

# Security Situation on the Korean Peninsula and the Way Ahead



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# **KFR Strategy**

- **Vital Interest: Survival of the Kim Family Regime**
- **Strategic Aim: Unification of the Peninsula**
  - Subversion, coercion, use of force
- **Key Condition: Split the ROK/US Alliance**
  - US forces off the Peninsula
  - “Divide and Conquer” – Divide the Alliance and conquer the ROK

# The “Big 5” for the Korean Peninsula

1. **War** - must deter, and if attacked defend, fight and win.
2. **Regime Collapse** - must prepare for the real possibility and understand it could lead to war and both war and regime collapse could result in resistance within the north.
3. **Human Rights and Crimes Against Humanity** - (gulags, external forced labor, etc) must focus on as it is a threat to the Kim Family Regime and undermines domestic legitimacy - ***it is a moral imperative and a national security issue.***
4. **Asymmetric threats** (provocations, nuclear program, missile, cyber, and SOF) and ***global illicit activities.***
5. **Unification** - the biggest challenge and the solution.

**PRESENT**

# UNCERTAINTY AND COMPLEXITY

**ARMISTICE**

(Circa 1996-1999)

**CRISIS**

**PROVOCATION**

(TO GAIN POL/ECO CONCESSIONS)

**HOSTILE ACTION**

- AIR/MISSILE
- DMZ
- NWI/NLL
- HOSTAGES
- INFIL/SABOTAGE
- MOBILIZATION
- WEAPONS TESTS (WMD?)

