



## **GWIKS Soh Jaipil Circle**

# **Panel Discussion "Post Trump-Kim Summit: What is the next step?"**

Institute for  
Korean Studies

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

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# Korean Peninsula at a Critical Juncture: Implications for Global Nuclear Nonproliferation

**George Washington University**

**September 11, 2018**

**Sang Hyun LEE (The Sejong Institute, KOREA)**

# Critical Juncture in DPRK Nuclear Issues

## ■ Flurry of Events in 2018

- Kim Jong-un's New Year Address
- PyeongChang Winter Olympics and special envoy Kim Yo-jung's visit to Seoul
- South Korean special envoy's visit to Pyongyang and Washington DC

## ■ Summits

- Moon Jae-in and Kim Jong-un (April 27, 2018)
- ROK-US, ROK-US-Japan, ROK-China-Japan (May)
- Donald Trump and Kim Jong-un (June 12, 2018)

# Key Timelines, 2017~2018

## 숨 가쁘게 달려온 1년... 한반도 항구적 평화 ‘첫걸음’



출처: 경향신문(2018.4.26)

# Turning the Tides, 2018



# Why Kim Turned to Dialogue?

## ■ Confidence

- **Completion of national nuclear forces**
- **Near completion of ICBM capabilities**
- **Strategic turn from *Byung-jin* to economy first?**

## ■ Fear

- **Economic collapse due to maximum pressure and sanctions**
- **Bloody nose strike**

## ■ Mediation

- **Moon government's effective diplomatic initiative**
- **Xi Jinping's role in China-DPRK summit**

# Three Models to Solve NK Nuclear Issue

- **Libyan Model (*à la* John Bolton?)**
  - **Complete elimination of WMD (nuclear, chemical weapons)**
  - **Reward afterwards**
- **Progressive, Simultaneous Action**
  - **DPRK and China**
  - **Step-by-step, action-to-action formula**
- **Comprehensive Agreement, Gradual Implementation**
  - **President Moon Jae-in's initiative**

# DPRK's Demands for Denuclearization

- Five Conditions Suggested in 2016
  - Disclosure of USFK nuclear weapons
  - Elimination and verification of US nukes in S. Korea
  - Stop joint US-SK military exercise mobilizing US strategic assets
  - Pledge to stop using (or threatening to use) nukes
  - Withdrawal of USFK from the Korean Peninsula
- Further Demand to SK Special Envoy
  - Elimination of military threats
  - Guarantee for regime security
  - Peace treaty and diplomatic normalization

# US Views on NK Denuclearization

## ■ Firm Principles

- **CVID (complete, verifiable, irreversible denuclearization)**
- **Will never repeat past mistakes – no rewards until complete denuclearization**

## ■ Deep Distrust on NK's Intention

- **Uncertainty over Kim's genuine willingness to give up nukes – strategic decision, or just another tactical turn to avoid maximum pressure and earn time**
- **“Distrust and verify” (Mark Knapper, US Chargé d’Affaires ad interim)**

# The 3<sup>rd</sup> Inter-Korean Summit

중앙일보(2018.4.27)



○ 남측 ● 북측

① 서훈 국정원장	⑥ 김영남 최고인민회의 상임위원장	⑪ 윤영찬 청와대 국민소통수석	⑫ 송영무 국방장관
② 정의용 청와대 안보실장	⑦ 김영철	⑫ 주영훈 경호처장	⑬ 리선권 조국평화통일위원장
③ 임종석 대통령 비서실장	⑧ 리수용	⑬ 조명균 통일부 장관	⑭ 리용호 외무상
④ 문재인 대통령	⑨ 최취	⑭ 정경두 합참의장	⑮ 리명수 총참모장
⑤ 김정은 국무위원장	⑩ 김여정 당중앙위원회 제1부부장	⑮ 강경화 외교장관	⑯ 박영식 인민무력상

# Panmunjeom Declaration

- **Improve Relations to Seek Shared Prosperity and Self-reliant Reunification**
  - **Agreed to seek reunification, and execute all measures previously agreed to**
  - **Open high-level talks, and negotiations to realize the agreements of the summit meeting, including a joint communications office in Kaesong**
- **Reducing Military Tensions**
  - **Stop all hostilities, establish a peace zone in the West Sea near the Northern Limit Line**
  - **Take measures to guarantee exchange projects, hold military talks**
- **Establishing Lasting Peace**
  - **The Koreans agreed to not use military action, and reduce military spending**
  - **South-North-US three-way or South-North-US-China talks to bring about a peace treaty**
  - **Bringing peace through complete denuclearization.**

# Evaluating the Summit Statement

## ■ Denuclearization

- Declaration of denuclearization ‘in principle’ - fall short of higher expectation of ‘detailed’ denuclearization goal and procedures – “Lofty goals and rhetoric, no concrete details” (USA Today)
- ‘Complete denuclearization’ = CVID?
- Nuclear-free Korean Peninsula = end of US extended deterrence?

