

# Strategic Outcomes in the Korean Peninsula

## **Part II: Key Questions as Answered by Individual Analytic Efforts**

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**November 2018**

## Key Questions

Over the course of this project, multiple sets of questions were edited and added to the effort. The following is a consolidated list of all questions that have been posed, without any reference to who asked the question or when the questions were added.

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<b>Section I: Regional Analyses</b>		<b>6</b>
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<b>Q4</b>	How does each of the actors below define its key national interests / regional objectives in Northeast Asia and the Western Pacific? What are seen by each actor to be the major threats to each interest? Are there any redlines associated with these interests? - US, China, ROK, Japan, DPRK, Russia, etc...	<b>20</b>
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	significant response (positive or negative) within the DPRK if UNSCRs were fully enforced or further expanded?	
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<b>Q10</b>	Many analysts indicate that due to the partial marketization of the North Korean economy, a middle class is growing. What percentage of the population can now be designated middle class? Given a lack of improvement to infrastructure, though marketization has allowed some to relatively thrive and more to survive, is there more than minimal growth to the overall North Korean economy? If there is minimal growth in the North Korean economy, can it grow much more without opening it to the wider world?	<b>36</b>
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<b>Q25</b>	There is a mismatch between what we declare and how it is perceived by DPRK and China. What are the ways to minimize misunderstandings and to clarify US intent/meaning?	<b>64</b>
<b>Q26</b>	What is the expected impact on Chinese and North Korean activities of the US pulling back from maximum pressure? Would relaxing US demands on DPRK and China, (i.e., allowing China “maneuver room” regarding DPRK) create opportunities to address regional insecurities, including shoring up receding US regional influence? Would improving relations with China and taking verifiable conciliatory measures such as easing sanctions on North Korea allow China to put pressure on DPRK to limit or allow inspections of its nuclear materials and activities? What would “easing up” on the PRC look like? What would be the best time to “ease up”? What are options for “easing up” on DPRK beyond what has already been done?	<b>66</b>
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## Part II: Team High-Level Findings by Question

In this document, the individual teams have addressed as many of the questions in this list as addressed by their research and analytic efforts for this SMA project.

The list of 29 questions is divided into five sections.

**Section I: Regional Analyses** includes questions examining the ins-and-outs, implications, and potential outcomes from a regional perspective. These questions investigate: key actor interests, the interplay of conceivable actions by these actors, conditions that would support or lead to potential outcomes. Many of the SMA teams were able to apply their individual methodologies or tools to address these questions. The modeling teams included TRADOC's ATHENA, GMU's Timed Influence Net (TIN) modeling, and Integral Mind's cognitive simulation. The analytic approaches included: NSI's I-R-C Analysis and Pathways Analysis, UBC's Integrative Complexity, Intelligent Biology's Cognitive Assessment, NSI's Quantitative Discourse Analysis, and OSU's Strategic Media Messaging Analysis. Finally, the SMA teams incorporated subject matter expert via NSI's ViTTa<sup>®</sup> effort and analysis from an expert from Western Carolina University.

Questions from **Section II: DPRK Analyses** focus internally on the stability of the DPRK state and economy. DPRK state stability are explored by modeling teams of ATHENA and Integral Mind modeling teams alongside the NSI analytic and ViTTa approaches.

In **Section III: Proliferation v. Denuclearization**, the I-R-C and ViTTa analyses thoroughly review conditions and options for denuclearization while the OSU team examines the messaging narratives from Russian and Chinese media. Three SMA teams, Intelligent Biology, UBC, and Integral Mind, take a cognitive approach to examining the way towards denuclearization.

**Section IV: Regional Objectives, Actions & Implications** covers future outcomes and explores the implications of regional actions. In this section, the modeling efforts by GMU and TRADOC submit future scenarios and examine the steps taken to get there. Two ViTTa analyses and work by the cognitive assessment and discourse teams address how the US can work with partners in the region.

In **Section V: Cognitive Assessment of KJU Confidence, Cognition, and Discourse**, four SMA teams shared a common corpus and conducted seven different analyses: quantitative discourse analysis, cognitive mapping, thematic content analysis, integrative cognitive complexity analysis and motive imagery scoring, application of the empathy checklist, basic emotive analysis, and discourse of deception. From these initial analyses, the teams went on to address questions of KJU's regime confidence and assurance, and recommended communication strategies that would appeal to KJU's communication styles and cognitive proclivities.

Method	Team	Q#s
I-R-C Analysis	NSI	1, 2c,e, 3-4, 11-13, 16-19, 21, 23
Pathways Analysis	NSI	7
ATHENA Modeling	TRADOC	1, 2a,c-e, 3-10, 17-21
TIN Modeling	GMU	3, 20, 21, 24
Cognitive Simulation	Integral Mind	1-10, 12-14, 16, 26, 29
ViTTa <sup>®</sup> Analysis	NSI	1, 2a-b, 4, 9, 11, 22, 24
Discourse Analysis	NSI	1, 4, 21, 25, 28, 29
Cognitive Assessment	Intelligent Biology	1, 2a,c-e, 3-9, 11-27, 29
Integrative Complexity	UBC	16, 27, 28
Strategic Messaging	OSU	1, 4, 11
GS-ECE Assessment	WCU	13

**For more in-depth reading, please refer to the full reports submitted by the individual teams.**

**Links to these reports can be found in the appendix. Review the Park I report for a summation of the key findings across all of the individual efforts.**

## Section I: Regional Analyses

### Q1: Win-Win Scenario

**What might a win-win scenario look like for all the key actors (DPRK, Republic of Korea (ROK), US, China, and Russia)?**

Virtual Think Tank (ViTTa) – NSI<sup>1</sup>

Thirty-four Korea Strategic Outcomes ViTTa expert contributors offered a response to this question, considering the various actors involved and interests at stake in the DPRK dispute to assess the possibility of a win-win scenario for all of the key actors. Ultimately, what emerges is a divided response, with no apparent universal answer materializing. A majority of the contributors do, however, align in offering a negative assessment of the possibility of a win-win scenario for all of the key actors, with half of the contributors arguing that there is no possibility at all. The contributor response, overall, can be summarized as follows:

- Over half of the SMEs (21/34) do not believe that an achievable win-win scenario exists for all of the key actors. These contributors generally assess that ***the current interests of the key actors involved (particularly the US vs. the DPRK vs. China and Russia) are irreconcilable*** (i.e., the DPRK considers its nuclear capability as indispensable, while the US insists on final, fully verified denuclearization (FFVD). China and Russia want to see US influence in the region diminished, while the US, obviously, does not.
- About a quarter of contributors (8/34) believe that a win-win scenario for all of the key actors may be possible, at least in the short-term, but doubt that such a scenario could actually be achieved over the long-term. These contributors generally highlight a misalignment of long-term interests among the key actors and an overall lack of trust in the DPRK to fulfill any agreements it makes as the key barriers to a win-win scenario for all of the key actors.
- Only five of the 34 believe that a win-win scenario for all of the key actors is possible without much qualification. These contributors acknowledge the differences in interests amongst the key actors, but generally assess that there is room for negotiation in pursuit of a win-win outcome.

TIN Modeling – George Mason University<sup>2</sup>

TIN modeling suggests that there is a pathway to FFVD, but such a path would require DPRK relationships with the USG and Japan that seems inconceivable at the present time. That said, no one would have predicted today's US relationship with Vietnam in 1975. Modeling offers several insights:

- ***Denuclearization is heavily dependent on KJU's perception that nuclear weapon capability is not necessary to ensure regime survival either internally or externally.***
- A conundrum exists: Eliminating the external threat exposes the DPRK population to the realization that their counterparts in the ROK are much better off socially and economically posing regime risk.
- KJU's definition of denuclearization is reversible nuclear disarmament, not FFVD, which is a lower bar than the US objective, but may offer a useful intermediate goal on a long-term path to FFVD.
- Moving from disarmament to true denuclearization (that is, FFVD) would entail development of a DPRK relationship with the US and Japan that is inconceivable in the near term, but not impossible (model is change in US-Vietnam relations between 1975 and 2015).

<sup>1</sup> To access the full Korea Strategic Outcomes ViTTa report for this question, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/is-there-a-win-win-scenario-for-the-key-actors-concerned-with-the-dprk/>

<sup>2</sup> Timed Influence Net (TIN) Models identify potential sources of strategic risk for the United States, and are used to develop a framework for use by operational planning teams. For the final TIN report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/korea-strategic-outcomes/>

- A DPRK-US/Japan relationship leading to FFVD would likely require the US to take a significantly different role in the region long term, the result of yielding regional leadership to a regional security and economic institution
- Should the ROK (and US) pursue a unified Korean Peninsula strategy (friendly to the West), the PRC is likely to undermine the dismantlement and FFVD denuclearization path through economic coercion against the ROK and possibly political coercion against the DPRK
- A PRC perception that a unified Korea would be friendly to the West will reduce the potential for achievement of the political and economic intermediate states that offer a path to DPRK nuclear disarmament

### Athena Pathways – TRADOC<sup>3</sup>

Athena modeling results indicates that ***a win-win scenario results from a multilateral peace plan being implemented along the lines of the June 2018 Singapore Summit concept which opens DPRK to economic development and regional restoration and reconciliation with neighboring countries and Japan, US, and the UN.*** While Athena modeling does not predict the likelihood of a peace plan occurring, it does determine that if the following actions<sup>4</sup> were implemented, a win-win in terms of better outcomes<sup>5</sup> for China, Russia, DPRK, ROK, Japan and the US than would be obtained in the other courses of action.

- New multilateral peace actors' support for current regime, including its security, is subject to transactional peace plan progress (e.g. transactional FFVD implementation)
- Cessation of human rights abuses/coercion/atrocities, including Japanese hostages returned
- Re-purposed DPRK military and force reductions in the region
- Shift in DPRK gross domestic product (GDP) expenditures toward non-military spending (e.g. state provision of basic humanitarian services)
- A new land trade route between Seoul, Pyongyang, and Beijing. (on-ramp to China's "One Belt/One Road")
- A new land trade route (rail/energy) between ROK and Vladivostok. (on-ramp to Russia/EU route)
- Multilateral investment in DPRK's tourism industry with its neighbors
- Multilateral access to DPRK's ports, natural and human resources
- Reduced trade barriers/open door policy
- DPRK political and structural changes required for marketization (e.g. Joint Venture laws, private ownership, etc.)

### I-R-C Analysis – NSI<sup>6</sup>

Absent significant and highly unlikely changes to either the US or DPRK's interests, resolve, and capabilities (I-R-C), neither denuclearization nor acceptance of North Korea as a nuclear state are feasible outcomes. Given the current distribution of actor interests, capabilities, and resolve, analysis indicates there is no outcome that represents a "win" for all regional actors. Reaching "win-win" in the form of denuclearization would require the US, Russia, and China to all prioritize engagement and economic assistance to the DPRK over increasing their shared broader strategic goal of increased

<sup>3</sup> The Athena Simulation is a sociocultural modeling capability used to explore regional security and stability dynamics across a range of conditions. For the final Athena report, please email the SMA office ([Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil](mailto:Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil))

<sup>4</sup> These actions, while notional, were developed from subject matter experts and research inputs from two unclassified venues earlier in 2018.

<sup>5</sup> The Athena model outputs are described in the final report; for win-win assessment, the notional multilateral peace alternative showed improved satisfaction with safety in the Northeast Asia region and improvements in influence, support, affinities, and relationships by all the major actors, some more, some less so, but for all a win-win.

<sup>6</sup> NSI's multilayer Interest-Resolve-Capability (I-R-C) methodology was used to identify and compare the forces driving the region, based on three key factors: the interests of regional actors and the interactions among those interests, each actor's resolve, 2 or, willingness to act on those interests, and its capability to do so. For the final I-R-C report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/western-pacific-regional-dynamics-north-korean-nuclear-status/>

regional influence. Additionally, the Kim regime would need to radically alter its basis for legitimacy away from protection North Korea from existential threats, (through nuclear capability and economic self-sufficiency), toward provision of economic growth and development.

#### Cognitive Simulations – Integral Mind<sup>7</sup>

**It is possible to achieve a win-win scenario for all actors, though China is likely not to obtain absolutely everything they seek (though well within the zone of acceptance).** The key to this would be for the United States to adopt a somewhat more ‘Asian’ way of engaging with the DPRK, including fear reduction and respect-driven interactions. Also key to this will be the US promulgation (and regional buy-in) of a shared vision for DPRK as a meaningful member of Asia and the international community. It is highly unlikely that weapons will be given up if similar conditions are not in force. In our classified brief, we lay out the specific negotiation elements that the US should and should not offer DPRK in order to achieve this end. The development of some sort of new institution to guarantee this would be ideal—the goal is to ensure that there would be a cost to the US if we were to pull out of/fail to act on any future agreement, reassure China, and show the region that a) there is a viable path forward, and b) the future is clear—thus greatly reducing tension and overall fear in the international system.

#### Strategic Messaging – Oklahoma State University<sup>8</sup>

Chinese and Russian news media mentions of possible win-win scenarios with various actors in negotiating with the DPRK decreases considerably following the Kim-Trump summit—particularly mentions of win-win scenarios involving the US and ROK. Narrative analysis reveals this decrease is largely a result of ***Chinese and Russian news media presenting international tensions associated with the DPRK as resolved.***

#### Quantitative Discourse Analysis – NSI<sup>9</sup>

A win-win scenario appears very unlikely according to the quantitative discourse analysis NSI conducted on a corpus of Kim Jong-un’s public speeches. He predominantly associates his nuclear weapons capabilities (delivery platforms and nuclear devices) with two key themes: the need to deter a US-led Western threat to DPRK sovereignty and national pride. Previous studies of Indian and Pakistani leadership also demonstrated a close association with nuclear capability and a sense of national pride. ***Given the nationalistic character of Kim’s speech, the association between a DPRK nuclear program and the nation will be difficult to break. As long as the US maintains a military presence in the region, DPRK will continue to be threatened and seek a deterrent. Therefore, the likelihood that DPRK could genuinely embrace FFVD seems unlikely.*** If DPRK did, then others’ (China and Russia) interests in limiting US influence in the region would be thwarted.

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<sup>7</sup> The Integral Mind simulation is a nuanced, bottom-up political and psychological microcosm of the conflict, that discerns alternative futures, compute redlines, answer ‘what-if’ questions, and generate recommendations. These reports are classified and can be accessed with proper access. Please contact the SMA office for access ([Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil](mailto:Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil)).

<sup>8</sup> To access the complete Narratives report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/narratives-before-after-the-2018-north-korea-united-states-summit/>

<sup>9</sup> To access the complete Discourse report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/comparative-analysis-of-kim-family-political-discourse/>



Cognitive Assessment – Intelligent Biology<sup>10</sup>

Win-win is perceived – by which I mean that whether each country **perceives** they have “won” or “lost” is highly subjective. It is not possible for all countries now to perceive they have “won”, because we are moving towards zero-sum US-Chinese and US-Russian thinking – so any factor perceived as a “win” in the U.S. is, because of that, highly likely perceived as a “loss” in Russia and China.

Moreover, because of mismatched perceptions and motivations there is no win-win scenario over the DPRK. The DPRK is not the top priority for the government of any other major regional power. Even for the ROK, domestic policy challenges matter more than the DPRK. Two examples of mismatched perceptions motivations are:

**Fear:** Fear drives much regional behavior; and because the DPRK, ROK, US, Japan, and China have fundamentally different and mismatched fears, then no single solution can address them. For instance, a key DPRK fear is personal death for the leadership; a key Japanese fear is China’s rise; China’s overriding fear is the US; the US fears DPRK’s intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs). Only coordinated action on all fronts can begin to address these fears.

**Fairness:** Rejection of perceived injustice fuels Sino-Japanese and ROK-Japanese antagonism, as well as Japanese concerns over abductions – all destabilizing any regional peace process. Any deal must be perceived as fair or it likely won’t stick.

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<sup>10</sup> To access the complete Cognition report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/getting-messages-through-the-cognition-of-influence-with-north-korea-and-east-asia/>

## Q2a: Conditions to Achieve Stable Regional Order in Alignment with US

**2a What are the minimum regional and domestic political, economic, and social conditions that are essential for achieving a stable regional order in alignment with US and partner interests? What are the factors that are sufficient to generate such stability in the region (i.e., what should not be negotiated away)?**

Virtual Think Tank (ViTTa) – NSI<sup>11</sup>

Seventeen Korea Strategic Outcomes ViTTa expert contributors offered a response to this question, considering the political, economic, and social conditions that are conducive to achieving a stable regional order in the Asia Pacific that is in alignment with US and ally interests. The contributor response overall highlights the significant impact that regional competition between the US and China has on stability in the Asia Pacific region. The ways in which the US and China currently perceive their regional interests seem destined to lead to a clash between the two powers if not amended. A regional order based on continued US military presence and dominant US influence fundamentally conflicts with China's current interests in increased, if not dominant, regional political, military, and economic power. If the US fails to account for China's interests, therefore, the actions that the US is likely to take to reinforce its vision of a stable regional order may end up decreasing stability in the Asia Pacific region over the longer-term. Additionally, if the US fails to redress the loss of confidence amongst its regional allies and partners in its economic and security commitments to the region, it is hard to see how the US would continue to exercise regional influence at all. Therefore, the most effective way for the US to balance these two considerations, the contributors suggest, appears to be by working multilaterally with regional allies as well as with China and Russia towards a stable regional order in the Asia Pacific.

Athena Pathways – TRADOC<sup>12</sup>

Based upon the regional belief systems<sup>13</sup> modeled in Athena for the multilateral parties there are some actions required by DPRK which result in win-win conditions. Modeling results indicate that the following conditions are required for stable regional order<sup>14</sup> and therefore should be among those factors which should not be negotiated away:

- Sense of security and personal safety among the general population in ROK and Japan (FFVD moves forward, missile program is discontinued);
- Pyongyang elite sees a way forward (power, status, income, etc.). (Pyongyang elite = Key regime supporters, including military and key *donju*<sup>15</sup>);
- Food security for DPRK civilians;
- Return of Japanese hostages;
- Cease human rights abuses and atrocities;
- Elimination of sanctions;

<sup>11</sup>To access the full Korea Strategic Outcomes ViTTa report for this question, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/achieving-a-stable-regional-order-in-the-asia-pacific-what-does-the-us-need-and-what-should-it-not-negotiate-away/>

<sup>12</sup>For the final Athena report, please email the SMA office (Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil)

<sup>13</sup>Key regional belief system topics are described in detail in the final report.

<sup>14</sup>Stable regional order is not a direct output from Athena. To address this question we used the methodology explained in the final report. This stability is deduced from other standard Athena outputs such as volatility, actor support, security, vertical relationships between civilian groups and various actors, civilian group mood including satisfaction elements of populace perceptions of safety, quality of life, autonomy and culture, etc.

<sup>15</sup>"masters of money"; DPRK's merchant class

- Shifts toward non-military spending;
- Demobilize military or repurpose military to civ-mil humanitarian and infrastructure development;
- Reduction of trade barriers; and
- Political and structural changes required for marketization.

#### Cognitive Assessment – Intelligent Biology<sup>16</sup>

The region is moderately, but increasingly unstable due to mismatched motivations and perceptions between key actors. Instability arises in large part from China's rise shifting power balances, and because of the global shift to an era of Gray Zone competition between great powers like China, Russia, and the US.

No single factor is sufficient except for a radical change in the PRC's trajectory, such that the PRC would democratize and liberalise domestically and return to a policy of non-assertiveness abroad – domestic Chinese politics mean that is very unlikely to happen in the near- or medium-term.

