

THE DPRK NUCLEAR DILEMMA AND CHINA'S COUNTERMEASURES

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CONTENTS

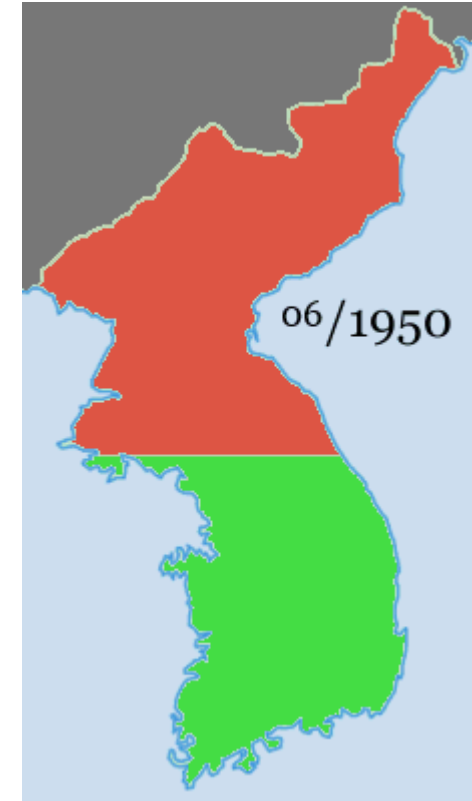
- 1. The origin of DPRK nuclear issue
- 2. The security dilemma: Nuclear and Missile Crisis on the Korean Peninsula
- 3. The trend of the DPRK nuclear issue and China's Countermeasures



1. THE ORIGIN OF DPRK NUCLEAR ISSUE



- Korean War(1950.6-1953.7)
- “Agreement between the Commander-in-Chief, United Nations Command, and the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army and the Commander of the Chinese People's Volunteers, Concerning a **Military Armistice** in Korea. Signed at Panmunjom, Korea, July 27, 1953”
- these were only armistice agreements, not peace treaties, leaving all sides in a state of truce, which is one of the root causes of prolonged in- stability on the Korean Peninsula.

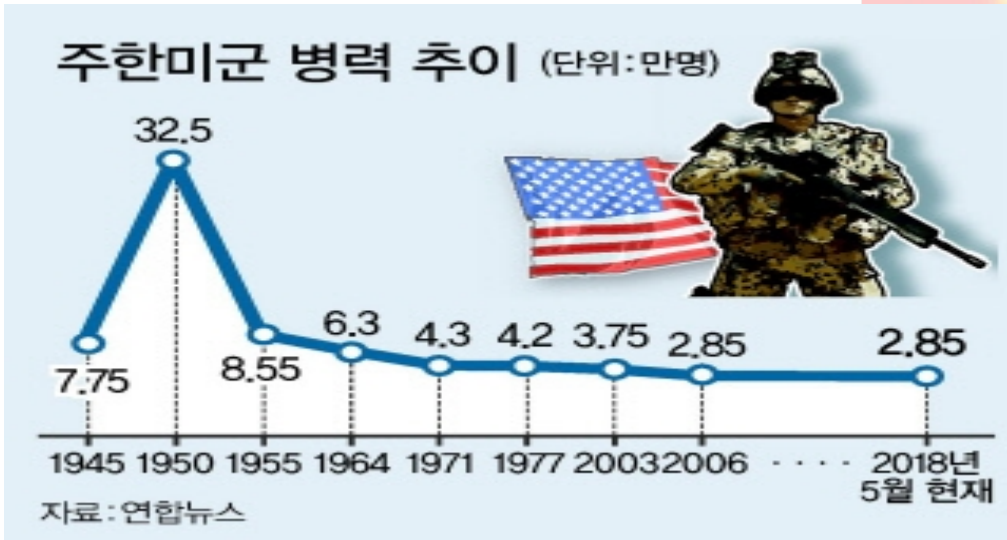




“Mutual Defence Treaty between the United States and the Republic of Korea” (1954.11)



