



This paper reviews the status of nuclear threat projection in the context of Korean insecurity and nationalism. Nuclear threat in Korea emanates primarily from the United States via its commitment to extend nuclear deterrence to the ROK; and today, from the DPRK's nascent nuclear weapons program. During the Cold War, the shadow of Chinese and former Soviet nuclear forces also arguably fell onto the ROK, but today, due to the rift in security alliances between Russia and China with the DPRK, the only nuclear threat in play comes from aforementioned two states.

Nuclear threat in Korea is superimposed on the division of Korea and the conflict between the DPRK on the one side of the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ), and the US-ROK combined forces on the other. Thus, the political and military significance of nuclear weapons in Korea derives from the underlying driving forces that sustain this standoff. It is the local conflict that created the risk of nuclear war in Korea historically; and it is the local conflict that generates the risk of nuclear war posed by North Korean nuclear weapons today.

The other costs associated with the DPRK's nuclear breakout—the cost of international proliferation by the DPRK, the cost of additional damage to the NPT and IAEA safeguards regime, the cost of stalling progress to creation of cooperative security institutions between the states in this region, the direct cost in lives due to military clashes and increased longevity of the oppressive DPRK domestic order that leads to famine, the cost of increased US and ROK military readiness due to increased tension, the cost of foregone ROK and regional economic growth due to investor fear sown by the threat of DPRK-originated nuclear attack—all these costs are secondary to the main risk: nuclear next-use in Korea.

The costs associated with crossing the nuclear threshold in Korea, whether the DPRK or the United States fires first, would be momentous. The other costs need to be tracked and managed; but avoiding, reducing, and eliminating the risk of nuclear war in Korea must, by any measure of national interest and strategic guidance, as well as by international military and humanitarian law, be the primary consideration.

This paper analyses the appropriate policy response to the emergence of the DPRK as a proto-nuclear weapon state. (We reserve the phrase “nuclear weapon state” to those states that were nuclear-armed and recognized as such in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty; or have been admitted to the governing institutions of that regime and have committed to observe its rules.)

To this end, we examine in Section I the state of the main game in Korea, which is the never-ending battle between the two Koreas over who will dictate the terms of eventual reunification of the Korean nation. In this regard, we compare and contrast six elements that constitute national power for the ROK and the DPRK. These are:

1. Diplomacy and international relations.
2. Military power.
3. Economic power.
4. Governance and internal security.
5. Social development.
6. Perceptions of future prospects—internal and external to The Koreas.

We conclude that the ROK has achieved overwhelming superiority in every dimension of national power, especially in conventional military power. Such a-symmetry does always correspond with stability, however, and raises difficult questions in relation to the basis of conventional deterrence, and the relationship of conventional and nuclear deterrence in Korea.

In Section II, we review the role of nuclear threat in the competing Korean nationalisms, and the implications of this war of national narrative for an appropriate, productive, and potent response to the DPRK's nuclear breakout. We suggest that as of 2009, the DPRK made the ROK the main target of its nuclear strategy rather than the United States as was the case from 1991-2009. The sinking of the ROK corvette *Cheonan* provides a mini-case study of the collision of ROK and DPRK historical trajectories, and portends continuing clashes involving nuclear threat that need to be managed to avoid escalation to nuclear next-use.

In Section III, we outline a political -security strategy to end the nuclear threat competition that is underway in Korea, and to substitute an enduring and long-run institutional strategy that reduces and eventually eliminates nuclear weapons from the management of inter-state security relations in this region. We conclude the paper by outlining the advantages of an ROK-Japan only nuclear weapon free zone relative to alternative ROK responses to the threat posed by the DPRK nuclear breakout.

## **I. NORTH-SOUTH KOREAN ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL POWER**

### **1. DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

Korea was an independent kingdom with continuous administrative state control over a given territory for thousands of years, until it was occupied by Japan in 1905 and subsequently annexed as a colony. Both of the modern Koreas were established as a result of the division of Korea by the United States and the former Soviet Union at the end of World War II. Both survived the Korean War with the backing of strong external support, at vast cost.

The primary driver of the diplomacy and international relations of both Koreas remains the division of the Peninsula, and the search for competitive advantage—a game that the ROK arguably won outright at the end of the Cold War when China and Russia recognized the ROK, but did not insist on a quid pro from the United States to recognize the DPRK.

Although both states are members of the United Nations and thereby bound to respect each other's right to exist, in cultural and political reality, all Koreans know that eventually, the Korean nation and people will reunify. There is simply too much history and too many kin and social forces at work for the division to remain forever. Whether the two Korean states will reunify in the short or medium-term remains an open question, however.

#### **A. ROK Diplomacy And International Relations**

In the period from the end of the Cold War until the late seventies, the ROK's foreign policy had two critical dimensions. The first was to cultivate its primary ally, the United States, and it undertook extraordinary (and sometimes illegal) efforts to impress and influence American

decision-makers with its loyalty, including sending troops to the Vietnam War on a large scale. The second, once the rentier class was removed and an accumulating industrial class was installed by General Park Chung Hee, was to pave the way for the ROK's burgeoning export trade, based on industries that grew out of huge Vietnam War contracts on the one hand, and massive Japanese investment on the other. In this sense, the economics of export orientation led diplomacy, and the needs of defense-led industrialization led the economic strategy in the ROK.

In the eighties, ROK President Roh Tae-woo dropped anti-communist ideology and launched his "nordpolitik," reached out to the Soviet bloc in Europe and Asian states, often leading with a trade office or a consulate, and later with full-blown embassies. After the overthrow of the military in 1987 and the establishment of legitimate and democratic government, the ROK's foreign policy began to diverge from a straightforward alignment on almost all issues with the United States. In the late nineties, President Kim Dae Jung put first priority on Northeast regional diplomacy, and in particular, in guiding ROK companies to make massive investments in China's economy, to build a counter-balance to ROK dependency on Japan on the one hand, and to offset DPRK relationships with China on the other.

Once the ROK "graduated" from the UN list of "developing countries," abandoned diplomatic competition with the DPRK around the world, and after becoming a UN member state in 1991, joined the OECD, it became a full-fledged diplomatic player. The acme of this achievement was the selection in 2007 of former foreign minister Ban Ki Moon to be Secretary General of the United Nations; and in 2010, its hosting of the G20 annual meeting. Trade, investment, and financing relations remain an important driver of ROK foreign policy. But the ROK now perceives itself—and is perceived to be—an important regional and global contributor to peace, security, and prosperity by virtue of its membership, funding and supply of experts who have become international civil servants in UN functional and specialized agencies, its own aid program including the OECD Development Assistance Committee (2009), its role in fielding peacekeeping forces (see map below in section 3), and even via Korean "soft power" cultural exports that create common orientations between a new generation of leaders in East Asia that are cosmopolitan, transnationally networked, and grounded in civil society.



**Map of Korean diplomatic missions**

Source: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_diplomatic\\_missions\\_of\\_South\\_Korea](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_diplomatic_missions_of_South_Korea)

The ROK's nuclear diplomacy in response to the DPRK's nuclear proliferation activity attempted primarily to ensure that its interests were not subordinated in a US negotiations with the DPRK over the latter's nuclear weapons program—an unenviable position for a small state to

find itself, and one that lead to vacillating hot-cold stances often in opposition to the policies of its patron state. Relatedly, the ROK sought to enhance its reputation as a non-nuclear state by polishing a squeaky clean non-proliferation record, but found itself embarrassed by enrichment experiments during the nineties that transgressed its commitments with the IAEA.

## **B. DPRK Diplomacy and International Relations**

In contrast with the ROK—one of the most diplomatically recognized countries in the world, the DPRK is one of the most isolated. Partly this arose from the alliance structure that supported the creation of the DPRK, that is, its twin dependence on the former Soviet Union and China, which became an opportunity to extract survival resources of economic and military aid when the Soviet-China relationship turned ugly in the sixties. But it also arose from the nature of the regime and its radical ideology built on the concept of self reliance and the personality cult of the great leader. For the first twenty years of competition with the ROK, a period of rebuilding from the war and of heavy industry, this strategy appeared to be working. Indeed, in the mid-sixties, the DPRK was ahead of the ROK on many economic indicators (Gerhard Breidenstein; W. Rosenberg; CIA 1975).

The DPRK focused its residual diplomatic efforts on competing with the ROK for political support, establishing embassies in non-aligned or left wing countries such as Cuba or Tanzania, or in countries of strategic significance to the DPRK, especially for arms exports (Iraq, Iran, Burma, Pakistan). Some countries were favorites due to their independent stance combined with economic value to the DPRK (India for enabling COCOM technology control evasion, Vietnam for providing rice). Some Asian leaders established close relations with the DPRK's leadership on a personal basis (Indonesia, Cambodia) although the DPRK's willingness to conduct diplomatic outrages (as when it bombed the Rangoon ROK embassy attempting to kill the South Korean cabinet, in 1988) ruptured these relations. By the end of the seventies, the DPRK's outreach was utterly pragmatic and non-ideological, based purely on perceived interest, while its antiquated ideology and ossified and rigid institutions had led to a moribund economy vulnerable to withdrawal of external support (Gill 2005).

When the post-Cold War removal of Soviet era trade and external debt financing ended in 1991—almost overnight--and the Chinese began to charge full cost recovery for many items crucial to survival, the DPRK became increasingly dependent on external aid, especially food. Accordingly, it began to cultivate relations with donor countries, especially the EU, turned relations on again with Australia (then shut down the Canberra embassy due to inability to pay the rent) at the same time as it retrenched many of the primarily political outposts of Kim Il Sungist ideology and adulation. The DPRK has also cutback the presence of international agencies in Pyongyang itself over the last decade, and has provided few personnel to serve in international agencies (I know of only one, currently working for the International Federation of the Red Cross in Burma, formerly in Georgia).

A little studied but important non-state relationship for the DPRK, with significant political and economic dimensions in relation to its main current backer, China, is Taiwan.



Diplomatic missions of North Korea

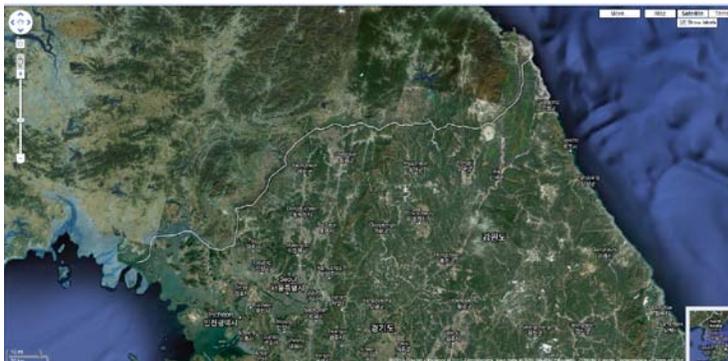
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_diplomatic\\_missions\\_of\\_North\\_Korea](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_diplomatic_missions_of_North_Korea)

In the nineties, the DPRK also pursued a strategy of coercive diplomacy, to substitute for its failed political and economic strategies--what Patrick Morgan (2006) calls compellence, and that I call “stalking” behaviours (Hayes, 2006b). In this regard, breaking international rules and treaty-based obligations, including pulling out of the NPT itself, and then conducting two nuclear tests, attempted to pressure on the United States to enter into dialogues on issues of concern to the DPRK. To date, its nuclear diplomacy has failed significantly in every respect, leaving the DPRK bereft of any diplomatic standing.

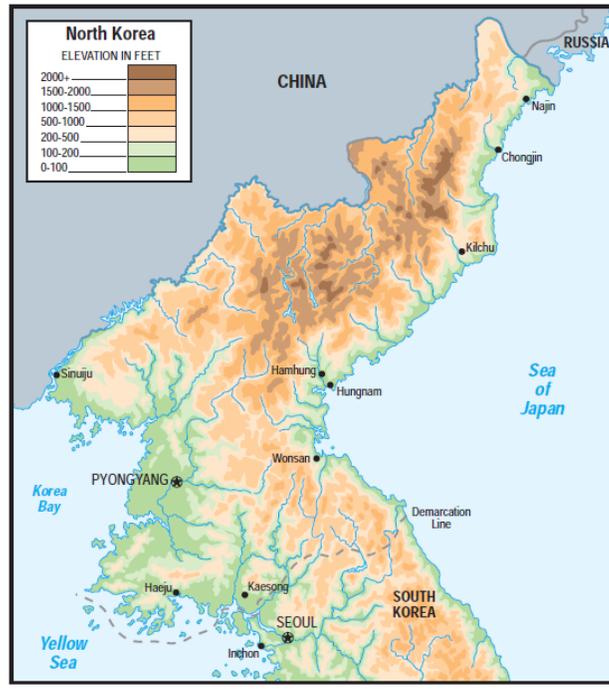
Overall, the DPRK’s international relations are epitomized by the fact that it has not had a note n the UN General Assembly, having lost that right due to not paying membership dues (Janes, June, 2009).

## 2. MILITARY POWER

Korea is a small, mountainous country surrounded by ocean, with one land border. It is naturally well-suited to fortified defences, especially along the DMZ (see remote sensing graphic). The ocean provides external powers with direct access without overflight to deliver military forces into renewed conflict in Korea.



Source: Google Maps



North Korean Topography

Source: US Marine Corps Intelligence Activity, *North Korea Country Handbook*, May 1997, p. 14, released under USFOIA request to Nautilus <http://www.dia.mil/publicaffairs/Foia/nkor.pdf>

In summary, the DPRK has adopted a hardened, underground defense based primarily on ground infantry forces with limited mobility, ability to project power, and low stamina (less than a month at best before fuel simply runs out in wartime). The ROK by contrast has the opposite advantages, to which must be added a huge industrial surge capacity, twice the population, external allies including the United States, and a distinct but critically important psychological advantage of high morale.

### A. ROK Military Power

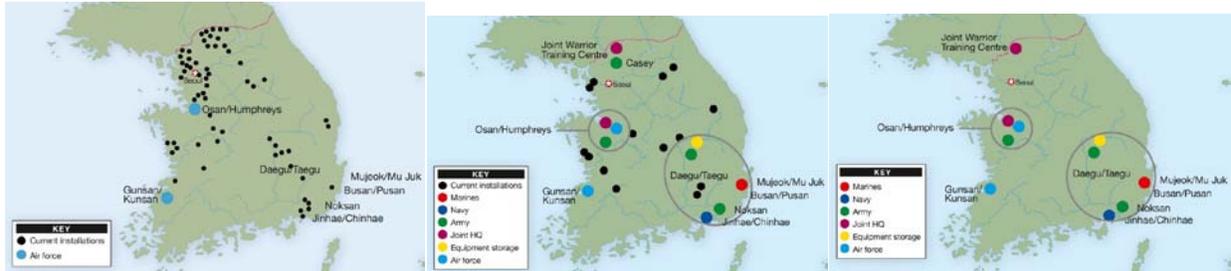
The ROK has a powerful military composed of ROK Army, Air Force, Navy and Marines. With 0.67 million active duty and 3 million reserve force soldiers, it can field three field armies. The Army is the dominant force and operates 2,300 modern tanks and nearly 700 combat helicopters (see Table of Principal Military Forces).

The Air Force has over 500 attack, fighter, and support aircraft. The Navy has over 170 ships organized into three fleets. The Marines include an amphibious support group.

The ROK spends about 2.6 percent of its GDP on defense or about \$26 billion—nearly as much as the DPRK’s entire GDP. The ROK plans dramatic upgrades in military technology over the



intend that USFK will become primarily a regional rapidly deployable force with a residual support role for the ROK military, posing potential political dilemmas for the ROK government in the future should allied interests diverge on intervention in a conflict. As part of this shift in orientation, the United States is consolidating its bases in Korea and shifting them southward.



*Left to Right: Current US facilities, 2002; middle—Phase 1 realignment that closes 35 facilities before phase 2 that leaves 2 US military hubs in the ROK. Source: Johnstone and Jones, 2010*

Of greater military significance than the troops on the ground—which are a small percentage of the ROK forces—are US intelligence capacities, both local, regional and global, that provide the ROK forces with tremendous ability to monitor the DPRK forces in routine times, and to attack with lethal precision in wartime.

Table 3. Comparison of Military Capabilities between ROK and DPRK

(As of December 2008)

Classification				ROK	DPRK
Troops (Peace time)	Total			More than 655,000	More than 1,190,000
	Army			522,000	1,020,000
	Navy			68,000	60,000
	Air Force			65,000	110,000
Principal Force Capability	Army	Units	Corps	10 (including Special Warfare Command)	15
			Divisions	46	86
			Maneuver Brigades	15	69 (10 Reserve Military Training Units not included)
		Equipment	Tanks	2,300	3,900
			Armored vehicles	2,400	2,100
			Field artillery	5,200	8,500
	MLRS		200	5,100	
	Surface-to-surface Guided weapons	30 (launchers)	100 (launchers)		
	Navy	Surface ships	Combat vessels	120	420
			Landing vessels	10	260
			Mine warfare ships	10	30
			Support vessels	20	30
		Submarines	10	70	
	Air Force	Combat aircraft	490	840	
		C2-ISR aircraft	50 (including naval aircraft)	30	
		Air mobility aircraft	40	330 (including AN-2)	
Training aircraft		170	180		
Helicopters	680 (including all helicopters of the 3 services)	310			
Reserve troops				3,040,000	7,700,000 (including Reserve Military Training Units, Worker/Peasant Red Guards and Red Youth Guards)

Defense White Paper 2008, p. 316.

\* Naval troops of the ROK include 27,000 troops of the Marine Corps. Ground force units (division, brigade) and equipment include those of the Marine Corps

\* Field artillery of the North does not include infantry regiment's 76.2mm guns.