However, important factors are:

- Managing spiraling fears: Against this background, the main DPRK-related threats to regional stability are the responses that DPRK actions provoke in Japan and the ROK – and the responses in turn that these provoke in China and the DPRK. In particular, the ROK and Japan will likely develop and deploy more sophisticated rapid targeting for the DPRK “kill chain,” but this is dual-use against China. China greatly disliked Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD), and if the DPRK continues its nuclear development, then China faces more such technology. This feeds into the Sino-Japanese security dilemma (spiraling fears of each other) and fairness dilemma (spiraling feelings each other side's actions are unjust).
- Ensure Japanese and ROK trust in US security guarantees.
- Decrease the increasing Gray Zone competition in the region.

#### Cognitive Simulations – Integral Mind<sup>17</sup>

Factors given in Question 1, also China does not need to be extensively placated, but does need to know that the US is not attempting solo control of the Peninsula. Japan needs to know that US cares about its security and is considers this to be a key element in its decision-making. Otherwise, Japan could be forced into some sort of independent action, which would cause the US to lose face and place another aspect of US Asian influence in question. ROK would benefit from a clear understanding of its desired role on the peninsula moving forward, and knowledge of how the two parties will work together in order to work effectively from a single game plan and provide a unified front.

Most important is likely to be factors put forth above, especially the broader vision and the establishment of a respect-based interaction style between the US and DPRK and the broader region. It will likely be important to take regime change off the table.

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<sup>16</sup> To access the complete Cognition report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/getting-messages-through-the-cognition-of-influence-with-north-korea-and-east-asia/>

<sup>17</sup> These reports are classified and require proper access. Please contact the SMA office for access ([Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil](mailto:Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil)).

## Q2b: Reinforce a Non-Proliferation Regime to Include Extra-Regional Sales?

**Under what regional and domestic political, economic, and social conditions would it be possible to reinforce a non-proliferation regime to include extra-regional sales?**

Virtual Think Tank (ViTTa) – NSI<sup>18</sup>

Eighteen Korea Strategic Outcomes ViTTa expert contributors offered a response to this question, considering the political, economic, and social conditions that are conducive to enforcing a non-proliferation regime in the Asia Pacific region. Two key conditions emerge from the response as particularly conducive to enforcing a non-proliferation regime in the region: the presence of a multilateral regional security dialogue and providing the DPRK with political, economic, and security assurances and guarantees. Contributors also reflect on options for more specific regional non-proliferation regimes, considering both existing (i.e., the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons) and prospective agreements (e.g., an Asian Non-Proliferation and Nuclear Threat Reduction Council, a Northeast Asian Nuclear-Weapons-Free Zone, and a regional non-proliferation regime that incorporates measures to address DPRK nuclear activity from both the supply side and demand side) to assess the feasibility of enforcing any such regime in the Asia Pacific, as well as the political, economic, and social conditions conducive to doing so.

Cognitive Simulations – Integral Mind<sup>19</sup>

Ideally, this would be made part of the charter of the regional institution envisioned above. The ideal strategy is to remove drivers of proliferation (desperation), and provide benefits for avoiding proliferation. Removing other revenue sources from DPRK is likely to cause more of this behavior; but fundamentally they seek to protect the regime, their independence, and enter the world stage, so there is great potential here to limit proliferation if done correctly.

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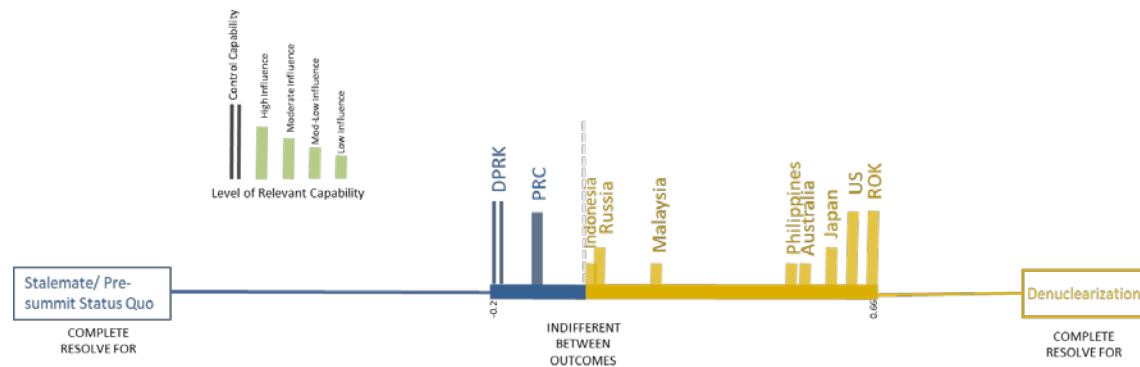
<sup>18</sup> To access the full Korea Strategic Outcomes ViTTa report for this question, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/conditions-conducive-to-enforcing-a-non-proliferation-regime-in-the-asia-pacific-region/>

<sup>19</sup> These reports are classified and require proper access. Please contact the SMA office for access ([Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil](mailto:Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil)).

## Q2c: Interests Consistent with FFVD

**Which regional actors have interests consistent with a complete and verifiable denuclearization of DPRK? Which actors are at odds? Which indifferent?**

I-R-C Analysis - NSI<sup>20</sup>



NSI's I-R-C analysis compares the economic, political, domestic, and prestige interests of ten regional actors over six possible scenarios including denuclearization which is defined as: sincere agreement by North Korea to initiate the process of final, fully-verified denuclearization in return for normalized relations and economic incentives from the US that that results from US-North Korean bilateral talks.

The analyses indicate that denuclearization is the ideal only for the US and its allies (Japan, Philippines and South Korea; it is significantly less attractive for others, and is the worst outcome for North Korea. The figure above shows actors' resolve to support or oppose denuclearization versus the stalemate conditions of the pre-summit status quo characterized by international sanctions and a significant potential for regional tensions. Both the US and South Korea have relatively high resolve and high capacity to achieve a denuclearization outcome. Japan, Australia and the Philippines have moderate resolve to support denuclearization, but less relevant influence than the US or South Korea. On the other hand, China and North Korea prefer the stalemate conditions over denuclearization, but in both cases their resolve scores lower than we might expect (i.e., they are closer to indifferent between the two outcomes, than say the US and South Korea). However, the key take away with regard to this question is this: the only state with the capability to cause or veto denuclearization—its worst outcome—is North Korea. Thus, while there is regional support for denuclearization, the I-R-C analysis indicates that this unlikely to occur because the actor with the greatest relevant capability over this outcome loses the most in interest satisfaction from it.

What could be done to influence North Korea to favor denuclearization? Unfortunately, the results of the I-R-C suggest, not much in the short-term as I-R-C sensitivity analysis finds DPRK preferences to be extremely robust. Given its balance of interests, even if offered economic incentives and credible security guarantees, the regime's best strategy is to work toward bilateral talks and avoid as much as possible, making concessions toward denuclearization. Moreover, North Korea has a potent source of relevant capability relative to this outcome: it is very loosely accountable to its population and can stall with very little to no political cost. In addition, North Korea's economic isolation means that the regime has a lesser stake in regional stability than others in the region. Consequently, it has less to

<sup>20</sup> For the final I-R-C report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/western-pacific-regional-dynamics-north-korean-nuclear-status/>

lose from increased tensions unless instability was to become so severe as to directly threaten North Korean sovereignty. At present, there simply are no North Korean political or economic interests that could compensate for potential loss of value relative to its security concerns—each of which is inextricably linked to regime survival as currently defined in Pyongyang.<sup>21</sup>

#### Athena Pathways – TRADOC<sup>22</sup>

Model results show that in the Status Quo use case, China today has significant influence in DPRK among the elite and the DPRK populace. China loses some influence with the DPRK elite and populace in Status Quo (Muddling Along) because of China's commitments to tightening sanctions enforcement at US request. Russia, in the short-term is assumed to be less concerned about enforcing current sanctions and therefore Athena modeling indicates Russia gains influence in DPRK at China's expense<sup>23</sup>. Russia can gain some long-term influence by supporting a new multilateral peace plan. Russia wins either way but can be viewed as a potential spoiler toward making timely progress.

#### Cognitive Assessment – Intelligent Biology<sup>24</sup>

ROK, Japan – strongly consistent with FFVD.

China and Russia – moderately consistent with FFVD, because they do not wish to see further proliferation (e.g. to Japan, ROK).

DPRK – at odds with FFVD.

#### Cognitive Simulations – Integral Mind<sup>25</sup>

Obviously ROK; China would likely be okay with this if it means that US influence is not present on their borders. All other actors would prefer this outcome.

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<sup>21</sup> Denuclearization is the preferred outcome for North Korea only under the unlikely conditions in which the regime is solely concerned with economic transformation and development (i.e., no other interests enter its calculus). Unfortunately, single interest decisions are uncommon in foreign affairs; they are generally only found in the most desperate (or inconsequential) circumstances.

<sup>22</sup> To access the complete Athena report, please visit: TBD

<sup>23</sup> Actors have influence in the DPRK in proportion to their support relative to other actors. Influence in Athena is a zero-sum game; an actor can increase his influence only at the expense of some other actor.

<sup>24</sup> To access the complete Cognition report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/getting-messages-through-the-cognition-of-influence-with-north-korea-and-east-asia/>

<sup>25</sup> These reports are classified and require proper access. Please contact the SMA office for access ([Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil](mailto:Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil)).

## Q2d: Interests Consistent with a Strong and Verifiable Non-Proliferation Regime

**Which regional actors have interests consistent with a strong and verifiable non-proliferation regime in the region? Which actors are at odds? Which indifferent?**

Athena Pathways – TRADOC<sup>26</sup>

Athena results show China's interests are consistent with a new multilateral peace plan (including suitable progress on FFVD) on the same timeline as other supporters of a new multilateral peace plan, the US, ROK, Japan. Russia is more likely to accept the status quo or possibly delay progress, but, given an economic vision for access to DPRK ports and energy access to ROK, could be persuaded to accept the same timeline. China has much to gain from a new multilateral peace plan.

Cognitive Assessment – Intelligent Biology<sup>27</sup>

ROK, Japan – strongly consistent with non-proliferation regime.

China and Russia – moderately consistent with non-proliferation regime, because they do not wish to see further proliferation (e.g. to Japan, ROK).

DPRK – at odds.

Cognitive Simulations – Integral Mind<sup>28</sup>

Same as previous question, albeit with slightly less interest in general, assuming China believes it can pursue its commercial and defense needs under such a regime.

<sup>26</sup> To access the complete Athena report, please visit: TBD

<sup>27</sup> To access the complete Cognition report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/getting-messages-through-the-cognition-of-influence-with-north-korea-and-east-asia/>

<sup>28</sup> These reports are classified and require proper access. Please contact the SMA office for access ([Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil](mailto:Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil)).

## Q2e: Interests Consistent with Regional Stability

**Which regional actors' interests (security, economic, domestic, influence/prestige) are consistent with regional stability favorable to with US interests? Which actors have interests that are at odds with that outcome? Which are indifferent?**

### I-R-C Analysis – NSI<sup>29</sup>

While this study is specifically concerned with the issue of DPRK nuclear weapons, the analysis indicates that the interests and preferences of regional actors, other than the US and DPRK, are driven by their broader interest in maintaining regional stability and ensuring the continuation and growth of regional free trade. If regional stability consistent with US interests equates to continued US military presence and dominant regional power, it is unlikely to be stable. Such an order fundamentally conflicts with China's strategic interest in becoming the dominant regional power and influencer, and its goal—shared with Russia—of pushing the US out of the region, economically and militarily.

Among US allies and partner states there is concern over the already-changing regional balance of power between the US and China. Although most states in the region are closely tied economically to China, and have benefitted greatly from this connection, they view China's territorial aims and military expansion as a potential threat. US allies in particular, would prefer to see the US remain the guarantor of regional security, and as a buffer to Chinese expansion. However, despite this preference, there is a growing lack of trust in US commitment among even the US's strongest regional allies, and the US's increasingly unilateral approach to regional issues conflicts with the preference of most regional states to work multilaterally and through international law to resolve disputes and increase stability. If regional stability consistent with US interests is characterized by continued unilateralism, and actions that increase the likelihood of conflict (economic, diplomatic or military) between the US and China, it would be counter to the interests of US regional allies and partners.

### Athena Pathways – TRADOC<sup>30</sup>

Athena modeling results indicate that China, US, Japan, and ROK have strong security, economic, domestic, and influence/prestige interests which are best supported (among the alternatives) by a multilateral peace plan which opens the DPRK to economic development in collaboration with its neighbors, Japan, the US, and UN. These are consistent with regional stability and favorable to US interests because a multilateral plan provides the leverage needed for DPRK to denuclearize.

Athena modeling results indicate that Russia is the most indifferent of the parties to any new form of a multilateral peace plan because it wins the least influence with such a plan. The Status Quo use case assumes increased sanctions enforcement by China, which allows Russia to slowly gain influence with the DPRK elite and the DPRK populace due to Russia's relatively weak sanctions enforcement. Even though a new peace plan allows Russia to gain from economic ties with DPRK by extending Russian energy and trade to South Korea, and provides investment opportunities in warm water ports along North Korea's eastern coastal corridor, Russia may still prefer fostering delays in any multilateral peace plan, in order to either embarrass the US, or tie up American forces, giving Russia more flexibility elsewhere.

<sup>29</sup> For the final I-R-C report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/western-pacific-regional-dynamics-north-korean-nuclear-status/>

<sup>30</sup> For the final Athena report, please email the SMA office ([Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil](mailto:Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil))



Cognitive Assessment – Intelligent Biology<sup>31</sup>

ROK, Japan – strongly consistent with regional stability favorable to US interests.

China and Russia – at odds with regional stability favorable to US interests. Russia wishes to regain its status as a Great Power and its security through dominance in its near abroad – these are inconsistent with U.S. dominance. China aims to become the preeminent regional and eventually global power.

DPRK – is at odds with regional stability that removes the threats that the DPRK presents to its neighbors and, with ICBMs, further afield. However, the DPRK regime primarily seeks survival and autonomy – it fiercely resisted either Chinese or Soviet domination during the Cold War, and would oppose such domination again.

Cognitive Simulations – Integral Mind<sup>32</sup>

Most important is likely to be factors put forth above, especially the broader vision and the establishment of a respect-based interaction style between the US and DPRK and the broader region. It will likely be important to take regime change off the table.

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<sup>31</sup> To access the complete Cognition report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/getting-messages-through-the-cognition-of-influence-with-north-korea-and-east-asia/>

<sup>32</sup> These reports are classified and require proper access. Please contact the SMA office for access ([Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil](mailto:Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil)).

## Q3: Regional Destabilizers

**What are the main man-made destabilizers of the Indo-Pacific region? What types of natural disaster or economic changes might have significant destabilizing effects?**

I-R-C Analysis – NSI<sup>33</sup>

While this study is specifically concerned with the issue of DPRK nuclear weapons, the analysis indicates that the interests and preferences of regional actors, other than the US and DPRK, are driven by their broader interest in maintaining regional stability and ensuring the continuation and growth of regional free trade. For many states in the region, their security and economic dependencies are split between the US (security) and China (economic). Consequently, any increase in competition between the US and China is potentially destabilizing.

TIN Model – George Mason University<sup>34</sup>

The focus of this effort was to identify pathways to denuclearization of North Korea while preserving stability in the region. Denuclearization will require the DPRK leadership to believe that the regime (a) **does not need nuclear weapons to protect against external regime change**, and (b) **does not need an external threat to promote support of the DPRK population for its government**. Modeling suggests several potential destabilizers:

- Worsening of DPRK economic conditions (regardless of cause);
- Kim dynasty perception of an internal elite threat to the government;
- Japan initiate nuclear program due to withdrawal of USG extended deterrence commitment;
- Errant DPRK missile test leading to Japanese casualties;
- DPRK perceived loss of PRC protection against US and Japan;
- DPRK perception of improved PRC relations with Japan and ROK (shift from DPRK);
- Korea unification plan that undermines PRC perception of DPRK as a buffer state;
- DPRK population perception of Kim government after exposure to ROK economic and social environment;
- DPRK pandemic medical crisis; and
- Covert attack on DPRK government, nuclear or missile programs, or economy attributed to USG.

Athena Pathways – TRADOC<sup>35</sup>

Athena modeling results indicate that **increased media accessibility in the DPRK**—as required for marketization to work in a multilateral peace program—**can have a destabilizing effect during periods of strife or difficulty** (e.g. another famine similar to the mid-1990s or another typhoon-induced flood). In such instances, if the media characterizes the DPRK regime as inept, this could lead to an economic elite-, military-, or *donju*-led popular uprising, which could lead to regime change. If the media remains restricted as in the Status Quo (Muddling Along) case, the impact of another natural disaster would not be as destabilizing, as negative news would be suppressed.

<sup>33</sup> For the final I-R-C report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/western-pacific-regional-dynamics-north-korean-nuclear-status/>

<sup>34</sup> For the final TIN report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/korea-strategic-outcomes/>

<sup>35</sup> For the final Athena report, please email the SMA office ([Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil](mailto:Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil))

Cognitive Simulations – Integral Mind<sup>36</sup>

The key destabilizers are undercurrents of fear, disrespect, and a lack of coordinated vision. Also important are negative expectations based on previous unpleasant experiences. Due to these dynamics, all parties are currently being drawn into and affected by the conflict system in negative ways and the system is therefore resisting solution. Any sort of natural disaster/economic change that tends to increase vulnerability in such a way as to create new leverage points could be quite destabilizing as the regime will face the following threats: its perceived effectiveness will be at risk (key to regime stability and survival), new demands will be generated on the state, and fear will arise that external actors will use these developments to somehow increase bargaining leverage. If the US were to genuinely assist, perhaps through regional actors in order to remove perception of domination/interference, some goodwill could result.

Cognitive Assessment – Intelligent Biology<sup>37</sup>

The rise of Gray Zone conflict in the Indo-Pacific is inherently destabilizing. Taking conflict into the space between peace and war naturally makes war more likely and so stokes spirals of increasing fears etc. Mismatched motivations in the region are destabilizing including (a) fears that may lead to spiraling competition (e.g. others' fears from China's rise) or China's fears from ROK and Japanese deployment of precision strike and related technology (e.g. THAAD); (b) fairness dilemmas (e.g. China and Japan both feel the other behaves unjustly); and (c) identity politics – many regional countries are seeing the rise of nationalisms that are less reflective and more egotistical disregard of others.

Finally, economic factors such as (a) the continued rise of China economically, (b) the eventual economic slowdown or recession in China, and (c) new technology, such as AI, will cause economic change (not significantly in the next 6 years, but in that timeframe it may become obvious how that will play out 7+ years from now).

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<sup>36</sup> These reports are classified and require proper access. Please contact the SMA office for access ([Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil](mailto:Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil)).

<sup>37</sup> To access the complete Cognition report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/getting-messages-through-the-cognition-of-influence-with-north-korea-and-east-asia/>

## Q4: Key Actors Key National Interests

**How does each of the actors below define its key national interests / regional objectives in Northeast Asia and the Western Pacific? What are seen by each actor to be the major threats to each interest? Are there any redlines associated with these interests?  
- US, China, ROK, Japan, DPRK, Russia, etc...**

Virtual Think Tank (ViTTa) – NSI<sup>38</sup>

Eight Korea Strategic Outcomes ViTTa expert contributors offered a response to this question. The table below presents the national interests and regional objectives that emerge for each key actor.

