

Korean Security
IRGN 407
Fall Quarter 2011
Stephan Haggard

Monday and Wednesday, 2-3:20, Room 1428

This course focuses on current security issues on the Korean peninsula, with particular attention to the current nuclear crisis. The course will be divided into four parts. The first will deal with historical issues in the alliance relations of South and North Korea and will end with a consideration of the first nuclear crisis of 1992-94.

The second section will consider the end of the Cold War order and the security, political and economic challenges North Korea experienced during the 1990s. The final two sections will address the current nuclear crisis in close detail; the first considers the main actors and their strategies; the final one some particular functional issues, such as strategies of engagement, the use of sanctions, the refugee problem, possible institutional solutions to security issues in Northeast Asia and the possibility of a “collapse” scenario that would require contingency planning and/or intervention.

Grading for the class will consist of three components:

1. Essays or policy memos. You will be required to write five short (1000 word) assignments for the class. These may be either critical essays on the readings or policy memos. Suggestions for possible topics are included on the syllabus, and more detailed guidelines on the essays and policy memos are included at the end of the syllabus. These assignments will count for 10% of your grade each, or 50%. One of the five essays may be rewritten on the basis of my feedback and a new grade will be assigned.
2. Team project. The class will be divided into six teams corresponding to the participants in the Six Party Talks. Teams will research national positions, and give opening statements and responses in the last regularly scheduled class session. They will then bargain collectively and bilaterally in an effort to reach an agreement. During the final itself, final position papers will be presented and turned in and negotiations will continue up to the deadline of the end of the final period. This exercise will unfold in real time; we will be monitoring actual developments in the Six Party Talks process. Each member of the team will be given the same grade. These exercises, described in more detail below, will count for 30% of your final grade.
3. 20% of your grade will be based on class participation.

I will hold office hours on Tuesday 2-3 and Wednesday, 9-12 or by appointment at shaggard@ucsd.edu or 534-5781.

Note that there will be no class on October 26.

Readings are available on First Class. The readings are divided into two types: required readings and supplementary readings. Required readings must be done for the day of the class. Supplementary readings are not required, but you might be interested in

looking at them for your essays or policy memos. In addition, I will sometimes provide short news items or other reports through First Class; please check the folder on a regular basis.

Many primary documents assigned in the class are contained in Robert Carlin and John W. Lewis, *Negotiating with North Korea 1992-2007* (Stanford: Center for International Security and Cooperation, 2008), posted in the First Class folder.

There are several books I recommend for purchase; they can be gotten on Amazon marketplace at deep discounts. We will be reading multiple chapters from the following four books:

Don Oberdorfer, *The Two Koreas* (Basic Books, 1997).

Chae-jin Lee, *A Troubled Peace* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).

Stephan Haggard and Marcus Noland, *Famine in North Korea: Markets, Aid and Reform* (Columbia University Press, 2007).

Stephan Haggard and Marcus Noland, *Witness to Transformation: Refugee Insights into North Korea*. (Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2011).

If you have a strong interest in these issues, I also recommend purchase of the following two books although we are not reading anything from them:

Yoichi Funabashi, *The Peninsula Question: A Chronicle of the Second Korean Nuclear Crisis* (Brookings, 2007).

Mike Chinoy, *Meltdown: the Inside Story of the North Korean Nuclear Crisis* (St. Martins Press, 2008).

In addition, you may want to keep up with the blog Marcus Noland and I run on North Korea at <http://www.piie.com/blogs/nk> or on Facebook at <http://www.facebook.com/nkwitness>

Course Outline

I. *The Cold War System*

1. September 26. Overview and Introduction

Recommended.

- Kathryn Weathersby, “New Russian Documents on the Korean War: Introduction and Translations (pp. 30-35)” and “Cumings and Weathersby: An Exchange (pp. 120-123),” in Cold War International History Project Bulletin 6/7 (Winter 1995) at http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?topic_id=1409&fuseaction=topics.publications&group_id=15127 (Section 2, “New Evidence on the Korean War.”)

2. September 28. The Armistice Regime: the Legal Foundations and the Issue of a “Peace Regime”

The Korean War ended with an armistice. An ultimate objective shared by all parties to the conflict is to replace the armistice with a so-called “peace regime.” We consider the components of the armistice system and its decline in the 1990s. We also consider two outstanding issues that are directly associated with the armistice regime: the Northern Limit Line; and the nature of UN and later Combined Forces Command (CFC) of military forces on the peninsula. The latter is bound up with the transfer of operational control (OPCON) of ROK military forces back to Seoul, postponed in July 2010 until December 2015.

