Four Party Talks - Next Steps

Our goal for the upcoming Four Party meetings in Beijing and Geneva should be to secure agreement among the four parties that a gradual, phased adoption of mutual tension-reduction measures (TRM's) and confidence-building measures (CBM's) will be the initial central thrust of the Four Party talks. These TRM's/CBM's will be supported by gradual U.S. sanctions-easing as tangible progress is made. EAP/K has prepared a preliminary "road map" (see attachment), now being informally reviewed interagency, to serve as background for our discussions at this U.S.-ROK bilateral consultation and, after appropriate review, modification and clearance, at the upcoming Four Party meetings.

Many of the specific TRM's/CBM's proposed in our "road map" were taken from the USG interagency-cleared Terms of Reference for the Four Party talks (TOR); some of these, in turn, were specified in the South-North Basic Agreement and, indeed, were initially proposed by the South. Despite this, and our close consultation to date with the ROKG on the Four Party talks, careful coordination with the ROKG about each decision related to military TRM's/CBM's will be very important. This meeting serves to begin consultations on these issues, which we will have to intensify with the start of the new ROKG administration.

The TRM's/CBM's will have to be nominally reciprocal in nature to be accepted in the Four Party forum; however, since the DPRK deploys a disproportionate amount of the military force on the Korean Peninsula, we will seek implementation of TRM's/CBM's that reflects this imbalance.
Talking Points

• We believe a phased, mutual exchange of military TRM’s and CBM’s should be the keystone of the Four Party talks, and that we should begin to urge DPRK cooperation along these lines at our meeting in Beijing next month.

-- The motive for North Korean cooperation on CBM’s and TRM’s may be its hope for development of economic relations: an easing of U.S. sanctions; and ROK economic cooperation and assistance.

• In any event, our strategy will be off to a good start if we can use our upcoming meetings in Beijing and Geneva to shape a negotiating process placing primary emphasis on early implementation of CBM’s/TRM’s.

-- We do not expect, however, to actually agree on any CBM’s in Geneva.

• In no cases would we consider or propose measures that would jeopardize the security and sovereignty of the ROK.

• Nevertheless, the TRM’s and CBM’s proposed at the Four Party plenary sessions must be at least nominally reciprocal in nature.
Close consultation between officials of our two countries from all key agencies involved, including the military, will be crucial to the success of this approach. (We should, at an appropriate moment, also urge military representation on the DPRK delegation to deal with this issue.)

I would appreciate your thoughts about how to introduce this strategy to the North Koreans in Beijing and how to deploy it in our second plenary in Geneva.

I would welcome as well your ideas on how to establish a mechanism of sustained, close consultation on military TRM’s and CBM’s.