though the numbers are not coherent, one can still detect a trend of an enlarged percentage of the GDP being utilized for defense purposes, even though the defense budget has decreased since the realization of *Kangsung Taeguk*.

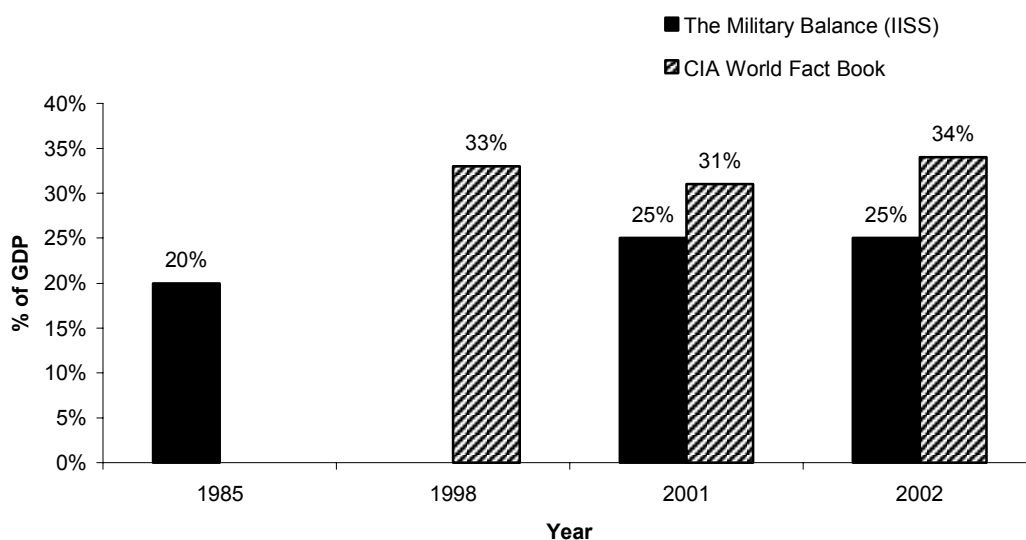


Figure 4. GDP Percentage of North Korean Defense Spending

⁴⁶ Azzam, Henry T. *Arab countries are still the world's leading market for arms*, The Embassy of Jordan in the United States, October 20, 2003. www.jordanembassyus.org/0310200010.htm

3.2 North Korean National Objectives and Tactics under *Kangsong Taeguk*

When looking at the objectives Kim Jong-il wants to pertain under *Kangsong Taeguk* one can see that most of them somewhat relate to North Korea's relationship with the United States. The objectives of regime survival, protection of national sovereignty, a strong military, nuclear weapons development, economic recovery and Korean reconciliation⁴⁷ have during the years 1994-2004 been interrelated to Pyongyang's brinkmanship tactics, targeted at engaging Washington in negotiations. Especially nuclear capability, missile development and proliferation have been imperative in North Korea's attempts to engage the U.S. and illustrate the edicts of *Kangsong Taeguk*. The possession of these weapons, or the suspicion that Pyongyang is in possession of such, has forced Washington to take North Korea seriously, and – in the Clinton era - engage in high-level negotiations.

The goals of *Kangsong Taeguk* have thus replaced the national objective of Korean unification, prevalent under Kim Il-sung, for the fight for regime survival through foremost nuclear deterrence and ambiguity. Consequently, by adhering to *Kangsong Taeguk*, "North Korea finds it unthinkable to give in to any intervention and pressure from the imperialist it has denounced since the country's inception".⁴⁸ The ascension of the military with its nuclear and missile capabilities can be viewed as efforts to further enhance the nation's pursuit of self-reliance and independence. According to Kim Jong-il it is crucial to further elevate military-first politics since it "makes the best use of crisis situations, guarantees regime survival through increased internal solidarity and exerts leverage in negotiations".⁴⁹ This strategy was to prove especially successful during the second tenure of the Clinton administration.

⁴⁷ *The DPRK Briefing Book*, The Nautilus Institute, www.nautilus.org/DPRKbriefingbook/

⁴⁸ Koh, Byung-chul, "North Korean Foreign Policy after Kim Il-sung: Continuity or Change", *North Korea in Transition and Policy Choices: Domestic Structure and External Relations* Ed. Jae-kyu Park (Seoul: Kyungnam University press, 1999), 56.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

4 North Korea – United States Relations 1994-2001: The Clinton Administration’s Rapprochement

The transformation of Washington from being a major threat to becoming an asset in North Korean strategic calculus under the Clinton administration can be related to several major events, both internally and externally. “Internally, economic stagnation, aggravated by the collapse of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe... compelled Pyongyang’s leadership to reassess its priorities.”⁵⁰ Externally, Seoul’s growing power and successful *Nordpolitik* was seen as a turning point in North Korean foreign policy strategy. Another aspect of North Korean U.S. policy was the urge for a peace treaty to replace the current armistice agreement which is “a process Pyongyang believes is necessary to make it a normal state and win security guarantees from Washington”.⁵¹ In the Clinton era the hostile perception of the United States remained within *Juche* ideology (Appendix 2), but there was still an apparent willingness from both sides to improve relations. In the eyes of Pyongyang a nation with a firm ideology and a strong military would show the U.S. that North Korea was a nation to take seriously. Kim Jong-il claimed that “respect for a country’s sovereignty was the key to any improvement with the United States”.⁵²

4.1 North Korea - U.S. Relations in the Kim Il-sung Era

Prior to the examination of North Korea-U.S. relations under Kim Jong-il, a short summation of relations during the Kim Il-sung era is necessary if one is to understand the astonishing turn of events that occurred during the Clinton leadership. Under Kim Il-sung’s reign the U.S. became the sworn enemy of the North Korean state. This era was heavily influenced by *Juche* policies of anti-imperialism that were translated into direct hostility towards the United States, which increased during the pinnacle of the Cold War. Due to changes in the international order in the 1970s, Pyongyang began to show some willingness to approach Washington, especially after the inauguration of the Carter administration that announced that it wanted to conduct a phased withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea. Other reasons were the emerging détente between Washington and Moscow and the normalization of diplomatic relations between the United States and China. As a consequence of these actions North Korea called for direct negotiations with Washington concerning the replacement of the Armistice Agreement with a permanent peace treaty. Additionally there was a continued push for a complete withdrawal of American forces from the southern part of the Korean Peninsula.

In the 1980s Kim Il-sung proposed that three-party talks should be held between North Korea, the U.S. and South Korea in order to negotiate a framework in which Pyongyang and Washington could engage in bilateral talks, leaving Seoul in an observational position, a proposal the United States rejected. In reaction to Gorbachev’s announcement of “Perestroika and Glasnost” in 1985, Kim Il-sung further intensified efforts to get the United States to the negotiation table, but Washington still refused.

⁵⁰ Koh, Byung-chul, “North Korean Policy Toward the United States”, *North Korea After Kim Il-sung*, Ed. Dae-sook Suh and Chae-jin Lee (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998), 88.

⁵¹ Lee, Jong-heon “North Korea is emerging from isolationist shell through high-profile contacts with the U.S.” *Vantage Point*, Koreascope, November 2000.

www.koreascope.org/cgi-bin/nonmun/vp/view.cgi?vp+200011+a0+1+0

⁵² *Ibid.*

The atmosphere for engagement did not improve after the North Korean 1987 terrorist bombing of Korean Airlines flight 858, which was an attempt to sabotage the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games. This act placed North Korea on the list of nations sponsoring terrorism, and became an object of international condemnation. The disintegration of the Communist bloc and the fall of the Soviet Union had a significant impact on Pyongyang in regard to its relationship with the United States. In 1992, after being pressured by China, Washington finally agreed to talk to Pyongyang after the suspicion of North Korea's nuclear program had risen to international concern,⁵³ and Kim Il-sung was threatening to withdraw from the NPT.

4.1.1 Clinton Enters the North Korean Question

In January 1993, Bill Clinton assumed the presidency in the United States, and he would come to have an enormous impact on Washington-Pyongyang relations. His presidential predecessors had treated North Korea as a rogue state and implemented a policy of containment. Clinton was immediately faced with the North Korean problem by Kim Il-sung's threat of withdrawing from the NPT. Clinton saw the urgency of the North Korean nuclear intentions and decided to move towards engagement and normalization. Instead of trying to implement regime change, impose more sanctions and isolate Pyongyang even further, the democratic administration decided to engage North Korea, and try to assist in bringing the isolated nation into the international arena. The engagement policy had several elements including "emergency food aid, energy assistance, Prisoners of War/Missing in Action (POW/MIA) remains recovery operations, and diplomatic incentives to persuade North Korea to obey to the international norms of nonproliferation".⁵⁴ In retrospect the policy was aimed at preventing an eventual collapse of the North Korean system that could destabilize the political situation in the East Asian region.

The Clinton Administration, even though controversial, decided that direct dialogue with the Pyongyang leadership was the best solution, and implemented a "carrot and stick" approach in order to solve the growing nuclear dispute. The sticks included UN Security Council sanctions ranging "from downgrading or severance of diplomatic relations to economic embargoes and military action".⁵⁵ The carrots used included "cancellation of the Team Spirit⁵⁶ military exercise, a security guarantee, trade, and other inducements to cooperate with the international community".⁵⁷ The North Korean solution for not leaving the NPT was the claim that when the nuclear threat from the United States diminishes, and the IAEA institutes impartiality and no longer acts as a

⁵³ The conflict between North Korea and the United States regarding nuclear weapons had begun in 1985 when Pyongyang did not sign the safeguard agreement required eighteen months after joining the Non Proliferation Treaty. The signing finally occurred on January 30, 1992 and was ratified in the Supreme People's Assembly on April 9th, 1992.⁵³ In May the same year North Korea submitted the obligatory report regarding their nuclear facilities to IAEA. After conducting several inspections, the IAEA found several discrepancies regarding inspections results and what was listed in the initial report, and this resulted in which would become a crisis of international concern.

⁵⁴ Jannuzi, Frank, "Can the United State Cause the Collapse of North Korea? Should We Try? Council on Foreign Relations, www.cfr.org/pubs/jannuz.html

⁵⁵ Oberdorfer, Dan, *The Two Koreas: A Contemporary History*. (London: Little, Brown and Company, 1997), 282.

⁵⁶ An annual military exercise conducted by the United States and South Korean armed forces along the demilitarized zone (DMZ).

⁵⁷ Oberdorfer, *The Two Koreas*, 282.

puppet for the US, then Pyongyang would remain in the treaty.⁵⁸ Clinton, knowing that the NPT was up for review, saw the urgency in keeping the treaty intact and ensure that North Korea remained in the framework to make it legitimate. Washington therefore decided to engage Pyongyang through diplomatic negotiations.

At the first ever North Korea-U.S. bilateral negotiations in New York, a Joint Statement was issued that halted North Korea's withdrawal from the NPT. The Joint Statement of 1993 included "assurances against the threat and use of force, peace and security in a nuclear free Korean peninsula, and the impartial application of full-scope safeguards".⁵⁹ (Appendix 3) However, the Joint Statement did not completely reverse the North Korean withdrawal from the NPT, as Pyongyang stated that it had decided to "*suspend* its withdrawal from the NPT for as long as it considers necessary".⁶⁰ This is important to remember when looking at the situation that developed in 2003 when North Korea fully withdrew from the NPT. Through its deferral from the NPT, Pyongyang stated that it had a "unique" status within the treaty as it had "suspended" its withdrawal and not completely annulled it. If North Korea was to withdraw from the treaty, it did not have 90 days until it went into effect, instead North Korea stated that if they wanted to leave the NPT "it could do so within days".⁶¹

It would take another year after the signing of the Joint Statement for North Korea and the United States to move forward in the nuclear negotiations. However, it was not due to actions of the Clinton Administration that initiated a sudden turn of events. Instead the remarkable development in bilateral relations was owed to former president Jimmy Carter's personal diplomatic efforts. The Carter-Kim Il-sung meeting introduced one of the most tailored approaches to North Korea-U.S. relations. Its hallmark was direct personal communication with Kim Il-sung in order to gain an understanding of the reclusive and unique *Juche* regime.

4.1.2 Carter Visits Kim Il-sung

Jimmy Carter was regarded as a man of respect by Kim Il-sung, a respect that had been earned through Carter's presidential plans of a complete withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea. In his inaugural address Carter had stated that his mission was to free the world of nuclear weapons, and to North Korea this would have meant the end of an American nuclear threat. Kim Il-sung had invited Jimmy Carter to Pyongyang for four consecutive years, and in June 1994 the former President felt the time was right to finally accept the invitation. Carter had been outraged when he learned about Clinton's plans for sanctions and preemptive strikes, and the dearth of personal contact with Kim Il-sung in order to solve the pending nuclear dilemma. Carter was also troubled over the American military reinforcements in the East Asian region, and was convinced that personal communication was the key to solve the nuclear predicament. Carter emphasized "the seriousness of the problem and the need to communicate directly with Kim Il-sung – the only person in North Korea who could change the course of events".⁶² North Korea accepted his visit and felt that Jimmy Carter, as a result of his past, was

⁵⁸ Lee, Ergene, *The 1993 North Korean Nuclear Crisis: A Foreign Policy Analysis*, Master's Thesis (Blacksburg: Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 2000), 29.

⁵⁹ Resiss, Mitchell, *Brindled Ambitions* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University, 1995), 254.

⁶⁰ Oberdorfer, *The Two Koreas*, 286.

