



## **Recommended Citation**

Peter Hayes, " ", NAPSNet Special Reports, January 06, 2015, <a href="https://nautilus.org/napsnet/napsnet-special-reports/%eb%8f%99%eb%b6%81%ec%95%8-%84%ed%95%b5%ec%a7%80%eb%8c%80%eb%a5%bc-%ed%86%b5%ed%95%9c-%ed%95%-5-%ec%9c%84%ed%98%91%ec%9d%98-%ec%a2%85%ec%8b%9d/</a>

[1]

(

http://www.kdjlibrary.org/

**6 January 2015** 

English version ( ) here

가 , 가

( )가 ,

가 가 가 가 가 가 가 가 가 가 (orders of magnitude) 가 1. 가 가 가 가 가 .[1] 2. 가 가 가가 가가 가 가 가 가 가 가 가 가 . 가 3 가 가 . [2] 3. 가 , 가 가 가 (general and immediate)' .[3] 가 가

```
가
4.
                                            1976 8
                    1958
                                           가가
                                   가
                                                                  가
(
   ).
5.
                            가
                                                                   (Paul Bunyan)"
                                        . 1976
                         1970
                                                                            가
                                                   . 1975
                                                               90
                                                    가 .
                                         가
                                                                               ).
                                   1986
                                                      가
6.
                             :1990
                                                                     ).
.[<u>4]</u> 1991
200
              가
                                                  1992
                                                         2
28
        W
                                                                        .[5]
7.
   (
                                          )
   가
                        가
                                         가
                                          ).[<u>6]</u>
         ,[7]
                                                           가
                                                          가
       . 1990
                   21
                                         가
                                                                            가
    가
                                                                가
                                                                    가
                            가
                                                                           [8]
                                                                       가
1991
                          .
가
                                                                        1990
```

```
8.
                    : 1990
                                                         .[9]
                                               가
9.
              :2000
                                                                2006 , 2009 ,
2013
                      , 2012
                                                             (NPT)
2012
2013
                           2010
                                             (NPR)
10.
                                      2010
                                             NPR
                                         가
      NPT
            IAEA
                       가가
                                                      가
                 .[10]
2010
                                           . 2013
      가
                                                                  1991
                           2013
                                       가
                                                                            가
                                              . (
                                                                       .
가
                                                   .)
11. 3
                                                                         3
                 가
```

: 가 가 12. (DMZ) 가 가 가 가 가 13. 가 가 . 6 가 가 가 가 가 (reshape) 가 a) b) 가 가 c) 14. 40 . [11] 가 가 가 가 .[12] 가 가 가 : 15. 가 가 7 가 가 .[13] 2014 10 21 . [14] 16. 6가 가 1. 2. 가 3. 4.

5

5.

6. 가 가 가 17. , NPT 가 .[15] IAEA 가 , NPT ). 가 가 가 가 18. 가 가 가 <u>[16]</u> .NPT 가 가 .[17] NPT .[18] : "3+3" 19. [19] 가 . 2010 3+2 3 가 가 NPT 가 5 가, (contingent status) "5+4.5" "5+5" ( ) 20. 가 **IAEA** 가 가 .[20] IAEA 가 가 가 가 가 21. 가 NPT가 가 1994

```
가
                                                             가
                                                    가
    가
                                                    가
                                                   가
                  가
                       가
                                                                      가
              IAEA
                                         가가
       가
                                                         가
                                                     가
                                                                        가
        가
                              가
                                               가
                                                                           가
22.
                        NPT
                                        가
                                                           가
                           가 "
                                          (nuclear existential deterrence)"
                                                       가
                 가
                          가
        가
                                   가
                                                               가가
                                                         ,
가
                                                                      가
   가
                          . 가
    가
                                  (
                                                          .[21]
     가
                                          가
     .
가
                                                   NPT IAEA
                                                               가
                                                        가
                                             가
             가
                                          가
                  )
                                                                    NPT가
     5
                                                        가
```

