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국제학석사학위논문

**A study on Determinants of North Korea's Foreign Policy:
Why did North Korea decide to have nuclear negotiations
with the U.S. in 1994?**

북한의 외교정책 결정요인에 관한 연구: 1994년 북한은
왜 미국과 핵 협상을 결정했는가?

2020년 2월

서울대학교 대학원
국제대학원 국제학과
신 동 호

Master's Thesis

**A study on Determinants of North Korea's Foreign Policy:
Why did North Korea decide to have nuclear negotiations
with the U.S. in 1994?**

Thesis by

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Graduate Program in International Cooperation
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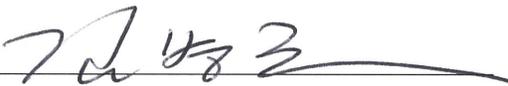
**A study on Determinants of North Korea's Foreign Policy :
Why did North Korea decide to have nuclear negotiations
with the U.S. in 1994?**

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Abstract(English)

This study examines the reason why North Korea had nuclear negotiations with the U.S. The research question arises from the melted down possible war crisis between Kim Jong Un and Donald Trump due to nuclear negotiations in 2018, which previously went up to the impending war-like situation in 2017. Such dramatic highs and lows of tension look similar with a series of events during 1993 and 1994, which period is so-called 'the First North Korean Nuclear Crisis.' Parallel lines in 2017 and 1993 provide an interesting research topic, given that tensions have eased thanks to the nuclear negotiations after the crises caused by the North-U.S. nuclear conflict reached its peak. This paper has studied seriously in terms of foreign policy determinants why North Korea decided nuclear negotiations with the U.S. during the first North Korean nuclear crisis.

The first North Korean nuclear crisis happens in 1993 when Pyongyang announced its withdrawal from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty(NPT). The period of crises over North Korea's nuclear weapons program can be largely divided into three so far. The aforementioned 1993 declaration of North Korea's withdrawal from the NPT is the first of its kind and the second of its kind by Kim Jong Il's suspected development of a highly enriched uranium(HEU) program in 2002. And it will be the third time that North Korea has launched an Intercontinental Ballistic Missile(ICBM) during the Kim Jong Un era in 2017.¹⁾ In the three-time crisis, North Korea conducted or did not engage in nuclear negotiations with the U.S, the study

1) Discussion with Professor Kim, Byoung-lo Philo, 2019, Oct 14.

is based on a study on why North Korea negotiated with the U.S. during the first North Korean nuclear crisis.

This dissertation exploits Rosenau's 'Pre-theory and theories of foreign policy.' In the analytical tool, North Korea can be classified as a country of type 'Small-Closed-Underdeveloped.' The foreign policy determinants of this type of country have priority over policy decisions in the order of 'individual, system, government, and society'.

Individual variables have exerted absolute influence on foreign policy decisions in a one-individual dictatorship in which Kim Il Sung has the ultimate status as God-like. And Kim Il Sung's recognition of being threatened on the collapse of the regime at that time led him to seek a solution to maintain his regime. At the level of a regime variable, the dramatic change in international order let Kim conceive the best way for himself to break the current crisis is to establish diplomatic relations with the United States, 'state's worst enemy' he called before. As for government variables and social variables, government variables unilaterally supported and strengthened Kim's intentions and resolve. And economic crisis does not lead to regime collapse nor weaken his dignity.

The decisive reason for the North for the beginning of nuclear negotiations with the U.S. was Kim Il Sung's determination. The sense of crisis felt from the absolute leader's most concerned and concerned issues made him feel as scared as he is on the brink of a precipice. In this background, North Korea's diplomatic action led to nuclear negotiation with the U.S.

In a study on North Korea's foreign policy, there was little research that

seriously dealt with the sense of crisis felt by supreme leaders individually. The paper tries to find the reason why North Korea has come to nuclear negotiations with the U.S. in a sense of crisis over the survival of the regime felt by Kim Il Sung.

And this dissertation argues the difference between existing arguments. Previous discussions cited the reason for the North Korean nuclear negotiations as economic difficulties. Or, on the basis of a ‘regime crisis’, as this discussion suggests, it is considered to have resulted from diplomatic isolation and economic difficulties.

This paper believes that the argument that the North's survival of its regime and economic difficulties are the reasons for the negotiations over its nuclear weapons program is not wrong.

However, this paper highlights and seriously discusses the ‘regime crisis’ felt by Kim Il Sung. In this regard, the temperature of the meaning of the ‘regime crisis’ as claimed by existing scholars and the ‘regime crisis’ as claimed by this paper is different.

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Keywords: Determinants of North Korea’s Foreign Policy, The First Nuclear Crisis, Rosenau, North Korea’s Foreign Policy toward the U.S.

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Abstract(English)

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I. Introduction: Proposal for Discussion

1. Background

North Korea's declaration of withdrawal from NPT ignites the North's nuclear issues not only on the Korean Peninsula but around the world in 1993.²⁾ The first North Korean nuclear crisis erupted when Pyongyang rejected a special inspection by the International Atomic Energy Agency(IAEA) and declared its withdrawal from NPT. The Peninsula was in a tense situation where war was likely to break out soon.³⁾ For the U.S., which leads the world order during the post-Cold War, North Korea's development of nuclear weapons meant that the world would suffer a new form of chaos: an "uncontrolled multi-nuclear era."⁴⁾ The Clinton

2) On March 12, North Korea announced its decision to withdraw the NPT in its government statement. And on the day of the announcement, the South Korean government issued a statement saying, 'North Korea's withdrawal from the NPT will pose a serious threat to peace security of the world as well as stability on the Korean Peninsula. The U.S, Russia and Britain have issued a joint statement supporting the resolution to refer to the North Korean nuclear issue to the U.N. Security Council, saying the North's withdrawal from the NPT poses a grave threat to regional and international stability. Tong-il-won Nam-bug-hoe-dam-sa-mu-gug [Office of Inter-Korean Dialogue, Ministry of Unification, Republic of Korea], *Bukhan Haekmunje Jeon-gae-gwa-jeong Mit Juyoilji*[North Korea's Nuclear Development Process and Major Record], September 1994. pp.37-41.

3) Dongbok Lee, "Bukhanui NPT Taltoereul Eotteohge Boaya Hal Geosinga?"[How do we assess North Korea's withdrawal from NPT?], *Radio Free Asia* (Washington D.C., U.S.A.), April 18, 2003, <<https://www.rfa.org/korean/commentary/103804-20030418.html>>, accessed November 8, 2019.

4) Brian Beedham, "Expect a Different World After Kim Il Sung's Bomb," *International Herald Tribune*(Hong Kong), January 28, 1994. p.6.

administration considered air strike on nuclear facilities in the North and the increase of U.S. troops stationed in South Korea, as well as sanctions through U.N. Security Council resolutions(UNSC).⁵⁾ Defying the U.S.' warning, North Korea began replacing fuel rods containing plutonium at its operational reactor. U.S.' military action is the same word with an all-out war. War clouds once again hung over the Korean Peninsula, which has been in the armistice since the Korean War.

Fortunately, however, there was no war. Kim Il Sung chose to negotiate with Clinton. The U.S.' former president Jimmy Carter intervened and met with Kim⁶⁾, thanks to which, Washington and Pyongyang later reached an agreement in Geneva in 1994.⁷⁾ Under the agreement, which is called 'Agreed Framework Between the United States of America and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea,' North Korea promises not to develop nuclear weapons further, and the U.S. promises to provide light-water nuclear reactor technology and additional nuclear fuel. The first nuclear crisis seemed to subside with the agreement and relieving sanctions

5) Sang-goo Lee, *Gukje Jeongchihak*(Gaejeong Ipan)[International politics(2nd ed.)] (Seoul: Inhae, 2011), p.724.

6) "Only a bold mission to Pyongyang in June 1994 by former president Jimmy Carter averted that danger by undermining the U.S. sanction strategy and convincing Kim Il Sung to accept a summit meeting with South Korea and to suspend nuclear arming. (the first) High-level talks resumed on July 8, the very day that Kim Il Sung suffered a stroke and died." "Despite his death, it took just four months of negotiating to conclude the Agreed Framework of October 1994." Leon V. Sigal. "North Korean Nuclear Brinkmanship, 1993-94 and 2002-03," in *North Korea and the World*, December 2004, Vol.0, p.43.

7) In light of content and format of it, the agreement was called 'Agreed Framework' because of concerns that the U.S. would have to get congressional consent if it were a treaty. Don Oberdorfer, *The Two Koreas* (Washington D.C.: Basic Books, 1997), p. 356.

against the North.⁸⁾

But the North Korean nuclear issue is still an unresolved issue. In 2002, suspicions arose over North Korea's development of a highly enriched uranium(HEU) program, which led to the second North Korean nuclear crisis. Tensions further escalated in January 2003 when DPRK declared it would continue its nuclear development with its withdrawal from the NPT.⁹⁾ Since then, along with several missile and nuclear tests, North Korea has insisted the U.S. recognize the North's status as a nuclear power. Starting with its first nuclear test in 2006, Pyongyang conducted five nuclear tests in total until 2016. The bad mood between the North and the U.S. has become worse.¹⁰⁾ The Trump administration, launched in 2017, has been extremely

8) The sanctions relief measures were limited to allowing telecommunications connections among the U.S. and North Korea, using credit cards, allowing imports of North's magnesite and transactions related to the construction of light-water reactors. Seok Ryul Yoo, *Mi-Buk Gwangye Gaeseon Jeonmanggwa Uriui Daeung*[Prospects for Improvement of U.S.-North Korea Relations and Our Response], (Seoul: Oegyoanboyeonguwon[The Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security(IFANS)], 2000), p. 53.

9) As a result, proper countermeasures were sought, including several rounds of six-party talks involving China, Japan, Russia, South Korea, North Korea and the U.S. In 2005, the participants also agreed on a joint declaration with North Korea to denuclearize the Korean Peninsula. The declaration included coordinated steps linking economic and energy aid to North Korea and cooperation toward denuclearization under the principle of "commitment-for-promotion." However, the six-party talks failed to produce additional results, and the North's nuclear test in 2006 raised pessimism among them that the measures contained in the declaration would never be implemented. John Baylis and Steve Smith, *The Globalization of World Politics*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p.460.

10) North Korea's first nuclear test on Oct 9, 2006 raised serious concerns in the international community, and criticism arose that its past and present aid had been diverted to developing nuclear weapons. There have been a total of six nuclear tests in 2009, 2013, two times in 2016, and until 2017 since then. Moreover, the North's

confrontational with North Korea's leader Kim Jong Un, bombarding rough words between two leaders, unprecedented in history. The North's ICBM development aggravates the discord.¹¹⁾ ICBM with ranges that could strike the U.S.' mainland could be nuclear-carrying means, which meant the mainland could soon be directly hit by the North with nuclear weapons. Trump responded adamantly to Kim, saying 'To defend the U.S. and its allies, we have no choice but to completely destroy North Korea.'¹²⁾ Amid direct and outspoken rhetoric, the possibility of war on the Korean Peninsula seemed extremely high.

Ironically, with the 2018 Pyeongchang Winter Olympics and the

nuclear capability remained at a similar level (1 kiloton up to 20 kilotons) during the decade of five nuclear tests from 2006 to 2016, but the last sixth one showed a sudden increase(250-ish kilotons). Seung Hyuk Park, "Bukhan Yukcha Haeksilheom, Gijone Allyeojin Geotboda Hwolssin Gangryeok...Hirosimau Yeor-yeoseotbae "[North Korea's sixth nuclear test, far more stronger than previously known...sixteen times powerful than what was dropped on Hiroshima], *Voice Of America Korea*(VOA Korea, U.S.A.), June 7, 2019, <<https://www.voakorea.com/a/4948803.html>> accessed: Aug 16, 2019. A series of nuclear tests have deepened the international community's distrust on Pyongyang.

11) Tae Gyun Park, "Jeongjeonhyeopjeonggwa Jongjeonseoneon"[Armistice Agreement and Declaration of Ending War], in *Yeoksabipyyeong*[Critical Review of History], Yeoksabipyongsas[The Institute For Korean Historical Studies] (Goyang, Kyung-gi, Korea), May 2018, p. 171.

12) Donald Trump said "The United States has great strength and patience, but if it is forced to defend itself or its allies, we will have no choice but to totally destroy North Korea." in U.N. speech. In U.N. speech. "Trump threatens to 'totally destroy North Korea' and calls Kim Jong Un 'Rocket Man'," *The Washington Post*, September 20, 2017, <<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2017/09/19/in-u-n-speech-trump-warns-that-the-world-faces-great-peril-from-rogue-regimes-in-north-korea-iran/>> accessed: May 19, 2019.

inter-Korean thawing mood, the North and the U.S. seemed to be on the path to restoring relations. In his New Year address in 2018, Kim Jong Un hoped to participate in the Pyeongchang Olympics and sent a peaceful message to the international community.¹³⁾ And the Trump administration's unconventional diplomacy toward North Korea has led to a landmark U.S.-North Korea summit in world history. The first-ever summit in June 2018 raised hopes for a peaceful resolution to the nuclear standoff.¹⁴⁾ The North's secret nuclear facilities, however, surfaced at the second U.S.-North

13) Kim Jong Un said in the address that he sincerely hopes the Olympic will be held in a fruitful manner, and is willing to take necessary measures he could, including the North's dispatch of a delegation, to which the North and South Korean authorities may meet 'urgently.' "Kimjongun Sinnyeonsa"[New Year's address of Kim Jong Un], *Rodong Sinmun*[Worker's Newspaper](Pyongyang, North Korea), January 1, 2018.

14) "Ryeoksajeogin Cheot Jomisunoesangbonggwa Hoedaemeun Jigusangeseo Gajang Jeokdaejeogideon Jomigwangyereul Geukkjeogeuro Jeonhwansikigo Joseonbandowa Jiyeogui Pyeonghwawa Anjeoneul Bojanghaneunde Keuge Giyeohayeosseupnida. ... Du Nara Gwangyeneun...Hullyunghagodo Ppareun Sokdoro Jeonjinhage Deol Geosipnida. ... Neneun Migukgwau Gwangyeeseodo Olhae Buknamgwangyega Daejeonhwaneul Majeungeotscheoreom Ssangbangui Noryeoge Uihayeo Apeuro Joheun Gyeolgwaga Kkok Mandeureojilgeosirago Mitgospseupnida. ... Naneun Apeurodo Eonjedeun Ttodasi Migukdaetongryeonggwa Majuanjeul Junbiga Doeoisseumyeo Bandeusi Gukjesahoega Hwanyeonghaneun Gyeolgwareul Mandeulgi Wihae Noryeokhalgeosipnida." [The first ever talks with the U.S. president have greatly contributed to the dramatic change of the most hostile North-U.S relationship and to the guarantee of peace and security on the Korean Peninsula and in this region. ... The relationship between the two countreis will advance ... at a great and rapid pace. ... I would like to believe that good results will be made in the future by the efforts of both sides, just as the North-South relations have been transmuted this year. ... I am ready to sit down with the President of the United States again at any time in the future, and I will make every effort to produce results that the international community welcomes.] "Kimjongun Sinnyeonsa"[New Year's address of Kim Jong Un], *Rodong sinmun*[Worker's Newspaper], January 1, 2019.

summit in February 2019. The nuclear negotiations between the two states seem a long way off again.

North Korea, however, seems to deal with negotiation mood quite well without being intimidated by the U.S., a superpower compared to its own. Rather, it seems like the negotiations are well-drawn through high-level calculations by Pyongyang, which is clear in Kim Jong Un's speech. Kim has not made any strong accusations against the U.S. He, rather referring to his good personal relationship with Trump, has vowed that Washington can hold the third round of U.S.-North talks if it comes with the right manner acceptable to Pyongyang.¹⁵⁾ Being revealed of a nuclear facility, secretly

15) “Jigeum Migugi Je Samcha Jomisunoehoedamgaechoe Daehae Manhi Malhagoitneunde Urineun Hanoijomisunoehoedamgwa Hateun Sunoehoedami Jaehyeondoeneunde Daehayeoseoneun Bangapjido Anhgo Hal Uiyokdo Eopsseupnida. Hajiman Trumpdaetongryeongi Gyesok Eongeuphaneunbawa gati Nawa Trumpdaetongryeongsaiui Gaeinjeok Gwangyeneun Du Narasaiui Gwangyecheoreom Jeokdaejeogiji Anheumyeo Urineun Yeojeonhi Hullyunghan Gwangyereul Yujihagoisseumyeo Saenggaknamyeon Amu Ttaedeun Seoro Anbureul Mutneun Pyeonjido Jugobadeulsu Issseupnida. Migugi Olbareun Jasereul Gajigo Uriwa Gongyuhalsu Issneun Bangbeoproneul Chajeun Jogeoneseo Je Samcha Jomisunoehoedameul Hajago Handamyeon Uriroseodo Hanbeoneun Deo Haebol Yonguiga Issseupnida. ... Eojjaessdeun Olhaemalkkajineun Innaesimeul Gajgo Migugui Yongdaneul Gidaryeobolgeosijiman Jinanbeoncheoreom Joheun Gihoereul Dasi Eotgineun Bunmyeong Himdeulgeosipnida.”[The United States is talking a lot about holding a third round of talks, and we are not happy or willing to do it again. But as President Trump continues to mention, my personal relationship with him is not as hostile as the one between the two countries, and we still have a great chemistry, and we can exchange greetings each other whenever we want. If the U.S. is willing to hold a third round of summit with the right manner and find a way to be acceptable for each, I am willing to do it one more time. ... Anyway, I'll be waiting with patience for the U.S.' resolute decision until the end of this year, but I'm sure it's hard to get a good chance back like last time.]. “Hyun Dangye-e-seoui Sahoeju-ui Geonseolgwa Gonghwagukjeongbui Daenaeyejeongchaegae Daehayeo” [On the Construction of Socialism and the Republic's Policy of Internal and External

hold, must have been a great disgrace to Kim Jong-un in the eyes of the whole world watched it. North Korea is a doctrinaire society that supports its leader with the highest dignity like God.¹⁶⁾ It is impossible for the supreme leader to return from a crushing defeat, let alone achievement, in a diplomatic war with the enemy. Also after the talks, North Korea conducted short-range missile tests, which are believed to be aimed at leading the nuclear negotiations without provoking the United States.¹⁷⁾

The article asks how the North's foreign policy is made. To this end, it attempts to analyze what are the factors that make North Korea engage in negotiations with the U.S. The revelation of the North's secret nuclear facilities effectively broke down the U.S.-North Korea summit. North Korea, however, appears to want to maintain its negotiating stance with the U.S. even after that. North Korea negotiated with the United States during the first nuclear crisis in the past. Apart from the Agreed Framework in 1994, there are similarities between the two periods here. The North wants negotiations with the U.S., which Pyongyang has claimed the U.S. be its

Affairs at the present stage], *Rodong Sinmun*[Worker's Newspaper](Pyongyang, North Korea), April 13, 2019.

16) As for North Korean's perception on Kim Il Sung, see : B.R. Myers, *The Cleanest Race: how North Koreans see themselves and why it matters* (New York: Melville House, 2010); Kim, Byoung-lo Philo. *Pukhan, Chosŏn Ŭro Tasi Ikta: Pungnyŏk E Silchae Hanŭn Kamchwŏjin Sahoe Ŭi Simchŭng Punsŏk* [Reading North Korea by Chosun Korea: In-depth Analysis of the Real North Korean Society] (Seoul: Sŏul Taehakkyo Chulpan Munhwawŏn[Seoul University Press], 2016).

17) "Mi-buk Jeongsang Panmunjeom Hoedongedo Gyochack Yeojeon...Buk misail Dobal Jisok Ganeungseong" [The U.S.-North Korean leader's meeting at Panmunjeom remains deadlocked...Possibility to sustain the North's missile provocations], *Voice Of America Korea*(VOA Korea, U.S.A.), August 1, 2019, <<https://www.voakorea.com/a/5023821.html>> accessed: October 24, 2019.

biggest threat and an enemy of the North.

2. Puzzling Observation

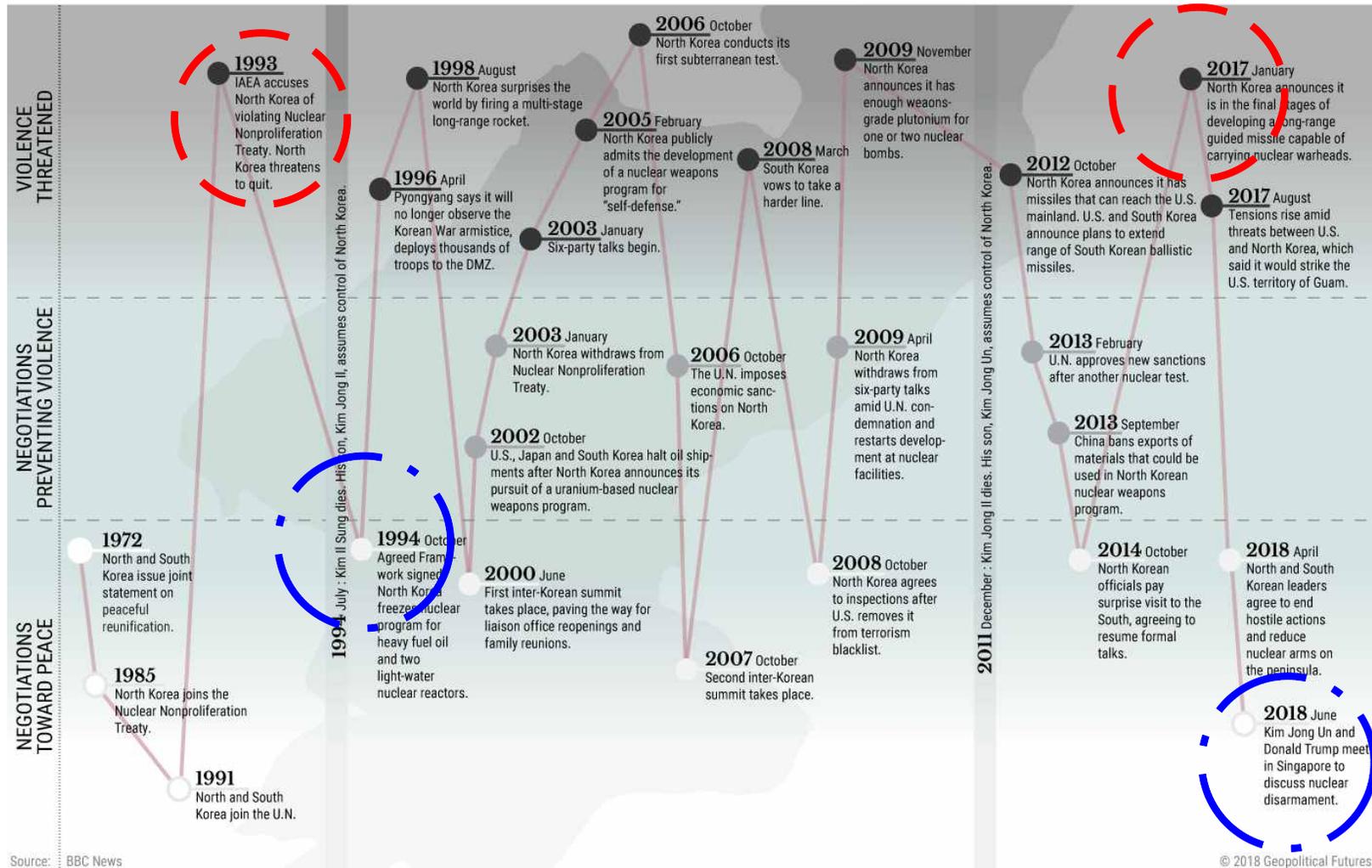
North Korea's nuclear issues have made high and lows of tensions around the world through threats and negotiations. <Figure 1> shows the ups and downs for each year.

The first North Korean nuclear crisis in 1993 occurred as the IAEA condemned North Korea for violating the NPT treaty and the North threatened to leave the NPT. The crisis over the international community reached its zenith. The U.S. considered a surgical strike on Yongbyon, the North's main nuclear site.¹⁸⁾ In 1994, the following year, North Korea, however, signed the Agreed Framework with the U.S. and tensions eased dramatically.