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## **U.S. Forces, Korea / Combined Forces Command Combined Ground Component Command (GCC)**

*US Forces in Korea operate under the UN flag by virtue of 1950 UNSC Resolution whereby the United States leads the United Nations Command; and under the ROK/US Mutual Security Agreement of 1954. In addition to the United States and the ROK, UN Command allies at the end of the Korea War included Australia, Belgium, Canada, Columbia, Ethiopia, France, Germany, Greece, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, New Zealand, Philippines, South Africa, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom. Warships from Japan were involved in support actions, but Japan was not in UNC.*

*The US is also partner in the ROK/US Combined Forces Command (CFC), established in 1978. The Commander of USFK also serves as Commander in Chief of the United Nations Command (CINCUNC) and the CFC. As CINCUNC, he is responsible for maintaining the 1953 armistice agreement.*

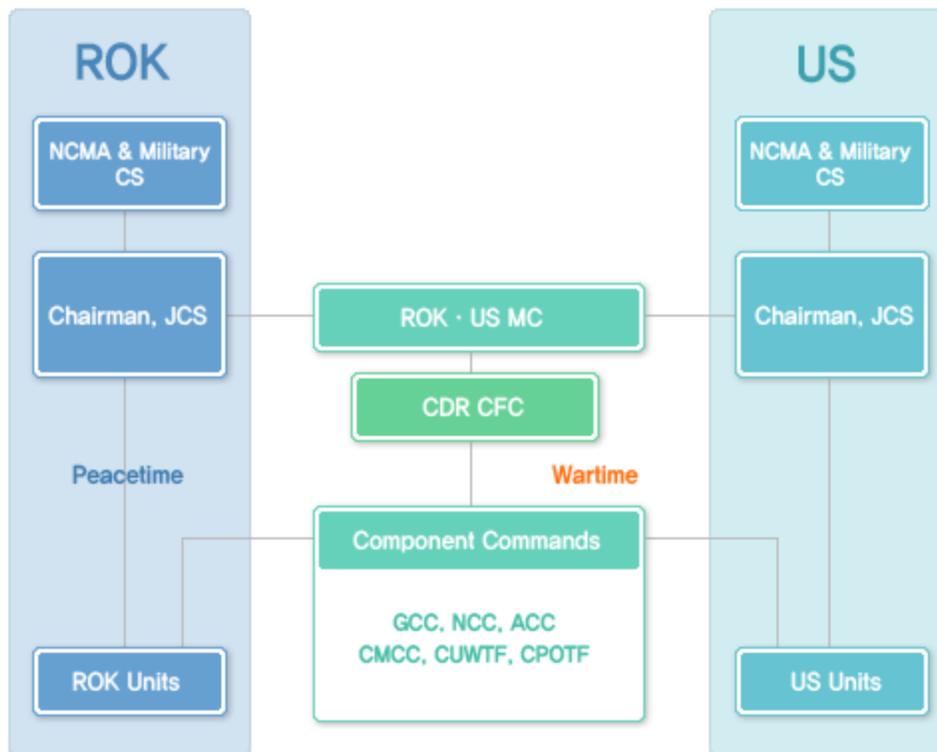
*US Forces, Korea (USFK) is the joint headquarters through which US combat forces would be sent to the CFC's fighting components - the Ground, Air, Naval and Combined Marine Forces Component Commands. Major USFK Elements include the Eighth US Army, US Air Forces Korea (Seventh Air Force) and US Naval Forces Korea. USFK includes more than 85 active installations in the Republic of Korea and has about 37,500 US military personnel assigned in Korea. Major U.S. units in the ROK include the Eighth U.S. Army and Seventh Air Force.*

*Principal equipment in EUSA includes 140 M1A1 tanks, 170 Bradley armored vehicles, 30 155mm self-propelled howitzers, 30 MRLs as well as a wide range of surface-to-surface and surface-to-air missiles, e.g., Patriot, and 70 AH-64 helicopters.*

*US Air Forces Korea possesses approximately 100 aircraft: advanced fighters, e.g., 70 F-16s, 20 A-10 anti-tank attack planes, various types of intelligence-collecting and reconnaissance aircraft including U-2s, and the newest transport aircraft. With this highly modern equipment, US Air Forces Korea has sufficient capability to launch all-weather attacks and to conduct air support operations under all circumstances. In the event the Seventh Fleet and the Seventh Air Force Command augment them, the capability of USFK will substantially increase both quantitatively and qualitatively. Naval and Marine forces will be augmented in wartime.*

*All CFC components are tactically integrated through continuous combined and joint planning, training and exercises. In 1994, peacetime operational control (OPCON) of the ROK military was transferred from the U.S. led Combined Forces Command, to the ROK Joint Chiefs of Staff. By 2005 Seoul had requested regaining wartime control of its armed forces. Final negotiations to set a date for this transition were agreed to in 2007, with a ROK military OPCON transition from CFC to the ROK JFC date set for 17 April 2012. This transfer is currently hotly debated in Korea.*

**Source:** US Forces Korea at: <http://www.usfk.mil/usfk> also <http://www.usfk.mil/usfk/unc.aspx> and [http://8tharmy.korea.army.mil/g1\\_AG/Programs\\_Policy/Publication\\_Records\\_Reg\\_UNC.htm](http://8tharmy.korea.army.mil/g1_AG/Programs_Policy/Publication_Records_Reg_UNC.htm) <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/agency/dod/usfk.htm>

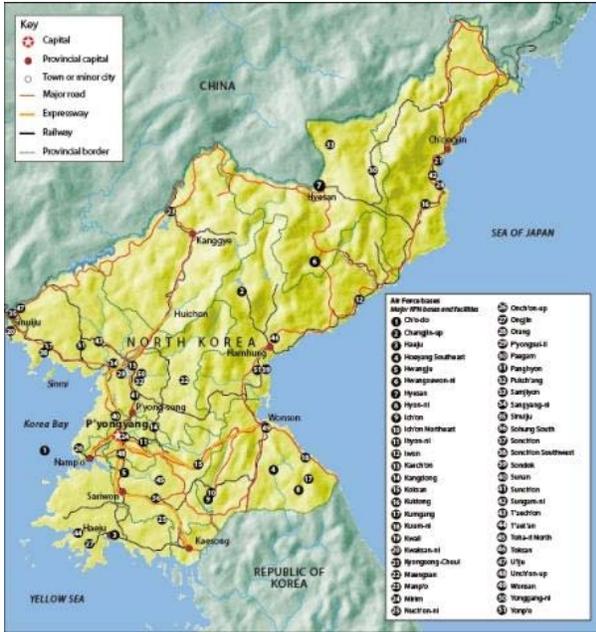


Source: <http://www.mnd.go.kr/mndEng/DefensePolicy/security/combination/index.jsp>

Although UN Command still exists in a formal sense, and the flags of most (but not all) allied countries still fly at Panmunjom alongside the US and ROK flags, only the United States has immediately deployable military forces committed to supporting the ROK military. Of the allies, Japan's military force are the most immediately salient.

## B. DPRK Military Power

The DPRK maintains a huge army of about 1.1 million active military personnel and about 4.5 million reserves. It is difficult to translate the expenditure on these forces into a western currency but a physical estimate of DPRK military energy use is about 5 percent of current national energy use. Standard estimates range from \$1.5-5 billion dollars equivalent which ranges for 3% to 15% of GDP estimates (depending on how the latter are measured). But there is no doubt that the DPRK is highly militarized and well-armed. Everyone in the DPRK is in the military in one way or another.



**DPRK Air Bases**

**DPRK Navy Bases**

Unsurprisingly, the DPRK military is dominated by the Army, with 27 infantry divisions, 15 independent armored brigades, and a major emphasis on artillery of all types, plus about 90,000 special forces. These forces are heavily forward-deployed close to the Demilitarized Zone in order to pose a threat of attack without warning, thereby offsetting the US-ROK combined advantage in airpower, intelligence, ground force technology and mobility, training, and reinforcements by reducing the time to attack to at most a few days and possibly a few hours.

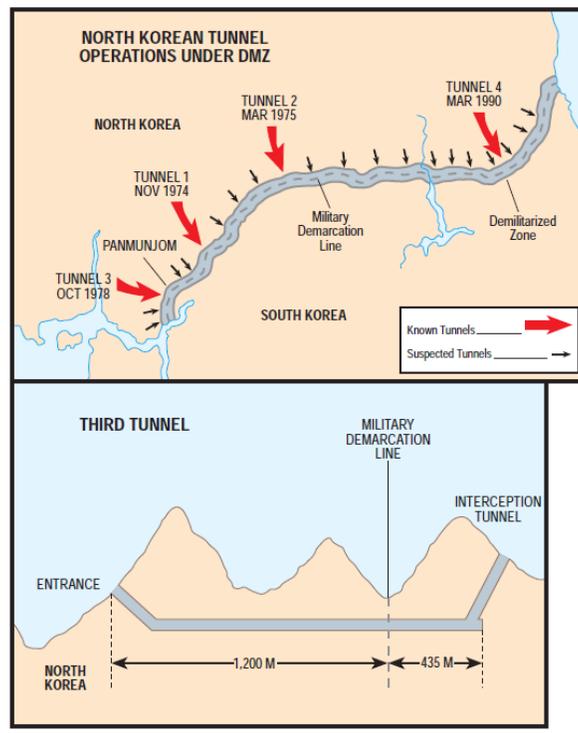


**Corps Level Organization**

Source: Marine Corps Intelligence Activity, *North Korea Country Handbook*, May 1997, p. 49, released under USFOIA request to Nautilus <http://www.dia.mil/publicaffairs/Foia/nkor.pdf>

In response to the US-led 1991 invasion of Iraq, the KPA has adapted in several ways to high technology forces. For example, the DPRK military has developed a frequency-hopping radio for secure communications and installed fiber optic cables between facilities to protect against sigint monitoring.

The DPRK has also constructed thousands of underground bunkers and tunnels—indeed, the whole DPRK surface settlements are epiphenomenal compared to subterranean DPRK. Given ROK and US surveillance and target acquisition capacities, it will be dangerous for forces kept underground to come out for long—and if they return underground, they are immobile and can be circumvented in counter-attacks. Thus, while very useful in a war of static position, “being underground” will be a major liability in a modern war of technology, lethal firepower, and mobility. Relatedly, the DPRK has dug tunnels under the DMZ, four of which are identified and which could enable a regiment to pass per hour—if undetected. The utility of this strategy is dubious in 2010 given modern surveillance capabilities, including thermal and seismic sensing and brings to mind the opportunity for entrapment and the military version of mid-west prairie dog hunting, including what is known colloquially as “rodenating” (using explosives to collapse burrows and killing entrapped rodents in the tunnel).



**Tunnel Operations Under DMZ**

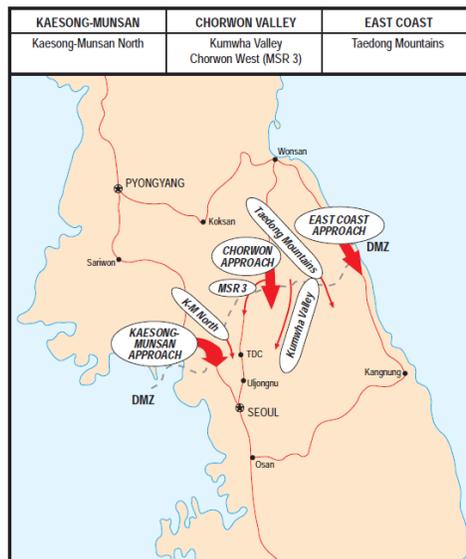
All but the last few meters would be completed before an attack. Although 4 have been discovered, as many as 20 or more may exist.

Source: Marine Corps Intelligence Activity, *North Korea Country Handbook*, May 1997, pp. 105-6, released under USFOIA request to Nautilus <http://www.dia.mil/publicaffairs/Foia/nkor.pdf>

The forward-deployed long range artillery pieces and rocket launchers within range of Seoul can inflict tremendous damage on the northern part of Seoul and on concentrations of allied forces near the DMZ. The DPRK reportedly has also stockpiled chemical weapons for use in the DMZ area.

In spite of its absolutely large numbers of troops and weapon systems, the DPRK military is characterized by centralized control hierarchies and obsolete or aged technology, more than half of it made in the two decades of post-war heavy industrialization. Unlike the ROK military, that experienced major combat duty in Vietnam and is deployed in many “hot” spots around the world (including northern Iraq), the DPRK military has not seen combat since 1953. Its short and medium-range missiles have a reputation for unreliability and are very inaccurate. Its long range rocket tests have all failed. Its first nuclear test in October 2006 was a dud.

Arguably, conventional parity has existed since the early 1970s. I published an analysis in 1994 that outlined static and dynamic scenarios of war developed the year before by Joint Intelligence Center Pacific, which concluded that while the DPRK could do tremendous damage, rapid reinforcement would enable the US-ROK forces to overcome the DPRK’s attack within the first two weeks, and then launch an effective counter-attack into the DPRK within a month (Hayes, 1994).



Avenues of Approach

Source: Marine Corps Intelligence Activity, *North Korea Country Handbook*, May 1997, p. 52, released under USFOIA request to Nautilus <http://www.dia.mil/publicaffairs/Foia/nkor.pdf>

There are three corridors of attack for a DPRK breakthrough attempt (see Avenues of Approach graphic). In the public domain, two references provide a detailed analysis of how conventional war might unfold in Korea. The first expands on O'Hanlon's (1998) argument that the combined advantages of terrain, force ratios, technology, communications, reconnaissance, intelligence, training, and reinforcement suggest that "... if North Korea did launch a major war, its forces would probably be so badly damaged in the initial unsuccessful assault that they might later prove incapable of posing a stalwart defense of their own territory - especially given that allied forces would have been little weakened during the initial battles." (O'Hanlon and Mochizuki, 2003)

Indeed, the extent of US-ROK conventional force superiority may now drive a spiraling security dilemma at the DMZ because overwhelming US-ROK counter-attrition capacity over DPRK conventional forces targeting Seoul and combined forces could increase DPRK propensity to use their forces first rather than lose them (see Long 2008). Even the DPRK long range artillery and rockets may pose a lesser threat than often argued in public by US and ROK military analysts (Matsumura et al, 1998).

The 2010 International Institute of Strategic Studies review of the DPRK-ROK conventional military balance concluded: "As measured by static equipment indices, South Korea's conventional forces would appear superior to North Korea's. When morale, training, equipment maintenance, logistics, and reconnaissance and communications capabilities are factored in, this qualitative advantage increases. In addition, if North Korea invaded the country, South Korean forces would have the advantage of fighting from prepared defensive positions. Therefore, the Pentagon's official current assessment of the Korean military balance suggests that, due to qualitative advantages, the South Korean-US combined force capabilities are superior to those of North Korea."

In addition to creating a leaner and meaner military force, the Basic Plan for National Defense Reform (2009-2020) states that the ROK military will upgrade its counter-battery strike and surface-air missile defense capability against DPRK long-range artillery threatening Seoul; establish a unit dedicated to international peacekeeping duties (ROK Ministry of National Defense, 2009).

The DPRK has declared that it has weaponized its separated plutonium, which at most could provide it with up to 10 or 12 nuclear devices. Whether these are deployed nuclear devices is unknown. If so, the most likely deployment would be to pre-emptively place devices in invasion corridors through which US-ROK forces might pass en route to Pyongyang, or to try to deliver a nuclear blast on allied forces massing near the DMZ to create a gap for attack, or to slow a counterattack. As Michael O'Hanlon (1998) explains, this strategy would be unlikely to work. The DPRK's weaponized plutonium remains more of a psychological threat device than a deployed nuclear force at this stage. In particular, the DPRK has no way to field a secure retaliatory force against the United States, which in turn extends nuclear deterrence to the ROK and Japan. Thus, the DPRK is vulnerable to pre-emptive first strike, has far less capable nuclear forces than the United States, and cannot deliver a retaliatory strike. Therefore, the DPRK nuclear force is nascent and weak, and in many ways as a strategic liability that will divert

significant command attention and forces to deploy that would be more usefully spent on conventional forces, themselves in a parlous state.

### 3. ECONOMIC POWER

Overall, the ROK has outstripped the DPRK so far that short of a catastrophic war, it can never be overtaken in this element of national power. The basic ratios are shown below.

Appendix 4. Comparison of Economic Indices between ROK and DPRK

Classification	ROK		DPRK		Comparison of ROK and DPRK	
	2006	2007	2006	2007	2006	2007
GNI (\$ billions)	887.3	971.3	25.6	26.7	34.7 times	36.4 times
GNI per capita (\$)	18,372	20,045	1,108	1,152	16.6 times	17.4 times
Economic growth rate (%) by GNI	5.1	5.0	-1.1	-2.3	-	-
Total trade volume (\$ billions)	634.85	728.33	3.0	2.94	219 times	247.6 times
Total population (millions)	48.30	48.46	23.08	23.20	2.1 times	2.1 times

\* GNI (Gross National Income): International organizations such as the UN, IMF, etc. and major advanced nations are using GNI instead of GNP. (GNI = GNP)

	GDP	% of total	Ratio of DPRK to neighbor	GDP per capita (USD)	GDP growth (%)	Inflation (%)	External debt	Exports
<b>China</b>	4,668	43%	190	2,493	8.04	-1.30	404.15	1,309.05
<b>Japan</b>	5,077	46%	207	34,885	-5.74	-0.60	-	619.82
<b>Korea, North</b>	25	0.22%	1.00	947	1.90	26.73	-	-
<b>Korea, South</b>	814	7%	33	18,970	-1.89	2.55	198.50	412.47
<b>Mongolia</b>	4	0.04%	0.2	1,157	1.90	9.10	-	-
<b>Taiwan</b>	365	3%	15	16,481	-4.14	-0.77	-	206.59
<b>Regional GDP</b>	<b>10,954</b>	<b>100%</b>						
Source: IHS Global Insight All figures are USD billion (unless stated) All figures are from 2009 (unless stated) GDP per capita figures are denominated in real 2005 USD/person								

Source: Janes, 2010

ROK			DPRK		
<b>GDP by sector</b>			<b>GDP by sector</b>		
agriculture: 3%			agriculture: 23.3%		
industry: 39.4%			industry: 43.1%		
services: 57.6% (2008 est.)			services: 33.6% (2002 est.)		
<b>GDP - per capita (PPP):</b>			<b>GDP - per capita (PPP):</b>		
\$27,700 (2009 est.)			\$1,800 (2008 est.) \$1,800 (2007 est.)		
country comparison to the world: 50			country comparison to the world: 188		
\$28,000 (2008 est.)			<i>note: data are in 2009 US dollars</i>		
\$27,500 (2007 est.)					
<i>note: data are in 2009 US dollars</i>					

### ROK Main Economic Indicators

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009 (forecast)
GDP (current USD billion)	844.74	951.74	1,048.87	930.68	814.44
GDP Growth (annual %)	3.96	5.18	5.11	2.22	-1.89
GDP per capita (constant 2005 USD)	17,431.96	18,244.26	19,084.62	19,420.20	18,970.16
FDI net inflows (BoP current USD billion)	0.00	.000	-0.01	-0.01	-1.44
Inflation, consumer prices (annual %)	2.75	2.24	2.54	4.68	2.55
External debt, total (DoD current USD billion)	187.88	260.06	380.67	228.71	197.37
Exports of goods and services (current USD billion)	334.37	383.32	444.14	511.50	400.55
Imports of goods and services (current USD billion)	313.99	372.92	434.06	520.27	372.18

Source: Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment - China And Northeast Asia, *Economy, Korea, South*, Date Posted: 08-Sep-2009

## **A. ROK Economic Power**

After 1965, the ROK began an accelerated growth sprint based on low wages, a highly educated and disciplined work force working incredible hours, and high rates of savings and capital investment directed into strategic sectors for export competition by authoritarian government and *dirigiste* policies. It rapidly left the DPRK far behind.

