
Auf gleicher Augenhöhe? Nordkorea und die Anerkennung als Nuklearmacht durch die Großmächte

Gesellschaft für Wehr- und Sicherheitspolitik, e.V.

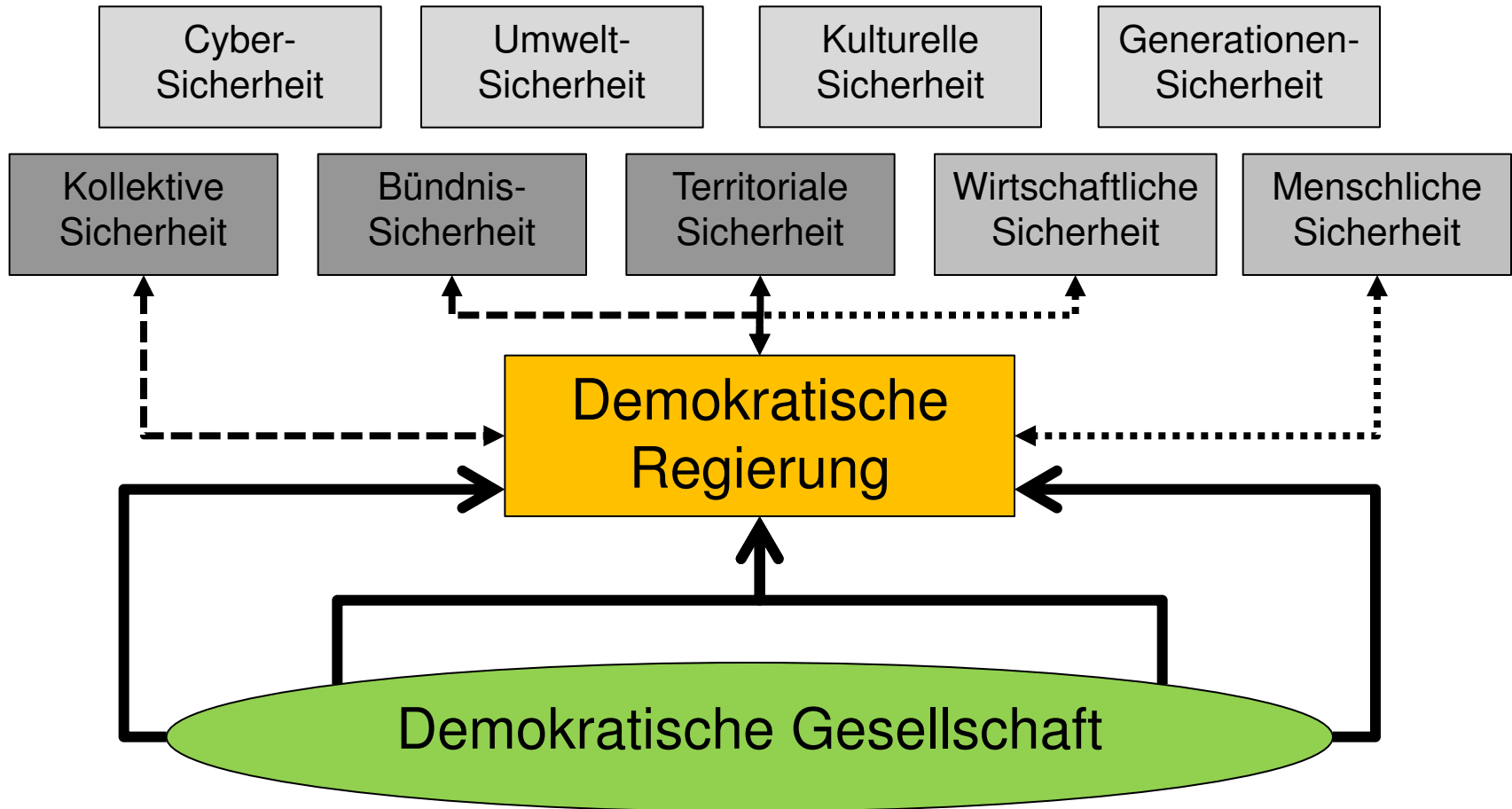
Sektion Landau-Südpfalz

Gliederung

1. Vorbemerkungen
2. Nuklearwaffentechnik und Atomwaffensperrvertrag
3. Das nordkoreanischen Nuklearwaffenprogramm
 1. Genese
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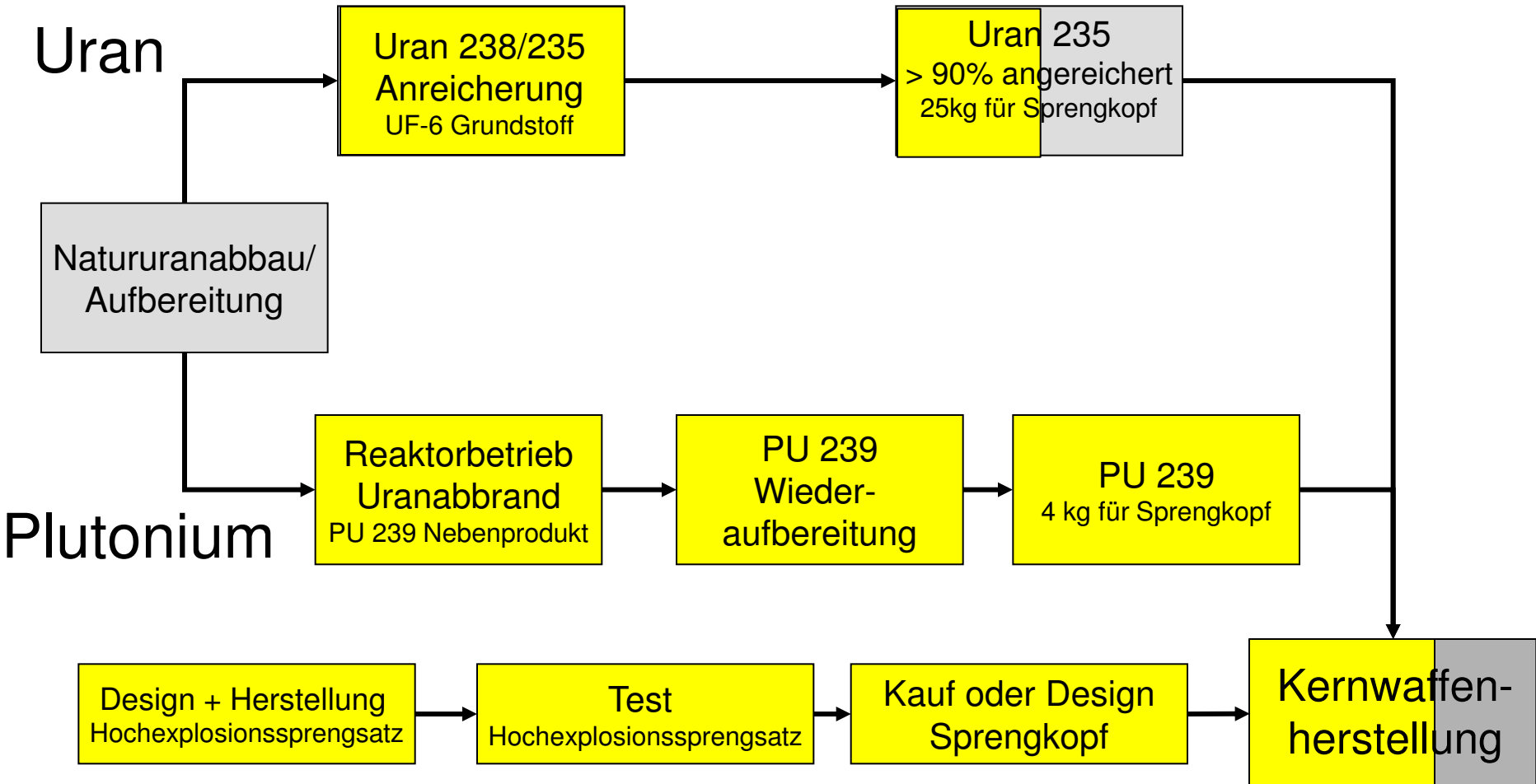
Vorbemerkungen

Dilemmata demokratischer Sicherheitspolitik: Anspruchsinflation und Komplexitätszunahmen