And in 2017, the crisis once again escalated as Pyongyang threatened to strike the U.S. mainland Guam, declaring the North is in the final stage of developing long-range missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads. Korean Peninsula stood on the amid of impending war as the missile test touched Trump's fury. The very next year, however, Kim Jong Un, in his new year's address, offers an olive branch. And on the back of the inter-Korean reconciliatory mood in 2018, North Korea pushed for negotiations with the

18) Due to concerns of mass destruction and the 1994 Geneva Agreed Framework, no actual strike was carried out. Sang-goo Lee, op. cit.

U.S. while the unprecedented U.S-North Korea summit significantly defused the level of conflict.



<Figure 1> Highs and Lows of North Korean Nuclear Negotiations

Source: GPF Team. North Korea Nuclear Talks: A Timeline. 2018, <<https://geopoliticalfutures.com/north-korea-nuclear-talks-timeline/>> accessed: May 28, 2019

<Table 1> on the next page is a summarized version of <Figure 1> and refers to major phases of those highs and lows where violence threatening and negotiations toward peace are. The table also shows which country had talks with Pyongyang in the process of leading to negotiations for peace after the threat of violence. The number of relaxation cases due to North Korea's dialogue with the U.S. is two, one in 1994 and another in 2018. Both years of heightened tension over North Korea's nuclear weapons program created a peace mood as Pyongyang wanted dialogue with Washington and began negotiations. The detente between North Korea and the U.S. first to start with negotiations and finally concluded with the Agreed Framework in 1994. And tensions eased in 2018 as the first-ever U.S.-North Korea summit began. North Korea, which has been negative about dialogue since the first U.S.-North Korea agreement in 1994, changed its attitude and turned back to talk with the U.S. in 2018, surprising world.

Apart from a number of discussions on what the outcome of the recent U.S.-North Korean negotiations will be, analysts are also divided over why the North has engaged in talks with the U.S. It is thought aligning the parallel line of 2017-18 with another of 1993-94 will provide an critical insight for understanding and explaining the present as well as the past.

<Table 1> Abbreviated Table of <Figure 1>, including countries having talks for the alleviation of crisis

Violence threatening		Negotiations toward peace		Talks between
1993	IAEA accuses North Korea of violating NPT. North Korea threatens to quit NPT	1994	Agreed Framework signed. North Korea freezes nuclear program for heavy fuel oil and two light-water nuclear reactors	North- U.S.
1998	North Korea surprises the world by firing a multistage long-range rocket	2000	The first inter-Korean summit takes place, paving the way for liaison office reopenings and family reunions	North-South Korea
2006	North Korea conducts its first subterranean test	2007	The second inter-Korean summit takes place	North-South Korea
2009	North Korea announces it has enough weapons-grade plutonium for producing one or two nuclear bombs	2014	North Korean officials pay a surprise visit to the South, agreeing to resume formal talks	North-South Korea
2017	North Korea announces it is in the final stages of developing a long-range missile	2018	Kim Jong Un and Donald Trump meet in Singapore to discuss nuclear disarmament	North- U.S.

Source: Produced by the author based on <Figure 1>

3. Research Questions

Though it is difficult to predict the future, the past is a good reference as a way of predicting the future. Therefore, it is important to study why North Korea first engaged in talks with the U.S. to normalize relations during the first North Korean nuclear crisis. What factors have led North Korea to engage in negotiations with the United States?

This article focuses on the two parallel lines from 1993-1994 when the first nuclear crisis occurred, and 2017-2018 when the North Korean nuclear crisis took place again. What appears to be similar between the parallel two lines is that ‘North Korea wants to negotiate with the U.S. and tensions have eased dramatically in the course of the negotiations.’ The ratio of negotiations compared to the ratio of provocations clearly shows this. In fact, from the past to the present, when compared the ratio of negotiations and provocations in North Korea-U.S. relations, the ratio of negotiations to provocations is highest under Kim Il Sung from 1990 to 1994 than any other period.¹⁹⁾ Moreover, the highest ratio of negotiations between 1993 and 1994 has close relations with the alleviation of the nuclear crisis. See <Table 2> on the next page.

19) Lisa Collins, *25 Years of Negotiations and Provocations: North Korea and the United States*, CSIS Beyond Parallel, <<https://beyondparallel.csis.org/25-years-of-negotiations-provocations/>> accessed : September, 2019.

<Table 2> The ratio of negotiations to provocations during the North Korean first nuclear crisis

	the ratio of negotiations(%)		Total	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
1990	60	negotiations	3	1			1	1							
		provocations	2	·	·	1	·	1	·	·	·	·	·	·	·
1991	0	negotiations	0	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·
		provocations	2	·	·	·	·	·	2	·	·	·	·	·	·
1992	60	negotiations	3	2	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	1	·
		provocations	2	·	·	·	·	1	1	·	·	·	·	·	·
1993	83	negotiations	10	1	1	1	·	1	1	1	1	2	·	·	1
		provocations	2	·	·	·	·	2	·	·	·	·	·	·	·
1994	86	negotiations	19	2	2	·	1	3	2	2	1	2	·	3	1
		provocations	3	·	·	·	·	1	1	·	·	·	·	·	·
1995	83	negotiations	19	3		2	2	1	3		1	4	2		1
		provocations	4			1					1		2		
1996	50	negotiations	10			1	2		1	2	1	1		1	1
		provocations	10				3					6		1	

Source: The author produced by Lisa Collins, *25 Years of Negotiations and Provocations: North Korea and the United States*, CSIS Beyond Parallel

<<https://beyondparallel.csis.org/25-years-of-negotiations-provocations/>> accessed: September 2019.

North Korea's diplomatic action of 'talking with the U.S.' has been shown as a reduction in international nuclear tension. The parallel line of the past that illuminates the present will provide an insight to understand the North's diplomacy today and why. The current harmony of the U.S.-North Korea negotiations could be broken and a crisis over nuclear threats could rise again, of course. The outcome of serious examination over the two parallel lines, however, would provide a clue to why North Korea wants to negotiate with the U.S. Moreover, in the future, it will help to find ways to get Pyongyang back to participate in the negotiation table again. So it could ultimately contribute to a peaceful resolution to the North Korean nuclear threat.

So, the author raises up with these research questions:

- Why did North Korea decide to have nuclear negotiation with the U.S. during the first nuclear crisis?
- What is the most important determinant in North Korea's foreign policy decision?
- How can Rosenau's analytical tool explain North Korea's foreign policy decision at the time?

4. Methodology

To find answers to these questions above, this study centers around official materials published by North Korea and existing literature. And the information collected and analyzed through literature reviewing is redefined according to the variables of Rosenau.

Rosenau's analytical tool will allow this research to compare the priorities of determinants of the North's foreign policy at the time when it decided to have nuclear negotiations with the U.S., providing the basis for this analysis of what was the most critical factor in foreign policy decisions. Therefore, this paper focuses on the variables presented in Rosenau's theory.

Meanwhile, in order to figure out a country's foreign policy, the entire process in which the policy is carried out will have to be subject to analysis. In other words, an analysis of the entire process leading from 'input, conversion,' and to output will be required. Due to the nature of closed-country North Korea, however, it is difficult to obtain whole data, especially on the 'conversion' process, and it is almost impossible to obtain official data. So most of the data is a secondary source and related to input and output, which will provide reasonable grounds for answering research questions.

And based on the tool of Rosenau, existing literature and data are analyzed. The system variables are analyzed by dividing them into world systems, regional systems, and bilateral relationships. It looks at the North amid the global order, Northeast Asian regional order and bilateral relations with South Korea. Individual variables analyze beliefs, experiences, and

perceptions of individuals participating in policymaking. Given the nature of the closed country, it is believed that the analysis can be made around a few numbers of individuals with absolute authority. Role variables can be analyzed by including them in individual variables. Government variables and social variables are also applied as tools of analysis based on Rosenau's theory. The analysis of each parameter will be summarized at the end of the analysis section.

The time horizon of this study will be central to the 1990s, when the U.S.-North negotiations took place but can be addressed before and after that, if necessary, to understand the content of the discussion.

II. Literature Review

1. The Development of the first North Korean Nuclear Crisis²⁰⁾

According to IAEA, North Korea, researching nuclear technology in the late 1950s, began its nuclear development program.²¹⁾ The history began in April 1955, when the second general assembly of the North's Academy of sciences decided to set up an atomic and nuclear physics laboratory.²²⁾ In

20) This part is summarized and re-organized by the author from following papers: Yoon Duk Min, *Daebuk Haekhyeopsangui Jeonmal* [The Whole Story of North Korean Nuclear Negotiations], (Seoul: Hangukjeonryakmunjeonguso [Korea Research Institute for Strategy(KRIS)], 1995), pp.4-277.; Wit, Joel S. et al. *Going Critical : The First North Korean Nuclear Crisis*, (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2004); Ok-im Jeong, *Buk-hack Obaekpalsippalil* [588-days of the nuclear negotiations], (Seoul: Seoul Press, 1995); Hyun Seok Yoo, *Gukjeongseui Ihae: G-too Sidae Jiguchonui Eojendawa Gukjegwangye*[Understanding of International Situation: Agenda and International Relations in G2 Era], 4th ed. (Seoul: Hanul Press, 2013); Don Oberdorfer, op. cit.

21) David Waller, "Managing the Nuclear Dilemma," IAEA Bulletin 49/1, September 2007. <<http://www.iaea.org/Publications/Magazines/Bulletin/Bull491/49103520406.pdf>>

22) During the Korean War, Kim Il-sung realized the psychological power of nuclear weapons. The rumor that the U.S. was trying to drop an atomic bomb in Manchuria or in the northern part of the Korean Peninsula caused North Koreans to leave toward south in fear and anxiety. There would also be refugees who have defected to the South in search of freedom. The refugees, however, did not care about the party's propaganda and control which tried to reassure them and prevent them from going south. Kim Il Sung realized nuclear weapon's psychological strength, not physical or military strength, decided to develop an atomic bomb and began to cling to have his nuclear weapons. Even at a time when the entire North Korean region was devastated by the U.S. bombing, the construction of a nuclear research center shows Kim Il Sung's obsession with the weapons. Thae Yong-ho, *Samcheung Seogisirui Amho* [Password of the clerk's office on third floor], (Seoul: Guiparang Press, 2018), p.42.

the 1950s and 1960s, foreign technology and facilities were brought in, and in the 1970s, after the basement for research was composed, DPRK began the process of building nuclear reactors and developing nuclear weapons in earnest in the 1980s.²³⁾

From the lessons of the Cuban missiles crisis in 1961, Kim Il Sung declared self-reliant defense policy, established underground fortress against U.S. nuclear attacks, and wanted to possess his own nuclear weapons.²⁴⁾ Accordingly, North Korea began to build an IRT-type nuclear reactor, which is a 2MW reactor for research, in January 1962 with the support of the Soviet Union.

When India succeeded in its first nuclear test as a nonalignment developing country in 1974, the world was shocked and suddenly began to focus on the danger of nuclear weapons proliferation.²⁵⁾ The proliferation issue had become the biggest concern of the U.S. government, and the state's intelligence agency closely put eyes on each country's attempts to develop nuclear weapons.

But during the Cold War era, North Korea's suspected nuclear development was only a potential problem, not a practical one. The North's security was secure with the support of the former Soviet bloc, and the confrontation between the U.S. and Soviet Union was concentrated in Europe. The U.S. noticed the North's nuclear development in the 1970s, but

23) Lee Chun Geun, *Gwahakgisullo Ilkneun Bukhanhaek* [North Korean Nuclear Program read by Science and Technology], (Seoul: Saenggagui Namu[Tree of Thoughts], 2005), pp.72-75.

24) Wit, Joel S. et al, op. cit. p.3.

25) Don Oberdorfer, op. cit. p.115.

its nuclear ambitions weren't a major problem in the world, especially when North Korea agreed to inspection in 1992 after joining IAEA and signing NPT. DPRK joined IAEA in September 1974 and signed on safeguards for research reactors between the North and IAEA in September 1977. In 1985, it appeared to keep move with the world's effort for non-proliferation of nuclear by joining NPT.²⁶⁾

Meanwhile, the North started planning 5MW graphite-moderated reactors in July 1980 and operated the 5MW reactor in Yongbyon from October 1986. In 1986, with the help of the Soviet Union, DPRK agreed to build a nuclear power plant.²⁷⁾ After joining NPT, North Korea was allowed to have an 18-month of the grace period by IAEA to sign the safety inspection agreement. Until December 1988, however, the deadline for another extended delay, DPRK did nothing and the deadline passed.²⁸⁾ Pyongyang's continual refusal to sign and inspection by the IAEA safeguards agreement has in earnest raised suspicions of developing nuclear weapons.²⁹⁾

26) North Korea joins the NPT in December 1985 under pressure to join it while receiving a light water reactor from the Soviet Union. Hyun Seok Yoo, op. cit. p.204;

27) Accordingly, the construction began with the aim of completing the 50MW reactor in 1995 and the 200MW reactor in 1996. North Korea faced a crisis in economic-military development in the 1980s due to a chronic slump in the energy sector, and the need for nuclear energy development was imperative. Thus, the government stepped up nuclear energy development to supplement its serious energy resource shortage and overcome the crisis of both economic and military development. But after the collapse of the socialist bloc, North Korea attempts to weaponize it by extracting plutonium to make up for its military inferiority. Kim, Byoung-lo Philo, op. cit. pp.341-342.

28) Eventually, under U.S.' pressure, North Korea signs a nuclear safety agreement with the IAEA on Jan. 30, 1992. Hyun Seok Yoo, op. cit. p.205.

29) Yoon Duk Min, op. cit. p.18.

Hence, the U.S. begins to observe the North's nuclear activities after the 1980s. A U.S. surveillance satellite films an object similar to a nuclear reactor being built in the Yongbyon area in April 1982. By 1984, it photographs nuclear reactors, cooling towers, and other facilities, making it clear that DPRK had built a nuclear reactor.³⁰⁾

Suspicious on nuclear weapons development intensified in 1986 when a satellite filmed traces of an explosion test. And a nuclear fuel reprocessing facility was confirmed to have been built as well. The area was equipped with a high fence and anti-aircraft weapon.³¹⁾ This serves as an opportunity for diplomatic contacts between the U.S. and the North to take place from 1988. In December 1988, DPRK begins to have talks with the U.S.³²⁾

Then, in 1989, the North's nuclear facilities in Yongbyon were confirmed by France's SPOT 22 non-military satellite video, which spread suspicions over North Korea's nuclear development around the international community and began to be subject to denuclearization.³³⁾ And many changes in the late 1980s and early 1990s in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe bring the Cold war to an end. Support from the Soviet Union to the North was

30) But the construction of the reactor does not mean that it will develop nuclear weapons. It is not clear whether the possession of the reactor itself is a peaceful use of nuclear energy or whether it is a plutonium extraction from which spent fuel is reprocessed to become a source of nuclear bombs. Don Oberdorfer, op. cit.

31) Ibid. Ch.11. North Korea's Nuclear Development and IAEA's Inspection.

32) North Korea and the United States had a total of 33 Beijing councilor-level contacts between December 1988 and late May 1993 before the North-U.S. talks were held. Kim, Byoung-lo Philo. op. cit. p.342.

33) Kim Beob-Heon, "Prospect of Denuclearization of North Korea and Peace Building Process on the Korean Peninsula: Optimism, Challenges, and Response Strategies," *Journal of Northeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 23 No.3, September 2018, p.143

halted. From this point on, North Korea steps up its nuclear technology to secure its own security.³⁴⁾

Since 1992, IAEA has demanded the North admit safeguard inspection, while the North has continued to reject. In February 1993, IAEA called for special inspections of two nuclear-waste repositories. And a resolution was adopted on 25 to conduct the inspections into North Korea.

The resolution was a significant event for both IAEA and North Korea. For the IAEA, its authority would be useless if the special inspection did not win international support. And the anti-proliferation campaign, which had been underway since an inspection in Iraq, was likely to retreat decisively. From the North's point of view, the inspection appeared to be just the beginning of interference that will intensify in the future.

DPRK announces its withdrawal from NPT on March 12, 1993, resulting in the first nuclear crisis.³⁵⁾ North Korea and the U.S. began preliminary contacts in New York to defuse the nuclear crisis and issued a joint declaration on June 11, 1993. The U.S.-DPRK high-level meetings at the UN mission in New York to defuse the crisis end with a joint statement agreeing on security assurances, a nuclear-free peninsula, the peaceful reunification Korea, and the DPRK suspending withdrawal from NPT. The gist of the declaration is North Korea's security guaranteed by the U.S., the two sides' agreement to continue the formal dialogue and the decision to

34) Jin Canrong, "Evolution of China's Policies toward the North Korean Nuclear Issue," *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, 2013.06, Korea Research Institute for Strategy, June 2013. pp.103-116.

35) The NPT is required to allow it to notify members of their withdrawal to protect vital national interests. There is a three-month grace period before the withdrawal takes effect. Hyun Seok Yoo, op. cit.

withhold its withdrawal from the NPT ‘while DPRK thinks it is necessary’ in return.³⁶⁾

The joint statement cannot root up suspicions on North Korea’s nuclear development. The U.S. draws up a package deal to resolve the issue of safeguard inspections on November 15. The situations, however, worsen after a statement was issued that the Patriot missiles will be deployed in South Korea and that the Team Spirit(TS) military exercise will be resumed if the North refuses to accept the nuclear inspection. North Korea returns to a hard-line mood again, causing a stir with ‘Sea of fire’ remarks.

North Korea pushed ahead with the replacement of its nuclear fuel rods in the absence of IAEA’s inspection and said the U.N. sanctions regarded as a declaration of war, which the North would not step back.³⁷⁾

On June 10, 1994, IAEA’s sanctions suspending technical assistance to the nuclear program on DPRK was adopted, and the North announced that it would withdraw from IAEA and expel inspectors of IAEA from North Korea. The U.S. discussed a U.S. troop buildup plan around the Korean Peninsula,³⁸⁾ and a resolution was passed in the Senate urging the U.S. to

36) Through these nuclear agreements, the U.S. prevented the disruption of the NPT, and North Korea has achieved what is recognized as an official entity for holding formal talks with the U.S. If North Korea leaves the NPT, it would be the first country to leave the NPT and hurt U.S. efforts to prevent nuclear proliferation. Ibid.

37) From this point on, the U.S. military headquarters in South Korea begins military preparations against possible North Korean provocations. The U.S. military’s Operation Plan 5027 was specifically considered. Discussions on the war plan predict that 52,000 U.S. soldiers and 490,000 South Korean soldiers will be killed and that it will cost \$61 billion in armaments in the event of war on the Korean Peninsula. Ibid.

38) The U.S. it believes should try to strengthen its military and tactics that are different from that of the Gulf War, as North Korea already understands U.S. tactics

beef up its military capabilities in the South. North Korea announces it will accept it as a declaration of war. On June 16, 1994, U.S. military commander Gary Luck and ambassador Rainey decided to conduct an evacuation operation for Americans residing in South Korea. In the U.S., the U.N. approves sanctions against North Korea on the same day and reviews the U.S. military buildup plan in the surrounding areas of the Peninsula.³⁹⁾

On the very same day, former president Carter, as an individual, was in Pyongyang and having a meeting with Kim Il Sung, North Korean leader.⁴⁰⁾ Kim Il Sung allowed to freeze nuclear development and continue the IAEA inspections of North Korea. He also called for the U.S. to formally declare that it will not bombard nuclear weapons against North Korea⁴¹⁾ and called for the denuclearization of the Peninsula.

Carter's visit to Pyongyang has also put ease the U.S. government's intention to increase the number of U.S. troops in the Peninsula, and the heightened sense of crisis on the Korean Peninsula has eased.⁴²⁾ As Kim

through the Gulf War. In the event of an emergency, 26,000 Marines from Okinawa, Japan, were also scheduled to be deployed, while the aircraft carrier Independence and the Constellation were also participating in naval exercises in Hawaii. The U.S. urged South Korea to adopt Counter Battery Radar. *The Washington Times*, June 15, 1994.

39) Hyun Seok Yoo, op. cit.

40) In fact, Carter had already received a request from Kim Il Sung to visit North Korea long ago.

41) "N.Korean demand unanswered: Kim wants no-first-strike pledge," *The Washington Times*, June 21, 1994.

42) At that time, President Clinton was in a two-hour impasse with top White House security aides over how to build up military power on the Korean Peninsula over sanctions against North Korea. Carter was on CNN-TV live to urge the U.S. government to withdraw its sanctions on North Korea after he called Pyongyang to announce his plan to break the deadlock. Carter's CNN interview informed the world

Il-sung accepted South Korean President Kim Young-sam's proposal for a summit between the South and the North without preconditions, expectations for the first-ever summit between the South and the North have also risen. Clinton announced that the U.S. start the third U.S.-North Korea talks in Geneva in early July, during which it would be discussed that the North Korean nuclear issue and the improvement of U.S.-North Korea relations.⁴³⁾ North Korea proposed that the third round of high-level talks with the United States be held in Geneva on July 8, 1994. It also accepts South Korea's proposal to hold a South-North summit in Pyongyang in July from 25 to 27.⁴⁴⁾

Kim Il Sung, however, died on the first day of the third talks between the U.S. and North Korea, forcing the talks to go into recess abruptly.⁴⁵⁾ Fortunately, North Korea agreed to resume U.S.-North Korea dialogue after the funeral of Kim Il-sung.⁴⁶⁾ Eventually, on Oct. 21, 1994, North Korea

of the meeting between him and Kim Il Sung and embarrassed the White House as well. As a result of the two-hour meeting, the U.S. government has decided to "swiftly shift" its policy toward North Korea as a solution through dialogue. "CNN Again takes world stage with Carter interview," *The Washington Times*, June 17, 1994; "Carter's Call From N. Korea Offered Option: Administration Seized on New Chance at Diplomacy," *The Washington Post*, June 26, 1994.

43) U.S. President Bill Clinton's Statement on North Korea's Nuclear Program and U.S. Response to It & Press Conference with President Clinton, Subject: "North Korea," The White House Briefing Room, June 22, 1994; "North Korea Confirms Freeze," *The Washington Post*, June 23, 1994.

44) "2 Koreas Set Date For First Meeting Of Their Leaders," *The New York Times*, June 29, 1994.

45) "North Korean President Kim Il Sung Dies," *The Washington Post*, July 9, 1994; "Korea nuclear talks on hold: U.S. wary after death of North's ruler," *Chicago Tribune*, July 10, 1994.

46) "U.S. hopeful on N.Korea," *USA Today*, July 11, 1994.

and the U.S. signed the Agreed Framework, dramatically resolving the first crisis over Pyongyang's nuclear program.⁴⁷⁾

During the first nuclear crisis, a series of events led to a confrontation with the United States in 1994 over the inspection of North Korean nuclear sites. This diplomatic confrontation between Washington and Pyongyang led the United States to impose trade sanctions on the North, which Pyongyang announced would be considered an act of war. Luckily, visiting Pyongyang and having a meeting with Kim Il Sung, former U.S. president Jimmy Carter intervened dramatically in the midst of the impending war-like circumstances and successfully defused the crisis on the peninsula.

47) For the text of the Agreed Framework, see: Young Whan Kihl and Peter Hayes, eds. *Peace and Security in Northeast Asia: The Nuclear Issue and the Korean Peninsula* (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1997).

2. North Korea's foreign policy

The foreign policy of other countries will be as difficult to explain, but no other country will be as difficult to explain its foreign policy as North Korea. In the past, access to North Korean materials was not easy, especially in South Korea amid the Cold War regime caused by ideological confrontation and the division of the two Koreas.⁴⁸⁾ Though the free world virtually won the ideological confrontational war,⁴⁹⁾ even in this information age, it did not improve much. Because North Korea itself is a socialist-based party-state state, a closed country to the outside world, it is not easy to look inside.