RECONCILIATION  
ROK 3 PHASE UNIFICATION PLAN

- REFUGEE FLOW
- MASS DEFECTIONS
- MASS STARVATION
- SMALL UNIT DEFECTIONS

4 PARTY TALKS  
PERRY INITIATIVE

**PEACE**

- UNIFICATION
- PERMANENT PEACE TREATY

**COLLAPSE** **WAR**

LOSS OF MILITARY COHERENCE & GOVERNING EFFECTIVENESS

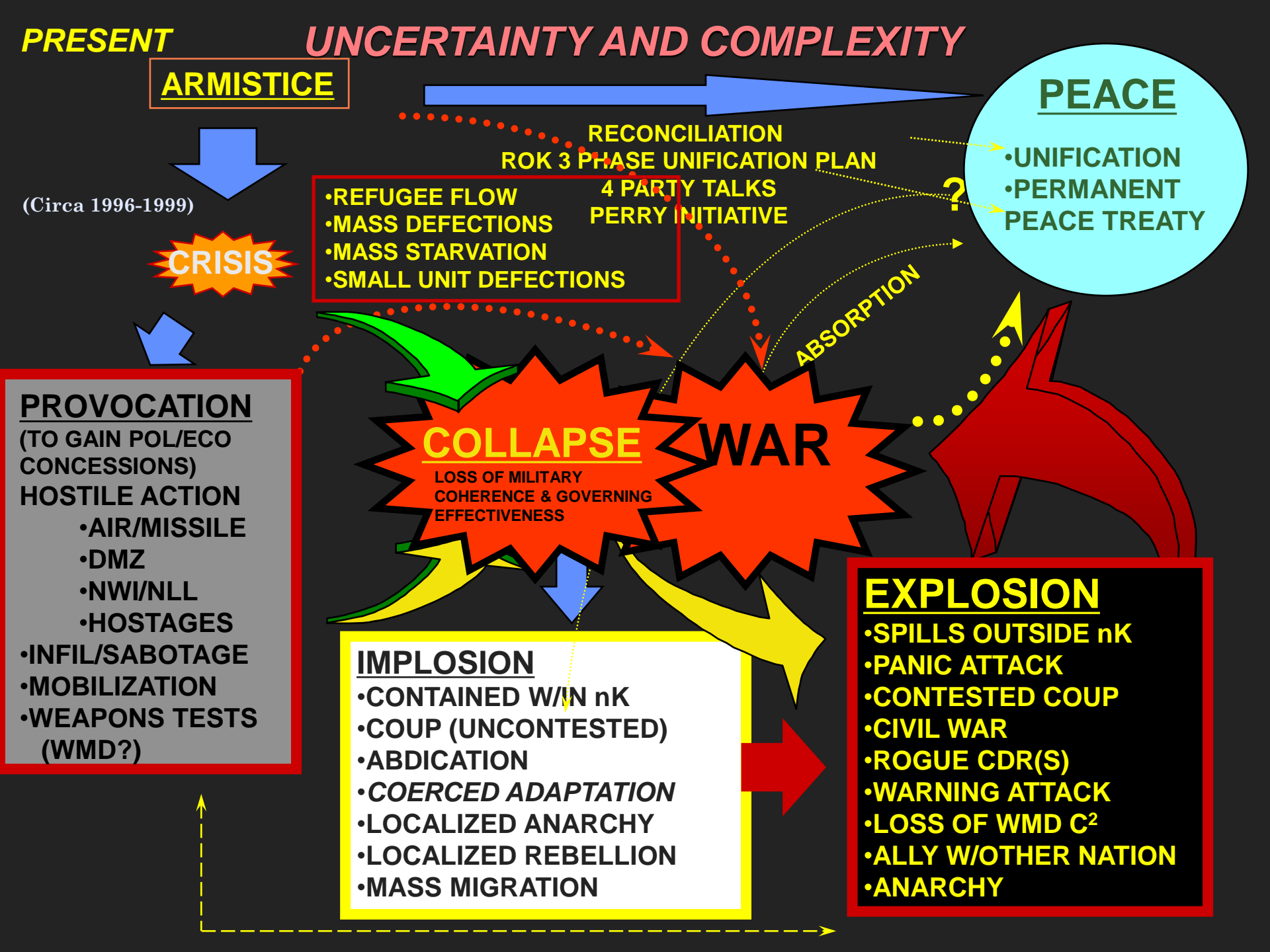
ABSORPTION

**IMPLOSION**

- CONTAINED W/IN nK
- COUP (UNCONTESTED)
- ABDICATION
- COERCED ADAPTATION
- LOCALIZED ANARCHY
- LOCALIZED REBELLION
- MASS MIGRATION

**EXPLOSION**

- SPILLS OUTSIDE nK
- PANIC ATTACK
- CONTESTED COUP
- CIVIL WAR
- ROGUE CDR(S)
- WARNING ATTACK
- LOSS OF WMD C<sup>2</sup>
- ALLY W/OTHER NATION
- ANARCHY



# **Key Questions for the Summit and Beyond**

- 1. Has the regime abandoned its strategy of the use of subversion, coercion, and force to unify Korea under northern domination to ensure regime survival?**
- 2. Has the regime abandoned its objective to split the ROK/US Alliance to support its strategy?**
- 3. What do we want to achieve in Korea?**
- 4. What is the acceptable durable political arrangement on the Korean peninsula and in Northeast Asia that will serve and protect US and Alliance interests?**

# north Korea Negotiating Strategy

(post Panmunjom and Singapore Summits)

**Key “agreement:” *denuclearization* of the  
Korean Peninsula**

- 1. Declaration of the end of the war (Peace regime)**
- 2. Sanctions relief (permanent removal)**
- 3. Denuclearization of the South (end of alliance, removal of troops, end of nuclear umbrella over ROK and Japan)**
- 4. *Then* negotiate dismantlement of the north’s nuclear program**
- 5. Then cheat.**

# Other Post-Summit Issues

- **Peace regime/treaty**
- **Status of US forces in Korea**
- **Declaration of all north's nuclear sites**
- **Suspension of exercises**
- **Reduction of Guard Posts in the DMZ, South barrier fencing, and anti-tank obstacles**
- **ROK liaison office in Kaesong**
- **Maximum pressure sustained**

# Nature of the Kim Family Regime and its Influence over the north Korean People



- *Zero sum game with the ROK – likely no non-military or non-conflict solution to the situation*

*Victory will come to the side that outlasts the other.*

*Marshall Foch, Battle of the Marne, 1914*



# The Challenge in the north

- *Legitimacy of the regime built on the myth of anti-Japanese Partisan Warfare*
  - *Could make the Iraqi/Afghan situations look simple in comparison*
- **Juche – self reliance – religious stature – small overcome the strong**
- **Military First Politics – Songun**
- ***Songbun- classes of society: elite, wavering, disloyal***
- **Germany not an exact model for reunification for Korea**
  - Lack of information & contact; disparity in economy and infrastructure
  - But there are lessons to be learned
- **Psychological and emotional devastation when the people learn the truth – Juche and the myth of the Kim Family Regime are lies**
- ***But is it the “Guerrilla Ethos” that some will likely continue to embrace that is the most dangerous***

*“War embraces much more than politics: it is always an expression of culture, often a determinant of cultural forms, in some societies the culture itself.”*

## *Dear Leader Absolutism*

- “The fundamental reason for human rights being trampled in North Korea lies in the ‘Dear Leader Absolutism’ dictatorship. There can be no human rights *for the people in North Korea where the greatest morality and absolute law is giving one’s mind and body to the Dear Leader;* and living as a slave who obeys completely and unconditionally the Dear Leader - *it is the only life permitted the North Korean People.*”

Hwang Jang Yop, 2 DEC 99

# The Guerrilla Mindset

“In the course of this struggle against factional opponents, for the first time Kim began to emphasize nationalism as a means of rallying the population to the enormous sacrifices needed for post-war recovery.

