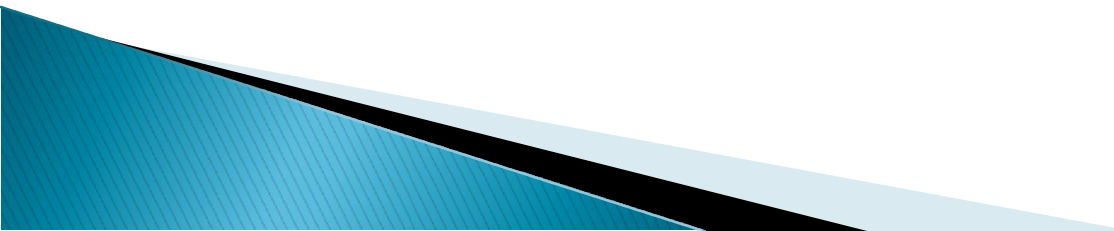


Presentation by IMEMO Vice
President Prof. VASILY MIKHEEV
At the Second Trilateral Russia –
Japan – USA Conference.
Tokyo, Jan., 17-18, 2011

NORTH KOREA

The NK nuclear issue

- ▶ Peaceful regime change
 - ▶ 6-party talks – doomed
 - ▶ NK goals: not a compromise
 - ▶ But: aid from abroad and regime survival
- 

Domestic changes

- ▶ Political struggle intensifies
- ▶ Kim Jong Il does not need the Party. He relies upon National Defense Commission (NDC)
- ▶ September 2010. The Party Conference: a little bit opened the window to let us look inside

Kim's clan.

Candidates for power succession.

Kim Jong Eun (27)	Kim Jong Il's son, born of his latest, presumably, "most beloved" wife, who died in 2004.
Lee Yong Ho (68)	First Deputy Chairman of NDC. <i>In charge of military building in North Korea.</i> In childhood - "like brothers" with Kim Jong Il
Kim Kyong Hee (64)	Kim Jong Il's sister from the first Kim III Sung's wife
Chang Sung Taek (64)	Kim Kyong Hee's husband. <i>In charge of political and administrative day-to-day life</i>

Kim's clan. Continuation.