<b>Australia's Interests</b>	<b>China's Interests</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Defend against threats to territory (including offshore and EEZ) posed by Chinese and other regional military modernization</li> <li>Avoid regional instability and protect openness of maritime trade routes</li> <li>Balance need for economic ties to China against growing Chinese soft power and domestic influence</li> <li>Maintain strategic partnership with US but strengthen regional and multilateral partnerships</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Relationship of equality with US, and increased international prestige and influence</li> <li>Protection of China's sovereign rights</li> <li>Domestic stability and continued economic growth</li> <li>Regional stability</li> </ul>
<b>DPRK's Interests</b>	<b>Indonesia's Interests</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Preservation of Kim dynasty; popular allegiance; personal enrichment</li> <li>Enhance global respect and perceived legitimacy of the regime</li> <li>Maintain freedom of action, reinforce self-reliance; avoid subjugation, particularly by China</li> <li>Secure DPRK against the US/ROK military threat, militarized Japan</li> <li>Maintain flow of hard currency; economic stability, including lifting sanctions</li> <li>Stabilized relations with ROK, preserving possibility of reunification</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Maintain middle power status</li> <li>Accommodate (selectively) major regional powers</li> <li>Defend maritime borders</li> <li>Defend Islam globally</li> <li>Promote anti-imperialism</li> </ul>
<b>Japan's Interests</b>	<b>Malaysia's Interests</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Increase capacity to respond to increasingly challenging regional security environment, including relative maritime capabilities and security</li> <li>Strengthen security relationships with US and regional states</li> <li>Increase regional influence by supporting international law and a regional "rules-based community"</li> <li>Defense of contested territorial claims through international law</li> <li>Revitalization of the Japanese economy, including regional economic growth through the promotion of free trade</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Maintain authoritarian durability of a regime premised on ethnic Muslim and ethnic Malay domination</li> <li>Maintain sovereignty as a territorial state</li> <li>Expand capabilities by leveraging international resources</li> <li>Use international arbitration and rules to settle disputes</li> <li>Defend Islamic communities</li> </ul>
<b>Philippines' Interests</b>	<b>ROK's Interests</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mitigate the DPRK threat</li> <li>Maintain (US) and garner (Chinese) support but execute an independent foreign policy</li> <li>Maintain ASEAN cohesion to prevent regional conflict and advance economic interests</li> <li>Execute an independent but balanced resolution to South China Sea disputes</li> <li>Protect Filipinos and their interests abroad</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Maintain existing regional balance of power</li> <li>Prevent major peninsular crisis</li> <li>Maintain political identity and stability; prevent encroachment on Korean sovereignty</li> <li>Grow regional influence</li> <li>Deepen economic prosperity</li> </ul>

<sup>38</sup> To access the full Korea Strategic Outcomes ViTTa report for this question, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/key-actor-interests-in-the-asia-pacific-a-korea-strategic-outcomes-virtual-think-tank-report/>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Combat domestic drug problems and the prevalence corruption</li> <li>• Halt and prevent further Islamic terrorism and separatism in the Philippines while maintaining good relations with the global Islamic community</li> </ul>	
<b>Russia’s Interests</b>	<b>United States’ Interests</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Maintain security and legitimacy of Putin regime</li> <li>• Expand Russian sphere of influence and power, including ensuring Russian involvement in any DPRK resolution</li> <li>• Maintain stability of border regions and minimize instability in backyard</li> <li>• Contain US influence in region</li> <li>• Ensure economic prosperity by forging lasting economic and political relationships with Asian states and integrating Siberian and Far East territories into broader Asia Pacific region</li> <li>• Minimize domestic impact of international sanctions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Contain China’s territorial expansion</li> <li>• Ensure US economic growth and prosperity</li> <li>• Maintain regional trade relations and economic influence</li> <li>• Preserve regional security and diplomatic influence</li> <li>• Maintain US extended deterrence guarantees</li> <li>• Encourage nuclear nonproliferation in the region</li> <li>• Contain WMDs, cyberwarfare, and other threats to the US and its allies</li> <li>• Retain domestic support for the Trump Administration</li> </ul>

Athena Pathways – TRADOC<sup>39</sup>

<b>Athena modeling initially included these:</b>	
<b>China’s Interests:</b>	<b>Japan and US Interests:</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Retaining its buffer;</li> <li>• Reducing likelihood of missteps by DPRK in nuclear program;</li> <li>• Expanding economic influence with \$1.4T Seoul/ROK market</li> <li>• Ensuring the North Korean people do not suffer too severely</li> <li>• Preparing for intervention and population migration</li> <li>• Reducing US military presence and influence</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reducing likelihood of missteps by DPRK in nuclear program</li> <li>• Ensuring the North Korean people do not suffer too severely</li> <li>• Expanding economic / financial activity in North Korea</li> <li>• Return of Japanese hostages</li> </ul>
<b>ROK Interests:</b>	<b>Russia Interests:</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reducing likelihood of missteps in nuclear program</li> <li>• Expanding economic reach to China’s market</li> <li>• Ensuring the DPRK citizens do not suffer too severely</li> <li>• Ensure safety of ROK citizens</li> <li>• Avoid mass influx of DPRK refugees</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reducing likelihood of missteps in nuclear program</li> <li>• Expanding economic influence with \$1.4T Seoul/ROK market (energy/rail to EU)</li> <li>• Gaining general influence with DPRK elite (especially traditional military elite)</li> <li>• Gaining influence along coastal corridor, e.g. warm water ports from Hamyong to Wonsan</li> </ul>

Cognitive Simulations – Integral Mind<sup>40</sup>

- China: Protect its ability to continue on rise trajectory, prevent US presence on its borders (more)/in Asia generally (less)
- Japan: Ensure that US alliance actually means something and that we will not forget them in this hour of need
- ROK: Peacefully resolve this threat, move conflict system to stable place so war is much less likely, integrate DPRK peacefully into larger peninsular/Asian system

<sup>39</sup> For the final Athena report, please email the SMA office ([Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil](mailto:Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil))

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- DPRK: Remove regime change threat, remove pariah status, meaningfully enter international community on respectful terms, remove need for deterrent
- Russia: (provisional) Increase dimensions for leverage, continue supporting and profiting from DPRK, reduce US influence and practical power

I-R-C Analysis - NSI<sup>41</sup>

	<b>National Security; Population Safety</b>	<b>International Prestige and Influence</b>	<b>Domestic Politics / Constituent Support</b>	<b>Economics</b>	<b>Ideology/ Identity</b>
<b>Australia</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Protect maritime approaches, resources</li> <li>• Maintain defense capabilities in face of regional military modernization</li> <li>• Retain strategic partnership with the United States</li> <li>• Strengthen regional partnerships, promote rules-based international system to encourage regional stability and hedge against loss of US interest/ commitment</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Strengthen regional rules-based treaty regimes, international organizations, peaceful conflict resolution</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Economic growth through expanded regional trade while defending against Chinese soft power efforts that subvert Australian sovereignty</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Maintain openness of maritime trade routes</li> <li>• Continue strong economic ties, regional cooperation with China, Australia's top trading partner</li> </ul>	
<b>China</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reduce threat of regional US aggression / influence by limiting US military presence and maintaining DPRK as buffer state against US / ROK</li> <li>• Increase acceptance of China's as dominant regional power</li> <li>• Maintain economic growth and development, energy security</li> <li>• Avoid militarized regional conflict especially with the US</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Replace US-dominated international order with multipolar environment</li> <li>• Increase global standing, bolster prestige and influence by acting as a good-faith international actor</li> <li>• Pursue sovereignty claims to disputed territory</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Maintain economic growth and development</li> <li>• Retain regime legitimacy by achieving China Dream objectives</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Uninterrupted trade</li> <li>• Expansion of Chinese maritime and territorial control in the South and East China Seas</li> <li>• Avoid fluctuations in trade, markets caused by regional instability</li> </ul>	
<b>Indonesia</b>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Enhance regional role as conduit for diplomatic resolution of regional issues</li> <li>• Maintain utilitarian issue-oriented independent foreign policy and middle power status</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conduct foreign policy based on values of independence, social justice, peace</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Enhance economy via economic cooperation and promotion of free trade</li> <li>• Retain trade and infrastructure assistance from PRC</li> </ul>	
<b>Japan</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pursue stronger regional security posture independent of the US - "Proactive Contributions to Peace" – and increase Japan's capabilities to lead regional collective security</li> <li>• Strengthen security alliances with US and regional states to deter aggression against Japan, while avoiding escalation of territorial and maritime disputes with China</li> <li>• Nuclear non-proliferation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Raise Japan's profile in promoting rules-based regional conflict resolution and a peaceful order</li> <li>• Take a more active and leading role in regional and international affairs, in part to hedge against perceived decline in US regional commitment</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Revitalize Japan's economy in line with Prime Minister Abe's Abenomics 2012 election promises; e.g., labor reforms, expanding trade partnerships</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Revitalize stagnant Japanese economy through free trade and expanded economic partnerships</li> <li>• Maintain free and open maritime trade, and protect maritime resources through strengthened rule of law</li> </ul>	
<b>Malaysia</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Protect territorial integrity and maritime rights) amid sovereignty challenges</li> <li>• Maintain security cooperation with PRC, particularly on transnational crime</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Strengthen and bolster Malaysia's role in international partnerships</li> <li>• Promote and participate in international organizations and treaty regimes</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Continue system that privileges ethnic Malays and Muslims over other groups</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Strengthen regional partnerships to enhance development capabilities</li> <li>• Strengthen economic ties with PRC</li> </ul>	

<sup>41</sup> For the final I-R-C report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/western-pacific-regional-dynamics-north-korean-nuclear-status/>

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	<b>National Security; Population Safety</b>	<b>International Prestige and Influence</b>	<b>Domestic Politics / Constituent Support</b>	<b>Economics</b>	<b>Ideology/ Identity</b>
<b>North Korea</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Deter threat of Japanese, ROK/USA aggression and designs of reunification (under control of ROK)</li> <li>Avoid subjugation by PRC; maintain independence of action and policy</li> <li>Regime survival (achieved through patronage and coercion); championing ideology of obedience to Kim family, self-reliance, privilege to military</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Enhance legitimacy and acknowledgment of state (and regime) as member of community of nations</li> <li>Promote a self-reliant DPRK</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Retain idea of eventual reunification of peninsula, and absorption of ROK into DPRK regime</li> <li>Improve domestic economic conditions (while retaining domestic control, patronage to military and military elite)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Maintain flow of hard currency</li> <li>Abrogate sanctions</li> <li>Enhance economic development via improvements in domestic productivity, especially through science and technology</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Promote a self-reliant DPRK (<i>juche</i>), obedience to Kim family</li> </ul>
<b>Philippines</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>De-escalate North Korean military threat, especially to own citizens in ROK</li> <li>Pursue hedging strategy that balances independent security relationships with US and China (i.e., outside the ASEAN context)</li> <li>Maintain ASEAN cohesion to prevent regional conflict</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Work within international organizations to promote regional cooperation including “friendly” resolution of territorial disputes in the South China Sea</li> <li>Maintain strong ties with ASEAN</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Promote and protect “welfare and interests” of Filipinos abroad</li> <li>Manage PRC relations in light of public suspicion of China and public opinion favoring US military presence</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Protect interests and rights of over 10 million ex pat Filipinos, particularly their ability to send remittances (comprises 10% of GNP).</li> </ul>	
<b>Russia</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Maintain stability of border regions and minimize instability in neighboring states that might spread into Russia</li> <li>Contain US influence and power including US presence on the Korean Peninsula</li> <li>Oppose nuclear North Korea</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Expand Russian global influence, including through Russian involvement in any DPRK resolution</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Maintain popular support by improving economy and enhancing Russian international standing</li> <li>Mitigate impact of international sanctions on Russian citizens</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ensure prosperity by expanding economic / political relations with Asian states; integrate Siberia, Russian Far East into region</li> <li>Preserve economic stability in face of sanctions</li> </ul>	
<b>Korea</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Maintain deterrent relationship with DPRK, bolstered by US support</li> <li>Denuclearization of peninsula</li> <li>Avoid large destabilizing event on peninsula (regime change in North, refugee flows, armed conflict)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Hedge between US and PRC ambitions in region</li> <li>Be active participant in regional affairs</li> <li>Maintain sovereignty claims on disputed territories</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Serve as vanguard of all Koreans (reunification with ROK control)</li> <li>Leadership role and control over Korean peninsular matters, rather than imposition by major powers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Continue economic growth and development</li> </ul>	
<b>United States</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Contain Chinese territorial expansion, aggression by maintaining strong relations with Taiwan, and impeding construction of artificial islands in the South China Sea</li> <li>Assure freedom of navigation for US Navy vessels through South China Sea</li> <li>Preserve security guarantees and deterrent capabilities with regional partners (ROK, Japan)</li> <li>Strengthen nuclear non-proliferation regime</li> <li>Defend against cyber, WMD, and other threats to US and regional partners</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Retain US regional influence</li> <li>Preserve regional security and diplomatic influence by maintaining a rules-based liberal regional order that privileges US</li> <li>Maintain US extended deterrence guarantees</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Grow support for current Administration by improving domestic economic growth, market valuations and achieving favorable foreign policy wins, e.g., outcome on DPRK denuclearization</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Stem China’s growing economic weight and US allies’ economic dependence on PRC; reduce size of US and regional states’ trade deficit with China</li> <li>Assure freedom of navigation through important trade routes in the South China Sea</li> <li>Pursue politically palatable trade policies with China (and regional partners)</li> </ul>	

Strategic Messaging – Oklahoma State University<sup>42</sup>

**Chinese and Russian news media both present the Kim-Trump summit and its outcomes as evidenced success of Chinese and Russian calls for a dual-track peace process, and as evidence of their respective increased regional and international influence.**

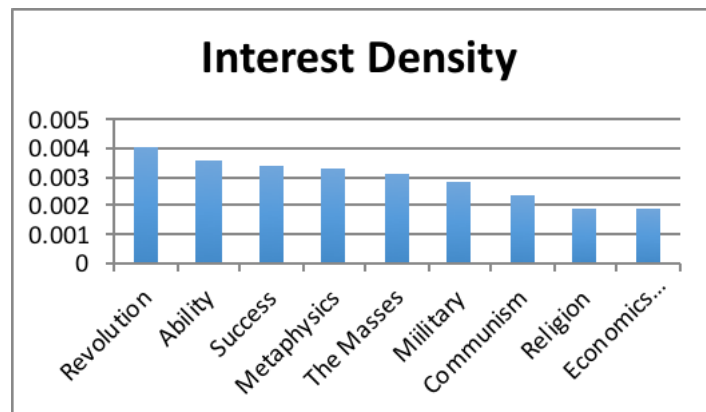
Media narratives demonstrate a willingness of both China and Russia to present themselves as leading international powers with a new global vision for power distribution. Narratives also show both nations as willing to work together toward regional stability and security, as well as having shared economic interests. Russian media is much more expressive in its intentional stated alignment with that of China. Both present regional stability and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons as a concern, both suggest that if the US wishes to exert influence in the region it will do so in coordination and concert with all of the actors involved. US leadership internationally, and specifically in the region, is shown as declining and expectations are set through media narratives indicating *the US should not/will not make any future aggressive posturing toward the DPRK given the regime's cooperation following the summit.*

Chinese news media mentions of national security interests related to the DPRK remains consistent pre- and post-summit.

Quantitative Discourse Analysis – NSI<sup>43</sup>

Kim Jong Un's worldview and political agenda continues to be rooted in traditional themes espoused by his predecessors. However, he has shown some movement away from these perspectives. Kim Jong-un therefore appears to be a *relatively inflexible thinker with limited ability to move away from his central agenda in negotiation.*

For instance, Kim Jong Un's primary interests, as represented in his discourse are rooted in traditional DPRK interests, such as Revolution against the West, Metaphysics (religious-type language, Juche philosophy), Communist ideology (Communism, The Masses). However, some of these traditional interests have decreased in density since he took power. Economic interests and associated themes such as DPRK ability and success are increasing relative to the decrease in more traditional themes.

Cognitive Assessment – Intelligent Biology<sup>44</sup>

US: Post-Cold War objectives have been broadly to keep status quo of a liberal East Asian order led by the US and involving its key alliances with Japan and the ROK – the main medium/long-term challenges to which is now China's economic rise and increased assertiveness abroad, as well as the

<sup>42</sup> To access the complete Narratives report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/narratives-before-after-the-2018-north-korea-united-states-summit/>

<sup>43</sup> To access the complete Discourse report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/comparative-analysis-of-kim-family-political-discourse/>

<sup>44</sup> To access the complete Cognition report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/getting-messages-through-the-cognition-of-influence-with-north-korea-and-east-asia/>



global rise of Grey Zone conflict. The US also fears DPRK nuclear ICBMs as a threat and a precedent. New directions in US foreign policy may lead to greater focus on disruption than maintenance of the regional order, to achieve more immediately tangible US trade and other goals.

China: Maintain the PRC regime, continue Chinese economic development to meet population expectations, and in the medium- to long-term, gain (re-gain in a Chinese narrative) China's regional preeminence. US potential containment is the main threat, alongside the perception of a potentially nationalist Japan.

Japan: Seeks stability, openness and access in the Asia-Pacific as well as globally. China's rise and the related potential threat from US abandoning the US-Japan alliance are the main fears. DPRK missiles are a lesser threat.

ROK: "A minnow among whales" characterizes the ROK's broad strategic challenge, about which it fears US abandonment and a rising China. Managing the DPRK is third key objective, which includes deterring attacks, managing escalation from provocations, and eventually managing the huge reunification task.

DPRK: Personal avoidance of death, likely through regime survival, is the core objective of key DPRK decision-makers. Fear of personal death may occur in four main ways: (i) inadvertent or accidental escalation leads to US/ROK/Japanese decapitation strikes or war; (ii) like Gaddafi's Libya, the DPRK loses the ability to deter outside intervention in medium term; (iii) like Glasnost in the USSR, DPRK regime softening may lead to regime collapse in medium term; and (iv) without nuclear weapons, an ignorable DPRK loses the ability to obtain aid and collapses in the medium term.

## Q5: Third-Party Intervention

**Prove the thesis that the Third-Party Intervention (i.e. PRC involvement) in DPRK is not bad.**

Athena Pathways – TRADOC<sup>45</sup>

Athena modeling results indicate that a third-party intervention into DPRK by China can provide a better outcome than occurs in the Status Quo (Muddling Along) use case for security, humanitarian, and economic reasons.<sup>46</sup> In Athena, third-party intervention by China is not better than a multilateral peace plan crafted along the lines of June 2018 Singapore Summit. If, however, the multilateral peace plan breaks down due to being implemented too early (which sets conditions for a DPRK elite-military coup) or too late (setting conditions for a DPRK elite-economic overthrow) because the current DPRK regime (and other five parties) fails to regulate and deliver promised marketization and reforms needed, third-party intervention by China would be more preferable than civil war and its ensuing chaos among factions.

Cognitive Simulations – Integral Mind<sup>47</sup>

Our research does not support this thesis; such intervention is likely to further complicate power dynamics, further support China's rise at US expense, and unduly privilege China as a partner in resolution of this crisis. If US is willing to functionally abdicate its role in Asia to China, come on as some sort of 'junior partner', and accept further possibly permanent, fatal erosion of power and prestige, then Chinese intervention could in theory somewhat enhance stability and 'pull' NK into a Chinese -led Asian sphere. We do not, however, recommend this course of action under any foreseeable circumstances. In Asia, demonstrating a credible understanding of regional and cultural dynamics is paramount; this course of action would show that we have essentially given up on this pursuit.

Cognitive Assessment – Intelligent Biology<sup>48</sup>

Key third parties must be involved in order for agreements or resolutions to be perceived as fair, legitimate and so stable. Stable and lasting agreements must involve third party intervention, stable agreements are good, and so third party intervention must be involved for the US to achieve good outcomes. From a US perspective, such intervention can be more or less in line with US interests. For example, neither China nor Russia want further nuclear proliferation.