The 1997-98 Asian financial crisis exposed enduring weaknesses in the ROK “miracle” including high debt/equity ratios and massive short-term foreign borrowing, with a particularly weak banking sector. After plunging in 1998, GDP recovered to an annual growth rate of 9 % in 1999, passing many reforms to open the economy to greater imports and foreign investment, and favouring increased domestic consumption. Consequently, growth rates fell to 4-5 percent per year until the global economic crisis in late 2008, leading to a drop in GDP in 2009.

The ROK economy faces five major challenges. These are: demographics of aging, labor market rigidity, vulnerability to drop in demand for manufacturing exports; regulation of the oligopolistic power of the major chaebols both in creating inefficiency and in potential for corruption of the political sphere; and the threat of DPRK economic collapse and integration costs.

## **B. DPRK Economic Power**

The DPRK’s economy is in a truly disastrous state. It is one of the most autarchic economies in the world, retaining centralized command and control planning and resource allocation, and with little opportunity to trade. Most of the DPRK’s heavy industry is degraded beyond repair and is operated only by extraordinary improvisation and with grossly inefficient use of factor inputs. The economy is also crippled by its huge military force which has first call on all resources, leaving leftovers for the line agencies responsible for the “civilian” economy. Ecological degradation due to disastrous land use planning and desperate efforts to increase food production have led to increased vulnerability to drought and flooding, creating vicious circles of reduced hydroelectric and coal production in turn reducing power generation in turn affecting rail transport and what little industry is left operating.

The government has allowed small scale service and food markets to operate in the shadows of the command economy, but regularly suppresses them in order to control corruption and to ensure that an independent economy does not emerge. Recently, it attempted currency reform which backfired severely, and forced the government to overturn the policy—a DPRK first.

The DPRK has allowed relatively small amounts of ROK investment in two zones, one at Kaesong, and one at Kumgang Mountain on the east coast. However, both of these have been buffeted by the politics of the ROK-DPRK relationship and have done little to change the DPRK’s economy.

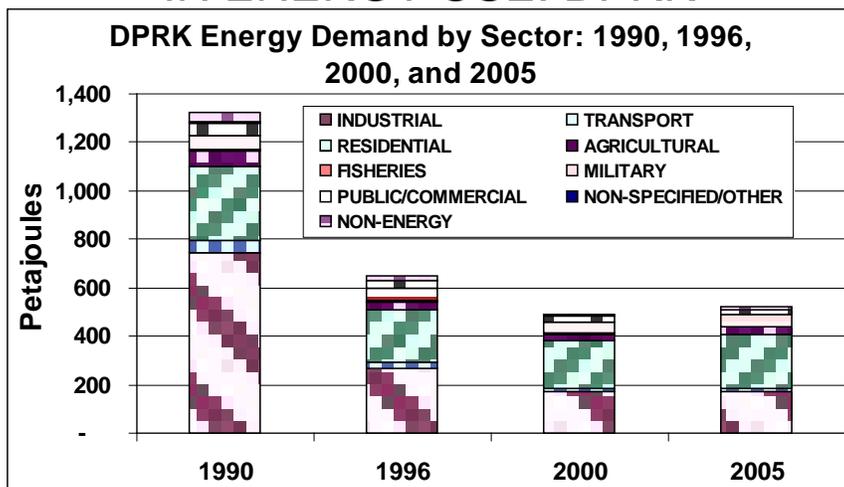
The DPRK remains critically dependent on China for oil and food. In recent years, China has charged the DPRK prices for oil exceeding that obtained from other external oil consumers—an interesting reflection of the state of China-DPRK relations.

Apart from its external dependence for critically needed oil and food imports, the DPRK faces at least four major economic challenges. These are: reform of the state owned enterprises; demobilization of “excess” military personnel and conversion of military facilities; the need for shock therapy via macro-economic structural adjustment, rather than incremental and sectoral change such as occurred in China; and provision of basic physical infrastructure such as energy needed for a successful recovery or transition.

	2005	2006	2007	2008 (estimate)	2009 (forecast)
GDP (current USD billion)	21.69	22.91	23.91	28.52	31.57
GDP growth (annual %)	3.80	-1.10	-2.30	3.61	1.90
GDP per capita (constant 2005 USD)	946.02	929.49	903.38	931.15	945.58
FDI net inflows (BoP current USD billion)	0.28	0.93	1.03	1.40	1.65
Inflation (annual %)	50.00	66.70	55.00	66.70	36.09
External debt (DoD current USD billion)	15.51	16.44	10.42	11.73	13.02
Exports (current USD billion)	1.34	1.47	1.71	2.12	2.53
Imports (current USD billion)	2.72	2.88	3.02	3.39	3.81

Source: Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment - China And Northeast Asia, *Economy, Korea, North* , both posted: 08-Sep-2009

## RECENT TRENDS AND KEY ISSUES IN ENERGY USE: DPRK



# DPRK INFRASTRUCTURE



## 4. GOVERNANCE AND INTERNAL SECURITY

### A. ROK Governance And Internal Security

As a republican-presidential political system with a weakly independent judiciary and a National Assembly with almost no policy-making powers, the ROK retains elements of authoritarian military rule as well as the extraordinary centralization of government powers in the capital city Seoul. In this respect, it could be called a “centripetal democracy.”

The current South Korean government led by President Lee Myung Bak (“Mr. 2MB”) faces strong opposition to proposed reforms in the economy and media laws from parties and political pressure groups, especially those that represent business and labor. His popularity plummeted to 21 percent in April 2008, but after a radical shift towards pragmatic, centrist policies, his support rebounded in 2009 (Moon 2010). His policies towards the DPRK, however, have been driven by conservative Christians, and have led to almost complete stasis in ROK-DPRK relations.

Social cohesion and internal security is strong in the ROK. Although economic growth has been associated with worsening social and economic inequality in the ROK, the integrative power of Korean nationalism and culture is palpable to the outsider. Given Korean propensity to collective group behaviour, political conflicts often erupt into ritualized violent confrontation.

The ROK has strong internal security forces that are independent from the ROK military. These are: the Korean National Police Agency, the Korean National Coast Guard, the Korea Customs Service, the Presidential Security Service, and the National Intelligence Service (formerly KCIA). The police field about 42,000 personnel; the other five agencies have about 11,000 personnel (Janes, Nov 16, 2009)

Overall, risk agencies such as Janes (see graphic below) put the ROK second only to Japan in “stability,” largely due to the military insecurity associated with the ROK-DPRK standoff.

## **B. DPRK Governance And Internal Security**

The DPRK is often described as a “Communist state one-man dictatorship” (CIA, 2010) but this misrepresents the unique nature of the DPRK polity. In 1998, the DPRK official revised its constitution to make it “an independent socialist state representing the interests of all the Korean people,” which “which legally embodies Comrade Kim Il Sung 's Juche state construction ideology and achievements.” (DPRK 1998). This revision was amended in 2009, when Kim Jong Il was formally elevated to “Supreme Leader” and any reference to “communism” was expunged (Choe, 2009).

The pyramid of power that serves as its apex the personalized rule of Kim Jong Il has three pillars. These are the Korean Workers Party, to which all officials belong, but now greatly shrunken in effective power; the line agencies, by which the non-military economy is run; and the Korean People’s Army. Now that the line agencies have withered along with the economy, the real reinforcing rods of Kim’s rule are the military, a fact reflected in the “military first” policy he announced in 2003 that formally replaced the working class as the vanguard of the DPRK revolution (Frank, 2003).

Kim uses the National Defence Commission to implement this policy. I noted earlier that all North Koreans are in the military, one way or another. In addition to the KPA, the paramilitary and reserve forces are the primary entities by which another seven million adults in the DPRK are available for military purposes. Youth and children are also mobilized by the Red Youth Guard.

All these entities are controlled by Kim Jong Il. As a result, most key decisions are never made. Those that are made reflect the informational organizational problems of formulation and implementation associated with centralized rule, and the idiosyncratic characteristics arising from personalized rule. In many respects, Kim runs the DPRK as an absolute king similar to orthodox pre-modern Korean government, overlaid by the modern means of administrative and political control of every aspect of individual life, to an extent that is unique to the DPRK, exceeds the control achieved anywhere else in the world today, and probably is the tightest control over individual life of any political system in human history. Thus, the “Supreme People’s Assembly” of “elected” officials is a purely rubber stamp entity that meets rarely, and then only to ink major policy pronouncements by Kim Jong Il.

One consequence of such a system, apart from its obvious opacity to outsiders, is that it is unpredictable. Perched at the top and surrounded by competing cliques, Kim controls competition for access and influence by internal security agencies that conduct intimate surveillance, and a system of systematic purges combined with continuous rotation of officials across organizations, into provincial or external postings, prison camp, and in important cases, execution.

A particularly important dimension of social control are the legal practice of multi-generational punishment in the DPRK; and the use of prison camps, especially those used to control low-status and actual or potentially alienated individuals. The Prison's Camps Bureau maintains about 12 gulags in mountainous areas that contain about 200,000 people. Human rights investigators have used open source remote sensing imagery cross-referenced with refugee and defector reports to document these sites in great detail (Hawk, 2003).

Kim's control apparatus rests on three primary internal security organizations which have overlapping and competing responsibilities—a characteristic that is likely not an oversight but by design. These are the State Security Department, the Ministry of People's Security (formerly the Ministry of Public Security) and the Security Command (Janes, November 16, 2009). Each of these agencies is also required to be self-funding and operate networks of factories, trading companies, and smuggling operations that often lead to international arrests, sanctions, and deportations outside the DPRK. The novelist "James Church" (the *nom de plume* of a former US intelligence officer) has written three revealing novels about how a North Korean detective, Inspector O, survives in such a system.

Finally, although it has endured for decades, this system could unravel quickly should Kim appear to lose grip, die, or attempt to transfer power by succession to another member of the Kim clique. However, there are no signs of collapse and the means of control are so tight that risk analysts judge the DPRK's military and security stability to be higher than that of China (see Janes graphic below), the likely result of central instability would be that another Kim would take over, backed by the military; or a military modernizing regime would be installed.

## **5. SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT**

### **A. ROK Social Development**

The ROK has achieved OECD standards of social development. The UNDP Human Development Index (a composite of indices for life expectancy, education, and living standard) for the ROK in 2007 was 0.937, or 26<sup>th</sup> out of 182 countries included in the UNDP HDI (UNDP, 2009).

With regard to other aspects of human development not captured by the HDI, the ROK scores less well in comparative terms:

**Gender:** The ROK ranks 61<sup>st</sup> out of 109 countries in the composite empowerment measure GEM, with a value of 0.554. (UNDP, 2009)

**Migration:** The ROK has a low rate of emigration (3 percent per year of which 50 percent go to North America); it also has a very low rate of immigration, with about ½ million migrants representing only 1.2 percent of the population. (UNDP, 2009)

**Telecommunications:** The ROK has a high density of telephony ((21.3 million land lines, 46 million cell phones in 2008). It has 38 million internet users.

		China	Japan	Korea, North Korea, South	Mongolia	Taiwan
Political factors	Clarity of system of governance	5	9	4	9	8
	State adherence to system of governance	3	8	4	7	6
	Public acceptance of organs of state	6	9	2	9	6
	Strength of state institutions	7	9	8	9	5
	Presence of non-military interests in the status quo	7	9	0	8	5
	Support of military for the state	9	9	9	9	7
<b>Political stability</b>		<b>69</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>65</b>
Social factors	Social cohesion	3	9	9	9	6
	Crime	7	8	8	8	6
	Health	4	9	2	8	4
	Demographic stability	4	5	5	7	6
<b>Social stability</b>		<b>50</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>61</b>
Economic factors	Employment and labour	3	9	3	7	3
	Economic policy	6	7	1	8	4
	Robustness of economy	4	8	1	8	4
	Infrastructure	5	9	2	9	3
	Resource reliance	4	8	0	7	4
<b>Economic stability</b>		<b>49</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>40</b>
Military and security factors	State control of security forces	9	9	9	9	7
	Professionalism of security forces	5	9	2	8	6
	Efficacy of security forces	6	7	8	8	3
	Challenge from NSAGS and crime groups	6	8	9	8	7
	Weapons proliferation	7	8	9	7	6
<b>Military and security stability</b>		<b>73</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>64</b>
External factors	Involvement with multilateral institutions	7	6	2	6	5
	Regional relations	5	5	2	1	6
	Geostrategic vulnerability to invasion	4	8	8	7	5
	International reputation	5	9	2	7	6
<b>External stability</b>		<b>58</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>61</b>
<b>Country stability</b>		<b>61</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>58</b>

Source: Jane's Country Stability Ratings, 2010<sup>1</sup>

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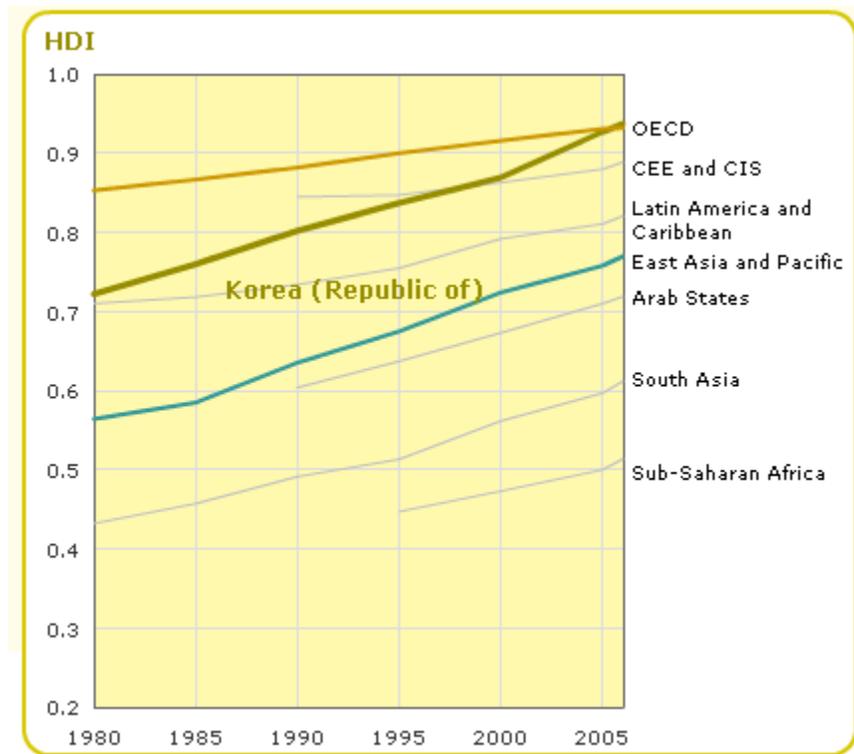
Country Stability Ratings provide a quantitative assessment of the stability environment of a country or autonomous territory. All sovereign countries, non-contiguous autonomous territories and de facto independent entities are included in the assessments.

To gauge stability, 24 factors (that rely on various objective sub-factors) are rated. The 24 factors are classified within five distinct groupings, namely political, social, economic, external and military and security. The stability of each factor is assessed by the Country Stability team as between 0 and 9. The various factors are then weighted according to the importance to the particular country's stability. Stability in each of these groupings is provided, with 0 being entirely unstable and 100 stable.

The weighted factors are also used to produce an overall territory stability rating, from 0 (unstable) to 100 (stable).

Finally, the team then assesses global stability levels, so that weighting and ratings are standardised across all regions.

The ratings are reviewed every quarter and updated as necessary. To simplify the presentation of these various ratings, provided below are the group and overall stability scores. These are colour coded, with **green for high or very high stability**, **orange for moderate to low stability** and **red for very low stability**. Countries coded black should be considered critically unstable.



Source: Indicator table G of the Human Development Report 2009

Source: UNDP, Human Development Report, 2009, Korea: at [http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/country\\_fact\\_sheets/cty\\_fs\\_KOR.html](http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/country_fact_sheets/cty_fs_KOR.html)

## B. DPRK Social Development

When last measured in 1998, using 1995 data supplied before the massive floods and famine at that time, the DPRK's HDI was 0.766, ranking it 75<sup>th</sup> in the measured world. In the fifteen years of economic collapse, famine, and disastrous economic management, there is no doubt that the DPRK's relative HDI is now far lower. So low in fact, that a large number of North Koreans have made the desperate choice to leave the DPRK and to flee to China and beyond (International Crisis Group, 2006; Demick, 2009).

The following snapshot is culled from UN agencies working in the DPRK (WFP, IFAD, UNICEF).

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## DPRK Human Insecurity Snapshot

**Food Security:** *About a quarter of children under five are under weight for age in the DPRK. About one third of the total population is malnourished. In 2008. Close to three quarters of respondents had reduced their food intake, over half were reportedly eating only two meals per day (down from three) and dietary diversity was extremely poor among two thirds of the surveyed population. Most North Koreans sustain themselves by consuming only maize, vegetables and wild foods, a diet lacking protein, fats and micronutrients. Food is scarcest during the “lean season”, the five-month period prior to the autumn rice and maize harvests when stocks of the previous year’s crops rapidly run dry. The impact of food shortages has been unevenly divided amongst the population, with urban households in areas of low industrial activity (particularly the Northeast) being the most affected. These groups have been hard hit by higher food prices, reductions in public food rations as well as lowered employment and salaries caused by industrial recession. Young children, pregnant and lactating women and elderly people are vulnerable to food insecurity and malnutrition.*

**Public Health and Sanitation:**

*In the DPRK, high incidence of diarrhoeal diseases caused by contaminated water, use of unsanitary latrines and unhygienic practices reinforces the cycle of malnutrition and contributes to high infant and child morbidity and mortality. Piped water availability has been curtailed and is often contaminated because of deteriorated infrastructure and distribution system. The treatment of piped water is no longer a regular practice due to lack of national budget.*

**Health System:** *A widespread shortage of essential medicines and basic equipment, due to the continued deterioration of social services, remains a major concern. Local production and importation of drugs has almost completely ceased. Simple equipment is either not in place or is over thirty years old. Knowledge and skills of staff need to be upgraded. Furthermore, the DPRK has high rates of maternal mortality caused by a deteriorating health system.*

**Education:** *Shortages of basic school supplies, often now a charge on parents rather than the local authority, shortages of textbooks, and further degradation of school infrastructure are characteristic. Prolonged hardships, such as illness and lack of adequate heating in schools during the long sub-zero winters, are leading to widespread absenteeism.*

**Ecological Degradation:** *Extensive deforestation and abuse of natural resources in the DPRK is severe to the point of collapse in many locales. This will create an enduring legacy for future generations.*

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## **6.FUTURE PROSPECTS—INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL TO THE KOREAS**

### **A. ROK Future Prospects—Internal and External**

The prospects for the ROK are excellent. The ROK is recovering economically, although its fate is tied closely to that of the global economy, and in particular, to Japan, China, and United States trade relations.

The dark cloud that most affects the long-term future of the ROK is the fate of the DPRK. On the one hand, the DPRK collapsing rapidly would impose enormous strain on the DPRK economy, and also force it to decide what to do with the DPRK's nuclear weapons.