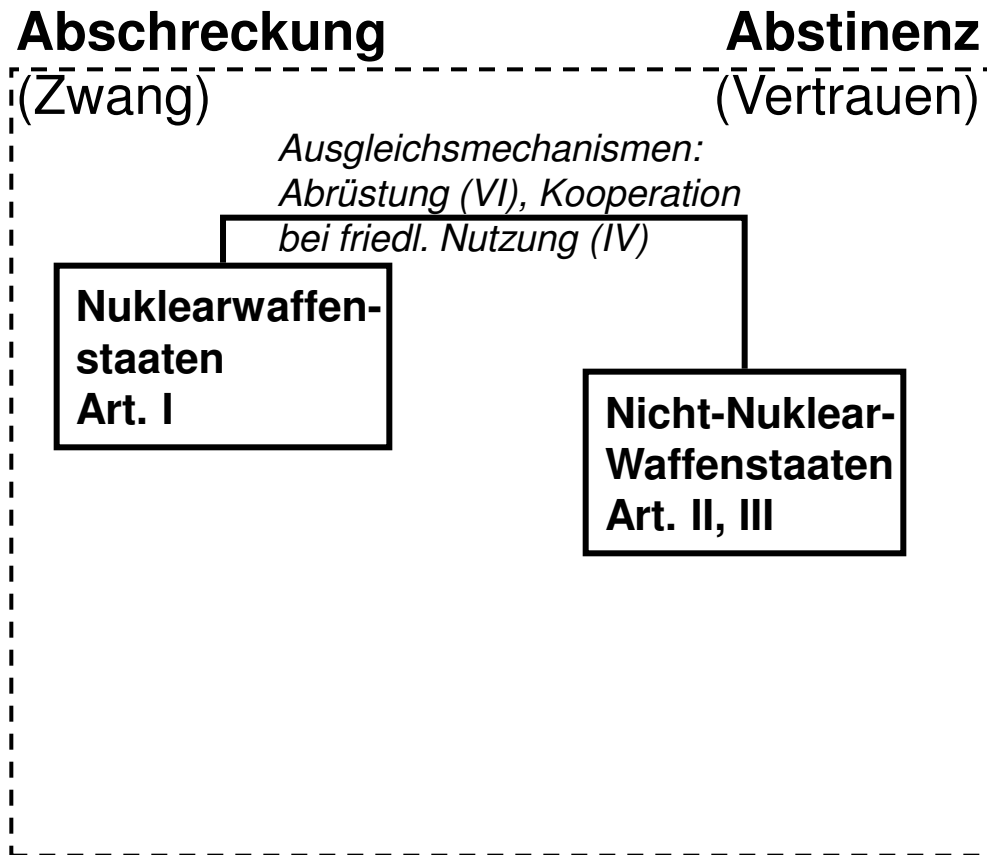


Nuklearwaffentechnik und Atomwaffensperrvertrag

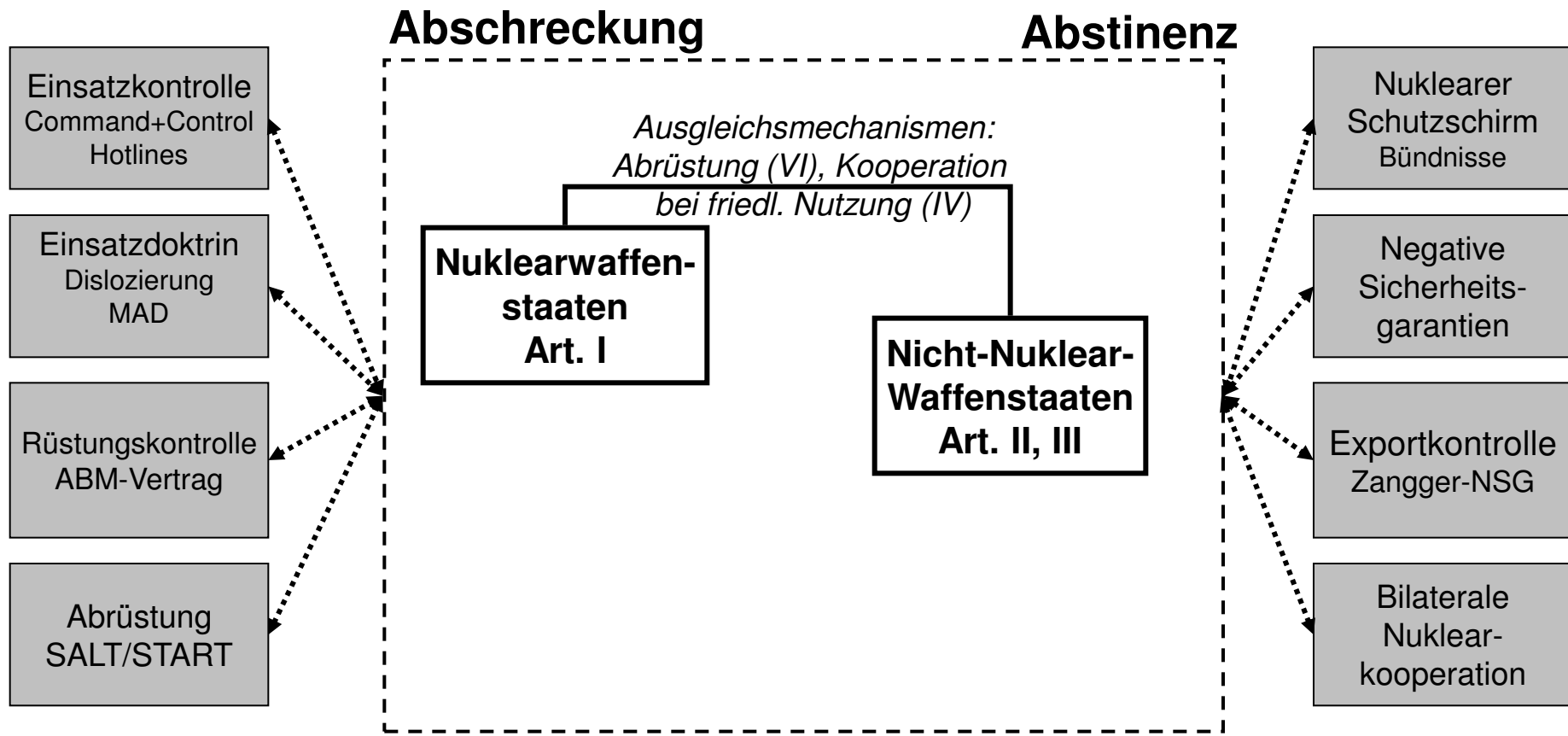
Kernwaffen: Uran + Plutoniumproduktionswege



Die konstitutionelle Ordnung des Nichtverbreitungsvertrages



Konstitutionelle Ordnung des NVV – Handlungsmodi und externe Regimestützung



Das nordkoreanische Nuklearwaffenprogramm

Genese des nordkoreanischen Plutoniumprogramms

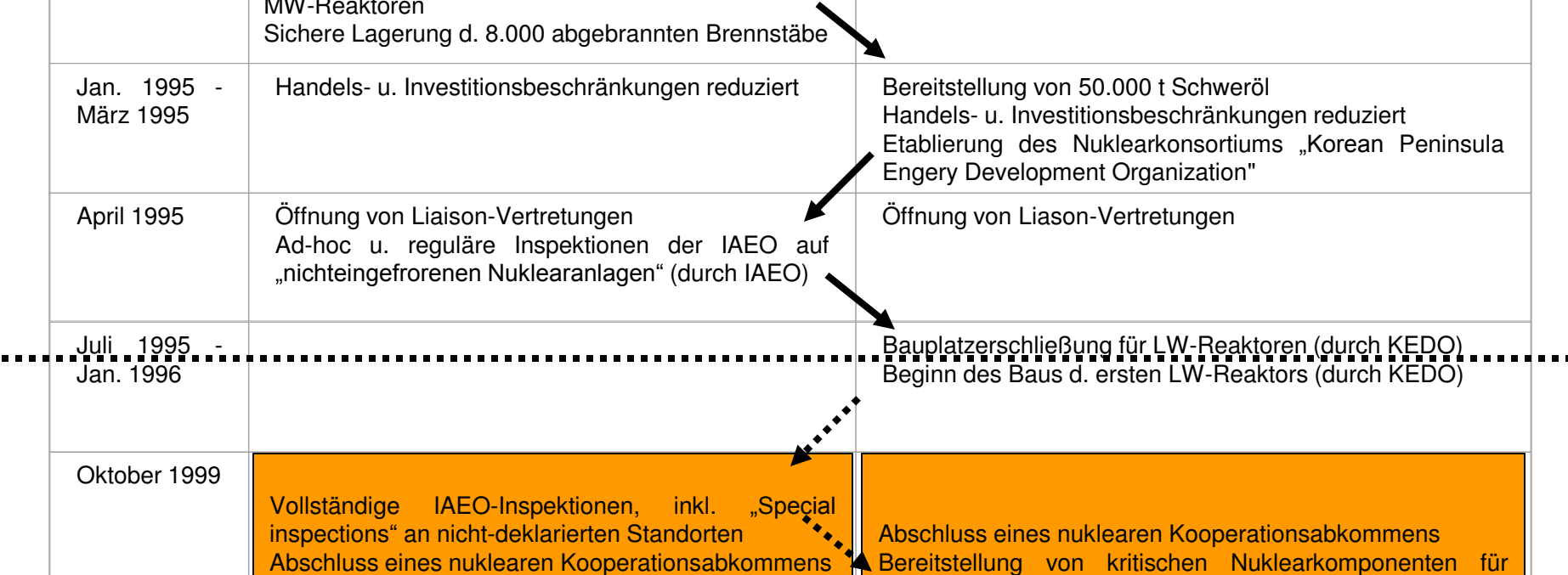
auslösende Faktoren

Entwicklung

1. US-Drohung mit A-Waffen in Koreakrieg; Kubakrise
 2. US-Abzug aus Vietnam; Südkorea erwägt A-Waffen
 3. Wende in sowjetischer Außenpolitik
 4. Ende des OWK: Verlust traditioneller Bündnispartner SU (VR China)
 5. Veränderung der US-Nordkoreapolitik 2002/2003
1. Ab 1965: Kooperation mit SU, Bau eines Forschungsreaktors.
 2. Ab Herbst 1975: Beschleunigung: Bau eines 5 MW-Reaktors
 3. 1985 NVV-Beitritt
 4. 1989-1991: Entnahme von abgebrannten Brennstäben zur Wiederaufbereitung
=> Sprengkopfproduktion
 5. Wiederaufbereitung „eingefrorener Brennstäbe, Inbetriebnahme PU-Programm

Das Genfer Rahmenabkommen vom 21.10. 1994

Zeitraum	Nordkoreanische Verpflichtungen	Verpflichtungen der USA und ihrer Verbündeter
Okt. 1994 - Jan. 1995	Einfrierung der bestehenden Reaktoren (durch Nordkorea) Einfrierung der im Bau befindlichen 200 MW u. 50 MW-Reaktoren Sichere Lagerung d. 8.000 abgebrannten Brennstäbe	
Jan. 1995 - März 1995	Handels- u. Investitionsbeschränkungen reduziert	Bereitstellung von 50.000 t Schweröl Handels- u. Investitionsbeschränkungen reduziert Etablierung des Nuklearkonsortiums „Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization“
April 1995	Öffnung von Liaison-Vertretungen Ad-hoc u. reguläre Inspektionen der IAEO auf „nichteingefrorenen Nuklearanlagen“ (durch IAEO)	Öffnung von Liaison-Vertretungen
Juli 1995 - Jan. 1996		Bauplatzerschließung für LW-Reaktoren (durch KEDO) Beginn des Baus d. ersten LW-Reaktors (durch KEDO)
Oktober 1999	Vollständige IAEO-Inspektionen, inkl. „Special inspections“ an nicht-deklarierten Standorten Abschluss eines nuklearen Kooperationsabkommens	Abschluss eines nuklearen Kooperationsabkommens Bereitstellung von kritischen Nuklearkomponenten für ersten LW-Reaktor (durch USA)
2005	Beginn Auslagerung der 8.000 abgebrannten Brennstäbe Ende Auslagerung der Brennstäbe ⇔ Inbetriebnahme LW-Reaktor 1	Weiterführung des Baus von LW-Reaktoren I und II Ende Auslagerung der Brennstäbe ⇔ Inbetriebnahme LW-Reaktor 1
2006	Abbau aller sensitiven Nuklearanlagen: radiochemisches Labor ⇔ Inbetriebnahme LW-Reaktor Bezahlung f. LW-Reaktoren u. nuklearen Brennstoff	Abbau aller sensitiven Nuklearanlagen: radio-chemisches Labor ⇔ Inbetriebnahme LW-Reaktor 2 Bereitstellung von nuklearen Brennstoffen für LW-Reaktoren