가 , 가가 가 가 가 23. 가 가 가 가 ?: 24. 가 가 가 가 가 가 가 가 가가 .[22] NPT IAEA 가 가 가 가 가 가 : (NPT NPT 25. ).[23] . 가 26. 가 가 가 ). 27. : 가

(Eminent Persons Group) 가 a) 가? 가, b) 가(( )? 가 c) 가? 가? d) 가? e) 가? f) 가 가? 가 가 가? 1991 g) 가( 가 가 가 )? 12 h) 가 )? i) ( )? [1] (Richard Tanter) (Michael Hamel-Green) . phayes@nautilus.org

**ENDNOTES** 

. "Doctrines and Strategies Concerning Nuclear Weapons," in UN Secretary General, *Nuclear Weapons: A Comprehensive Study*, chapter 4, pp. 41-56, Department for Disarmament Affairs, United Nations, New York, 1991, at:

http://www.un.org/disarmament/HomePage/ODAPublications/DisarmamentStudySeries/PDF/SS-21.pdf which updates earlier UN expert studies on nuclear weapons dating back to the original study,

Effects of the Possible Use of Nuclear Weapons and the Security and Economic Implications For States of the Acquisition and Further Development of These Weapons, Report of the Secretary-General, United Nations, New York, Sales No. E.68.IX, New York, 1968.

[2] Paul Bracken, *The Command and Control of Nuclear Forces* Yale University Press, New Haven, 1983; P. Lewis etal, Too Close for Comfort: Cases of Near Nuclear Use and Options for Policy, Chatham House, *The Royal Institute of International Affairs*, London, 2014, at: <a href="http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/home/chatham/public\_html/sites/default/files/20140428TooCloseforComfortNuclearUseLewisWilliamsPelopidasAghlani.pdf">http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/home/chatham/public\_html/sites/default/files/20140428TooCloseforComfortNuclearUseLewisWilliamsPelopidasAghlani.pdf</a>

[3] . Patrick Morgan, *Deterrence: a conceptual analysis*, Sage Publications, 1977.

[4] US Pacific Command, *Command History*, 1991, Office of the Historian, volume 1, released under US FOIA to Nautilus institute, p. 90 *et passim*, at: <a href="https://nautilus.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/koreawithdrawal.pdf">https://nautilus.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/koreawithdrawal.pdf</a>

[5] Susan Koch, *The Presidential Nuclear Initiatives of 1991-1992*, WMD Case Study 5, Center for the Study of Weapons of Mass Destruction, National Defense University, Washington DC, October 1, 2012, at: <a href="http://wmdcenter.dodlive.mil/files/2012/10/CSWMD-Case-Study-5-for-web.pdf">http://wmdcenter.dodlive.mil/files/2012/10/CSWMD-Case-Study-5-for-web.pdf</a>

[6] (recession)

, , , 가

. P. Morgan, "Considerations Bearing

on a Possible Retraction of The American Nuclear Umbrella Over the ROK," prepared for Nautilus Institute, June 21, 2009 and published by National Committee on North Korea, Washington DC, in October 2009 at:

 $\underline{http://www.ncnk.org/resources/publications/Morgan\%20Considerations\%20Bearing\_on\_a\_Possible\_R \\ \underline{etraction\_of\_the\_American\_Nuclear\_Umbrella.pdf}$ 

[7] Eric Schmitt, "Bush's Arm Plan; Cheney Orders Bombers Off Alert, Starting Sharp Nuclear Pullback," New York Times, September 29, 1991, at: http://www.nytimes.com/1991/09/29/world/bush-s-arm-plan-cheney-orders-bombers-off-alert-starting-sharp-nuclear-pullback.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm

[8] T. Nichols, "The Case for Conventional Deterrence," *The National Interest*, April 20, 2014, at: <a href="http://nationalinterest.org/commentary/the-case-conventional-deterrence-9381">http://nationalinterest.org/commentary/the-case-conventional-deterrence-9381</a>