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<sup>45</sup> For the final Athena report, please email the SMA office ([Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil](mailto:Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil))

<sup>46</sup> Better for security, humanitarian, and economic reasons here refers to a number of Athena outputs which taken together provide a comparison of the stability situation as calculated by Athena for the various courses of action. These "better" conditions, in terms of stability outcomes, are reflected in final report.

<sup>47</sup> These reports are classified and require proper access. Please contact the SMA office for access ([Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil](mailto:Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil)).

<sup>48</sup> To access the complete Cognition report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/getting-messages-through-the-cognition-of-influence-with-north-korea-and-east-asia/>

## Q6: China Fear of Refugee Flow

**How credible is China's fear of vast DPRK refugee flow into China in case of crisis and/or regime collapse? Any historical examples? Can we somehow quantify?**

Athena Pathways – TRADOC<sup>49</sup>

Athena modeling shows significant refugee flows under either of two conditions:

1. In the Status Quo (Muddling Along) scenario—assuming tightening sanctions by the PRC—the DPRK economy may falter before the DPRK government does, leading the DPRK government to try as it did in 2009 to extract what it needs from its emerging elite and the population at large. This could trigger large-scale economic refugee flows into China, as occurred during the 1990s famine (estimated in the hundreds of thousands, but this time over a shorter time period because of greater awareness).
2. While in a multilateral peace plan scenario, there are three main refugee flow drivers, which may occur if the peace plan is not synchronized, regulated, and/or messaged properly:
  - a. DPRK refugee flow into China due to sudden regime change (in Athena, this fear is reflected as dissatisfaction with safety) (A 2013 SME Report est. 2M in weeks). This would be from military coup or economic overthrow.
  - b. DPRK refugee flow into ROK as DMZ is opened. Factors are DPRK populace impatience with economic reform and open access to economic improvement in ROK. (Athena Tipping Point model and major unclassified event est. 1M in months). In Athena, dissatisfaction with quality of life is the main driver for this refugee flow.
  - c. Failure in the peace plan implementation could lead to ROK refugee flow from Seoul southward as factional fighting in DPRK leads to nuclear threats in new DPRK regime opposed to multilateral plan (10% of Seoul in weeks based on US Interagency estimates at a recent unclassified event and the driver in Athena for this, is dissatisfaction with personal safety). This would be due to a military coup in DPRK by hardline traditionalists.

Cognitive Simulations – Integral Mind<sup>50</sup>

This does seem to be a credible fear and is very real for the Chinese in any event; intelligence does seem to point to past examples, especially at the Yalu River during previous fighting during the Korean War. This fear will certainly need to be mitigated as part of planning for any serious action, and is serious enough to generate Chinese counter-action.

Cognitive Assessment – Intelligent Biology<sup>51</sup>

During or following collapse, refugees will likely flow to China, although depending on conditions in the DPRK (e.g. ongoing warfare) the numbers may not be vast. Moreover, given Korean peninsula relative ethnic homogeneity and likely ROK rebuilding of the DPRK after collapse, they will not likely cause the same challenges as in other key historical examples of refugee flows during ongoing civil wars (e.g. Somalia that lacks of central government so individuals do not wish to return), in the

<sup>49</sup> For the final Athena report, please email the SMA office ([Mariah.c.yager\\_ctr@mail.mil](mailto:Mariah.c.yager_ctr@mail.mil))

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<sup>51</sup> To access the complete Cognition report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/getting-messages-through-the-cognition-of-influence-with-north-korea-and-east-asia/>

absence of ethnic cleansing or genocide (e.g. African Great lakes surrounding the Rwandan genocide etc.) or redrawing of ethnic/national boundaries following (e.g. Indian partition).

One relevant historical example: during the 1995-97 famine in North Korea, an estimated 400,000 North Koreans crossed into China in search of food.

Regime officials and their families may fear reprisals, but even if they all left they would reflect large not vast numbers.

## Section II: DPRK Analyses

### Q7: Likelihood of Regime Change or Collapse?

**How likely is DPRK regime change or collapse? What are the potential indicators and measurement options? What is the likelihood of PRC intervention?**

Pathways Analysis – NSI<sup>52</sup>

#### Is DPRK on a path to Regime Collapse, Transformation, or just Muddling Along?

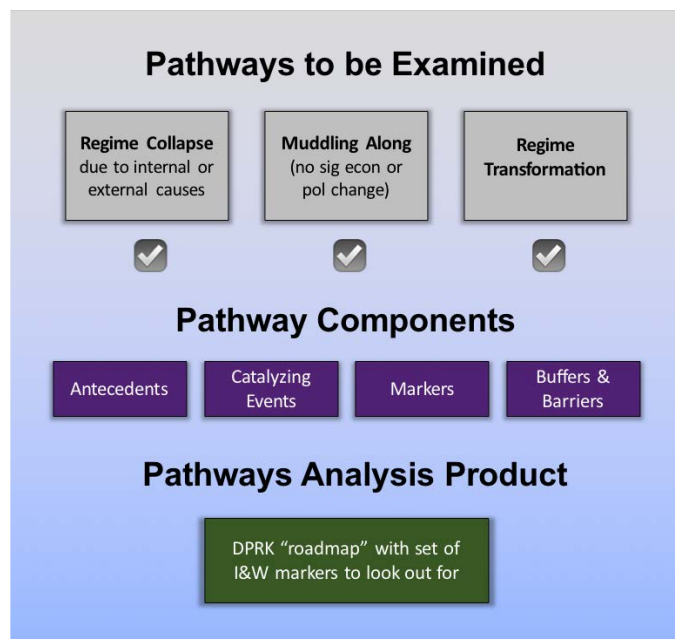
The *NSI Pathways Model* and process will be used to systematically and rigorously assess the degree to which observable indicators and warnings (I&W) suggest that North Korea is on one of the following pathways:

- *regime collapse* due to external or internal factors
- *muddling along*, with only marginal economic and/or political change
- *regime transformation*

Necessary pathway *antecedent conditions, catalyzing events, path “markers”* that indicate which path an actor is on, and critically, the *buffers or barriers* to further progression down a pathway will be identified and tested against historical case studies for each pathway.

As part of its analysis, NSI will examine the thesis that marketization can lead to the unintentional collapse of a non-democratic regime. The idea underpinning this thesis is that marketization will give rise to demands for increased economic and political liberalization at odds with the continued survival of a totalitarian regime such as the DPRK. NSI will formally test this idea by looking for support or disconfirmation of the relationship between marketization and regime collapse both in historical case studies and examination of the current North Korean context.

The product of the Pathways effort is a check-sheet or “roadmap” of the current and possible North Korean trajectory that JS, INDOPACOM and other analysts can follow and easily update over time as they detect additional classified or unclassified information on pathway I&W measures.



Athena Pathways – TRADOC<sup>53</sup>

Athena modeling results indicate that in the Status Quo (Muddling Along) case, when sanctions are tightened by China, and there is weaker sanctions enforcement by Russia, coupled with increases in

<sup>52</sup> For the final NSI Pathways report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/assessment-of-pathways-to-regime-collapse-in-dprk/>

<sup>53</sup> For the final Athena report, please email the SMA office ([Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil](mailto:Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil))

information flow from outside, a collapse of the current regime is assessed to be almost inevitable, but not in near-term. The **likelihood of regime collapse is increased significantly in Athena modeling with the onset of a key precipitating event such as a natural or humanitarian disaster (e.g. famine, typhoon-induced flood).**

The DPRK regime avoided collapse during the mid-1990s famine but, Athena results indicate that increased media access today and growing acceptability of outside perspectives within the DPRK elite class over time make such collapse avoidance less likely going forward. The model shows growing discontent within DPRK elite as a promised better economy is slow in being realized, while both elite and other elements become more dissatisfied with pervasive corruption and criminal activity. The regime's extolling of *juche*, or self-reliance, falls on increasingly deaf ears. Extensive contact with the outside world by the *donju*, or money masters, who have grown rich from extensive black market activities, adds to an information flow from outside of the DPRK.

These indicators of potential collapse were modeled in Athena, resulting in impacts on vertical relationships between DPRK, its elite class and the other DPRK civilian groups:

- Economic contraction (2017 DPRK downturn reported in GDP growth was worst in 20 years);
- A natural disaster given DPRK's failed state situation;
- High-level defectors from Pyongyang's Elite;
- Reports of riots directed against the government;
- Abrupt death of Kim Jong Un by natural causes or assassination;
- Formation of anti-government faction within the established power elites

Athena results of DPRK civilian direct support to neighboring PRC show that an impending DPRK collapse and imminent hostilities could create conditions to trigger China's use of force to secure its border, provide humanitarian assistance in DPRK, and secure nuclear facilities. The Athena model shows improved stability for DPRK by PRC intervening in event of a DPRK collapse.

#### Cognitive Simulations – Integral Mind<sup>54</sup>

At the present time, this does not seem especially likely. Indicators could include the enhanced surfacing of voices expressing discontent with the Kim regime, increased border activity/crossings, and enhanced purge activity. It is unclear if changes in cyber activity would herald changes, but it is likely worthwhile to watch this. Imagery and defector debrief would be useful measurement methods. A serious potential for collapse would likely be of great concern to the PRC and it is likely that they would do something in order to maintain stability, raise its regional 'face', and protect nuclear weapons. It appears less likely that this would be a full invasion, but could reasonably involve entry of specific units with specific pre-defined missions (intelligence has more detail).

#### Cognitive Assessment – Intelligent Biology<sup>55</sup>

Regime change is now unlikely in the near- or medium-term unless it is forced from outside by military means, results from Kim Jong-un's policy choices (a process such as Gorbachev's Soviet reforms), or through a series of unforeseen events (e.g. Kim Jong-un dies unexpectedly and the regime dissolves in infighting).

The PRC will intervene – the question is how. It may involve PRC troops, it may involve PRC special forces to specific sites, it may involve paramilitary forces, or it may only involve only indirect means.

<sup>54</sup> These reports are classified and require proper access. Please contact the SMA office for access ([Mariah.c.yager\\_ctr@mail.mil](mailto:Mariah.c.yager_ctr@mail.mil)).

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**US and ROK must plan with the PRC for this eventuality, with the aim of limiting Chinese military intervention or managing potential escalation with US or ROK forces.**

## Q8: Effect of Sanctions on DPRK Regime

**How deeply are sanctions affecting the DPRK regime, populace, neighbors, and other involved? What effect would full enforcement of the UN Security Council Resolutions capping oil and coal imports/exports with the DPRK have on: 1) the regime's willingness to follow through on its commitments to denuclearize, and 2) general regime stability? Are there tipping points/redlines that would trigger a significant response (positive or negative) within the DPRK if UNSCRs were fully enforced or further expanded?**

### Athena Pathways – TRADOC<sup>56</sup>

The primary risk for the DPRK with ongoing sanctions is that GDP per capita is declining (Bank of Korea 2017 results, announced July 2018). This GDP per capita disparity with neighboring countries is becoming more obvious to DPRK's emerging *donju* and military elite. Athena modeling shows that tightening sanctions—especially by China—results in a growing poverty gap between DPRK and ROK citizens. ROK has a GDP per capita that is already more than 22 times greater than DPRK. Sanctions increase the cost of reconstruction and delay economic growth following the lifting of them. They have a negative impact on the living standards and humanitarian situation of the population in the model. In the Status Quo (Muddling Along) use case, sanctions alone do not lead to regime change in DPRK (104 weeks after Singapore Summit). Sanctions show no impact on the DPRK elite other than to reduce their support<sup>57</sup> for the current regime and for China. The model shows that weak sanction enforcement by Russia and food aid from Russia result in slowly increasing population and DPRK elite support for the DPRK regime. Athena modeling indicates that over time sanctions reduce support for the DPRK regime from both China and DPRK elite. Model results indicate China supports DPRK marketization sooner rather than later, but sanctions impede this. Athena indicates that a multilateral supported/ sectored-by-region DPRK marketization approach, may reduce conditions that could lead to a DPRK collapse, which in turn could lead to full marketization.

### Cognitive Simulations – Integral Mind

At this point, the sanctions regime is likely much more of a burden than a help; the reasons for DPRK to keep the weapons are far too fundamental to be achieved through this means. DPRK most likely cannot afford to denuclearize until achievement of most of the conditions described herein. It also is a continual irritant to KJU and wound to his pride, which makes him more difficult to deal with, more irascible, and, perhaps most importantly, reinforces his belief that he must act like a 'porcupine' and present a difficult face to the West. Redlines include severe threats to 'face,' the regime, autonomy, and any possibly permanent diminution in DPRK stature/full access to the international community. Also worrisome would be any sign that the status quo has foundationally changed.

### Cognitive Assessment – Intelligent Biology<sup>58</sup>

Key tipping points or redlines involve fear of personal death by Kim Jong-un and other key regime members. Through sanctions, this would likely only occur via:

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<sup>57</sup> In Athena, the support that the DPRK regime receives comes directly from civilian groups in DPRK. The support DPRK receives from other regional and world actors in Athena is called, "derived" support.

<sup>58</sup> To access the complete Cognition report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/getting-messages-through-the-cognition-of-influence-with-north-korea-and-east-asia/>



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- a. a very rapid tightening through the PRC (the sanctions “sledgehammer” the PRC wields, but is very unlikely to use); or
- b. if sanctions enforcement were tightened for long enough that regime officials saw no plausible path forward for the regime keeping control (also unlikely given the DPRK’s strategic importance and ability to play off surrounding great powers).

## Q9: Reason to Marketize?

**Many analysts indicate that due to the partial marketization of the North Korean economy, the economy has stabilized somewhat. What were the key reasons the regime made the decision to marketize? What factors inhibit a broader marketization of the economy?**

Athena Pathways – TRADOC<sup>59</sup>

The DPRK has partially marketized, largely due to the society's response to the mid-1990s famine. In order to survive, North Koreans created a black market that now thrives. The DPRK, in the Status Quo (Muddling Along) case, is a failed state that is on a road from degrees of licit and illicit marketization to an even more marketized economy, while practicing its peculiar brand of totalitarianism. The DPRK economy had been progressing up until 2017; however, given the tightening of sanctions due to its nuclear ambitions, 2017 has seen a significant downturn in its GDP. This GDP plunge is despite DPRK's *byungjin* policy, which has parallel goals: developing the economy and building nuclear weapons. Ongoing sanctions and severe infrastructure problems are key marketization issues, but the main problem Athena illuminates is lack of foreign investment.<sup>60</sup> This is due to a lack of legal protections for outside foreign investors or partners. Even special economic zones, if lacking underlying structural reforms such as Joint Venture laws and protection from asset seizure will stifle growth. Taxation to keep DPRK's huge government sector afloat has been identified as a growing problem in Athena results for DPRK.

Virtual Think Tank (ViTTa) – NSI<sup>61</sup>

Twelve Korea Strategic Outcomes ViTTa expert contributors offered a response to this question, considering the key drivers of DPRK marketization efforts and the key factors currently inhibiting broader marketization in the DPRK. The contributor response, overall, reveals four primary drivers of DPRK marketization, and three key inhibitors to broader DPRK marketization.

### Drivers of DPRK Marketization

- Economic downturn and famine that engulfed the DPRK and eventually led to the collapse of the country's Public Distribution System in the 1990s.
- Rising expectations and aspirations of North Koreans that have started acclimating to marketization.
- The emergence of Kim Jong-un and new economic development policy.
- A reassuring precedent from China's integration into the international system in a way that both promotes significant economic growth and development and preserves the security and legitimacy of its political system and regime.

### Inhibitors to Broader DPRK Marketization

- The Kim regime's fear that economic liberalization and broad marketization will trigger societal change and progression that seriously threatens its fundamental interests, particularly the security and survival of the regime.
- The DPRK government's tight grip on the flow of information throughout the country and long-standing efforts to create ideological purity.

<sup>59</sup> For the final Athena report, please email the SMA office ([Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil](mailto:Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil))

<sup>60</sup> 40% of GDP is military/nuclear/security expenditures according to open sources and foreign investment in infrastructure, domestic infrastructure development and infrastructure repair are virtually nil. This is how this was modeled in Athena under Status Quo (Muddling Along) use case.

<sup>61</sup> To access the full Korea Strategic Outcomes ViTTa report for this question, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/marketization-of-the-north-korean-economy/>

- Structural factors (e.g., productive capacity is severely lacking, the economy is severely constrained by limited foreign investment, there is currently no financing mechanism for providing capital at the individual level, legal protections for foreign businesses are quite weak, markets are still technically illegal and rife with corruption, and international sanctions have prevented the benefits afforded by globalization).

Cognitive Simulations – Integral Mind<sup>62</sup>

In many ways, this has been forced on the regime due to the difficult conditions presenting in the country. Keeping certain segments of the elite (whose support is ultimately essential in the broadest sense) happy has required this. Further marketization is constrained by KJU fears of loss of control and systems of societal organization.

Cognitive Assessment – Intelligent Biology<sup>63</sup>

Marked economic liberalization is unlikely to occur unless the regime can *simultaneously* keep control of the population. The PRC or Vietnamese examples provide one model, but neither state faced its people regularly seeing the comparator of the first world ROK – which even moderate Chinese style liberalization would make evident and provide a running sore for the DPRK population. One caveat to this moving forwards is the development of sophisticated Artificial Intelligence and big data related monitoring, which may enable totalitarian surveillance that might allow some economic freedom whilst maintaining totalitarian control.

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<sup>62</sup> These reports are classified and require proper access. Please contact the SMA office for access ([Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil](mailto:Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil)).

<sup>63</sup> To access the complete Cognition report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/getting-messages-through-the-cognition-of-influence-with-north-korea-and-east-asia/>

## Q10: Marketization in DPRK?

**Many analysts indicate that due to the partial marketization of the North Korean economy, a middle class is growing. What percentage of the population can now be designated middle class? Given a lack of improvement to infrastructure, though marketization has allowed some to relatively thrive and more to survive, is there more than minimal growth to the overall North Korean economy? If there is minimal growth in the North Korean economy, can it grow much more without opening it to the wider world?**

Athena Pathways – TRADOC<sup>64</sup>

There are three DPRK political loyalty classes represented in Athena model for the DPRK: (1) the “core” which includes DPRK’s elite, (2) the “wavering” or middle class, and (3) the “hostile” or the labor class. The labor and middle classes, even in Pyongyang, are relatively unaware of real world events inside the country. In the Status Quo (Muddling Along) case, the middle or “wavering” class is modeled as 25% of the population. Part of the problem the DPRK regime faces is that old ways of looking at classes as being defined along lines of political loyalty are no longer relevant in a society that is transforming to a class system based on partial marketization (upper class, middle class, and lower class). The DPRK regime’s main survival problem is to ensure that the current military elite, KPA, and *donju* maintain their status, power, and entitlement in a proposed multilateral peace plan.

Cognitive Simulations – Integral Mind<sup>65</sup>

It does not appear that, especially outside of Pyongyang, that this is a highly significant phenomenon. It seems unlikely that further marketization can be achieved without KJU’s full support, though opening may not necessarily be required.