## ■ Peace on the Korean Peninsula

- Declaration to end the Korean War
- Peace Treaty

## ■ Improving Inter-Korean Relations

- Implementing October 4 Statement – eg. Rail and road re-connection
- Peace zone in the West Sea

# Trump-Kim Summit Statement



- **The United States and the DPRK commit to establish new U.S.–DPRK relations in accordance with the desire of the peoples of the two countries for peace and prosperity.**
- **The United States and the DPRK will join their efforts to build a lasting and stable peace regime on the Korean Peninsula.**
- **Reaffirming the April 27, 2018 Panmunjom Declaration, the DPRK commits to work toward complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.**
- **The United States and the DPRK commit to recovering POW/MIA remains, including the immediate repatriation of those already identified.**

# Implications for Global Nonproliferation

## ■ Historic Summits, but...

- **Slow progress in follow-up negotiation between the US and North Korea**
- **Difficulties expected in finding CVID vs. CVIG exchange formula**

## ■ Major Hurdles

- **Impact of US Withdrawal from Iran JCPOA setting a high bar – will US-DPRK agreement pass the bar?**
- **Early harvest vs. late harvest**
- **Inspection and verification protocols – will North Korea accept ‘intrusive’ verification?**
- **What about bio, chemical weapons and missiles?**

# Opportunities for Multilateral Cooperation

- Potential Areas for Multilateral Cooperation
  - Inspection and Verification – HEU program, PU program, weapons program
  - Dismantlement – weapons, materials, and facilities
  - Conversion – scientists and supporting personnel
- ROK-US-Japan Trilateral Cooperation
  - US-DPRK Geneva Agreed Framework (1994)
  - KEDO
  - TCOG
- Six-Party Talks
  - Failed Diplomacy, or Continuing Venture?

# Complex Three Dimensional Games Ahead

## ■ Inter-Korean Dimension

- Implementing the *Panmunjeom* Declaration
- Improve peace on the peninsula
- Inter-Korean rapprochement

## ■ DPRK-US Dimension

- Finding a CVID vs. regime security exchange formula

## ■ DPRK-International Community Dimension

- Lifting sanctions
- International support for verification procedure and monitoring system

