



# **North Korean Nuclear Issue and the Role of International Community**

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# Overview

## ■ Current Status of North Korean Nuclear Issue

- Update on Recent Inter-Korean Relations
- Update on North Korea's Nuclear Program

## ■ Lee Myung-bak Government's North Korea Policies

- MB Doctrine
- 'Denuclearization, Opening 3000' Plan and 'Policy of Mutual Benefits and Common Prosperity'

## ■ The Role of International Community

- Issues in Six-party Policy Coordination
- The Role of UN and other parties



# Update on Inter-Korean Relations

## ■ Not a Good Start

- Inter-Korean relations have worsened since the North began to criticize the conservative South Korean government in late March 2008.
- President Lee took office on Feb. 25, has vowed to take a tougher stance toward the North
- North Korea expelled all South Korean officials from joint office in the Kaesung Industrial Complex (March 27)
- North Korea since called Lee a ‘traitor’ – “If military tensions escalate it can lead to a third Yellow Sea clash or a second Korean War” (KCNA news commentary, May 8)
- Nevertheless, civilian contacts are continuing—first South Korean built 18-hole golf course opened on May 28 in Mt. Kumkang area.
- A South Korean woman visiting a North Korean tourism enclave was killed by a North Korean soldier on July 11.



# Update on North Korean Nukes

- **Declaration of Nuclear Program**
  - DPRK provided 19,000 pages-long records of their nuclear activities on April to the U.S.
  - DPRK handed over a declaration of its nuclear program on June 26<sup>th</sup>
  - The White House notified the U.S. Congress of its intent to remove DPRK from the list of state sponsors of terrorism
  - Cooling tower at Yongbyon nuclear reactor was blasted on June 27<sup>th</sup>, 2008





# Evaluating DPRK's Declaration

## ■ Plutonium inventories

- DPRK reported about 35kg of plutonium
  - **As of Nov. 2006, DPRK is highly likely to have 40 to 50 kg of separate plutonium (sufficient for six to eight nuclear weapons).**

(Source: "Report on North Korean Nuclear Program," Siegfried S. Hecker, Center for International Security and Cooperation, Stanford University, November 15, 2006)

## ■ What's missing

- Current inventory of DPRK's nuclear weapons—how many and where they might be?
- Suspected uranium enrichment activities—UEP program and centrifuge purchase from the AQ Khan network
- Accounting of proliferation activities to Syria
- Inadequate nature of the declaration guarantees there will be another round of negotiation



# Ups and Downs...

## ■ Reversal of the Denuclearization Process

- The DPRK stopped disabling its main nuclear complex and threatened to restore facilities at Yongbyon (Aug. 28)
- The North has announced that it begun reassembling its main nuclear complex, and the South Korean government confirmed - but the United States cast doubt on the seriousness of the North's efforts.

## ■ What's Ahead?

- Further delay in denuclearization process – but, how long?
- Second round of nuclear test? – Oct. 9 is second anniversary of 2006 nuclear test
- U.S. presidential election – Nov. 4 – any celebration for the event?
- Will Pyongyang wait until the next U.S. administration take office and negotiate with new U.S. president?



# Famine Again?

## ■ Current situation

- The origin of present emergency can be found in reckless policies, adverse weather, and unfavorable developments in world grain market.
- International relief agencies estimate the North will be 1.66 million metric tons short of the minimum it needs until this year's fall harvest.
- The domestic policy response to the crisis while arguably rational from the perspective of a regime seeking to maintain power and control is exacerbating the situation.

## ■ Prices of major grains in North Korea:

|           | '06.6   | '06.12    | '07.6   | '07.9       | '07.12      | '08.3       | '08.5       |
|-----------|---------|-----------|---------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Rice (Kg) | 800~920 | 750~1,100 | 850~900 | 1,200~1,800 | 1,100~1,300 | 1,300~1,900 | 2,900~3,800 |
| Corn (Kg) | 200~400 | 280~500   | 300~500 | 450~800     | 420~750     | 400~800     | 1,700~2,300 |

\* Source: *Good Friends, DailyNK*. Prices are in North Korean WON.