⁶¹ Resiss, Mitchell, *Brindled Ambitions*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University, 1995) 254.

⁶² Sigal, Leon V. "Jimmy Carter Makes a Deal", *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, January/February 1998, Vol. 54, No. 1. www.bullatombsci.org/issues/1998/jf98/jf98sigal.html

man of his word, and a person suitable to negotiate a resolution to the crisis with. The Clinton administration, running out of options, agreed to Carter's visit.

Carter arrived in North Korea on June 15, 1994 when U.S. media was advocating a nuclear strike on the Yongbyon complex. When he crossed the border at Panmunjom he saw the situation between North Korea and the United States for what it really was: "a bizarre and disturbing experience, evidence of an incredible lack of communication and understanding".⁶³ Carter's first meeting in North Korea was with foreign minister Kim Young-nam who informed him that Pyongyang would view the implementation of sanctions as an "act of war". The following day, Carter met with Kim Il-sung, without the presence of Kim Jong-il, and discussed the differences between the North Korean and American political systems. Kim Il-sung stated "that the essential problem between the two nations was lack of trust and that therefore creating trust was the main task".⁶⁴ The North Korean leader was aggravated over the fact that the international community did not believe him when he declared that the North was not interested in developing nuclear weapons, and was using the Yongbyon reactor for energy purposes only.

Through his personal contact and show of respect for Kim Il-sung, Carter managed to find a way out of the deadlock. The key was the comprehension of the uniqueness of North Korea's political system. Carter understood the situation in every respect and stated that sanctions would be viewed as an insult to Kim Il-sung "and it would also [had been] viewed as a personal insult to their so-called Great Leader by branding him as a liar and a criminal...it would [have been] impossible for them to accept".⁶⁵ When a small amount of trust had been established, hostilities lessened. The personal diplomacy conducted by Jimmy Carter resulted in Kim Il-sung temporarily freezing the North Korean nuclear program in return for continued high-level talks with the U.S. Unfortunately, Kim Il-sung passed away prior to the commencement of any new negotiations, but even though there had been a leadership change in Pyongyang, the Agreed Framework, regarding the freeze of North Korea's nuclear program and U.S. concessions, was concluded in Geneva in October 1994.

4.1.3 The 1994 Agreed Framework

The Agreed Framework was a historic agreement aimed at bringing Pyongyang into the international community in return for the freezing of its alleged nuclear program (Appendix 4). The freeze was seen as a step toward eventual negotiations regarding the replacement of the armistice agreement with a permanent peace treaty, and normalization of diplomatic relations between North Korea and the United States. The Agreed Framework contained four main articles with supplementary details of what each article entailed. The four articles were:

- 1) Both sides will cooperate to replace the DPRK's graphite-moderated reactors and related facilities with light-water (LWR) power plants.
- 2) The two sides will move toward full normalization of political and economic relations.
- 3) Both sides will work together for peace and security on a nuclear-free Korean peninsula.

⁶³ Oberdorfer, *The Two Koreas*, 326.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 327

⁶⁵ Reiss, *Brindled Ambitions*, 272.

- 4) Both sides will work together to strengthen the international nuclear non-proliferation regime.⁶⁶

Thus more explicitly, the terms of the Agreed Framework can be divided into three sections: joint U.S.-North Korean obligations, North Korean obligations and U.S. obligations. Some of the joint responsibilities included the commitment to move towards normalization of political and economic relations, and reduction of trade barriers. North Korean commitments were focused on the reactor freeze and dismantlement, to allow IAEA inspections, safe storage of spent fuel, and to remain within the Non-Proliferation Treaty. The U.S. obligations were to establish and organize the Korean Energy Development Organization (KEDO), to implement the Light-Water reactor project and to provide heavy-fuel oil shipments to compensate for the loss of energy by the nuclear freeze at Yongbyon.⁶⁷ The Clinton Administration maintained that if North Korea fulfilled the terms of the Agreed Framework, discussions on normalization of diplomatic relations would begin.

However, after the conclusion of the Agreed Framework, North Korea was still in desperate need of hard currency, something that was not provided for in the Framework. As previously mentioned, one of the most important sources of hard currency in North Korea is the nation's exports of ballistic missiles and technology. In 1995 harsh rhetoric concerning the U.S. displeasure of Pyongyang's missile and technology exports to foremost Syria and Iran, made Kim Jong-il realize that the missile component could be used in the same way as the nuclear program had been in attracting U.S. attention, concessions and gains. Thus, realizing that the implementation of the Agreed Framework and its benefits would not entail badly needed hard currency, North Korea's missile proliferation became the main source of such income, and as a consequence developed into a new source of concern for the Clinton leadership.

4.2 Aspects of North Korean - U.S. Relations Regarding Ballistic Missiles

The missile issue would prove Kim Jong-il right and pave way for unprecedented breakthroughs in North Korea-U.S. relations, culminating in U.S. Secretary of State Madeline Albright's visit to Pyongyang in October 2000. North Korea has pursued a missile program for over 30 years, and it has gained the same national priority as the nuclear program. According to Joseph S. Bermudez Jr., "This program has been pursued fully in line with its national philosophy of *Juche* and with single-mindedness and determination second only to that devoted to its nuclear program."⁶⁸ The program grew at a rapid pace and made North Korea one of the leading nations in ballistic missile proliferation, which became a growing concern for the United States in the mid-1990s. Kim Jong-il believes that "the possession of ballistic missiles is an essential component in preventing foreign aggression against it, and that the international prestige and recognition"⁶⁹ will enhance North Korea's sovereignty and legitimacy.

⁶⁶ *Agreed Framework Between the United States of America and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea*. The Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO) www.kedo.org

⁶⁷ "The U.S. – North Korean Agreed Framework at a Glance", Arms Control Association, www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/agreedframework.asp?print

⁶⁸ Bermudez Jr. Joseph S., "A History of Ballistic Missile Development in the DPRK", Occasional Paper No.2, *Monterey Institute of International Studies: Center for Nonproliferation Studies*, 1999, 32.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 33

In March 1995, five months after the signing of the Agreed Framework, Washington said “the United States would not normalize relations with North Korea unless it stopped exporting missiles to countries like Iran and Syria”.⁷⁰ Pyongyang urgently needed economic assistance, and therefore decided to agree to missile talks with Washington in Berlin. This was decided after Washington had stated that “the easing of sanctions on the DPRK, and normalization of economic relations would depend on North Korea’s constructive behavior on a range of issues, including missile proliferation”.⁷¹

The first missile talks were held in April 1996, and the U.S. on the one hand told North Korea that sanctions would be eased if Pyongyang halted its ballistic missile program, Pyongyang on the other, stated that they sought to swap missiles for food. The talks did not end in an agreement, but both sides outlined their respective positions. The next action taken by Pyongyang was a statement saying that North Korea could continue to concern the United States by selling missiles for money and food to nations in the Middle East, or “it could accept food from the United States to forgo these sales”.⁷² Hence, North Korea had decided to show greater flexibility on the export related issues than on issues concerning development and technology. However, it would soon become apparent that it would cost the U.S. an extensive amount of money to curb North Korean proliferation of ballistic missiles as interaction between Pyongyang and Washington became more intense (Appendix 5).

4.2.1 *Kangsung Taeguk* Introduced by *Taepodong* Missile

Interactions between North Korea and the United States intensified in 1998 when Pyongyang, as an implementation of *Kangsung Taeguk*, tested a long-range ballistic missile in August 1998. The missile was able to fly over the Japanese islands, and proved to be a new threat for the Clinton administration. As *Kangsung Taeguk* is a way to get the U.S. and the international community to view North Korea as a strong military power, the attention given from Washington indeed made *Kangsung Taeguk* seem as the political solution North Korea had been searching for.

By the launch the Kim Jong-il leadership had demonstrated that it had ballistic missile capability to reach U.S. military bases in South Korea and Japan. If development was to be continued, Washington believed that North Korean ballistic missiles would be able to reach the western part of the U.S. by the year 2000, and thereby pose a direct threat to the U.S. mainland. This refocused Washington’s attention on the long-standing North Korean willingness to trade its missile capability for economic compensation. The 1998 launch further intensified the tense situation between North Korea and the U.S. since it was conducted after U.S. satellite surveillance had detected an underground site at *Kumchang-ri*⁷³ suspected for use in North Korea’s frozen nuclear program.

The *Taepodong* launch led to the belated third round of missile talks in New York. The actions taken by Pyongyang had shaken the U.S., which again offered to “relax US

⁷⁰ *US Official Demands North Halt Missile Exports*, 13 March, 1995. Monterey Institute of International Studies, <http://cns.miis.edu/research/korea/abs95.htm>

⁷¹ *US Policy Toward the Korean Peninsula*, 1 January, 1996. Monterey Institute of International Studies, <http://cns.miis.edu/research/korea/abs96.htm>

⁷² Oberdorfer, *The Two Koreas(Revised)*, 386.

⁷³ The initial North Korean demand for allowing the U.S. to inspect the site was \$300 million. The issue of allowing U.S. inspections to the underground site at *Kumchang-ri* was settled in March 1999 after months of negotiating. The final price for the U.S to pay was 600.000 tons of food assistance and a new potato-production program.

economic sanctions against North Korea in return for an end to North Korea's development and exports of ballistic missiles".⁷⁴ North Korea rejected the offer and reminded the U.S. that they had already agreed to ease sanctions under the Agreed Framework. The North also declared that ballistic missile development and export would continue since the program was "strictly for self-defense and that it [North Korea] had a sovereign right as a state to develop missiles".⁷⁵ The result of the negotiations was a stalemate, but both parties agreed to continue talks. It was evident that North Korea would not give in until economic rewards were assured. With growing self-confidence, North Korea took an aggressive posture in the beginning of 1999 luring Washington into further missile negotiations by stating that the North "will never give up its sovereign right to build and launch missiles".⁷⁶ In relation to the fourth round of missile talks in Pyongyang, the North Korean foreign ministry stated it had a "legitimate right of self-defense to develop, test and produce missiles by its own efforts and defend the security of North Korea".⁷⁷ The North Korean foreign ministry additionally accused Washington of using the North Korean missile threat as an excuse to create a national missile defense system.

During the negotiations held in Pyongyang North Korea put their cards on the table, and "offered to suspend missile exports over a three-year period for annual cash payments of \$1 billion from the United States".⁷⁸ Washington rejected the offer, but countered by offering a successive easing of economic sanctions if North Korea cooperated in missile related issues, such as nonproliferation. North Korea in turn rejected the U.S. offer and made it clear that Pyongyang was not willing to compromise its position on the development, production, testing and deployment of ballistic missiles. The firm North Korean position on the subject, and the lack of progress in regards to U.S. North Korea policy forced President Clinton to reconsider his policy towards Pyongyang, and therefore appointed William Perry as the U.S. policy coordinator for North Korea.

4.2.2 The Perry Report

The review was necessary as several changes⁷⁹ had occurred in the region from 1994 to 1998, and therefore a new policy was needed to respond to the altered circumstances in order to engage Pyongyang. William Perry came to conclude that the "urgent focus of U.S. policy toward the DPRK must be to end its nuclear weapons program and long-range missile-related activities",⁸⁰ and that even though North Korea had experienced hardships after the death of Kim Il-sung, there were no signs of collapse. Perry told

⁷⁴ *North Korea: A Second Taep'o-dong Test?* Monterey Institute of International Studies, <http://cns.miis.edu/research/korea/taep2.htm>

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ *Chronology of North Korea's Missile Trade and Developments: Latest Update*, Monterey Institute of International Studies, <http://cns.miis.edu/research/korea/chrlate.htm>

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ *North Korea: A Second Taep'o-dong Test?* Monterey Institute of International Studies.

⁷⁹ 1) North Korea had a new leader in Kim Jong-il, 2) The North Korean economy had further deteriorated, 3) South Korea had elected a new President, Kim Dae-jung, who had embarked upon a policy of engagement with North Korea, 4) Japan had become increasingly concerned about North Korea, which was increased after the 1998 *Taepodong* launch, 5) China was in understanding with the U.S. regarding Washington's concerns about the deleterious effects of North Korea's nuclear weapons and missile activities and their effects on regional and global security. *Review of United States Policy Toward North Korea: Findings and Recommendations*. October 12, 1999. www.state.gov/www/regions/eap/991012_northkorea_rpt.html

⁸⁰ Ibid.

North Korean officials that there was no excuse for what the United States had done in regards to the division of the Korean peninsula, and emphasized the importance for the two nations to work together in order to heal old wounds and establish a new era of friendship and co-operation. Perry also introduced the American two-track proposal⁸¹ for moving forward in curbing North Korean missile development and exports.