Ausbau der nordkoreanischen Nuklearwaffenprogramme: interne und externe Bedingungsfaktoren

Interne Dynamik

Wirtschaft: Tausch von
Drohungen gegen Geld

Politik: Macht und Status
durch Militärhaushalt/-Export

Sicherheit: Egalisierung der
überlegenen US-Streitkräfte

Externe Dynamik

Akzeptanz nuklearer
Ambiguität

Akzeptanz des Handels
mit Drohungen

Präferenz für „Stabilität“ ggü.
„Wandel“

Ausbau der nordkoreanischen
Nuklearwaffenprogramme

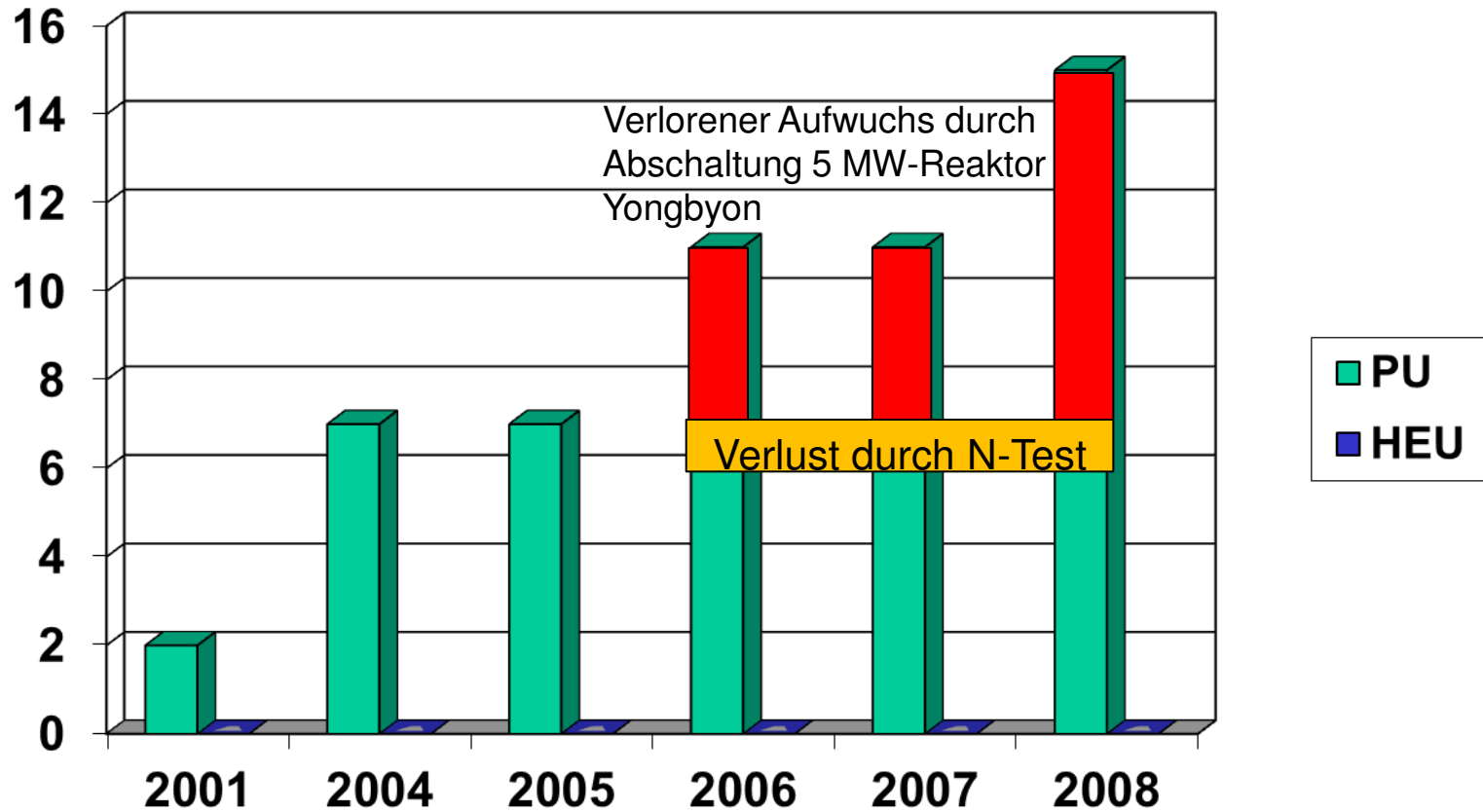
VN-SR-Resolutionen: Nordkorea

Datum	Resolution	Inhalt
11. Mai 1993	S/RES/825 (spezifisch DPRK)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reconsider Announcement of Letter of 12. March 1993 - Honor its non-proliferation obligations under the treaty - Requests Director General IAEA to continue to consult with the DPRK with a view to resolving the issues
15. Juli 2006	S/RES/1695 (spezifisch DPRK)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Condemns multiple launches of Ballistic missiles - Demands suspension of ballistic missile program - Requires member states to exercise vigilance and prevent procurement and proliferation and transfer of financial resources and technology - Underlines the DPRK to show restraint and refrain from action aggravating tension - Strongly urges DPRK to return to Six Party talks without precondition
14. Okt 2006	S/RES/1718 (spezifisch DPRK)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (1) Condemns nuclear test proclaimed by DPRK on 9 Oct. 2006 - (2) Demands no further tests - (3) Demands DPRK to immediately retract its announcement of withdrawal from the NPT - (4) Return to NPT and IAEA Safeguards - (5) Suspend all activities related to ballistic missiles - (6, 7) Decides DPRK shall abandon all nuclear weapons and existing nuclear as well as WMD programs - (8 a) All members states shall prevent the direct or indirect supply, sale and transfer to DPRK of: (i) military goods: battle tanks, armored vehicles, large caliber systems, combat aircraft, attack helicopters, warships, missiles or missile systems (ii) all goods and technology in documents S/2006/814 (Letter by French Representative to UNSC with List of nuclear material) and S/2006/815 (Letter by French Representative to UNSC with List of ballistic missile material) - (8 b) All member states shall freeze funds and financial assets and economic resources, prevent entry or transit of designated DPRK personnel - (10-12) Establish Committee to undertake tasks of seeking information, consider and decide upon requests, designate individuals - (14ff) Strongly urges DPRK to return to Six Party talks without precondition, keep DPRK under review

UN-SR-Resolutionen: Nordkorea

<p>12.Juni 2009</p>	<p>S/RES/1874 (spezifisch DPRK)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (1) Condemns nuclear test conducted by DPRK on 25 May 2009 - (2) Demands DPRK not to conduct further nuclear tests - (3) Decides DPRK shall suspend all activities related to ballistic missile program - (4) Immediately comply with S/RES/1718 - (5) DPRK immediately retracts its announcement of withdrawal from the NPT - (6) Return to NPT and IAEA Safeguards - (7) Calls upon member states to implement their obligations pursuant to resolution S/RES/1718 - (8) Decides DPRK shall abandon all nuclear weapons and existing nuclear as well as WMD programs - (9) (10) Decides that paragraph 8 (b) and 8 (a) of S/RES/1718 shall apply to all arms and related materiel, as well as financial transactions, training, advice, services or assistance and calls upon states to exercise vigilance over direct or indirect supply sale of transfer to DPRK - (11-17) calls upon all member states to inspect, cooperate with inspections, authorize to seize and dispose of items - (18-21) calls upon member states and financial institutions to implement obligations of S/RES/1718, 8 (d)(e) not to enter commitments for grants, assistance or loans to DPRK - (23) applies to INFCIRC/254/Rev.7/Part 2a, INFCIRC/254/Rev.9/Part 1a - (25- 27) Committee intensify efforts to promote the full implementation of 1718, establish panel of experts, urges states to cooperate - (29) Calls upon DPRK to join Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty - (30ff) Strongly urges DPRK to return to Six Party talks without precondition, keep DPRK under review
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Projektion der plutonium- und uranbasierten Kernwaffenkapazitäten Nordkoreas, 2001-2008