// Thank you //



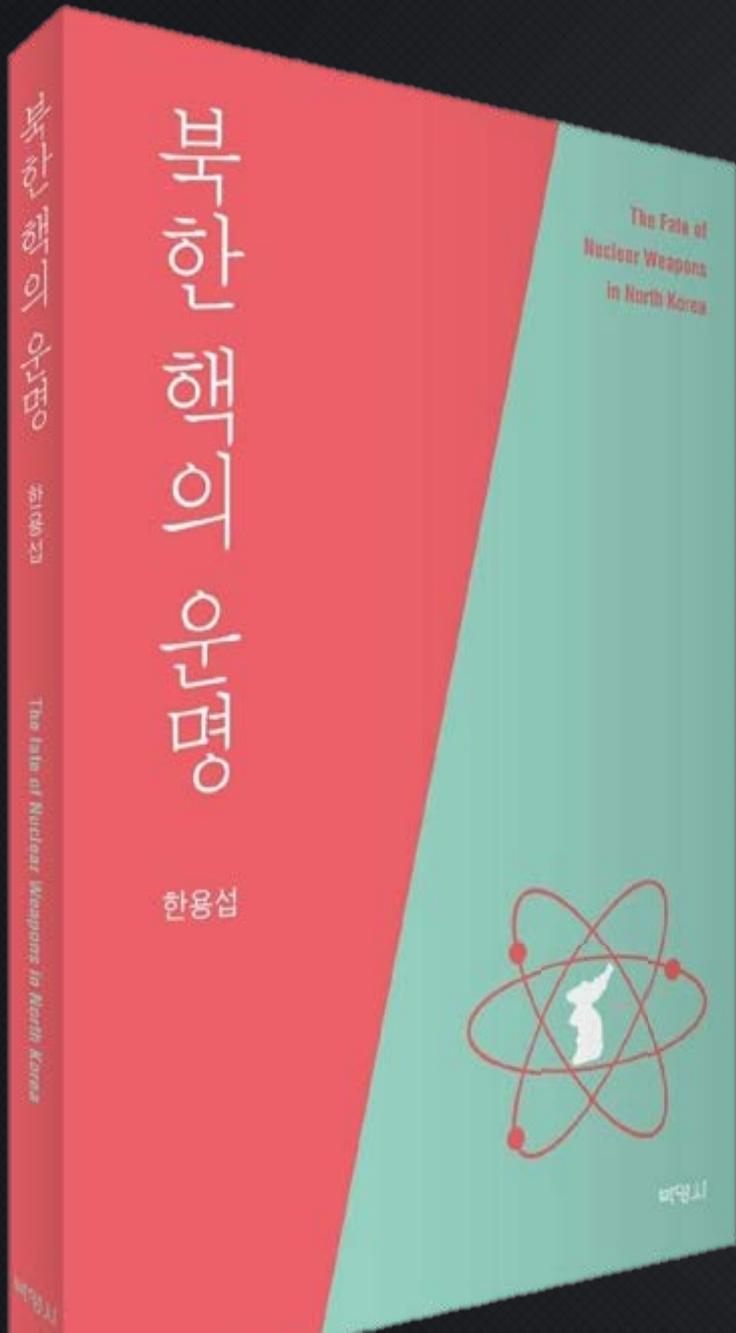
# **Prof. Yong-sup Han**

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# The Fate of North Korean Nuclear Weapons: Next Steps for Verifiable Dismantlement of NK's Nukes

**Professor, Yong-Sup Han**

**Korea National Defense University**

Date : Sept 11, 2018

Place : **George Washington Univ**

# Climax of the US-NK's Nuclear Crisis



Whose Nuclear Button is bigger and stronger?





# **Toward A Verifiable Dismantlement of North Korea's Nuclear Weapons**

# Advice for President Trump's Summit with Kim Jong Un



# Talking Points for the United States in the Trump-Kim Summit: The Author's Views

01

Do not use denuclearization (CD) but use a verifiable dismantlement (VD)

02

The United States should organize verification teams together with participation by concerned countries and IAEA

03

Objects of Inspections: Nuclear Materials, Pu and HEU related Research and Development facilities, Nuclear Weapons and Missiles, Weapon Research and Manufacturing Sites, Nuclear Military Bases, R & D manpower

04

Close consultation with allies (ROK and Japan) and the US negotiation team, filled with top-level North Korea experts



Friday, June 1, 2018



**The 20th anniversary of the 1998 nuclear tests by India and Pakistan**

M.V. Ramana, Zia Mian

Everyone's been focused on North Korea and Iran, but South Asia is still a very dangerous nuclear place. Read a special collection curated by two of the world's leading experts on nuclear South Asia.



**The United States has learned the wrong lessons from previous diplomacy with North Korea**

Christopher Lawrence

Carrot-and-stick policies haven't been effective in negotiating with North Korea. So what should the US be offering instead?



**Concrete steps toward North Korean nuclear dismantlement**

Yong-Sup Han



**Who is Kim Jong-un?**

Elisabeth Eaves

Kim Jong-un's story is shrouded in speculation and myth, but an effort to understand his character and motivations could go a long way in interpreting what his goals might be.



**Ebola vaccine: What took so long?**

Christopher K. Brown

A new Ebola outbreak is underway, and this time an experimental vaccine is being deployed to treat it. But why did it take 40 years from the first outbreak for this to happen?



**Trump-Kim: The comic movie of the summer**

John Tecklin

Set your Doomsday Clock to love. It's a movie trailer for the romantic comedy hit of 2018, brought to you by the comic geniuses at "The Late Show with Stephen Colbert."



**Public Health Emergency Preparedness: A Practical Approach for the Real World**

How should we prepare for nuclear war? Suzet McKinney of the Bulletin's Science and Security Board addresses this and more in her new book, *Public Health Emergency Preparedness: A Practical Approach for the Real World*.



**Can we turn back the hands of the Doomsday Clock?**

Bulletin President Rachel Bronson joins Philip Yun of the Ploughshares Fund in San Francisco on June 13 to discuss what can be done to prevent the Clock from ticking forward.