Should North Korea opt to continue its hostile behavior, “the United States, South Korea and Japan were prepared to reverse positive steps that they had taken and to protect their security by military actions of their own”.⁸² If Pyongyang chose the path of threat reduction, which would in a step-by-step approach lead to diplomatic, political and economic relations with Washington, the Kim Jong-il regime would have to “completely halt all missile exports, included related technology and equipment..., and cease development, production, testing and deployment of all missiles”.⁸³ Perry also suggested that North Korea should send a high-level official to Washington during the fall of 1999 to discuss Pyongyang’s response to the U.S. offer. In response to these remarks, North Korean media stated: “the U.S. side said it has come to have a deeper understanding of the DPRK’s policy and national confidence and strong will of the Korean people united in one mind”.⁸⁴ The Perry Report most importantly concluded that the U.S. had to “deal with the North Korean government not as we wish they would be, but as in fact they are”.⁸⁵ However, North Korea “will also have to deal with the U.S. - or the U.S. and its allies will take the appropriate action”.⁸⁶

The Perry report was a breakthrough in Pyongyang-Washington relations as it called for a comprehensive and integrated approach with the Kim Jong-il leadership. After Perry had left Pyongyang, North Korea stressed that if relations were to be improved, the U.S. had to recognize the system and sovereignty of DPRK, and in addition approach it on an equal footing and remove its antagonistic policy.⁸⁷ This was exactly what the Perry report attempted to attain, and since the new policy of *Kangsung Taeguk* was aimed at engaging the U.S. as equal in stature to North Korea, Pyongyang took the opportunity to further engage with Washington, which through Perry’s review of U.S. North Korea policy, seemed to have gained a deeper understanding of the DPRK’s political system, a goal long sought for the Pyongyang leadership.

4.2.3 Berlin Talks

In September 1999, North Korea agreed to a high-level meeting with U.S. officials in Berlin, which signaled an interest in Perry’s proposal. North Korea’s Vice Foreign Minister Kim Gye-gwon met with U.S. negotiator Charles Kartman. The outcome of the

⁸¹ Track 1 was to end the North Korean long-range missile program, in return for full diplomatic relations with the United States, a peace treaty ending the Korean War, and improved relations with South Korea and Japan. Track 2 was to be implemented if North Korea was to continue down the road of missile tests and nuclear uncertainty, in which case the United States and its allies would take actions to enhance their own security and containment of the North, increasing the likelihood of confrontations.

⁸² Oberdorfer, *The Two Koreas (Revised)*, 421.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ “Perry Visits Pyongyang as U.S. President Clinton’s Special Envoy”, *Vantage Point*. December 1999 – Vol.22 No.12, 24.

⁸⁵ William Perry quoted in *A Decade of policy towards North Korea in relation to the Perry Report*, Area Studies Organization, www.areastudies.org/documents/dprk001.html

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ “Perry Visits Pyongyang as U.S. President Clinton’s Special Envoy”, *Vantage Point*. December 1999 – Vol.22 No.12, p.24

Berlin meeting was a “qualified North Korean promise not to conduct further long-range missile tests”,⁸⁸ (referred to as the 1999 missile moratorium,) while negotiations with Washington continued, and it was accompanied by “a *quid pro quo* – [that] the U.S. drop[ped] its ‘Trading With The Enemy act’ economic structures against North Korea”.⁸⁹ After the talks North Korea issued a statement proclaiming that “each side [has come] to a deeper understanding of the other’s concerns and each [has] acknowledged the need to continue steps that address these concerns”.⁹⁰ In return for North Korea’s positive actions, the Clinton administration announced that it was to lift

⁸⁸ Larry A. Niksch, “Korea: U.S.-Korean Relations – Issues for Congress”, *Issue Brief for Congress*, March 17, 2003. CRS-7.

⁸⁹ Eberstadt, Nicholas, *The Road From Berlin*,
http://www2.gol.com/users/coynerhm/usnk_talks_in_berlin.htm

⁹⁰ Lee, Jong-heon, “New Diplomatic Approach”, *Vantage Point*. December 1999 – Vol.22 No.12, 13.

sanctions that banned most U.S. exports to and imports from North Korea, and this promise was implemented after the Korean Summit⁹¹ in June 2000.

After the Korean Summit, Kim Jong-il had elevated his international status, and, as expected, Washington was fast to reward the North Korean rapprochement with Seoul by easing economic sanctions. The year 2000 was to hold remarkable developments in regards to diplomatic actions between Pyongyang and Washington. They included high-level meetings such as Vice Marshal Cho's visit to the United States and Madeline Albright's return visit to North Korea. In July North Korea and the U.S. met for a fifth round of missile negotiations in Kuala Lumpur, and Pyongyang arrived with a newfound sense of confidence and restated the demand of receiving \$1 billion in compensation for suspended exports of missiles and technology.

The North Korean position was based on the fact that since the U.S. has thousands of missiles in East Asia that are an unswerving security threat to the North, Washington had no right to demand an end to North Korean ballistic missile development, which Pyongyang viewed as vital to its sovereign self-defense. As a result the fifth round ended in a stalemate, but was followed by a meeting between Madeline Albright and the North Korean foreign minister Paek Nam-sun in Bangkok, which marked a new highest-level of talks between the two nations. Even though there were no agreements made, it gave an impression that both nations were willing to continue to conduct bilateral talks, but on a higher political level. In October 2000 North Korea, in a surprising move, decided to respond to Perry's suggestion of sending a special envoy to Washington to discuss the missile and other issues, including the removal of North Korea from the list of nations sponsoring terrorism

⁹¹ During Pyongyang's focus on establishing diplomatic relations with the United States, North and South Korean relations had remained cool in 1998, but in 1999 North Korea proposed to hold high-level talks with the South regarding the issues of separated families and inter-Korean exchanges and co-operation. The offer was welcomed by the South Korean government and the Ministry of Unification, although the ministry urged North Korea to drop those conditions which had been attached to the proposal, that South Korea abolish its National Security Law and that US forces be withdrawn from South Korea. The same year Kim Dae-jung also stated that he wanted to have a summit meeting with the North Korean leader, and this was restated in the beginning of the year 2000. In March the South Korean president traveled to Germany where he proclaimed the now known as Berlin Declaration. Kim Dae-jung claimed that "South Korea was prepared to embark, at government level, on economic co-operation with North Korea in order to assist in the development of the North's infrastructure and agriculture." The Berlin Declaration came at a time when North Korea was conducting an offensive regarding diplomatic activities to improve its economic conditions, and in April representatives for the two Koreas met in China and an agreement was made on when the first ever inter-Korean summit was to be held in Pyongyang. Kim Jong-il had three motives why to agree to the meeting:

- (1) Kim Jong-il saw the summit as a chance to present himself as a national hero in North Korea and as a reasonable and broad-minded man to South Koreans and the world.
- (2) Kim Jong-il must have reasoned that a show of Korean amity would aid Pyongyang's efforts to improve diplomatic relations with other western countries, particularly the United States and Japan.
- (3) The North's steps toward bridging the divide signal a new sense of confidence that it can maintain its regime while reaching outside for help... Kim Jong-il must[have felt that] he [had] succeeded in consolidating his own position at home and in building a political system essentially impermeable to outside influence.

The meeting was held in the North Korean capital between June 12-14 2000 and the two Koreas signed an agreement named the "Five-point Joint Declaration." Issues of unification were discussed, but sensitive issues such as the North Korean missile question and nuclear program, and the removal of US troops from South Korea were almost disregarded.

4.3 Implications of Vice Marshal Cho's and Madeline Albrights Visits on North Korea – U.S. relations

The more than four year long missile negotiations were taken to a higher level when Kim Jong-il sent North Korea's second ranked figure Cho Myong-rok, Vice Chairman of the National Defense Commission, to Washington. The meeting had great symbolic value for Pyongyang since it showed a desire from both nations to move towards a new direction in their relationship. Cho met with Clinton to discuss "North Korea's ballistic missile program, nuclear weapons, and the search for the remains of Korean War veterans".⁹² He also brought a letter from Kim Jong-il, which stated his view on bilateral relations regarding "the important point we are in, in our relationship with each other, and the hope that we would improve it further".⁹³ The message stated that North Korea:

will turn the current bilateral relations of confrontation and hostility to a new relationship of friendship and co-operation and goodwill if and when North Korea is given a strong and concrete guarantee from the U.S. to respect North Korea's sovereignty and territorial integrity.⁹⁴

Clinton told the North Korean envoy about U.S. concerns in regards to Pyongyang's missile program and its imposing threat, and its hope for an end of the program. General Cho responded that Kim Jong-il had his own demands, namely that, "North Korea desired security assurances firm the United States guaranteeing North Korea's territorial integrity and protection against a military attack".⁹⁵ In a historic Joint Communiqué (Appendix 6) released after the meeting, both Pyongyang and Washington agreed to make every effort to reduce tensions and in the future build a new relationship that is free from past enmity. It also said "neither government would have hostile intent toward the other, [and] agreed to remove mistrust, build mutual confidence, and maintain an atmosphere in which they can deal constructively with issues of concern".⁹⁶ Cho and Clinton reaffirmed that future North Korean-U.S. relations would be based on the principles of "respect for each other's sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs".⁹⁷ They also concluded that they needed to "redouble their commitment and their efforts to fulfill their obligations in their entirety under the Agreed Framework",⁹⁸ and restated the importance of diplomatic contact and negotiations in order to expand their relationship.

With respect to the missile issue, North Korea reaffirmed the 1999 moratorium concluded in Berlin stating that no test launches would be conducted as long as talks continued, and both sides agreed that "resolution of the issue would make an essential

⁹² Manning, "United States – North Korean Relations: From Welfare to Workfare?", *North Korea and North East Asia*, Ed. Samuel S. Kim & Tai-hwan Lee (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2001) 72.

⁹³ *Clinton Meets with North Korea's Senior Military Official*, U.S. Department of State: International Information Program, October 19, 2000. <http://usinfo.state.gov/topical/pol/arms/stories/00101009.htm>

⁹⁴ *Cover Story: Strides Made Toward Ending Isolation*, November 2000.

http://.../view.jsp?kind=engstudy200011&tableName=t_treatise&page=1&no=1

⁹⁵ *U.S. – North Korea Relations*, Comparative Connections,

www.csis.org/pacfor/cc/004Qus_skorea.html

⁹⁶ *U.S., DPRK vow to build new relationship*, October 12, 2000. China Daily,

www.chinadaily.com.cn/highlights/koreanwar/news/101vow.html

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Kim, Ilpyong J., *Historical Dictionary of North Korea*. (Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc. 2003) 182.

contribution to a fundamentally improved relationship between them and to peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region”⁹⁹ as a whole. At the end of the meeting, Cho thanked the Clinton Administration for its humanitarian assistance in regards to food and medicine during the years of natural disasters, and Clinton showed gratitude to North Korea for its assistance in finding remains of MIA’s from the Korean War. In addition it was decided that Madeline Albright would visit Pyongyang in preparation for an eventual presidential visit to North Korea.

Evoked in the same spirit, Albright visited Pyongyang later the same month, and during a banquet held in her tribute, General Cho stated that “North Korea – US relations that have been frozen so deep in the past are now reaching the historic moment of thawing”.¹⁰⁰ President Clinton responded positively to the high-level meeting and stated: “we have some hope of resolving our outstanding differences with North Korea and looking forward to the day when they will truly close the last chapter in the aftermath of the Korean War”¹⁰¹ Albright presented Kim Jong-il with a letter from President Clinton regarding his thoughts on how to further develop relations between North Korea and the United States. Vice Marshal Cho viewed Albright’s visit as marking “the formation of new ties between the DPRK and the United States”.¹⁰² Cho also stated that “developing good relations between the United States and the DPRK is important not only to the two counties and the Korean peninsula, but also to peace and stability in Northeast Asia”.¹⁰³

Cho emphasized the importance to build mutual confidence between the nations’ leaders in order to diminish the deeply rooted mistrust firmly ingrained in their relationship. At the conclusion of the historic meeting, U.S. officials said: “North Korea is seeking reconciliation with the United States, and indicated it won’t launch long-range missiles”.¹⁰⁴ The promise of a continued moratorium had come from Kim Jong-il personally, but the North Korean leader had also stated that he did not believe that several hours of discussions that had taken place “were enough to break the silence of 50 years”.¹⁰⁵ As compensation for limiting the North Korean missile program Kim Jong-il suggested that “other nations would launch three or four North Korean scientific satellites per year into outer space, since the DPRK would no longer possess the rockets to do so itself”.¹⁰⁶ However, the most important concession to Kim Jong-il would be a visit to North Korea by a U.S. President. In Pyongyang’s optic such a visit “would end its pariah status and be tangible acceptance of its legitimacy and sovereignty for the world to see”.¹⁰⁷ After returning to Washington, Albright commented on the newfound

⁹⁹ *U.S., DPRK vow to build new relationship*, October 12, 2000. China Daily, www.chinadaily.com.cn/highlights/koreanwar/news/101vow.html

¹⁰⁰ Lee, Jong-heon, “North Korea is emerging from isolationist shell through high-profile contacts with the U.S.” *Vantage Point*, Koreascope, November 2000. www.koreascope.org/cgi-bin/nonmun/vp/view.cgi?vp+200011+a0+1+0

¹⁰¹ *Korean Thaw: Kim Jong-il Says He’s Happy to Meet With Albright*, October 24, 2000 ABC News, http://abcnews.go.com/sections/world/DailyNews/korea_clinton001024.html

¹⁰² *Albright Meets Kim Jong Il, Presents Clinton’s Letter*, October 24, 2000, People’s Daily, http://fpeng.peopledaily.com.cn/200010/24/print20001024_53419.html

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *Albright Ends Historic North Korea Visit* October 24, 2000, ABC News, <http://abcnews.go.com/sections/world/DailyNews/korea001024.html>

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ Oberdorfer, *The Two Koreas* (revised), 438.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* 439

relationship with North Korea and the importance in improving ties with the isolated state, but also emphasized the difficulty in the situation related to the 50 years of hostility.