As a significant player in regional and global affairs, the ROK will need to develop mature positions on critical issues such as global climate change (to which the Peninsula is especially vulnerable), global nuclear abolition, etc.

On the other hand, even reunified, Korea would be a relatively small state in terms of military capacity in East Asia, and would not represent a threat to its neighbours, provided it remains non-nuclear. Moreover, removal of the gap in the land-bridge that is the DPRK would enable the ROK to connect a variety of energy, transport, telecommunication and other networks from Japan to Asia and Europe that are currently blocked by the division of Korea.

### **B. DPRK Future Prospects—Internal and External**

The prospect for the DPRK and its leadership is bleak. Kim Jong Il's health is poor, so a succession is conceivable, albeit off unknown probability. There is little chance that the economic poverty of almost all North Koreans will change for the better. The external powers will continue to squeeze the DPRK with sanctions, especially the United States. Hyperinflation is on the cards in the aftermath of the currency redenomination failure. External aid will be minimal so long as the nuclear issue remains unresolved.

This dismal future does not mean the DPRK is about to collapse. Collapsists have been arguing since 1991 that the DPRK will collapse in the next few years. One notable expert (Foster-Carter in Kay, 2009) just reissued his latest prediction in this regard, no more persuasive than in the past--first encountered by this author in 1992! (Foster-Carter, 1993). Many scenarios, including a persistent, slow recovery and gradual modernization of the DPRK, are possible (Witt, 2010).

## **II. COMPETING KOREAN NUCLEAR NATIONALISMS AND THE CHEONAN**

Section I has demonstrated convincingly that given the fundamentals, the balance of power game in the Korean Peninsula is over. At best, DPRK can survive as a small, impoverished and isolated state frozen in the past and armed with nuclear weapons. In short, the DPRK's nuclear

breakout is like Kim Jong Il yelling Cut! and freeze-framing the production of the last scene before The End and credits appear in the last and final DPRK action movie made for export.

I argued previously (Hayes, 2006a) that the time to reverse the DPRK's nuclear breakout passed in 2004-6. At about that time, the identity of the top leadership in North Korea was fused with the image of a strong nuclear state in the DPRK's internal propaganda. Since then, the probability of denuclearizing the DPRK has dwindled towards zero due to a combination of internal and external circumstances. Until 2004, the DPRK could have portrayed a successful negotiated denuclearization as embodying the strength, prowess, and wisdom of Kim Jong Il, facing down the United States. Once the Bush Administration slammed shut that exit door, however, nuclear armament became all but inevitable.

The DPRK is a highly idiosyncratic state that combines orthodox Korean (patriarchal) political culture, overlaid by the totalitarian means of modern administrative and political control invented by Stalin and refined by Kim Il Sung. The former is based on the exercise of personalized power embedded in kin relations which, when combined with the latter means of surveillance and control, generates a centripetal and introspective politics that works like the tornado-like vortex. The ideological framework that reconstitutes a traditional Korean ethos in the service of the DPRK's leadership and state power is rooted in Korean history. Roughly, the DPRK's narrative begins with the common foundational theme of Korean nationalism, which is Korea as the victim of great powers, especially China, but in recent history, Japan and today, the United States. Thus, the anti-Japanese struggle, liberation from Japanese colonialism, and the division of the Korean nation by the great powers are all constantly invoked in explaining the predicaments that confound the DPRK's rightful place in the sun and reduce its inhabitants to shameful penury.

These external pressures are applied inexorably by the regime to justify leadership by one person and one party, and now one military rule. The constant beat of external threat, the emphasis on *juche* or self-reliant national independence, the use of internal controls and terror to sustain compliance by the population, the forced march industrial accumulation of the sixties-seventies followed by the forced march of survival and starvation during famine in the nineties, the use of dynastic succession to ensure stable rule and generational change in the midst of enormous stress on individuals, households, and organizations, all these themes were incorporated and condensed into the symbolism of an overarching DPRK-style nuclear nationalism that portrays the DPRK as a modern, self-reliant nuclear state, beholden and accountable to no-one but itself, utterly isolated, and (from an external perspective), a supplier of only global public bads (starvation, refugees, famine, drugs, arms exports, risk of war, terrorism, nuclear threat, etc).

The DPRK simply has no other narrative to match the ROK's overwhelming power on every front. This is the only element that not only matches that of the ROK, but trumps it—because the ROK depends on an external power to extend nuclear threat to it (“nuclear umbrella”). Because the DPRK's nuclear strategy is aimed at achieving political goals rather than driven by deterrence per se, it is calibrated rhetorically in different ways for different audiences. Thus, its declaratory (threat rhetoric and formal statements) may contradict its operational doctrine (tests, deployment options, exercises, warplans, delivery systems). However, this is not important to the regime as there is little linkage between the external and domestic constituencies.

Externally, the DPRK attempts to project an image of the DPRK as a responsible, legitimate nuclear weapons state armed with nuclear weapons solely for deterrence against external, especially US, nuclear or non-nuclear attack. This is the essence of its own “Nuclear Posture” statement issued concurrently with that of the Obama Nuclear Posture Review, and clearly modelled in many respects on China’s nuclear doctrine.

Internally—that is, with regard to intra-DPRK domestic and inter-Korean constituencies, the DPRK portrays its hard-won nuclear weapons status as having forced the great powers and the ROK as having to adjust their stance towards it due to its nuclear threat—that is, in spite of its weakness on other fronts, it can still compel them to change their policies. In this section, therefore, we examine closely how this strategy has unfolded from 2006 up to today.

### **1. North Korea’s Nuclear Shadow and the Sinking of the *Cheonan***

The DPRK has not articulated a clear declaratory policy with regard to its nuclear weapons. We also lack most information needed to evaluate its operational doctrines that apply to whatever plutonium it has weaponized and/or deployed. The prevailing assumption in the strategic circles is that the DPRK will reserve its nuclear weapons for some form of strategic deterrence, and act cautiously to avoid any pathway to nuclear escalation involving its forces.

Indeed, a renowned Russian expert on the DPRK argues that the appearance of a DPRK nuclear “deterrent, has reduced the risk of war in the vicinity of Russia’s borders.<sup>2</sup> The DPRK Ministry of Foreign Affairs itself has argued along these lines in recent weeks, stating that its nuclear weapons filled a “nuclear vacuum zone” in Northeast Asia. “By the deterrence effect provided by the Republic’s possession of nuclear weapons,” it continued, “the danger of the outbreak of a war has noticeably reduced.”<sup>3</sup>

History suggests otherwise. The DPRK pursued a slow-motion proliferation strategy in order to compel the United States to change its hostile policies towards the DPRK—a goal which proved unobtainable. But there is little to suggest that the DPRK’s nuclear capacity is primarily military in nature, or aimed at buttressing conventional deterrence in Korea. Rather, it is a political and symbolic force aimed at keeping the great powers—especially the United States—on the back foot, and at seeking a way to match and overwhelm the ROK’s superiority in every other element of national power in the competition for ultimate dominance in the Peninsula.

Thus, a military incident involving substantial use of force against one of the states party to the Korea conflict is of great significance at this early moment in interpreting the DPRK’s intention as against its nuclear weapons capacity about which much is known. The attack on the *Cheonan*

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<sup>2</sup> “My opinion is that the actual use of a DPRK nuclear weapon (even if it were to prove to be operational) is highly improbable. The exception is an all-out war, and all-out war is actually deterred by the presence of nuclear potential in North Korea.” G. Toloraya, “Russia and the North Korean Knot,” *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, 16-2-10, April 19, 2010, at: <http://www.japanfocus.org/-Georgy-Toloraya/3345>

<sup>3</sup> KCNA, “DPRK Issues Foreign Ministry ‘Memorandum’ 21 Apr on Denuclearization of Korean Peninsula,” Open Source translation found at: <http://www.armscontrolwonk.com/2708/seoul-purposeoriginal> Korean language version online at: <http://www.kcna.co.jp/calendar/2010/04/04-21/2010-0421-024.html>

suggests that the DPRK intends to exploit this capacity for expanding political ends, not deterrence. There is no military, let alone nuclear deterrent, response to such a strategy that makes sense. Rather, a political strategy is required to counter the DPRK's nuclear aggression, one that devalues not only its nuclear weapons, but the role of nuclear weapons in general.

We argue that such a strategy is available to the allies in Northeast Asia, and should be implemented with Russian and Chinese support at the earliest opportunity. This strategy is for the ROK and the United States to initiate and to implement an ROK-Japan Nuclear Weapon Free Zone, and for the ROK to fashion a distinctly non-nuclear security strategy that leverages its middle power status contributing to the solution of global problems.

Unlike the current approach of matching DPRK threats with expanded but mostly rhetorical nuclear extended deterrence which plays into the DPRK's hands, this approach--currently the "road not taken"-- would leave the DPRK sitting in splendid isolation atop a small pile of useless nuclear weapons in very deep economic hole from which there is no exit, and facing massive, overwhelming conventional force in response to any DPRK first-use of nuclear weapons.

## 2. The Cheonan Was Different

The ROK corvette *Cheonan* was sunk on March 26, 2010 by a torpedo that was fired by a DPRK submarine, according to a multi-national investigation team convened by the ROK government.<sup>4</sup> It is always problematic to interpret an event based on one party's story, especially when the other's that of the North Korea, has been one of complete denial.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, although the findings of the team's report have been released, the 400 page report itself has not, making it hard to speculate with certainty about the events that took place on that day.

Yet some aspects are clear. If the investigative team is correct, then the attack was preplanned well ahead of time, and entailed prepositioning an attack submarine at risk of being identified before, during or after the attack given the existence of extensive anti-submarine warfare hydrophones in the area, long contested underneath as well as above the waves. A submarine wasn't in an area coincidentally able to launch an attack.

It is also not plausible that the torpedoing was the result of some kind of jockeying between surface warships "in the heat of the moment." This attack differs from previous provocations in this area which were characterized by risky confrontations by surface vessels with outcomes that

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<sup>4</sup> The Joint Civilian-Military Investigation Group, *Investigation result on the sinking of ROK's "Cheonan,"* May 20, 2010, at: [http://www.mnd.go.kr/mndEng\\_2009/WhatsNew/RecentNews/](http://www.mnd.go.kr/mndEng_2009/WhatsNew/RecentNews/) The Russian government reportedly will announce its own findings on who and what caused the sinking in July 2010. To date, China has reserved its opinions and is unlikely to make a public declaration.

<sup>5</sup> The DPRK and pro-DPRK writers have published various arguments against it being the perpetrator of this attack. These are shifting as well as inconsistent. See Kim Myong Chol, who states: "The Korean People's Army has been put on combat readiness. Supreme Commander Kim Jong-il is one click away from turning Seoul, Tokyo and New York into a sea of fire with a fleet of nuclear-tipped North Korean intercontinental ballistic missiles." in "South Korea in the line of friendly fire," *Asia Times*, May 26, 2010, at: <http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Korea/LE26Dg01.html> For an official and authoritative DPRK account of the sinking, also containing some absurd and blatantly false assertions, see: KCNA, "DPRK Military Commentator on 'Truth' Behind 'Theories' on DPRK's Torpedo Attack," May 25, 2010.

were improvised rather than pre-planned in that no-one could know who would shoot first.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, the DPRK's submarines do not have secure communications using either satellites or other underwater transmission communications. The submarine that attacked the *Cheonan* went with pre-delegated authority and orders to attack.

Indeed, one has to go back all the way to 1976 when DPRK ground troops attacked US and ROK soldiers at Panmunjon who were cutting down a tree and later fired on a US helicopter in *Operation Paul Bunyan*;<sup>7</sup> or to 1969, when DPRK aircraft downed a US spy plane; or to 1968, when the DPRK's vessels seized the US spyship *Pueblo*, to find a similar outright, purposeful attack on ROK or US conventional military forces by North Korea.<sup>8</sup>

Since then, the DPRK has undertaken many unconventional military operations in the ROK, including insertion of small groups of spies via tiny submarines. It has engaged in firefights at the DMZ. In 1983, it attempted to kill then ROK President Chun Doo-hwan by bombing a building in Rangoon. It fired many short, medium and long-range rockets beyond its borders or into disputed areas, escalating tension and leading to sanctions. It has arrested ROK fishing vessels that strayed into its waters or self-declared maritime security zone.

But it has never undertaken a conventional military action on this scale against ROK or US forces.

Some observers have suggested that the sinking was a revenge attack for damages inflicted on a DPRK vessel in the same waters last year, on the "action for action" principle adhered to by the DPRK in foreign policy. Another interpretation of the attack is that it was a black eye to ROK President Lee Myung Bak in the never-ending competition for inter-Korean dominance, and specifically, a response to his junking of many of the past cooperation agreements between the DPRK and the ROK and the imposition of new conditionalities on ROK-DPRK cooperation. This explanation may explain the timing of the attack, but not its modality.

Given that this attack is the first of its type since the DPRK declared it was armed with nuclear weapons, it is worth asking therefore whether the attack on the *Cheonan* is related to its acquisition of nuclear weapons?

### **3. The Nuclear Factor**

Ever since the early 1970s, the DPRK has faced deteriorating conventional force ratios on the ground in Korea. It moved its military forces forward to the immediate north of the Demilitarized Zone at that time. This posture attempted to overcome some of these emerging deficits in military power by reducing warning time and threatening parts of Seoul with long range artillery and mobile armored breakthrough forces before a DPRK attack could be halted.

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<sup>6</sup> J. M. Van Dyke, M. J. Valencia, and J. Miller Garmendia, "The North/South Korea Boundary Dispute in the Yellow (West) Sea," 27, *Marine Policy*, pp. 143-58, 2003.

<sup>7</sup> P. Hayes, *Pacific Powderkeg, American Nuclear Dilemmas in Korea*, Lexington, 1991, pp. 126-134.

<sup>8</sup> R. Nanto, *North Korea: Chronology of Provocations, 1950 – 2003*, Congressional Research Service, Updated March 18, 2003, at: [http://www.nautilus.org/DPRKBriefingBook/military/CRS-RL30004\\_NorthKoreaChronologyofProvocations.pdf](http://www.nautilus.org/DPRKBriefingBook/military/CRS-RL30004_NorthKoreaChronologyofProvocations.pdf)

Some have speculated that this operation might have been undertaken by a rogue element, operating without Kim Jong Il's knowledge, or an over-enthusiastic implementation of a vague directive to avenge the past humiliation suffered at the hands of the ROK navy. This is certainly conceivable because personalized and centralized command and control systems often distort outcomes relative to intended effects. However, it is not credible that a premeditated attack on this scale would have occurred without Kim Jong Il's oversight and knowledge, even if his approval was "disavowable" on the principle (often used by leaders of states and corporations) that he can always deny having ordered it later in the course of negotiations and dialogue should this prove necessary or desirable.

And indeed, on his May 2-7, 2010 visit to China after the sinking, "other" DPRK channels than Kim Jong Il reportedly denied any DPRK involvement in the attack.<sup>9</sup> However, Kim Jong Il would have known that not only would the source of the attack become public, but it would have been all-but-inevitable that it would surface "made in the DPRK." Indeed, he must have also been aware of the possibility that the attack submarine might have been counter-attacked and identified on the spot, rather than after an exhaustive and protracted investigation that took place.

He would have also considered the strategic consequences of such a strike on DPRK-PRC relations in the regional geo-strategic context of China's vital security interests in the Peninsula. And, he would have evaluated the possible escalation pathways that might have been taken by the DPRK on the one hand, and the United States and the ROK on the other; and what might give the latter pause before responding in kind.

In this regard, Kim Jong Il assuredly knows that the DPRK's conventional military today faces deteriorating force ratios with the combined and separated US-ROK forces and is inferior in almost every respect. Most of the DPRK's weapons are at least half a century old and short of parts, fuel, and maintenance. In contrast, South Korea has developed a technologically advanced military supported by the US military. The corollary of this vulnerability, from long-standing DPRK practice, is to never show weakness and once pushed, push back harder. The original decision to conduct some kind of retaliatory attack likely occurred not long after the November 2009 incident.

In light of this situation, he could not be confident that escalation from a clash at sea to the DMZ and beyond would not result in the elimination of his regime and leadership, and he was willing to take that risk. He might believe that being able to hurl thousands of high explosive projectiles for a few hours or days onto northern Seoul, killing scores of thousands of civilians, might deter the US-ROK forces from responding to the loss of the *Cheonan*. That's probably a reasonable estimate of how the US and ROK leadership would and did appraise the risk-benefit stakes in the aftermath of such a clash.

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<sup>9</sup> This was indirectly reported to have been stated by the Chinese Ambassador to Seoul after the visit as reported by the ROK official Yonhap news service on May 17, 2010. The official Chinese statement after the meetings in Beijing was anodyne: see "Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Ma Zhaoxu's Regular Press Conference on May 13, 2010," at: <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/xwfw/s2510/t694561.htm>

But Kim Jong Il could not have been certain that conventional deterrence would hold. Moreover, he has not attempted such a blatant offensive military attack for decades, perhaps because he is acutely aware of the inferior state of the DPRK's military force. He's reportedly a very cautious and intelligent leader so it can't have been far from his mind that his nascent nuclear force provides a new reason for American and South Korean leaders to respond cautiously, and likely offsets some of the risk associated with attacking the *Cheonan*.

As planning for an attack proceeded, he would also have known in March that he had a visit pending to China in May. The DPRK has long sought to enter into bilateral negotiations with the United States and has found the Six Party Talks to be a *cul de sac* at best. What better way to take the next step—smash any prospect of a resumption of the Six Party Talks hosted by China at the urging of the United States? What better way to force the United States to engage in bilateral dialogue than to attack a ROK submarine, with all the attendant risks, and do so in full knowledge that he and the DPRK are untouchable because they now cast a nuclear shadow over the ROK in a way that never arose during the Cold War when Chinese and Soviet crossed over American nuclear penumbra cast onto the ROK—a triple shadow of nuclear threat?

The visit has been interpreted as Kim Jong Il informing the Chinese leadership that a succession is under way, and that he said that bilateral ties will endure the “alteration of generations,” according to a report in *Xinhua Domestic News Service* on May 7, 2010. That is, he was asserting that the Chinese need to get used to the idea of a permanently nuclear-armed DPRK on their doorstep, for generations to come.<sup>10</sup> Having delivered this message in person, Kim Jong Il returned to the DPRK.