# Lee Government's Security Policies

## ■ Pragmatic Diplomacy or 'MB Doctrine'

- Promote strategic policies that will induce North Korea to abandon its nuclear program and that will bring real change in the North;
- Practice a utilitarian foreign policy based upon the national interest and not ideology;
- Two key policies are: ROK-US strategic alliance and North Korea policy

## ■ ROK-U.S. alliance as a '21st century strategic alliance'

- Purports to cope with comprehensive security threats of the 21st century such as terrorism, proliferation of WMD, and other transnational threats, in league with the United States
- Envisions the alliance going well beyond the Korean Peninsula
- Three components:
  - A values-oriented partnership; a trust-based partnership; and peace-promoting alliance



# North Korea Policy

- **‘Denuclearization, Opening 3000’**
  - Raise the per capita income of North Korea to \$3,000 within ten years if Pyongyang denuclearizes (current per capita income is estimated to be \$350~500)
- **Three principles:**
  - Requires more ‘strategic reciprocity’ than Sunshine Policy
  - Puts priority on economic viability of inter-Korean economic cooperation
  - Stipulates shifting priorities—a robust ROK-U.S. alliance will benefit inter-Korean relations
- **Key projects:**
  - The North would be able to make use of the South’s Korea Trade-Investment Promotion Agency (KOTRA), as well as its educational institutions
  - Raise \$40 billion to finance North Korea’s economic rehabilitation, including loans from international financial institutions

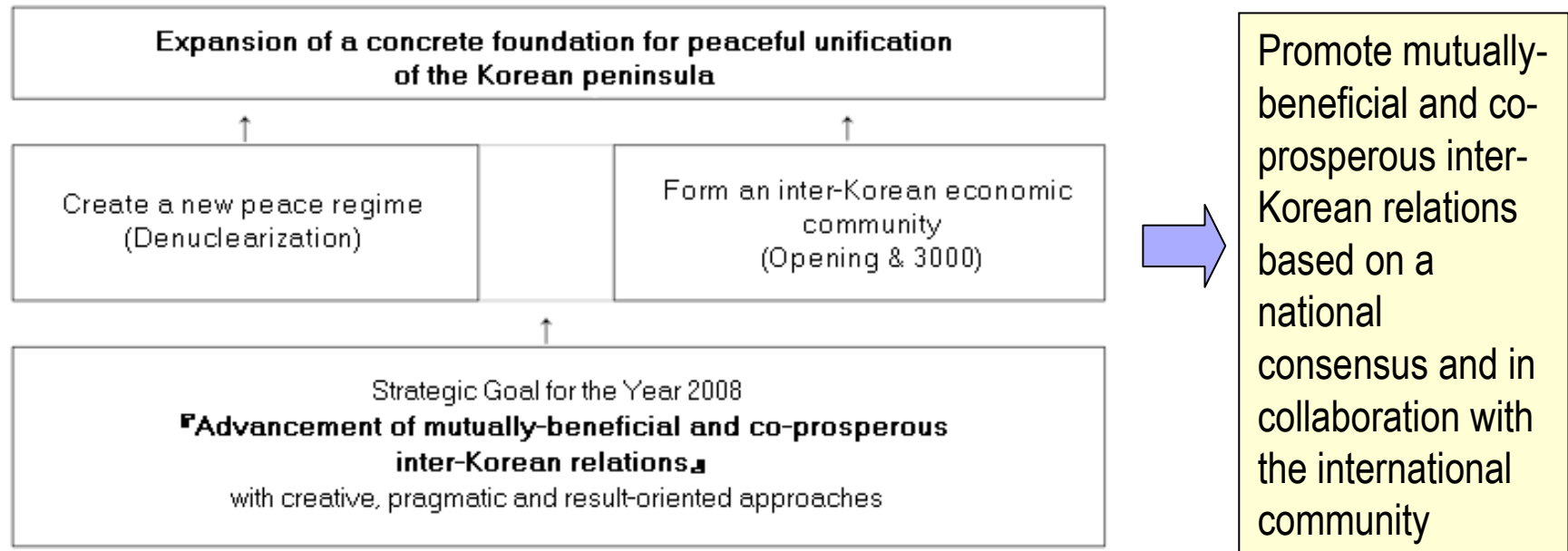


# 'Policy of Mutual Benefits and Common Prosperity'

## ■ Previous Policies

- Kim Dae-jung: The policy of reconciliation and cooperation (the 'Sunshine Policy')
- Roh Moo-hyun: The policy of peace and prosperity

## ■ Policy of Mutual Benefits and Common Prosperity – its visions





# Pyongyang's Reaction

## ■ De-nuclearization

- The North has neither intention nor reason to surrender its nuclear weapons
- No doubt the North is willing to negotiate if the fee is right, and perhaps it even can agree to dismantle some nuclear facilities
- There is little chance that Pyongyang would give up the nukes and plutonium completely in the near future—any plan that is conditioned upon Pyongyang's willingness to denuclearize itself has little chance to success

