



Session 2:

The Conventional Forces of North Korea and Arms Control in Korean Peninsular: Breaking through the Stalemate

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North Korean Military Capability and Its Threats (1)

- **Continuous Conventional Force Construction Despite Economic Difficulties**
 - ✓ **'Selection & Concentration' in development and deployment of the military force**
 - ✓ **About 70% of ground forces deployed south of the Pyongyang-Wansan Line**
 - ✓ **Long-range artillery aiming Seoul Metropolitan Area and its capability improvement**
 - ✓ **Enhancement of special forces**
 - ✓ **Efforts for acquisition of new submarines, torpedoes, and missile patrol boats**

North Korean Military Capability and Its Threats (2)

- ✓ Maintenance of missile hovercrafts for amphibious attack
- ✓ 40% of Air Force capabilities deployed to forward bases
- **Myth on the 'Inferior Military Capability of North Korea'**
 - ① ROK's Overwhelming superiority in economic power and defense budget? → considerable hidden military expenditure of North Korea
 - ② Obsolete Weapons/Equipment of KPA? → old modeled, but brand-new

North Korean Military Capability and Its Threats

(3)

- ③ Lack of training/exercise? → very long service term of KPA and veteran troops
 - ④ Anachronistic believe in '3:1 advantage of defenders' → modern warfare and the merit of surprise attack
 - ⑤ Ultimate victory of ROK in war by the superiority of 'war sustaining capability?' → deterrence rather than defense
- **Substantial threats from Weapons of Mass Destruction of North Korea**
- ✓ 2,500 to 5,000 tons of chemical weapons

North Korean Military Capability and Its Threats (4)

- ✓ **Suspected biological weapons as anthrax, smallpox, and cholera**
- ✓ **Wide variety of ballistic missiles**
 - **Scud B/C (300km to 500km range, operationally deployed)**
 - **Rodong (1,300km range, operationally deployed)**
 - **Musudan IRBM (3,000 km range, operationally deployed)**
 - **Taepodong (More than 6,700km range, under development)**

Ongoing Military Confrontation Between the South and the North (1)

- **Military confrontation and periodic conflicts since Armistice Agreement of 1953**
- **Three major armed skirmishes taken place from 2009**
 - ✓ **Daecheong Naval Campaign (November 10, 2009): navy clash near Northern Limit Line**
 - ✓ **The Sink of Cheonan (March 26, 2010): a ROK patrol corvette was sank by the torpedo of North Korea**
 - ✓ **The Yeonpyeong Shelling: North Korea fired more than 100 shots against Yeonpyeong Island**

Ongoing Military Confrontation Between the South and the North (2)

- **No reliable institutional mechanism**
 - ✓ **North Korea's refusal of Military Armistice Commission since mid-1990s**
 - ✓ **Stalemate of South-North High-level Military Talks since 2008**
 - ✓ **Suspension of political talks**
- **Domestic politics of North Korea and its implications on military provocation**
 - ✓ **Army-first Politics: a compromise between the supreme leaders and military corps?**

Ongoing Military Confrontation Between the South and the North (3)

- ✓ **Distorted Party-Military relations: still unstable succession system**
- ✓ **Corporate interests of KPA: provocations as measures for enhancing political position?**
- **Motivation of North Korea on limited provocation Unless 2nd Korean War**
 - ✓ **Relatively low political/military burden**
 - ✓ **Appealing its own justification**
 - ✓ **Inducing diplomatic support from some neighboring countries**
 - ✓ **Stimulating the dialogue with the U.S.**

Arms Control in Korean Peninsula: a way too far (1)

- **So many suggestions, but not realized**
 - ✓ **Despite some preliminary measures, No meaningful progress in real arms control**
 - **Military assurance for inter-Korean crossing in land and sea**
 - **Improvements of the inter-Korean military communications**
 - **Periodic dialogues**
 - ✓ **No fixed negotiation channel for arms control**
 - ✓ **Propaganda, rather than reliable policy (North Korea)**

Arms Control in Korean Peninsula: a way too far (2)

- **Why so many suggestions have been ‘Much ado about nothing?’**
 - ✓ **Lack of sincerity and political/economic motivation**
 - ✓ **Unrealistic approaches (ex. Mutual disarmament to 100,000 soldiers proposed by the North)**
 - ✓ **Aiming at exploitation of the counterpart’s disadvantage**
 - ✓ **Appliance of European experiences without cautious review**

Arms Control in Korean Peninsula: a way too far (3)

- **Passive approaches among neighboring countries on peninsular arms control issues**
 - ✓ **Focused on the maintenance of status quo instead of on fundamental policies to alleviate inter-Korea tensions**
 - ✓ **Regional actors have sought the 'hedging strategy' by cultivating a level of cooperation with both the South and the North**
 - ✓ **Relative unconcern on conventional arms control after emerging nuclear issues**
 - ✓ **The lack of the consensus on regional arms control**

Isn't There No way? (1)

- **Starting from resolution of political distrusts between the South and the North**
 - ✓ **Adopting measures and policies that reflect the real political approval on each other**
 - ✓ **Restoration & institutionalization of political/military dialogue channels**
 - ✓ **Frank discussions on the implementation of existing bilateral agreements including the 'Basic Agreement'**
 - ✓ **Compliance on the agreed or *de facto* ground/maritime boundary including NLL**

Isn't There No way? (2)

- **Stable armistice system prior to 'Peace Treaty'**
 - ✓ Restoring the mechanisms/institutions that assure the armistice including the Military Armistice Commission and the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission
 - ✓ More active approach on the Peace Treaty, but not adhering to specific option or roadmap
 - ✓ Linkage between economic cooperation/aid and arms control dialogues between two Koreas

Isn't There No way? (3)

- **Cooperative engagement of neighboring countries**
 - ✓ **Common approaches and messages against military provocation in Korean Peninsula**
 - ✓ **Developing institutional mechanisms for resolving peninsular/regional conflicts (ex. the establishment of East Asia Crisis Management Center within DMZ)**
 - ✓ **Preparing regional arms control options that can corresponds with the South-North arms control, especially on the issues of WMD**

Toward the More Peaceful Peninsula and East Asia (1)

- Pursuing step-by-step approach toward the positive changes of North Korea
 - ✓ Step 1: Relatively non-hostile North Korea
 - ✓ Step 2: Transparent and WMD-free North Korea
 - ✓ Step 3: North Korea as a responsible stake-holder for coexistence
 - ✓ Step 4: North Korea as a partner in common prosperity era
 - ✓ Step 5: North Korea as a partner for peaceful unification

Toward the More Peaceful Peninsula and East Asia (2)

- **Supporting North Korean leaders to transform its rational of political legitimacy**
 - ✓ **From military confrontation to coexistence**
 - ✓ **From personal idolization to policy outcomes**
 - ✓ **From 'Army-first Politics' to check & balance among state apparatus**
- **The enhanced multilateral cooperation also needed**