Therefore, information and data to analyze the North's foreign policy are extremely limited to get. The difficulties faced in North Korean studies are mostly due to the vulnerability of data. North Korea has few official documents opened regarding its foreign policy. It is also difficult to grasp the situation inside North Korea because it rarely discloses various statistics

48) Lee Hong-Koo mentions the constraints of North Korean research in terms of structure and history. He says that the lack of an analytical mind on national division, conflict caused by the Cold War system, and national division based on the traditional experience of 'one nation, one state' constraints North Korean research. Lee Hong-Koo, "Bukhanyeongui Hakmunjeok Gwaje"[Academic Challenges of North Korean Studies], in *Bukhanui Oneulgwa Nae-il*[North Korea's Today and Tomorrow] (Seoul:Beopmoonsa), 1985. pp.9-11.; Han Ho-Seok presents the phenomenon of South Korea's suppression policy and modification processing policy, North Korea's secretive policy, and the North's experts' prior experience recognition. Han Ho-Seok, *Bukhanhagui Saerwoon Jipyong*[A New Review of North Korean Studies], <www.onekorea.org/research/ell.html>

49) Fukuyama, Francis, *The End of History and the Last Man* by Francis Fukuyama, (New York:Free Press, 1992)

or major policy decisions. Unlike ordinary countries releasing confidential data after a certain period of time, North Korea never releases and open secrets. So, it is almost impossible to obtain original data related to the North's foreign policy.

What makes research harder than a lack of data is the distortion and reinterpretation of North Korea's official documents. It is difficult to grasp objective facts because North Korean newspapers and official documents have strong internal and external propaganda. In particular, North Korea has restated historical facts of the past based on the Juche ideology since the establishment of the Juche ideology system. And the official documents were written centered on Kim Il Sung. Therefore, the official materials we have access to have great significance as propaganda tools for the North Korean regime. For example, the documents contained in 'Kim Il Sung Collection', 'Anthology of Kim Il Sung' written,' and 'Kim Il Sung Book,' which were used as key materials to study North Korea at that time, are highly modified, deleted and added.⁵⁰⁾ Therefore, the reliability of the original data is problematic and the use and analysis of the original data are limited. In the end, if one relies entirely on official documents in the study of North Korea, there will be errors in interpretation of the facts.

Hence, it is desirable to use the original document issued in North Korea and the one without revision as much as possible, but maintain objectivity by utilizing the contents derived from the previous research as well.

There has been a steady attempt to explain the North's foreign policy.⁵¹⁾

50) Kyu Seop Jeong, *Bukhanoegyoui Eojewa Oneul* [Yesterday and Today in North Korea Diplomacy], (Seoul: Ilsinsa, 1997) p. 14

51) As for major research achievement in North Korea diplomacy studies, refer to: B.

Even if it is difficult to look inside the country in a transparent manner, it can observe and analyze its external actions expressed in that country's foreign policy or its diplomatic relations with relevant countries. In this respect, researchers have tried to approach in from the outside.

During the post-Cold War, North Korea was an isolated and backward country. And the U.S. was the world's strongest power. The relations between the North and the U.S, which could be likened to David and Goliath, almost escalated into an all-out war during the first North Korean nuclear crisis. And it has been an issue of concern for all scholars. Therefore, there are countless books and papers dealing with the period. These discussions are mainly about the North's negotiating strategy, foreign policy or the North's nuclear issue. In addition, there are several volumes written by journalists or officials who directly or indirectly involved in the first North Korean nuclear crisis, which deals with the whole process in their view. These books detail the full story of negotiations in the event of the first North Korean nuclear crisis.⁵²⁾

C. Koh, *The Foreign Policy of North Korea*(New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969); B. C. Koh, *The Foreign Policy Systems of North and South Korea*(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Wayne S. Kiyosaki, *North Korea's Foreign Relations: The Politics of Accommodation, 1945-75*(New York: Praeger, 1976); Seong Cheol Yang, Seong Hak Kang co ed., *Bukhanoegyojeongchaek*[North Korean Foreign Policy], (Seoul: Seoul Press, 1995); Yong Ho Kim, *Hyundaebukhan-oegyoron*[Modern North Korea Diplomacy], (Seoul: Oreum, 1996); Jae Gyu Park, *Bukhanui Sin-oegyowa Saengjonjeollyack* [North Korea's New Diplomacy and Survival Strategies], (Seoul: Nanam, 1997) and etc.

52) Books journalists write : Chan Soon Nam, *Pyongyang-ui Hackmiso*[North Korea's Nuclear Smile], (Seoul: Jajaknamu, 1995); Jae Mock Kim, *Bukhack Hyupsangdrama*[North Korean Nuclear Negotiation Drama], (Seoul: Kyungdang, 1995); Obderdorfer and Harrison, in particular, look at the overall situation on the Korean Peninsula, the North Korean nuclear issue and the past of inter-Korean relations,

Robert Gallucci, U.S. assistant secretary of state for political and military affairs during the first North Korean nuclear crisis and back then White House National Security Council official Daniel Poneman, who was responsible for the North Korean nuclear issue, and Joel S. Wit, a State Department official who was responsible for implementing the Geneva agreement, co-authored a book 'Going Critical: The First North Korean Nuclear Crisis.' The book vividly deals with the full story of the North Korean nuclear crisis as if a movie, and also describes the international and domestic political context at the time as well.⁵³⁾ The authors also draw stories from their experiences and memos, as well as from official U.S. documents and interviews with many people. This also gives an insight into the mood of U.S. politics at the time of the negotiations.

Kenneth C. Quinones, another U.S. official who directly participated in the negotiations, detailed the situation and behind-the-scenes stories of the negotiations and the process of contact with North Korean representatives and a tug-of-war with them in his book "North Korea's Nuclear Threat 'Off The Record' Memories."⁵⁴⁾ It also described the tactics of the negotiators at

pointing to the back of the North Korea-U.S. nuclear negotiations and the loopholes in U.S. policy. Don Oberdorfer, op. cit.; Selig S. Harrison, *Korean Endgame: a Strategy for Reunification and U.S. disengagement* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002). Books written by officials who were in the period of the 1st North Korean Nuclear Crisis : Wit, Joel S. et al. op. cit.; Yong Jun Lee, *Bukhanhaeck Saeroun Gaeimui Beopchik*(Seoul: Chosunilbosa, 2004); U.S. Former President Jimmy Carter engaged in and mediated the relation between the U.S. and the North in order to alleviate the 1st North Korean Nuclear Crisis. He visited Pyongyang and met Kim Il Sung. Carter describes details of his visit to North, agreements and subsequent implementation in his memoir style book. Carter, Jimmy, *A Full Life: Reflections at Ninety* (New York: Simon&Schuster, 2016)

53) Wit, Joel S. op. cit.

the time, such as the bureaucracy in Washington and the North Korean representatives, and the off the record scenes of the political and diplomatic stage.

Michael J. Mazarr gave an academic insight to both sides' positions in the process of the negotiations.⁵⁵⁾

Leon V. Sigal elaborates on the process and development in which the nuclear crisis occurred, and ultimately how it was mitigated. He points to a U.S. mentality that favors coercion over negotiations, especially in dealing with aggressive countries. He also claimed that the reason for the failure of the nuclear talks was because of U.S. foreign policy decision-makers who were not aware of the reality of the North.⁵⁶⁾

These books, along with most academic analyzes, have tried a journalism approach. While analyzing the focus of U.S. national interest through a realist prism, the parties involved in the nuclear negotiations, conflicts of interest, and pursuit of national interest, were composed interestingly with official records and testimonies.

Ok-im Jeong, in her book “Buk-hack Obaekpalsippalil [588-days of the nuclear negotiations],” traced the 588-days of the process by time and described it in an academic perspective from March 12, 1993, when the North announced its withdrawal from NPT, to October 21, 1994, when the

54) Kenneth C. Quinones, *I-cheung Ppangjibeseo Gyeoljeongdoen Hanbando Unmyeong* [North Korea's Nuclear Threat “Off the Record” Memories], (Seoul: Joongang M&B, 2000)

55) Michael J. Mazarr, *North Korea and the Bomb* (Washington D.C.: St. Martin's Press, 1995).

56) Leon V. Sigal, *Disarming Strangers: Nuclear Diplomacy with North Korea* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1998)

Agreed Framework was signed.⁵⁷⁾ These books dealing with the process of the first North Korean nuclear negotiations are expected to be important reference materials for later research for historical evaluation.

In a study on North Korea's foreign policy toward the U.S, Sang Kyu Kim set up an analysis framework by transforming and developing the Brecher Model and 'input, transform, and output' model of the macro policy-determination process.⁵⁸⁾ He argues the North's policy toward the U.S. is mainly focused on the communization of the Korean Peninsula.⁵⁹⁾ He also insists that economic and domestic political factors have combined to influence the North's approach to the United States. Thus, the determinants of North Korea's foreign policy toward the U.S. are claimed that unification of the Korean Peninsula, economic and political factors and changes in the international situation around the Korean Peninsula are related. So, there were variables in domestic of the North, such as the ideological factors of 'Juche,'⁶⁰⁾ and communization of the Peninsula, the emergence of a

57) Ok-im Jeong, op. cit.

58) Sang Kyu Kim, *Bukhanui Daemioegyo Jeongchaegye Gwanhan Yeongu : Jeongchaekgyeoljeong Yoineul Jungsimeuro*[A Study on North Korea's Foreign Policy toward the U.S. : On the basis of policy-making factors], (Seoul: Seoul University Press, 1985)

59) In 1980, preface of the Workers' Party's protocol stipulated that the ultimate purpose of the Workers' Party is to establish the whole society based on Juche ideology and to build a communist society. On September 28, 2010, however, the Protocol was amended to delete the "construction of a communist society" by stipulating that the ultimate purpose is to fully ideologicalize the whole society on the basis of Juche with the people's self-reliance ideology. This undermines the rationale for several scholars who argue that the North is not giving up its ambition to reunify the Korean Peninsula based on Communism. *Joseonrodongdanggyuyak*[The Worker's Party Protocol], (Pyongyang, 2010)

60) Since the completion of the Juche (self-reliance) ideology system, the first principle

pragmatic technocrat in the government as time goes, the emergence of a leader by overcoming economic difficulties with the help of the West in the process of inheriting power from Kim Il Sung to Kim Jong-il, who has weak legitimacy. Also, there were variables outside of the North, such as the goal of the U.S. to prevent the recurrence of war and tension on the Korean Peninsula, prevent Soviet intervention, and the Soviet Union was aiming to neutralize or communize the North.

Gye Dong Kim evaluates the North's foreign policy toward the U.S. by

of North Korea's foreign policy has been confirmed as self-reliance. Juche is a double-sided variable with a role in rationalizing foreign policy and hindering objective reality. Kyu Seop Jeong, op. cit.; On the other hand, it may be unreasonable to regard the ideology as a factor in policy decision-making, given that its interest in ideology results in a futile attempt to understand Juche, a pseudo-political theory unrelated to the North's real policy. Juche ideology rather provides an authoritative label for all policies pursued by the North. Myers shows how far North Korea's ruling ideology is from the theory of communism, Confucianism and wartime self-reliance. Myers sums up North Korea's ideology in a single sentence that is not complicated. In other words, "Joseon cannot survive in this evil world without great leaders like their parents because their lineage is extremely pure and therefore very noble." Understanding this fact alone can better understand why North Koreans are loyal to the North's regime in the struggle of hunger. B.R. Myers, op. cit. pp.10-48.; Juche ideology can be seen as a Stalin system that has been transformed in a unique way. The Sino-Soviet conflict, and the criticism of Stalin by Khrushchev, also came as a great threat to North Korea's founder Kim Il Sung. This situation induced the North Korean communism, which was transplanted under the principles of Max-Leninism, in a more unique way. The culmination of this transformation is the Juche idea, which was founded by Kim Il Sung and developed theoretically by Kim Jong Il. Juche was the product of a sense of urgency that forced Kim Il Sung to seek survival. Kang Sin Chang, *Bukhanhak Wollon*[The Theory of North Korean Studies], (Seoul: Eullyumoonhwasa, 1998), p. 39; Bonggyu Park, "Comparative Study about Korean Governments' Policy toward North Korea in Terms of Rosenau's Foreign Policy Decision Making Theory," in *Gongsanonmoonjip*[Korea Air Force Academy Papers] 66-1, pp.110-129. Korea Air Force Academy(Chungju, Korea), 2015. pp.113-114.

dividing it into two parts: inevitable changes in the domestic system and external relations after the death of Kim Il Sung in 1994. The policy is classified according to the character of the times: the period of strengthening hostile relations with the U.S.(1948 to 1968), of beginning of the people's diplomacy(1969 to 1974), of strengthening contacts with the U.S.(1974 to 1979), of worsening due to the Cold War(1980 to 1987),⁶¹⁾ of talking directly with the U.S.(1988 to 1991), and of cooling-off because of the North's nuclear issue(1992 to 1994).

In addition, considering the crisis and threats facing North Korea during the first North Korean nuclear crisis, the author believes that it will be difficult to avoid an open-door policy (i.e. negotiation with the U.S.) and that if the policy is successfully implemented, the North will be able to stabilize its regime.

Chan-soon Nam attempted to analyze the North-U.S. negotiations with a structural approach at the international system level.⁶²⁾ The previous studies on the North Korea-U.S. nuclear negotiations were microscopic analysis, which centered on actors consists of the U.S. and North Korea, most of whom are negotiating parties. Nam Chan-soon elaborates his study by referring to the structure of the international system in Northeast Asia as a variable for the North Korea-U.S. nuclear negotiations during the first North Korean nuclear crisis. In other words, he agrees the structure of the system

61) Sung Woo Seo, Bukhanui Daemijungchaek Byunhwagwajung[North Korea's Changing Policy toward the U.S.],“ in *Bukhan*[North Korea] May 1987, no.185, pp.162-174, Bukhanyungsoo(Seoul). p.163

62) Chan Soon Nam, A Structural Approach to the D.P.R.K-U.S. Nuclear Negotiations(1993-94), (Korea: Kyungnam University Press, 2004)

regulates and constrains the behavior of a nation. North Korea had to come up with its own self-help measures for its regime survival and security in the early 1990s when the North first experienced changes of the international system from the Detente. The post-Cold War was essentially characterized by chaos among the establishment of a new order. The North's nuclear issue was raised in that very situation, and it provided a new opportunity for the North to overcome the regime crisis, whether intended from the start or accidental. And North Korea has been able to get security guarantees and economic aid through nuclear negotiations with the U.S.

But Nam's research has the limit that factors from within the country have not been considered, as the author admits, by describing the state's actions only in a structure of the international system.

Yong-ho Kim, a professor at the Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security, borrows Rosenau's pre-theory as an analytical framework to study North Korea's foreign policy determinants.⁶³⁾ Kim's research was announced shortly after a settlement on the provision of light-water reactors, the biggest pending issue in the implementation of the Geneva Agreement. Therefore, the North's foreign policy decision factors were analyzed around the first North Korean nuclear crisis in a timely manner. His discussion does not directly ask questions raised by this dissertation. However, it is consistent with the objectives of this paper in terms of the time period of the study and the framework of the analysis. Hence, Kim's research case seems to be an important reference in this paper.

63) Yong Ho Kim, *Bukhan-oegyojungchaegui Gyuljung-yoin*[Determinants of North Korea's Foreign Policy], in *Bukhan-oegyojungchaek*[North Korea's Foreign Policy] (Seoul: Seoul Press, 1995) pp.61-73.

Kim also suggested a bit different and interesting argument on the priorities of determinants of the North's foreign policy than Rosenau's analytical framework.⁶⁴⁾

Ho-yeol Yoo, Director of research and coordination at the Institute for National Unification, deals with the decision-making structure and process of North Korea's foreign policy.⁶⁵⁾ He analyzes the North's particular policy-making structure and process focusing on the inter-relationships

64) According to Rosenau, in countries of 'Small-Underdeveloped-Closed' type (like North Korea), foreign policy determinants are prioritized by individuals, systems, roles, government and societal variables. But Yong Ho Kim argues that individuals, systems, government variables are important, while roles and societal variables are relatively less important. And he says the importance of system variables is relatively lower than that of other countries of the same type. Ibid. p.71.

65) Ho Yeol Yoo, *Bukhan-oegyojungchaegui Gyljunggoojowa Gwajung*[The Decision-Making Structure and Process of North Korea's Foreign Policy] in *Bukhan-oegyojungchaek*[North Korea's Foreign Policy] (Seoul: Seoul Press, 1995) pp.49-60. Other papers covering the decision-making structure and process of North Korea's foreign policy, see : Gil Jae Yoo, "Bukhandaeojeongchaegui Gyeoljeonggujowa Gwajeong[The Decision-Making Structure and Process of North Korea's Foreign Policy]," in *Tong-ilmoonjeyungoo*[Study on the Unification of Korea] Vol.3, no.4, Winter, 1991; In Young Jeon, "Oegyoejeongchaek Gyeoljeonggujowa gwajeong Mit Gaebangui Munje: Teukjeongsaryebunseok[Foreign Policy Decision Structure and Process and the Problems of Opening: Analysis of Specific Cases]," in *Sahoegwahakgwa Jungchaek-yungoo*[Socials Science and Research on Policy], Vol.15, no.2, June 1993; Byungchul Koh, "Bukhakdae-oejungchaegui Hyungsunggwajung [Process of North Korea's Foreign Policy]," in *Bukhanui Daeoejeongchaek*[North Korea's Foreign Policy], (Seoul: Kyungnamdae Geukdongmoonjeyungooso), 1986; Chang Hee Park, *Sin-bookhanjungchiron* [New North Korean Politics] (Seoul: Ilsilsa, 1990); Nam Sik Kim, "Bukhanui Daeoejungchaekgyuljunggwajung[Process of Decision-Making of North Korea's Foreign Policy]," in *Bukhanui Daeoegwangye*[North Korea's Foreign Relations] (Seoul: Daewangsa, 1987); Jung Hyun Sheen, "Oegyoejeongchaekgwa Daeoegwangye [Foreign policy and diplomatic relations]," in *Bukhanui Jungchi*[Politics of North Korea] (Seoul: Eullyumoonhwasa, 1990)

between these. In addition, when it comes to the policy-making structure, the research attempted to explain as much of the behavior of the policy-making process as possible by analyzing actual cases of foreign policy decisions based on testimonies and a book by Young-hwan Ko, who was a former North Korean embassy councilor in Congo and a defector to South Korea.⁶⁶⁾ To this end, Yoo looked at participants in foreign policy decisions, and their roles and autonomy. He also said that the process of making foreign policy decisions in North Korea is viewed as 'a leader with absolute power making decisions on his own plus only a few bureaucrats participating in the decision-making process,' and that the policy-making process has the conformable nature of unilaterally assuring interest, views, and will of the leader. It is assessed that this kind of process allowed Kim Il Sung to finally make a dramatic turnaround through his talks with Carter when the North faced a crisis in the first round of nuclear negotiations between the U.S. and North Korea. In other words, North Korea's policy-making process can effectively cope with the crisis or sudden developments and respond quickly to changes in the situation.

Kyu-seop Jeong studied North Korea's diplomacy with an analysis that values environmental factors.⁶⁷⁾ He suggests environmental factors as influencing foreign policy by being perceived and responsive by policymakers.⁶⁸⁾ He also clarified the division of time period of North

66) Young Hwan Ko, *Pyongyang I-sibosi*[Pyongyang's twenty five hours], (Seoul: Koryowon, 1992)

67) Kyu Seop Jeong, op. cit. pp. 16, 211-258.

68) Major researches arguing importance of circumstance on foreign policy study, see: Harold Sprout and Margaret Sprout, "Environmental Factors in the Study of International Politics," in James N. Rosenau, ed., *International Politics and Foreign*

Korea's foreign policy, pointing out problems arising from the previous way of time division and trying to take an objective approach.⁶⁹⁾ He argues that the global order, including the collapse of the socialist bloc and the end of the Cold War in the late 1980s, has taken on a new pattern, and that the North has begun to make efforts to adapt to it, including seeking inter-Korean co-existence and approaching the U.S. and Japan. He analyzes the environmental factors of changing the international environment and foreign policy, and the North's perception and response to them. According to him, North Korea needs to approach the U.S. due to changes in the international environment. Therefore, the North claims to have sought a way to approach the U.S. with nuclear diplomacy.

Policy: A Reader in Research and Theory(New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1961), pp. 106-119; Richard c. Snyder, H. W. Bruck, and Burton Sapin, *Foreign Policy Decision-Making: An Approach to the Study of International Politics*(New York: The Free Press, 1962); Michael Brecher, *The Foreign Policy System of Israel: Settings, Images, Process*(New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972)

69) Some of the problems arising from the time division of the existing North Korean foreign policy studies include the lack of an objective approach to North Korea's foreign policy and the lack of clear standards on the time division. Based on changes in the foreign policy line or basic direction presented by the North and actual policy developments, Kyu Seop Jeong suggests the period division from 1948 to 1954 of Bloc diplomacy, from 1955 to 1965 of Several changes in foreign policy, from 1966 to 1970 of Self-reliance establishment and development, from 1971 to 1979 of Pursuing globalization in foreign policy, from 1980 to 1988 of Systemization of foreign policy ideology and struggling for openness policy, from 1989 to July 1994, when Kim Il Sund dead, of Adaptation toward the rearrangement of world order, and from Kim's dead and after then of Kim Jung Il's foreign policy development period. Kyu Seop Jeong, op. cit. pp.24-25.

III. Analytical framework

1. A theoretical approach to determinants of foreign policy

The definition of foreign policy varies from scholar to scholar. Wallace cites this diversity of foreign policy definitions as one of the reasons why the study of foreign policy has been sluggish compared to that of other fields.⁷⁰⁾

Holsti calls foreign policy ‘an act by which a nation pursues and achieves its own external purpose with its own national power.’⁷¹⁾ Rosenau defines foreign policy as ‘an authoritative measure taken or vowed to take by the official representatives of the government to change the international environment in the direction they consider desirable, and any attitude and acts in which organized national societies try to profits in the international environment.’⁷²⁾

As such, the definitions of foreign policy vary, but aggregating the definitions of scholars can generally conclude that: A foreign policy can be defined as a relationship between a wide range of countries covering all activities, including politics, economy, society, culture, etc., in the interest of the state or in the achievement of its own goal, by the policy-maker of any action, decision, and attitude that continues to unfold to other countries or

70) Wallace, William, *Foreign Policy and the Political Process*, (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd. 1971) pp.11-12

71) K.J. Holsti, *International Politics: A Framework for Analysis*, (3rd Edition, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1976) pp.107-108.

72) Rosenau, J. N. 1962. *A Theory of Foreign Policy*, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1962) p. 71

international entities.

Determinants of foreign policy mean the variables that affect when foreign policy is first conceived and actually implemented. Foreign policy decision factors can be easily divided into factors outside the country and those within the country.⁷³⁾ Specifically, however, it is not easy to identify which variables are present in external and internal factors. This is because it is not easy to consider a number of variables affecting foreign policy as foreign policy determinants in the complicated situation of deciding foreign policy. The procedure and process in which foreign policy is implemented also imply uncertainty. Thus, forecasting and controlling foreign policy outcomes is almost impossible. Therefore, it is not easy to list all of the foreign policy determinants and classify them clearly. The reason the theory on determinants of foreign policy has not developed so systematically is mainly because of the comprehensive nature of foreign policy itself.

Foreign policy is an outcome of dependent variables in the results of the causal relationship when determinants of foreign policy is considered as independent variables. Variables have a variety of forms and decisions. The international system and domestic structure are the most talked-about variables which correspond to the environment where foreign policy is made. Government structures and institutions or abstract activities such as compromise can be as well. May be responsible for policy decisions as president and lawmakers and human. In addition, officials and interest groups themselves can be regarded as a foreign policy decision factor, too.

73) Ryan K. Beasley, et al. (eds.), *Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective: Domestic and International Influences on State Behavior* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc, 2002), pp. 2-3.

To overcome the difficulties of identifying foreign policy determinants, it is necessary to find the major variables that affect foreign policy and to group them according to similar characteristics. Of course, unidentifiable variables can also affect foreign policy. However, these variables are regarded as relatively less important or less influential than the variables identified. When a researcher identifies and analyzes foreign policy determinants or variables, he simply assumes that other unidentifiable determinants or variables have no influence. In order to analyze the influence of a particular factor or variable, the other determinants or variables assumed having no influence are controlled.