#### 4. North Korea's Nuclear Compellence Strategy

What does this series of actions and events tell us about the DPRK's stance with regard to nuclear weapons? Up until 2005, the DPRK often referred to its nuclear weapons program as the diplomatic negotiating abstract noun “nukes.” The phrase then morphed into a potential “physical deterrent,” a “nuclear deterrent” (past, present, future unspecified), a “war deterrent” that it would be forced to develop against the threat of invasion or US pre-emptive attack, until in mid-2005, it simply stated outright that it had nuclear weapons and that these not only guarantee the peace in Korea, but defend the ROK (!).<sup>11</sup> Then (as it began to re-engage for negotiations

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<sup>10</sup> Kim Jong Il also wrote in similar terms on his return that “It is my belief that the DPRK-China friendship deeply enshrined by the peoples of the two countries would grow stronger and develop generation after generation full of fresh vim and vigor thanks to the joint efforts of the two parties and two peoples,” in KCNA, “Kim Jong Il Sends Message of Thanks to Chinese President,” May 7, 2010, at: <http://kcna.co.jp/item/2010/201005/news07/20100507-15ee.html>

<sup>11</sup> A spokesperson from the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland in response to the ROK Foreign Minister Ban Ki-Moon's comments stated on Radio Pyongyang broadcast: “As everyone knows, US attempts at a war of northward aggression have been frustrated, peace and security are ensured on the Korean peninsula, and the nation's fate is safeguarded thanks to our powerful nuclear deterrent. This is a reality nobody can negate and is a fact those at home and abroad officially recognize. To be quite honest, it is a reality that South Korea, too, benefits from our nuclear deterrent. Without our precious nuclear sword, wars would already have broken out on the Korean peninsula tens of hundreds of times more owing to the United States, and South Korea would not have been safe in those bullet showers, either. There is even no need to mention this twice. In a condition where it is actually benefiting from our military-first politics and nuclear umbrella, South Korea should naturally

with the United States and four other states), the rhetoric alluded to building, then bolstering its nuclear deterrent, followed after the July 2006 UN Security Council resolutions on its missile program, to undertaking “stronger physical actions” leading up to its October 2006 nuclear test.

In this entire period, the DPRK played the same game that it did with nuclear threat from 1992 onwards. That is, it used nuclear compellence to force the United States to change its policies towards the DPRK while confronting China with the reality of the DPRK’s new-found power asset. In 2006, one of this essay’s authors dubbed the DPRK a “stalker state,” that is, one that was attempting to harass and engage the United States with nuclear threat, not one that is aimed at strengthening deterrence.<sup>12</sup> The difference between deterrence and compellence is critical in understanding the DPRK’s nuclear strategy.<sup>13</sup>

Deterrence aims to deter—to stop an adversary from doing something that they intend to do, either immediately, or in a generic manner (sometimes the latter is called dissuasion). Compellence aims to compel—to force an adversary to act differently, again, either immediately or in some generic manner. In western thinking, the concept of compellence is often called coercive diplomacy. In strategic nuclear matters, the concept of deterrence has predominated since the late 1950s, at least in theory and in declaratory doctrine. (In operational doctrine such as warplans, targeting, and exercises, the practice often veered towards compellence.) Of course, elements of deterrence and compellence combined in different ratios always co-exist and often work in contradictory ways in real world coercive diplomacy, especially when combined with reassurance.

In the DPRK’s case, the nuclear weapons proliferation activity originated as a compellence strategy in the 1991, when the DPRK began a concerted campaign to engage the United States and to force it adjust its “hostile” policies. The coercive rather than deterrent nature of its strategy is what explained the slow-motion nature of its proliferation activity, its proclivity to attack apparently sacrosanct targets (such as the IAEA and the NPT system), and its calibration of these activities with exquisite precision to its negotiating strategies with the United States and third parties. In our view, the DPRK is not seeking primarily to demonstrate that the DPRK is a “responsible” state armed with nuclear weapons that aims to obtain international recognition and legitimacy by using this capacity only for deterrence, reinforce regional “stability” based on mutual threat perceptions between nuclear weapon states, and in particular, reassuring its neighbors and the nuclear weapons states in the region.

Indeed, the DPRK has declared that it doesn’t seek prestige or external recognition of its nuclear weapons status and stands outside all legal frameworks governing nuclear weapons—attributing a self-declared nuclear outlaw status to the DPRK. In response to the NPT conference of 189 countries call on the DPRK to denuclearize and return to the NPT on June 1, 2010, the DPRK

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denounce and condemn the United States, which is trying to inflict catastrophes of war on our nation.” Radio Pyongyang, *Korean Central Broadcasting Station*, May 6, 2005.

<sup>12</sup> P. Hayes, “The Stalker State: North Korean Proliferation and the End of American Nuclear Hegemony,” *Nautilus Policy Forum Online* 06-82A, October 4th, 2006, at: <http://www.nautilus.org/fora/security/0682Hayes.html>

<sup>13</sup> The classic clarification of these categories is P. Morgan, *Deterrence: A conceptual analysis*, Beverly Hills, Sage Publications, 1977. The classic study of American coercive diplomacy is A. George, R. Smoke, *Deterrence in American Foreign Policy*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1974.

rejected any notion that it is beholden to the international community or its rules for governing nuclear weapons. As the DPRK Foreign Ministry spokesman stated, “The DPRK does not want anybody to recognize it as a nuclear weapons state nor feels any need to be done so. It is just satisfied with the pride and self-esteem that it is capable of reliably defending the sovereignty of the country and the security of the nation with its own nuclear weapons.”<sup>14</sup>

There was never any reason to the DPRK to play the game of strategic nuclear deterrence as learned during the Cold War between the United States and the former Soviet Union. Instead, the United States finds itself for the first time facing a small, aggressive and hostile state without a secure retaliatory capacity but possessing nuclear weapons used for compellence, not deterrence. This is not a game that American strategists are used to or even understand that they are playing. Indeed, as Patrick Morgan pointed out in 2006,<sup>15</sup> like the North Koreans, the United States used nuclear threat for most of the same period as the DPRK breakout for compellence, not deterrence purposes.

Thus, after a lull in projection of nuclear threat by the DPRK for most of 2008, in 2009 the DPRK Ministry of Foreign Affairs declared flatly: “It is the reality on the Korean Peninsula that we can live without normalizing the relations with the U.S. but not without nuclear deterrent.”<sup>16</sup> This signaled an end to the primary target of DPRK nuclear coercive strategy for the entire period from 1989-2008, wherein the DPRK attempted to compel the United States to change its policy.

To ensure that everyone understood the significance of this reversal of past strategy, the DPRK explained that: “Though [sic; even if] the bilateral relations are normalized in a diplomatic manner, the DPRK's status as a nuclear weapons state will remain unchanged as long as it is exposed even to the slightest U.S. nuclear threat.”<sup>17</sup>

With this radical change announced publicly, the question becomes: what is the primary target of the DPRK's nuclear threat projection since 2009?

## **5. ROK As Primary Target**

The significance of the attack on the *Cheonan* is that the main target this time was a ROK, not an American warship. The attack suggests that future North Korean nuclear compellence will focus on the ROK, whereas the main target during the proliferation-breakout period (1989-2006) was the United States. This does not mean that the DPRK will not continue to attempt to compel the United States or other states to change their policies by projecting nuclear threat at them; nor that some measure of deterrence for an attack is also desired by the DPRK (although a small, vulnerable nuclear weapons force that cannot credibly retaliate after US first use is of questionable deterrent effect because it begs pre-emptive first use against it, thus arguably

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<sup>14</sup> Broadcast, Pyongyang *Korean Central Broadcasting Station*. May 24, 2010.

<sup>15</sup>P. Morgan, “Deterrence and System Management: The Case of North Korea,” *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 2006; 23; 121-138.

<sup>16</sup> KCNA, “DPRK Foreign Ministry's Spokesman Dismisses U.S. Wrong Assertion,” January 17, 2009, at: <http://www.kcna.co.jp/item/2009/200901/news17/20090117-11ee.html>

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

increasing the risk of attack against the DPRK in a true crisis—albeit one that might not destroy the DPRK leadership or its weapons, and would also create huge fallout drifting onto the ROK and Japan, depending on the season).

The DPRK as a “nuclear state” is the only dimension in which the DPRK can match or surpass the ROK’s overwhelmingly superior power capacities. The attack highlighted the ROK’s dependency on the United States for nuclear extended deterrence, exploiting a psychological vulnerability of the ROK leadership. The supine US-ROK response in conventional military terms (including the eventual postponement of anti-submarine warfare exercises in the area where the *Cheonan* was struck) underscored the ROK perception that the US nuclear deterrent is vacuous, when it is self-evident to them that the DPRK struck with full force an enduring conventional military vulnerability with great political effect, and paid no price.

Often DPRK statements aimed at the outside world are calibrated to different audiences, whereas domestic statements state forthrightly what is on the mind of the leadership to leading cadres and to the population as a whole. On May 28, 2010, Pak Rim-su, Policy Department Director of the DPRK’s National Defense Commission explained on North Korean television that the DPRK’s nuclear weapons were prepared to deal with the ROK’s anti-DPRK “confrontation” of which the *Cheonan* incident was merely one instance.<sup>18</sup> Stated Pak:

*As has been clearly confirmed today again, the recent incident of ship Chonan's sinking is the shameless fabricated act and smear act that the South side conceived of thoroughly for the confrontation with the fellow countrymen. The fact that [South Korea] is going berserk in the anti-Republic confrontation in the entire region while picking on the incident of ship Chonan is a blatant declaration of war against us and a specially gross criminal act of driving North-South relations into a state of war, and thus, is the act of self-destruction of them digging up their own graves.*

*It was none other than to become prepared for an acute situation like today that we have devoted all our energy into strengthening the nuclear deterrent under the military-first banner. We firmly believe once again that it is perfectly just to have consolidated powerful military strength, including the nuclear deterrent, under the military-first banner.*

*Including nuclear weapons, our mighty physical means -- our physical means -- which the world is not yet able to even imagine or predict, are by no means an exhibit or an article in custody. In other words, it is not something to merely exhibit in a display case*

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<sup>18</sup> His remarks were reported in China: Gao Haorong and Zhao Zhan: "DPRK Military Holds Press Briefing To Explain Its Position on the Cheonan Incident," *Xinhua Domestic Service*, May 28, 2010. Lee Sigal (review comments) suggests an alternative interpretation of this statement “is not evidence that the North has moved to a strategy of compellence, bolstered by nukes. His comments come in a context is that the South is looking for a second Korean war: see *Rodong Simmun* and that there is risk of war, so [in] need peace process. I continue to see this as teaching the South a lesson for the November attack and raising the risk of war to encourage a South climb-down from trying to show the North who's boss. The investigation ploy and peace process are setting up exploiting differences between the South, which does not want 6 PT and peace talks, and the US, which does. At the same time, since both North and South Korea believe neither wants war, they're both like to escalate here because they think they can control the risks.”

*to look at, nor is it an article in custody to store, and store, in storage.*

*Indeed, now is the time to fully explode our military potential and to demonstrate the mettle of our revolutionary armed forces.*

The DPRK has been no less explicit in its external statements. On April 21, 2010, the DPRK issues its first in-depth statement of nuclear doctrine, including an explanation of its no first-use position first announced in 2006.<sup>19</sup> “The mission of the nuclear forces of the DPRK,” the statement reads, “is to deter and repel aggression and attack against the country and the nation until the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula and the world is realized. The DPRK is invariably maintaining the policy not to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states or threaten them with nuclear weapons as long as they do not join the act of invading or attacking us in conspiracy with nuclear weapons states.”<sup>20</sup>

This qualification is clearly targeted at the ROK and Japan, both of whom are in alliance with a nuclear weapon state (United States). Obviously, there is no objective way to determine what the DPRK perceives to be an invasion, an attack, or conspiratorial attack with a nuclear state, and therefore, no way to know when the DPRK no first-use commitment is operative. The fact that such a statement was issued only a week after the DPRK threatened nuclear strikes against the ROK on March 26<sup>th</sup>--the same day as the sinking of the *Cheonan*--underscores the chilling meaning of the authoritative April 1<sup>st</sup> statement. The ROK is a nuclear target so long as it is allied with the United States.<sup>21</sup>

The DPRK began to hammer on this theme in 2009, but then, it was aimed primarily at compelling the United States to change its negotiating stance.”<sup>22</sup> This time, the meaning is much clearer. In Pyongyang’s view, the ROK and its policies towards the DPRK, as well as its alliance with the United States, make it fair game for a DPRK nuclear first strike.

Moreover, the DPRK blames the ROK for relying upon the United States to match the DPRK threats with countervailing nuclear threat, rather than either ignoring the DPRK threats, or matching them by developing a ROK nuclear force. To this end, North Korean writers portray the ROK leadership as seeking to confront the DPRK in a confrontation of “northward aggression” backed by “outside forces” (especially the United States).

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<sup>19</sup> “It [the DPRK] conducted the nuclear test under the conditions where its security is fully guaranteed and clearly declared that the DPRK, a responsible nuclear weapons state, would never use nukes first and will not allow nuclear transfer.” KCNA, “DPRK Foreign Ministry Spokesman Totally Refutes UNSC “Resolution,” April 21, 2010, at: <http://www.kcna.co.jp/item/2006/200610/news10/18.htm#1>

<sup>20</sup> KCNA, “DPRK Issues Foreign Ministry ‘Memorandum’ 21 Apr on Denuclearization of Korean Peninsula,” April 21, 2010, at: <http://www.armscontrolwonk.com/2708/seoul-purposeoriginal> Korean language version online at: <http://www.kcna.co.jp/calendar/2010/04/04-21/2010-0421-024.html>

<sup>21</sup> “Those who seek to bring down the system in the DPRK, whether they play a main role or a passive role, will fall victim to the unprecedented nuclear strikes of the invincible army and the just war to be waged by all the infuriated service personnel and people.” KCNA, “US-S. Korean Moves to Bring down System in DPRK Warned,” March 26, 2010, at: <http://www.kcna.co.jp/item/2010/201003/news26/20100326-04ee.html>

<sup>22</sup> On January 13, 2009, for example, it asserted that: “[Only] When the U.S. nuclear threat is removed and south Korea is cleared of its nuclear umbrella, we will also feel no need to keep its [the DPRK’s nuclear weapons.” KCNA, “DPRK Foreign Ministry’s Spokesman Dismisses U.S. Wrong Assertion,” January 13, 2009, at: <http://www.kcna.co.jp/item/2009/200901/news13/20090113-13ee.html>

As one North Korean commentator wrote on April 19, 2010: “The conservative gang is willing to unhesitatingly light the fuse of a nuclear war in the land of the fatherland in cahoots and collaboration with the aggressors to realize its wild ambition for confrontation. It has now become clear beyond doubt that their harping on “cooperation over the nuclear issue” is a prelude to a nuclear war.”<sup>23</sup>

In short, the DPRK equates ROK reliance on US nuclear extended deterrence as “a racket of asking for a nuclear preemptive attack on us,”<sup>24</sup> and thereby characterizes the ROK leadership as traitorous and disregarding “the national soul.”<sup>25</sup>

This psychological warfare links the nuclear strategy back to the underlying, fundamental conflict between the ROK and the DPRK, which is indeed competition as to which Korea will inherit the mantle of Korean nationalism in the struggle to claim its place as the rightful guardian of the Korean “soul.” Domestically, it justifies the arduous years of struggle and starvation. In one move, it devalues the overwhelming superiority of the ROK in economic status. How, after all, is one to measure who has legitimate claim to the “national soul?”

### III. THE ROK’S NON-NUCLEAR OPTION

The ROK shares many of the foundational elements of North Korean nationalism with regard to victimization by great powers, the importance of liberation from Japan, and the external imposition of division of the Korean nation and the immeasurable cost of the Korean war.

Thereafter, however, the narrative diverges and fractures into multiple, contending arguments about the nature of terror during the period of military rule, the economic miracle, the heroic uprisings against the military dictatorship culminating in its overthrow in 1987, and the creation of Korean-style democracy that accommodates the fractious politics that characterize the ROK polity today. Instead of the DPRK’s *juche* and alliance with the PRC, the ROK relies mostly on ensuring that it is perceived to be a reliable ally with the United States while preserving its autonomy in the domains that are amenable to small power jurisdiction such as terms of trade, regional institution building, and diversifying its security dependence by building strong diplomatic and economic ties with Russia and China.

In stark contrast with the DPRK, the ROK has become a virtual nuclear state with a large nuclear fuel cycle and technological capacity to proliferate in short order, while articulating the notion of “nuclear sovereignty” or the idea that it should be able to achieve equal status in fuel cycle capacities with Japan—the region’s other virtual nuclear state. The ROK is also highly connected with external world, and is viewed as an emerging global player and supplier of global public goods.

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<sup>23</sup> Choe Chol-sun: “A Prelude to Provoking a Nuclear War,” *Rodong Sinmun*. April 19, 2010.

<sup>24</sup> Song Yong-sok: “Criminal Solicitation Game Aimed at a Nuclear War,” *Rodong Sinmun*, April 14, 2010.

<sup>25</sup> Choe Chol-sun, *op cit*.

The ROK has no equal and opposite nuclear capacity with which to simply block the DPRK's nuclear threats. Indeed, the ROK has chosen to rely on interdependence as its main strategy to deal with great powers rather than to seek its own equivalent of the DPRK's "great equalizer."

In developing its own path to security, there is no reason to believe that the North Koreans will be "strategically patient" as counseled by US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton.<sup>26</sup> In fact, the United States does not have a meaningful policy towards the DPRK except for "containment" and is merely improvising its response today. Relying on additional nuclear threat will simply result in escalation of DPRK nuclear threat rhetoric and action. The obvious riposte to American-led action at the UN Security Council or interdicting DPRK ships is to restart the Yongbyon reactor, create a nuclear alliance with another state, and/or stage a third nuclear test.<sup>27</sup>

The DPRK and American nuclear forces are involved in inter-Korean compellence games, not deterrence. This is a very dangerous situation that needs to be curtailed immediately—first and foremost by the North Koreans "advised" by China and Russia; and secondly, by the United States working with the South Koreans on the current conflict over the sinking of the *Cheonan*.

The current cycle of escalation can spin out of control rapidly and result in an open conflict that would be very costly to all the states in the region. It is urgent that the United States find a new way to enter into a dialogue with the DPRK. The situation is urgent and demands US pro-active diplomacy far beyond the passive stance of patiently waiting for the two Koreas to sort out the latest imbroglio on the Peninsula and tightening sanctions against the DPRK. The Six Party Talks are a tired formula that events have rendered empty of meaning.

The United States needs to find a new strategic framework for regional security management that is consistent with security imperatives on the one hand, and its Global Abolition agenda on the other. More of the same, including more nuclear threat projection as pressed by many strategists in Korea and Japan, will redound to the DPRK's benefit and will not work.

The essence of this strategy is not military, although the conventional military component is as or more important than ever. There is no military strategy to stop the risk of DPRK first or retaliatory use of nuclear weapons in Korea or against external targets. As has always been the case, conventional deterrence is what keeps the peace in Korea, to the extent that either side intends to attack the other today. If anything, nuclear threat makes people crazy and prone to do dangerous things, rather than concentrating the mind wonderfully on the need to calm turbulent seas and to find ways to avoid and resolve conflicts.

