

# Contents

*List of Figures and Tables* xi

*Acknowledgments* xiii

1. Introduction	1
Views of the Regime	3
Diverse Institutional Views	4
Toward a New Model	11
The Stakes	14
Road Map	16
2. Post-totalitarian Institutionalism	18
Existing Models of North Korean Politics	19
The Emergence of Post-totalitarian Institutionalism	30
Post-totalitarian Politics	37
Research Design	42
3. Historical Context	51
Foundations of the Founding	52
Kim Il Sung and Totalitarianism, 1956–1990	56
The Transition Period, 1991–1998	67
Post-totalitarian Institutionalism, 1998–Present	75

viii  
Contents

4. North Korea's Political Institutions	83
The Korean Workers' Party	84
The Korean People's Army	87
The Cabinet	90
The Security Apparatus	93
Supreme People's Assembly	97
Subnational Governments and the Judiciary	98
5. Institutional Jostling for Agenda Control, 1998–2001	100
Taepodong-1 Launch	103
The Kumchang-ri Suspected Nuclear Facility	106
OPlan 5027	113
The Second Chollima March	118
Uncoordinated Institutions	127
Missile Negotiations and the Inter-Korean Summit	132
6. Segmenting Policy and Issue Linkages, 2001–2006	141
Toward Economic Reform	143
Issue Linkages: Inter-Korean and U.S. Policy	147
Pyongyang Reacts to New U.S. Policy	151
Regime Change Short List Concern Closes Ranks	154
Linking and Delinking Issue Areas	157
End of the Agreed Framework and the Second Nuclear Crisis	161
Inter-Korean Relations: A Separate Track?	171
Nuclear Declarations	177
Diplomatic Impasse, Mutual Pressure	179
"The Atmosphere Has Improved"—for a Day	181
LWR Demands and Banco Delta Asia	183
Cross-Border Cooperation: The Only Game in Town	184
Bureaucratic Cracks on "Sanctions" and Missile Tests	186
Hitting Rock Bottom: The Nuclear Test	189
7. Policy Reversals, 2006–2008	194
Return to Six-Party Talks	195
Cabinet Economic Reformer Replaced with Economic Reformer	198
Chris Hill in Pyongyang	199
Presidential Turnover in South Korea	201
Refocusing on the United States	205
Continuity Amid Change: The North Korean Economy	211

ix  
Contents

8. Conclusion	215
North Korea's Post-totalitarian Institutionalism	215
An Evolved Polity	217
Decision Making	219
Importance of the Internal Mechanism	227
North Korea, Comparative Politics, and Downstream Consequences	238
North Korea's Future	241
 Notes	253
 Bibliography	291
 Index	299