- Lee Sanghee, “Toward a Peace Regime on the Korean Peninsula: A Way Forward for the ROK-US Alliance,” Brookings Institution, Center for Northeast Asian Policy Studies, May 2007.
- Bruce Klingner, “OPCON Transfer: Timing Isn’t Everything,” July 8, 2010 at <http://www.heritage.org/Research/Commentary/2010/07/OPCON-Transfer-Timing-Isnt-Everything>
- Excerpts from Col. Moo Bong Ryoo, “The Korean Armistice and the Islands,” Strategic Research Paper, U.S. Army War College, 2009
- DPRK Foreign Ministry Statement on negotiation of a peace regime, January 11, 2010.

Supplementary

- The Atlantic Council, *A Framework for Peace and Security in Korea and Northeast Asia*. April 2007, 13-34.
- Stephan Haggard and Marcus Noland, “A security and peace mechanism for Northeast Asia: the economic dimension,” *The Pacific Review* (22:2): 119-137.

Essay and policy memo ideas:

- What is meant by a “peace regime”?
- Discuss the remaining issues—or ongoing concerns--surrounding transfer of operational control in 2015.
- Discuss the outstanding issues with respect to the Northern Limit Line and how they might be resolved.

3. October 3. The US-ROK Alliance: Early History

Korea’s relationship with the United States has constituted a critical aspect of both its domestic politics and foreign policy since the division of the peninsula. We start with an overview of US alliance strategy in the Pacific. We then consider issues in the US-ROK alliance from its inception through the “Carter chill.” Among the core events are Park Chung Hee’s seizure of power in 1961; the Guam or Nixon doctrine; the US opening to China; the initiation of the Yushin system; and the Carter effort to withdraw forces and the rise of a US human rights agenda. A central theme is the close relationship between external and internal politics.

- Victor Cha, “Powerplay: Origins of the US Alliance System in Asia,” *International Security*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (Winter 2009/10), pp. 158–196
- *Mutual Defense Treaty between the Republic of Korea and the United States of America*
- Chae-jin Lee, *A Troubled Peace: US Policy and the Two Koreas* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), Chapter Two (depending on your background, skim 9-37; focus particularly on 37-63) and Chapter Three, pp. 64-102 (you can skim material on Koreagate, 95-102).

Essay and policy memo ideas:

- What were the multiple objectives of US alliance commitments in the Asia-Pacific?
- Why did the US append its “understanding” to the Mutual Defense Treaty; what evidence suggests it was warranted?
- A critique of the US alliance is that it undermined democracy in Korea; discuss.

October 5. The US responds to Kwangju

The Kwangju uprising was a seminal event not only in recent Korean history, but also in the US alliance relationship; US response—or non-response—to the events generated strong reactions from members of the so-called “386 generation,” many of whom ultimately came to office under the Kim Dae Jung and Roh Moo Hyun administrations. Thanks to documents released through the efforts of Tim Shorrock, we have documentary insight into the decision-making around this important episode.

- James Fowler, “The United States and South Korean Democratization,” *Political Science Quarterly* 114, 2 (Summer 1999).

Supplmentary.

- William Gleysteen, *Massive Entanglement, Marginal Influence: Carter and Korea in Crisis* (Brookings, 1999), Chapter 9 and 10.
- Tim Shorrock, “The U.S. Role in Korea in 1979 and 1980” and other documents at http://timshorrock.com/?page_id=21. For additional English-language sources on Kwangju see Gusts of Popular Feeling at <http://populargusts.blogspot.com/2006/05/bibliography-of-kwangju-uprising-in.html>

Essay and policy memo idea:

- How could the United States have responded differently to the events in Kwangju (and at exactly what point?)

4. October 10. What Were the North Koreans Thinking?

Until recently, we have had little insight into what the North Korean regime was actually thinking about its relationship with the South during the Cold War. Thanks to the

efforts of Kathryn Weathersby and the Cold War History Project, which has tapped the Soviet and other Warsaw Pact archives, we have a much better portrait. In particular, we are interested in the extent to which the North Korean leadership seriously contemplated reunification by force, the views of the Soviet and Chinese leadership toward these ambitions, and the history of North Korea's nuclear ambitions.