In November 2000 the sixth round of missile talks convened in Kuala Lumpur. The talks were not only important regarding missile concerns, but they were also to establish if Clinton would visit North Korea prior to the end of his presidential tenure. The talks focused on solutions to promote non-proliferation and regional and global security that would aid in moving North Korea-U.S. relations forward.¹⁰⁸ Even though negotiations were constructive and serious, no agreement was made, and no new talks were scheduled. The deadlock was related to the North Korean demand of receiving \$1 billion in compensations for economic losses if ballistic missile exports were suspended, a demand that Washington refused to concede with. An agreement regarding a termination of the North Korean missile program was the main incentive for a possible presidential visit to Pyongyang, and when such an agreement was unreachable, the Clinton Administration decided not to schedule a North Korean visit. Consequently the George W. Bush Administration inherited a delicate matter of finding a solution to five years of missile negotiations, implementation of the Agreed Framework and to further develop of U.S. – North Korean relations.

¹⁰⁸ *Einhorn on Renewal of U.S.-N.Korea Missile Talks*, November 1, 2000. U.S. Department of State: International Information Program <http://usinfo.state.gov/topical/pol/arms/stories/00110302.htm>

5 North Korea – United States Relations 2001-2003: The Bush Administration’s Hostility

When George W. Bush replaced Bill Clinton as the president of the United States in January 2001, Pyongyang viewed the change of power as detrimental to North Korea-U.S. relations. The North Korean aim in 2001 was “to have a dialogue with the United States to discuss and carry into practice measures to wipe out the mistrust and misunderstanding between both sides and put the DPRK-U.S. relations on a normal orbit to meet the bilateral interests”.¹⁰⁹ Pyongyang also stated that “improving relations between the DPRK and the U.S. means turning hostile relations between the two countries into friendly ties”.¹¹⁰ Unfortunately, while Clinton had advocated dialogue and détente, Bush opted for suspended talks and confrontation. After a revision of the Clinton administration’s North Korea policy, Bush introduced an “engagement policy” based on hostility and military strength. As a response Pyongyang began to view Bush as a modern imperialist who “resorts to high-handed and arbitrary practices as principal means for executing [his] policy of aggression”.¹¹¹ Washington’s new approach towards North Korea was viewed as disadvantageous to the understandings established by the Agreed Framework and the New York DPRK-U.S. Joint Communiqué of 2000. Under the Bush leadership the Framework and the Communiqué were to be reinterpreted and eventually lose their stature, losing much of the hard-work accomplished under Clinton.

5.1 Hostile Policy Emerges

Pyongyang did not fear the new hard-line policy that emerged with the inauguration of the Bush administration, instead “it only compel[led] the DPRK to strengthen its tough attitude towards the United States and further increase the self-reliant defense capability”.¹¹² In March 2001 relations appeared extremely tense when Pyongyang indicated that if bilateral negotiations were not resumed, Washington’s hostile attitude might “spark a new acute arms race and a nuclear showdown”.¹¹³ The U.S. further complicated the circumstances surrounding dialogue and negotiations when Bush claimed that “North Korea’s military might still remain a threat”.¹¹⁴ To Pyongyang it was evident that the U.S. wanted to disarm the nation and steer it onto the road of eventual collapse, as being pursued in Iraq.

¹⁰⁹ *Spokesman of DPRK Foreign Ministry on Bush’s statement on resuming negotiations with DPRK*, The Korean Central News Agency, June 18, 2001.

www.kcna.co.jp/item/2001/200106/news06/18.htm

¹¹⁰ *U.S. urged to drop its hostile policy toward DPRK*, Korean Central News Agency, July 16, 2001.

www.kcna.co.jp/item/2001/200107/news07/16.htm

¹¹¹ *Struggle against imperialists’ high-handed and arbitrary practices called for*, Korean Central News Agency, January 16, 2001. www.kcna.co.jp/item/2001/200101/news01/16.htm

¹¹² *U.S. Administration’s assertion refuted*, Korean Central News Agency, March 19, 2001.

www.kcna.co.jp/item/2001/200103/news03/18.htm

¹¹³ *U.S. ulterior intention revealed*, Korean Central News Agency, March 19, 2001.

www.kcna.co.jp/item/2001/200103/news03/19.htm

¹¹⁴ *U.S. hostile policy toward DPRK under fire*, Korean Central News Agency, March 27, 2001.

www.kcna.co.jp/item/2001/200103/news03/27.htm

Additionally the Bush administration stated that it regarded North Korea's missiles as a threat to American security, while again slandering the North as "a dangerous state" and "a dangerous entity". Pyongyang argued that their development and proliferation of missiles were issues that belonged to North Korean sovereignty and self-defensive capabilities under *Kangsung Taeguk*. Pyongyang's consistent position was that it can "clear the U.S. of its worries over its security only when it assures the DPRK that Washington does not threaten the DPRK's security by taking substantial measures to terminate the hostile relations".¹¹⁵

After the Bush Administration had completed its revision of its North Korea policy on June 6, 2001, it stated that the implementation of the Agreed Framework had to be improved, meaning that prompt inspections were required to verify the status of the nuclear freeze. "If North Korea took positive actions, the United States [would] expand [their] efforts to help the North Korean people, ease sanctions and take other political steps."¹¹⁶ North Korea's greatest concern was the issue of the light-water reactors. The construction of light-water reactors was to have been completed in 2003, but to North Korea the delay "gravely threatened the DPRK's right to existence as it was suffering acute shortage of electricity".¹¹⁷ This issue initiated a dispute between the United States and North Korea in regards to the true intentions behind the Agreed Framework. Washington, on the one hand, accused Pyongyang of not fulfilling its responsibilities and demanded a reinterpretation of the Framework to implement direct verification of its nuclear freeze and missile development. North Korea, on the other, blamed the U.S. for purposely stalling the construction of the reactors in order to force a collapse of the Northern regime.

North Korea-U.S. relations have only deteriorated under the Bush administration, and are viewed as the main hindrance of the otherwise promising bilateral diplomacy implemented under Clinton. In June 2001 the United States called for a resumption of suspended bilateral negotiations, in relation to their revised policy, but the North Korean leadership was suspicious of Washington's true agenda. The U.S. unilaterally decided that the issues to be discussed would include nuclear, missile and conventional armed-forces topics, but North Korea argued that the most pressing issues of concern were the implementation of the Agreed Framework, the completion of the construction of LWRs and compensation for the loss of energy caused by the delay. Due to the "issue of the reduction of nuclear, missile and conventional weapons as a precondition for dialogue"¹¹⁸ imposed on North Korea by the U.S., no negotiations were scheduled and relations remained deadlocked.

5.1.1 Implications of 9/11 2001

The situation did not improve after September 11 when the Bush administration became harsher in its attempts to stifle labeled rogue states. The day after the terrorist attacks on World Trade Center and the Pentagon, North Korea immediately made a statement

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Niksch, Larry A., *Korea: U.S. – Korean Relations – Issues for Congress*. CRS-2.

¹¹⁷ *DPRK FM spokesman on its principled stand toward DPRK-U.S. relations*, Korean Central News Agency March 3, 2001. www.kcna.co.jp/item/2001/200103/news03/03.htm

¹¹⁸ *U.S. urged to drop its hostile policy toward DPRK*, Korean Central News Agency, August 18, 2001. www.kcna.co.jp/item/2001/200108/news08/18.htm

regarding its “opposition to all forms of terrorism”.¹¹⁹ The North Korean foreign ministry also sent condolences of the loss of American lives to the U.S. President through the Swedish embassy in Pyongyang. In addition Kim Jong-il showed his support to the war on terror when North Korea signed two anti-terrorism conventions, the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism and the International Convention against Taking Hostages in November 2001.¹²⁰ In spite of this Washington’s relations with North Korea remained tense. In December 2001 Pyongyang reacted to speculations made in U.S. media and political circles claiming that North Korea was the next target after Afghanistan in the U.S. fight against terrorism. North Korea was targeted due to U.S. suspicion of Pyongyang’s proliferation of nuclear technology and missiles to Middle Eastern nations, thereby supporting terrorism.

The placement of North Korea within the “Axis of Evil” deteriorated relations further and was a direct violation of the agreement made under the Joint Communiqué that stated that neither Pyongyang nor Washington would have hostile intent towards one another.

5.2 *Kangsung Taeguk* Intensified after “Axis of Evil”

After the “Axis of Evil” statement North Korea-U.S. relations reached an all time low. North Korea claimed that there had not been any “precedent in the modern history of DPRK-U.S. relations that in [a] policy speech the U.S. President made undisguised threatening remarks on aggression and threat”¹²¹ against the North Korean state. As a show of good faith and an acknowledgment of the seriousness of the situation, the U.S. urged North Korea to withdraw conventional forces from the demilitarized zone and to halt their missile exports. If these measures were not carried out Washington argued that “there [was] a possibility of various options”.¹²² In addition, the U.S. State Department “again designated North Korea as a terrorism-sponsoring country on May 21, 2002, along with Iran, Cuba, Syria, Libya and Sudan”.¹²³ This convinced Kim Jong-il that U.S. was intending to continue its hostility, and after Bush’s statement that he would not allow North Korea to “threaten the American way of life” with their weapons of mass destruction, efforts to strengthen self-defensive mechanisms under *Kangsung Taeguk* were intensified.

The North Korean position in regards to bilateral relations remained firm: “It is the consistent stand of the DPRK government to settle the nuclear issue on the Korean Peninsula in a peaceful way”,¹²⁴ thus Kim Jong-il was still attempting pragmatic solutions, while harsh rhetoric continued. In October 2002, in an attempt to try to reestablish dialogue with North Korea, the Bush administration decided to send a

¹¹⁹ Sigal, Leon V., *North Korea is No Iraq: Pyongyang’s Negotiating Strategy*, The Nautilus Institute, Retrieved October 10, 2003. http://nautilus.org/fora/security/0227A_Siga.html

¹²⁰ Kwak, Seung-ji *Pyongyang-Washington Ties in the Doldrums*, Koreascope, March 2002. www.koreascope.org/cgi-bin/nonmun/vp/view.cgi?vp+200203+a0+1++0

¹²¹ *Spokesman for DPRK Foreign Ministry slams Bush’s accusations*, The Korean Central News Agency, January 31, 2002. www.kcna.co.jp/item/2002/200201/news01/31.htm

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Oh, Il-whan, “Exercising American Internationalism: U.S. – North Korea Relations During the Bush Administration, *East Asian Review*. Vol.14, No.3, Autumn 2002, 17.

¹²⁴ *Struggle against imperialism without concession called for*, The Korean Central News Agency, December 30, 2002. www.kcna.co.jp/item/2002/200212/news12/30.htm

special envoy to Pyongyang to discuss urgent matters, such as nuclear capability and missile proliferation.

5.2.1 James Kelly to North Korea

Pyongyang responded positively to the U.S., but the atmosphere soon deteriorated when the American representative James Kelly addressed the issues of concern. Kelly stated:

that the DPRK-Japan relations and inter-Korean relations as well as the DPRK-U.S. relations would be smoothly settled *only* when the DPRK first [met] the U.S. unilateral demand such as nuclear and missile and conventional armed forces and ‘human rights’ issue.¹²⁵

North Korea was outraged over the fact that Washington included Japan and South Korea in its aggressive policy and strongly urged the U.S. to watch their actions. It did not get any better when Kelly, after his return to the United States, claimed that a North Korean official had admitted an on-going nuclear program, which under the terms of the Agreed Framework was to have been frozen since 1994. In Pyongyang “the U.S. attitude was so unilateral and high-handed that the DPRK was stunned by it”.¹²⁶ As a reaction to Washington’s actions, North Korea clarified that it was in favor of negotiating a settlement to the issues of concern, but with three conditions, Firstly; if the U.S. recognizes the DPRK’s sovereignty; secondly, if it assures the DPRK of non-aggression; and thirdly, if the U.S. does not hinder economic development of the DPRK.¹²⁷

The most important condition was the call for a non-aggression treaty, which to this day remains the single issue that if implemented, could again initiate a thaw in relations. Thus “if the U.S. legally assures the DPRK of non-aggression, including the non-use of nuclear weapons against it in such a treaty, the DPRK will be ready to clear the former of its security concerns”.¹²⁸ As a way to put additional pressure on Kim Jong-il, U.S. deliveries of heavy-fuel oil were suspended in mid-November 2002.

The deferral of oil supplies most likely led to the nullification of the Agreed Framework in December 2002 when North Korea decided to reinvigorate its nuclear program. After the supplies of heavy-fuel oil were suspended North Korea considered the Agreed Framework as a dead letter, and claimed “there [was] no need for the DPRK to strive for its implementations”.¹²⁹ As a response to the U.S. refusal to sign a non-aggression treaty, the halt of the supply of heavy oil, and the offensive posture taken over the alleged nuclear program, North Korea stated that the “situation compelled the DPRK to immediately start the work of removing seals and monitoring cameras on its frozen nuclear facilities for their normal operation to produce energy”.¹³⁰ The conservative government in Washington had not seen North Korea fulfilling its part the Framework,

¹²⁵ *Spokesman for DPRK FM on DPRK visit of special envoy of U.S. president*, The Korean Central News Agency, October 7, 2002. www.kcna.co.jp/item/2002/200210/news10/07.htm

¹²⁶ *Conclusion of non-aggression treaty between the DPRK and U.S. called for*, The Korean Central News Agency, October 25, 2002. www.kcna.co.jp/item/2002/200210/news10/25.htm

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ *U.S. should own full responsibility for ensuing consequences*, The Korean Central News Agency, November 27, 2002. www.kcna.co.jp/item/2002/200211/news11/27.htm

¹³⁰ *Struggle against imperialism without concessions called for*, The Korean Central News Agency, December 30, 2002. www.kcna.co.jp/item/2002/200212/news12/30.htm

and after several twists and turns including delays of the construction of the light-water reactors, nuclear inspection disagreements, the irregularities and suspension of supply of heavy-fuel oil, as well as the threat of nuclear preemptive strikes on North Korea, the Pyongyang leadership announced the end of the Agreed Framework. The U.S., however, blamed North Korea for not adhering to the Framework, and as a result, a reassessment of the agreement was necessary for Washington, which meant immediate inspections and verification of North Korea's nuclear freeze. Since North Korea refused, the Bush Administration holds Pyongyang responsible for breaking the agreement and therefore rendering it nullified. In spite of the aforementioned developments Pyongyang continued to call for a dialogue with Washington hoping that it would drop its aggression policy. At the end of 2002, no negotiations had been conducted and no non-aggression treaty had been signed.