There are several ways to classify determinants of foreign policy. The most common method used by researchers to identify foreign policy determinants is to define determinants by introducing the concept of analytical levels. The method of identifying determinants according to the analytical level is most widely used by foreign policy researchers to analyze the foreign policy decision process and implementation process, as the theoretical stage is high and provides the most analytical tools. This method takes into account both the policy decision-makers and the external variables of the policy decision environment. Therefore, it is useful not only for identifying determinants of foreign policy but also for analyzing foreign policy.⁷⁴⁾

Researchers have to be careful when using the concept of the level of analysis. Distinguishing the analytical level is important, but more

74) Laura Neack, *The New Foreign Policy* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2003), pp. 8-11.

importantly, identifying how the variables at each level affect the foreign policy decision-making process. The reason for dividing the level of analysis is to correctly understand the impact of a particular level or specific variables on foreign policy. In practice, not only variables at a particular level affect the process of making foreign policy decisions, but variables at all levels directly or indirectly. Discussing the effects of a particular level or a particular variable does not mean that the influence of the other level or other variables is unimportant.

There are also many ways to divide the analysis level. Different scholars disagree on how many levels of analysis should be divided. Kenneth Waltz tabled three levels of analysis to find the cause of the war in "Man, the State, and War," published in 1959 based on his doctoral dissertation.⁷⁵⁾ Each level of analysis is divided into a human, state, and international systems. Waltz used the term 'image' instead of the term 'analysis level' in the book. He takes and refers to 'image' as the level of analysis.⁷⁶⁾

In 1961, David Singer presented two levels of analysis, the international system, and the nation-states, in order to clarify national relations.⁷⁷⁾ In his

75) Waltz points out that the structure of the system (third image) is necessary to understand the context of international action, and that the decision-maker (first image) and the policy-making process (second image) help to understand the dynamics of international action within such an international framework. Kenneth Waltz, *Man, the State and War* (New York, N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1959)

76) Waltz understands the third image of the international system among the three as the elemental cause of the war. According to him, the seemingly irrational war is perceived as a reasonable means of response to the nation because of the anarchism of the international system without transnational authority to coordinate between the countries. Therefore, research on international order or war would be impossible without a correct understanding of the international system. Ibid.

77) David J. Singer, "The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations," in K.

study, he examines which level of research is more useful.⁷⁸⁾

Although Waltz and Singer are said to have raised the issue of the level of analysis for the first time in the foreign policy academic field, they did not raise the issue in search of foreign policy determinants. Both Waltz and Singer were interested in international politics itself, but not in exploring foreign policy determinants. However, the distinction between the level of analysis the two have presented and the distinction between domestic and international politics through the independence of the level of foreign policy analysis has had a huge impact on identifying the factors behind foreign policy decisions.

James Rosenau is generally referred to a pioneer who systematically clarifies issues on the level of analysis in the field of foreign policy determinants. The paper "Pre-Theories and Theories of Foreign Policy," published by Rosenau in 1966, is of great importance in terms of trying to stereotype the level of foreign policy analysis.⁷⁹⁾ As the paper's title suggests, Rosenau cautiously set the possibility that the field of foreign policy determinants would be independently theorized by pointing out that foreign policy theory is in the pre-theory stage, or preliminary theory stage. Rosenau has stereotyped foreign policy determinants, or variables affecting

Knorr and S. Verba (eds.), *The International System: Theoretical Essays* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961), pp. 77-92.

78) In Singer's perspective, the study of the international system in terms of technology, and the study of the national level in terms of explanation, is more useful, given that the purpose of general social science is technology, explanation, and prediction. Ibid.

79) James N. Rosenau, "Pre-Theory and Theories of Foreign Policy," in Barry Farrell (ed), *Approaches to Comparative and International Politics* (Evanston, Illinois: North-western University Press, 1966), pp. 27-92.

foreign policy decisions, to five levels: individuals, roles, governments, societies, and systems. He identified the degree of influence these five variables have on foreign policy decisions as being relatively different depending on the size of the country, the political openness, and the degree of economic development.

The level of analysis suggested by Rosenau is not a particular foreign policy decision theory but a method of analysis to analyze the foreign policy decision process. As such, it is acknowledged that the concept used is ambiguous. His level of analysis does not mention the outcome of foreign policy decisions. Given the five levels of analysis as independent variables, there is no explanation for the foreign policy consequences of the dependent variables.

But the five levels of analysis offered by Rosenau have since been widely cited in academic papers, textbooks and research papers in foreign policy research. The theoretical and empirical studies of foreign policy decisions that have been attempted so far, especially in the field of Comparative Foreign Policy (CFP) where foreign policy research areas have shown rapid progress since the 1970s, have mostly been based on the level of analysis suggested by Rosenau. The cognitive or bureaucratic variables of the decision-maker in explaining foreign policy actions, and social factors other than the government, are still being used as very useful analytical tools in the study of foreign policy determinants.⁸⁰⁾

The level of analysis is of great help in identifying foreign policy

80) Gon Namgoong, *Ogyojungchaek Gyuljungyoin*[Determinants of Foreign Policy], in *Hyundae Ogyojungchaekron*[Modern Foreign Policy] (Seoul: Myunginmoonhwasa, 2007) pp.43-86.

determinants. The question of how many levels of analysis will be divided depends on the interest and preference of the researchers. It does not matter what level of analysis a variable belongs to. No particular level of analysis is necessarily superior. Nor does a particular level of analysis have clear boundaries from other levels of analysis. The actual foreign policy is determined by influencing the decision process with a number of variables at different levels of analysis interacting with each other. What is important is that the appropriateness and effectiveness of each variable, namely individual foreign policy determinants, vary depending on the type of foreign policy issue.

Those who study foreign policy determinants also arbitrarily divide the level of analysis according to their own interests and preferences. This paper studies the determinants of North Korea's foreign policy based on the analysis level of Rosenau.

2. Rosenau's theory on foreign policy determinants

There is no general theory explaining a certain country's foreign policy. This is because each country has acted in its own way in the international community by various determinants, and theorists have explained each country's foreign policy in its own way and its own variables.⁸¹⁾ It would take as many theories as the number of countries in the world to describe each countries' foreign policy of different characteristics according to politics, economy, society, culture, geography, etc. Also, different scholars have different interests. Thus, there could be as many ways of explaining foreign policy toward a particular country as there are a number of different scholars trying to analyze it.

Many scholars have developed theoretical frameworks to compare and analyze the foreign policy of each country in the world. Among them, Richard C. Snyder, James N. Rosenau, Michael Brecher, William D. Coplin, Patrick J. McGowan, and Charles F. Hermann are some of the most prominent scholars.⁸²⁾ Their analysis framework has similarities and differences and also has strengths and weaknesses. And the emphasis varies depending on the subject of the analysis.

81) James N. Rosenau. "Pre-theories and theories of foreign policy." in *The Study of World Politics. Vol 1: Theoretical and Methodological Challenges*.(New York: Routledge, 2005) pp.171-199. This was originally published in R. Barry Farrell (ed.), *Approaches to Comparative and International Politics* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1966), pp. 27-92. and was reprinted by permission.

82) For comprehensive assessment on these framework, refer to: Jonathan Wilkenfeld, et, al. *Foreign Policy Behavior : The Interstate Behavior Analysis Model* (Berverly Hills, California : Sage Publications, 1980), Chapter 1.

Rosenau noted that there was no general theory in foreign policy and believed that it could develop into a general theory by comparing and analyzing each country's foreign policy rather than explaining the specific foreign policy of individual countries. Thus Rosenau tried to generalize each country's determinants of foreign policy according to specific criteria to explain the behavior of countries, taking into account variables at all levels. He acknowledged that his theory was in the preliminary stage and assessed it as a test level with little scientific explanation. Therefore, the theory was named the 'pre' theory, considering that it would be revised, developed, and generalized in the future.

Rosenau likened a foreign policy to architecture. There can be many ways to build buildings with materials such as bricks and wood. Building materials are used in various ways to complete one building. Rosenau believed that making foreign policy was the same. Foreign policy determinants combine with each other in various ways to create a single foreign policy. Rosenau's pre-theory does not explain how determinants (materials) that determine foreign policy combine. However, taking into account all possible levels of variables affecting foreign policy, the variables were classified into five variables. And depending on the type of country, he summarized what priority each variable influences foreign policy of it.⁸³⁾

83) Rosenau says "there is no need to elaborate at length on the reasoning underlying each ranking. The point is not to demonstrate the validity of the rankings but rather to indicate what the construction of a pre-theories of foreign policy involves and why it is a necessary prerequisite to the development of theory. ...(syncopation)... This pre-theory is not much more than an orientation and is not at present subject to verification." As he admitted, his discussion is lack of 'approximate empirical reality.' It means his pre-theory is an orientation toward a complete theory when backed up with these empirical events. Therefore, it is academically meaningful for researchers

The way in which all the variables that determine foreign policy interact to explain why a country conducts certain diplomatic actions would be the most ideal way to figure out its foreign policy. But North Korea's foreign policy, as mentioned earlier, is extremely limited in looking inside and difficult to access data on the closed socialist country. In addition, it is not easy to evaluate the relative potency of each of the determinants in foreign policy decisions, and these interdependencies may vary depending on the circumstances and time. Moreover, Yong-ho Kim argues that changes in the correlation between determinants of foreign policy could occur due to circumstances outside North Korea and internal fluctuations.⁸⁴⁾ Therefore, even if all of the North's foreign policy determinants can be considered, it is not clear how each variable works inside the country at a certain point in

of foreign policy theory to try to generalize Rosenau's foreign policy pre-theory by supplementing the theoretical arguments with real-world cases. Rosenau argues "For even if one analyst ascribe the greatest potency to individual variables, while another views them as having relatively little potency and still another regards them as impotent, they will have provided data justifying their respective assumptions, and in so doing they will have given theoreticians the materials they need to fashion if-then propositions and to move to ever higher levels of generalization." Rosenau, op. cit. Plus, this dissertation is not the first trial to apply Rosenau's theory to real-world case. Refer to the following papers for related discussion: Choo Jae-Woo, "Jungguk Oegyojeongchaek Gyeoljeongyoinui Sidaejeok Teukseong Bunseok [An Analysis of the Periodic Characteristics of Chinese Foreign Policy Determinants]," in *Joonggyukyungoo*[China Research] Vol.34, 2004. pp.369-390; Yong Ho Kim, 1995, op. cit.; Bonggyu Park, op. cit.

84) Yong Ho Kim reviewed the relative importance of foreign policy determinants from the standpoint of Rosenau's general theory, suggesting a different opinion from Rosenau's on the relative importance of North Korea's foreign policy determinants. However, the importance of the variables is expected to change in the relationship between the variables due to changes in the international situation caused by the Cold War and the death of Kim Il Sung at the time. Yong Ho Kim, 1995, op. cit.

time and is represented by a particular foreign policy. Hence, it would be best to explain the North's specific actions in a way that logically backtracks on limited materials already shown outside.

Thus, before explaining the process of variables of North Korea's foreign policy appearing in a particular policy, look at what variables determine foreign policy. The classification of the analytical level of foreign policy variables exploits the theory of Rosenau. Then look at the priorities among these variables according to Rosenau's analytical framework. It is not easy to look inside North Korea, which is like the black hole or darkroom literally, but Rosenau's analytical framework could ease the aforementioned difficulties in explaining Pyongyang's foreign policy. Hence, this study uses the framework of Rosenau's pre-theory of foreign policy to analyze North Korea's diplomatic actions in nuclear negotiations with the U.S. during the first nuclear crisis.

The first variables are individual variables that encompass the uniqueness of a policymaker who decides and implements a country's foreign policy. Individual variables include all aspects of a policymaker's personal value, talent, and prior experiences, which can explain foreign policy decisions or actions that are distinct from other policymakers. (e.g. the political philosophy and indirect experience President Bush learned from his father Bush affected policy-making, whereas Trump, a real estate tycoon, take priorities of policy-making based on economic interests rather than global public interest and American leadership) A second one is role variable, meaning officials are likely to act according to their role representing their

status than personal interests and characters. For example, whoever the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations is will defend the U.S. position at the UNSC and at the U.N. General Assembly. Role variables find behaviors arising from the role of policy-makers and external behaviors that may occur regardless of the individual characteristics of the parties that control the role.⁸⁵⁾ Next, government variables refer to the structural aspects of government, which limit or strengthen foreign policy decisions determined by individual policymakers. It refers to the internal structure of the government that affects each country's foreign policy. The impact of the administration and legislature relationship on U.S. foreign policy is a good example of government variables. Social variables include all the non-governmental aspects of society. The major value orientations of a society, the degree of national unity, the degree of industrialization of society, and the economic situation can contribute to the process in which the external aspirations and policies of a country are determined. Finally, the system variables cover all actions taking place outside the country, either in a non-human aspect or circumstances such as geopolitical reality or ideological challenges and the redeployment of potential enemy forces could work in the foreign policy decision-making process.

Rosenau sets eight types of countries according to three categories that consist of the distinction of the size of the country having geographical and physical resources, the state's degree of economic development, and political characteristics that are open or closed. and tries to theorize according to the relative potency of the five variables that make up his theory.

85) Choo Jae-Woo, op. cit.p. 372.

As Rosenau stressed, the classification of foreign policy determinants by this level of analysis is aimed at discussing relative potency, not the weight of each element. And it is to suggest a way of analyzing foreign policy determinants by these priorities according to their type in each country. Therefore, even if it is a closed country like North Korea, it is possible to analyze its foreign policy according to the framework of analysis suggested by Rosenau.

<Table 3> An abbreviated table of Rosenau's pre-theory of foreign policy.

Geography and physical resources	Large Country				Small Country			
	Developed		Underdeveloped		Developed		Underdeveloped	
State of the economy	Open	Closed	Open	Closed	Open	Closed	Open	Closed
State of the polity	Societal	Individual	Individual	Individual	Systemic	Systemic	Individual	Individual
	Governmental	Governmental	Societal	Governmental	Societal	Individual	Systemic	Systemic
	Systemic	Systemic	Systemic	Systemic	Governmental	Governmental	Societal	Governmental
	Individual	Societal	Governmental	Societal	Individual	Societal	Governmental	Societal
Illustrative examples	US	USSR	India	China	Holland	Czechoslovakia	Kenya	Ghana

Source: Modified by the author from James N. Rosenau, op. cit.

To sum up Rosenau's theory in <Table 3>. Individual variables are relatively dominant in the type of low-developed economic country overdeveloped. Societal variables are more effective in an open country where people relatively more interested in non-governmental needs. Government variables have an edge in a closed system over an open one. System variables are more potent in a small country than in a large one.

In light of Rosenau's analytical framework, North Korea could be regarded as a 'Small-Underdeveloped-Closed' type of country. The order of relative potency of variables in this type of country is listed in the <Table 3> above. Thus, North Korea's foreign policy determinants are basically of relative potent in the order of individual, system, government, and social variables. Role variables are included in individual variables, the reason will be addressed later. Borrowing Rosenau's analysis framework, this dissertation studies why North Korea had nuclear negotiations with the U.S.

IV. Determinants of North Korea's foreign policy toward the U.S.

1. Kim Il Sung: Individual variables

The process of determining North Korea's foreign policy involves individuals taking part in the foreign policy decision-making process, including its supreme leader. Individual variables refer to the propensity, belief, value system, experience and personality of these individuals that influence foreign policy decisions.

North Korea is a one-man autocratic state that inherits status from Kim Il Sung to Kim Jong Il⁸⁶⁾ and Kim Jong Un. Therefore, the nature and

86) Kim Jong Il began to deeply involved in foreign policy affairs since 1982. He ordered foreign ministry to report all important reports to Kim Il Sung under instructions of him first. He reviewed most of reports before Kim Il Sung in almost all areas except for some economic sectors, including agricultural policies, and those concerning diplomatic relations with Japan and China. *Seoul Shinmun* [Seoul Daily Newspaper] September 28, 1992, p.6; Most foreign policies are reviewed and decided by Kim Jong Il, but sometimes they are reversed in the final decision-making process by Kim Il Sung. In August 1988, when relations with Vietnam were at a loss, vietnamese President Bo Chi Kong informed him of his intention to participate in the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the North Korean regime. A Foreign Ministry official did not invite him, who had expressed his willingness to attend, and reported it to Kim Jong Il after deciding to reject the plan as previously did. Kim Jong Il received the Foreign ministry's 'proposal' and accepted it, and the 'proposal' was reported to Kim Il Sung. Kim Il Sung, however, who received the 'proposal,' rebuked the minister, saying, 'There are many countries that are falling away from us, so why should we think of attracting even one country to work together with us?' The ministry, which was reprimanded by Kim, was forced to withdraw its previous policy and invite the Vietnamese president to the event. Young Hwan Ko, op. cit. p.179.

political orientation of the supreme ruler over any other individuals play an absolute role in the North's foreign policy decision. Likewise, it is highly likely that Kims' intentions would be reflected most potently in the process of deciding to have nuclear negotiations with the U.S.⁸⁷⁾ On the contrary, the policy orientation and personal nature of the North Korean power elite participating in foreign policy decisions do not have much influence on foreign policy except for the two Kims.⁸⁸⁾

87) Quinones acknowledged the supreme leader's authority in the policymaking process, saying, 'Despite North Korea's military, the General atomic Energy Agency and the Committee for the Promotion of International Economic Cooperation opposed the Geneva Agreement, Kim Jong Il's eventual support of the Agreement suppressed those opposition.' Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il controlled factors that could undermine the conclusion of negotiations between North Korea and the U.S. Kenneth C. Quinones, op. cit. pp.350-351, 423-427.

88) North Korean power elite have different policy orientations depending on their backgrounds and their departments respectively. Officials at the party's international and foreign departments are known to have an open and progressive mind compared to those at the party's organization and leadership, the Ministry of Propaganda and the Ministry of People's Armed Forces, the Ministry of National Security and the Ministry of People's Security. However, the International department of the Worker's Party of North Korea focuses on international strengthening of socialist revolutionary capabilities and ideological solidarity, while the Foreign Ministry places importance on resolving diplomatic issues and diplomatic practices on a practical level. Military leaders are said to be at odds with moderate technocrats in the party and cabinet, as they oppose reform and openness policies as hard-liners and value the national security interests of national defense and the maintenance of the socialist system. Papers that analyzed the policy tendencies of the North Korean power elite at that time refer to: Kang Myung Do, *Pyongyangeun Mangmyeongeul Ggoomggoonda* [Pyongyang dreams of asylum], (Seoul: Joongangilbosa, 1995); Young Hwan Ko, op. cit.; *Chosin Bukhaninmyungsajeon*[Latest North Korean Biographical Dictionary], (Seoul: Bukhanyungsoo, 1996); *Bukhaninmyungsajeon*[Latest North Korean Biographical Dictionary], (Seoul: Seoul Shinmunsa, 1996); Seo Dae Sook, *Hyundae Bukhanui Jidoja : Kimilsungwa Kimjong-il* [Modern North Korea's Leaders : Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il], (Seoul: Eullyu Moonhwasa, 2000); Lee Hang Goo, *Kimjong-ilgwa Geu Chammodeul* [Kim Jong Il and His Staffs] (Seoul: Sintayangsa,

The policy propensity taken by supreme leader Kim Il Sung against the U.S. shows both hostile and appeasement policies. The hostile policy against the U.S. was exploited mainly for internal solidarity. North Koreans were brainwashed in the regime's hostile policy toward the U.S, and have a national unity sentiment due to the instilled hostility toward the U.S. This is further explained in the societal variables part later.

The conciliatory attitude toward the U.S. has emerged in earnest since the 1970s. The announcement of Nixon Doctrine in 1969, Nixon's Pingpong diplomacy in 1972 and subsequent rapprochement between the U.S, China, and the thaw between the U.S. and the Soviet gave North Korea motivation to approach to the U.S.⁸⁹⁾ East and West Germany held summit talks in 1970, and they signed the Basic Treaty of East and West Germany in 1972. And finally, the two Germanies simultaneously joined the United Nations in

1995); Jeon Hyun Joon, *Kimjong-il Jeonggweonui Gweollyuckelite Yeongoo* [A Study on Power Elite in Kim Jong Il Regime] (Seoul: Minjoktongilyeongoowon, 1995); Jeong Chang Hyun, *Gyuteseo Bon Kimjong-il* [Kim Jong Il from the Sidelines] (Seoul: Kimyoungsa, 1999); Heo Moon Young, *Bukhanoegyoeongchaek Gyljeonggoojowa Gwajeong : Kimilsung Sidaewa Kimjong-il Sidaewi Bigyo* [North Korean Foreign Policy's Decision-Making Structure and Process : Comparison between Kim Il Sung Era and Kim Jong Il Era] (Seoul: Minjoktongilyeongoowon, 1998). If you look at the process of North Korea's diplomatic development, however, the policy leanings of the power elite cannot be seen as having much influence on the foreign policy decision-making process. Jae Hyoung Lim, "Bukhanoegyoeongchaekgyuljeonggwajeongui Teukjinggwa Goonui Yeokhal : Kimjong-ilsidaereul Joongsimeuro [Characteristics of North Korean Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process and the Role of the Military in the Kim Jong Il Era]," in *Bukhanyungoohakhoebo*[Journal of North Korean Studies], Vol.6(1), August, 2002. p.52.

89) Kim Gye Dong, *Bukhanui Daemijungchaek* [North Korea's Foreign Policy toward the U.S.], in *Bukhan-oegyojungchaek*[North Korea's Foreign Policy] (Seoul: Seoul Press), 1995. pp.181.

1973.⁹⁰⁾ In this global reconciliatory mood, North Korea separates the level of policies into government and people. It is hostile against the U.S. for internal integration and actively engages in diplomacy with the U.S. for its regime.⁹¹⁾ Thus, in terms of the policy, Kim Il Sung has attempted to establish diplomatic relations with the U.S. but also has used a confrontation with the U.S. for internal unity as well.⁹²⁾

On the other hand, Kim Il Sung's personal perception and experience affect foreign policy decisions. According to Jervis, the cognition of policy makers on specific issues, including foreign policy, is directly affected by certain issues most concerned and threatened at the time.⁹³⁾ The reason for the North's nuclear negotiations with the U.S. is thought to be based on Kim Il Sung's cognition of the international circumstances at the time and the domestic and international crises that Kim perceived were reflected in the North's diplomacy. In this regard, it is analyzed from the perspective of individual variables how Kim Il Sung's personal inclination, personality, belief system, and values are reflected in the domestic and international situations.

The sense of crisis felt by Kim Il Sung in the post-Cold War stems from his perceived threat to the regime's survival. Taking on the legacy of the

90) Tae Gyun Park, "Detantwa Hanbando, Silhyundwaeji Motan Je-samui Ghil" [Detente and Korean Peninsula, Unrealized Third Way], *Yuksabipyong* [Critical Review of History], 2018.8, pp.86-115, Yuksabipyongsa [The Institute for Korean Historical Studies] August, 2018.
<<http://www.dbpia.co.kr/journal/articleDetail?nodeId=NODE07522372>>

91) Kim Gye Dong, 1995, op. cit. pp.181-182.

92) Discussion with Professor Tae Gyun Park, November 28, 2019.

93) Jervis R. "Hypothesis on Misperception," in *International Politics and Foreign Policy*(2nd edition), (New York: The Free Press, 1969) p.250.