Kim Chul Sung
(around 30), Kim Jong
II's daughter

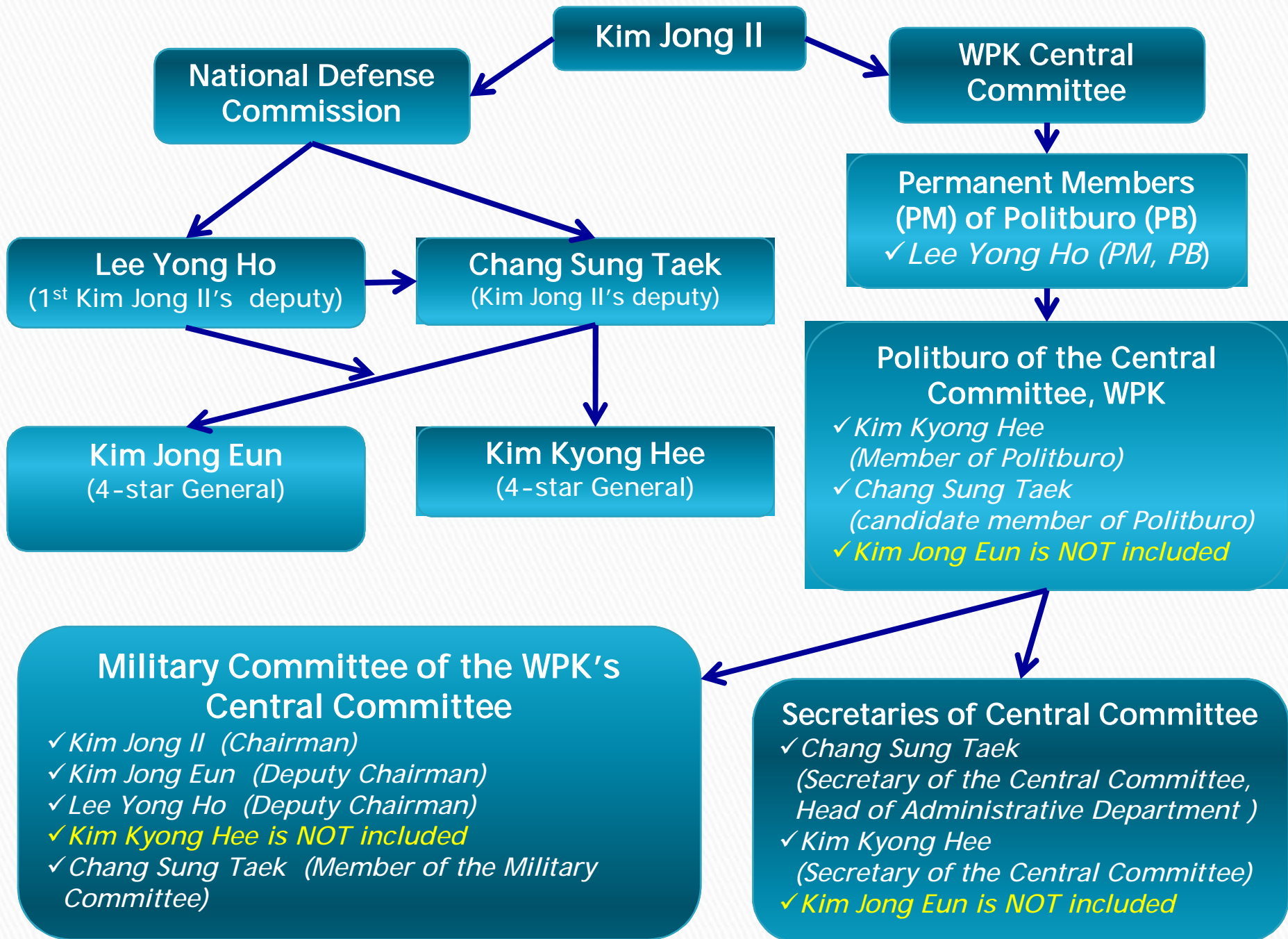
- powerful inside the clan

Kim Pyong II
(around 60), Kim Jong
II's younger brother

- Ambassador to Bulgaria
- A sort of "political exile"
- In 2010, visited Pyongyang to check the situation
- Supported by the Army – according to NK defectors

Kim Jong Nam
(around 40), Kim Jong
II's eldest son

- owns business in China and Macao
- is supported by NK top bureaucracy and security who has access to abroad
- could make secret visits to Seoul
- has an administrative experience in the Party and security



The WPK' Chapter amendments.

- ▶ strengthen the leading role of the Party over:
 - *state administrative bodies,*
 - *youth's organizations.*
- ▶ increase the role of the party organizations in the Army.

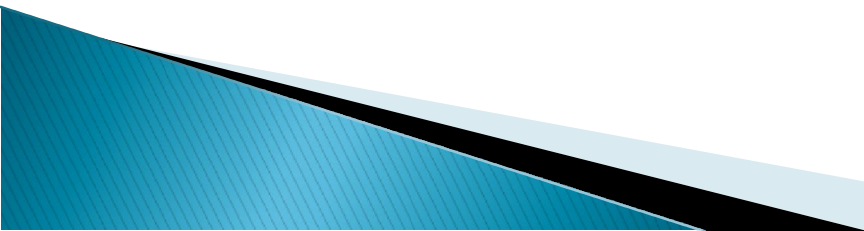
WHY NOW?



New generation of leaders in their 60-s

- ▶ **POLITBURO PERMANENT MEMBERS AND MEMBERS** – in their 70-s and 80-s, old guards.
- ▶ **POLITBURO CANDIDATE MEMBERS** – in their 60-s:
 - *the youngest* Moon Kyong Duck (53), Secretary of Pyongyang-City Party Committee. Close to Chang Sung Taek;
 - *others* – head security agencies, important administrative positions.
- ▶ **IN GENERAL - TWO LEADERS** control the day-to-day life:
 - from the Army – Lee Yong Ho;
 - from the Party – Chang Sung Taek.

The “Cover” – not the “Heir”

- ▶ No a single signal that Kim Jong Eung is heir. In the middle of the 1970-s, Kim Jong Il’s way to succession started in a different way.
 - ▶ All the clan’s members keep mouth shut. Afraid. Kim Jong Eung’s positioning as heir – in the interests of the all at the moment.
 - ▶ In case of soon Kim Jong Il’s death – time for those in their 60-s. Not in their 30-s.
- 

China factor

Different approaches

Pro-NK	After November 23, pro-NKs in trouble. Strengthen anti-US rhetoric
Irritated	Feudalistic regime, no reforms, ask for China aid only
"Forget NK"	Minority
Moderate	Pay NK for 6-way talks – but not much

China stake

August 2010, China said to Kim Jong II:

- ▶ *"In the era of globalization, the way to self-sufficiency – thru cooperation".*
- ▶ *"Increase the Party role against the role of the Army"*

In future

Potentially market-oriented NK forces:

- ▶ Kim Jong Nam, *probably*
- ▶ Security with access abroad
Kim Kyong Hee, Chang Sung Taek - ?

Will it work?

NLL and DMZ provocations

Domestic instability
– uncertainty in
international
behavior

Nuclear test
(or imitation) –
probably in 2012
(Kim III Sung's 100th
Anniversary)

SHORT-TERM RISKS

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graph TD; A[NLL and DMZ provocations] --> D((SHORT-TERM RISKS)); B[Domestic instability - uncertainty in international behavior] --> D; C[Nuclear test (or imitation) - probably in 2012 (Kim III Sung's 100th Anniversary)] --> D;
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Separation of
Northeast NK from
the mainland

NK – territory
controlled by
criminal forces

New post-
communist
authoritarian, but
pro-market regime

LONG-TERM RISKS
(after Kim Jong Il's death)

What to do?

5-party cooperation

- Joint vision of NK future
- Joint plan how to make NK market-oriented and open after Kim Jong Il
- Joint funding – to support market reforms in NK
- China – South Korea, US, Japan military and security cooperation on the NK

To achieve this: *China – SK, US, Japan military trust building measures thru new Transpacific security architecture. Russia – included*

Are they serious?

NK fundamentals

NK Constitution:	NK History:	Domestic:	Propaganda:
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Kim III Sung (died in 1994) – eternal President• Not Koreans – “Kim III Sung-nation”	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Kim III Sung liberated NK in 1945• Kim III Sung won the Korean war in 1953	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Collapse of the distribution system, famine• Corruption, banditism, social hypocrisy	<p>“Life is hard – the US is guilty – but we have a nuclear bomb ... so:</p> <p><i>Don't Worry,</i></p> <p><i>Be Happy ...”</i></p>

Compromise with this regime?