The DPRK's attack on the *Cheonan* and threats to escalate to all-out nuclear war against the ROK are the most recent instance of "nuclear aggression" by a nuclear-armed state against a non-nuclear state. Unfortunately, since 1995 when the UN Security Council Resolution 984 that declared that would act immediately when a non-nuclear weapon state is a victim of an act of

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<sup>26</sup> G. Kessler, "Analysis: North Korea tests U.S. policy of 'strategic patience,'" *Washington Post*, May 27, 2010, at: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/05/26/AR2010052605047.html>

<sup>27</sup> The DPRK already announced that it is weaponizing more plutonium, reprocessing spent fuel, and starting to enrich uranium on Radio Pyongyang, Korean Central Broadcasting Station, June 13, 2009,

nuclear weapons aggression, the frequency of such threats has increased.<sup>28</sup> However, the UN Security Council's response to the DPRK's actions in the context of its nuclear breakout will be an important test of the 984, especially of the permanent members, in what "coming to the aid" of a state threatened or suffering nuclear aggression actually means.

An effective strategy to devalue the DPRK's nuclear weapons and to neutralize its nuclear aggression is not nuclear deterrence, but an equally compelling, non-nuclear political strategy buttressed by credible conventional deterrence, and premised on unrelenting engagement—the dimension of greatest DPRK weakness and vulnerability.

The ROK's leadership should define this strategy in consultation with the United States as its patron state, but also with the other great powers that are party to the Korean conflict. Given the multiple, urgent agendas facing the high command in Washington, it is unrealistic to expect that the United States will shift gears without allied leadership.

The options available to the ROK so long as the DPRK exists and projects nuclear threat are easily listed. They are:

1. To develop its own independent nuclear force (a politically and economically impossible and militarily imprudent strategy);
2. To share American nuclear weapons (which is not legally or politically feasible);
3. To depend on traditional American nuclear extended deterrence (more of the same, doesn't work);
4. To create a new, enduring regional security institution that is based on its non-nuclear status and that minimizes or eliminates nuclear threat as the basis for deterrence in Korea.

Only the fourth option develops a countervailing national narrative for the ROK, one based on the *realpolitik* consideration of the limited capacities of a middling-sized power that takes rather than makes global rules, and uses its non-nuclear status to promote its global values.

In our view, this strategy could be realized in this region by proposing a ROK-Japan Nuclear Weapon Free Zone on a treaty basis, leaving the door open for later accession to the treaty by the DPRK (once denuclearized, by whatever pathway).<sup>29</sup>

Such a Zone would reduce pressure on the United States to serve as the nuclear hegemon, and would be consistent either with a recessed nuclear deterrent that is fully "over-the-horizon" and never referred to; or to the elimination of nuclear extended deterrence in a bilateral alliance and its replacement by nuclear existential deterrence—the pause in decisions in security crises that derives from the mere existence of nuclear weapons. Moreover, in reality the reformed US nuclear posture has already transformed the military basis of traditional nuclear extended

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<sup>28</sup> S. Black, S. Havewala, "Nuclear Threats 1970-2010," March 31, 2010, at: [http://www.stimson.org/nuke/pdf/Nuclear\\_Threats\\_1970-2010.pdf](http://www.stimson.org/nuke/pdf/Nuclear_Threats_1970-2010.pdf)

<sup>29</sup> For a detailed exposition of this concept and the many issues that must be addressed to implement such a Zone, see Nautilus Institute, "Korea-Japan Nuclear Weapon Free Zone (Kjnwzf) Concept Paper," May 6, 2010, at: <http://www.globalcollab.org/Nautilus/initiatives/korea-japan-nwzf/introduction/>

deterrence but the political and institutional bilateral and multilateral realities have yet to adjust to and catch up with this strategic reality.

Developing such a strategy for the DRK is urgent—it needs it to counter the DPRK’s nuclear threat; and to articulate a distinctively ROK middle power strategy at important global events which it will host over the coming years—the G20 summit in October 2010, and the second Global Nuclear Summit in 2012.

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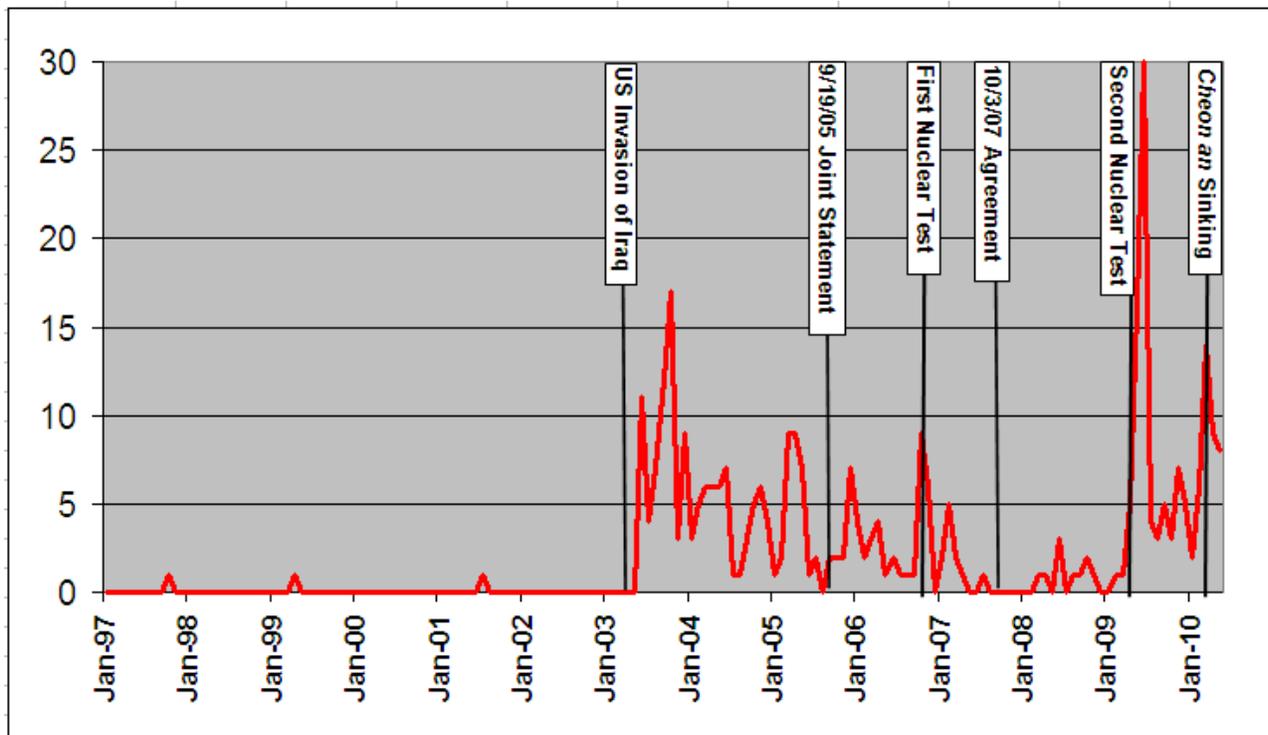
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## APPENDIX: NORTH KOREAN NUCLEAR STATEMENTS

This appendix provides a selection of DPRK officially sanctioned statements about nuclear weapons, primarily its own, since October 25, 2002. We have extracted what we view as key excerpts below, and then provided full texts for the statements from which these excerpts were drawn.

Readers should note that these are all from DPRK statements oriented to the external world and may diverge substantially from what is published in domestic DPRK media.

The following graph shows the number of KCNA English texts per month that include the word “nuclear deterrent”. It was drawn from a database of North Korean propaganda statements at <http://www.nk-news.net>. We have added some key event labels related to spikes or troughs of statement frequency.



Number of KCNA articles referencing “nuclear deterrent” by month.

## Excerpts

October 25, 2002: “The DPRK was entitled to possess not only nuclear weapon but any type of weapon more powerful than that so as to defend its sovereignty and right to existence from the ever-growing nuclear threat by the U.S.”<sup>30</sup>

January 17, 2003: “The U.S. nuclear warmongers should properly understand the might of single-hearted unity of the DPRK more powerful than a nuclear weapon and stop at once their moves to stifle it.”<sup>31</sup>

February 18, 2005: “The declaration of the DPRK of its possession of nukes is its legitimate countermeasure to cope with the relentless hostile policy and nuclear war move of the U.S...Now a hole has begun to be made in the U.S. nuclear umbrella. This is a signal flare announcing an end to the global hegemony of the U.S. and, at the same time, a green light reporting peace on the Korean Peninsula, the article stressed.”<sup>32</sup>

May 7, 2005: “To be quite honest, it is a reality that South Korea, too, benefits from our nuclear deterrent. Without our precious nuclear sword, wars would already have broken out on the Korean peninsula tens of hundreds of times more owing to the United States, and South Korea would not have been safe in those bullet showers, either... In a condition where it is actually benefiting from our military-first politics and nuclear umbrella, South Korea should naturally denounce and condemn the United States, which is trying to inflict catastrophes of war on our nation.”<sup>33</sup>

March 22, 2006: “We made nuclear weapons to cope with the U.S. nuclear threat. The Bush administration is sadly mistaken if it thinks the DPRK will yield to the outside pressure and surrender to it when Pyongyang is steadily driven to a tight corner. It is our traditional fighting method to react to the increasing pressure head-on, without making any detour. The same method will be applied to countering the U.S. A preemptive attack is not the monopoly of the U.S.”<sup>34</sup>

October 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2006: “The DPRK's nuclear weapons will serve as reliable war deterrent for protecting the supreme interests of the state and the security of the Korean nation from the U.S. threat of aggression and averting a new war and firmly safeguarding peace and stability on the Korean peninsula under any circumstances... The DPRK will always sincerely implement its

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<sup>30</sup> “Conclusion of Non-Aggression Treaty Between DPRK and U.S. Called For”, KCNA, October 25, 2002.  
<http://www.kcna.co.jp/item/2002/200210/news10/25.htm#1>

<sup>31</sup> “Korean People Vow to Win in Decisive Battle Against U.S.”, KCNA, January 17, 2003.  
<http://www.kcna.co.jp/item/2003/200301/news01/17.htm#4>

<sup>32</sup> “Green Light of Peace on Korean Peninsula”, KCNA, February 18, 2005.  
<http://www.kcna.co.jp/item/2005/200502/news02/19.htm#8>

<sup>33</sup> “North Korean Radio Mentions ‘Powerful Nuclear Deterrent’”, Asia Africa Intelligence Wire, May 07, 2005.  
<http://www.accessmylibrary.com/article-1G1-137084758/north-korean-radio-mentions.html>

<sup>34</sup> “Spokesman for Foreign Ministry Assails U.S. Cry for Preemptive Attack”, KCNA, March 22, 2006.  
<http://www.kcna.co.jp/item/2006/200603/news03/23.htm>

international commitment in the field of nuclear non-proliferation as a responsible nuclear weapons state.”<sup>35</sup>

October 11, 2006: “Although the DPRK conducted the nuclear test due to the U.S., it still remains unchanged in its will to denuclearize the peninsula through dialogue and negotiations. The denuclearization of the entire peninsula was President Kim Il Sung's last instruction and an ultimate goal of the DPRK.”<sup>36</sup>

October 17, 2006: “It [the DPRK] conducted the nuclear test under the conditions where its security is fully guaranteed and clearly declared that the DPRK, a responsible nuclear weapons state, would never use nukes first and will not allow nuclear transfer.”<sup>37</sup>

January 13, 2009: “When the U.S. nuclear threat is removed and south Korea is cleared of its nuclear umbrella, we will also feel no need to keep its nuclear weapons.”<sup>38</sup>

March 26, 2010 “Those who seek to bring down the system in the DPRK, whether they play a main role or a passive role, will fall victim to the unprecedented nuclear strikes of the invincible army and the just war to be waged by all the infuriated service personnel and people.”<sup>39</sup>

April 21, 2010: “By this, the state of nuclear imbalance in Northeast Asia where nuclear weapons and nuclear umbrellas were packed and where only the DPRK remained as a nuclear vacuum zone was brought to an end. By the deterrence effect provided by the Republic’s possession of nuclear weapons, the danger of the outbreak of a war has noticeably reduced. This is precisely the effort made on the current stage to remove the nuclear threat not through pleas only in words but by deterring the United States’ nuclear weapons with our nuclear weapons.”<sup>40</sup>

“The mission of the nuclear forces of the DPRK is to deter and repel aggression and attack against the country and the nation until the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula and the world is realized. The DPRK is invariably maintaining the policy not to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states or threaten them with nuclear weapons as long as they do not join the act of invading or attacking us in conspiracy with nuclear weapons states.”<sup>41</sup>

May 24, 2010: “The DPRK does not want any body to recognize it as a nuclear weapons state nor feels any need to be done so. It is just satisfied with the pride and self-esteem that it is

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<sup>35</sup> “DPRK Foreign Ministry Clarifies Stand on New Measure to Bolster War Deterrent”, KCNA, October 3, 2006. <http://www.kcna.co.jp/item/2006/200610/news10/04.htm#1>

<sup>36</sup> “DPRK Foreign Ministry Spokesman on U.S. Moves Concerning Its Nuclear Test”, KCNA, October 11, 2006. <http://www.kcna.co.jp/item/2006/200610/news10/12.htm#1>

<sup>37</sup> “DPRK Foreign Ministry Spokesman Totally Refutes UNSC “Resolution”” KCNA, October 17<sup>th</sup>, 2006. <http://www.kcna.co.jp/item/2006/200610/news10/18.htm#1>

<sup>38</sup> “DPRK Foreign Ministry's Spokesman Dismisses U.S. Wrong Assertion”, KCNA, January 13, 2009. <http://www.kcna.co.jp/item/2009/200901/news13/20090113-13ee.html>

<sup>39</sup> “US-S. Korean Moves to Bring down System in DPRK Warned”, KCNA, March 26, 2010. <http://www.kcna.co.jp/item/2010/201003/news26/20100326-04ee.html>

<sup>40</sup> “DPRK Issues Foreign Ministry ‘Memorandum’ 21 Apr on Denuclearization of Korean Peninsula”, KCNA, April 21, 2010. This translation found at: <http://www.armscontrolwonk.com/2708/seoul-purposeoriginal> Korean language version online at: <http://www.kcna.co.jp/calendar/2010/04/04-21/2010-0421-024.html>

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

capable of reliably defending the sovereignty of the country and the security of the nation with its own nuclear weapons.”<sup>42</sup>

**I. “Conclusion of Non-Aggression Treaty Between DPRK and U.S. Called For”, October 25, 2002. <http://www.kcna.co.jp/item/2002/200210/news10/25.htm#1>**

Pyongyang, October 25 (KCNA) -- A spokesman for the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea today released a statement as regards the nuclear issue on the Korean Peninsula. He said:

New dramatic changes have taken place in the situation on the Korean Peninsula and the rest of Northeast Asia in the new century. Inter-Korean relations and the DPRK's relations with Russia, China and Japan have entered a new important phase and bold measures have been taken to reconnect inter-Korean railroads which have remained cut for over half a century, settle the past with Japan and do away with the leftovers of the last century.

The DPRK has taken a series of new steps in economic management and adopted one measure after another to reenergize the economy, including the establishment of a special economic region, in conformity with the changed situation and specific conditions of the country.

These developments practically contribute to peace in Asia and the rest of the world.

Almost all the countries except for the United States, therefore, welcomed and hailed them, a great encouragement to the DPRK.

It was against this backdrop that the DPRK recently received a special envoy of the U.S. President in the hope that this might help fundamentally solve the hostile relations with the U.S. and settle outstanding issues on an equal footing.

Regretfully, the Pyongyang visit of the special envoy convinced the DPRK that the hostile attempt of the Bush administration to stifle the DPRK by force and backpedal the positive development of the situation in the Korean Peninsula and the rest of Northeast Asia has gone to the extremes.

Producing no evidence, he asserted that the DPRK has been actively engaged in the enriched uranium program in pursuit of possessing nuclear weapons in violation of the DPRK-U.S. agreed framework. He even intimidated the DPRK side by saying that there would be no dialogue with the U.S. unless the DPRK halts it, and the DPRK-Japan, and north-south relations would be jeopardized.

The U.S. attitude was so unilateral and high-handed that the DPRK was stunned by it.

The U.S. is seriously mistaken if it thinks such a brigandish attitude reminding one of a thief crying "stop the thief" would work on the DPRK.

As far as the nuclear issue on the Korean Peninsula is concerned, it cropped up as the U.S. has massively stockpiled nuclear weapons in South Korea and its vicinity and threatened the DPRK, a small country, with those weapons for nearly half a century, pursuing a hostile policy toward it in accordance with the strategy for world supremacy.

The DPRK-U.S. agreed framework was adopted in October 1994, but the U.S. has been deprived of the right to talk about the implementation of the framework since then.

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<sup>42</sup> “FM Spokesman on Right to Bolster Nuclear Deterrent”, KCNA, May 24, 2010. <http://www.kcna.co.jp/item/2010/201005/news24/20100524-15ee.html>

Under article 1 of the framework the U.S. is obliged to provide light water reactors to the DPRK by the year 2003 in return for the DPRK's freezing of graphite moderated reactors and their related facilities.

But only site preparation for the LWR was made though 8 years have passed since the DPRK froze its nuclear facilities.

This will bring the DPRK an annual loss of 1,000 mw(e) in 2003 when light water reactor no.1 is scheduled to be completed and that of 2,000 mw(e) from the next year under article 2 of the framework the two sides are obliged to move toward full normalization of the political and economic relations. Over the last 8 years, however, the U.S. has persistently pursued the hostile policy toward the DPRK and maintained economic sanctions on it. The former has gone the length of listing the latter as part of the "axis of evil."

Under article 3 of the framework the U.S. is obliged to give formal assurances to the DPRK against the threat or use of nuclear weapons by the U.S. however, the U.S. listed the DPRK as a target of its preemptive nuclear attack.

Under article 4 of the framework and paragraph g of its confidential minute the DPRK is to allow nuclear inspections only after the "delivery of essential non-nuclear components for the first LWR unit, including turbines and generators" is completed. But, the U.S. has already come out with a unilateral demand for nuclear inspection in a bid to convince the international community of the DPRK's violation of the framework.

This compelled the DPRK to make public the confidential minute for the first time.

The U.S. has, in the final analysis, observed none of the four articles of the framework.

It is only the U.S. that can know whether it had willingness to implement the framework when it was adopted or put a signature to it without sincerity, calculating that the DPRK would collapse sooner or later.

However, the Bush administration listed the DPRK as part of the "axis of evil" and a target of the U.S. preemptive nuclear strikes. This was a clear declaration of a war against the DPRK as it totally nullified the DPRK-U.S. joint statement and agreed framework.

In the long run, the Bush administration has adopted it as its policy to make a preemptive nuclear strike at the DPRK. Such moves, a gross violation of the basic spirit of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, reduced the inter-Korean joint declaration on denuclearization to a dead document.