Korean War and the Cold War regime, Kim Il Sung felt like facing a 'nightmare' of the regime's collapse.⁹⁴⁾

At that time, the North was struggling in a complex crisis of external security crisis, a legitimacy crisis caused by South Korea's active normalization policy on the North, and a domestic crisis caused by economic problems. Kim Il Sung had conceived that any small threat from outside could disrupt his regime.⁹⁵⁾

North Korea's diplomacy was suppressed by all quarters.⁹⁶⁾ At the beginning of his New Year's address in 1994, Kim Il Sung mentioned that 'the scheme of imperialists and reactionaries last year (1993) to isolate, suffocate and crush our country was unprecedented, and the situation around us has become extremely acute' reflecting the sense of crisis he felt from the international community.⁹⁷⁾ Therefore, Kim recognized the nuclear negotiations as a war by another mean, so the North had to engage in

94) Park Jong Chul, "Buk·mi Haek Hyeopsange Daehan Dachawonjeok Jeopgeun : Daegyeolgwa Tahyeobui Byeonjugok [A Multi-Dimensional Approach to U.S.-DPRK Nuclear Negotiation: Dynamics of Confrontation and Compromise]," in *Hyeondaebukhanyeongu* [North Korean studies review] 3(1), pp.339-382. Kyungnam Taehakkyo Pukhan Taehagwon Taehakkyo Pukhan Misi Yonguso(Seoul), 2000. p.344

95) When the U.S. declared war on Iraq and began sending ground troops to Saudi Arabia in August 1990, North Korea responded with extreme sensitivity, saying Pyongyang could be next target after the Gulf War, revealing its "autistic hostility." Kim, Byoung-lo Philo. op. cit. p.337.

96) Thae refers to an anecdote that shows how urgent Kim Il Sung was at the time. Kim Il Sung sought contact with the Vatican because he expected that if Pope John Paul II came to North Korea, he would be able to escape diplomatic isolation. It was cancelled due to opposition from Kim Jong Il, who feared there would be a Catholic fervor in North Korea. Thae Yong-ho. op. cit. p.21-24.

97) "Kimilseong Sinnyeonsa" [Kim Il Sung's New Year Address], *Rodong Sinmun*[Worker's Newspaper](Pyongyang, North Korea), January 1, 1994.

negotiations with a grave determination, literally like waging in a war.⁹⁸⁾ For him, talks with the U.S. may have been a gamble at the stake of regime survival from the beginning.⁹⁹⁾

The crisis felt by Kim Il Sung on the regime's survival led to a change in the North's unification policy with the South. South Korea's Roh Tae-woo administration proposed a unification plan in September 1989. In response, Kim Il Sung announced the so-called 'five major policies for national reunification' in his official speech at the first session of the Supreme People's Assembly(SPA) on May 24, 1990.¹⁰⁰⁾ The five-point policy refers to the 'all-national united front' in the same time taking the form of responding to the international mood of detente. So it did still adheres to the principle of unification of under communism, the basic principle of the reunification of the North.

In his New Year's address in 1991, however, Kim Il Sung came up with a unification plan called the 'one-ethnic, one-state, two-government and two-institution system' which was modified from the very existing federal

98) Downs, Chuck. *Over the Line : North Korea's Negotiating Strategy* (Washington, D.C. : AEI Press, 1999)

99) During the 1991 Gulf War, the U.S. suggested several conciliatory gestures while steadily preparing for war before air strikes on Iraq. At that time, then-President George W. Bush himself proposed to Saddam Hussein that secretary-of-state-level meeting. And just next day of the proposal, Washington launched an air strike on Iraq. *Mediawatch* (Seoul), March 8, 2018; *The Wall Street Journal* (New York), February 28, 2018.

100) The contents are as follows. 1. For the alleviation of tension and reunification of the Korean Peninsula, a peaceful environment should be prepared. 2. The two Koreas should remove the division wall and conduct free inter-Korean traffic and full-scale opening. 3. An international environment favorable for reunification should be prepared. 4. For peaceful unification, inter-Korean dialogue should be expanded and developed. 5. A national united front should be formed.

system.¹⁰¹⁾ In the announcement, moreover, Kim made a proposal ‘let’s leave unification to future generations.’ This shows a sense of crisis he felt over the North’s regime’s survival, including concerns over the unification of the two Koreas being absorbed by the South Korean regime.

Another change is seen in the revision of diplomatic philosophy. Kim modifies the North's diplomatic ideology at the same meeting. The North's previous ranking in diplomatic ideology was 'self-reliance, goodwill, and peace,' but he changed the order of goodwill and peace to 'self-reliance, peace, and goodwill.'¹⁰²⁾ In the detente mood, North Korea also seems to value peace on the surface and wanted to improve its past militant and isolated image.

In reality, however, it can also be seen as reflecting Kim's anxiety of isolation in recognizing the pressure on the North Korean regime, including the South Korean government's proposal for an active unification with the

101) “Bukgwa Name Seoro Dareun Du Jedoga Jonjaehagoissneun Uri Narai Siljeongeseo Joguktongireun Nuga Nugureul Meokgeona Nuguege Meokhiuji Anhneun Wonchigeseo Hanai Minjok, Hanai Gukga, Dugae Jedo, Dugae Jeongbue Gichohan Ryeonbangjebangsigeuro Silhyeondoeyeoya Hapnida.”[In the state of our country where there are two different systems in the North and the South, national reunification should be realized in a one-nation, one-state, two-system, and two-government based system, in a principle that no one eats the other side or no one is eaten by anyone.] “Hanai Gukga, Hanai Jedo Uihan Jedotongireun Bunyeoreul Kkeunhimeopsi Jisoksikyeo Gyeolguk Tongireul Haji Maljaneun Geosigi Ttaemune Jedotongireun Hudaee Matgija.”[Let us leave the unification of the system to posterity, as one country, the unification of the system by one system, is to continue the division and not to unify it.] “Kimilseong Sinnyeonsa” [New Year’s Address of Kim Il Sung], *Rodong Sinmun*[Worker’s Newspaper](Pyongyang, North Korea), January 1, 1991.

102) Joseonjoongangtongsinsa, *Joseonjungangyeongam* [North Korea’s Year Book], (Pyongyang: Joseonjoongangtongsinsa, 1992), pp.525-527.

North. As described later, the tragic end of East German and Romanian leaders that occurred just a few months before the meeting would have come as a shock and threatening to Kim Il Sung about his status as well.

Kim Il Sung also openly revealed his innermost uneasiness about the crisis of the regime survival, saying 'South Koreans, who were recently dazzled by the way other countries absorbed and reunified, are engaged in a Northern diplomacy and are dreaming foolish dreams to use others' power to realize such a way in our country.'¹⁰³⁾

The reason why North Korea has unprecedentedly raised the 'one-nation, one-state, two-government and two-institution system' in opposition to the institutional unification is that it was shocked by Germany's case of unification.¹⁰⁴⁾ Kim's response at the time shows how seriously he was

103) Unlike the global atmosphere of the post-Cold War, the situation in Northeast Asia has not completely deviated from the elements that are basically Cold War. These features were found to be "liquidity" due to possible changes in the power relationship between the regional powers and "duality" where the existing Cold War structure coexist with the post-Cold War changes. Northeast Asia was the most tense region in the world of Cold War confrontation and conflict. This is because the interests between the superpowers were complicated. In particular, the Korean Peninsula remained divided and military tensions between the two Koreas continued. The future of inter-Korean relations was uncertain due to the collapse of the Cold War system. Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "What New World Order?" *Foreign affairs*, 71-2, Spring 1992. pp.83-96.

104) Tongilgyoyookwon, *Tongilmoonjeui Ihae – Tongilhwangyeongwa Nambukhangwangye* [Understanding Unification of Korea – Unification Environment and South-North Relations], (Seoul: Tongilgyoyookwon, 1999). p.130. Back then an opinion in Rodong Sinmun[Worker's Newspaper] clearly shows how much the North concerns about their survival after post-Cold War. It says "They(South Korea) are foolishly praying to resolve the issue of national reunification by abandoning the principle of self-reliance and exploiting the power of foreign powers, and dream of trying to 'absorbent unity' and 'overtaking communism unification' based on so-called liberal democratic system by hitching the imperialists to open up to us. But this is a

taking on 'pressure on the regime collapse' from the South.

Kim Il Sung, especially, was flabbergasted by their sudden abdication and demise, as he had maintained good personal ties with the leaders of East Germany and Romania.¹⁰⁵⁾ On October 16, 1989, some 120,000 citizens staged a pro-democracy protest, the largest-ever demonstration in the 40-year history of the communist regime in East Germany.¹⁰⁶⁾ East Germany's General Secretary Honecker was forced to resign the following day and the Berlin Wall fell next month.¹⁰⁷⁾ Honecker was put on trial and finally deported. In Romania, a coup d'etat disguised as a popular uprising took place in December 1989, which led to the communist dictator Ceaucescu's execution with his wife on a firing squad.¹⁰⁸⁾

The U.S.' victory in the 1991 Gulf War shocked Kim Il Sung's way of thinking. The North's leadership felt there would be no chance of winning at all in the event of a conventional war with Washington on the Korean Peninsula. Because Kim Il Sung's military thought was created based on the Soviet military technology system that Iraq is based on and they completely defeated from the U.S.¹⁰⁹⁾

foolish delusion.” *Rodong Sinmun*[Worker’s Newspaper](Pyongyang, North Korea), July 4, 1992.

105) Natsios, Andrew S., *The great North Korean Famine* (Washington, D.C: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2001). p.10.

106) “Dongdok Choedae Gyumo Minjuhwa Siwi”[East Germany’s largest pro-Democracy Protest], *MBC News*(Seoul, Korea), October 17, 1989. (http://imnews.imbc.com/20dbnews/history/1989/1827480_19354.html)

107) Honecker, however, designated Egon Krenz, his longtime confidant, as his successor, which did nothing to calm public anger.

108) Don Oberdorfer, op. cit. p.218.

109) *South China Morning Post*, March, 12, 1991.

Also, Changes in diplomatic attitudes toward South Korea by China and the Soviet Union may also have been an immense shock to Kim Il Sung. In early 1991, China decided to establish diplomatic relations with South Korea. In order to resolve legal issues in the process, Beijing encouraged Pyongyang to withdraw its existing policy against denying 'two Joseon' and join the U.N. with Seoul. The simultaneous entry of the two Koreas to the U.N. has been opposed by Kim Il Sung in all his life, defining it as an imperial state's ploy to make 'two Joseon.'¹¹⁰⁾

The international community welcomed the simultaneous entry of the two Koreas to the U.N, but it would have come as a huge frustration for Kim Il Sung, who has to accept the reality where his lifelong ideal is denied. North Korea had rated the United Nations as an international instrument representing U.S. power and a U.S. agency disguised in the form of an international organization. This is because the U.N. is the very U.S.-led international organization that fought against North Korea, which seeks to absorb and unify the South, in 1950. Including much of bureaucrats, Kim Il Sung remained deeply suspicious of the UN.¹¹¹⁾

Meanwhile, in domestic dynamics, it is difficult for anyone to reverse the issues Kim Il Sung emphasizes, especially under such a monolithic leadership.¹¹²⁾ Kim Il Sung has built up legitimacy and authority through his

110) In his New Year's address in 1991, Kim Il Sung touched on the issue of joining the United Nations. He argues that the issue of joining the U.N. is best served with a single code after unification, but he backed down by saying that he would not oppose joining the U.N. if it were a condition to join as a single seat. Meanwhile, Kim Jong Il was taking the issue as inevitable. Thae, op. cit. pp.24-25; *Rodong Sinmun*[Worker's Newspaper], January 1, 1991.

111) Natsios, Andrew S., op. cit. p.166.

long reign and was confident in his policy decisions as a leader, too. Thus, the process in which policies are determined and carried out according to his own will was so much natural practice. Under the natural and long, even accustomed dynamics, he must have felt a great embarrassment in a situation that he is not used to being compelled to break his will.

When Kim Il Sung refused to accept the joint entry, China and the Soviet Union pressured the North even more. 'If Pyongyang opposes the agreement until the end, it will eventually be only Korea who joins U.N, and that will make Korea the only legitimate government on the Korean Peninsula," Beijing and Moscow said, stressing that the simultaneous entry of the two Koreas to the UN is an inevitable reality.

Kim Il Sung was furious when Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze visited Pyongyang and informed him that the Soviet had decided to have diplomatic relations with South Korea.¹¹³⁾ Shevardnadze insisted that South and North Korea could no longer delay the joint entry of the U.N., and Kim Il Sung was a surprise.¹¹⁴⁾ But in the end, Kim Il-sung had to accept reality.¹¹⁵⁾ In the end, Kim Il Sung's lifelong insistence on the inter-Korean

112) In Young Jeon, op. cit. p.115.

113) Even before the fall of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev and his foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, determined Soviet interests would be better served by the establishment of diplomatic relations with South Korea. Gorbachev dispatched Shevardnadze and broke the news via Kim Yong Nam, in September 1990. Natsios, Andrew S., op. cit. p.125.

114) Thae, op. cit. p.25

115) Kim Jong Il reported to Kim Il Sung that the North would first submit an application for membership. Kim Il Sung was furious, but reportedly he finally agreed with a sigh after being pushed by the argument that only South Korea can join the organization. Accepting reality and stepping back, Kim Il Sung sought to get the price from China and the Soviet Union. 'China and the Soviet Union should

policy against simultaneous entry into the U.N. collapsed at one moment. Also, Kim Il Sung had to shoulder the 'responsibility of the permanent division of the Korean Peninsula' as North Korea submits its U.N. membership application earlier than the South.¹¹⁶⁾

A year after the entry into the U.N.,¹¹⁷⁾ China's foreign minister quietly announced that Beijing is also planning to establish diplomatic ties with Seoul. Thus in one year Kim Il Sung lost his economic subsidies and the unwavering loyalty of its two closest allies.¹¹⁸⁾

Another critical event occurs amid the international situation unfavorable to the North Korean regime. Data that disputes against North Korea's history and the legitimacy of Kim Il Sung have been provided to the South by the Soviet Union's archival material and publicly opened. The North had long insisted that Kim Il Sung's leadership in the guerrilla war against Japanese colonial occupation in the late 1930s rendered it the true heir to the legacy of Korean nationalism and independence.¹¹⁹⁾ The released data clearly documented that Kim Il Sung made a surprise attack to the South with the support and approval of Stalin. The material also revealed that after World War II, Stalin of the Soviet Union chose Kim Il Sung as the leader to lead North Korea and decided to give him the power to lead the country.¹²⁰⁾

ensure and carry out North Korea's diplomatic relations with the U.S,' Kim said. Ibid. p.26-27.

116) Ibid. p.27.

117) It was unanimously adopted on the first day of the opening of the 46th U.N. General Assembly in September 1991, making North Korea the 160th U.N. member country and South Korea the 161st.

118) Natsios, Andrew S., 2001. op cit. p.125.

119) Natsios, Andrew S., 2001. op cit. p.125.

120) It is still unclear how Kim Il Sung was selected to be a leader of the North.

Kim Il Sung's North Korea has hurt under two attacks for his claims against that he has so far maintained on his legitimate leadership and nationalist legitimacy. The first is the release of the data from Russia's archives, and the second is that South Korea has achieved amazing economic development and growth while embracing democracy and capitalism.¹²¹⁾

Kim Il Sung must have been the last North Korean to recognize and witness the real-life misery of his people dying of starvation and economic hardship in the North, which was already going on at a serious level. Under the approval of Kim Jong Il, the son of Kim Il Sung, in early 1991, North Korea asked the World Food Program(WFP) for food aid. In response to the North's request, the WFP sent an inspection team of officials to conduct an assessment of the North's food needs.¹²²⁾ Kim Il-sung was furious after

Some accounts suggests that Joseph Stalin himself made the final choice of Kim from several candidates. Andrei Lankov evaluates Kim's personal characteristics and deeds seems to have appealed well to Soviet officials. Kim spoke Russian fairly well, and though exaggerated later, his distinction in anti-Japanese war was also true and well known to Korean people. Oberdorfer, op. cit. p.153; Andrei Lankov, *The Real North Korea: Life and Politics in the Failed Stalinist Utopia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Park Gil Yong and Kim Gook Hu, *Kimilsung Oegyobisa* [Diplomatic Secrets of Kim Il Sung], (Seoul: Joongangilbosa, 1994)

121) Natsios, Andrew S., 2001. op cit. pp.125-126.

122) The dispatched team did not find that North Korea's food shortage was especially insufficient. According to the WFP report, the North Korean authorities demanded an enormous amount of 10 million tons, while no one was starving and its residents were undernourished. The report concluded: "For a number of reasons... the mission has been unable to establish a case for food aid. It has not been unwilling to do so, but unable." WFP, *Report of the World Food Program Exploratory Mission to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea*, March 5-23, 1991 (Rome: World Food Program, April 10, 1991), p.10; Natsios, Andrew S., 2001. op cit. pp.166-167. As for economic crisis in North Korea, this is elaborated in Societal variables part later.

learning that the U.N. assessment team was visiting North Korea. Until then, Kim had never been briefed that the food shortage in North Korea had worsened enough to ask for food aid from the outside world. For Kim Il Sung, it was not an issue for North Korea to approve of receiving food aid. Because 'here can be no shortage of food and it really does not matter in the North.'¹²³⁾ But in early 1992, Kim Il Sung was first briefed by Kang Sung San¹²⁴⁾ about the suffering of the people in the northern border area and the dire poverty they suffer. The report was very different from the brilliant and encouraging economic reports that Kim Il Sung had received from his son Kim Jong Il. Due to this event, Kim Il Sung first-ever to recognize a serious downturn in the economic sector.¹²⁵⁾

In 1994, Kim Il Sung was reportedly shocked when he was reported that there are people who died of starvation in the northeastern part of the country. He visited North Hamgyong Province to check the site for himself. Kim saw his people wandering in the fields looking for something, and asked them what they were doing. One resident said, 'Now we are hungry for nothing to eat, so we wander through the fields looking for anything-to-eat.' Back in Pyongyang, Kim Il Sung called in the leadership to

123) Therefore, the WFP's assessment team concludes that it has not been able to access the information necessary to carry out their work, and that there is no objective evidence for food aid. Natsios, Andrew S., op cit.

124) Kang Song San is a former prime minister and son of a guerrilla fighter fought together with Kim Il Sung against the Japanese in the late 1930s.

125) At the time, the aged Kim Il Sung was losing his eyesight, and his health was deteriorating. Kim Jong Il was already carrying out his duties of practically managing North Korea on behalf of Kim Il Sung. Kim jong Il selected documents that did not provoke Kim Il Sung and read them to Kim Il Sung. Natsios, Andrew S., op cit. p.165.

ask how much they knew about the starving people.¹²⁶⁾ According to Natsios, a bitter dispute has since arisen between Kim Il Sung and his son. Kim Il Sung reportedly severely reprimanded Kim Jong Il for his lack of management skills in the economic sector and for failing to report immediate and accurate information to him.¹²⁷⁾

2. Kim Il Sung and Other variables

a. Systemic variables: North Korea in isolation

System variables are generally distinguished by the world system, regional system, and bilateral relations of individual countries.¹²⁸⁾ Changes in the international system can be divided into structural and situational aspects. At that time, the Cold War system collapsed and the change to the post-Cold War could be seen as a structural aspect of the international system variables. In response to structural changes, a country's foreign policy also changes. North Korea's entry into the U.N, changes in its policy toward the South, and changes in its policy toward the U.S. all can be discussed based on contextual aspects of the change in the international system. Structural and situational changes in the international system occur with this close

126) Ibid. p.167

127) Ibid.

128) Yong Ho Kim, 1995, op. cit. p.69

correlation.

North Korea's foreign policy tends to respond sensitively to pressure and changes outside.¹²⁹⁾ The regional environment in Northeast Asia, where North Korea is located, was the geopolitical location, affected by the relationship between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. North Korea's geopolitical position and its nature of the small state, therefore, were forcing the communist country itself to respond sensitively to the power states' moves.¹³⁰⁾ For instance, North Korea joined the U.N. in 1991, adopted the Inter-Korean Basic Agreement in 1992, and made the Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula with the South in the same year, which is evaluated as a response by the North to the rapid changes in the structure of the international system in Northeast Asia.¹³¹⁾ North Korea has revised its foreign policy in response to such changes in international affairs.

The system variables can be analyzed in terms of the changing in the situation in which North Korea, which was at the forefront of the socialist

129) Gukhoedoseogwan Haewaejaryoguk, *Bukhanui Oegyogwangye* [North Korea's Foreign Relations] (Seoul: Gukhoedoseogwan [Library of Congress], 1978) p.3.

130) Kyu Seop Jeong, op. cit. p. 17

131) However, the North's responses to adapt to changes in the structure of the international system in Northeast Asia after the post-Cold War can be assessed as a passive approach with its own limitations. This is because the foundation of the power system would be shaken to actively embrace change, and there was a danger of maintaining the regime even if it tried to turn a blind eye to change altogether. In other words, the government failed to pursue an active change policy because of concerns that the efforts to adapt itself to change will directly affect the survival and security of the regime. The change in North Korea's foreign policy at that time can be seen as a choice in a desperate situation in which it has no choice but to do so immediately for the regime's security and survival. Chan Soon Nam, 2004, op. cit.

bloc during the Cold War, was faced with a new international order structure due to the Detente.

International system: Detente, the U.S. supremacy and isolation of the North

Beginning with the Molta meeting between the leaders of the U.S. and the Soviets in December 1989, historical events took place that led to the unification of Germany, the collapse of communists in Eastern Europe and the dissolution of the Soviet Union. With the end of the Cold War, the world enters an era of reconciliation and cooperation that aims to achieve military and ideological peaceful coexistence and co-prosperity. In the post-Cold War era, rather than trying to resolve major issues between countries militarily as in the past, economic and scientific capabilities become a valid means of granting considerable prestige to the international community, and the World Trade Organization(WTO) system and 'local economic grouping' spread, leading to an infinite competition structure.¹³²⁾

One of the consequences of the end of the Cold War is the single world economy, which is run very competitively by the same rules, the other was the emergence of a supreme U.S. in a new international system with no real rival. Amid the collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States had a considerable advantage in almost every sphere.¹³³⁾ This U.S. superiority has

132) Joseph S. Nye, Jr., 1992, op. cit.; Brzezinski, Zbigniew, "The Consequences of the End of the Cold War for International Security." *Adelphi Papers* 256(Winter), 1991/1992 (London: Institute for Strategic Studies, 1991), pp.3-17.

133) Meanwhile, the U.S. has faced a position to efficiently play its role as a balancer

established the U.S. as the sole superpower around the world.¹³⁴⁾

With the collapse of the Cold War system and the changing dynamics of international politics and economy, North Korea, the closed one-party dictatorship and socialist economic system, would have jeopardized the existence of its regime.

In the world where the Free World won,¹³⁵⁾ North Korea faced ideological challenges and was in an internationally isolated situation. And chronic and serious economic difficulties have threatened the regime's survival. For North Korea, improving ties with the U.S. was crucial in terms of a breakthrough to overcome this crisis.

Regional system: Collapse of Northern Tri-relation

Changes in the international system caused by the post-Cold War have also caused changes in dynamics in Northeast Asia. This is a major change in the balance of power in Northeast Asia as the "Soviet-China-North Korea" tri-relations collapsed along with the post-Cold War.

Since its establishment, North Korea had had a close relationships among

to maintain order in Northeast Asia, whether it likes it or not. Joseph S. Nye, Jr., 1992, op. cit.

134) French Foreign Minister Weaver Bedlin also said, "The United States will be transformed from a superpower to a hyper-power, the current title, by the end of the 20th century." Michael Cox, "From the cold war to the war on terror" John Baylis and Steve Smith, *The Globalization of World Politics 4th Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2007)

135) Fukuyama, 1992, op. cit.

the Soviet Union, China, and the North, which friendliness is called 'Northern Triangle Relationship' among the socialist states. This 'socialist brothers' relationship was both patron-client relation in economic, and military alliance in security.¹³⁶⁾ The Northern Triangle relationship was 'a multilateral relationship based on a thorough military alliance, guaranteeing unconditional (human and physical) support among the allies based on socialist ideology.' Since the end of the Cold War, however, the Tri-relationship has been transformed into a relationship that is centered on practicality where ideology is diluted and gone. On the economic front, the relationship is about bilateral and interdependent, rather than the patron-client relation. On the security, it was shifting from the military alliance to a stronger cooperative relationship, and on the diplomatic front, the two countries have bilateral relations on the basis of multilateral relations in the multilateral relationship between the North, China and the Soviets.¹³⁷⁾

Since the establishment of diplomatic ties between South Korea and the Soviets, Russia has taken a balanced policy between the two Koreas, and China has taken equidistant diplomacy between the two Koreas since the

136) Since its founding, North Korea has received massive material aid from the Soviet Union, and China has provided various free aid amounting to about \$75 million during the Korean War. Alexander Eckstein, *Communist China's Economic Growth and Foreign Trade*(New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), pp. 324-325; Jeong Jin Wi, *Bukbangsamgakgwangye : Bukhanui Daejoong-so Gwangyereul Joongsimeuro* [Northern Trilateral Relationship : Focusing on North Korea's foreign relations toward China and Soviet] (Seoul: Beopmoonsa, 1985) p.24.