*This was a nationalism that first took shape in the environment of the anti-Japanese guerrilla movement and developed into a creed through the destruction of both the non-Communist nationalist forces and much of the leftist intellectual tradition of the domestic Communists.* Kim’s

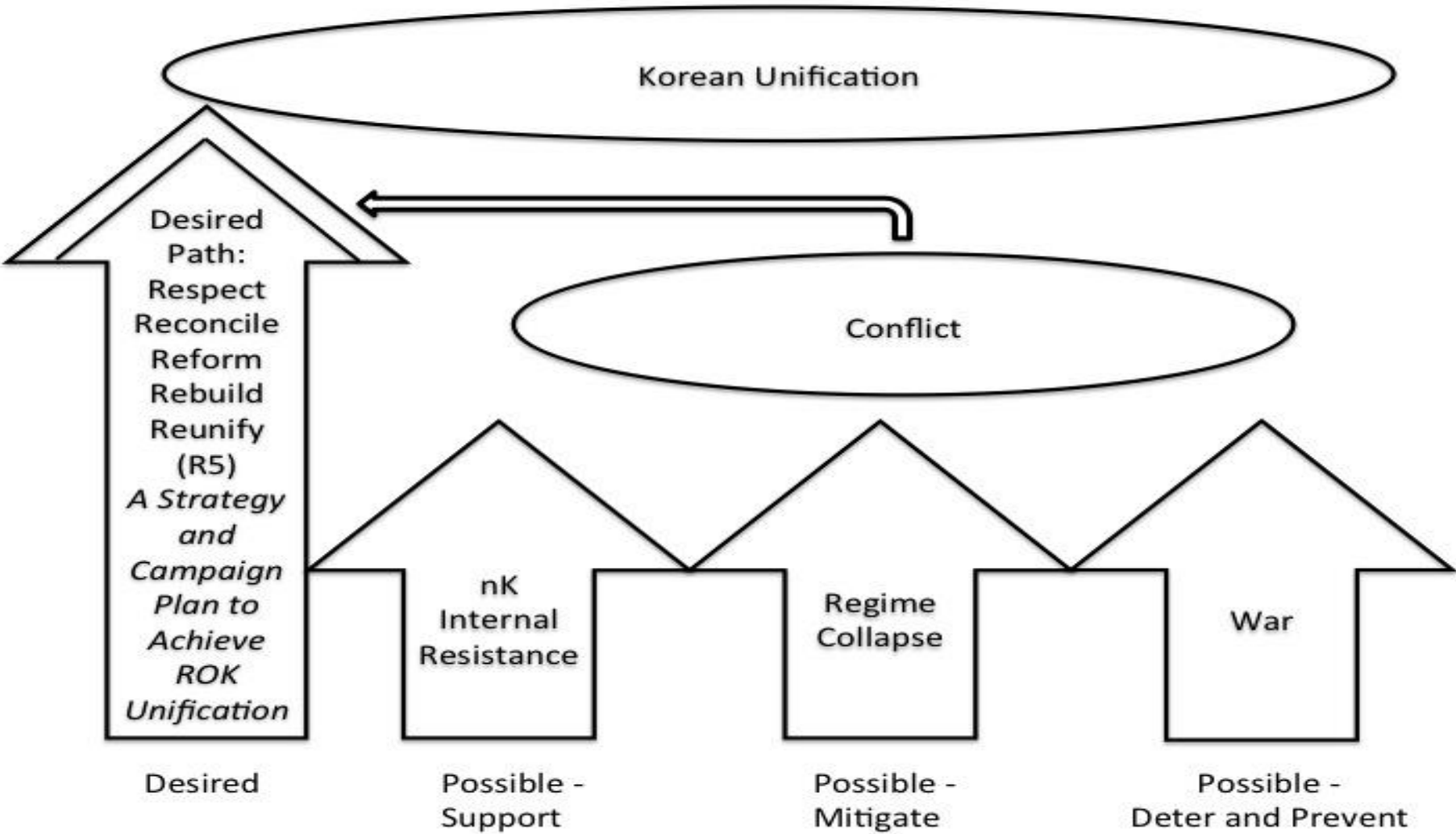
nationalism did not draw inspiration from Korean history, nor did it dwell on past cultural achievements, for the serious study of history and traditional culture soon effectively ceased in the DPRK. *Rather, DPRK nationalism drew inspiration from the Spartan outlook of the former Manchurian guerrillas.* It was a harsh nationalism that dwelt on

past wrongs and promises of retribution for “national traitors” and their foreign backers. DPRK nationalism stressed the “purity” of all things Korean against the “contamination” of foreign ideas, and inculcated in the population a sense of fear and animosity toward the outside world. *Above all, DPRK nationalism stressed that the guerrilla*