[9] (Patrick Morgan) 1991-2002
. "Deterrence and System Management: The Case of North Korea,"

Conflict Management and Peace Science 2006; 23; 121-138. 2008

7 . P. Hayes, S. Bruce,
"North Korean Nuclear Nationalism and the Threat of Nuclear War in Korea," Pacific Focus, 26,
2011, pp. 65-89, at: http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1976-5118.2011.01056.x/abstract

and P. Hayes, R. Cavazos, "North Korean and US Nuclear Threats: Discerning Signals from Noise," *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, 11:14:2, April 8, 2013, at: <a href="http://japanfocus.org/-Roger-Cavazos/3924#">http://japanfocus.org/-Roger-Cavazos/3924#</a>

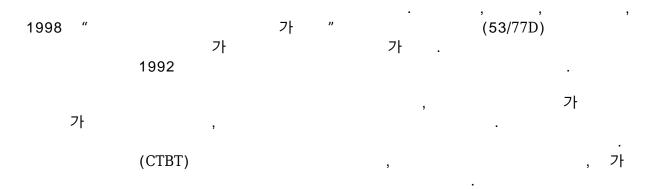
[10] P. Hayes, J. Lewis, "The DPRK and the Warsaw Clause: An Unnoticed Change in US Nuclear Policy", NAPSNet Policy Forum, July 28, 2011, <a href="https://nautilus.org/napsnet/napsnet-policy-forum/t-">https://nautilus.org/napsnet/napsnet-policy-forum/t-</a>

가

[11] K, Vignard, ed, Nuclear Weapons Free Zones, UNIDIR, Disarmament Forum, 2: 2011, Geneva, at: <a href="http://www.unidir.org/files/publications/pdfs/nuclear-weapon-free-zones-en-314.pdf">http://www.unidir.org/files/publications/pdfs/nuclear-weapon-free-zones-en-314.pdf</a> "2011

." Hamel-Green, M., <u>Regions That Say No: Precedents and Precursors for Denuclearizing Northeast Asia</u>, East Asia Nuclear Security Workshop, Tokyo, Japan (November 2011) at:

 $http://nautilus.wpengine.netdna-cdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/Hamel-Green---TOKYONEANW\\ FZPAPERvs5.pdf$ 



[12] B. Kampmark et al, *A New Approach to Security in Northeast Asia: Breaking the Gridlock*, Summary Report, Breaking the Gridlock Workshop, October 9-10, 2012, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, D.C., at: <a href="https://nautilus.org/napsnet/napsnet-specia-reports/gridlockworkshopsummary/#axzz31SQamTGM">https://nautilus.org/napsnet/napsnet-specia-reports/gridlockworkshopsummary/#axzz31SQamTGM</a>

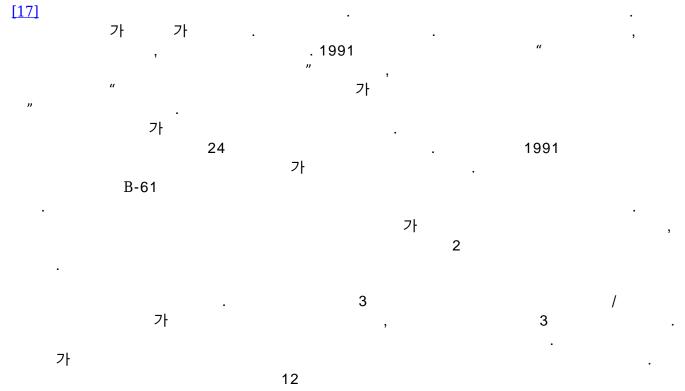
[13] Work of the Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters, Report of the Secretary-General to UN General Assembly, A/68/206, July 26, 2013, at: <a href="https://disarmament-library.un.org/UNODA/Library.nsf/a45bed59c24a1b6085257b100050103a/f82ba7fcf1be289085257bce006a670a/\$FILE/A%2068%20206.pdf">https://disarmament-library.un.org/UNODA/Library.nsf/a45bed59c24a1b6085257b100050103a/f82ba7fcf1be289085257bce006a670a/\$FILE/A%2068%20206.pdf</a>