137) Baek In Hak, et al. "Kimjongil Jeonggwonui 'Sinbukbangsamgakgwangye' Boonsuk: Rodongsinmunui Naeyongeul Joongsimeuro" [An analysis on Kim Jong Il Regime's 'New Northern Trilateral Relationship' : Focusing on contents from the Worker's Newspaper], *Bukhanyeongoohakhoebo* [North Korean Studies Reviews] 5 No.1, August 2001. pp.83-124.

establishment of diplomatic relations with South Korea. China still politically sticks to its socialist system and claims to be the only protector of North Korea, but it is no longer the ally of the past. The "Northern Triangle" deterioration has weakened North Korea's security and has worsened its dire economic situation.¹³⁸⁾

North Korea, whose security and economic dependence was no longer hopeful in the Northern Tri-relationship, had to find ways amid a new security environment. Under these circumstances, improving relations with the U.S. would have been an only option that would ensure the safety of the regime along with economic aid.

Bilateral relation: South Korea overtakes North Korea

Despite reforms of the Soviet and Eastern bloc and the end of the Cold War, North Korea's international isolation deepened by its pursuit of "brinkmanship diplomacy" and 'Urisik [our own way]' strategy since Cold War by turning a blind eye to reform and opening up.¹³⁹⁾

South Korea, which was facing against North Korea on the border of Cold War, had been engaged in normalizing diplomatic relations with most

138) Lee Sookja, "An Analysis of the North Korean Foreign Policy Decision – Making Factors toward the U.S.A. in the Post-Cold War Era: On the Base of the Michael Brecher's Model", *Korean Political Science Review* 29(4), 1996. p.559.

139) For details, see: Yoo Suk Ryul, "Mi-bukhangwangye Jeongsanghwawa Bukhanui Ipjang"[Normalization of U.S-North Korea Relations and North Korea's Position], *Juyogukjemunjebunseo* [International Issues and Prospects], Ogyoanboyungoowon [The Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security(IFANS)], May 12, 1992.

of the socialist countries, including China and Russia, through its northern policy since the end of the Cold War.¹⁴⁰⁾ As a result of its active exertions

140) The Northern Policy is the Republic of Korea's foreign policy toward the communist nation that it had adopted since the 1970s. This refers to South Korea's policy of promoting improvement in relations with North Korea and socialist countries such as the Soviet Union, China and Eastern Europe. It aims to promote economic interests and develop inter-Korean exchanges and cooperative relations through economic cooperation with the socialist country. *Naver Dictionary*, <<https://ko.dict.naver.com/#/entry/koko/e4a36b8738ab4cb191f74333345047e9>> Accessed: October 15, 2019; It is South Korea's first official announcement that expressed its intention to open doors to communist nations in "special statement on foreign policy for peaceful unification" which is issued by President Park Chung-hee on June 23, 1973. Since the statement, South Korea has expanded direct and indirect contact in nonpolitical areas with the Soviet Union, China and Eastern European countries. In his inauguration speech on February 25, 1988, President Roh Tae-woo expressed his willingness to actively promote northern diplomacy and made a special declaration for national self-respect and reunification on July 7 of that year. In the declaration, South Korea expressed its position that "North Korea is willing to cooperate in improving relations with our allies, including the United States and Japan, to create conditions for establishing peace on the Korean Peninsula, and we also seek to improve relations with the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries." Tong-il-won, *Tongilbaekseo 1992* [Unification White Paper 1992], (Seoul: Tongilwon [Ministry of Unification], 1992). pp.57-70; The achievements of Korea's Northern policy began to be clear with the participation of socialist countries in the 1988 Seoul Olympics. Han Sung-Joo, "South Korea in 1988: A Revolution in the Making," *Asian Survey*, vol. XXIX, no.1, January 1989, pp.33~34.; Later, by establishing diplomatic relations with Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, the Northern policy has achieved diplomatic good results. *Dong-a-ilbo*, February 1, 1989.; *Dong-a-ilbo*, November 1, 1989; *Dong-a-ilbo*, April 3, 1989; *Dong-a-ilbo*, December 8, 1989; *Dong-a-ilbo*, December 28, 1989; Young Whan Kihl, "South Korea in 1989: Slow Progress Toward Democracy," *Asian Survey*, vol. XXX, no.1, January 1990, p. 73. Since the implementation of the Northern Policy, the rapid increase of human exchanges as well as Korea's economic exchanges toward communist countries have been activated rapidly, with China in the first priority. Korea's trade with communist countries sector increased every year from 1985 to 1989, and increased by more than 20 percent annually. Trade with the Soviet Union, in particular, recorded 42.7 percent of annual exports and 77.8 percent of imports. Ministry of Commerce and Industry,

for northern diplomacy since the late 1980s, South Korea was in a much more advantageous position than the North at the time in terms of diplomacy. The South began diplomatic relations with Hungary in February 1989 and established diplomatic relations with most of the former socialist countries, including Russia (September 30, 1990), Albania (August 22, 1991), and China (August 24, 1992).¹⁴¹⁾

As of December 1994, North Korea had diplomatic ties with just 133 countries at the time, compared with South Korea's diplomatic ties with 175 countries. Though not a few in number, North Korea, in a status of inferior to the South, has yet to establish diplomatic ties with the U.S, South Korea's strongest ally and has yet to establish diplomatic relations with Western countries such as Japan and Britain.

Apart from the political bipolar of the Cold War era, the multi-polar international order was already in place in terms of economy. Therefore, North Korea's external economic relations have also been profoundly influenced by changes in the international system. The fall of the Soviet Union has resulted in fundamental changes in the existing international system, but changes have been taking place in the system itself, especially within the communist bloc itself. They include the ideological confrontation and competition between the two communist powers, the Soviet Union and China, which originated from the Soviet Union's theory of 'peaceful coexistence' in 1956.¹⁴²⁾

Daebukbanggyungjegyoryuhyunhwang [Current Statuses of Northern Economic Interaction], (Seoul: Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 1990), p. 15.

141) Lee Sookja, op. cit. p.560.

142) Kim Ki Su, "Bukhanui Daeogyungjejungchaek" [North Korea's Foreign Economic

Nevertheless, since the early 1960s after the Korean War, DPRK has spent excessive defense spending for military buildup and self-defense under the ultimate goal of 'communization of the whole Korean Peninsula,' while the consumer goods industry has shrunk.¹⁴³⁾ And the overly vast size of military-industrial complexes has deformed the North's industrial structure to the extreme, resulting in the structural contradictions of today's North Korean economy.¹⁴⁴⁾

Policy] in *Bukhan-oegyojungchaek*[North Korea's Foreign Policy] (Seoul: Seoul Press), 1995. pp.103-104

143) Heavy chemical industries accounted for 25.6 percent of North Korea's industrial structure, the highest in 1990. Since then, the rate has decreased every year. North Korean Statistics, Industry Structure, Korean Statistical Information Service(KOSIS) <

http://kosis.kr/statHtml/statHtml.do?orgId=101&tblId=DT_1ZGA33&vw_cd=MT_BUKHAN&list_id=101_101BUKHANB01_AA16&seqNo=&lang_mode=ko&language=kor&obj_var_id=&itm_id=&conn_path=MT_BUKHAN> Accessed: October 18, 2019. <<http://kosis.kr/bukhan/index.jsp>>

144) Between 1956 and 1966, defense spending accounted for only 4.3 percent of the North's total budget annually, but it surged to 31.2 percent between 1967 and 1970. North Korea's defense spending began to rise in 1962, when the 'Economy and Military Parallel Advance Policy' was adopted. Such defense spending accounts for only 3.1 percent of North Korea's gross national income per year between 1956 and 1966, but during the 1967-70 period, it jumps to an annual average of 20.0 percent. It has increased spending on the defense sector to the point that it even delayed a seven-year plan carried out in the 1960s. Researchers assessed that 25 percent of North Korea's gross domestic product was invested in the military sector in early 1990. Kim Hyunah said North Korea officially spent 30 percent of its budget on military spending, but even the indirect cost amounted to 50 percent. Until recently, North Korea has spent too much on defense. According to the World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers 2018 released by the U.S. State Department, North Korea ranked first in the world by spending 23.3 percent of its annual GDP on defense during the 11-year period from 2006 to 2016, an excessively high figure compared to 12 percent for the second-ranked Oman. Compared to the fact that the index for the same period of time in South Korea and other major countries is less

On the other hand, South Korea has achieved continuous modernization and achieved economic development over the post-war 20 years that allowed it to build up its military strength and become a middle-power country on the basis of its economic power. South Korean democratic reforms successfully forced its previously autocratic regime, giving itself ideological credibility it had once lacked.¹⁴⁵⁾

In other words, the South Korean regime has achieved economic success and ideological stability since the division of the peninsula.¹⁴⁶⁾ In the end,

than 5 percent, the ratio of North Korea's defense spending is extremely odd. Kim Yun Chul, "Bukhan Gyungjegachyugui Jeongchikyungjejuk Jeyak: Gonguphwajeollyakui Bigyosahoejuijeok Yeongoo," [Political and Economic Constraints of North Korea's Economic Reform: Comparative Sociological Study of Industrialization Strategy], in *94 Tongilwon Project*[1994 Ministry of Unification Project] (Seoul: Tongilwon) 1994. p.41; Joseph Sang-hoon Chung, *The North Korean Economy : Structure and Development* (Stanford : Hoover Institute Press, 1974) pp.94-95; Kim Hyun Ah, "Kookbangbi Jichool Bijoong Segye Ilwi" *Radio Free Asia* (Washington D.C., U.S.A.), March 11, 2019.

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https://www.rfa.org/korean/commentary/ae40d604c544/20190311_1-03112019053554.htm
> Accessed: October 18, 2019; Ministry of National Defense, *Korea Defense White Paper 2018*, (Seoul: Ministry of National Defense, 2019) p.242-243; Department of State, *World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers 2018*, (Washington D.C. : Department of State, 2019).
<<https://www.state.gov/world-military-expenditures-and-arms-transfers-2018/>> Accessed October 18, 2019; Kristin Gustavson and Jinmin Lee-Rudolph co ed., "Political and Economic Human Rights Violations in North Korea," *North Korea after Kim Il Sung: Continuity or Change*, (Stanford, Calif. : Hoover Institution Press, 1997). p.143.

145) Natsios, Andrew S. op. cit. p.124.

146) The North's GDP was higher than that of South Korea by 1975, according to CIA data. Professor Kim, Byoung-lo Philo also claims that the North was doing better, although it was actually a minor difference. Kim, Byoung-lo Philo, *North Korea Studies Seminar* in Graduate School of International Studies(GSIS), Seoul National University, March 13, 2019.

the economic levels of South and North Korea also show difference significantly. South Korea's GNP was 16 times higher than North Korea's in December 1995, and its defense capabilities were on par with that of North Korea in terms of accumulated investment costs.¹⁴⁷⁾ After all, the North's foreign policy had no choice but to choose diplomacy to protect its regime in order to escape from the situation of isolation and alienation after the end of the Cold War. Even practically, North Korea needed exchanges with the U.S, Japan, and South Korea, citing 'peace' to address the economic difficulties facing itself. Thus, the North's foreign policy shifted from its offensive goal of communizing the entire Korean Peninsula to its defensive goal of maintaining its regime and securing legitimacy.¹⁴⁸⁾

147) Lee Sookja, op.cit.

148) Kim Gye Dong, *Bukhanui Oegyojungchaek: Byurang-e Seon Jooltagioegyoui Seontaek* [North Korean Foreign Policy : The Choice of Tightrope Diplomacy on the Brink] (Seoul: Baeksanseodang, 2002) pp.103-104; On the surface, peace and friendship was put forward as a diplomatic ideology, but internally, North Korean diplomacy was unable to escape its closedness and peace offensive aspects. In the early 1990s, North Korea actively pushed for policies to participate in the international community, including talks on improving relations with the U.S. and Beijing, diplomatic relations with Japan, and high-level talks with South Korea, but eventually switched to a hard-line policy when it announced its withdrawal from the NPT in 1993, which resulted in the international community's inability to trust the North diplomatically Kim Gye Dong, "Bukhanui Oegyojungchaek,"[North Korea's Foreign Policy] in *Hyundae Oegyojungchaekron*[Modern Foreign Policy] (Seoul: Myunginmoonhwasa, 2007). pp.354-356

b. Role variables: Included in Individual variables

North Korea is a state governed by the Workers' Party of Chosun, with the country's power concentrated in the party. But the Workers' Party of Chosun executes its policies in accordance with the will of its supreme leader. This is because the role of the Party, a key organization that comprehensively directs the state, has been transferred into the transcendent status, the leader.¹⁴⁹⁾ Therefore, North Korea can be called a centralized one-man dictatorship and a Kims-centered system of authorities. The impact of role variables on foreign policy decisions in this structure is very limited.¹⁵⁰⁾

Rosenau also hypothesized that individual variables would have more influence on foreign policy decisions than role variables since economically less developed countries have less institutional bureaucracy. In analyzing the

149) North Korea's 'Ten Principles for the Establishment of a Monolithic Ideological System'(also known as Ten Principles of the One-Ideology System) emphasizes unconditional loyalty to the supreme leader. This Principles, established in 1974, have been in the North's residents' mind as the code of conduct. In the North, this principle is more appreciated than the North's Constitution or Worker's Party's Protocol. Jeong-Ho Roh, *Ten Principles for the Establishment of the One-Ideology System*, (Columbia Law School, 2006) (http://www2.law.columbia.edu/course_00S_L9436_001/North%20Korea%20materials/10%20principles%20of%20juche.html) Accessed: Nov 28, 2019; "Buk, Yooilsasang Sipdae Wonchick Gaejung," [The North's Modification of 'Ten Principles of the Monolithic Ideology System'] *Radio Free Asia* (Washington D.C., U.S.A.) <https://www.rfa.org/korean/in_focus/nkchange-08122013113042.html> Accessed: Nov 28

150) Yong Ho Kim analyzed that the importance of role variables is very low, referring to the patriarchal Confucian political culture as well as the centralized system. Yong Ho Kim, op. cit. p.66

periodic characteristics of Chinese foreign policy determinants, Professor Choo exploited Rosenau's theory as an analytical framework, which included role variables in individual variables and analyzed it because the Chinese social structure cannot be believed to have been institutionalized or legalized.¹⁵¹⁾

In view of Rosenau's classification, North Korea belongs to a lower type of state in terms of national power, economic power and openness than China's. This means that North Korea's bureaucracy cannot be considered more systemically advanced than China's. Indeed, North Korea's foreign policy depends on the perception and values of the individuals in charge of the role, rather than on the policy-making based on the role. Therefore, role variables are included in individual variables.

c. Governmental variables: Monolithic Control system

North Korea's power structure and political characteristics can amount to government variables. The government structure can restrict or strengthen the foreign policy. Amid the highly centralized hierarchy, all-important government policies, including foreign policy, were exclusively carried out by Kim Il Sung, the Workers' Party of Korea and central government agencies.

North Korea is a party-state system in which all official activities are

151) Choo Jae-Woo, *op. cit.* p.373

conducted under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea. Article 91 of the North's Constitution states the basic principles of the North's internal and external policies are established by the Supreme People's Assembly. It is an organization that officially participates in North Korea's foreign policy decisions, a foreign affairs committee set up under the Supreme People's Assembly and the Supreme People's Assembly.¹⁵²⁾

Meanwhile, according to Article 11 of the Constitution, all national activities of the Supreme People's Assembly are conducted under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea.¹⁵³⁾ Therefore, the influence of the Party rather than the Supreme People's Assembly is practically crucial in the process of making foreign policy decisions.

The Party plays a more practical role in the foreign policy-making process. The process by which the Party participates in foreign policy is as follows. Set the basic direction of diplomatic activities at the Party congress, and deliberate and decide them at the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee. The international department of the secretarial bureau plays a

152) The Supreme People's Assembly, in relation to foreign policy, however, saw its share of foreign policy decline relatively as the new presidency was established in the socialist constitution revised in 1972 and the Central People's Committee was in charge of foreign policy. Jae Gyu Park, *op. cit.* p.70. Indeed, the role the Supreme People's Assembly plays in the North's policymaking process seems to be focusing on deliberating issues concerning inter-Korean relations by holding a joint meeting with the Central People's Committee. Joseonjoongangtongsinsa, *op. cit.* pp.126-7

153) The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party, especially the International Department of the Secretariat, which oversees foreign affairs, plays a central role. The decided foreign policy is to establish its implementation plan at the Central People's Committee under the supervision of the President of the State and execute it at the National Political Affairs Council. The working level is handled by the Foreign Ministry.

role of controlling thought and ideology, and the international department prepares and executes countermeasures on what happens at the working level.¹⁵⁴⁾

Then, who is the key figure in the Party? It is Kim Il Sung, general secretary of the Workers' Party. In North Korea, where it established a monolithic control system, Kim Il Sung, then general secretary of the Party, was also serving as the chairman of the ruling party, controlling and guiding the whole state. Therefore, it can be said that all North Korean foreign policies were decided and implemented under his leadership when Kim Il Sung was still alive.¹⁵⁵⁾

North Korea is a highly centralized, totalitarian, one-party dictatorship that touts the idea of self-reliance, called 'Juche,'¹⁵⁶⁾ as its governing ideology. In particular, it has the characteristics of a monolithic control regime by Kim Il Sung. The North Korean authorities' foreign policy and diplomatic activities were justified by Kim Il Sung-ism, a combination of 'Juche' and one-man rule.

Agencies participating in the North's foreign policy decisions have devoted

154) Yoo Ho-Yeol, "North Korea's Foreign Policy Decisionmaking : Structure and Process," *The Korean Journal of International Studies* 34(2), 1995. p.121

155) It should be noted that not all North Korea's policy decisions have been decided by Kim Il Sung and come down the hierarchy. Any top policymaker needs the help of aides and the preparation and research of professional departments. In Young Jeon, op. cit. p.87.

156) Juche, a governing ideology, was added to the military-first revolutionary ideology by Kim Jong Il after the death of Kim Il Sung. After Kim Jong Il's death, Kim Jong Un modify the name of ideology to 'Kim Il Sung-Kim Jong Ilism.' This one does not contain new ideologies, but merely replaces the Juche and military-first ideas with the names of Kim Jong Un's father and grandfather.

themselves to carrying out policies, competitively or at times compromising each other's based upon downward delivered guidelines from the top.¹⁵⁷⁾ Thus, the government structure would have served to support and further strengthen it in the direction of a foreign policy intended by the top decision-maker.

Indeed, North Korea's foreign policy decisions, especially important foreign policy decisions, were being made mostly in accordance with Kim Il Sung's platform and instructions. In the case of the working-level department of foreign policy affairs, professional diplomats gather at the Foreign Ministry's conference room every Saturday morning to review the implementation of the platform and instructions Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il have ordered in politics, economy, and diplomacy.¹⁵⁸⁾ And they receive instructs and orders which are written in Kims' own handwriting. Afterward, each returns to their own department to discuss how to execute the orders and directives and to formulate foreign policy by having a "meeting for operating the orders and directives" to prepare new measures.¹⁵⁹⁾ The phenomenon may be seen as a competition of maximized loyalty to Kim Il Sung.¹⁶⁰⁾

Meanwhile, officials who held key government posts during Kim Il Sung's

157) Jang Dal Joong, "Bukhanui Jungchaekgyuljeonggujowa Gwajeong-e Daehan Yungoo" [A Study on Decision-making Structure and Process of North Korea], in *Sahoegwahakgwa Jungchaek-yungoo*[Socials Science and Research on Policy], Vol.15, no.2, June 1993. p.13.

158) Kim Jong Il is the official successor of Kim Il Sung, who has guided state projects in general in other sectors since the 1980s, including foreign policy decisions. Kim Jong Il's instructions had absolute influence, as was Kim Il Sung's. Yoo Ho-Yeol. op. cit.

159) Young Hwan Ko, op. cit. p. 273.

160) Yoo Ho-Yeol, op. cit. p.124-125.

reign were loyal to him and filled with ideology and ideas about socialism. State policies were formulated and carried out in the direction Kim wants, rather than the structure and nature of relations between government agencies in the North.¹⁶¹⁾

Therefore, the importance of government variables in foreign policy decision-making is not likely to be that great.¹⁶²⁾ It is highly likely that the policy decision was made in a highly concentrated form by a handful of key figures focusing on Kim, rather than by agreement and coordination among related departments on important matters. Especially, it would have been all the more so on such a significant and crucial issue as the North-U.S. negotiations.¹⁶³⁾

161) They were those who were engaged in anti-Japanese activities with Kim Il Sung, or experienced the Korean War and the post-war Cheollima movement. They are categorized as the first and second generation, and have either contributed to the establishment of an early North Korean regime or worked for a high-level leadership after receiving recognition from Kim Il Sung in the process of establishing a one-man dictatorship for Kim Il Sung. Bae Yong Ae, "Bukhanui Gyecheung Goojo" [North Korea's Hierarchitecture], *North Korean Studies Course*, Seoul National University, May 23, 2019.

162) Even if it was a waste of money without any help to the national interest from the government officials, Kim Il Sung's instructions should have been carried out without fail. President of the Central African Republic (Kolingba) paid respect and praise for Kim Il Sung and Juche ideology during his visit to Pyongyang, and Kim Il Sung, in a better mood, decided to build a National Assembly building in the Central African Republic at the request of the President. Foreign ministry officials were stunned. They were convinced that Central Africa had never helped North Korea in history, and that the country's political orientation would not change if it builds a National Assembly building. However, North Korean diplomat Ko Young Hwan explains, 'The Foreign Ministry is only obliged to execute every word of Kim Il Sung unconditionally and absolutely and unconditionally.' Young Hwan Ko, op. cit. pp.231-232.

163) Park Jong Chul, op. cit. p.361

As a key advisor of the foreign policy sector, Hwang Jang Yop¹⁶⁴⁾ provides in his memoir an empirical basis for the potency of government variables in foreign policy determinants. Known as the founder of Juche (self-reliance) ideology, Hwang has been very next to Kim Il Sung for decades in the ranks of North Korean power and has received considerable trust from Kim. Before his defection to South Korea in February 1997, he held a position as secretary for international affairs of the Workers' Party of Korea since April 1984 and had considerable authority over North Korea's foreign policy as a whole.

According to him, no national policy was adopted if it did not up to the political orientation of Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il. Even if the policies were helpful to the nation, whether the policies are suited to the interest of dictators or not was the criterion for realizing them.¹⁶⁵⁾ Empirical insights

164) He defected to the Republic of Koera on February 12, 1997, and was the highest ranking North Korean defector to the South. Hwang Jang-yop served as chairman of the Supreme People's Assembly, secretary of the Worker's Party, director of the Juche Institute and secretary for international affairs of the Worker's Party in North Korea. He played the most important role in systematically organizing Juche ideology and establishing it as North Korea's governing ideology, and as secretary of international affairs, he was Kim Il Sung's top aide on foreign policy.

165) Around the end of 1995, Hwang Jang-yop was interested in the Mount Geumgang tourism issue and explained to Kim Jong Il that if the North's economy develops tourism, there is a possibility of a revival. According to Hwang, North Korea was able to earn about \$1 billion a year without any investment. But it was not adopted because it was not to Kim Jong Il's taste. And Hwang criticized North Korea for the harmful effects of one-man dictatorship, saying, 'If the dictator mandates that bring a woman behind a bicycle should be banned because it does not go with North Korea's custom, it is banned by law officially since then. This is North Korea's way of governance.' North Korea becomes a law.' Hwang Jang-yop, *Naneun Yeoksai Jinlireul Boatta : Hwangjangyop Hoegorok* [I Saw the Truth of History : Hwang Jang Yop's Memoirs], (Seoul: Hanul, 1999) pp.328-329; Cha Gwang Jin,

based on more than a decade of experience in the former senior foreign policy-related figure in North Korea also suggest the importance of government variables in foreign policy decisions is low.