**Not Every Mountain: Pivot Arts Festival pre-show discussion**

The Pivot Arts Festival presents *Not Every Mountain*, a poetic take on issues of



**Concrete steps toward North Korean nuclear dismantlement**

**Yong-Sup Han**

# The US-DPRK Summit

(Singapore, June 12, 2018)



# The U.S.-DPRK Summit/ Joint Statement



Establishing new US-DPRK relations    Building peace regime on the KP

Complete Denuclearization of the KP    Return of 6.25 War remains

# Overall Assessments of the Trump-Kim Summit

## □ General Assessment

- Great and historic transformation of the Korean Peninsula from the brink of a nuclear war to a peaceful state
- Paradigm shift from the “North Korea’s denuclearization first” to the diplomatic give-and-take- approach and a long-term confidence building process by addressing Pyongyang’s security concerns
- Changing the last cold-war remnants of the world, a hostile and enemy relationship between the United States and North Korea into a peacefully coexisting relation
- Resolving short-term issues first and then go about long-term issues later
- To resolve the North Korea’s nuclear issue, the two sides agreed to set up bilateral high-level talks

# What the U.S. Got and Lost?

## □ The US Gains

- **Prior to the Summit: NK's release of 3 American detainees, freeze of nuclear and missile tests, and closure of a nuclear test site**
- **Short-term gains in the summit: Return of Korean War remains, KJU's promise to denuclearize the Korean Peninsula completely, KJU's promise to close one ICBM engine test site**
- **Long-term gains: convening of High-Level talks (US SecState Pompeo vs. North Korean counterparts(Kim Young-chul) for CVID of NK's nukes**

## □ The US Losses

- **Concessions on suspension of the US-SK joint military exercises, CVID, and no specific date set up for the high-level talks**
- **Recognizing Kim Jong Un as a world leader, an equal to the US president, , and a *de facto* nuclear weapon state**
- **Promise of a new relationship with NK and a long-lasting peace regime**

# What the DPRK Got and Lost?

## □ North Korean Gains

- In countering US request for CVID, NK insisted diplomatic normalization and peace regime building first, while discussing the denuclearization issue later
- As part of CVIGS strategy to reduce US hostility against North Korea, NK raised suspension of the US-SK joint military exercises, getting the US concession; receiving the US promise of security guarantees to NK
- Kim Jong Un's successful debut to the world stage, an equal to the US president; got President Trump's support for Kim himself, gaining invaluable political capital to augment legitimacy of the Kim's dictatorship regime; *de facto* nuclear weapon state (*Indian model*)

## □ North Korean Losses

- Concessions on return of the Korean War remains and closure of one ICBM engine test site, but KJU utilized Trump's domestic political situations adroitly
- Kim Jong Un's burden to show to the world his faithfulness to match with his verbal promises stated in the Joint Statement

# Impact of the T-K Summit on Security Issues

## □ Impacts on the South Korea-US alliance

- Trump's unilateral decision to halt the SK-US joint military exercises raises concerns inside SK and in the US
- More worrisome is Trump's comment on the US troop withdrawal from SK, only from economic perspective
  - For his negotiation gain from NK, he is likely to make a deal on alliance issues unilaterally
  - For a great-power big deal with China, he could use North Korean issue card
  - Concerns raised from defense circles of Seoul and Tokyo
  - North Korea could exploit the divide between the US and its allies

# Impact of the T-K Summit on NK Nuclear Issues

## □ Impacts on the North Korean nuclear issue

- Trump's manipulation of the issue to his own political favor for the mid-term election, and for the presidential reelection (an item-by-item approach demonstrated so far raises concerns, which could be played into North Korea's salami tactics)
- To the nonproliferation regime, a rouge state may embolden to develop nukes to play one-on-one game with the US
- Stalemate could happen if NK insists on the lifting of international sanctions, diplomatic normalization, CVIG first (some signs of sanctions solidarity being disintegrated)
- Without verifiable dismantlement of North Korea's nuclear arsenal and its related facilities and manpower, it is hard to achieve denuclearization quickly and comprehensively

# What is Next?

- **The United States should exercise a more integrated and expert-led leadership**
  - **So far, the Trump displayed a Reality TV Show but from now on, the US needs an integrated approach**
    - **Establishing an intra-agency negotiation team to outsmart North Korea in nuclear negotiations supported by North Korea specialists widely**
    - **Promoting international policy coordination and cooperation with members of the former Six Party Talks**
  - **Washington and Seoul and Tokyo need to cooperate for the NK's early denuclearization: For this, Seoul and Tokyo need to consult each other**
- **China is required to play a constructive and active role**
  - **maintain economic sanctions on NK and cooperation with others**
  - **to play a creative role for the peace regime building on the KP**