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<sup>64</sup> For the final Athena report, please email the SMA office ([Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil](mailto:Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil))

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## Section III: Proliferation v. Denuclearization

### Q11: Conditions to Achieve CVID?

**Under what regional and domestic political, economic, and social conditions would it be possible to achieve a complete and verifiable denuclearization of the DPRK without resorting to armed conflict?**

I-R-C Analysis – NSI<sup>66</sup>

As discussed elsewhere, the I-R-C analysis is pessimistic about any actor or group of actors achieving North Korean FFVD in the near to mid-term. Overall, our analyses support US options that establish strategic patience along with enhanced non-militarized engagement in the region. This would entail maintaining consistent diplomatic communication and signaling a willingness to negotiate. In the short-term, the Kim regime and others may interpret this approach as de facto acceptance of North Korea's nuclear status, but this risk could be offset by a continuation of the maximum pressure approach to sanctions and clear messaging to North Korea and regional states that the US remains committed to the region, and to denuclearization as the only acceptable final outcome.

However, given the regional interest in multilateralism and the broad opposition to disruption of trade, it may be the case that trust in US commitment to the region cannot be reinforced solely with military exercises, activities, and cooperation, or even at all. US leadership in international organizations and other efforts to resolve disputes peacefully and legally may be what is called for now. It is important to note that US leadership in this context is essentially US guidance and support for regional actors to determine regional solutions. The analysis of regional actors' interests and resolve suggest that US regional influence will no longer be won solely on the basis of security relationships—even if the US is perceived to be fully committed. Rather, US leadership will be reinforced by minimizing use of military means for demonstrating US regional commitment, and by expanding US engagement on issues (e.g., beyond nuclear weapons in North Korea) that have to do with a stable and prosperous trading Environment. Finally, taking a multilateralist approach paradoxically appears to be the safest option for maintaining US regional influence in the long run. Acting unilaterally or even with limited communication with other stakeholders violates the key interests of actors across the region, and reinforces the current narrative that the US is not sincerely committed to the region. The upshot is that how an outcome is achieved is equally as important as what the outcome is. The approach the US takes to the dispute with North Korea, therefore, will likely be taken as an indicator of US intent in the region, and as a measure of regional commitment and appreciation of the concerns of other actors.

Virtual Think Tank (ViTTa) – NSI<sup>67</sup>

Thirty Korea Strategic Outcomes ViTTa expert contributors considered the various social, political, and economic conditions necessary for FFVD without militarized conflict. Some contributors expressed moderate to strong doubt that a denuclearized DPRK is possible without a major regime change. At best, the SMEs stress that any chance at denuclearization is only possible if approached as a long-term goal. Indeed, the approach and order of conditions may matter more than the conditions themselves. In all, the SMEs emphasized that all actors must be willing to make major shifts in

<sup>66</sup> For the final I-R-C report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/western-pacific-regional-dynamics-north-korean-nuclear-status/>

<sup>67</sup> To access the full Korea Strategic Outcomes ViTTa report for this question, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/necessary-conditions-for-achieving-ffvd-without-militarized-conflict/>

expectations and approaches. Best outcomes may include living with a latent nuclear DPRK, an improved relationship with the hostile state, and the acceptance of the DPRK into the international community.

Additionally, takeaways and examples of the conditions from the contributor responses include the following:

- Strong distrust is a significant barrier to any forward movement or positive steps toward denuclearization. Inability to overcome lack of trust will continue to undermine all endeavors.
- In order to move forward, KJU would require reassurance of regime survival, and that the US would not go back on its word.
- Economic conditions could include: allowing the DPRK into the international economy, international trade and development (e.g. Korean- Silk Road extension), and fostering economic hotspots outside of Pyongyang.
- Cultural conditions included: performing arts, education, and scientific exchanges and opening travel barriers.
- Political conditions included: involving the DPRK into international agreements, military exchanges, formal end to the Korean War, and reinstating diplomatic relations.

#### Strategic Messaging – Oklahoma State University<sup>68</sup>

Mentions of CVID in Chinese and Russian news media decreases following the Kim-Trump summit. Media analysis suggest prior to the Kim-Trump summit the range of possible US actions toward the DPRK in both media systems was more broadly considered, following the summit both Chinese and Russian media were quick to constrain possible US actions within narrative discussions of long-term disarmament and a normalizing of relations with the Kim Jong-un regime. Thereby allowing for any future demands or actions of the US concerning fixed deadlines, or accelerated timelines, toward CVID by the DPRK to be cast by these media systems as US disingenuousness toward the peace process.

Media narratives stating that US influence and trustworthiness are in decline creates possibilities of justifying and legitimizing new alliances and a recasting of image for existing regional political actors to their populations.

Chinese and Russian news media present the issue of CVID as being long-term process requiring the continued normalizing of relations with DPRK with other actors in the region and a greater role for both Chinese and Russian international leadership.

#### Cognitive Assessment – Intelligent Biology<sup>69</sup>

The “checklist for empathy” method anticipates key redlines and inflection points for the DPRK. The bottom line is that **Final, Fully Verified Denuclearization (FFVD) is not likely achievable short of large-scale US preventive military action as it threatens death to key DPRK decision-makers either directly or indirectly.**

The key DPRK motivations is **fear of personal death** for Kim Jong-un, the Kim family and key regime members (e.g. the Organization and Guidance Department; OGD). A crucial issue is how far the DPRK **trusts** that the ROK/US will ensure key peoples’ **personal safety** before nuclear weapons are surrendered and/or reforms undertaken. DPRK trust in US/ROK assurances is very difficult to

<sup>68</sup> To access the complete Narratives report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/narratives-before-after-the-2018-north-korea-united-states-summit/>

<sup>69</sup> To access the complete Cognition report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/getting-messages-through-the-cognition-of-influence-with-north-korea-and-east-asia/>

achieve—not least because new administrations in such democratic states can reverse predecessors policies—but one should, as far as possible, build trust with the DPRK using evidence-based methods such as trusted messengers.

The US can also stress to the DPRK that continued nuclear weapons programs will mean ROK and Japan will develop and deploy increasingly sophisticated rapid targeting for the “kill chain” – and this is dual use for decapitation. This moves the region to a situation where ever more countries will have finger on a trigger that could lead to the leadership’s personal death.

## Q12: Viable Options to Achieve CVID?

**What are the viable pol-mil options for achieving a complete and verifiable denuclearization of the DPRK? (How would regional actors respond? Would executing these options introduce risk? What are the most viable pol-mil options for limiting regional proliferation of Nuclear Weapons? What are the US political-military options for encouraging stability in Northeast Asia and the Western Pacific that also strengthen U.S. diplomatic and economic relationships in the region and position the US as a regional leader there?)**

### I-R-C Analysis – NSI<sup>70</sup>

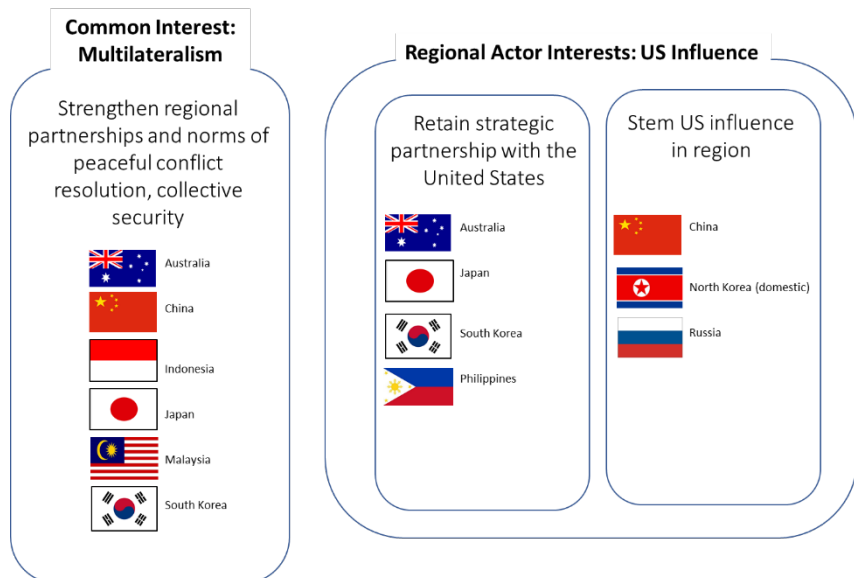
The I-R-C analysis of the alignment of regional interests that *under current regional conditions* achieving denuclearization is highly unlikely for two reasons: 1) as outlined in question 2d, denuclearization is the overall worst outcome in a choice problem over which North Korea has potential veto power; and 2) regional dynamics do not support denuclearization as brokered by the US/South Korea.

**Bilateral Approach:** For the Kim regime, a process of loosely scheduled US-North Korea and North-South Korean bilateral talks with intermittent feigned or scheduled breaks is a way to weaken regional and international support for sanctions and retain the possibility of economic or other incentives, without requiring much in the way of actual policy change or action. Using the façade of an on-going bilateral negotiation to normalize relations with the US just to the point of, but not past, making China uncomfortable has the added benefit of putting North Korea in a position to play the US and China against each other. As Japan and others have warned, the US should expect such half-measures and negotiating ploys from North Korea even when offers appear sincere.

As a result, according to the I-R-C analysis, the current US approach (sanctions relief, economic incentives for sincere steps toward FFVD, and maximum pressure sanctions if North Korea balks), is unlikely to succeed at this time. Additionally, changing North Korea's view of acceptable and unacceptable outcomes will require significant structural reframing of the relationships among its economic and security concerns on the one hand, and the nature of its perceived stakes in the region on the other.

**Multilateral Approach:** A long process of multilateral talks emerges as the outcome with the widest appeal across regional actors and thus is the

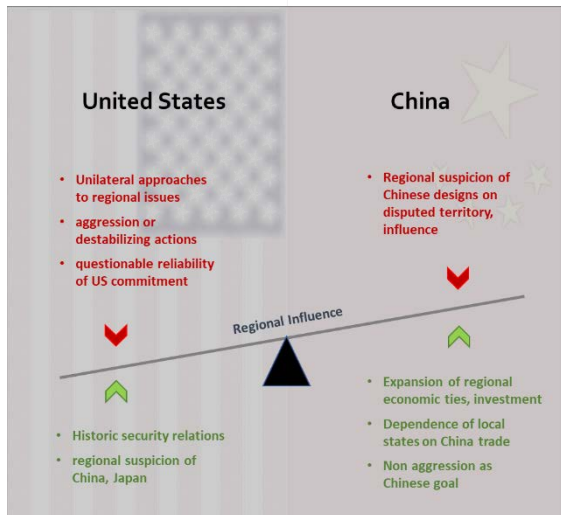
most likely to find broad support. The results suggest an interesting dynamic that is likely to be crucial in the US correctly judging potential response to its actions in the region. Regional actors' preferences regarding the North Korean nuclear weapons issue are not driven by their national



<sup>70</sup> For the final I-R-C report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/western-pacific-regional-dynamics-north-korean-nuclear-status/>



security interests, but by their interests in gaining prestige and/or influence in regional affairs. For China and Russia, the more important interests in the context of North Korean nuclear capabilities involve containing US regional influence while expanding their own. For Australia and Japan, as well as the smaller states, the preference for a multilateral approach reflects their shared desire for a rules-based collective security order in which they play a more active leadership role. In sum, the I-R-C analysis indicates that, region-wide, even the potentially disturbing issue of a nuclear-armed North Korea is not viewed by regional states as an independent security problem to be solved, but as a potential catalyst to broader, future challenges to their ability to impact regional events (i.e., their power and influence).



How actors will respond also involves the outcomes they wish to avoid. Across the region the worst outcome (including for the US) is US action defined in this study as limited objective operations against North Korean assets. Two types of regional interests drive widespread opposition and perhaps retaliation to US action. The first is a strong (and growing) desire among both US allies and potential adversaries for regional solutions to regional issues; for conflict resolution processes in which they are included, and thus have some influence, or can use to garner prestige. Even staunch US allies share interests in containing US unilateral action in the region.

The second type reflects regional actors' sensitivity to disruptions in regional stability and trade. Comparative interests analysis indicates that for

nearly all actors national security interests and critical economic concerns are tightly intertwined as we would expect in a region of developing economies heavily dependent on maritime traffic. However, for all states save North Korea, their domestic popularity and/or regime stability is directly tied to economic growth and prosperity that are also tied to uninterrupted international trade. These two concerns are further complicated by growing uncertainty regarding the extent to which the US can be trusted to act on its security guarantees, and increasingly, its willingness to lead development of peaceful regional norms consistent with the interests of other regional actors.

#### TIN Modeling – George Mason University<sup>71</sup>

Final, Fully Verified Denuclearization (FFVD) will not be possible if the Kim regime believes it is needed as a hedge against a US-led effort for regime change or perceives that it provides value internationally because of fears regarding disposition of the nuclear materials should the government fall. Therefore, FFVD will require a completely different relationship between the USG and DPRK than exists today, and that relationship can't pose a risk to either the PRC or Japan. Since the USG is a key actor in the negotiation, it will be difficult for the USG to play a role as the independent facilitator. President Moon is attempting to serve in this capacity, but it will take many years to build a level of trust that would allow the DPRK and USG to perceive one another as negotiating in good faith.

Based on initial modeling, these steps would include:

<sup>71</sup> For the final TIN report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/korea-strategic-outcomes/>

- Given DPRK and PRC distrust of the US, US best approach is to facilitate discussions among the other regional actors
- ROK (and US) should pursue confederated Korean peninsula with shared economic objectives but not a politically united Korea which would pose a security threat to the PRC.
- Any negotiation with DPRK must account for KJU concerns about potential for regime change. FFVD is not the form of denuclearization that will meet KJU's security and political needs
- To offer a long-term path to complete denuclearization, negotiations must not undermine DPRK's perception of KJU as a "benevolent" leader
- The US should support ROK efforts toward the DPRK recognizing that sometimes they will diverge from US interests.
- Disarmament may offer a useful intermediate step on a long-term path to denuclearization (FFVD)
- Establishment of regional political-economic security and cooperation institutions with PRC, Japan, DPRK, and ROK participation could serve as the forum for building trust; complicating this arrangement would be the mechanism to also include the USG and Russia
- A confidence-building approach used in other parts of the world would be to conduct humanitarian or disaster-relief exercises with US, PRC, ROK, DPRK, Japan, (and possibly Russia) participation

#### Response (Regional Risk):

- Promoting increased cooperation regionally will lead to an increased role for the PRC at the expense of US leadership in the region
- Should the ROK (and US) pursue a unified Korean Peninsula strategy (friendly to the West), the PRC is likely to undermine the dismantlement and FFVD denuclearization path through economic coercion against the ROK and possibly political coercion against the DPRK
- Exposing the DPRK military and population to the significantly better conditions in the ROK will undermine the Juche perception of the Kim regime, potentially destabilizing the country
- Involving Russia in the denuclearization process adds additional negotiating complexity, but if Russia feels excluded, it is likely to take steps to undermine the process—keeping the US occupied works to their benefit; and DPRK nuclear weapons are not a threat to them
- Nuclear weapons are of great value to DPRK; Kim regime may attempt to trade or sell the nuclear technology even as it gives up the weapons as a means to obtain a return on investment

#### Cognitive Simulations – Integral Mind<sup>72</sup>

There are no good pure military options here; the foundation of the conflict is in the psychological, political, and regional realms. Any military action is likely to further damage or irreparably destroy chances for success.

From a pol-mil perspective, joint US-ROK-DPRK meetings can help increase confidence and better align understandings, and other countries should be involved as far as possible.

The most important thing the US can do to slow China's rise and address the crisis is show that it truly understands Asia and values how Asians think and feel.

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<sup>72</sup> These reports are classified and require proper access. Please contact the SMA office for access ([Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil](mailto:Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil)).

Cognitive Assessment – Intelligent Biology<sup>73</sup>

Potential US options include: (a) continued containment/deterrence, (b) acceptance of DPRK nuclear weapons that don't threaten the US, or (c) military prevention. The bottom line is that **FFVD is not likely achievable short of large-scale US preventive military action as it threatens death to key DPRK decision-makers either directly or indirectly.**

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<sup>73</sup> To access the complete Cognition report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/getting-messages-through-the-cognition-of-influence-with-north-korea-and-east-asia/>

## Q13: Regional Actors Response to US Actions

**How would regional actors (e.g., China, Russia, South Korea, Japan) likely respond to US executing these options? What are the potential implications for German-Speaking and East Central Europe and the European Union (GS-ECE/EU) of the possible strategic outcomes in US-DPRK relations?**

Strategic Media Messaging – Oklahoma State University<sup>74</sup>

In Chinese and Russian news media narratives, the US commitments made at the Trump-Kim summit are presented in such a way that any resumption of economic or military pressure tactics by the US would appear as contradictory to its previous actions and commitments made during the summit from the Chinese perspective. Chinese media clearly presents China as commanding strong, and reasoned, regional influence, with DPRK now acting in good faith.

Following the summit, both Chinese and Russian news media bolster the perceptions of legitimacy of the KJU regime by showing KJU's abilities at state-craft on an international stage, as well as highlighting Kim Jong-un's willingness to cooperate with willing actors. The presentation of Kim Jong-un is in direct contrast to that of President Trump and the previous actions of the US in Libya and Iran.

Denuclearization is mentioned only in relation to a long-term process requiring further outlining, commitments, dialogue and cooperation between all interested parties. The coverage sets an understanding that the summit is only the first step on a much longer path toward denuclearization, and that accepting a de-facto nuclear powered DPRK as a normalized state is the only practical path for continued peace and stability for the time being.

Cognitive Simulations – Integral Mind<sup>75</sup>

To the extent that we introduce further chaos and uncertainty into the system, it is likely they will be unresponsive; China and Russia will likely attempt to profit at our expense and Japan will start considering other options. ROK is 'stuck' with us in some sense, and will in any event likely continue on similar paths as long as their president is still in office and the status quo does not radically alter to the point that local ROK sentiment changes significantly.

Cognitive Assessment – Intelligent Biology<sup>76</sup>

Potential US options include: (a) continued containment/deterrence, (b) acceptance of DPRK nuclear weapons that don't threaten the US, or (c) military prevention. Bottom line: ***Of these options, only continued containment/deterrence will likely maintain US regional influence.***

- a) Continued containment/deterrence enables a straightforward narrative for the continued US presence in ROK and alliance with Japan.
- b) Acceptance would cause a disastrous loss of Japanese and ROK trust in the US, without removing the threats they perceive from either the DPRK or a rising China. US relative influence over the

<sup>74</sup> To access the complete Narratives report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/narratives-before-after-the-2018-north-korea-united-states-summit/>

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ROK and Japan would decrease as they sought greater autonomous security (potentially including nuclear weapons) or even in the ROK case accommodation with China.

- c) Military prevention would have the most uncertain outcomes. If it did not incur sizeable ROK or Japanese casualties from DPRK retaliation it may be perceived as a success and increase U.S. influence. However, sizeable ROK (e.g. artillery bombard Seoul) and/or Japanese (e.g. missiles) casualties would likely be blamed on a US that acted to remove a nuclear threat to *itself* at the cost of allied civilian lives—**weakening US legitimacy with allies.**

GS-ECE Assessment – Western Carolina University<sup>77</sup>

Implications for German-speaking and East Central Europe and the European Union (GS-ECE/EU) to possible deterioration in US-DPRK relations must be viewed first and foremost through the lens of the withdrawal by the United States from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) with Iran. The US' withdrawal has proved deeply unpopular in GS-ECE/EU, as well as for non-EU European States. Washington's action affects vital European security and economic interests in the Middle East, the Balkan Peninsula, and the Mediterranean Basin (note, for example, the establishment on 25 September 2018 of the EU's special payments vehicle for the purpose of evading US penalties against GS-ECE/EU companies continuing to do business in Iran).