Sechs-Parteien Vereinbarungen vom 13. Februar und 3. Oktober 2007

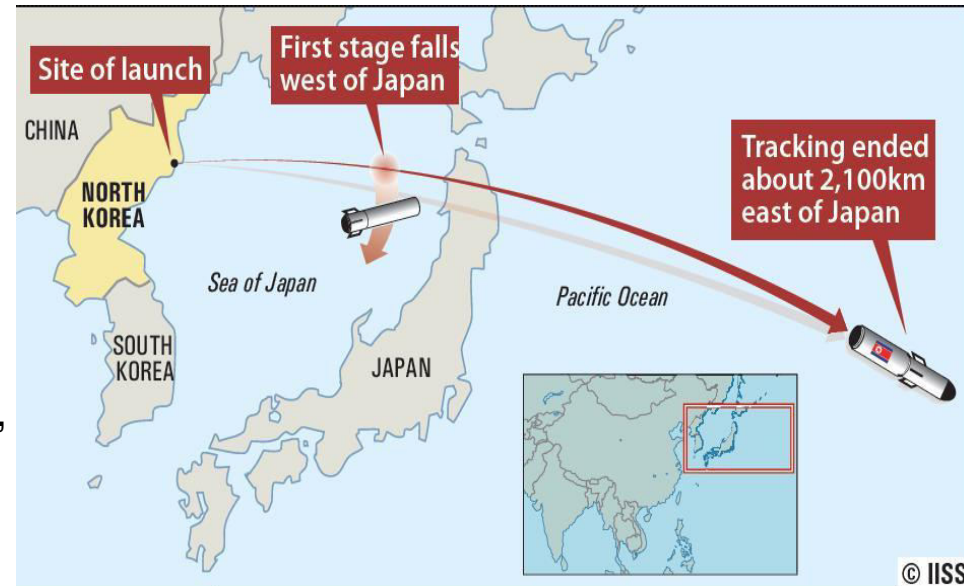
DPRK	USA (und Anrainerstaaten)
1. Phase: Außerbetriebnahme aller Nuklearanlagen in Yongbyon, IAEA-Inspektionen	1. Phase: USA beginnen Gespräche über Normalisierung der Beziehungen (Terrorstaatenliste + Handelsbarrieren)
Erstellung und Diskussion einer Liste aller Nuklearanlagen/Technologie	Japan und DPRK beginnen Gespräche über Normalisierung (Entführungen) Humanitäre Kooperation 50.000 t Schweröl
5 Arbeitsgruppen: Denuklearisierung, USA-DPRK, Japan/DPRK, Wirtschaftskooperation; Frieden in NEA	
2. Phase: Vollständige Erklärung der Nuklearaktivitäten und Unbrauchbarmachung von N-Anlagen (bis zum 31. 12. 2007) Verzicht auf Weitergabe von Nukleartechnologie, Know-how, Material	2. Phase: Lieferung von 950.000 t Schweröl USA streichen Nordkorea von der Liste terrorunterstützender Staaten und bauen bilaterale Handelsbarrieren ab
USA/IAEA verifizieren Unbrauchbarmachung u. USA erhält PU-Dokumente	

60 Tage Laufzeit

Bis zum 31. 12. 2007

Eskalation im Frühjahr 2009

- 15. März Zwei U.S. Journalisten verhaftet
- 5. April Test einer Unha-2-Rakete
- 13. April UN-SR verurteilt den Test
- 14. April NK weist Inspektoren aus
- 25. Mai Zweiter Test, Sprengkraft 4 kT
UN-SR droht Sanktionen an
- 26. Mai USA und Südkorea kündigen an,
verdächtige Schiffe zu stoppen



- 27. Mai NK kündigt Waffenstillstand von 1953 auf.
Es folgen 6 Kurzstreckenraketenstarts
- 2. Juni Kim Jong Il bestimmt Nachfolger
- 12. Juni UN-SR Sanktionen (UN-SR Res.1874)
- 13. Juni NK gibt Pläne zur Aufstockung des MVW-Arsenals
bekannt und droht „gnadenlose Antwort“
auf U.S. Provokationen an

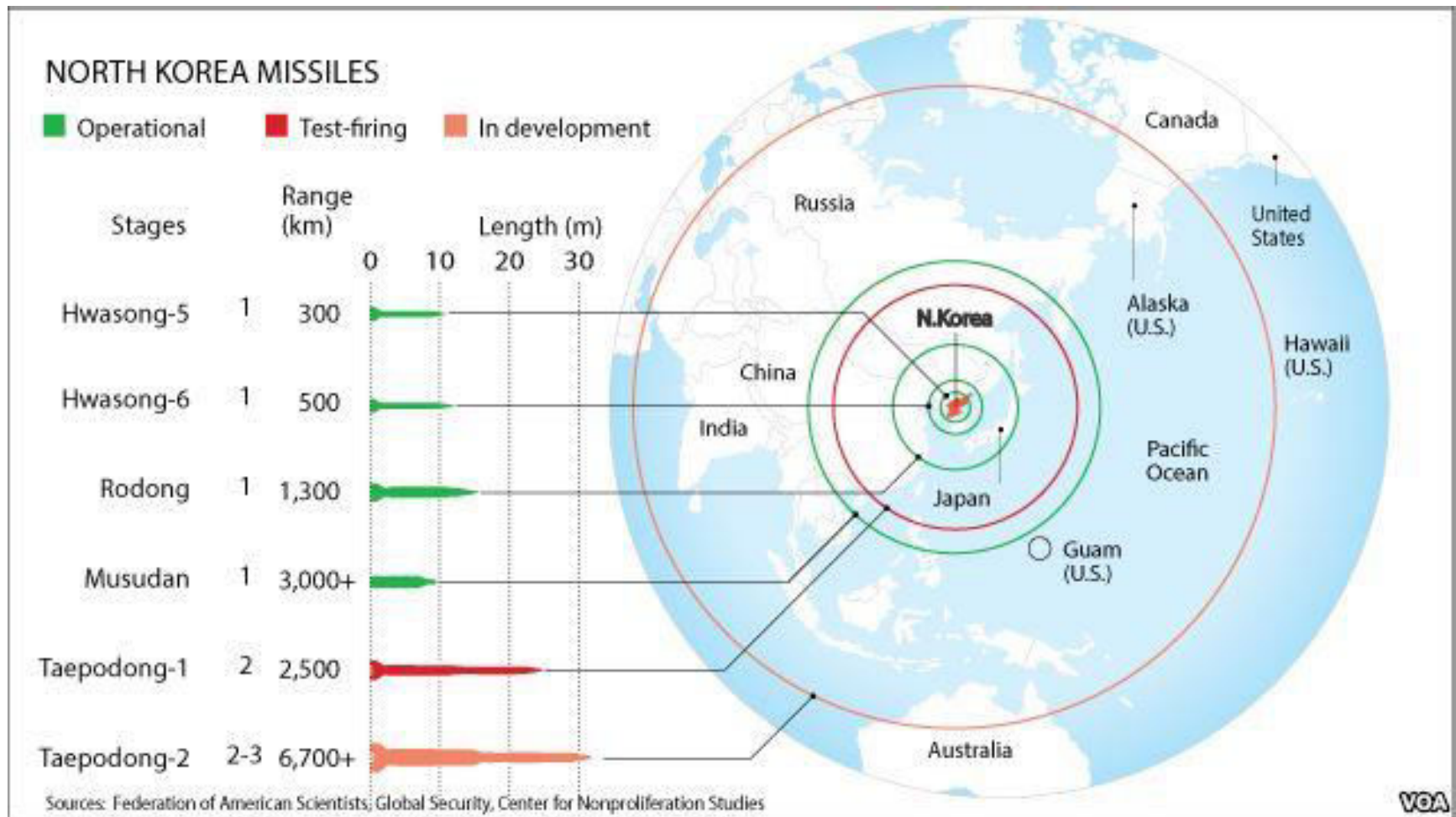


Deeskalation im Herbst 2009

- Zuspitzung der Irankrise und breite demokratische Mehrheit führen zu Nordkoreapolitik der „strategischen Geduld“ der Obama-Administration.
- Freilassung der zwei US-Reporter erlaubt (inter)nationale Reputationsgewinne für Kim Jong-Il
- Regime verhandelt auf „sicherem Nuklearwaffenstatus“ über Mitnahmeeffekte einer Entspannung mit Südkorea.



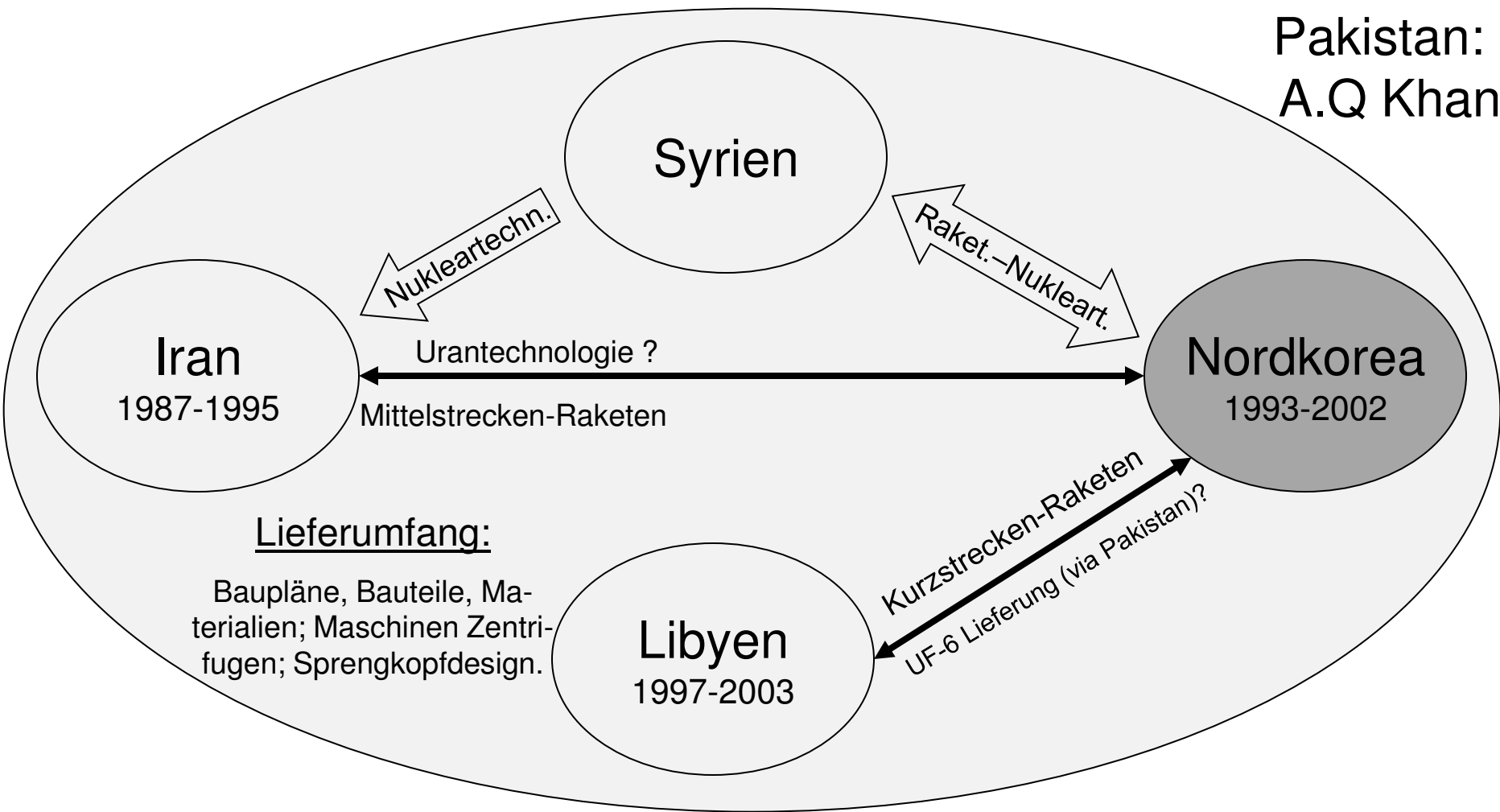
Ballistische Raketenprogramme der DVRK: Reichweiten und Einsatzfähigkeit