Its reckless political, economic and military pressure is most seriously threatening the DPRK's right to existence, creating a grave situation on the Korean Peninsula.

Nobody would be so naive as to think that the DPRK would sit idle under such situation.

That was why the DPRK made itself very clear to the special envoy of the U.S. President that the DPRK was entitled to possess not only nuclear weapon but any type of weapon more powerful than that so as to defend its sovereignty and right to existence from the ever-growing nuclear threat by the U.S.

The DPRK, which values sovereignty more than life, was left with no other proper answer to the U.S. behaving so arrogantly and impertinently.

The DPRK has neither need nor duty to explain something to the U.S. seeking to attack it if it refuses to disarm itself.

Nevertheless, the DPRK, with greatest magnanimity, clarified that it was ready to seek a negotiated settlement of this issue on the following three conditions: Firstly, if the U.S. recognizes the DPRK's sovereignty, secondly, if it assures the DPRK of nonaggression and thirdly, if the U.S. does not hinder the economic development of the DPRK.

Nowadays, the U.S. and its followers assert that negotiations should be held after the DPRK puts down its arms. This is a very abnormal logic.

Then, how can the DPRK counter any attack with empty hands?

Their assertion is little short of demanding the DPRK yield to pressure, which means death.

Nobody can match anyone ready to die. This is the faith and will of the army and people of the DPRK determined to remain true to the army-based policy to the last.

The position of the DPRK is invariable. The DPRK considers that it is a reasonable and realistic solution to the nuclear issue to conclude a nonaggression treaty between the DPRK and the U.S. if the grave situation of the Korean Peninsula is to be bridged over.

If the U.S. legally assures the DPRK of nonaggression, including the nonuse of nuclear weapons against it by concluding such treaty, the DPRK will be ready to clear the former of its security concerns.

The settlement of all problems with the DPRK, a small country, should be based on removing any threat to its sovereignty and right to existence.

There may be negotiations or the use of deterrent force to be consistent with this basis, but the DPRK wants the former, as far as possible.

## **II. “Korean people vow to win in decisive battle against U.S.”, January 16, 2003**

<http://www.kcna.co.jp/item/2003/200301/news01/17.htm#4>

Pyongyang, January 16 (KCNA) -- Rallies supporting the statement of the DPRK Government on its withdrawal from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) were held in North Hamgyong, Kangwon, South Hwanghae and Ryanggang provinces from Jan. 14 to 15. Speakers at the rallies said that the statement of the DPRK Government on its withdrawal from the NPT represent the revolutionary determination of the Korean people and a legitimate self-defence measure to protect the supreme interests of the country, remaining undeterred by any pressure and threat and expressed full support to it.

The heroic Korean people will never allow the U.S. imperialists to wantonly infringe upon the dignity of the DPRK but emerge victorious in a decisive battle with them without fail, they noted, adding:

It is the invariable stand of the DPRK to reciprocate good faith and react to a hard line with the toughest stand.

The U.S. nuclear warmongers should properly understand the might of single-hearted unity of the DPRK more powerful than a nuclear weapon and stop at once their moves to stifle it.

Meanwhile, similar meetings of members of the union of agricultural workers of Korea and the Korean Democratic Women's Union were held on Jan. 15.

## **III. “Green Light of Peace on Korean Peninsula”, February 18, 2005**

<http://www.kcna.co.jp/item/2005/200502/news02/19.htm#8>

Pyongyang, February 18 (KCNA) -- The editor of the Internet homepage "National News" in the United States on Feb. 10 released an article titled "North's possession of nukes is green light of peace on the Korean Peninsula". Quoting the gist of the statement published by the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea with regard to the grave situation caused

by the U.S. hostile policy toward the DPRK, the article said: The declaration of the DPRK of its possession of nukes is its legitimate countermeasure to cope with the relentless hostile policy and nuclear war move of the U.S.

It went on:

Many countries on the earth have fallen victims to the U.S. hegemonic policy. Had the north failed to build up its self-defense capabilities and been left powerless like other countries, the Korean Peninsula would already have fallen into the flames of war several times.

Now a hole has begun to be made in the U.S. nuclear umbrella. This is a signal flare announcing an end to the global hegemony of the U.S. and, at the same time, a green light reporting peace on the Korean Peninsula, the article stressed.

**IV. “North Korean Radio Mentions ‘Powerful Nuclear Deterrent’”, May 17, 2005**  
<http://www.accessmylibrary.com/article-1G1-137084758/north-korean-radio-mentions.html>

On 6 May, a spokesman for the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland [CPRF] gave the following answer to a Korean Central News Agency [KCNA] reporter's question regarding the fact that a fellow called the minister of the South Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade made presumptuous comments that deeply irritate us.

At a so-called regular news conference with domestic and foreign journalists on 4 May, Ban Ki-moon [Pan Ki-mun], South Korean minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade, blabbered deeply provocative, nonsensical comments as he said this and that about our return to the six-party talks, saying how we should not continue to cling to invalid assertions, how the peaceful and diplomatic solution process of the nuclear problem faces a critical phase, how the international community's patience is running low, and how we must realize that the current situation cannot continue indefinitely.

Prior to this, in a speech he made at the Forum on Northeast Asia's Future in the 21st Century on 25 April, he even harped reckless remarks as he picked on our measure of strengthening the nuclear deterrent, saying this and that about how we will bring about our own isolation and how we will not be guaranteed of our future.

The remarks recently made by the man in charge of South Korean foreign affairs are, without doubt, what the United States says, which he parroted word by word.

We cannot but lament as we wonder since when on earth a person who is said to represent the South Korean foreign affairs authorities became a spokesman for and trumpeter of the United States like this.

As everyone knows, US attempts at a war of northward aggression have been frustrated, peace and security are ensured on the Korean peninsula, and the nation's fate is safeguarded thanks to our powerful nuclear deterrent. This is a reality nobody can negate and is a fact those at home and abroad officially recognize.

To be quite honest, it is a reality that South Korea, too, benefits from our nuclear deterrent. Without our precious nuclear sword, wars would already have broken out on the Korean peninsula tens of hundreds of times more owing to the United States, and South Korea would not have been safe in those bullet showers, either. There is even no need to mention this twice.

In a condition where it is actually benefiting from our military-first politics and nuclear umbrella, South Korea should naturally denounce and condemn the United States, which is trying to inflict catastrophes of war on our nation.

However, it is turning a blind eye to the United States while finding fault with our just nuclear deterrent. This is defiance of justice and an insult to the nation's dignity. If we were to talk about things like isolation and the future, we have not once been afraid of the imperialist, reactionary forces' maneuvers to isolate us, and we have never wished to obtain a guarantee of our future from anyone.

It is the United States that is being isolated from and denounced and rejected by the international community due to its insolent aggression and war maneuvers. The United States is cornered on all sides because of its brigandish and arbitrary policies of aggression and reckless nuclear commotion against the Republic.

The person in charge of South Korean foreign affairs should naturally possess the reason with which to see this reality. If he does not and instead dances to the tunes of the unreasonable US nuclear commotion, that indeed would bring about its [South Korea's] own isolation and would deprive it of its future.

A CPRF spokesman replied as the above.

**V. “Spokesman for Foreign Ministry Assails U.S. Cry for Preemptive Attack”, March 22, 2006**

<http://www.kcna.co.jp/item/2006/200603/news03/23.htm>

Pyongyang, March 22 (KCNA) -- A preemptive attack is not the monopoly of the United States, warns a spokesman for the DPRK Foreign Ministry in an answer given to a question put by KCNA Tuesday in connection with the fact that the U.S. in a recent "report on national security strategy" designated the DPRK as an "outpost of tyranny " and a "target of preemptive attack" once again. The Bush administration singled out those countries which are not meekly following it from an independent stand, including the DPRK, as "outposts of tyranny," revealing its undisguised attempt to realize its wild ambition to realize "regime change" through a "preemptive attack", he said, and went on:

The above-said "report" reveals the U.S. intention to start a war to prevent nuclear proliferation, "combat terrorism" and "spread democracy." It is, therefore, nothing but a brigandish document declaring a war as it is an indication that the Bush regime will not rule out even a war to bring down those countries which refuse to follow its ideology and view on value by branding them as enemies without exception. Today the Bush regime is to blame for unhesitatingly committing war and military intervention, stepping up the modernization of nuclear weapons and encouraging the spread of weapons of mass destruction, defying all the

principles of international law and unbiased public opinion to meet its narrow-minded partisan purpose. It is the root cause of aggression, war and arms race.

Such aggressive nature of the Bush administration finds a more striking manifestation in its policy towards the Korean Peninsula.

The Bush administration again cried out for a "preemptive attack" at a time when it let loose a string of balderdash against the DPRK after labeling it part of an "axis of evil" and an "outpost of tyranny" and is increasing such physical pressure as financial sanctions and joint military exercises against it. This brings to light the Bush administration's intention to invariably pursue its hostile policy toward the DPRK. The Bush administration is talking about the "six-party talks" and the like but, in actuality, is not interested in them at all. It is the calculation of the U.S. that it will evade the fulfillment of such commitment as the provision of light water reactors it made in the September 19 joint statement even if the talks are resumed. We made nuclear weapons to cope with the U.S. nuclear threat. The Bush administration is sadly mistaken if it thinks the DPRK will yield to the outside pressure and surrender to it when Pyongyang is steadily driven to a tight corner. It is our traditional fighting method to react to the increasing pressure head-on, without making any detour. The same method will be applied to countering the U.S. A preemptive attack is not the monopoly of the U.S.

## **VI. "DPRK Foreign Ministry Clarifies Stand on New Measure to Bolster War Deterrent" October 3, 2006**

<http://www.kcna.co.jp/item/2006/200610/news10/04.htm#1>

Pyongyang, October 3 (KCNA) -- The Foreign Ministry of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea issued the following statement Tuesday solemnly clarifying the DPRK stand on the new measure to be taken by it to bolster its war deterrent for self-defence: The U.S. daily increasing threat of a nuclear war and its vicious sanctions and pressure have caused a grave situation on the Korean Peninsula in which the supreme interests and security of our State are seriously infringed upon and the Korean nation stands at the crossroads of life and death.

The U.S. has become more frantic in its military exercises and arms build-up on the peninsula and in its vicinity for the purpose of launching the second Korean war since it made a de facto "declaration of war" against the DPRK through the recent brigandish adoption of a UNSC resolution.

At the same time it is making desperate efforts to internationalize the sanctions and blockade against the DPRK by leaving no dastardly means and methods untried in a foolish attempt to isolate and stifle it economically and bring down the socialist system chosen by its people themselves.

The present Bush administration has gone the lengths of making ultimatum that it would punish the DPRK if it refuses to yield to the U.S. within the timetable set by it. Under the present situation in which the U.S. moves to isolate and stifle the DPRK have reached the worst phase, going beyond the extremity, the DPRK can no longer remain an on-looker to the developments.

The DPRK has already declared that it would take all necessary countermeasures to defend the sovereignty of the country and the dignity of the nation from the Bush administration's vicious hostile actions.

The DPRK Foreign Ministry is authorized to solemnly declare as follows in connection with the new measure to be taken to bolster the war deterrent for self-defence:

Firstly, the field of scientific research of the DPRK will in the future conduct a nuclear test

under the condition where safety is firmly guaranteed.

The DPRK was compelled to pull out of the NPT as the present U.S. administration scrapped the DPRK-U.S. Agreed Framework and seriously threatened the DPRK's sovereignty and right to existence.

The DPRK officially announced that it manufactured up-to-date nuclear weapons after going through transparent legitimate processes to cope with the U.S. escalated threat of a nuclear war and sanctions and pressure.

The already declared possession of nuclear weapons presupposes the nuclear test.

The U.S. extreme threat of a nuclear war and sanctions and pressure compel the DPRK to conduct a nuclear test, an essential process for bolstering nuclear deterrent, as a corresponding measure for defence.

Secondly, the DPRK will never use nuclear weapons first but strictly prohibit any threat of nuclear weapons and nuclear transfer.

A people without reliable war deterrent are bound to meet a tragic death and the sovereignty of their country is bound to be wantonly infringed upon. This is a bitter lesson taught by the bloodshed resulting from the law of the jungle in different parts of the world.

The DPRK's nuclear weapons will serve as reliable war deterrent for protecting the supreme interests of the state and the security of the Korean nation from the U.S. threat of aggression and averting a new war and firmly safeguarding peace and stability on the Korean peninsula under any circumstances.

The DPRK will always sincerely implement its international commitment in the field of nuclear non-proliferation as a responsible nuclear weapons state.

Thirdly, the DPRK will do its utmost to realize the denuclearization of the peninsula and give impetus to the world-wide nuclear disarmament and the ultimate elimination of nuclear weapons.

As the DPRK has been exposed to the U.S. nuclear threat and blackmail over the past more than half a century, it proposed the denuclearization of the peninsula before any others and has since made utmost efforts to that end.

The U.S., however, abused the idea of denuclearization set out by the DPRK for isolating and stifling the ideology and system chosen by its people, while systematically disregarding all its magnanimity and sincerity.

The ultimate goal of the DPRK is not a "denuclearization" to be followed by its unilateral disarmament but one aimed at settling the hostile relations between the DPRK and the U.S. and removing the very source of all nuclear threats from the Korean Peninsula and its vicinity.

There is no change in the principled stand of the DPRK to materialize the denuclearization of the peninsula through dialogue and negotiation.

The DPRK will make positive efforts to denuclearize the peninsula its own way without fail despite all challenges and difficulties.

## **VII. “DPRK Foreign Ministry Spokesman on U.S. Moves Concerning Its Nuclear Test”, October 10, 2006**

<http://www.kcna.co.jp/item/2006/200610/news10/12.htm#1>

Pyongyang, October 11 (KCNA) -- A spokesman for the DPRK Foreign Ministry issued the following statement Wednesday as regards the U.S. ill-boding moves in the wake of the nuclear test in the DPRK: As we have already declared the field of scientific research of the DPRK successfully conducted an underground nuclear test under secure conditions on Oct. 9 as a new measure for bolstering its war deterrent for self-defence.

The DPRK's nuclear test was entirely attributable to the U.S. nuclear threat, sanctions and pressure.

The DPRK has exerted every possible effort to settle the nuclear issue through dialogue and negotiations, prompted by its sincere desire to realize the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.

The Bush administration, however, responded to our patient and sincere efforts and magnanimity with the policy of sanctions and blockade.

The DPRK was compelled to substantially prove its possession of nukes to protect its sovereignty and right to existence from the daily increasing danger of war from the U.S.

Although the DPRK conducted the nuclear test due to the U.S., it still remains unchanged in its will to denuclearize the peninsula through dialogue and negotiations.

The denuclearization of the entire peninsula was President Kim Il Sung's last instruction and an ultimate goal of the DPRK.

The DPRK's nuclear test does not contradict the September 19 joint statement under which it committed itself to dismantle nuclear weapons and abandon the existing nuclear program. On the contrary, it constitutes a positive measure for its implementation.

The DPRK clarified more than once that it would feel no need to possess even a single nuke when it is no longer exposed to the U.S. threat after it has dropped its hostile policy toward the DPRK and confidence has been built between the two countries.

No sooner had the DPRK, which had already pulled out of the NPT and, accordingly, is no longer bound to international law, declared that it conducted a nuclear test than the U.S. manipulated the UN Security Council to issue a resolution pressurizing Pyongyang, an indication of the disturbing moves to impose collective sanctions upon it.

The DPRK is ready for both dialogue and confrontation.

If the U.S. increases pressure upon the DPRK, persistently doing harm to it, it will continue to take physical countermeasures, considering it as a declaration of a war.

#### **VIII. “DPRK Foreign Ministry Spokesman Totally Refutes UNSC ‘Resolution’” October 17, 2006**

<http://www.kcna.co.jp/item/2006/200610/news10/18.htm#1>

Pyongyang, October 17 (KCNA) -- A spokesman for the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea Tuesday issued the following statement: On Oct. 14 the United States instigated the UN Security Council to pass another "resolution" calling for harsh

international sanctions and blockade against the DPRK, unreasonably describing its nuclear test for self-defence as a "threat" to international peace and security.

The successful nuclear test in the DPRK was an exercise of its independent and legitimate right as a sovereign state as it was a positive defensive countermeasure to protect the sovereignty of the country and life and security of the people from the U.S. escalated nuclear war threat and sanctions and pressure.

The DPRK was compelled to legitimately pull out of the NPT according to its relevant provision and manufactured nuclear weapons after undergoing the most fair and aboveboard and transparent processes as the U.S. seriously encroached upon the supreme security of the DPRK and the fundamental interests of the Korean nation under the pretext of the nuclear issue.

The DPRK conducted the test proving its possession of nukes in a legitimate manner after fairly announcing it in advance, something unprecedented in view of international practice.

It conducted the nuclear test under the conditions where its security is fully guaranteed and clearly declared that the DPRK, a responsible nuclear weapons state, would never use nukes first and will not allow nuclear transfer.

It also clarified that it would make every possible effort to promote the worldwide nuclear disarmament and the final elimination of nuclear weapons and invariably adhere to the principle to realize the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula through dialogue and negotiations.

However, the U.S., the very one that has driven the DPRK to the nuclear test, is describing the DPRK's nuclear test as a "threat" to international peace and security, while shelving what it has done like a thief crying "Stop the thief!" This totally preposterous act is intolerable.

The nuclear test in the DPRK was a great deed that greatly contributed to defending peace and stability not only on the Korean Peninsula but in the rest of Northeast Asia as it demonstrated powerful deterrent for coping with the U.S. nuclear threat and blackmail and foiling its attempt to ignite a new war.

The UNSC, paying no heed to all these facts, feigned ignorance of the U.S. hostile policy toward the DPRK, the policy that spurned the nuclear issue on the Korean Peninsula, and is now incriminating the DPRK's exercise of its sovereign right to defend the sovereignty of the country, while trumpeting about the denuclearization of the peninsula. This is an immoral behavior utterly devoid of impartiality.

The UNSC "resolution," needless to say, cannot be construed otherwise than a declaration of a war against the DPRK because it was based on the scenario of the U.S. keen to destroy the socialist system of Korean-style centered on the popular masses.

The DPRK vehemently denounces the "resolution," a product of the U.S. hostile policy toward the DPRK, and totally refutes it.

The adoption of this "resolution" made it impossible for the UNSC to evade the historic responsibility for having patronized and connived at the U.S. which caused the division of Korea, the root cause of all misfortunes of the Korean nation, in violation of the UN Charter the cornerstone of which is the principle of sovereignty, equality and self-determination and has systematically perpetrated undisguised moves to "bring down the system" in the DPRK.

The present development clearly proves once again that the DPRK was entirely right when it decided to have access to nuclear weapons, its people's choice.

The U.S. would be well advised not to miscalculate the DPRK.