Washington's action also places GS-ECE/EU on the same side of a critical strategic issue as the US' avowed or potential adversaries, namely Russia and China. It remains to be seen whether GS-ECE/EU commonality of interest with Russia and China in opposition to the United States on the JCPOA will sustain itself over time in the face of threatened US secondary sanctions and separate US-EU arguments over tariffs on steel and aluminum which were imposed by the USG on 31 May 2018. So long as this commonality of interest persists, however, it could adversely affect GS-ECE/EU attitudes and governmental policies towards US decision-making regarding the DPRK, particularly if US-DPRK relations deteriorate as a result of lack of progress toward FFVD.

Given serious, existing strains in transatlantic relations dating to 2016, any deterioration in US-DPRK relations would likely generate significantly increased doubts in GS-ECE/EU and elsewhere in Europe about both the quality and the continued value of the United States' international leadership. This consideration would apply most particularly in the event of armed conflict on the Korean Peninsula. Already extant animosity towards the US among European populist parties (of both the Left and the Right) and/or in certain European governments, as well as concomitant sympathy for Russia, would thereby equally likely grow. To the same degree, any such developments would work to the near-term geo-strategic and economic advantage of Russia in Europe and possibly the long-term advantage of China. Exceptions to such a prognosis might be found in Poland and the Baltic States, however, where historically-conditioned suspicions of Moscow's geo-strategic intentions remains pronounced.

I-R-C Analysis – NSI<sup>78</sup>

See response to Question 12.

<sup>77</sup> To access the GS-ECE report, please go to: <https://nsiteam.com/assessment-of-possible-reactions-in-german-speaking-and-east-central-europe-and-the-european-union/>

<sup>78</sup> For the final I-R-C report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/western-pacific-regional-dynamics-north-korean-nuclear-status/>

## Q14: Likely Scenarios for Nuclear Proliferation

### What are the likely scenarios for nuclear proliferation in the Indo-Pacific region?

Cognitive Assessment – Intelligent Biology<sup>79</sup>

What is striking about proliferation globally since 1945 is that more hasn't occurred. Indeed, the ROK had an advanced nuclear weapon program in the 1970s, whilst Japan has had the capability to build nuclear weapons for decades. Previous work on the psychology of proliferation has identified drives to acquire nuclear weapons from factors captured by our "checklist for empathy," in particular identity ("oppositional nationalism"), fear, and status. Another key factor are "norms" against acquisition, where such norms are a key factor in Gray Zone conflict.

US acceptance and accommodation of the DPRK as a nuclear weapons state in the near-term would greatly diminish ROK and Japanese trust in the US; and in light of their broader fears about China's rise this would markedly increase the risk of proliferation in both cases.

If the US continues containment/deterrence of the DPRK, then China and Russia will likely continue their general support for non-proliferation. This is because further proliferation would reduce their own nuclear arsenals' relative advantage.

Cognitive Simulations – Integral Mind<sup>80</sup>

If we don't force NK to do this, it is likely that the status quo can be achieved for the most part (med confidence).

<sup>79</sup> To access the complete Cognition report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/getting-messages-through-the-cognition-of-influence-with-north-korea-and-east-asia/>

<sup>80</sup> These reports are classified and require proper access. Please contact the SMA office for access ([Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil](mailto:Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil)).

## Q15: Proliferations of Weapons

**What would happen to weapons left of crisis. Should we be worried about proliferation?**

Cognitive Assessment – Intelligent Biology<sup>81</sup>

Yes. The purposes of the DPRK nuclear weapons: (a) deterrence and (b) coercion or leverage for aid and other resources. Moving forwards, at each time point selling expertise—or being paid to withhold expertise—will always be a potential source of revenue.

What DPRK chooses to do at each time point will depend on their decision calculus at that time, whether the potential costs of proliferating expertise outweigh the benefits of non-proliferation.

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<sup>81</sup> To access the complete Cognition report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/getting-messages-through-the-cognition-of-influence-with-north-korea-and-east-asia/>

## Q16: Impact of Increasing Pressure

**What impact does increasing pressure on the DPRK have on 1) ROK diplomatic efforts vis-à-vis North Korea and 2) US Partner/Allied support to overall denuclearization efforts?**

I-R-C Analysis – NSI<sup>82</sup>

While the I-R-C analysis did not specifically address this question, analysis of regional states' interests indicates that increasing pressure on the DPRK through a limited US kinetic or non-kinetic strike was either the worst or second worst outcome for all states. For US allies and partners, this type of aggression directly conflicts with a stated interest in encouraging peaceful resolution of regional conflicts, ideally through international or regional institutions. Such a tactic would likely be regarded as further evidence that the US is unaware of, or unconcerned about regional actors' preferences, undermining trust in US regional leadership. It would also run counter to China's regional and domestic stability interests. Given regional concerns over the shifting regional balance of power between the US and China, any US tactic that escalates tensions between the two runs counter to US ally and partner interests. A kinetic strike, or the intensification of sanctions in an effort to increase pressure on the DPRK, are both viewed by all US allies and partners as two such tactics. While Japan has consistently supported a policy of maximum pressure toward the DPRK, even it acknowledges that this comes at the cost of potentially triggering more direct confrontation between China and the US.

Cognitive Simulations – Integral Mind

It could be that our efforts are pushing DPRK and ROK closer together and making ROK seem like a smart partner, but this can easily tip into requiring damage control, which is undesirable. Regarding proliferation, pressure is likely making this worse and preventing the establishment of a wider regime that could reasonably work to *stem* proliferation.

Cognitive Assessment – Intelligent Biology<sup>83</sup>

This depends on the context of the wider strategy of which the increased pressure is a part.

ROK diplomatic efforts will be hampered if the increased US pressure is not done in a way that appears to value ROK interests, as that reduces ROK credibility as a negotiating partner.

Effects on US allied support (ROK and Japan): Increasing US pressure will increase support if the US consults (making them feel their interests are valued) and forewarns allies (reducing the unexpectedness of U.S. actions to them). If increased pressure appears to be largely or solely for the benefit of the US (e.g. solely to ICBM threats to the US) that will seem deeply unfair and will weaken trust in the US.

Integrative Complexity – University of British Columbia<sup>84</sup>

Content analysis combined with structural analysis may show specific aspects of KJU's combination of rigid thinking and high need for power. If, for example, content analysis showed that he was

<sup>82</sup> For the final I-R-C report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/western-pacific-regional-dynamics-north-korean-nuclear-status/>

<sup>83</sup> To access the complete Cognition report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/getting-messages-through-the-cognition-of-influence-with-north-korea-and-east-asia/>

<sup>84</sup> Based on 2 July Report



dedicated to improve the DPRK's economy, US negotiators may show him that the road to that goal may depend on certain changes in his economic, diplomatic, or military strategy. For instance, if he were motivated to liberalize the DPRK economy, then his low IC and high need for power would make KJU likely to take decisive steps in that direction. Conversely, if he were not motivated to do so, then attempts to pressure him into doing so would be unlikely to succeed. Based on our findings, a sincere move toward FFVD is unlikely.

KJU is unlikely to compromise in direct response to attempts to pressure him. If US negotiators gradually increase their integrative complexity, e.g., start with a one-sided position, and then gradually communicate greater openness, flexibility, and nuance, then this *might* induce KJU to do the same. However, given his generally low integrative complexity over time, he may be relatively unlikely to exhibit increases in openness and flexibility. The most likely strategy for initiating this process would be to move in small steps, monitoring his response to each move along the way and continuing only if there is a sign of reciprocation

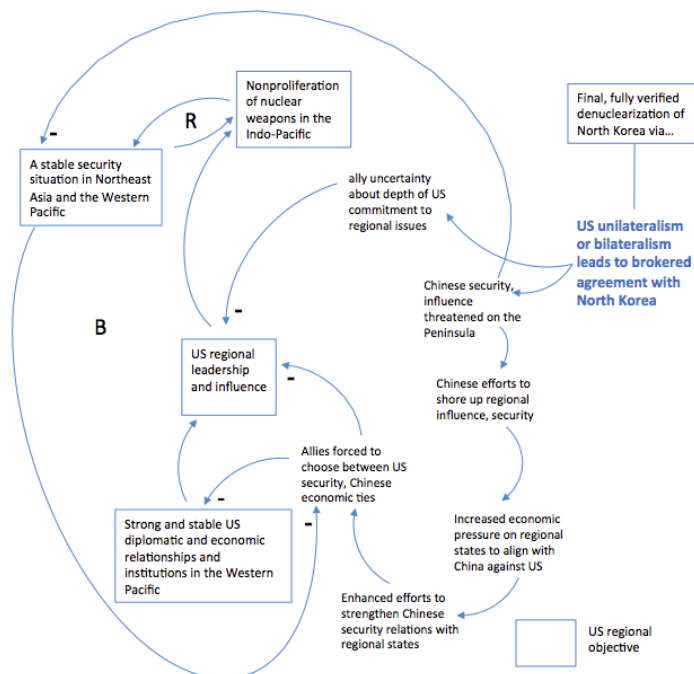
## Section IV: Regional Objectives, Actions & Implications

### Q17: Near-term (0-2 years) Strategic Implications

**What are the near-term (0-2 years) strategic implications (political, security, economic) for US objectives and relative international influence in the Indo-Pacific region?**

I-R-C Analysis – NSI<sup>85</sup>

I-R-C analysis finds that although FFVD is consistent with the interests of all regional actors, with the exception of the DPRK, how this is achieved creates considerable variation in interest satisfaction for regional actors across outcomes. That is, *how* the US pursues this objective matters almost as much as the objective itself. Specifically, regional allies and partners have a strong preference for handling regional issues such as this multilaterally.



As the figure to the left shows, achieving FFVD through bilateralism risks heightening ally concerns regarding the reliability of US regional commitments, which in turn weakens regional non-proliferation efforts and broader regional security.

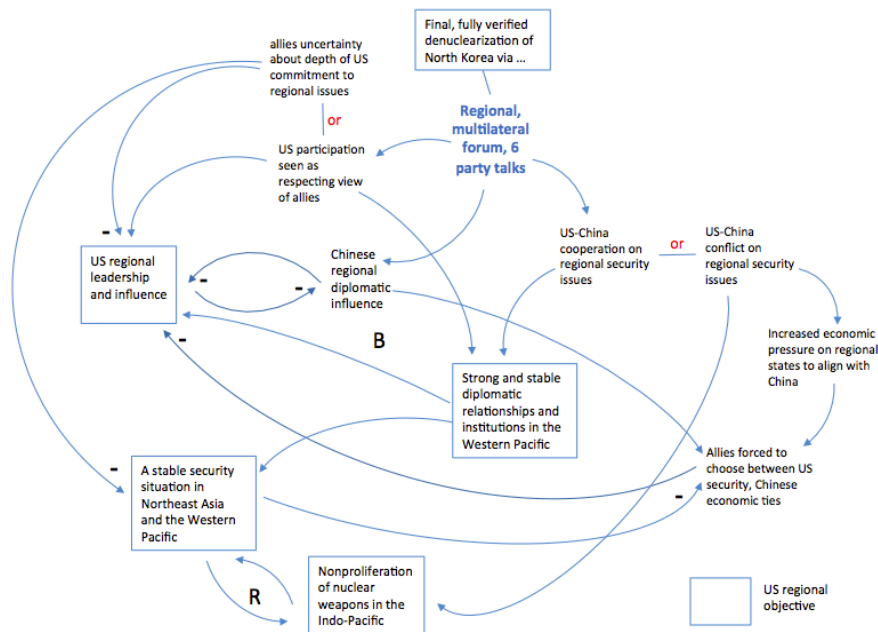
Furthermore, although China is not opposed to denuclearization, a successful bilateral negotiation by the US directly conflicts with China's interests. Such an outcome may lead to improved US-DPRK relations; economic and diplomatic. This in turn could decrease China's economic dominance in the DPRK, and increase the possibility of talks on reunification; opening the possibility of a US-friendly regime on China's border. Provoking Chinese

insecurity could increase tensions with the US, potentially forcing US allies and partners to choose between the two, and this between their economic and security interests.

As the figure below illustrates, achieving FFVD through multilateral talks offers the potential to offset many of these negative consequences, but only if US participation is seen by allies and partners as a signal of respect for their views and interests. This will in turn have a positive spillover effect on US regional relations and Western Pacific institutions, reinforcing regional security and thus support for nonproliferation. However, if a multilateral approach is instead interpreted as further evidence of US loss of commitment to the region, then the same negative impact on US regional influence and leadership can be expected as we see with bilateralism.

Multilateral talks have a similarly contingent effect US regional objectives as a function of China's response. If China and the US cooperate on regional security issues, such as denuclearization of the

<sup>85</sup> For the final I-R-C report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/western-pacific-regional-dynamics-north-korean-nuclear-status/>



DPRK, this is expected to reinforce US diplomatic relations and the strength of regional institutions, providing a concomitant boost to regional security and US regional influence and leadership. If, however, China determines that its interests are better served by contesting US efforts at multilateralism and conflict between the US and China over regional security results, current US allies and partners may be forced to stop hedging between the two powers, and choose between their security interests (which lie with the

US) and their economic interests, which depend on maintaining ties with China. How they choose may, paradoxically, be significantly influenced by how secure they feel about the regional security situation, for which they rely on the US. The salience of security concerns (and thus maintaining close ties to the US) is closely tied to perceptions of risk and threat. If US allies and partners perceive no imminent risk to regional security they are more likely to prioritize their economic interests, and this their ties to China. The balancing loop hinges on China using this lever to divide US from its allies and regional states by increasing costs of economic and ultimately domestic political support in these countries.

#### Athena Pathways – TRADOC<sup>86</sup>

Near-term (0-2 Years) modeling results look much like the Status Quo (Muddling Along). Implications for the US based upon Athena team insights derived from modeling and research include:

- Enforce sanctions. Use the short-term benefits of averting nuclear war and long-term benefits of a win-win multilateral peace plan to persuade PRC and Russia to improve sanctions enforcement, in order to persuade DPRK regime of the benefits of pursuing FFVD and the benefits of a conceptual multilateral peace plan.
- Prepare for DPRK regime collapse in event of a precipitating event (e.g. another famine, military coup, economic *donju* uprising, etc.)
- Make joint plans and conduct joint military training with PRC, ROK, and Russia for *in extremis* humanitarian assistance/disaster relief/nuclear site accountability.
- Use this time to enable a multilateral peace team to reach consensus on multilateral peace plan and peace treaty and begin implementing it.
- Identify specifics on a new multilateral peace plan along the lines of the Singapore Summit concept but now with a consensus timetable with gives and takes for each of the parties involved in the win-win.
- Mil-Mil; develop joint concepts and joint vision with all parties involved in the peace plan on specific ways DPRK military can, over time, be repurposed toward internal infrastructure and humanitarian civ-mil operations as DPRK transitions to a more integrated market-based economy. Athena indicates that a

<sup>86</sup> For the final Athena report, please email the SMA office ([Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil](mailto:Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil))

sudden movement toward peace creates a large gap between the DPRK military elite and the regime, leading to the potential for a military coup.

#### Cognitive Assessment – Intelligent Biology<sup>87</sup>

- Continued containment/deterrence – some loss of US prestige if it becomes clear FFVD will not be achieved. Otherwise little overall change driven by DPRK-related issues.
- Acceptance would cause a disastrous loss of Japanese and ROK trust in the U.S., without removing the threats they perceive from either the DPRK or a rising China. In the short-term, Japan and ROK both still depend on U.S. security guarantees, but there will be considerable domestic debate about the need for more autonomous security.
- Military prevention would have the most uncertain outcomes. If it did not incur sizeable ROK or Japanese casualties from DPRK retaliation it may be perceived as a success and increase U.S. influence. However, sizeable ROK (e.g. artillery bombard Seoul) and/or Japanese (e.g. missiles) casualties would likely be blamed on a U.S. that acted to remove a nuclear threat to itself at the cost of allied civilian lives – **weakening US legitimacy with allies**

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<sup>87</sup> To access the complete Cognition report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/getting-messages-through-the-cognition-of-influence-with-north-korea-and-east-asia/>

## Q18: Medium-term (3-7 years) Strategic Implications

**What are the medium-term (3-7 years) strategic implications (political, security, economic) for US objectives and relative international influence in Indo-Pacific region?**

I-R-C Analysis – NSI<sup>88</sup>

See response to Q17.

Athena Pathways – TRADOC<sup>89</sup>

Athena modeling indicates that in 3-7 Years, if a multilateral peace plan is in effect, then all six parties will maintain some level of influence in DPRK. Missteps, delays, or slippage in a multilateral peace process reduces US, ROK, and PRC regional influence, since they are perceived as the main backers of a peace plan. According to Athena modeling, such missteps, delays or slippage potentially and increase Russia's influence in DPRK and while reducing the DPRK's *donju*-centric elite support for the Kim regime, making it more vulnerable to economic overthrow. The 3-7 years of a multilateral peace plan model also indicates the need for key investment by and advisors from the US, ROK, Japan, PRC, Russia, and UN in the DPRK economy. Investments used in Athena as components of the multilateral peace plan include (in priority order):

- DPRK political and structural changes required for marketization (e.g. joint venture laws, private ownership, etc.).
- Repurposed DPRK military and force reductions in the region.
- Multilateral access to North Korea's natural and human resources.
- A new land trade route between Seoul, Kaesong, Pyongyang, and Beijing (on-ramp to China's "One Belt/One Road").
- A new land trade route (rail/energy) between ROK and Vladivostok (on-ramp to Russia/EU route).
- Multilateral investment in DPRK's tourism industry.

Cognitive Assessment – Intelligent Biology<sup>90</sup>

- Continued containment/deterrence enables a straightforward narrative for the continued U.S. presence in ROK and alliance with Japan. U.S. would need to manage ROK and Japanese acquisition of precision strike technologies that may lead to a spiral of fear with China.
- Acceptance would cause a disastrous loss of Japanese and ROK trust in the U.S., without removing the threats they perceive from either the DPRK or a rising China. ROK and Japanese strategy would depend much more on Chinese actions – increased Chinese assertiveness would have more impact on them in the context of lost trust in the U.S. security guarantee. The "Nixon shock" as the Japanese called the opening to China was a huge blow to the U.S.-Japan alliance – and whether this shock could also be overcome would depend on whether the background narrative was of U.S. withdrawal from East Asia. This could lead to spiraling fears in East Asia.
- Military prevention would have the most uncertain outcomes. See question 17.

<sup>88</sup> For the final I-R-C report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/western-pacific-regional-dynamics-north-korean-nuclear-status/>

<sup>89</sup> For the final Athena report, please email the SMA office ([Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil](mailto:Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil))

<sup>90</sup> To access the complete Cognition report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/getting-messages-through-the-cognition-of-influence-with-north-korea-and-east-asia/>

## Q19: Long-term (7+ years) Strategic Implications

**What are the long-term (7+ years) strategic implications (political, security, economic) for US objectives and relative international influence in the Indo-Pacific region?**

I-R-C Analysis – NSI<sup>91</sup>

See response to Q17.

Athena Pathways – TRADOC<sup>92</sup>

- Athena modeling indicates that in 7 to 10 years, if a multilateral peace plan is in effect, the section by section plans for land trade routes, DPRK's tourism industry, and access to the country's natural and human resources will have matured and may include some infrastructure management consolidation on both sides of the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel. Key hurdles for unification will have been addressed, but unification is not a prerequisite for economic consolidation of infrastructure and perhaps other aspects of Korean society.
- In Athena, under a multilateral peace plan, US influence grows in the region (especially DPRK) but this growth is somewhat offset by PRC and Russian influence growth in ROK based upon their expanded land route trades with Seoul. The overall regional impact on actor influence shows little change from the present.
- One of the values of a multilateral peace plan is DPRK's role as a central land-bridge between Seoul, China, and Russia. Research indicates that opening DPRK land routes may make a land bridge extension between ROK and Japan more economically feasible and that relations between Japan, ROK, and China may improve.