Quelle: http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/worldviews/files/2013/03/9873C2E2-67C6-4ECD-BAAA-2147433219AA_mw1024_n_s.jpg

Das nordkoreanische Proliferationsnetzwerk

Pakistan:
A.Q Khan



Nordkoreanische Provokationen 2010-2012

- 26. März 2010: Versenkung der südkoreanischen Korvette Cheonan (46 Soldaten sterben)
- September 2010: Kim Jong-Un wird als Nachfolger Kim Jong-Ils in Partei und Militär eingeführt.
- 23. November 2010: DVRK-Artillerie beschießt Insel Yeonpyeong in umstrittenen Seegebiet (2 Soldaten, 2 Zivilisten werden getötet).
- 17. Dezember 2011: Kim Jong-Il stirbt, Kim Jong-Un wird Nachfolger
- 29. Februar 2012: Leap-Day Agreement vereinbart Raketen- und Nuklearmoratorium gegen Nahrungsmittelhilfe
- 13. April 2012: DVRK startet Rakete + Satellit, sie versagt, Übereinkunft zerbricht.
- Dezember 2012: DVRK startet erneut Rakete, die Satellit kurzfristig in Orbit bringt. UN-SR (inkl. PRC) verurteilt dies und verhängt Res. 2087.
- 12. Februar 2013: DVRK testet zum dritten Mal Nuklearsprengsatz. UN-SR (inkl. China) verurteilt dies und verhängt Res. 2094.

Eskalation nordkoreanischer Rhetorik 2013

Datum	Sprechakt	Eskalation
March 5, 2013	We will take second and third countermeasures of greater intensity against the reckless hostilities of the United States and all the other enemies. Now that the US imperialists seek to attack the DPRK with nuclear weapons, we will counter them with diversified precision nuclear strike means of Korean style. The army and people of the DPRK have everything including lighter and smaller nukes unlike what we had in the past. (Korean People's Army)	Androhung nuklearer Präzisions-schläge
March 7	The revolutionary armed forces of the DPRK will exercise the right to launch a pre-emptive nuclear attack to destroy the strongholds of the aggressors and to defend the supreme interests of the country. (Spokesman for the North Korea's Foreign Ministry)	Nukleare Präemption
March 8	All agreements on nonaggression reached between the North and the South and the joint declaration on denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula are now nullified. (Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland)	Widerruf aller innerkorea-nischer Abk.
	<u>We are ready for "all-out war" against our enemies. (Kim Jong Un)</u>	
March 10	We would exercise the right to conduct preemptive nuclear strikes if today's "Key Resolve" drills were to go ahead. (North Korea's Foreign Ministry)	Befristete Drohung
March 12	The Korean Armistice Agreement is to be scrapped completely just from today and the annual training exercises called Key Resolve are an open declaration of a war. (Spokesman for the Supreme Command of the Korean People's Army (KPA) reported by Rodong Sinmun)	Befristete Drohung

Eskalation nordkoreanischer Rhetorik 2013

Datum	Sprechakt	Eskalation
March 12	We would wipe out a South Korean island Baengnyeong and turn the island into a "sea of fire." (Kim Jong Un)	Örtliche Drohung (NLL)
March 14	North Korea conducts live-fire drills near a disputed maritime border. (KCNA)	Mil. Reaktion auf US-ROK Manöver
March 20	North Korea military personnel are standing by to annihilate the US imperialist aggressors, only awaiting an order from Supreme Commander Marshal Kim Jong Un. (KCNA)	Befehlshaber KJU
	North Korea conducts air-raid drills, issuing air raid warnings for its soldiers and citizens. (Korean Central Broadcasting Station, KCBS)	Mil. Reaktion auf US-ROK Manöver
	US B-52 bomber deployments in the Korean Peninsula prove the aggressive and adventurous nature of the drills as a test nuclear war rehearsal. If the US sends B-52 to Korea again, they will meet catastrophic end by the strong military counteraction of the DPRK. Time has gone when words worked. (KCNA)	Mil. Reaktion auf US-ROK Manöver
March 21	The U.S. should not forget that Andersen Air Force Base on Guam, where B-52s take off, and naval bases in Japan proper and Okinawa, where nuclear-powered submarines are launched, are within the striking range of our precision strike means. Now that the US started open nuclear blackmail and threat, the DPRK, too, will move to take corresponding military actions. (Spokesman Supreme Command of the KPA)	Gezielte Drohung

Eskalation nordkoreanischer Rhetorik 2013

Datum	Sprechakt	Eskalation
March 25	Crack storm troops will occupy Seoul and other cities and take 150,000 US citizens as hostage. (In the video, titled "A Short, Three Day War" posted on the North Korean website Uriminzokkiri)	Gezielte örtl. Drohung
March 26	We will put on the highest alert all the field artillery units including strategic rocket units and long-range artillery units, which are assigned to strike bases of the US imperialist aggressor troops in the US mainland and on Hawaii and Guam and other operational zone in the Pacific, as well as all the enemy targets in South Korea and its vicinity. (Supreme Command of the KPA)	Gezielte örtl. Drohung
March 27	North Korea cuts its last military hotline with Seoul. (Message from the DPRK head of the delegation, inter-Korean general-level military talks)	Abbau VSBM
March 29	North Korea reveals its US mainland strike plan in a map targeting primarily Hawaii, Washington, DC, Austin, Texas and Los Angeles, California. (A picture shown on the report by KCNA)	Gezielte örtl. Drohung
March 30	From this moment, the North-South relations will be put at the state of war, and all the issues arousing between the North and the South will be dealt with according to the wartime regulations (KCNA)	Kriegszustand mit ROK
March 31	Nuclear weapons are the "nation's life," an important component of the country's defense, and an asset that wouldn't be traded even for "billions of dollars." (Declaration adopted by Kim Jong-un and top party officials)	N-Waffen sind Überlebenswichtig

Eskalation nordkoreanischer Rhetorik 2013

Datum	Sprechakt	Eskalation
April 2	We will restart our 5-megawatt graphite-moderated nuclear reactor in Yongbyon to extract plutonium for nuclear weapons. (KCNA)	Aufnahme NW-Programm
April 4	North Korea moves its Musudan missiles to the launching site on the east coast of the country. (ROK Ministry of National Defense)	Gezielte örtl. Drohung
April 5	All embassies in Pyongyang should prepare to evacuate North Korea because their safety cannot be guaranteed during conflict. (Spokesman for the Russian embassy in Pyongyang, Denis Samsonov)	Abbau VSBM
April 8	We will tentatively put operation at the Kaesong Industrial Complex on hold. How the situation will develop in the future will entirely depend on the South Korean government's attitude. (Statement by Kim Yang-gon, Secretary of Central Committee)	Abbau wirtschaftl. Kooperation
April 9	Foreigners should leave South Korea to avoid getting caught up in the "all-out war, a merciless, sacred, and retaliatory war." (Korean Asia-Pacific Peace Committee)	Abbau VSBM
April 12	Japan is always in the cross-hairs of our revolutionary army and if Japan makes a slightest move, the spark of war will touch Japan first. (KCNA)	Gezielte Drohung
April 15	Our retaliatory action will start without any notice from now if anti-North Korean activities continue in South Korea. ("Ultimatum" by the Supreme Command of the KPA)	Gezielte temporäre Drohung

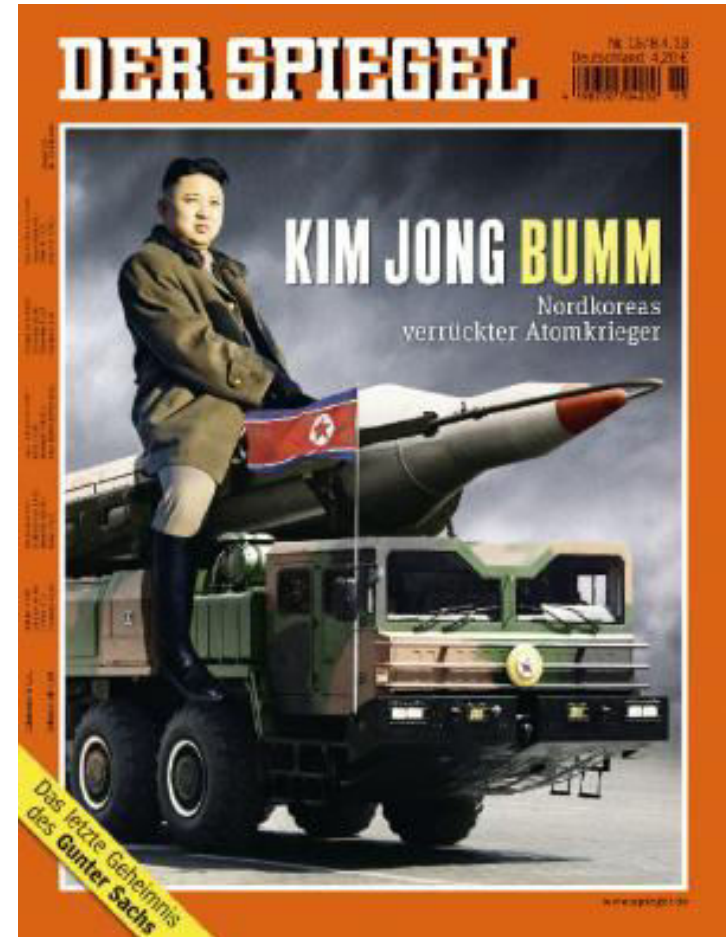
Eskalation nordkoreanischer Rhetorik 2013