Thus the year 2002 did not show any positive signs for an end to antagonistic relations, and it ended with a remark made by U.S. Defense Secretary Rumsfeld who said: "The U.S. is perfectly capable of taking military action against Iraq and North Korea at the same time and capable of decisively winning all, should that ever be necessary."¹³¹ When 2003 arrived relations deteriorated further when North Korea, as a precaution of its sovereignty and self-defensive posture under *Kangsung Taeguk*, decided to withdraw from the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

5.3 North Korea Withdraws from NPT

Even though relations in the beginning of 2003 had not improved, North Korea persisted in its call for bilateral negotiations, and urged Washington not to engage in unilateral action. "The nuclear issue on the Korean Peninsula is a product of the U.S. hostile policy toward the DPRK and, therefore, it is an issue to be settled between the DPRK and the U.S. through negotiations."¹³² Pyongyang's stand was "to peacefully resolve the nuclear issue", and therefore "it proposed to conclude a non-aggression treaty with the U.S.

However, when the U.S. called on IAEA to adopt a new resolution urging North Korea to "unconditionally accept the U.S. demand for disarmament",¹³³ Pyongyang stated it could no longer remain in the NPT (Appendix 7). To North Korea the U.S. was using the IAEA as a tool to implement their hostile policy, and therefore Pyongyang did no longer view the NPT regime as a neutral and fair organization, and thus its withdrawal. Simultaneously North Korea asserted that even though they had left the NPT they "had no intentions to produce nuclear weapons" and that the "nuclear activities at this stage [would] be confined only to peaceful purposes".¹³⁴ According to the North Korean leadership, the U.S was pursuing a strategy of so called "tailored containment", which was seen as an American design to "isolate and stifle the DPRK by putting it under the

¹³¹ U.S. warmonger's hysteria ridiculed, The Korean Central News Agency, December 31, 2002. www.kcna.co.jp/item/2002/200212/news12/31.htm

¹³² KCNA detailed report on circumstances of DPRK's withdrawal from NPT, The Korean Central News Agency, January 23, 2003. www.kcna.co.jp/item/2003/200201/news01/23.htm

¹³³ Statement of DPRK government on its withdrawal from NPT, The Korean Central News Agency, January 11, 2003. www.kcna.co.jp/item/2003/200301/news01/11.htm

¹³⁴ Ibid.

siege of closely coordinated international sanctions and pressure in political, economic, military, diplomatic and all other aspects”.¹³⁵

Pyongyang also termed the U.S action a “serpent strategy” since it “was to be carried out in the way a serpent does, i.e. swallowing up the object after strangling it”.¹³⁶ The rift and disagreements between North Korea and the U.S. were becoming wider and growing stronger by the day. In February 2003 the Bush Administration suddenly proclaimed it would have direct talks with North Korea, but in Pyongyang the proposal was seen just as a new version of the present U.S. position that “the DPRK should scrap its nuclear program before dialogue, and the U.S. can talk to North Korea, once again but will not negotiate with it, and insistence on multilateral talks”.¹³⁷ North Korea viewed the nuclear issue as a problem only concerning Washington and Pyongyang that should be solved through bilateral talks and therefore resented a multilateral approach. The situation did not get better with the U.S. invasion of Iraq in March 2003.

5.3.1 Implications of the War in Iraq on North Korea-U.S. Relations

To North Korea the invasion of Iraq came to show the true nature of the Bush administration “divid[ing] the world into good and evil by its [U.S.] standards”.¹³⁸ In Pyongyang’s view the Bush administration “openly perpetrated aggression against those countries which incur its displeasure...and imposed regime change”¹³⁹ on these nations and on March 20, 2003 Iraq became its first victim. North Korean media stated that “the invasion patently shows how dangerous and unilateral the aim sought by the Bush regime in the war of aggression is”.¹⁴⁰

The war in Iraq made North Korea increase its self-defensive measures, and concluded that the regime in Baghdad had sealed its fate when it allowed concessions and compromise. Kim Jong-il argues that under *Kangsung Taeguk* war can only be averted when a nation “has a strong physical deterrent force, a strong military deterrent force capable of decisively repelling any attack to be made by any types of sophisticated weapons”.¹⁴¹ It was obvious that the U.S. condition of North Korea ending its nuclear program prior to negotiations would never materialize. Thus a new approach was needed, and in August 2003 a North Korean proposal was made to conduct bilateral talks regarding the nuclear issue within a multilateral framework. Surprisingly, the U.S. agreed without its condition met, and talks were scheduled to be held in Beijing.

¹³⁵ *KCNA blasts U.S. ‘tailored containment’ strategy*, The Korean Central News Agency, January 30, 2003. www.kcna.co.jp/item/2003/200301/news01/30.htm

¹³⁶ *KCNA blasts U.S. ‘tailored containment’ strategy*, The Korean Central News Agency, January 30, 2003. www.kcna.co.jp/item/2003/200301/news01/30.htm

¹³⁷ *KCNA on U.S. contradictory assertion about ‘direct dialogue*, The Korean Central News Agency, February 12, 2003. www.kcna.co.jp/item/2003/200302/news02/12.htm

¹³⁸ *U.S. to blame for derailing process of denuclearization on Korean Peninsula*, The Korean Central News Agency, May 13, 2003. www.kcna.co.jp/item/2003/200305/news05/13.htm

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ *U.S. invasion of Iraq denounced*, The Korean Central News Agency, March 27, 2003. 2003. www.kcna.co.jp/item/2003/200303/news03/27.htm

¹⁴¹ *U.S. to blame for derailing process of denuclearization on Korean Peninsula*, The Korean Central News Agency, May 13, 2003. www.kcna.co.jp/item/2003/200305/news05/13.htm

5.3.2 Six-Party Talks 2003

To the North Korean government the Six-Party talks, including the United States, China, Russia, South Korea and Japan, would indicate whether the U.S. would drop its hostile policy towards Pyongyang or not. The talks began on August 27, 2003, and in the keynote speeches it soon became apparent that the U.S. and North Korean sides remained far apart in their respective positions in solving the nuclear predicament. The U.S. position was that they would not engage in bilateral talks with Pyongyang and argued that when “the DPRK’s nuclear weapons program is eliminated, the U.S. is prepared to start bilateral negotiations on a series of issues”.¹⁴² These issues included missile development and proliferation, human rights, conventional weapons, terrorism, counterfeiting and drug smuggling. The non-aggression treaty was not an issue to be discussed since Washington did not regard it as necessary to their future relationship.

The North Korean stance was based on Washington’s willingness to abandon its hostile and aggressive policy, which was seen as “the master key to and precondition for the settlement of the nuclear issue”.¹⁴³ Most importantly North Korea proposed a “package solution” to solve the nuclear dispute that entailed the following conditions:

The U.S. should conclude a non-aggression treaty with the DPRK, establish diplomatic relations with it and guarantee the economic co-operation between the DPRK and Japan and between the north and south Korea. It should also compensate for the loss of electricity caused by the delayed provision of light water reactors and complete their construction. For this, the DPRK should not make nuclear weapons and allow the nuclear inspection, finally dismantle its nuclear facility, put on ice the missile test fire and stop its export.¹⁴⁴

The U.S. opposed the deal and again stated that they would not alter their policy until Pyongyang halted its nuclear program. The talks ended without any progress and reinforced North Korea’s need for “the nuclear deterrent force as a self-defensive measure to protect [the DPRK’s] sovereignty”.¹⁴⁵ In the end of September 2003, North Korea stated that as long as the U.S. remains adamant to destroy the North Korean state and its leadership, they have no intention to attend another six-party discussion. In October the U.S. stated that it might be willing to give North Korea “written security assurances” not to attack the DPRK by force. This was however disregarded by Pyongyang since it was viewed as “nothing but a blank sheet of paper which can never give any legal guarantee that the Bush Administration will not attack the DPRK”.¹⁴⁶ Due to the Bush leadership’s non-compliance with a series of agreements¹⁴⁷, which

¹⁴² “Keynote Speeches Made at Six-way Talks”, The Korean Central News Agency, August 3, 2003. www.kcna.co.jp/item/2003/200308/news08/30.htm

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ *DPRK Foreign Ministry on Six-way Talks*, The Korean Central News Agency, September 1, 2003. www.kcna.co.jp/item/2003/200309/news09/01.htm

¹⁴⁶ *KCNA Dismisses Any U.S. ‘Written Security Assurances*, The Korean Central News Agency, October 8, 2003. www.kcna.co.jp/item/2003/200310/news10/08.htm

¹⁴⁷ The U.S. in the DPRK-U.S. Joint Statement adopted on June 11, 1993 promised not to threaten North Korea with nuclear weapons, but respect its sovereignty and refrain from interfering in its internal affairs. It reaffirmed the principle of terminating the hostile relations between North Korea and the United States in the DPRK-U.S. Agreed Framework published on October 21, 1994 and in the North Korea/United States Joint Communiqué announced on October 12, 2000. See *KCNA Dismisses Any U.S. ‘Written Security Assurances* www.kcna.co.jp/item/2003/200310/news10/08.htm

were signed under the Clinton Administration, North Korea concluded that they cannot see such assurances as trustworthy. In December North Korea rejected a U.S. proposal for Verifiable and Irrevocable Dismantlement (VID) of North Korea's nuclear program in return for security assurances.¹⁴⁸

5.3.3 2004 developments

In the end of 2004 relations between North Korea and the United States remains in a stalemate with little progress (Appendix 8). A U.S. delegation visited Yongbyon in January 2004 and two six party talks were held in February and August, but both ended in deadlock. In August North Korea escalated its anti-American rhetoric when Bush, under a campaign rally, referred to the North Korean leader as a "tyrant". The North Korean foreign ministry retorted by calling Bush "human trash, a "fascist tyrant" and a "man killer".¹⁴⁹ A third six party venue was planned for September, but North Korea decided not to attend any more multilateral venues until the U.S. changes its hostile policy posturing. The North Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs states "it does not stand to reason for the DPRK to try to hold any talks with the [U.S.] which is hatching plots to bring down the DPRK's system". It adds that "for the U.S. to make its policy switchover is the key to finding the solution to the issue".¹⁵⁰ It is likely that Pyongyang was waiting for the outcome of the U.S. presidential elections, and was hoping that relations could improve if John Kerry had assumed power in Washington. North Korea has not yet (mid-November) commented on the re-election of President Bush. Thus the stalemate will most likely continue as long as the U.S. remains firm to its policy of VID, without offering a non-aggression treaty, economic concessions or compensation for the suspension of oil deliveries. It seems that in order to re-engage Pyongyang, it is vital that Washington drops its preconditions to bilateral diplomacy in order to establish a dialogue.

¹⁴⁸ *North Korea Timeline: Key events in the lead up to the aftermath of the Iraq war*, www.iraqwatch.org/roundtables/RT4/NorthKorea-Timeline.htm

¹⁴⁹ *North Korea Resists Talks on Nuclear Arms*, September 27, 2004. www.washingtonpost.com/ac2/wp-dyn/A55179-2004Sep27?language=printer

¹⁵⁰ *Spokesman for DPRK FM on Prospects of Resumption of Six-party Talks*, November 4, 2004. www.kcna.co.jp/item/2004/200411/news11/15.htm

Conclusion and Discussion

Juche development under Kim Il-sung was the period during which *Juche*, or self-reliance, became the lasting fundamental policy of all aspects of the North Korean way of life. Following the end of the Korean War, the North Korean people have been bombarded with ideological rhetoric calling for independence and self-reliance in ideology, politics, economics and military defense, and a complete adoration to the leader. It was easily implemented as a result of Kim Il-sung's personality, closeness to the masses, and the small size of the nation. This ideological indoctrination shaped the North Korean worldview, and *Juche* elevated Kim Il-sung's status as the Great Leader to divine. *Juche* ideology would not be what it is today had it not been for Kim Il-sung. Kim Il-sung's impact on the creation of the North Korea's *Juche* ideology is astonishing. He aroused the Korean peoples' national consciousness, liberated them from old Confucian shackles, and *Juche* ideology gave the masses the willingness to solve Korean problems by their own innovation and creativity. *Juche* became the doctrine of the entire nation and penetrated all aspects of society. *Juche* also came to heavily influence North Korean foreign policy, and through its basis on anti-imperialism also the nation's relations with the United States.