# What is Next?

- **For a successful and verifiable nuclear dismantlement of North Korea's nuclear weapons**
  - **Do not use “denuclearization” and use “verifiable nuclear dismantlement” at the US-NK High Level Talks**
    - **For NK, all the concepts used in the previous agreements such as freezing, shut down, verifiable abandonment, closing and sealing, and disabling were identical**
    - **North Korea already got 20-30 nuclear weapons and MRBM and ICBM**
    - **Phased approach with an ambiguous denuclearization agreement should be avoided**
    - **Therefore, the goal of reaching the verifiable dismantlement in the H-L talks should be a consistent guideline**

# What is Next?

**The United States should organize and supervise an international verification committee**

- **In the past, all inspections were conducted by IAEA on the nuclear facilities that North Korea declared and agreed to receive inspections on**
- **Nonetheless, NK did not declare all critical facilities and nuclear weapons to IAEA, while continuously developing Pu and U and Hydrogen bombs secretly**
- **Therefore, it is critical that the US Government should take charge of verification process with the support by IAEA and members of the Six Party Talks**

**The United States should seek for a comprehensive verification regime**

- **The U.S. should negotiate for a comprehensive dismantlement verification agreements**
- **Combine security guarantee measures to North Korea with the roadmap toward a verifiable dismantlement of all nuclear weapons and missiles**

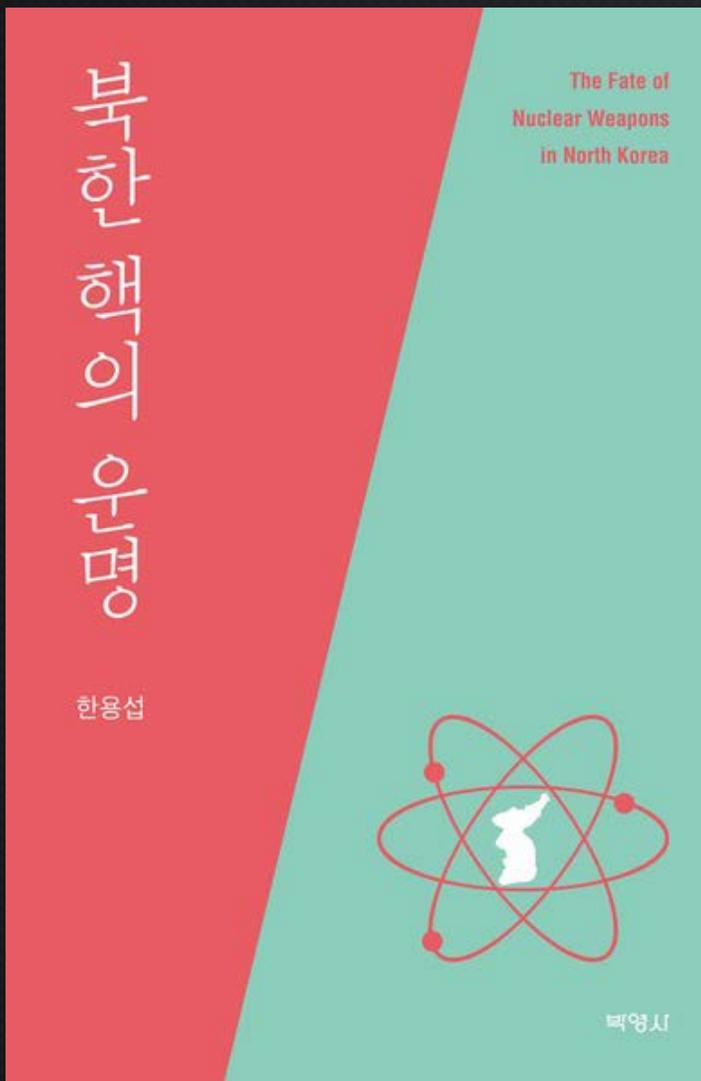
# Prospects for NK's Denuclearization

- **Missing CVID, the denuclearization issue becomes a long-term issue**
- **Relying on NK's unilateral and itemized approach runs risk of losing a comprehensive dismantlement deal**
- **North Korea's focus on improved relations and peace regime and the US focus on denuclearization will likely derail the process, prolonging the NK nukes indefinitely**
- **The US Sec of State, Pompeo should not go to Pyongyang, and instead, the US should invite NK FM Lee to DC to hold high-level talks focused on denuclearization**

# Beyond the Trump-Kim Summit

- Avoid President Trump's unilateral and ad-hoc acts
- Strengthen trilateral cooperation and coordination among Washington and Seoul and Tokyo, while ensuring Beijing's cooperation
- Let America form a nation-wide solidarity and network among arms control diplomats and experts, North Korea experts, and the US Congress
- Comprehensive Package Deal for both Denuclearization of North Korea and a Peace Regime on the Korean Peninsula is required





감사합니다



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# Q&A

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