*ethos was not only the supreme, but also the only legitimate basis on which to reconstitute a reunified Korea.*” (p. 27) (Guerrilla Dynasty, by

Adrian Buzo)

# Paths to Unification



# A Strategic Vision

- **Strategic Vision**: The ROK/Alliance maintains a deterrence and defense posture and copes with and manages the near term provocations and crises and executes a long term sustained strategy that focuses on support to internal resistance leading to internal regime removal and dismantlement with an emerging leadership who seeks peaceful unification resulting in a Unified Republic of Korea (UROK). This can be executed used the guise of President Moon's new Berlin Doctrine for relations and reunification with north Korea ([found here](#)) The bottom line is that we can publically say we do not seek regime change. Privately we will seek regime removal through internal resistance.

# Concept of the Operation

- 1. Number one priority: Development and execution of information/psychological preparation of the environment – a sophisticated and aggressive information and influence activities campaign**
- 2. Development of an overt policy and strategy that states peaceful unification and not regime change is the desired end.**
- 3. Development of a classified policy and strategy.**
- 4. Coping, Containment, and Management.**
  - A. Execute a strategic strangulation campaign**
  - B. Conduct aggressive cyber campaign (targeting information and systems)**
  - C. Reinvigorate the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI)**
  - D. Plan for the 8 Contingencies using the 3 Guiding Principles and the 7 Steps of Preparation previously outlined**

# **Paralyzed Strategic Abilities?**

- **Kim Jong-un has maintained the initiative.**
- **Provocations not only to gain political and economic concessions but designed to cause the US and international community to act now.**
- **Response to every provocation prevents US from designing and executing a long term strategy.**
- **Kim Jong-un may know us better than we know him. – Whose “Art of the Deal” wins?**
- **How do we seize the initiative?**

# **Possible SOF scenarios (all must be through, by, and with our ROK Allies):**

**WMD-SOF targeting - priorities - not only material and technology *but the scientists as well.* - Challenge is bigger than SOF.**

**nK Global illicit activities network - the Reconnaissance Bureau and Department 39 - it takes a network to defeat a network - key to a strategic strangulation campaign.**

**Support to internal resistance - Can we nurture and support internal resistance to influence the emergence of alternative leadership?**

**Information and influence activities campaign to target regime elite, second tier leaders, and the population.**



# 5 Basic Considerations for Information and Influence Activities in the north

1. Adopt simple concepts that are meaningful to the [Korea people living in the north](#) and support the idea of unification
2. Focus on human rights violations by the Kim Family Regime
3. Focus on educating people on the unification process (in the north and South)
4. Emphasize local leadership in the north during the unification process
5. Identify and support key communicators in the north

# ***Big 8 Contingencies***

1. Provocations to gain political and economic concessions
2. nk Attack – execution of the nK campaign plan to reunify the peninsula by force
3. Civil War/Chaos/Anarchy
4. Refugee crisis
5. Humanitarian Assistance/Disaster relief
6. WMD, loss of control – seize and secure operations
7. Resistance to foreign intervention (e.g., insurgency)
8. How to handle the nKPA during regime collapse short of war

# ***7 Steps of Preparation***

1. Shared vision – a new durable political arrangement\*\* (see below)
2. Roles & Missions - national responsibilities for action
3. Organizational Framework for operations (UNC/ROK/US CFC, independent operations, other)
4. Command, Control, Coordination, and liaison processes & methods (including information sharing)
5. Concept of operations for deploying required forces (air, land, and sea)
6. Resource commitment – which countries provide what
7. ***And most important*** - information/psychological preparation of the environment – a sophisticated and aggressive information and influence activities campaign focused on the population to prepare them for the future (e.g., unification) and the "2d tier leadership" by using a combination of coercion and co-option. – An "exit strategy" for 2d tier military leaders and party members outside the core elite.

# Bottom Line

- ***The only way we are going to see an end to the nuclear program and threats and to the crimes against humanity being committed against the Korean people living in the north by the mafia-like crime family cult known as the Kim family regime is through achievement of unification and the establishment of a United Republic of Korea that is secure and stable, non-nuclear, economically vibrant, and unified under a liberal constitutional form of government determined by the Korean people.***

# A New Durable Acceptable Political Arrangement (“end state”) for consideration:

“A stable, secure, peaceful, economically vibrant, non-nuclear peninsula, reunified under a liberal constitutional form of government determined by the Korean people.”

## *United Republic of Korea (UROK)*



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Solving Long Division: The  
Geopolitical Implications of Korean  
Unification  
[http://www.cnas.org/solving-long-  
division#.Vs4QuZMrJ-U](http://www.cnas.org/solving-long-division#.Vs4QuZMrJ-U)