Juche under Kim Il-sung was based on finding an independent solution to its future after years of foreign domination. The Cold War created an atmosphere in where anti-imperialism and anti-U.S. sentiments came to dominate *Juche* thought. The political background also made it possible for Kim Il-sung to take advantage of the bipolar structure. However, when Kim Jong-il assumed leadership, both domestic and international contexts had been altered. With a unipolar international world order North Korea became increasingly isolated. During the de-facto period from 1994 to 1998 *Juche* ideology remained constant under *Yuhun* policies, rule of the deceased Kim Il-sung, but after his formal succession, Kim Jong-il sought to make *Juche* more adaptable to the international and regional changes that had occurred since the death of his father.

In the post-Cold War era, Kim Jong-il has been trying to find a solution to North Korea's new position in the international arena, while still remaining faithful to *Juche*. With the disappearance of the former Soviet bloc, Pyongyang had no option but to attempt to adapt to the new political scene. Evidence of this can be seen in the three components of *Juche*, *Chaju*, *Charip*, and *Chawi*. The changes were particularly noticeable in political and military components, while the economic conditions remained in essence unchanged. The constitutional change initiated an era of military-first policies based on security and deterrence apprehensions. The traditional North Korean ambitions of communization and unification were muted in order to secure the continued existence of the North Korean state. One way of doing this was through developing enhanced deterrence capabilities. The solution was the implementation of the guiding strategy *Kangsung Taeguk* and turning North Korea into a strong and powerful nation, particularly with strengthened military capabilities.

The introduction of *Kangsung Taeguk* in August 1998 has had an apparent impact on North Korean actions towards Washington. The strategic objectives of *Kangsung Taeguk* were prioritized in the following order: 'ideological superpower' leading to 'military superpower' leading to economic superpower.¹⁵¹ *Kangsung Taeguk* is also

¹⁵¹ Kim, Samuel S. "Introduction: A Systems Approach", *The North Korean System in the Post-Cold War Era* Ed. Samuel S. Kim (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2001), 16.

used to satisfy perceptions that the United States can only be motivated to negotiations by a strong military power. Hence, *Kangsung Taeguk* emphasizes the supremacy and importance of the military, and the need for powerful technological weapons that can deter its adversaries. Pyongyang argues that the establishment of a strong military regime will protect North Korea from imperialist aggression. The decline of the North Korean economy, and Pyongyang's suspicion of the expansion of U.S. hegemonic rule after 2002, reaffirmed by the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan and occupation of Iraq, made Pyongyang more wary of imperialist aggression. Through the enhancement of national security, provided by a strong and powerful military, Kim Jong-il found a way to confront the hostile and provocative actions taken by the U.S. government under foremost the Bush administration. However, during the Clinton administration, *Kangsung Taeguk* showed signs of a more pragmatic approach, as a response to Washington's willingness to engagement and rapprochement, leading to substantial progress in bilateral relations.

Two U.S. Administrations – Two Different North Korean Policies

In retrospect, one can detect a huge gap in the actions taken in North Korea-U.S. relations between the Clinton and Bush administrations. Kim Jong-il's relationship with the Clinton administration, even though there were bumps on the road, removed old hostilities and worked towards mutual understanding and co-operation. Kim Jong-il's diplomatic interactions with the Bush administration have been in complete opposition due to the modified U.S. policy towards North Korea. There was an obvious change in the pace of bilateral diplomacy conducted after the implementation of *Kangsung Taeguk*, when North Korea seemed to gain a new sense of confidence in its dealings with Washington. In addition the U.S. had completed its North Korea policy review and realized that they had to deal with Pyongyang as it is and not how it wanted to be in order to end its nuclear weapons and long-range missile-related activities. Clinton's liberal internationalism (Table 2) rested on the following, which most likely aided the North Korean course:

[It depended on] multilateral negotiations and stressed dialogue. In addressing international issues, it encouraged the co-operation of concerned parties rather than a hard-line policy that threatened the use of force. ...[and] thus sought a strategy of engagement and enlargement.¹⁵²

¹⁵² Oh, Il-whan, "Exercising American Internationalism: U.S. – North Korea Relations During the Bush Administration, *East Asian Review*. Vol.14, No.3, Autumn 2002, 3.

Table 2. Policy Structure of Pyongyang-Washington Relations 1994-2000

	U.S. Policies: William J. Clinton	North Korean Policies: Kim Jong-il
Goal	The prevention of WMD proliferation Maintenance of regional order in Northeast Asia	The protection of existing regime
Objective	Helping the North make a soft-landing	The improvement of relations with the U.S.
Means	Food aid The opening of a liaison office in Pyongyang Easing economic sanctions Political and military dialogues Multilateral co-operation All-encompassing aspect of security Diplomatic negotiation	Nuclear threat Economic difficulties Threat to abandon nuclear agreement South-North dialogues The repatriation of remains of U.S. soldiers

Source: Kim Sung-han, "North Korea-U.S. Relations and South-North Korea Relations", *Vantage Point*, September 1999 – Vol.22, No.9, 38.

It was under this policy that the Clinton administration decided to approach North Korea, and Pyongyang was not late to respond to the U.S. rapprochement "as it needed assurances from Washington about the survival of its regime and its economic recovery".¹⁵³ The main goal of U.S. North Korea policy under Clinton was to prevent Pyongyang from developing weapons of mass-destruction, and to keep the system from collapsing, by assisting the Kim Jong-il leadership to make a soft landing.¹⁵⁴ When George W. Bush became president in 2001 it soon became evident that he would not continue the policy of engagement that Clinton had initiated. Bush's policy of American internationalism was as far as one could get from the diplomatic actions taken by the previous administration (Table 3).

¹⁵³ Ibid. 4

¹⁵⁴ Hong, Kwang-hee, "New Inter Korean Relations and Changes in Security Conditions on the Peninsula", *Vantage Point*, March 2001 – Vol.24 No. 3, 46.

Table 3. Policy Structure of Pyongyang-Washington Relations 2001-2004

	U.S. Policies: George W. Bush	North Korean Policies: Kim Jong-il
Goal	The prevention of WMD proliferation Maintain strong position in Northeast Asia Prevention of North Korea becoming a nuclear state.	The protection of the North Korean state under <i>Kangsong Taeguk</i>
Objective	Disarmament VID	Re-establish good relations with U.S. Obtain non-aggression treaty from the U.S Economic concessions Compensation for suspended oil deliveries
Means	Military power Traditional military security Unipolar approach	Nuclear development and proliferation Missile development and proliferation Withdrawal from NPT <i>Kangsong Taeguk</i> with military-first orientation

Bush emphasizes on “U.S. global leadership and national interests... which does not exclude the possible use of force”,¹⁵⁵ and was very critical to Clinton’s handling with North Korea. The review¹⁵⁶ that Bush made of Clinton’s North Korea policy reverted relations back to traditional hostility, and increased Pyongyang’s distrust to Washington’s intentions. The main elements of the Bush administration’s North Korea policy are fivefold: 1) end the Agreed Framework; 2) no talks with North Korea until it dismantles its nuclear program; 3) bring together an international coalition to apply economic pressure on North Korea; 4) prepare for future economic sanctions and military interdiction against North Korea; and 5) caution North Korea not to reprocess nuclear weapons-grade plutonium, affirming that all options are open including military alternatives.¹⁵⁷ Bush does not hide his personal disbelief in the North Korean leadership and has slandered Kim Jong-il on several occasions, and made statements conflicting the promise made under the Joint Communiqué, intensifying harsh anti-U.S. rhetoric from North Korea (Appendix 9). This has not made relations any easier, and the implications of the policy revision have pushed North Korea to adhere more closely to perceived military power and the importance of deterrence capabilities. Thus in the eyes

¹⁵⁵ Oh, Il-whan “Exercising American Internationalism: U.S. – North Korea Relations During the Bush Administration, *East Asian Review*. Vol.14, No.3, Autumn 2002. 4.

¹⁵⁶ 1) The policy review, presented on June 6, 2001, did not reaffirm the October 12, 2000, U.S. – DPRK pledge of no ‘hostile intent’ – it was broken when Bush labeled North Korea as a part of the Axis of Evil. 2) Washington wanted ‘improved implementation’ of the Agreed Framework – reinterpreting it to require prompt nuclear inspection of past reprocessing without offering anything in return. 3) the Administration wanted North Korea to assume a less threatening conventional military posture. 4) Progress toward an agreement on missiles would depend on progress on other issues of concern. See Leon V. Sigal, “North Korea is no Iraq: Pyongyang’s Negotiating Strategy”, http://nautilus.org/fora/security/0227A_Siga.html

¹⁵⁷ Nicksch, Larry A. *Korea: U.S.-Korean Relations – Issues for Congress*, CRS-Summary

of Kim Jong-il, the Bush leadership in Washington can not be trusted since they have either broken or reinterpreted previous agreements and commitments, causing North Korea to reinforce its *Kangsung Taeguk* strategy.

Thus North Korea–United States relations from 1994 to 2004 have been extremely diverse. Under the first part of the Clinton administration, from 1993 to 1998, diplomatic interaction was concentrated on the Agreed Framework and initial missile talks. After the completion of the Agreed Framework the pace of negotiations slowed, and so did the occurrences of interaction. However, due to regional and domestic alterations¹⁵⁸ the pace picked up and bilateral interactions increased with intensifying concerns of the U.S., a direct result of the Perry report, with regards to the status of the North Korean nuclear program and long-range missile-related activities. Even though there were disagreements along the way, and since a five decade old antagonistic relationship can not be erased, progress was made in the right direction as a result of the Clinton administration’s willingness to engage Pyongyang.

Such progress has not been possible under Bush since Washington views North Korea as a rogue state sponsoring terrorism, and diverting all its money to the military, while it is letting its population starve. The new demands set fourth by the U.S., after the revision of its North Korea policy, have also rendered Pyongyang reluctant to engage. Instead Kim Jong-il has taken a more militaristic stand under *Kangsung Taeguk*, and as a result withdrawn from the NPT and restarted the North’s nuclear program. Additionally the 1999 missile moratorium is no longer viewed as valid, and North Korea has resumed its ballistic missile tests. The promising future of North Korea - U.S. relations in the end of 2000 was to end with the inauguration of the Bush administration in 2001, and the events of 9/11. The international atmosphere that had favored Pyongyang’s brinkmanship tactics and economic bargaining was altered and North Korea became a new target against the war on terror by being included in the “Axis of Evil”. Even so North Korea remains firm in its demands of economic concessions and a non-aggression treaty to end its nuclear program and halt missile exports. However as long as the U.S. on the one hand remains firm in its demands of full verifiable and irrevocable dismantlement prior to negotiations, and North Korea on the other wants Washington to end its hostile policy aimed at bringing down the North Korean system before talks can recommence, it is difficult to see a way out of the existing stalemate.

Instead North Korea is increasingly falling back on deterrence and putting more weight on the main pillar of *Kangsung Taeguk*, the strength and power of the military. The U.S. continues to put their primary focus on occurrences in Iraq, and is not pushing the North Korean issue, but argues it remains firm to its pre-conditions to diplomatic interaction. Thus, the need for engagement and mutual understanding of respective political systems are vital for North Korea-U.S. relations to resume. Even though military intervention from the U.S. and a military provocation from North Korea are highly unlikely, it is vital for the peace and stability in Northeast Asia that the ***mutual understanding, trust***

¹⁵⁸ 1) North Korea had a new leader in Kim Jong-il, 2) The North Korean economy had further deteriorated, 3) South Korea had elected a new President, Kim Dae-jung, who had embarked upon a policy of engagement with North Korea, 4) Japan had become increasingly concerned about North Korea, which was increased after the 1998 *Taepodong* launch, 5) China was in understanding with the U.S. regarding Washington’s concerns about the deleterious effects of North Korea’s nuclear weapons and missile activities and their effects on regional and global security. *Review of United States Policy Toward North Korea: Findings and Recommendations*. October 12, 1999. www.state.gov/www/regions/eap/991012_northkorea_rpt.html

and *personal communication* found in the last years of the Clinton administration can be rekindled and relations repaired.