- Kathryn Weathersby, "The Enigma of the North Korean Regime: Back to the Future?" Korea Economic Institute (2005).
- Walter C. Clemens, "North Korea's Quest for Nuclear Weapons: New Historical Evidence," *Journal of East Asian Studies* 10 (2010): 127-54.

Supplementary:

- Some of the original documents discussed in Clemens can be found in Balazs Szalontai and Sergey Radchenko, *North Korea's Efforts to Acquire Nuclear Technology and Nuclear Weapons: Evidence from Russian and Hungarian Archives*, Cold War International History Project Working Paper #53, August 2006. The National Security Archive also maintains a number of historical documents on the development of North Korea's nuclear capability at <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB87/#docs>
- The Center for Non-Proliferation Studies website contains an invaluable collection of documents and commentary at http://cns.miis.edu/north_korea/index.htm

Essay and policy memo idea:

- How could the Soviets have dealt more effectively with North Korea during any one of the crises outlined in the Weathersby reading?
- Weathersby and Clemens draw somewhat different conclusions from the historical record. Discuss.

II. The Breakdown of the Cold War System

5. October 12. Abandonment

The end of the Cold War had profound political and economic implications for North Korea as first the Soviet Union shifted its stance toward the South, then collapsed, and China began to shift its views too. How did the South and North respond to these developments? We will also read two important North-South agreements from this period, which could serve as reference points in the development of a peace regime.

- Don Oberdorfer, *The Two Koreas*, Chapters 9, 10 and pp. 249-265.
- *Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-aggression and Exchanges And Cooperation Between the South and the North*, December 13, 1991 (known as the Basic Agreement), posted on First Class.
- *Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula*, January 20, 1992 in Carlin and Lewis.

Essay and policy memo ideas:

- To Kim Il Sung on how to address the problem of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the recognition of the South by the Soviet Union and China.
- To the Soviet or Chinese leadership on how to deal with the North Koreans.

6. October 17. The First Nuclear Crisis

The first nuclear crisis of 1992-94 established the framework—literally, the Agreed Framework—for subsequent negotiations over security on the peninsula. These negotiations remain contested to this day. What generated the initial confrontation, and could it have been avoided? What were the core features of the Framework?

- Review Clemens, “North Korea’s Quest...”
- Don Oberdorfer, *The Two Koreas*, Chapters 11, p. 265 to the end of the chapter and Chapters 12-13.
- *The Agreed Framework* of October 21, 1994, in Carlin and Lewis.

Supplementary.

The literature on the first crisis is large, with a few interesting new additions in the last several years.

- Leon V. Sigal, *Disarming Strangers: Nuclear Diplomacy with North Korea* (Princeton University Press 1998). Important but still controversial defense of tit-for-tat strategy with North Korea; alternative views of North Korean bargaining behavior include Scott Snyder, *Negotiating on the Edge* (1999) and Chuck Downs, *Over the Line: North Korea’s Negotiating Strategy* (1999).
- Joel S. Wit, Daniel Poneman and Robert Gallucci, *Going Critical: the First North Korean Nuclear Crisis* (Brookings 2004) and Marion Creekmore, *A Moment of Crisis: Jimmy Carter, The Power of a Peacemaker, and North Korea’s Nuclear Ambitions* (Public Affairs 2006) are two more recent additions that provide insights from those directly involved in the negotiations.

Essay and policy memo ideas:

- What accounts for the final resolution of the first nuclear crisis?
- Provide an analysis of the expectations under the Agreed Framework; what is each side expected to do, and by when?

7. October 19. Implementation: the Politics of the Agreed Framework under the Clinton administration

The Agreed Framework remains controversial to this day. To its defenders, it constitutes a template for a cooperative solution to security problems on the peninsula, and an important reference point for the current Six Party Talks. To its detractors,

however, it marked a form of nuclear blackmail with important weaknesses; these critics were vocal during the Clinton administration and set the tone for the management of North Korea under the first George W. Bush administration.