Cognitive Assessment – Intelligent Biology<sup>93</sup>

- Continued containment/deterrence enables a straightforward narrative for the continued US presence in ROK and alliance with Japan.
- Acceptance would cause a disastrous loss of Japanese and ROK trust in the U.S., without removing the threats they perceive from either the DPRK or a rising China. If the U.S. reassures ROK and Japan the alliances may return to something like the status quo. However, if not, then spiraling Sino-Japanese and ROK tensions could lead to conventional arms racing and nuclear proliferation – or in the case of the ROK, if it cannot reconcile itself with Japan, to increasing Sino-ROK accommodation.
- Military prevention would have the most uncertain outcomes. See question 17.

<sup>91</sup> For the final I-R-C report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/western-pacific-regional-dynamics-north-korean-nuclear-status/>

<sup>92</sup> For the final Athena report, please email the SMA office ([Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil](mailto:Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil))

<sup>93</sup> To access the complete Cognition report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/getting-messages-through-the-cognition-of-influence-with-north-korea-and-east-asia/>

## Q20: Worst Case Scenarios

**What are the worst-case scenarios regarding US objectives in the Indo-Pacific region? What plausible second- or third-order effects could most negatively impact the Indo-Pacific economy, security environment, or political situation?**

TIN Model – George Mason University<sup>94</sup>

The US seeks: (a) stability in the Indo-Pacific region with PRC hegemony kept in check, (b) no threat of nuclear weapon use, (c) no further proliferation of nuclear technologies, and (d) the US positioned as a leader in the region. The DPRK regime depends heavily on anti-Japan sentiment to elicit loyalty from a generally ill-informed population, blames US-led sanctions for their economic plight, is committed to a DPRK-led unified Korean peninsula, and seeks to reduce US influence in the region by altering the US relationship with the ROK. Worst-case scenarios include:

- Civil war in the DPRK following actions to foment a regime change;
- Perception that US will attempt to eliminate DPRK nuclear weapons through military action;
- DPRK regime sell nuclear technology to provide source of funds if regime threatened;
- DPRK missile strike (even if accidental) against Japan with demands for US military response;
- PRC perception that ROK and DPRK economic and security cooperation poses a threat;
- Korean unification process that does not take PRC security concerns into account;
- Increased contact between ROK and DPRK populations stimulating DPRK unrest as people begin to question the *juche* narrative the Kim regime has promoted for years; and
- Massive famine or medical epidemic that can be blamed on US-led sanctions leading Kim regime to distract attention through attacks against Japan, US forces, and even ROK.

Athena Pathways – TRADOC<sup>95</sup>

The worst-case undoubtedly involves a nuclear war which could be averted through the implementation of a new form of multilateral peace plan oriented on a comprehensive FFVD-based peace.

Athena modeling of the “tensions rising – leading to war” use case, shows that even though US/ROK are victorious, and ultimately the DPRK regime is defeated, support for the US among the general population in DPRK and ROK does not significantly improve. The DPRK society is so closed that non-combatants modeled in any new war in Korea—such as Russia and China—gain influence in a DPRK post-war setting. If Russia and China were to provide humanitarian assistance, primarily food aid, in a new post-war scenario, they would gain more influence<sup>96</sup> with the local populations in the DPRK than the US/ROK who just freed them from the Kim regime.

Cognitive Assessment – Intelligent Biology<sup>97</sup>

The main DPRK-related threats to regional stability are the responses that DPRK actions provoke in Japan and the ROK, and the responses in turn that these provoke in China and the DPRK. In particular, the ROK and Japan will likely develop and deploy more sophisticated rapid targeting for the DPRK

<sup>94</sup> For the final TIN report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/korea-strategic-outcomes/>

<sup>95</sup> For the final Athena report, please email the SMA office ([Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil](mailto:Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil))

<sup>96</sup> Athena outcomes in terms of a new war in Korea and post-war outcomes are shown in the Final Report.

<sup>97</sup> To access the complete Cognition report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/getting-messages-through-the-cognition-of-influence-with-north-korea-and-east-asia/>

“kill chain”, but this is dual-use against China. China greatly disliked THAAD, and if the DPRK continues its nuclear development then China faces more such technology. This feeds, for example, into the Sino-Japanese security dilemma (spiraling fears of each other) and fairness dilemma (spiraling feelings each other side’s actions are unjust). Worst cases from these spirals include:

- Japan and ROK develop nuclear weapons and have lost trust in US security guarantees – leading to nuclear-armed spiraling Sino-Japanese and/or Sino-ROK tensions over which the US has little control.
- DPRK is just one source of potential war, but if tensions worsen in the region, the DPRK could act like the Balkans and catalyze a Great Power war (e.g. involving China, Japan and the U.S.) that none of the Great Powers wants.
- Japan, the ROK, Vietnam, and others lose confidence in US security guarantees and bandwagon with China leading to Chinese domination of East Asia



## Q21: Positive US Impact

**In what ways might the US positively and negatively impact the evolving situation with the DPRK?**

I-R-C Analysis – NSI<sup>98</sup>

See response to Question 12.

TIN Model – George Mason University<sup>99</sup>

The Kim regime’s key objective is to remain in power. It perceives nuclear weapons as a hedge against external regime change; it employs its *Juche* ideology to sustain its totalitarian rule. **USG and partner actions that promote the DPRK’s perception that there is no threat of external regime change will be received positively (but warily); perceived threat of actions that could lead to regime change will have negative impact.** Similarly, actions that promote the Kim regime’s standing among the DPRK population will be well received, while actions that undermine the *Juche* principles will have negative impact.

Positive actions might include:	Negative actions might include:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Promote development of a ROK-DPRK economic partnership and expanded social exchange including investments by ROK in DPRK industry</li> <li>• Conduct multinational humanitarian assistance and disaster relief exercises with DPRK, ROK, PRC, US, and possibly Russia</li> <li>• Build economic relief plans for DPRK that do not undermine perception of Kim regime (tough US sell—can’t be seen as a US or ROK rescue of the DPRK)</li> <li>• PRC-USG agreement to guarantee Kim regime protection from external attack (tough to protect against an internal attack)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Threatening increased US nuclear capabilities in the region</li> <li>• Actions that could be perceived as posturing to covertly topple the Kim regime</li> <li>• Actions that undermine internal perceptions of the Kim regime</li> <li>• Actions that create DPRK population unrest</li> <li>• Mass exodus of DPRK population to ROK or China if borders are opened</li> </ul>

Athena Pathways – TRADOC<sup>100</sup>

In a “tension rising-leading to war” use case, **the Athena results show that fake news/propaganda regarding US intentions and the underlying causes for the Korean Peninsula conflict could impact support from partner countries and/or their constituents.** The populations of the multilateral nations (except DPRK) are educated and immersed in media, so US support—even among partners—could be eroded quickly<sup>101</sup> should tensions rise possibly leading to war.

<sup>98</sup> For the final I-R-C report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/western-pacific-regional-dynamics-north-korean-nuclear-status/>

<sup>99</sup> For the final TIN report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/korea-strategic-outcomes/>

<sup>100</sup> For the final Athena report, please email the SMA office ([Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil](mailto:Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil))

<sup>101</sup> Information Operations messaging by DPRK, US, and China were modeled in Athena and the results indicate that the information environment is a key domain being used to maintain and gain influence. These results are explained in detail in the Final Report.

Quantitative Discourse Analysis – NSI<sup>102</sup>

Kim Jong-un emphasizes fearing the West and therefore needing a credible deterrent in his public speech on the matter. Therefore, **any bullying tactics intended to force him (“compellence”) to cooperate with us would backfire, since they would reinforce this fearful perception and would impact relations negatively.**

NSI’s discourse analysis of the summit agreement and the “What If” video indicates that abstract religious themes, such as destiny and sacredness, and allusions to specifically sacred imagery such as Mt. Paektu and Chollima, resonate with Kim Jong-un. Also, general notions of economic progress and increasing DPRK’s capability and prosperity resonate with Kim. Therefore, abstract and concrete Korean religious notions consistent with Juche philosophy, and general, but not Western, notions of economic progress should impact relations positively.

Cognitive Assessment – Intelligent Biology<sup>103</sup>

If containment/deterrence is the aim, then the US can positively impact events by managing the likely DPRK conventional, cyber and nuclear provocations over the coming years, and their regional ramifications. This can be done by treating it as an ongoing Gray Zone challenge.

In all scenarios, a positive impact will be maintaining ROK and Japanese trust that the US values the alliances, and provides extended deterrence against DPRK and other regional threats. Otherwise they may, for instance, develop ever increasing precision strike capabilities that threaten death to the DPRK leadership and also increase Chinese threat perception.

Unless threats of decapitation are a deliberate policy choice for moral reasons, DPRK leaders should not fear personal death is imminent which risks provoking a “defensive attack.”

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<sup>102</sup> To access the complete Discourse report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/comparative-analysis-of-kim-family-political-discourse/>

<sup>103</sup> To access the complete Cognition report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/getting-messages-through-the-cognition-of-influence-with-north-korea-and-east-asia/>

## Q22: Deter Armed Conflict

**How would the US, working with its partners, deter armed conflict, or the employment of DPRK conventional forces?**

Virtual Think Tank (ViTTa) – NSI<sup>104</sup>

Fifteen Korea Strategic Outcomes ViTTa expert contributors offered a response to this question, considering how the US can work with its partners to contest DPRK operations. The expert contributor response, overall, reveals several ways in which the US and its partners can best contest DPRK operations. Ultimately, three prevailing approaches (i.e., approaches cited by several contributors) and four additional approaches (i.e., approaches cited by just one contributor) emerge.

### Prevailing Approaches:

- Multilateral engagement;
- Strengthening US-ROK-Japan military and defense cooperation and commitment; and
- *Cooperating* with the DPRK rather than *contesting* it.

### Additional Approaches:

- Conducting an information campaign to empower the people of the DPRK and possibly bring about change in the decision making calculus of DPRK leadership;
- Putting pressure on China elsewhere in Asia;
- Maintaining maximum sanction pressure on the DPRK until it takes meaningful steps toward denuclearization; and
- Addressing the wider problem of nuclear weapons proliferation in Asia.

Cognitive Assessment – Intelligent Biology<sup>105</sup>

Recognize that the US faces a Gray Zone competition and build the policies and capabilities necessary to face Gray Zone competition. Recognize that deterrence, compellence, and escalation management are all just examples of influence, and it is influence that is the key to strategy in the Gray Zone. Create influence using evidence-based methods (Wright, 2017) tailored to the “five multiples” of the Gray Zone: multiple instruments of power, multiple societal levels, multiple audiences, multiple interpretations, and multiple timeframes.

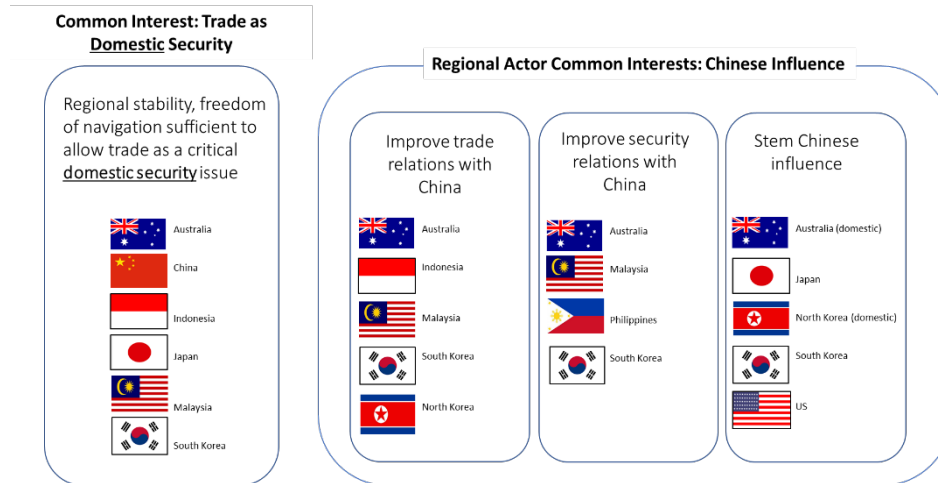
<sup>104</sup> To access the full Korea Strategic Outcomes ViTTa report for this question, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/how-the-us-can-work-with-its-partners-to-contest-dprk-operations-a-korea-strategic-outcomes-virtual-think-tank-report/>

<sup>105</sup> To access the complete Cognition report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/getting-messages-through-the-cognition-of-influence-with-north-korea-and-east-asia/>

## Q23: Influence Third Party Nations

**How would third-party nations respond to US actions and what can the US military do to influence relevant third-party nations in support of our objectives?**

I-R-C Analysis – NSI<sup>106</sup>



Strategic Media Messaging – Oklahoma State University<sup>107</sup>

**Analysis of Chinese and Russian news media suggests that the US lost its narrative initiative following the Trump-Kim summit, making future achievement of US goals related to the DPRK less likely.** Barring some significant escalatory action made by the DPRK, US military actions, political demands, and/or attempted leveraging of regional alliances directed toward modifying or altering DPRK behavior would likely be cast as aggressive, dangerous, and demonstrative of US being self-interested and untrustworthy in negotiation.

Cognitive Assessment – Intelligent Biology<sup>108</sup>

The US should consider actions through the lens of a Gray Zone conflict – *multiple audiences* are a core feature Gray Zone conflict. And action on these audiences occurs across multiple levels.

ROK and Japan: Build trust. (a) The US must manage unpredictability to build trust and credibility, as unpredictability often breaks the trust on which rests US credibility and extended deterrence. Warn of actions if possible. (b) Build bandwidth of trust and contact between the US and each actor, by increasing contact in Mil-Mil, Intel-Intel, political and social. (c) Liking and similarity help increase trust. US soft power is important and public diplomacy is important. (d) Manage expectations because trust-building can backfire if it leads to overly optimistic expectations, which cause a backlash when they are violated. (e) Find and create trusted messengers.

<sup>106</sup> For the final I-R-C report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/western-pacific-regional-dynamics-north-korean-nuclear-status/>

<sup>107</sup> To access the complete Narratives report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/narratives-before-after-the-2018-north-korea-united-states-summit/>

<sup>108</sup> To access the complete Cognition report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/getting-messages-through-the-cognition-of-influence-with-north-korea-and-east-asia/>

China: Similar techniques can build confidence with China to reduce opposition and manage potential escalation.

## Q24: Empower ROK

**What can the US do to empower the ROK to negotiate a solution that would remove both the nuclear and conventional instabilities on the peninsula?**

TIN Model – George Mason University<sup>109</sup>

Arguably, the nuclear and conventional instabilities on the peninsula can be attributed to fact that the Korean War never ended; the armistice was a military agreement to cease hostilities that was signed by the United Nations force Commander and a representative of the Korean People’s Army. As long as a state of conflict exists, instabilities are inevitable. A true peace agreement would be an arrangement between the ROK and DPRK governments. The USG can assist the ROK to address the obstacles that have prevented progress on a peace treaty.

- Work with the international community to decouple DPRK recognition as a legitimate nuclear power from its legitimacy as a government empowered to sign a peace agreement.
- Empower the ROK to implement President Moon’s Korean Peninsula strategy to achieve peace on the Korean peninsula, in particular by allowing South Korea to take a primary role in resolving the inter-Korean issue, continuing international pressure against North Korea to guide them toward negotiating the nuclear issue in good faith, and increasing ROK national defense self-reliance.
- Support ROK efforts to improve the social and economic welfare of the DPRK population while maintaining international pressure against the DPRK to prevent further military expansion.

Virtual Think Tank (ViTTa) – NSI<sup>110</sup>

Three general schools of thought emerged from the responses of the 18 ViTTa contributors. Some contributors believe that the US can, in fact, empower the ROK to implement measures that would remove instabilities on the peninsula. These contributors generally assess that there are concrete and realistic actions that the US can take to unilaterally empower the ROK in pursuit of stability. Contributors that disagreed generally assessed that the US has to lead the way, in part because the ROK lacks the necessary leverage and authority to do so (i.e., there is no substitute for American leadership). Still other contributors fall somewhere between. These contributors generally assess that the US can empower the ROK as a leader in negotiations relating to *conventional* instabilities (i.e., empowering the ROK to lead negotiations to formally end the Korean War) and as a mediator in negotiations relating to *nuclear* instabilities (i.e., empowering the ROK to engage in shuttle diplomacy with the US and the DPRK in pursuit of solutions to remove nuclear instabilities on the peninsula).

Contributors offered several different approaches and measures for consideration, highlighting different mechanisms for resolving the peninsula’s distinct nuclear and conventional dilemmas and are summarized in the following table.

<b>Examples of Denuclearization Measures:</b>	<b>Examples of Conventional Measures:</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hold the DPRK to the Panmunjom Declaration.</li> <li>• Maintain extended nuclear deterrence regime with the ROK.</li> <li>• Facilitate the ROK to push for a nuclear-free peninsula and allow it to take the lead on some aspects of denuclearization negotiations.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Create a DMZ Peace Zone.</li> <li>• Establish a leader-level hotline.</li> <li>• Consider limits on conventional forces.</li> <li>• Engage in negotiations on the reduction of artillery.</li> </ul>

<sup>109</sup> For the final TIN report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/korea-strategic-outcomes/>

<sup>110</sup> To access the full Korea Strategic Outcomes ViTTa report for this question, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/approaches-and-measures-to-stabilizing-the-korean-peninsula/>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Utilize track 1.5 diplomacy to express an openness to broader nuclear nonproliferation negotiations with the ROK and the DPRK.</li> <li>• Empower the ROK to do things that might make negotiations more attractive to the DPRK (e.g., helping the DPRK finish its KEDO nuclear plants).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Consider eliminating elements of ROK missile program activities in exchange for significant reductions and limitations to the DPRK missile arsenal.</li> <li>• Expand the suspension of loudspeaker broadcasts.</li> <li>• Establish inter-Korean agreements on conduct in the West Sea.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Examples of General Measures:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Offer solutions and policies that “look, taste, smell, and feel Korean.”</li> <li>• Help the ROK feel like it is leading negotiations.</li> <li>• Encourage greater ROK-DPRK communication by increasing US communication and engagement to set an example.</li> <li>• Offer a cautious stream of economic benefits to the DPRK, both unilaterally and through the ROK, in return for verifiable limits and to increase confidence in negotiations.</li> <li>• Consider transferring operational control of Combined Forces Command to the ROK.</li> <li>• Consider applying pressure on the ROK to cease reunification rhetoric (which some view as overtly unrealistic and unhelpfully aggressive and militaristic) and instead highlight a more productive message (i.e., brotherhood and harmony).</li> </ul>	

### Cognitive Assessment – Intelligent Biology<sup>111</sup>

Only a Korean unification process can *remove* the nuclear and conventional instabilities within the peninsula. A Korean unification process will dissolve the DPRK regime, because it is now so much less successful than the ROK, and that process carries well known dangers.

If the aim is not direct regime change now, but rather containment/deterrence whilst building the conditions for regime change, **then the main US way to empower the ROK is to make the ROK more secure and credible, and so able to take risks and create conditions for eventual reunification.** This involves: (a) increasing ROK confidence in US security guarantees, and treating them as valued equals over DPRK issues (e.g. warning before making announcements); (b) help ameliorate leadership fears from DPRK assassination threats; and (c) help ameliorate ROK-Japanese tensions and grievances.