Glossary and Abbreviations

<i>Chaju</i>	Independence in domestic and international politics
<i>Chajusong</i>	Creativity or consciousness
<i>Charip</i>	Economic self-sustenance
<i>Chawi</i>	Self-defense in military affairs
<i>Juche</i>	Self-reliance in ideology
<i>Kangsung Taeguk</i>	Great and powerful state ideologically, militarily and economically
<i>Koguryo</i>	One of the Three Korean Kingdoms (37BC – 668AD)
<i>Kumchang-ri</i>	Name of location of suspected underground nuclear site
<i>Rodong Sinmun</i>	The national North Korean daily paper and organ of the KWP
<i>Sadechuii</i>	Subservience to (traditionally China) today to foreign power
<i>Sasang</i>	Ideology
<i>Songun</i>	Army-centered politics
<i>Suryong</i>	Leader
<i>Yangban</i>	Traditional Korean term for scholar-official gentry who monopolized all official civil and military positions under the Yi Dynasty (1392-1910)
<i>Yenan</i>	A political faction in North Korea (in the 1950's) with strong ties to China
<i>Yongbyon</i>	Name and location of North Korea's nuclear power station
<i>Yuhun</i>	Teachings left behind (rule of the deceased Kim Il-sung)
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
DPRK	Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
KCNA	Korean Central News Agency (based in Japan)
KEDO	Korean Economic Development Organization
KWP	Korean Workers' Party
LWR	Light-Water Reactors
MIA	Missing in Action
NDC	National Defense Committee (Kim Jong-il Chairman)
NPT	Non-Proliferation Treaty
POW	Prisoner of War
PRC	People's Republic of China
ROK	Republic of Korea (South Korea)
SPA	Supreme People's Assembly
UN	United Nations
U.S.	The United States of America
U.S.S.R.	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VID	Verifiable and irrevocable dismantlement

Consistent Elements in North Korea's Anti-U.S. Propaganda

Element	Propaganda Example
U.S. is "hell bent".	The U.S. broadcasting of Radio Free Asia aiming to infuse...American-style democracy to disintegrate Asian nations...the United States is hell bent on ideological and cultural offensive through the radio.
Lower case letters "us" – not "U.S". Anti-U.S. hatred is justified.	...if the u.s. and South Korean authorities dare to invade...the KPA will deal an annihilating strike to the enemy with strong combat power they cultivated for scores of years and with bitter hatred.
Exaggeration of any U.S. military news to be a grave provocation.	The United States is seeking the reform of the U.S. 8th Army Command in South Korea... We view this military step as a very dangerous move to put the South Korea based U.S. troops in war posture...with the situation being brought to the brink of war.
The very presence of U.S. forces in the South is viewed as a threat to the North's sovereignty.	It is a fixed will and unshakable faith of the Korean people and People's Army to mete out a merciless punishment to <i>those who encroach upon the sovereignty of the DPRK</i> and to defend the anthropocentric (<i>Juche</i>) socialism of Korean style impregnably. If the U.S. warhawks try to place the U.S. Forces in South Korea under wartime system, ignoring our warnings, we cannot but take countermeasures and the U.S. will be held responsible wholly for the consequences arising there from.
Mythical U.S. military build-ups alleged U.S. insincerity assumed.	The <i>United States escalated its military threat to the DPRK</i> , touching off KPA's vigilance and enmity. What we cannot overlook is that the United States has continued the military threat <i>behind the curtain of the talks</i> . It indicates that the united states is calling for dialogue overtly, but seeking to stifle the DPRK by force of arms covertly.
References to revisionist history.	In dealing with the enemy's invasion it is merciless and determined. The escort craft <i>Pueblo</i> ship, <i>EC-121</i> reconnaissance plane and helicopter incidents are good examples.
More references to revisionist history.	The controversial ban on the use of anti-personnel mines...was produced by the U.S.... <i>It occupied South Korea militarily and divided Korea.</i>
A U.S. intent to start a war of conquest against the DPRK is assumed. Continuous demands for the pull-out of U.S. troops.	<i>Since it was defeated in the three-year Korean war in the early 1950s, the United States has resorted to every conceivable¹⁵⁹ means and method to ignite another Korean war...All facts prove that the final solution to peace and stability and the mine problem of the peninsula depends on the pullout of the U.S. troops from South Korea.</i>

Source: Thomas J. Belke's work *Juche: A Christian Study of North Korea's State Religion*, pp. 218-219

Joint Statement of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States of America

New York, June 11, 1993

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States of America held governmental-level talks in New York from the 2nd through the 11th of June, 1993. Present at the talks were the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea headed by First Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Kang Sok Ju and the delegation of the United States of America led by Assistant Secretary of State Robert L. Gallucci, both representing their respective Governments. At the talks, both sides discussed policy matters with a view to a fundamental solution of the nuclear issue on the Korean Peninsula. Both sides expressed support for the North-South Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula in the interest of nuclear non-proliferation goals.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States have agreed to principles of

- assurances against the threat and use of force, including nuclear weapons;
- peace and security in a nuclear-free Korean Peninsula, including impartial application of fullscope safeguards, mutual respect for each other's sovereignty, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs; and
- support for the peaceful reunification of Korea.

In this context, the two Governments have agreed to continue dialogue on an equal and unprejudiced basis. In this respect, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has decided unilaterally to suspend as long as it considers necessary the effectuation of its withdrawal from the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

Source: The Embassy of Korea in the U.S.

The Agreed Framework 1994

Agreed Framework Between the United States of America and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea October 21, 1994

Delegations of the Governments of the United States of America (U.S.) and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) held talks in Geneva from September 23 to October 17, 1994, to negotiate an overall resolution of the nuclear issue on the Korean Peninsula.

Both sides reaffirmed the importance of attaining the objectives contained in the August 12, 1994 Agreed Statement between the U.S. and the DPRK and upholding the principles of the June 11, 1993 Joint Statement of the U.S. and the DPRK to achieve peace and security on a nuclear-free Korean peninsula. The U.S. and the DPRK decided to take the following actions for the resolution of the nuclear issue:

I. Both sides will cooperate to replace the DPRK's graphite-moderated reactors and related facilities with light-water reactor (LWR) power plants.

1) In accordance with the October 20, 1994 letter of assurance from the U.S. President, the U.S. will undertake to make arrangements for the provision to the DPRK of a LWR project with a total generating capacity of approximately 2,000 MW (e) by a target date of 2003.

-- The U.S. will organize under its leadership an international consortium to finance and supply the LWR project to be provided to the DPRK. The U.S., representing the international consortium, will serve as the principal point of contact with the DPRK for the LWR project.

-- The U.S., representing the consortium, will make best efforts to secure the conclusion of a supply contract with the DPRK within six months of the date of this Document for the provision of the LWR project. Contract talks will begin as soon as possible after the date of this Document.

-- As necessary, the U.S. and the DPRK will conclude a bilateral agreement for cooperation in the field of peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

2) In accordance with the October 20, 1994 letter of assurance from the U.S. President, the U.S., representing the consortium, will make arrangements to offset the energy foregone due to the freeze of the DPRK's graphite-moderated reactors and related facilities, pending completion of the first LWR unit.

-- Alternative energy will be provided in the form of heavy oil for heating and electricity production.

-- Deliveries of heavy oil will begin within three months of the date of this Document and will reach a rate of 500,000 tons annually, in accordance with an agreed schedule of deliveries.

3) Upon receipt of U.S. assurances for the provision of LWR's and for arrangements for interim energy alternatives, the DPRK will freeze its graphite-moderated reactors and related facilities and will eventually dismantle these reactors and related facilities.

-- The freeze on the DPRK's graphite-moderated reactors and related facilities will be fully implemented within one month of the date of this Document. During this one-month period, and throughout the freeze, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) will be allowed to monitor this freeze, and the DPRK will provide full cooperation to the IAEA for this purpose.

-- Dismantlement of the DPRK's graphite-moderated reactors and related facilities will be completed when the LWR project is completed.

-- The U.S. and DPRK will cooperate in finding a method to store safely the spent fuel from the 5 MW(e) experimental reactor during the construction of the LWR project, and to dispose of the fuel in a safe manner that does not involve reprocessing in the DPRK.

4) As soon as possible after the date of this document. U.S. and DPRK experts will hold two sets of experts talks.

-- At one set of talks, experts will discuss issues related to alternative energy and the replacement of the graphite-moderated reactor program with the LWR project.

-- At the other set of talks, experts will discuss specific arrangements for spent fuel storage and ultimate disposition.

II. The two sides will move toward full normalization of political and economic relations.

1) Within three months of the date of this Document, both sides will reduce barriers to trade and investment, including restrictions on telecommunications services and financial transactions.

2) Each side will open a liaison office in the other's capital following resolution of consular and other technical issues through expert level discussions.

3) As progress is made on issues of concern to each side, the U.S. and DPRK will upgrade bilateral relations to the Ambassadorial level.

III. Both sides will work together for peace and security on a nuclear-free Korean peninsula.

1) The U.S. will provide formal assurances to the DPRK, against the threat or use of nuclear weapons by the U.S.

2) The DPRK will consistently take steps to implement the North-South Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean peninsula.

3) The DPRK will engage in North-South dialogue, as this Agreed Framework will help create an atmosphere that promotes such dialogue.

5) Both sides will work together to strengthen the international nuclear non-proliferation regime.

1) The DPRK will remain a party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) and will allow implementation of its safeguards agreement under the Treaty.

2) Upon conclusion of the supply contract for the provision of the LWR project, ad hoc and routine inspections will resume under the DPRK's safeguards agreement with the IAEA with respect to the facilities not subject to the freeze. Pending conclusion of the supply contract, inspections required by the IAEA for the continuity of safeguards will continue at the facilities not subject to the freeze.

3) When a significant portion of the LWR project is completed, but before delivery of key nuclear components, the DPRK will come into full compliance with its safeguards agreement with the IAEA (INFCIRC/403), including taking all steps that may be deemed necessary by the IAEA, following consultations with the Agency with regard to verifying the accuracy and completeness of the DPRK's initial report on all nuclear material in the DPRK.

Kang Sok Ju- Head of the Delegation for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, First Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

Robert L. Gallucci- Head of the Delegation of United States of America, Ambassador at Large of the United States of America

Food Aid for Missile Halt and Talks

Date	Value	Form	Channel	Diplomatic objective
February 1996	\$2 million	Food	World Food Program	Encourage North Korean adherence to the Agreed Framework during a period of increasing tension between the two Koreas.
June 1996	\$6.2 million	Food	World Food Program	Encourage North Korean flexibility with respect to a secret proposal for four-way talks between US, North Korea, South Korea and China.
February 1997	\$10 million	Food	World Food Program	<i>Quid pro quo</i> for North Korean agreement to participate in joint US-South Korea briefing on Four-Way Talks Proposal.
April 1997	\$15 million	50,000 metric tons of food	World Food Program	<i>Quid pro quo</i> for North Korean agreement to participate in missile proliferation negotiations.
July 1997	\$27 million	50,000 metric tons of food	World Food Program	<i>Quid pro quo</i> for North Korean agreement to participate in Four-Way Talks.
October 1997	\$5 million	Grant	UNICEF	<i>Quid pro quo</i> for North Korean acceptance of 10 additional food relief monitors.
February 1998	n.a.	200,000 metric tons of food	World Food Program	<i>Quid pro quo</i> for North Korean agreement to participate in ad hoc committee meeting associated with the Four Way Talks.
September 1998	n.a.	300,000 metric tons of food	World Food Program	<i>Quid pro quo</i> for North Korean agreement to resume missile talks, attend the third plenary session of the Four-Way Talks, enter into negotiations over the second suspected nuclear site, and resume talks aimed at removing North Korea from the list of states sponsoring terrorism.
April 1999	n.a.	600,000 metric tons of food 1,000 tons of potato seed	Bilateral	<i>Quid pro quo</i> for North Korean agreement to access to North Korea's underground construction site.

Source: Noland, Marcus, *Avoiding the Apocalypse: The Future of the Two Koreas* (Washington: Institute of International Economics, 2000), 188.

Joint Communiqué 2000

North Korea – U.S. Joint Communiqué, October 12, 2000

As the special envoy of Chairman Kim Jong Il of the DPRK National Defense Commission, the First Vice Chairman, Vice Marshal Jo Myong Rok, visited the United States of America from October 9-12, 2000.

During his visit, Special Envoy Jo Myong Rok delivered a letter from National Defense Commission Chairman Kim Jong Il, as well as his views on U.S.-DPRK relations, directly to U.S. President William Clinton. Special Envoy Jo Myong Rok and his party also met with senior officials of the U.S. Administration, including his host Secretary of State Madeline Albright and Secretary of Defense William Cohen, for an extensive exchange of views on issues of common concern. They reviewed in depth the new opportunities that have opened up for improving the full range of relations between the United States of America and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The meetings proceeded in a serious, constructive, and businesslike atmosphere, allowing each side to gain a better understanding of the other's concerns.

Recognizing the changed circumstances on the Korean Peninsula created by the historic inter-Korean summit, the United States and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have decided to take steps to fundamentally improve their bilateral relations in the interests of enhancing peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region. In this regard, the two sides agreed there are a variety of available means, including Four Party talks, to reduce tension on the Korean Peninsula and formally end the Korean War by replacing the 1953 Armistice Agreement with permanent peace arrangements.

Recognizing that improving ties is a natural goal in relations among states and that better relations would benefit both nations in the 21st century while helping ensure peace and security on the Korean Peninsula and in the Asia-Pacific region, the U.S. and the DPRK sides stated that they are prepared to undertake a new direction in their relations. As a crucial first step, the two sides stated that neither government would have hostile intent toward the other and confirmed the commitment of both governments to make every effort in the future to build a new relationship free from past enmity.

Building on the principles laid out in the June 11, 1993 U.S.-DPRK Joint Statement and reaffirmed in the October 21, 1994 Agreed Framework, the two sides agreed to work to remove mistrust, build mutual confidence, and maintain an atmosphere in which they can deal constructively with issues of central concern. In this regard, the two sides reaffirmed that their relations should be based on the principles of respect for each other's sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and noted the value of regular diplomatic contacts, bilaterally and in broader fora.

The two sides agreed to work together to develop mutually beneficial economic co-operation and exchanges. To explore the possibilities for trade and commerce that will benefit the peoples of both countries and contribute to an environment conducive to greater economic co-operation throughout Northeast Asia, the two sides discussed an exchange of visits by economic and trade experts at an early date.

The two sides agreed that resolution of the missile issue would make an essential contribution to a fundamentally improved relationship between them and to peace and

security in the Asia-Pacific region. To further the efforts to build new relations, the DPRK informed the U.S. that it will not launch long-range missiles of any kind while talks on the missile issue continue.