- Leon Sigal, “The North Korean Nuclear Crisis: Understanding the Failure of the Crime and Punishment’ Strategy, *Arms Control Today* (May 1997), at http://www.armscontrol.org/act/1997_05/sigal.asp
- Leon Sigal, “Negotiating an End to North Korea’s Missile-Making,” *Arms Control Today* (June 2000).
- Robert Hathaway and Jordon Tama, “The U.S. Congress and North Korea during the Clinton Years,” *Asian Survey* September-October 2004.
- “Review of United States Policy Toward North Korea: Findings and Recommendations,” Dr. William J. Perry, U.S. North Korea Policy Coordinator, October 12, 1999 at http://www.state.gov/www/regions/eap/991012_northkorea_rpt.html

Policy memo idea:

- Consider the issues surrounding the Agreed Framework from the perspective of either Republican or Democratic legislators during the Clinton administration.

8. October 24. Famine in North Korea: Markets, Aid and Reform

The first nuclear crisis overlapped with, and arguably contributed to, a complete unraveling of the North Korean economy. We consider the causes of the famine, examine the humanitarian response, and consider the implications of the famine for the long-run transformation of North Korea.

- Stephan Haggard and Marcus Noland, *Famine in North Korea*, chs. 4 and 5; read the introduction and conclusion to chapter 6, and skim the country sections of interest to you (US, South Korea, Japan, Europe and China), and ch. 7.
- Stephan Haggard and Marcus Noland, *Witness to Transformation: Refugee Insights into North Korea*. Washington D.C.: Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2011. Chapter 3.

Supplementary.

- Andrew Natsios, *The Great North Korean Famine* (2001)
- An excellent source of press coverage of the North Korean economy can be found at North Korea Economy Watch at <http://www.nkeconwatch.com/>.
- Updates on the food situation can be found at <http://www.piie.com/blogs/nk>. Go to the right hand side, click on “Tags” and then on “Food.”

Essay and policy memo ideas:

- Consider the question of whether aid to North Korea should be made conditional in any way, and on what?
- You are a staff worker for the WFP in North Korea; write a memo on how the delivery of aid might be made more effective.
- Outline the possible political consequences—if any—of the 2002 reforms.

9. October 26. No class.

10. October 31. The Changing Political Order in the North.

The North Korean political system is opaque; as a result, there is substantial speculation about the nature of decision-making, which in turn colors political prescriptions toward the country. Is Kim Jong-Il in control? To what extent does he rely on the military, and to what effect? What are the government's intentions with respect to economic reform? What about succession?

- Stephan Haggard and Daniel Pinkston, "Guarding the Guardians: North Korean Political Institutions in Comparative Perspective." Unpublished ms.

Supplementary.

- Byung-Chul Koh, "Military-First Politics and Building a Powerful and Prosperous Nation in North Korea," Nautilus Institute at <http://www.nautilus.org/fora/security/0532AKoh.html>
- Robert Carlin and Joel S. Wit, *North Korean Reform: Politics, Economic, Security*. International Institute for Strategic Studies, Adelphi Working Paper No. 382.
- Patrick McEachern, *Inside the Red Box: North Korea's Post-totalitarian Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010).
- Luke Herman, North Korea Leadership Review.

Essay and policy memo ideas:

- How will the North Korean political system change after the death of Kim Jong Il? On what would base such an assessment?
- Write a policy memo on managing a possible "collapse" scenario in North Korea.

III. The Second Nuclear Crisis: the Players

11. November 2. The Crisis: An Overview and Markers in the Six Party Talks

The remainder of the course will be devoted to a detailed consideration of the second nuclear crisis. We will begin with a simple factual overview and a consideration of the major setbacks and accomplishments: the September 2005 statement of principles; the February and October agreements of 2007; the problems of implementation and the ultimate collapse of the talks in 2008. (No writing assignments for this day).

- Chae-jin Lee, *A Troubled Peace*, pp. 223-256.
- Joint Statement of the Fourth Round of the Six-Party Talks Beijing, September 19, 2005, in Carlin and Lewis.
- Initial Actions for Implementation of the Joint Statement, February 13, 2007. Annotated version in the Washington Post, Stephan Haggard and Susan Shirk at: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/graphic/2007/02/17/GR2007021700188.html>
- Second-Phase Actions for the Implementation of the September 2005 Joint Statement, October 3, 2007 at <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2007/oct/93217.htm>
- Department of State Oct. 11, 2008 Fact Sheet on U.S.-North Korea Understandings on Verification at <http://www.america.gov/st/texttrans-english/2008/October/20081014120531xjsnommis0.2281763.html&distid=ucs>
- “DPRK Foreign Ministry Vehemently Refutes UNSC's "Presidential Statement,” April 14, 2009 posted in First Class.