<sup>111</sup> To access the complete Cognition report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/getting-messages-through-the-cognition-of-influence-with-north-korea-and-east-asia/>

## Q25: Minimizing Misunderstandings

**There is a mismatch between what we declare and how it is perceived by DPRK and China. What are the ways to minimize misunderstandings and to clarify US intent/meaning?**

Quantitative Discourse Analysis – NSI<sup>112</sup>

**Three prominent interests that have the potential to be misinterpreted in Kim Jong-un’s public discourse are economic development, denuclearization, and reunification.** Kim Jong-un expresses a strong desire for economic development, especially in areas of science and technology that can support his nuclear program. In addition, he expresses a strong desire for overall prosperity for DPRK. However, despite limited economic liberalization reforms and the rise of the incipient *donju* mercantile class, this desired prosperity is expressed in the context of an ideally centralized and state-controlled economy that enriches his own cadre. Western, open-market concepts of economic development and prosperity will be a mismatch. This mismatch will lead to miscommunications in detailed economic negotiations. Kim Jong-un’s conception of denuclearization is the removal of a US threat, as well as DPRK’s nuclear capability. Kim Jong-un’s conception of reunification, as expressed in his public discourse, is the unification of all Korean people under a North Korean style government guided by *Juche* philosophy, and not the peaceful democratization of the peninsula.

Cognitive Assessment – Intelligent Biology<sup>113</sup>

To get messages through, apply evidence-based principles for effective communication. Use principles of influence that draw on extensive expertise from multiple sectors—including security, psychology, neuroscience, and the commercial world—to exert influence at the state level and at the population level.

**Audience:** Much US failure to message is because the US fails to put itself in the shoes of the other. *Organisations should adopt an “outside-in” mindset, which makes the audience’s decision-making process the focus of the influence strategy.* Practical tools can provide the empathy required to put the influencer in the audience’s shoes, e.g. the “checklist for empathy” to understand their motivations, fears and identities.

**Messages:** After developing an in depth understanding of the target audience, successful messages must be developed. (i) *When fashioning messages, consider the following:* The message must be simple while not leaving an incomplete narrative. The audience must find the message sufficiently credible. Creativity in messaging is often key; manage novelty and unexpectedness, otherwise messages may lack the salience needed to impact on audiences. (ii) **Content of messages:** *Messages should address key audience motivations such as identity, fairness, fear, or self-interest (e.g. the “checklist for empathy”).*

**Messengers:** Finding and developing the right messengers is vital. There are three key messenger characteristics: (i) **Trust** in messengers is often critical. (ii) Messengers must also be **salient** to audiences, they need to stand out to be able to impact psychologically on audiences constantly

<sup>112</sup> To access the complete Discourse report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/comparative-analysis-of-kim-family-political-discourse/>

<sup>113</sup> To access the complete Cognition report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/getting-messages-through-the-cognition-of-influence-with-north-korea-and-east-asia/>



bombarded by information. (iii) Messengers must be **capable** of reaching audiences. *Understanding **networks** can help identify effective messengers.*

## Q26: Value of an “Easing Up” as a US Strategy Option

**What is the expected impact on Chinese and North Korean activities of the US pulling back from maximum pressure? Would relaxing US demands on DPRK and China, (i.e., allowing China “maneuver room” regarding DPRK) create opportunities to address regional insecurities, including shoring up receding US regional influence? Would improving relations with China and taking verifiable conciliatory measures such as easing sanctions on North Korea allow China to put pressure on DPRK to limit or allow inspections of its nuclear materials and activities? What would “easing up” on the PRC look like? What would be the best time to “ease up”? What are options for “easing up” on DPRK beyond what has already been done?**

### Cognitive Assessment – Intelligent Biology<sup>114</sup>

Unless coupled with the US showing a clear path forward for the DPRK, easing up would likely be considered as a return to the longer-term US policy of containment and deterrence accompanied by an ambiguous fudge over the nuclear issue. It is unclear why that would influence the Chinese to apply more pressure to the DPRK - the DPRK is not the most important item in the Chinese decision calculus, in which domestic economic growth and Sino-US trade bargaining matter far more. When trying to influence the PRC, it would be difficult to “ease up” in targeted ways, because the PRC may not understand that general measures relate to the Koreas (e.g. ease up on the trade conflict) whilst measures to “ease up” on China related directly to the Korean Peninsula carry costs to the US-ROK alliance (e.g. decrease US exercises; or decrease sales or deployment of precision strike and related capabilities that the PRC greatly dislikes (e.g. THAAD)). (ii) However, if easing up were coupled with the US showing the DPRK a clear path forward, this would have a chance of provoking a reciprocal conciliatory gesture from the DPRK. This would be a risk, but human biology and history show conciliatory gestures have a chance of working. That may be a calculated risk worth taking. Options for “easing up” on DPRK beyond what has already been done include: build a U.S. Embassy; conduct science diplomacy; provide medical links.

### Cognitive Simulations – Integral Mind<sup>115</sup>

If strictly in the context of a larger multilateral vision, an ‘Easing Up’ strategy could be very powerful and positive. This would greatly help shore up US influence, but only if done in this type of context. If done unilaterally, we will look even weaker than before. Verifiable conciliatory measures could be a carrot, but it would be far more meaningful if the US makes good on delivering its ‘wider Asian vision.’ Options could include showing respect, offer of participation in some international arena, specific instances of trade, Kaesong support, cultural exchanges, or pol-mil exchanges to the extent possible. ‘Easing up’ on the PRC would likely implicitly include further legitimization of their global role, which is likely damaging to US and global interests in general, but in any event it is critical not to be seen as attempting to make China a ‘junior partner’. It would be more appropriate to move in this direction if China was willing to participate in a global multilateral institution like that described herein.

<sup>114</sup> To access the complete Cognition report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/getting-messages-through-the-cognition-of-influence-with-north-korea-and-east-asia/>

<sup>115</sup> These reports are classified and require proper access. Please contact the SMA office for access ([Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil](mailto:Mariah.c.yager.ctr@mail.mil)).

## **Section V: Cognitive Assessment of KJU Confidence, Cognition, and Discourse**

### **Q27: KJU and Inner Circle Confidence Before & After Summit**

Integrative Complexity – University of British Columbia

We are scoring texts from six high-level DPRK officials for Integrative Complexity (IC) and Motive Imagery (MI). This information will add to our understanding of relevant aspects of the psychology of the leadership group. That, in turn, will provide information as to the “fit” between Kim and his official circle.

We are also using Profiler Plus software to score the variables Self-Confidence and Belief in Ability to Control Events. These characteristics are informative as to levels of self-confidence and belief in future success, both of which are important factors in negotiations. They, like IC and MI, are also related to the probability of a leader or leadership group making a decision to engage violent strategies to solve difficult problems.

## Q28: Cognitive Assessment of KJU

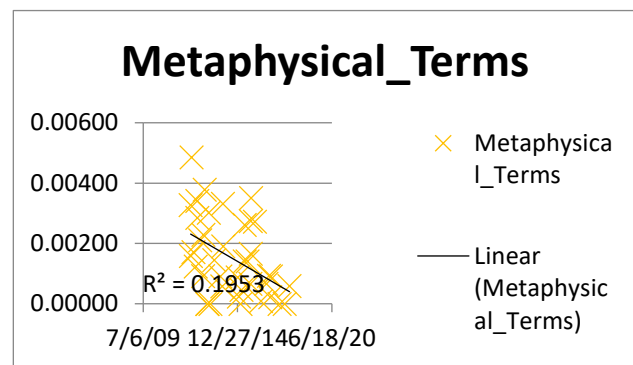
Integrative Complexity – University of British Columbia<sup>116</sup>

KJU's integrative complexity is low, implying rigidity, resistance to dissonant information or attempts at persuasion, and using one-dimensional rules in thinking and decision-making. He does not recognize the legitimacy of alternative perspectives or the relevance of more than one dimension within a given perspective. These factors are operative over his time in power and across various major events, which in most national leaders have been found to evoke changes in complexity. Thus, he is insensitive to developments that would have an impact on most leaders. His motive hierarchy shows the dominance of need for power. Achievement is a poor second in the case of KJU, and Affiliation is extremely low.

Together, **our measures show him to be resistant to changing his mind, averse to considering the viewpoints of others as legitimate, and unlikely to make flexible, coordinated plans.** He *may* be persuaded if the message treats him as a strong, self-directed individual, devoted to the progress of his ideology, party, and nation. Low-complexity thinkers are resistant to information intended to persuade them, but if they are persuaded, they are likely to change in a drastic rather than a nuanced way, moving from one simple, rigid set of opinions to the opposite. There is also some evidence that change in complexity from one negotiating party may evoke parallel changes from the other, so the use of messages that gradually increase persuasion toward flexibility and insight may result in a reciprocal response after a while. Last, it must be remembered that cognitive structure is independent of content; thus, in the case of KJU, apparent change of his position does not necessarily mean that the underlying cognitive complexity or motivational hierarchy has actually changed.

Quantitative Discourse Analysis – NSI<sup>117</sup>

Analysis of the density of themes between Kim Jong-il and Kim Jong-un indicates a fairly rigid adherence to fundamental DPRK ideology, such as *Juche* philosophy, reverence of the Kim dynasty, communism and Songun (military-first), consistent with his father, Kim Jong-il's philosophy. However, **Kim Jong-un departed from his father's interests by increasing his emphasis on the economy.** Furthermore, while KJU's public discourse still contains frequent mentions of DPRK ideological themes, they have steadily decreased since he has taken power, indicating some capacity for changing his perspective. Our data, however, indicate that this capacity is limited, since statistical changes in his discourse were few.



<sup>116</sup> Findings from 2 July 2018 Report

<sup>117</sup> To access the complete Discourse report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/comparative-analysis-of-kim-family-political-discourse/>

## Q29: Communicating to KJU

Increasing the Effectiveness and Clarity of US Communications with DPRK

### Implications from SMA Cognitive, Discourse and Media Analyses

The psychological and cognitive analyses of Kim Jong Un and the DPRK leadership completed to date suggest communication tactics likely to be most effective with this leadership, including:

1. **Start with simple, non-ambiguous statements.** Different cognitive analyses find KJU's cognitive complexity to be exceedingly low suggesting tendencies to black-or-white judgments; intolerance of ambiguity; insensitivity to others' perspectives; and low likelihood of change in position. Also, weak parties have been known to follow stronger parties' cognitive complexity. US negotiators might start with low complexity (e.g., with black-white, zero sum statements) and increase complexity to see if DPRK will follow.

2. **Use positive presentational framing.** Research shows that even on the most familiar and critical issues, people will respond more favourably to outcomes expressed in positive terms, than the same outcome expressed in negative terms (e.g., a policy that results in 90% employment will receive greater support than one that results in 10% unemployment.) For North Korea focus on offering/withholding terms regime can see as enhancing DPRK capability/opportunity and national security. Frame "carrots" as aid and/or sincere security opportunities rather than offers of enhanced international trade.

3. **Avoid bullying** and threats -- whether verbally or in terms of military operations bullying is likely to back-fire.

4. **Do not assume that he shares US/Western priorities and preferences.** Offers of foreign trade may appear to be politically problematic for the regime given the centrality of self-reliance in its *Juch'e* philosophy, and KJU's psychological and political needs to control information reaching his population

5. **Represent US goals as simple, successive, foot-in-the-door, incremental changes.** Bargaining positions and offers presented as unambiguous and as positive contributions to DPRK/KJU opportunity, self-interest and influence without appearing as US pressure or manipulation are the features of US bargaining positions likely to be best received and understood.

6. **Alleviate the inconsistency of message to actual action.** Analyses of Chinese and Russian domestic media coverage before and since the summit suggest that the shifting US positions (and internal contestation of those positions within the USG) make any statement, no matter how clearly composed, tough to make sense of. The Iran deal is referred to pretty regularly in foreign media as an example of the US saying many different things, but always leaving room for itself to wiggle out when it does not get its way. Alleviating the inconsistency of message to actual action will go a long way to increasing message receptivity. Examination of Russian and Chinese media challenge the notion of any kind of one or two-year denuclearization of the DPRK. DPRK (PRC and Russia) know that once DPRK gives up its weapons they will not ever get them back, while for the US, no matter what the message or agreement, a stroke of a pen can negate anything with very little consequence.

7. **Avoid hyperbole and exaggeration.** The exaggerated nature (both positive and negative) of statements coming from the Administration to the DPRK make them dismissible and unbelievable. Of note, are public communications and statements similar to those cited below. Chinese and Russian domestic media constantly present quotes from the Administration that are identified as blatantly overstated. The result is to reinforce a general distrust or dismissal of what is said, or a recasting of

it to show the statements as reflecting characteristics of the Administration, rather than real US positions or messages that convey meaningful US intentions toward the DPRK.

**8. Consider the audience ... broadly.** While it is true that media communications with DPRK might be best suited to the criteria put forth; we should also pay attention to which other actors will be receiving the message, and how might they understand it, interpret it and remessage it. Understanding how other actors understanding US messages is important to understanding how DPRK understands them because regional actors also distort and reinterpret US messages in ways that DPRK leadership may be exposed to (both in media and direct conversation).

#### Comparison of Two US Messages to DPRK

##### August 8, 2017 Trump statement on North Korea:

*"North Korea best not make any more threats to the United States. They will be met with fire and fury like the world has never seen. He has been very threatening — beyond a normal statement — and as I said, they will be met with fire, fury and, frankly, power the likes of which the world has never seen before."*

With the exception of the bullying tone, and the hyperbole and exaggeration this statement has features that should be most readily received and understood by DPRK/KJU.

- Extremely simple message: 59 words, 2 concepts, only one causal connection (i.e., DPRK threats to US will lead to use of US power; fire and fury.)
- Unambiguous
- More positive presentation would be: *"If North Korea collaborates with the US on regional security they will reap rewards offered by the US that would otherwise be unavailable."*

##### March 6, 2018 Pence statement on North Korea:

*"Whichever direction talks with North Korea go, we will be firm in our resolve. The United States and our allies remain committed to applying maximum pressure on the Kim regime to end their nuclear program. All options are on the table and our posture toward the regime will not change until we see credible, verifiable, and concrete steps toward denuclearization."*

By contrast the Pence statement removes the hyperbole and exaggeration and softens but retains the bullying tone, but is much more ambiguous and complex and also could be presented more positively.

- Moderately complex message: 60 words, 9 concepts, 7 causal connections
- Ambiguity regarding the limits of US resolve: Pence statement mentions that the US will remain committed to applying maximum pressure to end nuclear program, but that US maximum pressure posture will change if "concrete steps" are seen.
- More effective messaging to DPRK/KJU would be: *"The United States and our allies remain committed to removing sanctions on the Kim regime when we see credible evidence of DPRK intention to end their nuclear program that was not seen consistently in the case of Iran."*

#### Quantitative Discourse Analysis – NSI<sup>118</sup>

Quantitative analysis of the correlation between Kim Jong-un's public discourse and the "What If" video produced by the White House and presented to Kim provides insight into what messaging is likely to have a greater positive impact on him. The video appeared to have a positive impact, at least

<sup>118</sup> To access the complete Discourse report, please visit: <https://nsiteam.com/comparative-analysis-of-kim-family-political-discourse/>

in terms of bringing Kim to an initial agreement. Our results do not provide insight into whether or not Kim would adhere to the agreement. The rank order of themes in Kim Jong-un's general speech and that of the video has a strong, positive and statistically significant correlation coefficient. Specifically, abstract, religious-like themes common in Kim Jong-un's discourse (eternity, sacredness, struggle of good vs. evil, light vs. dark), increasing the ability of DPRK, progress and prosperity, were also very prominent in the video, and the video employed over-the-top, hyperbolic language, much as Kim uses. The video reflected the content and language use of Kim Jong-un very well. This may have been a contributing factor to the positive impression it appears to have made on him. Future communications should maintain these features. Additional features, such as the overcoming of obstacles and general success should be included as well.

#### Cognitive Simulations – Integral Mind<sup>119</sup>

Saving face, respect, seriousness, and treating KJU as a serious partner are essential. We must be seen to be taking DPRK concerns seriously and be committed to a just, reasonable, effective resolution of the crisis that takes all sides' real needs into account. KJU's confidence appears overall reasonably high. We should not view internal fear of KJU (i.e. in the military ranks) as evidence of systemic failure; psychologically and culturally, fear and effective operations can co-exist indefinitely.

#### Cognitive Assessment – Intelligent Biology<sup>120</sup>

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**Audience:** Much U.S. failure to message is because the U.S. fails to put itself in the shoes of the other. *Organisations should adopt an “outside-in” mindset, which makes the audience's decision-making process the focus of the influence strategy.* Practical tools can provide the empathy required to put the influencer in the audience's shoes, e.g. the “checklist for empathy” to understand their motivations, fears and identities.

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## Appendix: Links to Individual Reports

Title	Author/ Editor	Method	Affiliation
Part I: High-Level Key Findings	<a href="#">Astorino-Courtois</a>	Summary Findings	NSI Inc.
Part II: Key Questions Answered by Individual Analytic Efforts	SMA Team	Team Findings	n/a
Q1: Win-win scenario for all of the key actors?	<a href="#">Kuznar &amp; Popp</a>	VITTa	NSI Inc.
Q2: Approaches and Measures to Stabilizing the Korean Peninsula	<a href="#">Aviles &amp; Popp</a>	VITTa	NSI Inc.
Q3: Achieving FFVD Without Militarized Conflict	<a href="#">Yager &amp; Popp</a>	VITTa	NSI Inc.
Q4: Conditions Conducive to Enforcing a Non-Proliferation Regime	<a href="#">Popp, G.</a>	VITTa	NSI Inc.
Q5: How the US Can Work With Its Partners to Contest DPRK Operations	<a href="#">Popp, G.</a>	ViTTa	NSI Inc.
Q6: Achieving Stable Regional Order	<a href="#">Bragg &amp; Popp</a>	VITTa	NSI Inc.
Q7: Marketization of the North Korean Economy	<a href="#">Popp, G.</a>	ViTTa	NSI Inc.
Q8: Key Actor Interests in the Asia Pacific – A Korea Strategic Outcomes Virtual Think Tank Report	<a href="#">Astorino-Courtois, A. et al</a>	VITTa	NSI Inc.
Getting Messages Through: The Cognition of Influence with North Korea and East Asia	<a href="#">Wright, N.</a>	Report	Intelligent Biology
Assessment of Possible Reactions in German-Speaking and East Central Europe and the European Union (GS-ECE/EU) to Possible Strategic Outcomes in U.S.-DPRK Relations	<a href="#">Dorondo, D.</a>	Report	WCU/ STRATCOM Alliance
Narratives Before & After the 2018 North Korea- United States Summit: An Analysis of Chinese and Russian News Media Coverage of Events on the Korean Peninsula	<a href="#">Cooley, Hinck, Stokes, &amp; Kluver</a>	Media Analysis	Ok State U
Comparative Analysis of Kim Family Political Discourse	<a href="#">Kuznar &amp; Aviles</a>	Discourse Analysis	NSI Inc.
Western Pacific Regional Dynamics & North Korean Nuclear Status: An NSI Interest-Resolve-Capability (IRC) Report	<a href="#">Astorino-Courtois &amp; Bragg</a>	IRC Analysis	NSI Inc.
DPRK - NSI Pathways™	<a href="#">Pagano &amp; Kuznar</a>	Pathways Analysis	NSI Inc.
Korea Strategic Outcome Pathways Analysis (*Email SMA office for access to report)	Suedfeld & Morrison <a href="#">Sleevi, N.</a>	Integrative Complexity Athena Simulation	UBC TRADOC G-27
Korea Strategic Outcomes Project Report for “Stability on Korean Peninsula”	<a href="#">Elder, R.</a>	TIN Modeling	GMU
*Email SMA office for access to report	<a href="#">Olsher, D.</a>	Simulation	Integral Mind