[14] KCNA, "U.S. Can Never Evade Blame for Blocking Solution to Nuclear Issue: Rodong Sinmun,"

October 21, 2014 at: http://www.kcna.co.jp/item/2014/201410/news21/20141021-11ee.html

[15] United Nations, "Establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones on the basis of arrangements freely arrived at among the States of the region concerned," Annex 1, Report of the Disarmament Commission, General Assembly, 54th session, Supplement No. 42 (A/54/42), United Nations, New York, 1999, p. 7, at: <a href="http://www.opanal.org/Docs/Desarme/NWFZ/A54\_42iAnnexI.pdf">http://www.opanal.org/Docs/Desarme/NWFZ/A54\_42iAnnexI.pdf</a>

[16] This section draws on Peter Hayes and Richard Tanter, "Key Elements of Northeast Asia Nuclear-Weapons Free Zone (NEA-NWFZ)", *NAPSNet Policy Forum*, November 13, 2012, <a href="https://nautilus.org/napsnet/napsnet-policy-forum/key-elements-of-northeast-asia--uclear-weapons-free-zone-nea-nwfz/">https://nautilus.org/napsnet/napsnet-policy-forum/key-elements-of-northeast-asia--uclear-weapons-free-zone-nea-nwfz/</a>



. President Bush's statement is "BUSH'S ARMS PLAN; Remarks by President Bush on Reducing U.S. and Soviet Nuclear Weapons," New York Times, September 28, 1991, at:

http://www.nytimes.com/1991/09/28/us/bush-s-arms-plan-remarks-president-bush-reducing-us-soviet-nuclear-weapons.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm Powell is cited in Eric Schmitt, "Bush's Arm Plan; Cheney Orders Bombers Off Alert, Starting Sharp Nuclear Pullback," New York Times, September 29, 1991, at:

 $\frac{\text{http://www.nytimes.com/1991/09/29/world/bush-s-arm-plan-cheney-orders-bombers-off-alert-starting }{\text{-sharp-nuclear-pullback.html?pagewanted=all\&src=pm}}$ 

On Japan's transit policy and territorial waters, see Chi-Young Pak, *The Korean Straits*, Martinis Nijhoff, 1988, pp. 79-81; on recent Chinese naval surface and submarine transit of the straits and Japanese response, see Peter Dutton, Scouting, Signaling, and Gatekeeping, Chinese Naval Operations in Japanese Waters and the International Law Implications, China Maritime Studies Institute, U.S. Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island, at: <a href="https://www.usnwc.edu/cnws/cmsi/default.aspx">www.usnwc.edu/cnws/cmsi/default.aspx</a>

[18] 2 . " ." 가

. S.W. Cheon

as a "Pan-Pacific nuclear weapon free zone (PPNWFZ), encompassing East Asia, South Pacific and Latin America." In S.W. Cheon, "The Limited Nuclear Weapon Free Zone in Northeast Asia: Is It Feasible?" *The Mongolian Journal of International Affairs*, 14, 2007, p. 115, at: <a href="http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=the%20limited%20nuclear%20weapon%20free%20zone%20in%20northeast%20asia%3A%20is%20it%20feasible&source=web&cd=10&ved=0CGIQFjAJ&url=http%3A%2F%2Fjournals.sfu.ca%2Fmongoliajol%2Findex.php%2FMJIA%2Farticle%2Fdownload%2F31%2F31&ei=FrRoUM 1CeaZiAKPmIHYAg&usg=AFOjCNF3AKPOtXpEK97pNQshHqF6o9JA7w