Supplementary.

- Three recent accounts of the crisis are Yoichi Funabashi, *The Peninsula Question: A Chronicle of the Second Korean Nuclear Crisis* (Brookings, 2007) by a leading Japanese journalist; Jack Pritchard, *Failed Diplomacy: The Tragic Story of How North Korea Got the Bomb* (Brookings, 2007) by a former US negotiator; and Mike Chinoy, *Meltdown: the Inside Story of the North Korean Nuclear Crisis* (St. Martins 2008).
- Victor D. Cha and David C. Kang, *Nuclear North Korea* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003) provides two contending views of engagement.
- Daniel A. Pinkston and Phillip C. Saunders, “Seeing North Korea Clearly,” *Survival*, Vol. 45 (Fall 2003), pp. 79-102, <<http://cns.miis.edu/research/korea/450079.pdf>>. Good analytic overview of bargaining problems in dealing with the North Koreans.
- Henry Rowen, “Kim Jong Il Must Go,” *Policy Review Online* at <http://www.policyreview.org/oct03/rowen.html>. An exemplary statement of the case for regime change.
- An important source on the history of the crisis is the website of the Center for Non-Proliferation Studies at <http://cns.miis.edu/research/korea/index.htm>

12. November 7. The Political Shift in South Korea: From the Sunshine Policy to Lee Myung Bak

The election of Kim Dae Jung was a watershed in South Korean politics. He articulated a vision of dealing with North-South relations that defined the Kim-Roh era: the concept of the Sunshine policy or engagement. What were the components and political challenges of the Sunshine approach? The Roh Moo Hyun administration built on the core ideas of the Sunshine Policy but extended them in important and ultimately different ways; we will read a critique.

- Norman D. Levin and Yong-Sup Han, *Sunshine in Korea: the South Korean Debate over Policies toward North Korea* (RAND, 2002), chs. 3 and 6.
- Haggard and Noland, *Famine in North Korea*, ch. 6, pp. 140-149.
- Scott Snyder, “Lee Myung-bak’s Foreign Policy: A 250-Day Assessment.”

Essay and policy memo ideas:

- Provide a critique of the Sunshine policy for the Lee Myung Bak administration, or of the LMB administration for the opposition.

13. November 9. American Preoccupations

The election of George W. Bush and particularly the aftermath of 9/11 generated a political dynamic almost completely at odds with thinking in Seoul, particularly after the election of Roh Moo Hyun in 2002. The performance of the Bush administration with respect to the management of the crisis is, needless to say, politically contested. But is the Obama administration policy really different and if so in what ways?

- Michael Mazarr, “The Long Road to Pyongyang,” *Foreign Affairs* September/October 2007.
- Leon Sigal, “North Korea Policy on the Rocks,” *Global Asia* (Summer 2009).

Supplementary.

- John Bolton, *Surrender is Not an Option* (Threshold Editions, 2007), ch. 4.
- Dick Cheney, *In My Time: A Personal and Political Memoir* (Threshold Editions 2011), ch. 15

Essay and policy memo ideas:

- From Dick Cheney, explaining why his skepticism toward engagement was warranted; or conversely, review the Cheney memoir from a critical perspective.
- For the Obama administration, consider the pros and cons of the late Bush policy what went wrong?
- Following the missile and nuclear tests of 2009, is the Obama administration pursuing a different strategy than the early Bush administration, and if so, how?

14. November 14. China and Japan

China and Japan are central players in the Six Party Talks, and their views have evolved, albeit it in very different directions during the course of the talks. Read one of the following pieces, depending on interest, and ask how the development of the talks themselves, as well as other domestic factors, has affected the two countries’ strategies.

- Axel Berkofsky, “Japan-North Korea Relations,” *Asie Visions* #17, June 2009.
- International Crisis Group, “Shades of Red: China’s Debate Over North Korea,” *Asia Report* N°179, November 2009.

Recommended.

- Funabashi, *The Peninsula Question* is particularly good on both Japanese and Chinese behavior during the crisis.