Datum	Sprechakt	Eskalation
April 18	There will be no dialogue until Seoul halts provocations and apologizes. Statement by the Policy Department, National Defense Commission)	Konditionierte Deeskalation
April 20	We will not give up nuclear weapons. The US should not think about the denuclearization on the peninsula before the world is denuclearized. (Rodong Sinmun)	Gezielte örtl. Drohung
April 25	Our forces are ready to launch intercontinental ballistic missiles and kamikaze-like nuclear attacks at the US. (Statement by the North Korean generals including Ri Pyong-chol and Kim Rak-gyom. Reported by KCNA)	Gezielte Nukl. Drohung
April 26	We will take “final, decisive and serious measures” if President Park Geun-Hye’s government continues to issue ultimatums. (National Defense Commission)	Kondionierte Deeskalation
		Abbau VSBM
		Gezielte Drohung
		Gezielte temporäre Drohung

Erklärungen für nordkoreanische Eskalation 2013

Drei Erklärungen

1. Der junge Führer
2. Inter-Institutioneller Machtkampf
3. Oppositioneller Nationalismus



Kim Jong Un: Der junge Führer

1. KJU wird als unerfahren und auf Popularität bedacht dargestellt.
2. KJU bedarf der Unterstützung seines Onkels Chang Song Taek sowie weiterer Mentoren.
3. KJU hat persönlich mehrere Vorort-Visiten bei Militärverbänden abgehalten und direkte Drohungen ausgestoßen.
4. Fazit: Nordkorea ist eine totalitäre Diktatur: Verhalten hängt an psychischer Stabilität des „Führers“.



Inter-Institutioneller Machtkampf

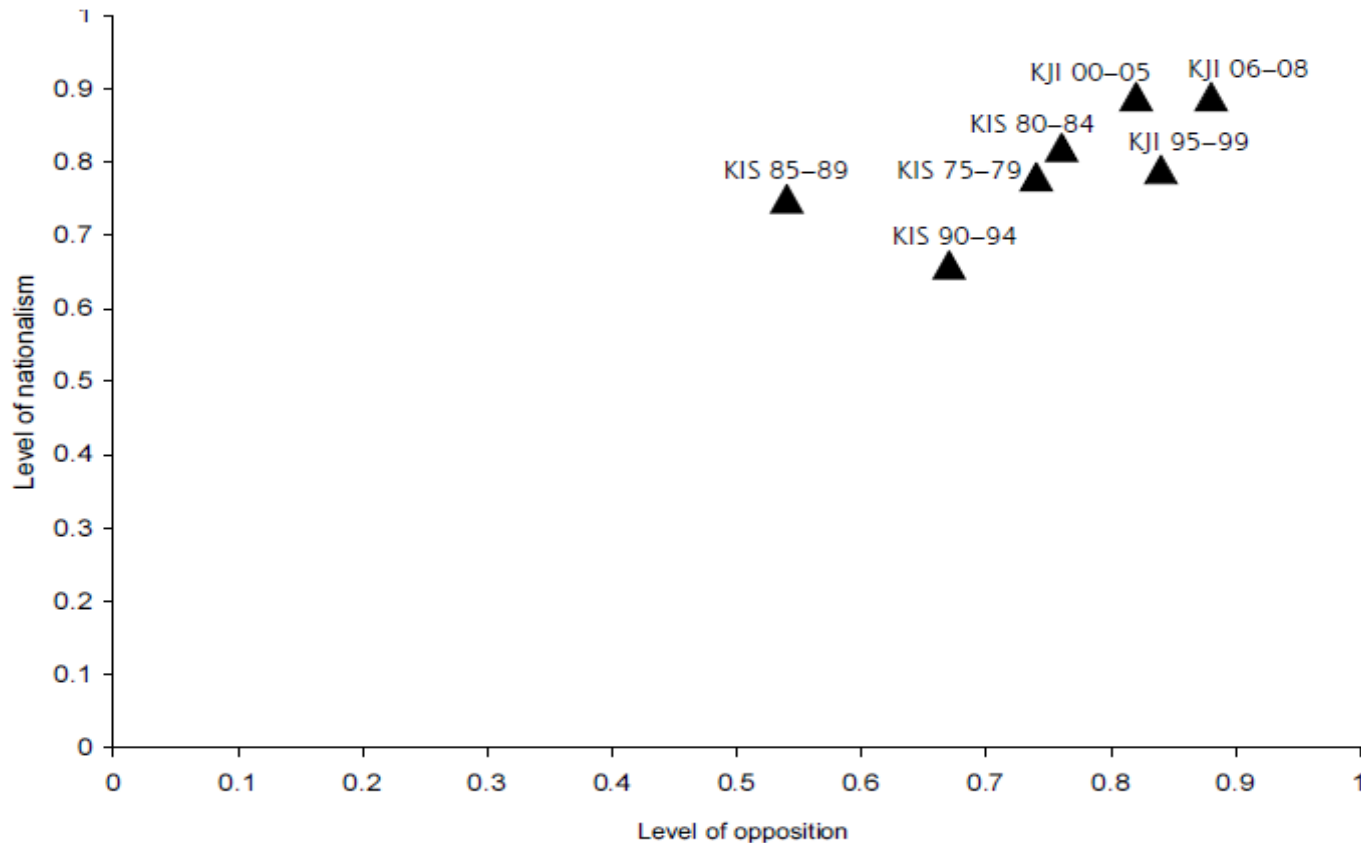
- Eskalation geht auf wachsenden Interessen-pluralismus zwischen Faktionen innerhalb des Regimes zurück (McEachern 2009).
 - Kabinett: Imperialisten bedrohen DVRK, aber Revolution ist stark genug zu widerstehen.
 - Militär: Imperialismus kann nur militärisch besiegt werden.
 - Partei: Auseinandersetzung mit Imperialisten bedingt die Geschlossenheit der Revolution.
- Am 31. März 2013, mitten in der Krise, wurde ein Wirtschaftsreformer, Pak Pong Ju, erneut von der Obersten Volksversammlung zum Ministerpräsidenten bestellt.

Oppositioneller Nationalismus

- Es gibt eine lange Vorgeschichte eines „oppositionellen Nationalismus“
- Das Regime definiert sich zunehmend in Opposition zu einer als „feindlich wahrgenommen westlich-demokratischen Weltordnung“.
- Es gibt keine Anzeichen für einen Faktionismus während der Krise, vielmehr spricht KJU mehrfach und direkt,



Auswertung der Neujahrsansprachen nordkoreanischer Führer, 1970-2008



Note: KIS = Kim Il Sung; KJI = Kim Jong Il.

Gründe für Eskalation

- DVRK Führung ist zunehmend beunruhigt, dass konventionelle Bewaffnung nicht ausreichend ist (Irak und Libyen zeigen westliche Überlegenheit).
- DVRK-Führung ist zunehmend überzeugt, dass USA aggressive Intentionen und Bereitschaft hat, diese militärisch umzusetzen.
 - UN-SR Resolutionen 2087 u. 2094 mit PRC-Unterstützung.
 - Verlegung von Strategischen Bombern während Krise.
- DVRK-Führung ist (fälschlicherweise) überzeugt, dass nukleare Bewaffnung „Unverwundbarkeit“ herstellt und neue “strategische Handlungsräume“ eröffnet.

Spokesman, Korean People Armed Forces, March 5, 2013

- Now that the U.S. imperialists seek to attack the DPRK even with nuclear weapons, it will counter them with diversified precision nuclear strike means of Korean style.

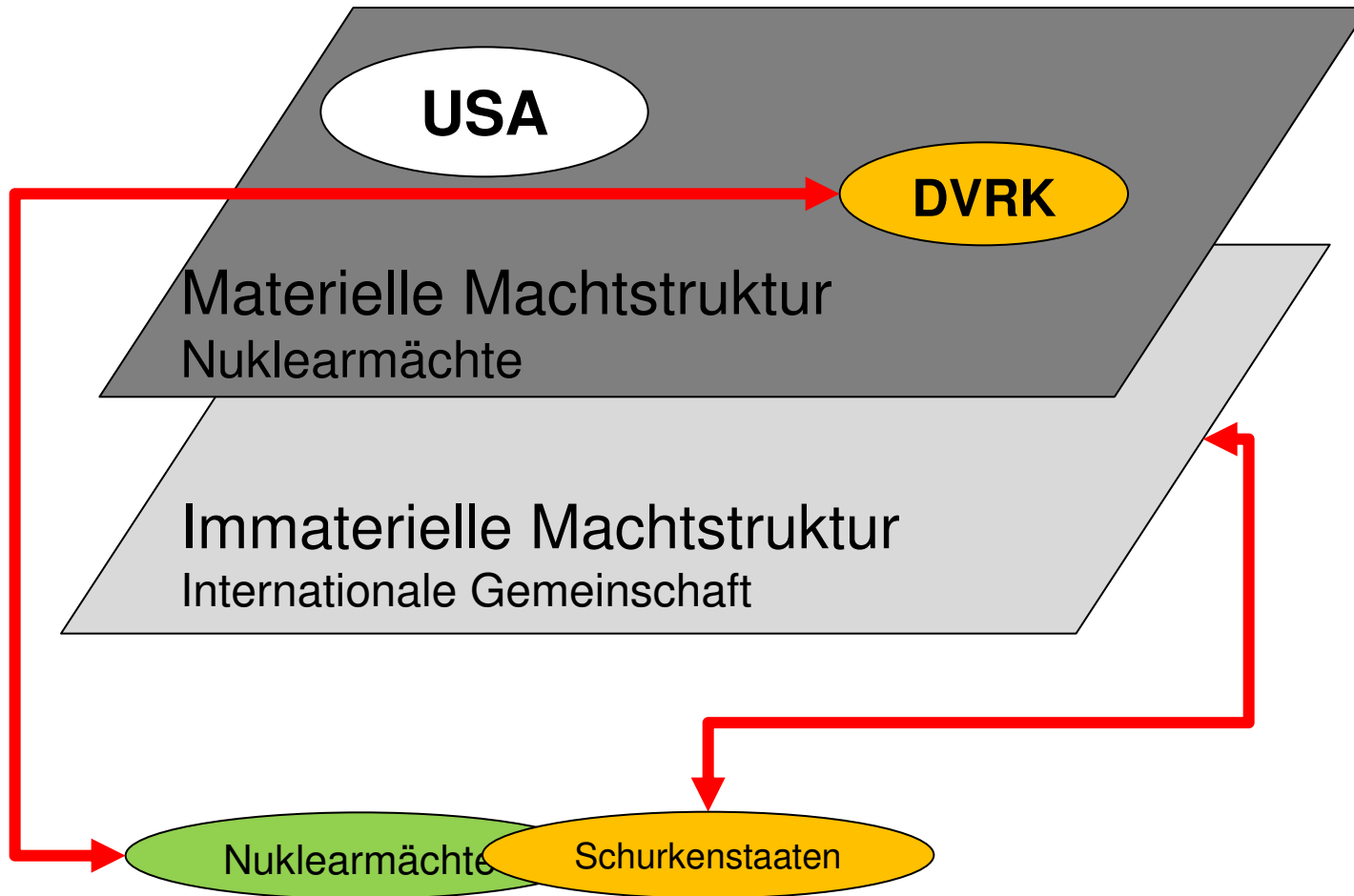
Those means are bound to be launched once their buttons are pressed, and the enemies' strongholds be turned into a sea in flames.