[19] 15 DMZ 1000km . J. Endicott, "Limited nuclear-weapon-free zones: the time has come," Korean *Journal of Defense Analysis*, 20: 1, 2008, p. 17, at: <a href="http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10163270802006305">http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10163270802006305</a>. . S. W. Cheon, op cit, pp. 106-115. '3+3' H. Umebayashi, "A Northeast Asia Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone with a Three Plus Three Arrangement," East Asia Nuclear Security Workshop, Tokyo, Japan, November 2011, at: http://nautilus.wpengine.netdna-cdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/UMEBAYASHI---A-NEA-NWFZ -with-3-3-Arrangement- 2011--Tokyo .pdf; and similarly, Kumao Kaneko, "Japan needs no umbrella," Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, March/April 1996, pp. 46-51, at: http://www.thebulletin.org/ The first proposal phased implementation of a 3+3 concept is found in S. W. Cheon and T. Suzuki, " The Tripartite Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone in Northeast Asia: a Long-Term Objective of the Six Party Talks," International Journal of Korean Studies, 12, 2, 2003, pp. 41-68, at: http://www.kinu.or.kr/eng/pub/pub 03 01.jsp?page=2&num=42&mode=view&field=&text=&order =&dir=&bid=DATA03&ses=&category=11 '3+2'Korea-Japan Nuclear Weapon Free Zone (KJNWFZ) Briefing Paper, May 6, 2010, in English, Korean, and Japanese, at: <a href="https://nautilus.org/projects/by-name/korea-jap-">https://nautilus.org/projects/by-name/korea-jap-</a> n-nwfz/ [20] . D. Albright, C. Hinderstein, Cooperative Verified Dismantlement of Nuclear Programs: An Eye Toward North Korea, June 1, 2003, at: http://isis-online.org/conferences/detail/cooperative-verified-dismantlement-of-nuclear-programs-aneve-toward-north-/10 and Andre Buys, Proliferation Risk Assessment of Former Nuclear Explosives/Weapons Program Personnel: South African Case Study, NASPNet Special Report, July 14, 2011, at: <a href="https://www.nautilus.org/publications/essays/napsnet/reports/Buys-research-report-final.pdf">www.nautilus.org/publications/essays/napsnet/reports/Buys-research-report-final.pdf</a> and A. Buys, Tracking nuclear capable individuals, NAPSNet Special Report, Nautilus Institute, April 19, 2011, at: http://nautilus.wpengine.netdna-cdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/Tracking Nuclear Individuals Buys.pdf [21] 가 . J. Dhanapala, "NWFZS and Extended Nuclear Deterrence: Squaring the Circle?" NAPSNet Special Report, May 1, 2012, at: https://nautilus.org/napsnet/napsnet-specia--reports/nwfzs-and-extended-nuclear-deterrence-squaring-the-circle/ 1975 가 . Comprehensive Study Of The Question Of Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zones In All Its Aspects, Special report of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmement, UN Doc. A/10027/Add. 1, New York, 1975 http://www.un.org/disarmament/HomePage/ODAPublications/DisarmamentStudySeries/PDF/A-10027 -Add1.pdf [22] 가 가

(Alfonso Garcia Robles)

가

가 , ." M. Hamel-

Green, "Implementing a Korea-Japan Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone: Precedents, Legal Forms, Governance, Scope, Domain, Verification, Compliance and Regional Benefits," *Pacific Focus*, 26:1, April, 2011, pp. 97-98, at: <a href="http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/pafo.2011.26.issue-1/issuetoc">http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/pafo.2011.26.issue-1/issuetoc</a>

[23] KCNA, "FM Spokesman on Right to Bolster Nuclear Deterrent" May 26, 2010 at:

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

View this online at: https://nautilus.org/napsnet/napsnet-specia-reports/%eb%8f%99%eb%b6%81%ec%95%8-

--%

b5-%ec%9c%84%ed%98%91%ec%9d%98-%ec%a2%85%ec%8b%9d/

Nautilus Institute 608 San Miguel Ave., Berkeley, CA 94707-1535 | Phone: (510) 423-0372 | Email:

nautilus@nautilus.org