Essay and policy memos ideas:

- Draft a memo to either government about current policy. A China memo would deal with the issue of leverage, and what instruments—if any—China could or should use. The Japan memo should at least address the abductee issue.

14. November 16. The Crises of 2010: the *Cheonan* and Yeonpyeong Shelling

Two conventional security incidents, the sinking of the *Cheonan* and the North Korean attack on the island of Yeonpyeong had wide-ranging implications not only for nuclear negotiations but for the broader security environment. What did these events mean and how did the major parties respond?

- International Crisis Group, *China and Inter-Korean Clashes in the Yellow Sea*, Asia Report #200, January 27, 2011.

Essay and policy memos ideas:

- Draft a memo to the head of government of any of the six parties outlining your country's strategy in the wake of these two episodes. What are your objectives and how do you plan to secure them?

IV. The Second Nuclear Crisis: Some Issues

15. November 21. Economic Instruments: Do Sanctions and Engagement “Work”?

A central question is whether engagement with North Korea since the beginning of the Sunshine policy has “worked,” and in what sense. The fact that the North Koreans tested nuclear weapons would seem to suggest that it did not, but this would be a false inference since a variety of other factors intervened, including US policy. We will approach this question through the lens of method: how would we know whether it had worked or not: how can we test the proposition?

- Department of Treasury 31, *Finding That Banco Delta Asia SARL Is a Financial Institution of Primary Money Laundering Concern*
- International Crisis Group, Asia Briefing #101, *North Korea Under Tightening Sanctions*, March 2010 at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/asia/north-east-asia/north-korea/B101-north-korea-under-tightening-sanctions.aspx>
- Leon Sigal, “Looking for Leverage in All the Wrong Places,” *38 North*, US-Korea Institute at SAIS at <http://38north.org/2010/05/looking-for-leverage-in-all-the-wrong-places/>

Supplementary

- Stephan Haggard and Marcus Noland, *Engaging North Korea: The Role of Economic Statecraft*, East-West Center Policy Studies #59 at <http://www.eastwestcenter.org/publications/engaging-north-korea-role-economic-statecraft>
- Karin Lee and Julia Choi, “North Korea: Unilateral and Multilateral Economic Sanctions and U.S. Department of Treasury Actions 1955-April 2009,” National Committee on North Korea at http://www.ncnk.org/resources/publications/DPRK_Sanctions_Report_April_2009.doc/file_view

Essay and policy memo ideas:

- Craft an engagement strategy—or a sanctions strategy—for a country of your choosing. Explain how and why the strategy would have the intended effect, and what the intended effect is.

16. November 21. North Korea as a Proliferator

From 2009, policy attention on North Korea came to center not only its own nuclear program but on the fact that it had become a source of weapons exports—including possibly nuclear technology—to other countries. We consider North Korea’s role as a second-tier proliferator and efforts to reduce such proliferation, including through the Proliferation Security Initiative.

- Bruce Bechtol, “Creating Instability in Dangerous Global Regions: North Korean Proliferation and Support to Terrorism in the Middle East and South Asia,” *Comparative Strategy*, 28:2 (2009): 99-115.
- Mark Valencia, “North Korea and the Proliferation Security Initiative,” 38 North Special Report, July 2010 (posted in First Class).

Supplementary. We are focusing primarily on the core nuclear issues, but there is of course the question of missiles.

- Daniel A. Pinkston, *The North Korean Ballistic Missile Program* (Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, February 2008).

Essay and memo ideas:

- Assess the effectiveness of the PSI. How might it be changed to be made more effective? What are the constraints—including political ones—on doing so?
- Given the challenges posed by North Korea, what approach should the US and its allies take toward strengthening the non-proliferation regime, including the NPT itself?

17. November 23. The Human Rights and Refugee Issues

North Korea is clearly an egregious violator of human rights and the source of a number of outstanding humanitarian problems, including a large-scale refugee problem and ongoing concerns about food security in the country. What to do about these problems is a much more complex problem, however. How do we address both human rights and humanitarian problems in North Korea?