This land is neither the Balkans nor Iraq and Libya.

Speech delivered by Kim Jong Un on April 15th, 2012, at Kim Il Sung Square in Pyongyang

- Military technological supremacy is not a monopoly of imperialists any more, and the time has gone forever when the enemies threatened and intimidated us with atomic bombs.
- **Ministry of People's Armed Forces Spokesman's Statement, 13 March 2013:**
- The army of the nation and people possessing nuclear weapons will always win a victory in the fight against formidable enemies and most reliably guarantee the powerfulness and security of the country.

Unipolarität und Staatenverhalten



Fazit

Fazit

1. Der wachsender externer Interventionsdruck und interne Transition erklären verstärktes militärisches Autonomiestreben des nordkoreanischen Regimes.
2. Militärische Provokationen verschließen Sechs-Parteien-Gespräche als Ressourcenquelle – illegale Aktivitäten werden stärker genutzt: Eskalationsrisiko steigt!
3. Nordkoreanische Provokationen verändern Koalitionsverhalten in Nordostasien
 1. Lautere Diskussion über autonome N-Waffenkapazität in Japan und Südkorea
 2. Informelle trilaterale Allianz (USA, Japan, Südkorea)
 3. Abkühlung der DVRK-VR China Beziehungen.
4. Schwächung des Atomwaffensperrvertrages bislang gering.

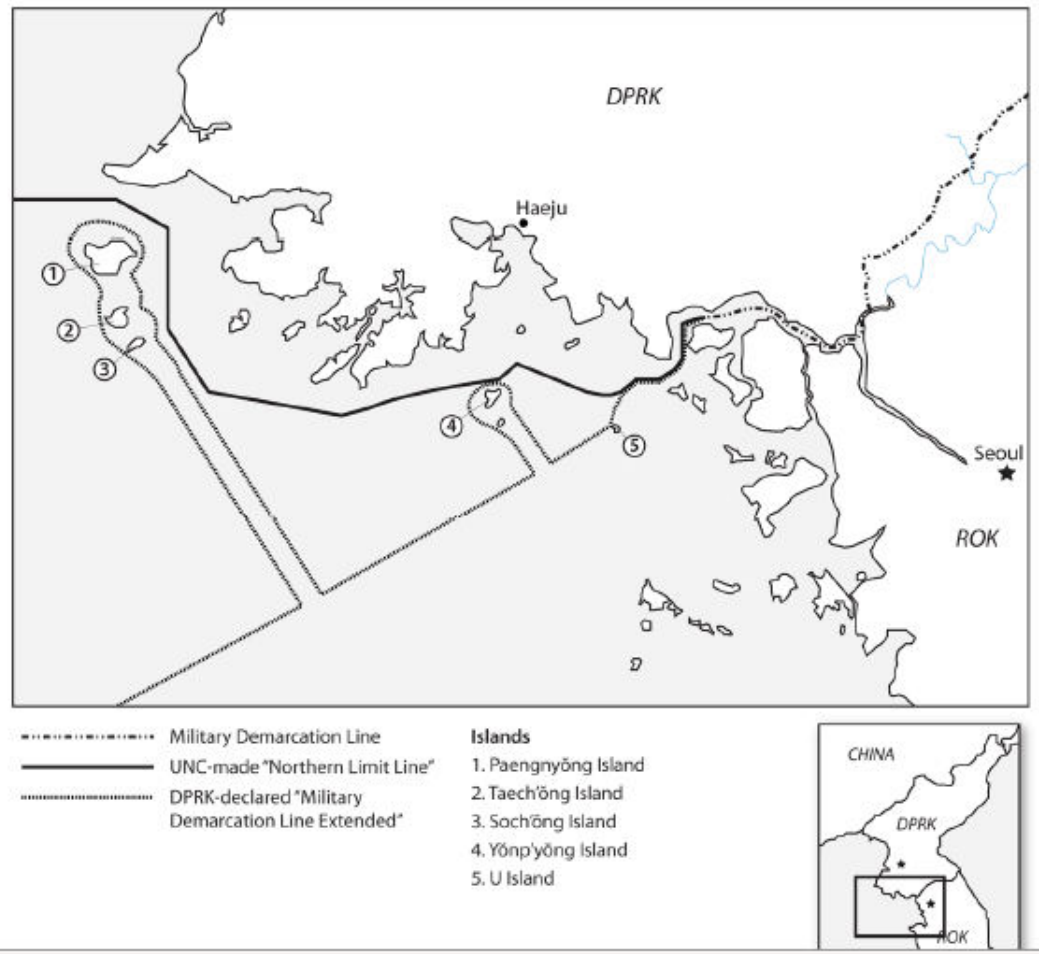
Stellungnahme eines Sprechers des DVRK AM, 22.03. 2011

“The present Libyan crisis teaches the international community a serious lesson. It was fully exposed before the world that "Libya's nuclear dismantlement" much touted by the U.S. in the past turned out to be a mode of aggression whereby the latter coaxed the former with such sweet words as "guarantee of security" and "improvement of relations" to disarm itself and then swallowed it up by force. It proved once again the truth of history that peace can be preserved only when one builds up one's own strength as long as high-handed and arbitrary practices go on in the world.

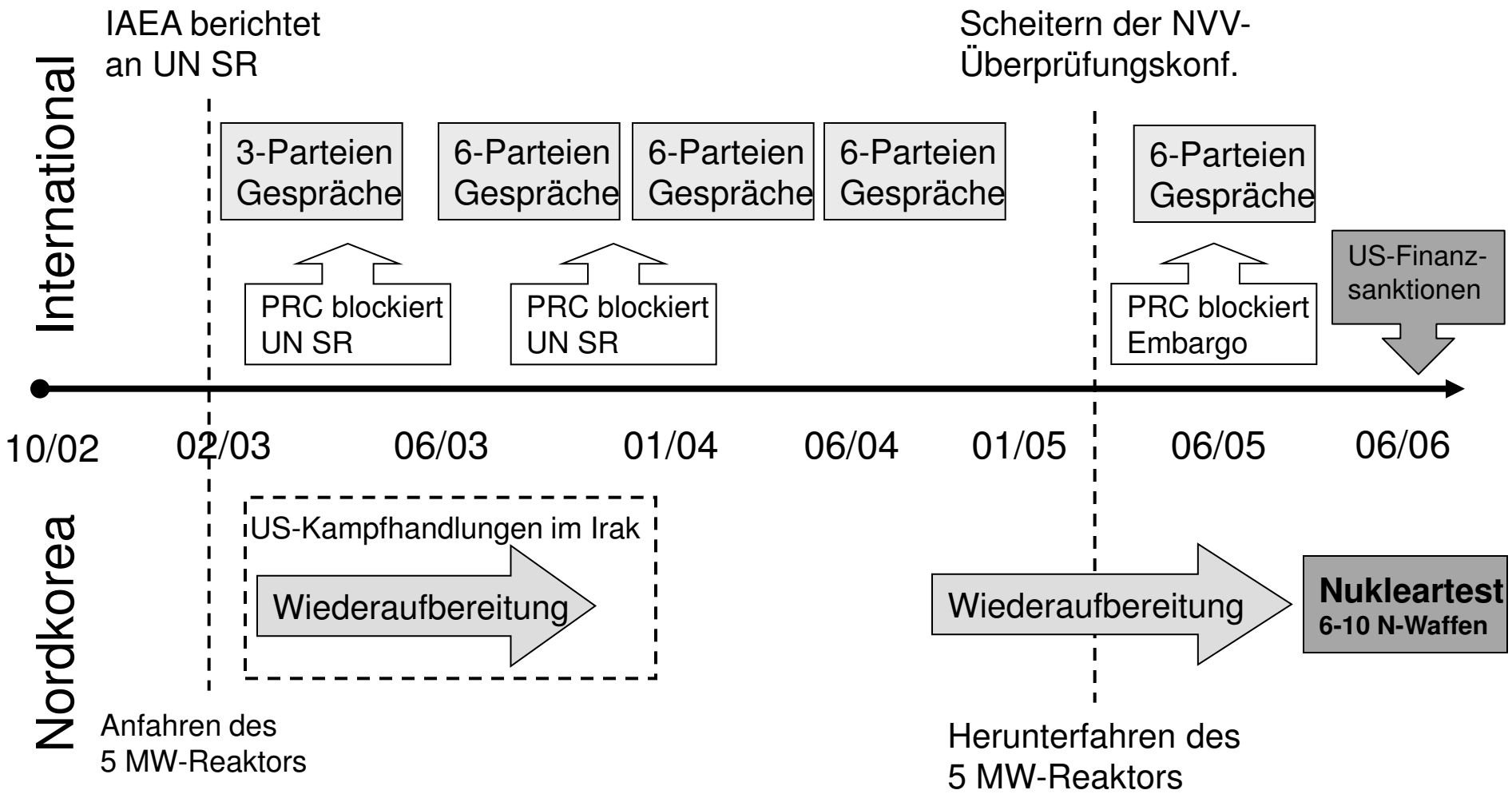
The DPRK was quite just when it took the path of Songun and the military capacity for self-defence built up in this course serves as a very valuable deterrent for averting a war and defending peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula.”