## ■ Openness

- The North Korean ruling elite understands that the only way to survive is to keep their society closed and tightly controlled
- Hence, the North Korean ideologues interpret the term as a cunning imperialist conspiracy aimed at destroying the North's socialist system



# Six-Party Talks, July 10-12, Beijing

## ■ Key agenda

- Evaluation of North Korea's declaration of nuclear program
- Verification protocol
- Completion of 2<sup>nd</sup> phase actions – declaration and disablement
- Procedure for 3<sup>rd</sup> phase actions
- Convening six nation foreign ministers' conference

## ■ A comprehensive verification protocol includes:

- short notice access to declared or suspect sites related to the North Korean nuclear program
- access to nuclear materials
- environmental and bulk sampling of materials and equipment
- interviews with personnel in North Korea
- access to additional documentation and records for all nuclear-related facilities and operations



# The Role of International Community

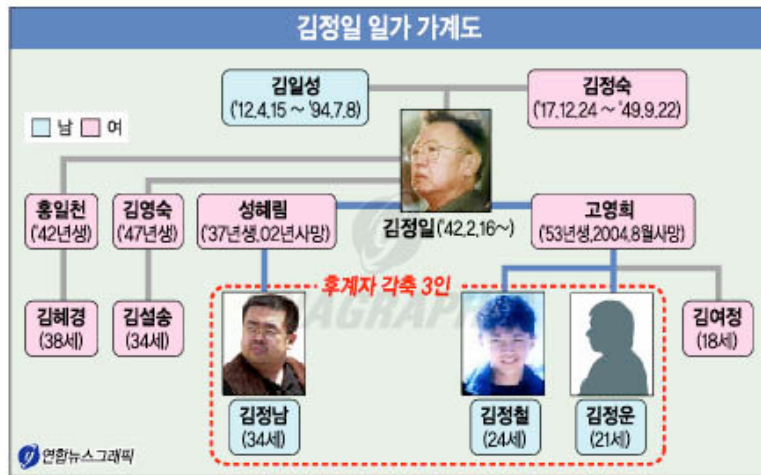
## ■ UN

- Previous encounters: 1950-53 Korean War, 1993-94 nuclear crisis, UNDP and other agencies
- Generally hostile relations – UNSCR 1540 (2004), 1718 (2006)
- Potential roles for the UN
  - Enhanced Secretary-General's good offices
  - More humane approach to dealing with assistance-related issues
  - Advocate a non-confrontational approach to interacting with the DRPK

## ■ What International Community Can Do

- Security assurance for DPRK – U.S., China, Japan, Russia, and EU
- Energy assistance – heavy fuel oil, electricity (ex: KEDO)
- Financial / economic assistance to resuscitate DPRK's crumbling economic infrastructure and SOC
  - An international consortium, international financial organizations

# Uncertain Future: Political Sustainability



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## ■ A third generation succession?

- Kim Jong-il was born in 1941 – he's 67-years old now
- Kim Il-sung began preparation for a succession around he was 60 – is it the time for Kim Jong-il to begin procedure for his successor?

## ■ Military-first Policy

- How long can it sustain? Any possibility of grassroots resistance?
- In case of emergency for Kim Jong-il, what would military hardliners do?



# Uncertain Future: Economic Trouble



## ■ Failed economy

- North Korean economy – almost ruined since mid-'90s
- Critical areas that need immediate external assistance:
  - Energy infrastructure – power plant, electricity transmission grid, oil supply
  - SOC – roads, railroads, ports
  - Agricultural infrastructure – fertilizer production plant
  - Food shortage
  - Flood and drought - deforestation

## ■ Will DPRK adopt a Chinese model?

- Open door/economic reform may be a double-edged sword for Kim regime



# Conclusions

## ■ What North Korea should do

- Declare, verify and carry out a complete denuclearization
- Transform itself into a market-oriented economy—e.g., Chinese or Vietnamese model of open door policies and economic reform
- Improve human rights conditions
- Be a ‘normal’ state

## ■ More International Collaboration is Better

- Increased international attention to North Korea’s situation
- Urgency of humanitarian assistance—esp. food and fertilizer
- Six-party nations should expand common grounds in their approaches to North Korea
  - Priorities must be put to denuclearize the DPRK
  - Policies should focus on inducing the DPRK into the international community



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**Thank You.**

감사합니다.