- Stephan Haggard and Marcus Noland, *Witness to Transformation: Refugee Insights into North Korea*. Washington D.C.: Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2011. Chapters 2, 4 and 6.
- Jane Kim, “North Korean Human Rights and Refugee Resettlement in the United States: A Slow and Quiet Progress,” in *SAIS US-Korea Yearbook*. Washington D.C. SAIS, 2009.
- David Hawk, [“Responsibility, Accountability and Redress for Crimes Against Humanity in North Korea: Getting Started through a Prima Facie/First Look by the United Nations.”](#)

Recommended

- Drew Thompson and Carla Freeman, *Flood Across the Border: China’s Disaster Relief Operations and Potential Response to a North Korean Refugee Crisis*. US-Korea Institute at SAIS, April 2009.

Essay and memo ideas:

- Write a memo outlining why we should *not* focus on human rights issues with respect to North Korea.

18. November 28. Contingency Planning and the Question of Unification

Particularly since Kim Jong-il’s apparent stroke in August 2008, there has been increasing discussion of contingency planning with respect to North Korea, including with respect to an increase in refugees. A crucial issue is the coordination among the US, South Korea and China on the issue. Behind these issues lurks the even larger question: were North Korea to suddenly “collapse”—whatever we think that means—would the two Koreas move toward unification? How exactly?

- Center for U.S.-Korea Policy, The Asia Foundation *North Korea Contingency Planning and U.S.-ROK Cooperation*, September 2009.
- Papers from Victor Cha and David Kang project on unification TBD at http://dornsife.usc.edu/ksi/news/korea_project.cfm

Essay and policy memo ideas:

- Write an internal memo to the Chinese leadership on whether Beijing should discuss contingency planning with the US and South Korea, and on what issues.

- Pick a policy issue and discuss how the US, South Korea, Japan and other countries divide responsibilities for managing it in a post-collapse North Korea.

19. November 30. The Project Begins: Opening Statements and Responses

Our last regular class will be given over to 7-minute opening statements from the Six Parties and initial responses from each. The exercise will unfold in real time. If the Six Party Talks have not resumed, those statements will refer to any proposals for how to resume the talks, including any preconditions parties may seek to attach, the nature of the agenda, and the status of existing agreements (most notably the 2005 statement of principles and 2007 “roadmap” agreements).

If the talks have resumed, China will serve as the chair. The statements will reflect positions with respect to how to move the talks forward.

21. Final: time and location TBD.

We will meet during the scheduled final time.

Between the last meeting of the class and the final, the Six Parties will engage in multilateral and bilateral talks (if governments allow it) and refine their positions. At the time of the final, the teams will hand in two memos: a short (5 page) public summary of their position on the outstanding issues, which they will present; and a longer (15-page) negotiating strategy document designed to guide strategy and/or negotiations (if they are taking place). These documents and the presentation will be the basis for team grades; all members of each team will receive the same grade.

If the parties are able to negotiate any joint statements (either Six Party or bilateral), the text of these statements will also be handed in at the time of the final or by the end of the final 3-hour session.

The time of the final will be given over to a further round of statements and negotiations. But there is a firm deadline with respect to any joint or bilateral statements: any texts must be negotiated and drafted by the end of the final period.

Notes on Writing Essays and Policy Memos

This is a policy-oriented course. We draw on theory, but we are interested in what actors have done—the policies they have chosen—and what might have been done differently and more effectively given their interests.

There are two somewhat different writing assignments that you can do for this course. One is the short essay (1000 words). *An essay should not just summarize the reading.* Rather, it should outline some analytic or empirical point in the readings and discuss it in depth. Outside reading is not required; this is an exercise in analysis. Each essay should address the following:

- What is the argument in the reading you want to engage?
- Does it make sense?
- Does empirical evidence provided support it? Why or why not?
- What would we need to know to make an accurate judgment of whether the author is correct?

A policy memo is designed as a real-world, real-time exercise in providing policy analysis and prescription (also 1000 words). **A policy memo should be *from someone, to someone, and have a date.*** The memo should reflect what the author and recipient knew at the time, not events or information that is only revealed subsequently. A policy memo should:

- Outline the policy issue in question;
- Consider options that were or could have been taken;
- Reach a judgment about the costs and benefits of different policy choices.
- It should also make a recommendation.

Note that you are free to write the short policy memos from the perspective of any of the six major actors involved in the peninsula--the US, the two Koreas, China, Japan and Russia—or from the perspective of any political or policy actors within those countries (a State Department official, a member of the Japanese Diet, a member of North Korea's National Defense Commission, and so on). Use your imagination!