In the process of Kim Jong Il inherited power after Kim Il Sung's death, the reorganization of the power structure may be suspected of increasing the influence of government variables. That's because Kim Jong Il abolished the premier position from the revised constitution in September 1998 and appointed himself as chairman of the National Defense Commission. And it could be supposed that Kim Jong Il entrusted the authority to the officials of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly and the Cabinet, instead of assuming the party and the military on his own. However, such a reshuffle was just a formality of the decentralization of policy.¹⁶⁶⁾ In reality, the new leader's sole power was still potent in the state system. Therefore, it can be seen that the influence of the government's variables is not significant even during the post-Kim Il Sung era.

(Dongyanghaija Barabon) Hwangjangyopsunsaeng : A-reumdaun Jogoogae Wihaeseo [(Appreciating in the perspective of Orientalist) Sir Hwang Jang Yop : For a Beautiful State], (Seoul: Francis, 2011), p.53.

166) The North's Socialist Constitution stipulates that 'the chairman of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Congress represents the state, and the premier of the Cabinet represents the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.' *Bukhansahoejui Heonbup*[North Korean Socialist Constitution], article 111, 120.

d. Societal variables: Monolithic Ideological System

Social variables in North Korea's foreign policy decisions include national unity and economic conditions. In countries of the same type as North Korea, social variables have the lowest potency in the order of determinants, according to the type of country classified by Rosenau. This is because North Korea is the Party-state governed by the Workers' Party of Korea, but is actually a one-man dictatorship. Therefore, the focus in this section is on national unity, which is related to the maintenance of the state's system, and economic factors, which may most conflict with the socialist system.

One way to consolidate unity within a group is to set up a common enemy. North Korea has properly exploited the U.S. presence as a way to maintain and strengthen its 'mobilization system,' a means of gathering national motivation. Thus, when North Korea reduces its public hostility toward American, it was perceived as at risk of leading to the removal of one psychological pillar for the regime's maintenance on its own.¹⁶⁷⁾

North Korea's hostility toward the U.S. is immense and huge. The United States is symbolized as 'imperialism, state of aggression, Korean People's most deadly enemy, a common enemy of the people around the world, and the culprit behind the international communist' to Kim Il-sung. As long as American troops are stationed in South Korea, Kim thought peaceful reunification or the end of the war is impossible.¹⁶⁸⁾ North Koreans

167) Kim Gye Dong, "Mi·Bukhangwangye Byunhwagwajeonggwa Jeonmang,"[Process of Relation Changes between the U.S. and North Korea, and Its Prospects toward Improvement] in *Kookbangnonjip*, No.13, Spring, 1991. pp.104-105.

168) *Kimilsung Jeojakseonjip Il* [Anthology of Kim Il Sung's Writings Vol.1], pp.4, 151,

recognize the U.S. blocked North Korea's victory in the Korean War and later the unification with the South based on communism led by the North was frustrated because of the U.S. Forces in Korea(USFK).

North Koreans learn this hostility since childhood. This enormous enmity, which has been built up and learned, is literally like delusion. A CNN news report shows this well. When an American reporter approached the young boys who were enjoying a virtual gunfight game in an arcade of Pyongyang and asked them, 'Who are you shooting at?' they answered, 'Americans.' And when a reporter asked if he would also shoot 'good Americans like me,' the children answered, 'Yes, I will.'¹⁶⁹⁾

Hostility toward the United States has been employed for national unity. Stressing that the USFK could invade the North anytime, Kim called for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from the Korean Peninsula through direct negotiations with the U.S, justifying the need for a military buildup for the North's security and strengthening of its regime and external military partnership.¹⁷⁰⁾ North Korea urged its people to get forces together to fight

196-197, 203-204, 368-369.

169) However, while the foreigner who asks them questions is American, the children who find out that he is a favorable American fall into self-contradiction. In the end, they replied that they would not shoot him. They even wave and smile at the reporter leaving there. This shows that apart from the fanatical hostility North Koreans have toward the U.S., they have never been to the U.S. and have never seen an American. North Koreans are not fully aware of the U.S., just showing hostility learned by brainwashing education. "CNN reporter to N. Korean child: Do you want to shoot me?," *CNN News*, May 4, 2018. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KNwuGIG5sKw&t=1s>> accessed: June 20, 2019.

170) For regime survival, Totalist state must have main enemies. If the notion of hostility toward designated enemies, there is high possibility of regime collapse. Good example is Soviet's. Gorbachev's Soviets have lost their basis for survival by reconciling with the main enemy of the U.S. military. Michael Howard, 1994,

against the United States, calling the United States an 'enemy who cannot live together under the same sky and on earth' who deprived them of the opportunity to reunify the Korean Peninsula.¹⁷¹⁾

The hostility toward the U.S. has grown bigger because of the helplessness and frustration that North Koreans feel and admit that they do not have the ability to change U.S. policy on their own, leading to provocations and even acts of terrorism.¹⁷²⁾

Meanwhile, North Korea actively used the results of the U.S.-North high-level talks to prevent internal turmoil among North Koreans and strengthen the solidarity of its regime by promoting the outcome of the talks as a diplomatic victory by Kim's leadership. This behavior is well illustrated by the fact that the North internally called the 'U.S.-North Korea agreement' an 'U.S.' surrender document.' North Korea touted the 'U.S.-North Korea joint statement,' issued in early June 1993 in the result of the first round of high-level U.S.-North Korea talks, as a 'page of a historic transition' and its diplomatic victory. And on June 14, Jochongnyeon, the pro-Pyongyang federation of Korean residents in Japan,¹⁷³⁾ stressed that the North's bid to withdraw from the NPT was a victory won in fight to the U.S.' pressure

."Lessons of the Cold War," *Survival*, vol.36, No.4(Winter 1994-95), 1994, p.163.

171) Yoon Yong Hee, "Bukhan-miguk Gwangyeui Byeonhwawa Jeonmang"[Changes and Prospects of North Korea-U.S. Relations], in *Gukjejungchi Nonchong* [Korean Journal of International Relations] 33(2), pp.133-155. (Seoul, Korea : Han'guk Kukche Chŏngch'i Hakhoe), June 1994.

172) Kim Gye Dong, 1995, op. cit. p.178.

173) It was founded in Tokyo by a group of leftist Koreans in Japan. It is an organization that considers the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, not the Republic of Korea, as its homeland. The official name is the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan, and in Korea, it is abbreviated to 'Chochongryon.'

and called the announcement of a joint statement with the U.S. and North 'a victory for the North's self-reliant diplomacy' earned by Kim's brave and wise leadership.¹⁷⁴⁾

In 1991, North Korea faced enormous economic difficulties.¹⁷⁵⁾ North Korea's proud food rationing system as a socialist country was already collapsing in the early 1990s. Subsidies from the Soviet Union have declined dramatically since 1989.¹⁷⁶⁾ In January 1991, the Soviet Union withdrew its conventional preferential treatment toward the North and demanded hard cash. As a result, imports from the Soviets, the North's most important trading partner, dropped sharply. Energy imports plunged to 75 percent compared to that of last year, while North Korea was forced to rely on China to import energy. But China, too, could not afford to provide energy aid to the North, nor did it intend to do so. In May of that year, China notified North Korea that it would suspend its conventional preferential treatment.¹⁷⁷⁾ Food was short of 1.65 million tons in 1991, and the shortfall rose to 2.07 million tons in 1992. Food rationing was not working in most areas in the North. Residents suffered from famine, and

174) *Rodong Sinmun*[Worker's Newspaper], June 14, 1993.

175) Don Oberdorfer, op. cit.

176) North Korea accumulated considerable amount of foreign debts in the 1970s and 1980s to the Soviet Union and China. And virtually all of the debt is overdue. Reentry into Western financial markets has become more difficult due to increased tensions over the North Korean regime's nuclear ambitions, which began to surface in the second half of 1992. Stephan Haggard and Marcus Noland, *Famine in North Korea: Markets, Aid, and Reform*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007) p.65.

177) Don Oberdorfer, op. cit.

North Korean authorities encouraged a campaign to eat two meals a day since 1992.¹⁷⁸⁾

Meanwhile, the worsening of the North Korean economy had led to complaints from North Koreans. The worsening economic situation has made it difficult to control residents and had become a threat to maintaining the domestic system. With the leadership unable to guarantee residents even the least amount of food, residents had no longer depended on the rationing system and lose confidence in the Party.¹⁷⁹⁾

But economic difficulties were not important enough to be perceived to lead to the collapse of the North Korean regime. The worship of Kim Il Sung, who is already been perceived god-like from people since their childhood, has let the people dying from famine in hopes of "fulfillment of Kim Il Sung's revolution and work." To the people, Kim Il Sung was literally a god, and the people died, believing their death is martyrdom¹⁸⁰⁾

178) Haggard, Marcus Noland, op. cit.

179) North Korea's GNP stood at \$23.1 billion in 1990. The economic growth rate was down 3.7 percent from 1989. The GNP stood at \$22.9 billion in 1991, down \$200 million from 1990, and its economic growth rate also fell 5.2 percent. The GNP stood at \$21.1 billion in 1992, down \$1.8 billion from 1991 and a 7.6 percent decline in economic growth. The year 1993 marked \$20.5 billion, down \$600 million from 1992, with economic growth down 4.3 percent. Kim Dal Joong and Lee Suk Soo, "Kimilsung Sahu Bukhanchejoui Jeonmanggwa Jeongchaekbyunhwa" [North Korean regime's prospects and policy changes after death of Kim Il Sung], in *Saechunnyun Hanbando Pyonghwaguchuckgwa Sinjiyukjilseoron : Bukhan mit A-tae Jiyugui Saeroun Byunhwareul Joongsimeuro* [New millennium, peace-building on the Korean peninsula, and new regional order : changes in North Korea and implications for the Asia-pacific region], (Seoul: Oreum) 2000. p.65.

180) North Korea has succeeded in deifying its leader. During the arduous march, at least more than 1 million people starved to death but died crying "Hurray for Kim Il Sung!" No protests did happen. The first group to starve to death was professors who other than teaching, did not know how to make living, and they had no choice

People had faith and belief about the legitimacy of Kim Il Sung's rule, even if they had complaints and distrust in the Party even during the extreme poverty and famine.

Meanwhile, Kim Il Sung may be the last person to perceive serious economic difficulties in North Korea. A senior government official reported the food shortage to Kim Jong Il, and party leaders demanded Kim Jong Il's permission to request food aid from the WFP.¹⁸¹⁾ He accepted the request but instructed them not to bother Kim Il Sung over food shortages by letting him know needlessly.¹⁸²⁾

And the North continued to purchase luxury goods to maintain its regime by elites' loyalty even during the famine season when millions of its people were believed to have died in the famine.¹⁸³⁾ Ironically, while dying in

but to go hungry when the rationing system was cut off and stopped. While dying, one professor wrote 'Work hard for the leader' on the blackboard. The students in the classroom are impressed by this and are reminded that 'I should also be martyred (for the leader)'. Kim Min Gyu(Defected foreign official and present-visiting professor of Wooseok University), *Special Lecture in North Korea Studies Seminar*, in Graduate School of International Studies(GSIS), Seoul National University, April 24, 2019

181) The request was not made publicly acknowledging the food shortage. The North's request for food aid was made in the name of supporting the development plan. For the regime, to accept international charity was an ideological heresy from the beginning since this would be an admission of failure that cause the regime to "lose face." When the North's authorities were no longer able to ration food to its people, North Korea had no foreign currency to import food from abroad and no other countries left to ask for food aid. Natsios, Andrew S., op. cit. p.6, 165.

182) Ibid. p.165

183) This happened when Thae was a North Korean diplomat in Denmark. One of the main tasks of the embassies abroad at that time was to receive food aid from the host countries or to obtain foreign currency and send it to Pyongyang. Diplomats must have felt rewarded for being able to send food to their country's starving people. A purchasing delegation came from Pyongyang. But they only purchased items that had nothing to do with improving the hunger of the people. They only

hunger and cold, residents prayed for loyalty to Kim Il Sung, anger at the U.S. and the fulfillment of his country's revolution task.

The North's hardship blamed on the U.S, the state enemy who bothers the solidarity of the society. And the memory of the anti-Japanese struggle led by Kim Il-sung was recalled and reconstructed to put him at the center of the legend. The legends evoked nationalism and close ties among the people through the shared historical background. People with these emotions were voluntarily mobilized to build or protect the national identity and solidarity among them against the formidable imperialist enemies. Seung Hoon Baek argued the reason why the North did not collapse is 'There is no alternative political faction that can muster the support of the people to topple the regime.'¹⁸⁴⁾

paid attention to items to be laid at Kims' feet. They also purchased sperm of cattle and cattle needed for a special farm that supplies beef and dairy products only to the Kims, and found wood tiles on the floor at Kumsusan Memorial Palace. In some cases, executives came to buy Danish draft beer to drink. The 3,200 tons of feta cheese acquired by Thae was free supported by a Danish company to be used as a nutrient for North Korean children dying of malnutrition. North Korea did not have a ship to carry the cheese and even did not have about \$1 million for transportation costs. Eventually, the Danish company willingly provided \$33 million worth of aid to North Korea, including transportation costs. But the cheese was given to the soldiers as a "gift from the General Kim" when Kim Jong Il visited his army and contributed to the strengthening of the North Korean military. Thae, op. cit. pp.100-102.

184) Seunghun Baek, *Analysis of North Korea's Political Discourse during the Arduous March in the 1990s*, (Seoul: Seoul National University Graduate School, 2019) p.65; On the other hand, Choi explained that despite the economic crisis, especially the food crisis, which has worsened to the point of life-and-death interests, the "mentality of decolonization" that unconsciously binds North Koreans to their social consciousness and behavior. Choi Bong Dae, "Bukhan Sahoe Jumindeurui Mentallitiwa Sahoejeok Tonghap Gije," [The Mentality and Social Integration Mechanism of North Korean Societies] in *Hyeondaebukhanyeongu* [North Korean studies review] 2(2), Kyungnam Taehakkyo Pukhan Taehagwon Taehakkyo Pukhan Misi Yonguso(Seoul),

If appropriate policies, such as importing enough food, or actively urging multinational aid, the North would not have suffered from mass starvation and chronic food shortages. But even at the height of the food shortage, North Korea blocked international food aid to areas where food shortages were most severe.

It also began to reduce food imports from foreign countries after the humanitarian aid was carried out. The North's authorities did not use humanitarian aid to increase the total food supply, but rather to reduce imports of food to save dollars. And the saved money was spent for other purposes mainly to strengthen the military.¹⁸⁵⁾

The economic hardship that became apparent in the 1990s shows that the North Korean economy has failed¹⁸⁶⁾ and that the North absolutely needs outside help.

The economic difficulties may have been one of the North's internal issues that it wants to resolve through negotiations with the U.S. However, economic difficulties cannot be regarded as a decisive factor in having North Korea engage in nuclear negotiations with the U.S. The main enemy

1999. pp.233-302.

185) Haggard, Stephan and Noland, Marcus, *Hunger and Human Rights: The Politics of Famine in North Korea*, (Washington D.C.: U.S. Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, 2005). p.31

186) By 1993, North Korea had negative growth for four consecutive years. The economic growth rate stood at -7.6 percent in 1991 and -4.3 percent in 1993 since -3.7 percent in 1990. Lee Chan Do, "Bukhanui Daeoemuyeokgyeolhapdoe Gwanhan Siljeungjeok Yeongu,"[An Empirical Study on North Korea's Foreign Trade Association] in (*'94 Bukhan Mit Tongiryeongu Nonmunjip* [(*'94*) Journal of North Korea and Unification Studies], (Seoul: Tong-il-won Jeongbobunsuksil[Tongilwon Information Analysis Office]) 1994.

to the North is the United States, and hostility toward the U.S. imperialism has united the people. Even in the midst of economic difficulties, called the 'arduous march,' people were dying in praise of Kim Il Sung's victory.

Therefore, economic difficulties would not have been an urgent issue in considering foreign policy decisions.¹⁸⁷⁾ Until now, North Korea has never succumbed to sanctions for economic reasons. Because there is no blow to the leader.¹⁸⁸⁾ In a totalitarian state system, the people are not only unable to control their government's behavior, but also the totalitarian government does not care at all about what disaster happens to the people. This is because even at the expense of the people, government officials can eat well and live well.

187) In December 1991, North Korea declared the Najin-Sunbong area near the border between North Korea, China and Russia as a free trade zone to earn foreign currency. The free trade zone was considered for economic benefits, but the North's other intention was to 'minimize the negative impact of opening up on the regime.' Dong Yong Seung, "Bukhanui Hyanghu Gyungjeongchaek Banghyang" [North Korea's Future Economic Policy Direction], in *Bukhan*[North Korea], no.273, September 1, 1994. pp.56-63.

188) Kim, Byoung-lo Philo, *North Korea Studies Seminar* in Graduate School of International Studies(GSIS), Seoul National University. May 15, 2019.

3. Summary

<Table 4> Summary of the North Korean foreign policy determinants based on Rosenau's framework

Variables	Contents
Individual	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Revision of the unification policy and diplomatic ideology from a sense of crisis due to the South's active unification policy, which developed the economy based on democracy and capitalism · Tragedy of his East German and Romanian friends threatens his regime as well · Overwhelming victory of the U.S. in the Gulf War convinces his regime to collapse if the North fights against the U.S. · Collapse of Kim Il Sung's lifelong belief: South and North Korea's simultaneous entry into the U.N, recognition of two Koreas, and responsibility for the division of the two Koreas · Collapse of Trilateral relation, and Kim Il Sung's feeling of betrayal from Soviet and China

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Release of Soviet's secret documents by Yelchin and revealing the background of Korean War: Crisis of Kim Il Sung's historical validity and legitimacy · Kim Il Sung's shock from his late acknowledgment on the North's economic crisis
System	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · International system: post-Cold war, the U.S.' supremacy, and North Korea's isolation · Regional system: Collapse of Trilateral relationship with Soviet and China · Bilateral system: South Korea's modernization, economic success, ideological stability
Governmental	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Monolithic Control system : Worker's Party rules the North according to the supreme leader's intention, and this system encourages and supports the leader's policy-making-decision, never restricts.
Societal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Strengthening the unity of the regime and maintaining internal unity in the midst of severe famine · Monolithic Ideological System: Despite the death of famine, the people of North Korea were still ultimately supportive of Kim Il Sung.

Source: produced by the author

Through Rosenau's tool, this chapter analyzed North Korea's foreign policy determinants. Refer to <Table 4> above. In light of his theory, a country like North Korea corresponds to the 'Small-Underdeveloped-Closed' type. The foreign policy determinants of this type of country have relative potency in the order of individuals, systems, governments, and societies.

Individual variables can be analyzed around Kim Il Sung, who wields absolute influence in making policy decisions in the North Korean regime. The decisive reason for the nuclear negotiations with the U.S. was Kim Il Sung's determination. A sense of crisis felt by Kim from the issues of greatest concern led to such foreign policy.

Kim Il Sung's sense of crisis stems from his perceived threat to the regime's survival. The ideological confrontation between the East and West world turned to a reconciliatory mood and welcomed a cold war. With the leaders of East Germany and Romania, who are his friends, suddenly forced to retreat or executed, Kim Il Sung was terrified of the regime's collapse and security. In addition, North Korea is facing an external security crisis and a legitimacy crisis amid the collapse of the Northern tri-relationship and the South's active diplomatic campaign on the North.

The crisis Kim Il Sung felt about the regime's survival was also shown by changes in the unification policy toward the South and the revision of diplomatic ideology. The Soviet Union and China urged North Korea to join the U.N. together with the North, and Kim Il Sung had to break down his lifelong opposition to the idea for practical reasons in reality. Kim Il Sung had to become a member of the U.N., which he perceived as an agency representing U.S. power, amid a sense of loss and betrayal that lost the

support of the two socialist allies, both economic donors and ideological allies.

Data released by the Soviet Union would have further frustrated him. The shock of Kim Il Sung, who belatedly recognized the famine that was already going on at a critical level and that his people were wandering and seeking anything-to-eat on the field, must have caused him to admit the North's economic failures.

The regime variables can find grounds for analysis at a time when North Korea is in a new international order structure due to changes in its international system.

The end of the Cold War has prompted a change in the dynamics of international politics and economy, and further cemented the position of superpower America. North Korea has faced serious political and economic challenges, and negotiations with the United States may have served as a breakthrough to overcome these crises. In addition, amid the collapse of the Northern tri-relationship and security stability, it may have been the most reasonable option for improving relations with the United States to ensure the safety of its regime.

The North's government structure or political and economic characteristics could not limit Kim Il Sung's intent. Thus, in the process of making foreign policy decisions, government and social variables served to further support and strengthen individual variables.

In particular, it is highly likely that a highly concentrated form of policy decision was made around Kim Il Sung, rather than an agreement or coordination among related departments on crucial diplomatic issues,

especially like the North Korea-U.S. negotiations.

It was not until early 1992 that Kim first began to recognize that the economic situation in North Korea was the exact opposite of what he knew.¹⁸⁹⁾ However, even in the midst of economic difficulties, the people supported him. Social variables disprove its low relative potency in the foreign policy decision.

V. Conclusion

Many scholars consider North Korea's economic crisis as the main determinant of Pyongyang's negotiation with the U.S. in the first North Korean nuclear crisis.¹⁹⁰⁾ This argument makes sense on the one hand. Because the fact that North Korea's research is difficult due to the lack of clear information and the lack of easy access to internal data has led researchers to analyze the North with an external approach. This approach analyzes and recognizes Pyongyang from an external perspective. Therefore, the overall phenomenon of the North Korean regime is analyzed from the perspective of democracy and capitalism, which is the view of Western society, not an objective view.

For example, since the Carter administration, the issue of rebuilding the

189) Natsios, Andrew S., op cit. p.165.

190) The basic goal of North Korea's nuclear negotiations with the U.S. is to eliminate security threats and resolve economic difficulties. Korean Foreign Office, *Jipmoojaryo*[Office Material], (Seoul: the Foreign Office, 1995)

North Korean economy has often been talked about in American society. Some experts in the U.S. argued that it is desirable to restore the North Korean economy to prevent war and make a soft landing because of the high possibility of war provocations by Pyongyang when its economy is on the brink of regime collapse.¹⁹¹⁾ And North Korea has also taken advantage of this atmosphere to engage the U.S. with the aim of gaining economic aid. North Korea has also been making efforts in the U.S. to "implantation" and "muster" of pro-North Korean groups that can help the communist country.¹⁹²⁾ This discourse could support the North's claim that it is negotiating with the aim of getting economic aid from the U.S. because of the urgency caused by the economic crisis that can bring regime collapse.

However, the arguments that refute these claims are as follows. North Korea has provided an exorbitant amount of economic aid to third-world countries despite growing economic difficulties.¹⁹³⁾ The residents were starving, but the North's leadership continued to buy luxury goods from abroad. Purchases of a gift for the Kims and encouraging products for elites continued. Miraculously provided food aid from abroad was also given to the military rather than to starving North Koreans and children, contributing to the maintenance and reinforcement of military power.¹⁹⁴⁾

On the other hand, scholars do not deny that North Korea negotiated

191) Seok Ryul Yoo, *Bukhanjeongchaekron*[North Korea Policy Theory], (Seoul: Beopmoonsa, 1990), pp.227-228.

192) North Korea has been making efforts to implant and muster pro-North Korean forces that can help the communist country in the United States. Seok Ryul Yoo, 2000, op. cit.

193) Young Hwan Ko, op. cit. pp.225-242.

194) Thae, op. cit. pp.98-125.

nuclear weapons with the U.S. for the survival of its regime. Many scholars predicted that the North Korean regime will soon collapse amid severe economic difficulties and the chaos of the leader's death in 1994. They argue that the biggest threat to the regime's survival was economic difficulties and that the North decided to negotiate the nuclear deal with the U.S. as a way out of these difficulties.

Therefore, the argument that it negotiated with the U.S. to solve economic difficulties is reasonable. North Korea tried to avoid a crisis of its regime collapse with any form of economic help guaranteed through contact with the U.S.¹⁹⁵⁾ This is because, if Washington decides to provide economic aid to Pyongyang, the North thought such a move would greatly help draw economic help from other Western countries as well as Japan.