If the Bush group, oblivious of the lessons drawn from the shameful setbacks recorded in the history of the relations between the preceding U.S. administrations and the DPRK, calculates it can bring the DPRK to its knees through sanctions and pressure, pursuant to the already bankrupt

hostile policy toward it, there would be nothing more ridiculous and foolish than its behavior.

The DPRK had remained unfazed in any storm and stress in the past when it had no nuclear weapons. It is quite nonsensical to expect the DPRK to yield to the pressure and threat of someone at this time when it has become a nuclear weapons state.

The DPRK wants peace but is not afraid of war. It wants dialogue but is always ready for confrontation.

As already clarified by the DPRK, it will fulfil its responsibility for realizing the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. But if anyone attempts to infringe upon the DPRK's sovereignty and right to existence even a bit under the signboard of the UNSC "resolution," it will deal merciless blows at him through strong actions.

The DPRK will closely follow the future U.S. attitude and take corresponding measures.

#### **IX. “DPRK Foreign Ministry's Spokesman Dismisses U.S. Wrong Assertion” January, 13, 2009**

<http://www.kcna.co.jp/item/2009/200901/news13/20090113-13ee.html>

Pyongyang, January 13 (KCNA) -- Wrong views and assertions were floated in the United States recently to create the impression that the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula is the issue to be settled only when the DPRK shows nuclear weapons.

A spokesman for the DPRK Ministry of Foreign Affairs Tuesday issued a statement turning down this assertion intended to mislead the public opinion.

The statement recalled that at the six party talks held on September 19, 2005, the six parties agreed to denuclearize not only the northern half of the Korean Peninsula but the whole of it and, to this end, the United States committed itself to terminate its hostile relations with the DPRK, assure it of non-use of nuclear weapons and clear south Korea of nukes, etc.

It continued:

We consented to the September 19 Joint Statement, not prompted by the desire to improve the relations through denuclearization, but proceeding from the principled stand to realize the denuclearization through the normalization of the relations. Our aim to denuclearize the Korean Peninsula is, above all, to remove the U.S. nuclear threat to the DPRK that has lasted for the past half century.

The nuclear issue surfaced on the Korean Peninsula because of the U.S. hostile policy toward the DPRK and its nuclear threat resulting from it, and the hostile relations are not attributable to the nuclear issue.

It is a twisted logic to assert that the bilateral relations can be improved only when we show nukes before anything else, and this is a distortion of the spirit of the September 19 Joint Statement.

As clarified in the joint statement, the denuclearization of the whole Korean Peninsula should be strictly realized in a verifiable manner.

Free field access should be ensured to verify the introduction and deployment of U.S. nukes in south Korea and details about their withdrawal and there should be verification procedures to inspect on a regular basis the possible reintroduction or passage of nukes.

As proven in practice, the basic way of implementing the September 19 Joint Statement under the situation where there is no mutual confidence is to observe the principle of "action for action".

This principle can never be an exception as far as the issue of verification is concerned.

It is necessary to simultaneously verify the whole Korean Peninsula at the phase where the denuclearization is ultimately realized according to the said principle.

When the U.S. nuclear threat is removed and south Korea is cleared of its nuclear umbrella, we will also feel no need to keep its nuclear weapons.

This precisely means the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and it is our invariable stand.

We will never do such a thing as showing our nuclear weapons first even in 100 years unless the U.S. hostile policy and nuclear threat to the DPRK are fundamentally terminated.

If the nuclear issue is to be settled, leaving the hostile relations as they are, all nuclear weapons states should meet and realize the simultaneous nuclear disarmament. This is the only option.

**X. "US-S. Korean Moves to Bring down System in DPRK Warned", March 26, 2010**  
<http://www.kcna.co.jp/item/2010/201003/news26/20100326-04ee.html>

Pyongyang, March 26 (KCNA) -- A spokesman for the General Staff of the Korean People's Army Thursday gave the following answer to the question raised by KCNA as to the recent disclosure of new information about the desperate moves of the U.S. imperialists and the south Korean puppet warmongers to bring down the system in the DPRK:

According to the south Korean newspaper Dong-A Ilbo dated March 19, presided over by the command of the U.S. imperialist aggressor forces in the Pacific, those concerned of the "Institute for National Defense Studies", the "Institute for Maritime Strategy Studies" of south Korea and the "Institute for State Policy Studies" of neighboring countries would be closeted together in the middle of April to examine the possibility of what they called "contingency" in the DPRK and discuss a "proposal for cooperation," etc. to cope with it. It was reported that they would further their confab in Seoul in June and in Hawaii in July.

The disclosed fact clearly indicates that the scenario to bring down the system in the DPRK already worked out by them is entering a reckless phase of implementation.

As far as the socialist system in the DPRK is concerned, it constitutes the unshakable faith of the Korean people and it is like an impregnable fortress firmly guarded by the invincible army of Songun.

For them to wait for what they call "contingency" to happen is a pipe dream of a lunatic wishing for the sky to fall.

Such "contingency" will take place in south Korea where all sorts of social evils and ills and internal contradictions and conflicts have reached their height, not in the DPRK where people are bringing about epochal miracles and leap forward everyday with the day of the emergence of a thriving nation drawing near.

It is the height of folly for the present south Korean puppet authorities to dare talk about "bringing down system" of someone and "unifying the systems" to please their master, unaware of where they stand.

The above-said fact once again clearly proves that the U.S. imperialists and the south Korean puppet bellicose forces have not an iota of intention to improve the relations with the DPRK but only seek to hatch plots to "bring down its system" and ignite a war.

The People's Army and people of the DPRK who always follow with high vigilance the abnormal developments in areas around the DPRK will bolster up its nuclear deterrent for self-defence capable of frustrating any plot and provocation at a single strike and keep all the powerful striking means fully ready to go into action at all times.

The U.S. imperialists and the south Korean puppet warmongers should bear in mind that they will not be able to find a shelter to survive the unpredictable strikes of the KPA, should they persistently work to bring down the system in the DPRK.

Those who seek to bring down the system in the DPRK, whether they play a main role or a passive role, will fall victim to the unprecedented nuclear strikes of the invincible army and the just war to be waged by all the infuriated service personnel and people.

## **XI. "DPRK Issues Foreign Ministry 'Memorandum' 21 Apr on Denuclearization of Korean Peninsula" April 21, 2010**

This translation found at: <http://www.armscontrolwonk.com/2708/seoul-purposeoriginal>  
Korean language version online at: <http://www.kcna.co.jp/calendar/2010/04/04-21/2010-0421-024.html>

The construction of a nuclear-free world is mankind's ardent wish that has been maintained from the 20th century to the 21st century.

The denuclearization of the Korean peninsula is a part of global denuclearization. The Six-Party Talks have been held over the past years for the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula, but the talks are currently facing grave obstacles without producing results that are worth a mention. Along with the deep-seated distrust among the parties concerned, the main reason is because some countries participating in the talks are seriously distorting the essence of the issue for their sinister objectives. If the essence of the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula is to be

precisely understood and if the way of its realization is to be correctly found, it is essential to correctly realize the initial circumstances and causes of the nuclearization of the Korean peninsula.

## 1. The Most Serious Nuclear Victim in the World

Never has there been such a nation in the world as the Korean nation that has suffered nuclear threat most directly and for the longest period. For our people, nuclear threat is by no means an abstract concept but a realistic and concrete experience.

Our nation is the one that directly sustained the damage caused in Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the United States' nuclear attacks, and it is the nation that suffered the most casualties there, only next to the Japanese.

For the people that directly experienced the horrible catastrophes of atomic bombs, the atomic bomb blackmail that the United States wielded during the days of the Korean war was literally a nightmare. After US President Truman on 30 November 1950 openly mentioned the use of atomic bombs on the Korean front, an order was given on the same day to the US Strategic Air Command on "Maintaining a standby status to fly bombers to immediately drop atomic bombs in the Far East." In December of the same year, [Douglas] MacArthur, Commander of the US Forces Far East, let loose an outburst, "A radioactive corridor will be created from the East Sea [Sea of Japan] to the West Sea [Yellow Sea] of the northern region of Korea. In this region living things will not be able to resurrect over the next 60 years or 120 years."

Because of the United States' nuclear blackmail, the rows of "atomic bomb refugees" were created to flow from north to south of the Korean peninsula during the war. When entire family members were unable to leave together, many families forced their husbands or sons to evacuate to the South with only the desire to maintain their family bloodlines. Millions of the "separated families" created through this course are still living divided in the North and the South of the Korean peninsula.

The United States is the ringleader who was the first to bring nuclear weapons into the Korean peninsula. When the retention of the pro-US regime was jeopardized, as the anti-nuclear campaign was escalating in Japan in the late 1950s, the United States moved the nuclear weapons deployed in Japan to South Korea. In 1957, the United States' first strategic nuclear weapons were brought from Japan into South Korea and deployed there. In the end, the United States nuclearized the Korean peninsula in place of the "denuclearization" of Japan. The United States' deployment of nuclear weapons in South Korea constantly built up, and the number of nuclear weapons reached over approximately 1,000 in the mid 1970s.

From the late 1960s, the United States began to stage joint military exercises to actually use the nuclear weapons deployed in South Korea in a war of aggression against our Republic. The US-South Korea joint nuclear war exercise — which began with the "Focus Retina" operations in 1969 — has ceaselessly continued every year since then for such a long, long period of 40-odd years, while its name being changed to "Freedom Bolt," "Team Spirit," "Reception, Staging,

Onward Movement, and Integration [RSOI],” “Key Resolve,” “Foal Eagle,” and “Ulchi Freedom Guardian,” and the like.

It is precisely a stark nuclear reality of the Korean peninsula that even the post-war generations have grown in this way while inhaling nuclear powder odor as the targets of the US nuclear weapons that are deployed in South Korea for a real war.

## 2. The Effort That the Government of the Republic Has Made To Remove US Nuclear Threat

The DPRK’s effort aimed at removing the United States’ nuclear threat has been made in three stages.

In the first stage, the government of the Republic made an effort to remove the United States’ nuclear threat by the method of creating a denuclearized zone through peaceful dialogue and negotiations.

In 1959, it [government of the Republic] proposed to establish an atomic bomb-free peace zone in Asia; in 1981, it put forth a proposal for the establishment of a denuclearized zone in Northeast Asia; and in 1986, it proposed to turn the Korean peninsula into a non-nuclear-weapon region and made an active effort for its implementation.

On 10 January 1984, it proposed the convening of three-party talks — the talks in which the South Korean authorities, too, would participate in the DPRK-US talks to be held to remove the danger of a nuclear war; and in a government statement released on 23 June 1986 it solemnly declared that it would not test, produce, store, or introduce nuclear weapons, would not allow any military bases, including foreign nuclear bases, and would not allow the transit of foreign nuclear weapons via its territorial land, territorial airspace, and territorial waters.

Nevertheless, the United States has escalated the nuclear threat to us while ignoring all our efforts exerted to create a non-nuclear-weapon region in the Korean peninsula.

In the second stage, the government of the Republic combined efforts to remove the United States’ nuclear threat based on international law.

In 1978, the depositary states of the NPT — the United States, the former Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom — issued, though conditional, a “non-use of nuclear weapons” statement [stating] that they would not use nuclear weapons against the non-nuclear-weapon states that joined the treaty. The DPRK joined the treaty in December 1985 with a hope that this would help the removal of the United States’ nuclear threat to us.

When the United States made a pledge that it would discontinue the “Team Spirit” nuclear war exercise, we, based on the relevant NPT clause, actively helped the aperiodic inspections that the IAEA conducted six times during the period of May 1992 through February 1993.

Nevertheless, the United States, by instigating the sinister forces in the agency while talking about the so-called “suspicion about nuclear development,” fabricated a “resolution for special

inspection” targeting not only our nuclear facilities but even our sensitive military targets, even before the completion of the agency’s aperiodic inspections based on the safeguard agreement. Since then, the brigandish nature of such a mandatory inspection was completely laid bare through the Iraqi situation. Under the pretext of inspection, the United States combed even the Iraqi Presidential Palace and concocted the “intelligence” that there are weapons of mass destruction in Iraq in order to use it as an excuse to carry out military strikes. Later on, it was revealed to the whole world that the “intelligence” that Iraq has weapons of mass destruction was a groundless fabrication, but it was too late; it was already after the country collapsed, and the nation had become submerged in a sea of blood.

In order to impose a “special inspection” on us, the United States blatantly perpetrated nuclear threat by even resuming the “Team Spirit” joint military exercise that it already suspended. After all, it was impossible to stop the United States’ high-handedness even with the international treaty, and it had become clear that the treaty was actually being abused as a tool to justify the United States’ coercion.

Based on Article 10 of the NPT, the DPRK on 12 March 1993 declared its withdrawal from the NPT for the defense of the country’s sovereignty and security and informed the depository states of the fact. Then, when the United States responded for DPRK-US talks, it [DPRK] took measures to unilaterally and temporarily suspend the effectuation of its withdrawal from the NPT — through the DPRK-US joint statement on 11 June 1993 — while DPRK-US talks were underway.

On 21 October 1994 during the Clinton administration, the “DPRK-US Agreed Framework” was adopted to resolve the nuclear issue of the Korean peninsula, but the United States unilaterally scrapped it when the Bush administration was inaugurated. In the “State of the Union Address” on 30 January 2002, the Bush administration even called us part of an “axis of evil.” The harboring of such hostility toward a country by the world’s largest nuclear power state means the greatest nuclear threat to that country. In particular, when the United States announced in March in that year the “Nuclear Posture Review [NPR],” which included us in the “targets for preemptive nuclear strikes,” the security of our country and nation was placed in extremely grave jeopardy of nuclear catastrophes.

It had become clear that the effort made through dialogue and the effort exerted based on international law all ended up in smoke. The unique situation on the Korean peninsula, which could be found nowhere else in the world, required a special measure for a solution. The only and last option was to counter “nuclear weapons with nuclear weapons.” With the most serious nuclear threat, the United States was persistently compelling us to possess nuclear weapons.

On 10 January 2003, the government of the Republic took a resolute, self-defensive measure of completely withdrawing from the NPT by bringing into effect the withdrawal from it, which it had suspended for 10 years. After delivering itself from the treaty, it [the government of the Republic] turned in the direction of legally and stately weaponizing the entire amount of the plutonium produced in the course of producing electricity from a pilot atomic power plant. It conducted the first nuclear test in October 2006, three years after its withdrawal from the treaty, and the second nuclear test in May 2009.

By this, the state of nuclear imbalance in Northeast Asia where nuclear weapons and nuclear umbrellas were packed and where only the DPRK remained as a nuclear vacuum zone was brought to an end. By the deterrence effect provided by the Republic's possession of nuclear weapons, the danger of the outbreak of a war has noticeably reduced. This is precisely the effort made on the current stage to remove the nuclear threat not through pleas only in words but by deterring the United States' nuclear weapons with our nuclear weapons.

### 3. DPRK's Nuclear Policy

The position of the government of the Republic to establish a solid peace regime on the Korean peninsula and achieve denuclearization there remains unchanged.

The denuclearization of the Korean peninsula — which was pointed out in the 19 September Joint Statement that the Six-Party Talks adopted and announced in 2005 — is the course of turning the entire Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone by completely removing in a verifiable manner the existing nuclear threat from outside to the Korean peninsula. Realizing denuclearization requires confidence-building. On the Korean peninsula, which is still in a state of the ceasefire, the sooner a peace agreement is concluded, the quicker the confidence necessary for denuclearization will be built.

The mission of the nuclear forces of the DPRK is to deter and repel aggression and attack against the country and the nation until the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula and the world is realized. The DPRK is invariably maintaining the policy not to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states or threaten them with nuclear weapons as long as they do not join the act of invading or attacking us in conspiracy with nuclear weapons states.

We are ready to join the international efforts for nuclear non-proliferation and for the safe management of nuclear materials on an equal footing with other nuclear weapons states.

We will produce as many nuclear weapons as we need but will neither join the nuclear arms race nor produce more nuclear weapons than is necessary, and we will join the international efforts for nuclear disarmament on an equal footing with other nuclear weapons states.

Regardless of whether the Six-Party Talks are resumed or not, the DPRK, as in the past, will continue to make a consistent effort in the future as well for the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula and in the rest of the world.

## **XII. “FM Spokesman on Right to Bolster Nuclear Deterrent” May 26, 2010**

<http://www.kcna.co.jp/item/2010/201005/news24/20100524-15ee.html>

Pyongyang, May 24 (KCNA) -- A spokesman for the Foreign Ministry of the DPRK gave the following answer to the question raised by KCNA Monday as regards the NPT review conference now underway in New York:

Some unsavory forces are busy floating inside and outside the conference hall the assertion that the DPRK should not be recognized as a nuclear weapons state and it should dismantle nuclear weapons and return to the NPT, etc. while finding fault with its withdrawal from the treaty.

There is a paragraph in the NPT stipulating that a country may withdraw from the treaty in the event its supreme state interests are put at peril.

The DPRK began to go through the procedures for the withdrawal from the NPT according to its Paragraph 10 in 1993 to cope with the emergency situation in which the U.S. became evermore undisguised in posing a nuclear threat to the DPRK while gravely violating its sovereignty by abusing the NPT. According to the treaty, the withdrawal from the NPT shall take effect three months after the notification on it, but the DPRK went through all the formalities for the withdrawal stipulated in the treaty, thus finally putting into force its withdrawal in 2003. This proves that the DPRK handled the withdrawal from the NPT in a serious manner, exercising utmost patience even when its supreme state interests were in jeopardy.

In the subsequent period, too, the DPRK manufactured nuclear weapons legitimately by opening to the public all facts in a transparent manner in order to protect the sovereignty of the country and the security of the nation from the increasing U.S. nuclear threat. By all accounts, it was the U.S. that compelled the DPRK to pull out of the NPT and have access to nukes.

There were some views taking issue with the DPRK's access to nukes at the on-going review conference but the DPRK does not care about it as it is outside the NPT. The DPRK is not bound to any duty not to have access to nukes but has legitimate right to steadily bolster up its nuclear deterrent as much as it deems necessary for protecting its supreme state interests.

The DPRK does not want any body to recognize it as a nuclear weapons state nor feels any need to be done so. It is just satisfied with the pride and self-esteem that it is capable of reliably defending the sovereignty of the country and the security of the nation with its own nuclear weapons.

The DPRK had never violated the NPT even before its withdrawal from it. There have been breaches of only Paragraph 6 stipulating the nuclear weapons states' commitment to nuclear disarmament so far. Four decades have passed since the NPT took effect but the destructive power of nuclear weapons existing on the earth has further increased, far from being dismantled in this period.

This treaty should not have been extended for an indefinite period from the outset as it recognizes the existence of nuclear weapons states. It should have been replaced by a worldwide treaty for eliminating nuclear weapons. In order to build a world without nuclear weapons, it is necessary to step up nuclear disarmament so as to deprive the treaty of any justification to exist, far from allowing the NPT to remain in force for an indefinite period.