Pledging to redouble their commitment and their efforts to fulfill their respective obligations in their entirety under the Agreed Framework, the US and the DPRK strongly affirmed its importance to achieving peace and security on a nuclear weapons free Korean Peninsula. To this end, the two sides agreed on the desirability of greater transparency in carrying out their respective obligations under the Agreed Framework. In this regard, they noted the value of the access which removed U.S. concerns about the underground site at Kumchang-ri.

The two sides noted that in recent years they have begun to work cooperatively in areas of common humanitarian concern. The DPRK side expressed appreciation for significant U.S. contributions to its humanitarian needs in areas of food and medical assistance. The U.S. side expressed appreciation for DPRK co-operation in recovering the remains of U.S. servicemen still missing from the Korean War, and both sides agreed to work for rapid progress for the fullest possible accounting. The two sides will continue to meet to discuss these and other humanitarian issues.

As set forth in their Joint Statement of October 6, 2000, the two sides agreed to support and encourage international efforts against terrorism.

Special Envoy Jo Myong Rok explained to the US side developments in the inter-Korean dialogue in recent months, including the results of the historic North-South summit. The U.S. side expressed its firm commitment to assist in all appropriate ways the continued progress and success of ongoing North-South dialogue and initiatives for reconciliation and greater co-operation, including increased security dialogue.

Special Envoy Jo Myong Rok expressed his appreciation to President Clinton and the American people for their warm hospitality during the visit.

It was agreed that Secretary of State Madeline Albright will visit the DPRK in the near future to convey the views of U.S. President William Clinton directly to Chairman Kim Jong Il of the DPRK National Defense Commission and to prepare for a possible visit by the President of the United States.

Statement of DPRK Government on its withdrawal from NPT

Pyongyang, January 10 2003 (KCNA) -- The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea issued a statement today as regards the grave situation where the national sovereignty and the supreme interests of the state are most seriously threatened by the U.S. vicious hostile policy toward the DPRK. The full text of the statement reads:

A dangerous situation where our nation's sovereignty and our state's security are being seriously violated is prevailing on the Korean Peninsula due to the U.S. vicious hostile policy toward the DPRK.

The United States instigated the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to adopt another "resolution" against the DPRK on January 6 in the wake of a similar "resolution" made on November 29, 2002.

Under its manipulation, the IAEA in those "resolutions" termed the DPRK "a criminal" and demanded it scrap what the U.S. called a "nuclear program" at once by a verifiable way in disregard of the nature of the nuclear issue, a product of the U.S. hostile policy toward the DPRK, and its unique status in which it declared suspension of the effectuation of its withdrawal from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

Following the adoption of the latest "resolution", the IAEA director general issued an ultimatum that the agency would bring the matter to the UN Security Council to apply sanctions against the DPRK unless it implements the "resolution" in a few weeks.

This clearly proves that the IAEA still remains a servant and a spokesman for the U.S. and the NPT is being used as a tool for implementing the U.S. hostile policy towards the DPRK aimed to disarm it and destroy its system by force.

A particular mention should be made of the fact that the IAEA in the recent "resolution" kept mum about the U.S. which has grossly violated the NPT and the DPRK-U.S. Agreed Framework, but urged the DPRK, the victim, to unconditionally accept the U.S. demand for disarmament and forfeit its right to self-defense, and the agency was praised by the U.S. for "saying all what the U.S. wanted to do". This glaringly reveals the falsehood and hypocrisy of the signboard of impartiality the IAEA put up.

The DPRK Government vehemently rejects and denounces this "resolution" of the IAEA, considering it as a grave encroachment upon our country's sovereignty and the dignity of the nation.

It is none other than the U.S. which wrecks peace and security on the Korean Peninsula and drives the situation there to an extremely dangerous phase.

After the appearance of the Bush Administration, the United States listed the DPRK as part of an "axis of evil", adopting it as a national policy to oppose its system, and singled it out as a target of preemptive nuclear attack, openly declaring a nuclear war.

Systematically violating the DPRK-U.S. Agreed Framework, the U.S. brought up another "nuclear suspicion" and stopped the supply of heavy oil, reducing the AF to a dead document. It also answered the DPRK's sincere proposal for the conclusion of the

DPRK-U.S. non-aggression treaty and its patient efforts for negotiations with such threats as "blockade" and "military punishment" and with such an arrogant attitude as blustering that it may talk but negotiations are impossible.

The U.S. went so far to instigate the IAEA to internationalize its moves to stifle the DPRK, putting its declaration of a war into practice. This has eliminated the last possibility of solving the nuclear issue of the Korean Peninsula in a peaceful and fair way.

It was due to such nuclear war moves of the U.S. against the DPRK and the partiality of the IAEA that the DPRK was compelled to declare its withdrawal from the NPT in March 1993 when a touch-and-go situation was created on the Korean Peninsula.

As it has become clear once again that the U.S. persistently seeks to stifle the DPRK at any cost and the IAEA is used as a tool for executing the U.S. hostile policy towards the DPRK, we can no longer remain bound to the NPT, allowing the country's security and the dignity of our nation to be infringed upon.

Under the grave situation where our state's supreme interests are most seriously threatened, the DPRK Government adopts the following decisions to protect the sovereignty of the country and the nation and their right to existence and dignity:

Firstly, the DPRK Government declares an automatic and immediate effectuation of its withdrawal from the NPT, on which "it unilaterally announced a moratorium as long as it deemed necessary" according to the June 11, 1993, DPRK-U.S. joint statement, now that the U.S. has unilaterally abandoned its commitments to stop nuclear threat and renounce hostility towards the DPRK in line with the same statement.

Secondly, it declares that the DPRK withdrawing from the NPT is totally free from the binding force of the safeguards accord with the IAEA under its article 3. The withdrawal from the NPT is a legitimate self-defensive measure taken against the U.S. moves to stifle the DPRK and the unreasonable behavior of the IAEA following the U.S.

Though we pull out of the NPT, we have no intention to produce nuclear weapons and our nuclear activities at this stage will be confined only to peaceful purposes such as the production of electricity.

If the U.S. drops its hostile policy to stifle the DPRK and stops its nuclear threat to the DPRK, the DPRK may prove through a separate verification between the DPRK and the U.S. that it does not make any nuclear weapon.

The United States and the IAEA will never evade their responsibilities for compelling the DPRK to withdraw from the NPT, by ignoring the DPRK's last efforts to seek a peaceful settlement of the nuclear issue through negotiations.

The Sequence of Diplomatic Moves 1993 to 2003

1993		
March	North Korean NPT withdrawal	Crisis
June	First U.S.-North Korea bilateral negotiations - Joint Statement 1993	Breakthrough
1994		
June	Jimmy Carter and Kim Il-Sung (Pyongyang) – Nuclear crisis averted	Breakthrough
October	Agreed Framework concluded (Geneva) – Nuclear program suspended	Breakthrough
1995		Stalemate
1996		
April	First U.S.-North Korea missile talks (Berlin)	Stalemate
1997		
June	Second U.S.-North Korea missile talks (New York)	Stalemate
1998 August	<i>Kangsung Taeguk</i> Implemented	Innovation
October	Third U.S.- North Korea missile talks (New York)	Stalemate
1999		
March	Fourth U.S.-North Korea missile talks (Pyongyang) U.S.-North Korea <i>Kumchang-ri</i> negotiations (New York) - U.S. food assistance provided	Stalemate Settlement
May	William Perry and Kim Young-nam (Pyongyang)	Minor Breakthrough
September	Charles Kanter and Kim Gye-gwn (Berlin) - North Korean missile moratorium - U.S. easing of sanctions	Breakthrough
2000		
July	Fifth U.S. – North Korea missile talks (Kuala Lumpur) Madeline Albright and Kim Young-nam (Bangkok)	Stalemate Minor Breakthrough
October	Bill Clinton and Cho Myung-rok (Washington D.C.)- Joint Communiqué Madeline Albright and Kim Jong-il (Pyongyang)	Major Breakthrough Major Breakthrough
November	Sixth U.S.– North Korea missile talks (Kuala Lumpur)	Stalemate
2001		
June	Charles Kanter and North Korea U.N. representative (New York).	Deterioration
2002		
January	George W. Bush places North Korea in “Axis of Evil”	Further Deterioration
October	James Kelly and North Korean officials (Pyongyang) - Alleged North Korean admission of continued nuclear development	Crisis Heightened
2003		
January	North Korean NPT withdrawal	Major Crisis
February	Yongbyun reactivated	Major Crisis
August	Six party talks (Beijing)	Stalemate
December		Stalemate
2004		
February	Six party talks (Beijing)	
August	Six party talks (Beijing)	
September	North Korea refuses to attend six party talks (Beijing)	Stalemate Continues

U.S.-North Korea Statements 2001-2003

U.S. Statements	Date	North Korean Statements
		“Neither government will have hostile intent towards the others” (Joint Communiqué, 2000)
“The U.S. seeks improved implementation [of the AF], prompt inspections of past reprocessing...[and] a less threatening conventional military posture.” (White House press release)	June 6, 2001	June 11, 2001 “Washington should implement the provisions of DPRK.-U.S. Agreed Framework and the DPRK.-U.S. Joint Communiqué as agreed upon” (DPRK Foreign Ministry spokesman)
“We need to see some progress in the areas... we don’t feel any urgency to provide goodies to them...” (senior administration official, on the broadened demands to North Korea)	July 3, 2001	
“States like these... constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world.” (George Bush, State of the Union speech)	Jan., 2002	Feb. 2, 2002 “His [Bush’s] remarks clearly show that the U.S.-proposed “resumption of dialogue” with the DPRK is intended not for the improvement of the bilateral relation but for the realization of the U.S. aggressive military strategy. It is the steadfast stand and transparent will of the DPRK to counter force with force and confrontation with confrontation.” (Korean Central News Agency)
“We must take the battle to the enemy...and confront the worst threats before they emerge.”	June 1, 2002	Feb. 7, 2002 “As we always say, a nice word will be answered by a nice word”, but setting conditions ahead of negotiations “is not acceptable at all... If Washington continues to make very, very hostile policy-making statements [and chooses] military options... then our armed forces and our people would have no other choice but to react on the same basis. It is entirely up to the United States.” (Pak Kil-Yon, DPRK Ambassador to the U.N.)
“First, the North must get out of the proliferation business and eliminate long-range missiles that threaten other countries...the North needs to move toward a less threatening conventional military posture...and living up to its past pledges to implement basic confidence-building measures.” (Colin Powell)	June 10, 2002	Aug. 31, 2002 “The DPRK clarified more than once that if the U.S. has a willingness to drop its hostile policy toward the DPRK., it will have dialogue with U.S. to clear the U.S. of its worries over its security.” (DPRK’ spokesman)
North Korea is “in stark violation of the Biological weapons convention...many doubt that North Korea ever intends to comply fully with its NPT obligations”. (Under secretary of State John Bolton)	Aug. 29, 2002	Oct. 20, 2002 “If the United States is willing to drop its hostile policy towards us, we are prepared to deal with various security concerns through dialogue.” (Kim Yong-Nam, Chair of the Supreme People’s Assembly)
		Oct. 25, 2002 “The DPRK is ready to seek a negotiated settlement of this issue on the following three conditions: firstly, if the United States recognizes the DPRK’s sovereignty; secondly, if it assures the DPRK of nonaggression; thirdly, if the United States does not hinder the economic development of the DPRK.” (DPRK Spokesmen)
“We cannot suddenly say Gee, we’re so scared. Let’s have a negotiation because we want to appease your misbehavior. This kind of action cannot be rewarded.” (Secretary of State Colin Powell)	Dec. 29, 2002	Nov. 2002 “Everything will be negotiable; including inspections of the enrichment program...our government will resolve all security concerns through the talks if your government has a will to end its hostile policy.” (Han Song-Ryol, DPRK ambassador to the U.N.)
“We have no intention of sitting down and bargaining again.” (State Department spokesmen Richard Boucher)	Jan. 5, 2003	Jan. 9, 2003 “...we have no intention to produce nuclear weapons... After the appearance of the Bush administration, the United States listed the DPRK as part of the ‘axis of evil’, adopting it as a national policy to oppose its system, and singled it out as a target of pre-emptive nuclear attack... it also answered to the DPRK’s sincere proposal for conclusion of the DPRK.-U.S. non-aggression treaty with such threats as ‘blockade’ and ‘military punishment’...” (DPRK official announcement of withdrawal from NPT)
“We think that they [Russia] could be putting the screws to the North Koreans a little more firmly and at least beginning to raise the specter of economic sanctions.” (Senior U.S. official)	Jan. 9, 2003	
“First is regime change. It need dot necessarily be military, but it could lead to that.” (Senior U.S. official)	Jan. 23, 2003	March 20, 2003 “the invasion [of Iraq] shows how dangerous and unilateral the aim sought by the Bush regime in the war of aggression is.” (The Korean Central News Agency)
“Once the DPRK’s nuclear weapons program is eliminated, the U.S. is prepared to start bilateral negotiations on a series of issues.” (David Kelly – U.S. representative at the Six-Party Talks)	Aug. 27, 2003	Sept. 2, 2003 “If the U.S. keeps heading for a nuclear standoff, not dropping its hostile policy towards the DPRK, the DPRK will have no option but to increase its nuclear deterrent force as a self-defensive measure to protect its sovereignty.” (The Korean Central News Agency)

Source: The table is a compilation of Victor D. Cha & David C. Kang’s table in *Nuclear North Korea: A Debate on Engagement Strategies* and excerpts from the *Korean Central News Agency (KCNA)*.