In the second round of talks to find a solution to the IAEA inspection issue, North Korea came up with assistance for the light-water reactor conversion as a precondition. In the end, the North demanded the construction of two light-water reactors in the Geumho area, which would cost \$4.62 billion to build. It also tried to get 500,000 tons of heavy fuel oil from the U.S. every year, threatening to develop nuclear weapons at Yongbyon. Even after the nuclear issue was resolved via the Agreed Framework on October 21, 1994, North Korea raised issues such as the construction of transmission and distribution lines and training of technicians,

195) Trade between the U.S. and North Korea reached \$475,000 in 1992, up from \$100,000 in 1991. In particular, economic relations between the two countries developed in May 1993, with the U.S. TNT Express, a global express carrier, entering Pyongyang on a contract with the Korea Shipping Corporation. *Joongangilbo*[Joongang Daily] June 28, 1993.

demanding that the U.S. pay an additional \$1 billion.¹⁹⁶⁾

Hence, some scholars would argue North Korea was trying to solve its chronic energy problem, while opening a channel for dialogue with the United States. In the end, North Korea tried to avoid an economic crisis by exploiting its nuclear card to receive light-water reactors and alternative energy from the U.S, they say.¹⁹⁷⁾

Researchers' claim, therefore, that North Korea is negotiating with the U.S. to solve its economic difficulties is not totally wrong. It is true that the North's economic difficulties were serious at the time when millions of people starved to death during the 1990s, which is called 'the arduous march.' And a socialist state's economic crisis can lead to a regime crisis. Because the socialist system is closely linked between the economy and the military. Economic stagnation can lead to a crisis in the defense and security sector and lead to instability in the state's system.¹⁹⁸⁾

However, it was half right and half wrong. The above arguments cast doubt on whether economic difficulties in North Korea could lead to regime collapse. Can the above logic apply to North Korea as well? Those predictions for North Korea have been all wrong.¹⁹⁹⁾ The economic crisis itself cannot be seen as having North Korea engage in nuclear negotiations with the U.S.

196) *Joongangilbo*[Joongang Daily] March 27, 1995.

197) After August 31, 1998, a missile card was used to claim \$3 billion in compensation.

198) Brus and Laski, *From Marx to the Market* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). p.34.

199) As for discussion about why 'North Korean Collapse Theory' has failed, see: Kim, Byoung-lo Philo. op. cit.; Seunghun Baek, op. cit.; Choi Bong Dae, op. cit.

The 'Najin-Sunbong Free Trade Zone' plan, which was implemented in 1991 to attract foreign investment, was aimed at breaking the economic impasse, but at the same time, it was the result of agonizing to minimize the impact of economic openness on the North Korean regime. More important than the benefits that can be gained from the opening of the economy was the survival of the North Korean regime.

Also, the economic crisis at the time was unlikely to lead to the collapse of the regime. Residents distrusted the Workers' Party due to social discontent caused by famine, but they still supported and believed Kim Il Sung. The people's faith in Kim, which can be understood as a god in religion, is one thing and residents' discontent with the party's inability to properly cope with famine is another. Therefore, economic hardship was not that important determinant for Kim Il Sung to let him decide nuclear negotiations with the United States.

Rosenau's framework provides a good analytical basis for claiming that individual variables, or Kim Il Sung, were the most important and decisive one. Foreign policy decision determinants, whose importance is arranged in the order of individuals, systems, government, and society, rationally explain why North Korea decided to have nuclear negotiate with the U.S.

The most important factor for Kim Il Sung, who was already over his eighty at the time of the U.S.-North Korea negotiations, would have been to maintain his regime and, through this, to stably hereditary power succession to his son, Kim Jung Il. The purpose of maintaining the regime and survival could be justified by any means connected to foreign policy.²⁰⁰⁾

200) In normal relationships, provocations or sudden changes in policy were carried out

The history of the North Korean nuclear program suggests regime survival is one answer as well.²⁰¹⁾ Learning his own lessons from the 1961 Cuban missile crisis, Kim Il Sung declared his self-reliant defense policy, established underground fortress against U.S. nuclear attacks, and wanted to develop the North's own nuclear weapons.²⁰²⁾

The Western world's change of attitude toward China and the proposed dialogue after China's nuclear development have also taught Kim an important lesson. China pushed ahead with its nuclear development in the period between 1959 and 1964, when it was under economically most difficult situation. It has faced opposition from the U.S., Britain, and the Soviet Union against Beijing's own nuclear program. The three banning countries signed a treaty in 1963 to contain China. Shortly before China conducted a nuclear test in 1964, U.S. Defense Secretary McNamara

on the grounds of maintaining the regime. It is in the same context that the 2002 Battle of Yeonpyeong took place simultaneously with Mt. Keumkang tour. In particular, armed provocations have increased in frequency and intensity during the hereditary succession of the North's regime. Because it was used as a means to ensure the legitimacy of hereditary succession that was inherently unsuitable for communism. During the hereditary succession from Kim Il Sung to Kim Jong Il's regime, there were the August 18 Axe-murder, the bombing of a KAL plane, and the Rangoon bombing terror attack. In the process of transferring power from Kim Jong Il to Kim Jong Un, the North's torpedoing of the South Korean warship Cheonan and shelling of Yeonpyeong Island were carried out. The aim is to eliminate complaints within North Korea and secure legitimacy for hereditary succession. In the same context, North Korea is desperately resorting to nuclear development. There is a sense of crisis and urgency about maintaining the system. Bonggyu Park, *op. cit.* p. 115.

201) Uk Heo and Jung-Yeop Woo, "The North Korean Nuclear Crisis: Motives, Progress, and Prospects" in *Korea Observer*, Vol. 39(4), December 2008. p.488. p.504.

202) Wit, Joel S. et al. *op. cit.*

threatened to bomb on the Xinjiang and Beijing, even warning of a possible third world war.

But it was only after China succeeded in developing nuclear weapons that the U.S. and the West first opened the door for dialogue with China. Shortly after its success in nuclear development in 1964, the French government actively engaged in negotiations with China on establishing diplomatic ties. At that time, Mao Zedong said, 'Nuclear development is the best way to open the door of the U.S. and Western from their willingness!' China tried to establish formal diplomatic relations with the U.S. shortly after the success of the 1949 revolution, but the U.S. rejected it. But it was only after China successfully conducted its first nuclear test in 1964, tested a hydrogen bomb four years later, and launched a satellite two years later that the U.S. began direct talks with China, leading to official diplomatic relations in 1979.

Mao and Chinese leaders judged that nuclear development was the only card that forced the U.S. to move under the decades of China's no power and no special incentives. Nuclear was a card that the U.S. couldn't help but move. Li claims that Kim Il Sung took out a nuclear development card for the same reason and purpose.²⁰³⁾

The North-U.S. nuclear negotiations were established from Kim Il Sung's

203) Jung Gi Yul and Jung Yong Il, “Jungguk Chinghwadaehak Gukjeeonrondaehagwon Risigwang Wonjang - Junggugi Haekmugi Gajin Dwieya Biroso Sugyo Naseon Miguk : “Eotteon Iri Isseodo Jung · Jo Seonrinuhogwangye Wonchik Yujihaeaya” [Li Shi-kwang, dean of the Graduate School of International Journalism at Tsinghua University in China - The United States, which only established diplomatic ties after China had nuclear weapons: "The principle of Sino-Korea Goodwill relations must be maintained no matter what"], in *Minjok21*[Nation 21] 2009, pp.38-44.

choice to save his regime. The North's bilateral negotiations with the U.S. can also be seen as a sign that the superpower, the U.S., recognizes the weaker North Korea as a dialogue counterpart²⁰⁴⁾ while upgrading the North's status internationally. Kim Il Sung judged that antagonizing the U.S., which emerged as the sole superpower since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, would worsen the North's diplomatic isolation and threaten its survival. Therefore, Kim's intends to secure his regime by engaging in diplomatic relations with the U.S., which believes it will be the only one that can guarantee his regime. His intentions are well illustrated in the negotiation process. For instance, in the first-phase negotiations, North Korea called on the U.S. to 'respect the North's socialist system.'²⁰⁵⁾ And when the

204) The U.N. approved the South Korean government as the only legitimate government on the Korean Peninsula in a 1948 South Korean government approval. (<<https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/117706>> accessed: September 9, 2019.) At the time, the United Nations was paid the largest amount of aid from the United States, and U.N. member states were also overwhelmingly friendly to the United States. Therefore, the opinion of the United Nations can be seen as the voice of the United States. In 1991, the U.N. unanimously approved the entry of South and North Korea into the U.N by 159 member countries. And the Korean flags was raised side by side in front of the U.N. headquarters in New York. Aside from approving the South Korean government as the only legitimate government on the Korean Peninsula in 1948, the simultaneous entry of the two Koreas in 1991, the U.S. recognizes the South and the North as members of the international community, respectively. Tae Gyun Park, *Korean History Class*, Graduate School of International Studies, Seoul National University, September 30, 2019.

205) At the talks, North Korea obtains the following promise from the United States as a measure to ensure its regime's respect. 1. Ensuring peace and security on the denuclearized Korean Peninsula, including the fair application of all-out safety measures, mutual respect for the sovereignty of the other side and no interference in internal affairs. 2. Agree on the peaceful reunification of the Korean Peninsula. 3. The U.S. and North Korea receive a promise to continue dialogue on an equal and fair basis. North Korea has succeeded in obtaining the U.S. promise of

U.S. was discussing a pre-emptive strike plan against North Korea, Kim said he was extremely scared about the threat of a nuclear attack and called on Washington to make a formal declaration not to launch a nuclear attack on Pyongyang.²⁰⁶⁾ For this purpose, the North-U.S. nuclear negotiations were satisfactory to him.

1. Limitations and Further Studies

The North Korean first nuclear crisis first took place in 1993 when Pyongyang announced its withdrawal from the NPT. The international crises over North Korea's nuclear weapons program so far can be largely divided into three periods. The aforementioned 1993 declaration of North Korea's withdrawal from the NPT is the first of its kind and the second of its kind by Kim Jong Il's suspected development of an HEU program in 2002. And it will be the third time that North Korea has launched an ICBM during the Kim Jong Un era in 2017.²⁰⁷⁾

What is deficient the author admit about this study is that it did not address all three cases of North Korean nuclear crises. It did not discuss all three periods why the North did or not have nuclear negotiations with the

non-intervention in its internal affairs by risking its nuclear weapons program to preserve its regime, its biggest concern. *Joseonilbo*[Chosun Daily] June 13, 1993.

206) Frank J. Murray, "N.Korean demand unanswered: Kim wants no-first-strike pledge," *The Washington Times*, June 21, 1994.

207) Discussion with Byoung-lo Philo Kim, Oct. 14, 2019.

U.S. There has been a major crisis associated with the nuclear issue during each leader's era, and the author think research on the North's diplomatic decisions of resolving conflicts with the U.S. and easing international tensions will be very interesting academically. Then, the research will contribute to the development of North Korean studies to examine the North Korean nuclear crisis and its foreign policy for resolving conflicts with the U.S. according to each leader and to compare based on Rosenau's framework what factors were most important.

Due to the limited time and limited capabilities of the author, only the first North Korean nuclear crisis during Kim Il Sung's reign has been dealt with. Though, the author proposes a further analysis of the era of Kim Jong Il and Kim Jong Un for a future researcher's task. It would be an excellent academic achievement to study and compare all these three periods.

As for this dissertation's analytical tool, the study is based on Rosenau's framework for explaining determinants of the North's foreign policy during the first North Korean nuclear crisis. Rosenau's framework of analysis is the first attempt at the foreign policy determinant research for generalization and created with the possibility of revision to develop into a general theory in the future. Therefore, it cannot avoid criticism that it has not addressed all the various and complex foreign policy determinants and is inappropriate for adopted as an analytical framework. As foreign policy researchers agree, however, it is very limited to completely elaborate and analyze all determinants of foreign policy. And even if all the determinants are identified, a nation's foreign policy can change its priorities and the weight of its potency depending on timing and issues. Thus, the study of foreign

policy determinants is thought to have structural limitations in itself. In addition, foreign policy is derived by the interactions between determinants rather than by the respective determinants themselves. Thus, even if all the policy-making factors are identified, efforts to explain foreign policy rationally, taking into account the balance with all other variables, are all the more important. In view of this, Rosenau's theory is a significant and rational tool as an analytical framework.

In view of Rosenau's theory, it has found that individual variables account for a significant potency of North Korea's foreign policy determinants. If so, it is possible to analyze how each leader, individual variables, might have contributed to the decision of the foreign policy of the North Korean nuclear negotiations during the Kim Il Sung era in 1993, the Kim Jong Il era in 2002, when the second North Korean nuclear crisis occurred, and the third North Korean nuclear crisis in 2017. And I think such findings could contribute to managing crises and preventing war even if the current nuclear talks between Kim Jong Un and Trump are unstable or abandoned later on.

Meanwhile, this paper presents an additional interesting case found in the course of research. What is discussed from now on might be unsuitable to the theoretical analysis. However, it makes perfect sense to think about what a man might think in his later years in life. And this fact provides implications for Kim Il Sung's perception on regime crisis.

In Korea, there is a national holiday which is called Gaecheonjeol(the National foundation day of Ancient Chosun).²⁰⁸⁾ In October 1993, North

208) Gaecheonjeol all consists of Chinese characters and means 'The day sky begins opening.' Dan-gun is a figure in Korean myth, and he also has been acknowledged as founding father of Gojoseon(Ancient Chosun), the first nation in Korean Peninsula.

Korea announces the discovery of the remains of Dangun ahead of Gaecheonjeol.²⁰⁹⁾ And Kim Il Sung claims, "Dan-gun was scientifically proven to be the founding father of Gojoseon, not a mythical figure." And he orders the construction of Dan-gun Tombs before next Gaecheonjeol in 1994.²¹⁰⁾ He also emphasizes the concept of a single nation of Korean people and propagandizes "strongly encouraging" North Koreans to fight for national reunification. It was the moment when a mythical figure turns into a real existential figure.²¹¹⁾

From the outset, however, North Korea did not regard Dan-gun as an existential figure, and thus, naturally, it did not recognize him as the root of a single nation. In addition, Kim Il Sung, who encouraged his people for "the struggle for unification," emphasized Dan-gun and ordered the construction of Dangun tombs, died on July 8 next year failing to watch the complete construction of Dan-gun Tomb.

North Korea, which had denied the existence of Dan-gun in the past, recognizes Dan-gun as an existential figure, calling it "scientific evidence of a unified Korean nation," and has built the Dan-gun Tomb majestically 70 meters high despite economic difficulties at the time, offers implications on Kim Il Sung's perception. Why did the old man, who had only one year left before his death, recognize the mythical person as the real figure? Whether or not the Dan-gun really existed is not important in this debate.

In the history academic community, however, Dan-gun is nothing more than a mythical meaning. 'Dan-gun' could mean the ruler of the time, and it is literally a myth.

209) *Rodong Sinmun*(Worker's Newspaper), October 3, 1993.

210) *Rodong Sinmun*(Worker's Newspaper), October 20, 1993.

211) "Buk, Dangun-eul Wae Joong-yosihaneunga," *Tongilnews*, October 12, 2014.

Importantly, the story suggests a meaningful insight into the perception of the regime crisis felt by a human, Kim Il Sung.

2. Implications on today's North Korea

This study began with an interesting fact about the recent North-U.S. nuclear negotiations. Therefore, this paper can provide implications for the nuclear negotiations between the North's current Kim Jong-un regime and the United States.

During the first North Korean nuclear crisis, The North has learned how to deal with the U.S. While studying North Korea's foreign policy, which responded to the full-scale war crisis in the 1990s, it seems to be able to learn what lessons Pyongyang learned from the first North-U.S. nuclear negotiations. And according to this dissertation, policy-makers could reach solutions that can bring North Korea on a negotiation table again later, even today's negotiation mood fall.

North Korea is likely to give up its position and agree to negotiations rather than confront the U.S. if the possibility of a U.S. military attack is substantially high and there is no political possibility of resolving it because no diplomatic channel is in place. The alleviation process of tensions in the first North Korean nuclear crisis supports this.²¹²⁾ In other words, when the U.S. was serious about carrying out its actions for war with North Korea in

212) Byoung-lo Philo Kim, *op. cit.* pp.356-357.

the Korean Peninsula, the North's supreme leader, feeling desperate, stepped up to offer an olive branch and tension eased.

However, if the military crisis turns into a political conflict, it tends to take a more confrontational and aggressive response and try military adventures and brinkmanship.²¹³⁾

Therefore, in a situation of political conflict and tension, North Korea will exploit military adventures as an opportunity to justify economic difficulties and strengthen internal solidarity and position by demonstrating the leadership of the current North Korean leader Kim Jong Un.

In this part, the author briefly looks at the foreign policy determinants of the Kim Jong Un regime as a framework of Rosenau. Individual variables' volume is less than that of Kim Il Sung, but it will still serve in the highest priority. The hereditary power succession, banned by Marx-Leninism, has weakened the legitimacy of the North's leader since the Kim Jong Il era. Kim Jong Un also appears to be aware of a complex about his legitimacy of governance. Simply the fact that he imitates his grandfather, Kim Il Sung's hairstyle, behavior, and speech supports this.

System variables should take into account the recent developments in North Korea's relations with neighboring countries such as China and Russia. This is because the way of diplomatic calculation in current days is different from the diplomatic isolation Kim Il Sung suffered during the first North Korean nuclear crisis. In addition, the current Trump administration's diplomatic behavior appears different from its previous presidents, raising doubts about the leadership the superpower America had in the international

213) Ibid.

community before. It is also uncertain how the U.S. strategy of approaching to the Korean Peninsula through the geopolitics of the Indo-Pacific, and China's strategy of China Dream, will affect North Korea's diplomacy.

The government variable appears to be represented shifting from existing bureaucrat to technocrat. But this is due to Kim Jong Un's lack of diplomatic experience and expertise. Thus, individual variables are still expected to take precedence over any other variables in foreign policy decisions.

What stands out in the analysis of societal variables is the weakening of national integration. North Korean society is changing due to its steadily worsening economic difficulties since the 1990s and market system which is called 'Jangmadang' inside the country. Residents learned of the market economy and began to recognize the difference between the outside world and the reality of North Korea when they came upon the culture that came from South Korea. This change in perception means that the North's existing education for revolution and brainwashing will no longer work for its people.

However, the order of relative potency of the variables remains unchanged, and the author thinks the impact of the change in the weight of each variable on foreign policy decisions will be little. Therefore, in response to the North's foreign policy decision-making factors, the "policy decision by the supreme leader" is still expected to be a reasonable explanation. This is summarized in <Table 5> below.

<Table 5> Abbreviated table on Recent days Determinants of Foreign Policy in Kim Jong Un Regime

Variables \ Era	Kim Jong Un
Individual	· The legitimacy and authority of governance to Kim Jong Un is increasingly weakening
System	· Change in diplomatic relations with China and Russia · Change in perception on the U.S, once superpower, and relations between the U.S. and China in the region
Government	· Change from existing Bureaucrat to Technocrat · The successor weakens foreign policy expertise.
Societal	· Residents weaken loyalty to their rulers. · Due to the collapse of the national rationing system, learning the difference from the outside world, and the experience of a market economy, existing brainwashing education does not work

Source: produced by the author

There must be a difference in weight between the Kim Il Sung period during the first North Korean nuclear crisis and that of the current Kim Jong Un era. But the current policy-decision structure of the North is still substantially concentrated on Kim Jong Un.

The analysis according to Rosenau's framework supports the importance of individual variables in North Korea's foreign policy determinants. Personal

factors such as Kim Jong Un's perception of the international situation, on the regime's crisis, and so forth are the most important factors that led to his decision to negotiate with the U.S. in the third nuclear crisis.

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Tongilnews

Naver Dictionary

Korean Statistical Information Service(KOSIS)

Abstract(Korean)

본 논문은 북한이 왜 미국과 핵협상을 하려고 했는지 질문한다. 2017년 전면전 위기까지 치달았던 북미 관계가 북핵 협상을 통해 긴장이 완화된 것에서 관심이 생긴 후 연구 질문을 던진다. 핵협상을 전후로 일어난 극적인 반전은 1994년에도 동일했다. 북한의 도발로 인한 북미간 전쟁위기가 최고조에 달했지만 북핵협상으로 이어지면서 긴장이 완화되었다는 점에서, 2017년과 1993년의 평행선은 흥미로운 연구 주제를 제공한다. 따라서 1993년 첫 북핵위기시 북한이 미국과 핵협상을 결심한 이유에 대해 외교정책 결정요인의 관점에서 진지하게 연구해보았다.

1차 북핵위기는 1993년 북한이 NPT 탈퇴를 선언하며 처음 일어났다. 미국은 진지하게 전면전을 준비했고, 한반도는 극도로 긴장이 고조되었다. 이러한 경우는 지금까지 세 번 있었다. 앞서 언급한 1993년 김일성 시대 북한의 NPT 탈퇴 선언이 첫 번째이고, 2002년 김정일 시대 고농축 우라늄 프로그램 개발 의혹(HEU)이 두 번째이다. 그리고 최근 2017년 김정은 시대 북한이 ICBM 시험 발사를 한 것을 세 번째로 볼 수 있을 것이다. 세 번에 걸친 북핵위기에서 북한은 미국과 핵협상을 하거나 하지 않는 대외행동을 보였는데, 이 연구는 첫 번째 북핵위기시 북한이 미국과 핵협상을 한 이유에 대해 연구한 것이다.

본 연구는 이를 위해 로즈노우의 예비이론을 분석틀로 활용하였다. 로즈노우의 분석틀에서 북한은 ‘약소국-폐쇄형-저발전국’ 유형의 국가로 분류할 수 있다. 이러한 유형의 국가의 외교정책 결정요인은 ‘개인, 체제, 정부, 사회’ 순으로 상대적 우선순위를 갖는다.

개인 변수로 분석하면, 북한은 김일성 개인이 신과 같은 권력을 갖고 있는 1인 독재체제에서 외교정책 결정에 절대적인 영향력을 행사했다.

그리고 김일성이 당시에 가진 체제 붕괴 위기 인식은 체제 유지를 위한 해결책을 모색하게 하였다. 체제 변수 차원에서, 북한은 미국과 외교관계를 맺는 것이 현 상황을 타개할 수 있는 최선의 방책이었다. 정부 변수로 분석하면, 정부 구조는 김일성의 의도와 결심을 일방적으로 지지하고 강화하였다. 그리고 사회 변수에서, 경제난은 체제 붕괴로 이어질 수 없었으며, 주민들은 기근에 시달리면서도 김일성을 찬양하고 숭배했다.

결국, 북한이 미국과 핵협상을 결정하게 된 결정적 이유는 김일성의 결심이었다. 김일성이 가장 염려하고 우려하는 사안으로부터 느낀 위기감은 그를 벼랑 끝에 있는 것과 같이 공포심을 느끼게 했고, 북한의 대외행동은 미국과 협상을 하기 위한 외교정책으로 이어졌다.

북한의 외교정책에 관한 연구에서 통치자 개인이 느낀 위기의식을 진지하게 다룬 연구는 미비했다. 본 논문은 북한이 미국과 핵협상을 하게 된 이유를 김일성이 느낀 체제 생존에 대한 위기의식에서 찾는다. 그리고 기존의 주장들과 차이점을 주장한다.

기존의 일부 논의는 경제난을 북핵협상의 이유로 들었다. 또는 본 논의의 주장과 동일한 ‘체제 위기’를 근거로 하더라도, 북한의 외교적 고립 및 경제난으로 인한 체제 위기로 간주하였다. 기존의 주장들이 완전히 틀린 것은 아니다.

그러나, 본 논문은 ‘김일성이 느낀 체제 위기’에 대해 강조하고 이를 진지하게 논의한다. 이 점에 비추어 볼 때, 기존의 학자들이 주장하는 ‘체제 위기’와 본 논문이 주장하는 ‘체제 위기’에 대한 의미의 온도는 다르다.