Quelle: KCNA 2011: DPRK Foreign Ministry Spokesman Denounces U.S. Military Attack on Libya, March 22, 2011,

Umstrittene Northern Limit Line im Gelben Meer



Verlauf der Eskalationsphase 2002-2006

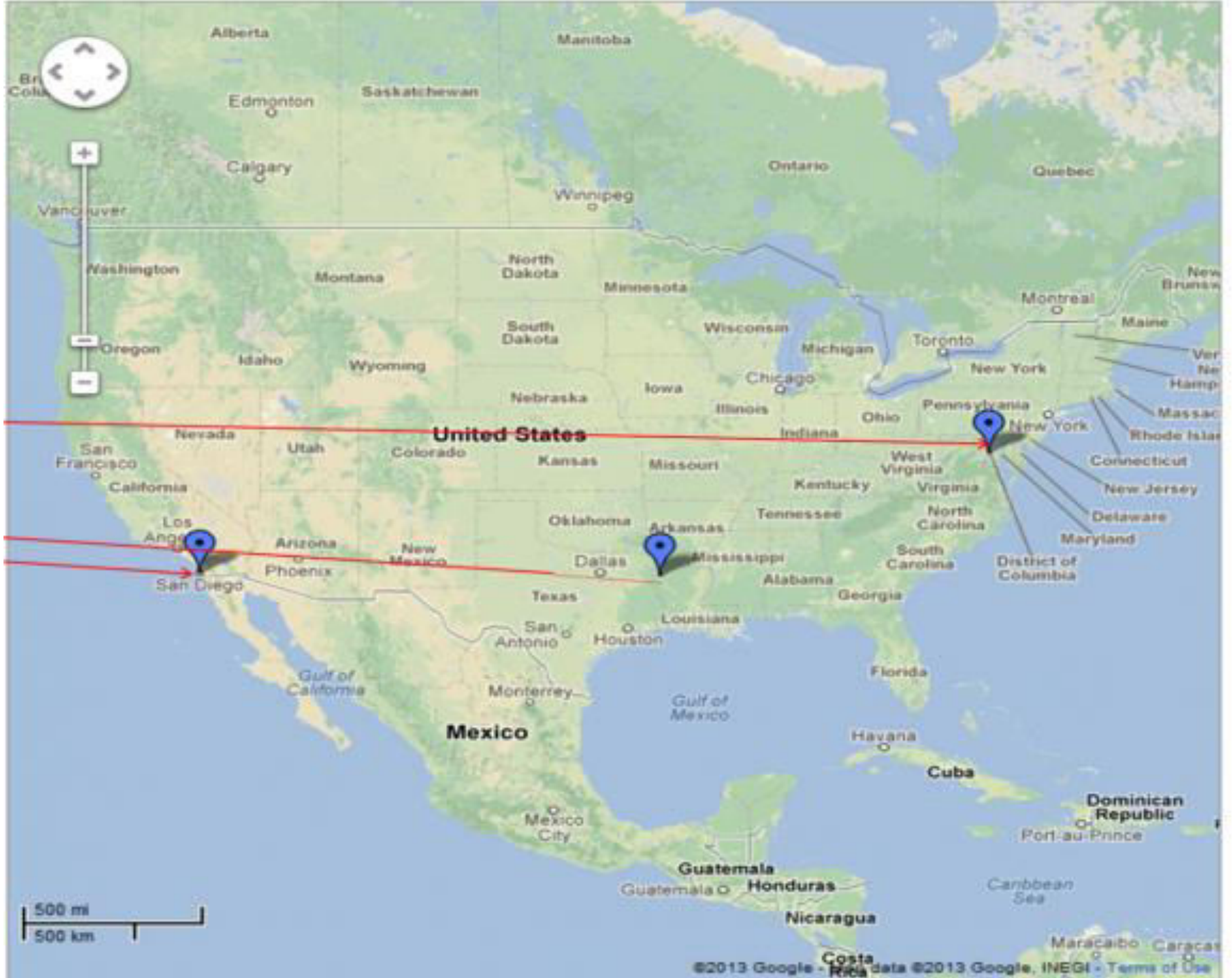


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- M. J. Chung is a seven-term member of the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea. He is a former chairman of the Grand National Party and was also a presidential candidate in 2002. Chung is the chairman of the board of trustees of Ulsan University and the Asan Foundation, the largest philanthropic organization in Korea. In 2011, he launched the Asan Nanum (“sharing”) Foundation, which seeks to foster entrepreneurship and leadership among young Koreans. He served as vice president of FIFA (Federation Internationale de Football Association), the world governing body of football, and as co-chairman of the Korean Organizing Committee for the 2002 Korea-Japan FIFA World Cup. Chung received his bachelor’s in economics from Seoul National University, a master’s of science from the Sloan School of Management at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and a doctorate in international relations from the School of Advanced International Studies at the Johns Hopkins University.

Carnegie Nonproliferation Conference, April 9, 2013

- *Facing an extraordinary threat to national security, South Korea may exercise the right to withdraw from the NPT as stipulated in Article X of the treaty. South Korea would then match North Korea's nuclear program step by step, while committing to stop if North Korea stops.*
- *South Korea should be given this leeway as a law-abiding member of the global community who is threatened by a nuclear rogue state.*
- ***The alliance has failed to stop North Korea from acquiring nuclear weapons. Telling us not to consider any nuclear weapons option is tantamount to telling us to simply surrender.***





The argument

1. Recent military provocations on Pensinsula stem from (growing) incompatible policy interdependencies
2. Starting with Agreed Framework (1994) there is trend of deinstitutionalization in conflict resolution efforts
3. The so-called Leap Day Agreement (Febr. 29, 2012), two parallel unilateral statements, symbolizes lost ratification majorities in both DPRK and US
4. China, as a central actor, plays an ambivalent role, caught between „DPRK patron“ and „responsible Great Power“.
5. Despite their similiar historical background, the Iranian and North Korean case share few similarities. Thus, lessons should be drawn cautiously.

Table 1: Diminishing institutionalization of Conflict Resolution on Korean Peninsula

	Commonality	Specificity	Autonomy	UN SC
Agreed Framework	Bilateral + Consortium Implementation; Political + legal	Growing specification through KEDO Protocols	Plurilateral Consortium without DSB; IAEA involvement	Abstention
September 2005	Minilateral political understanding	Growing specification leads to breakup	Bilateral Implementation; limited IAEA input	Abstention
Leap Day Agreement	Parallel unilateral political statements	vague understanding	No third party involvement	Growing involvement + PRC veto

The Leap Day Agreement, February 29, 2012

DPRK obligations

- Moratorium on Long-range Missile Tests
- Moratorium on Nuclear Test
- Moratorium on Uranium enrichment at Yongbyon
- IAEA monitoring of UE moratorium
- IAEA monitoring of PU disablement
- IAEA UE moratorium outside Yongbyon

US obligations

- Delivery of 240.000 t of nutritional aid (12 x 20.000)
- End of hostile US policy
- Lifting of sanctions
- Consideration of delivery of LWR

Those famous three words

- A U.S. delegation has just returned from Beijing following a third exploratory round of U.S.-DPRK bilateral talks. To improve the atmosphere for dialogue and demonstrate its commitment to denuclearization, **the DPRK has agreed to implement a moratorium on long-range missile launches,...**
- UNSCR 1874 of June 2009: "*Demands* that the DPRK not conduct any further nuclear test or any launch using ballistic missile technology"

US-DPRK Defection from Leap Day Agreement: voluntary or not

1. US negotiators may have thought that DPRK may not want to strike a deal only to destroy it (the honest negotiator).
 1. DPRK negotiators (MFA) had agreed (to realize nutritional aid) to a deal. They still had to secure agreement on skipping launch.
2. US negotiators may have thought that DPRK will launch anyway because even DPRK highest decision makers cannot reverse a decision taken by the late leader Kim Jong Il (the creative ambivalent US negotiator)
3. US negotiators wanted the DPRK to destroy the agreement (the domestic-oriented negotiator) because it
 - a) makes a democratic president look tough in an election year
 - b) makes a democratic president look bad in an election year because he strikes deals with enemies which are

Comparison of Iran-DPRK cases: key differences

1. North Korea today is a client state vis-à-vis China, dependent upon trading nuclear and conventional threats for benefits.
2. In Northeast Asia, the US` extended deterrence and a common understanding among neighboring countries have prevented a “nuclear chain reaction”.
3. The NPT regime has more or less accommodated the North Korea withdrawal and “NWS status”

1. Iran is an “independent state” pressing for regional influence with “nuclear hedge”.
2. Similar mechanisms are unlikely to prevail in the Middle East to prevent regional states from developing or acquiring nuclear weapons.
3. The current NPT regime is unlikely survive an open and operational Iranian nuclear weapon capacity.

Lessons that may be learned: Handle with care!

- Coherence of goals: The AF prioritized the DPRK PU outbreak capacity (4-6 warheads), but the incentive-based freeze proved as too fragile: both parties tried to expand AF.
- Coherence of strategies: Conventional deterrence may become a problem: keep a unified front with common trigger mechanisms.
- Coherence in the (legal) NPT regime: Generic extensions (such as AF, SPT or UN SC Res. 1874) of regime must be integrated to advance longterm compliance.

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