Chinese people's volunteer army withdraws from Korea Peninsula (1958.2)



“Status of Forces Agreement, SOFA”(1967.2)



China-DPRK Friendly Cooperation Mutual Assistance Treaty(1961.7)

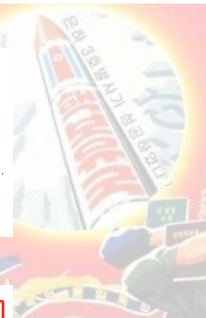


- However, the military presence on the Peninsula after the war was stronger in the South, as the U.S. preserved its army garrison in South Korea and, starting in 1957, deployed an array of offensive weaponry, including tactical nuclear weapons.

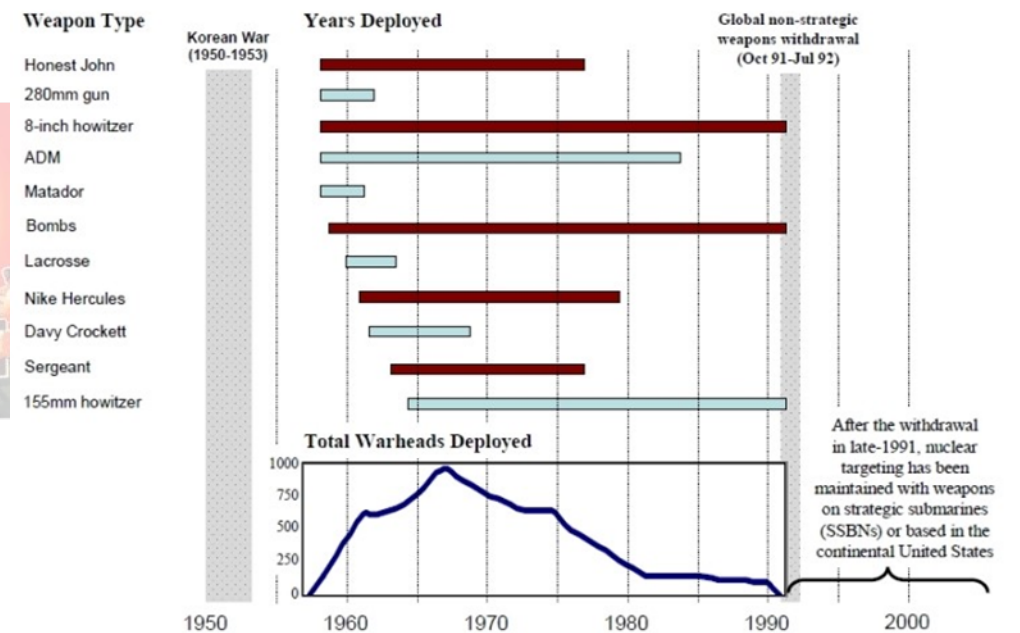
b. Within ten (10) days after this Armistice Agreement becomes effective, withdraw all of their military forces, supplies, and equipment from the rear and the coastal islands and waters of Korea of the other side. If such military forces are not withdrawn within the stated time limit, they shall

c. Cease the introduction into Korea of reinforcing military personnel; provided, however, that the rotation of units and personnel, the arrival in Korea of personnel on a temporary duty basis, and the return to Korea of personnel after short periods of leave or temporary duty outside of Korea shall be permitted within the scope prescribed below. "Rotation" is defined as the replace-

d. Cease the introduction into Korea of reinforcing combat aircraft, armored vehicles, weapons, and ammunition; provided, however, that combat aircraft, armored vehicles, weapons, and ammunition which are destroyed, damaged, worn out, or used up during the period of the armistice may be replaced on the basis of piece-for-piece of the same effectiveness and the same type. Such combat aircraft, armored vehicles, weapons, and ammunition shall



US Nuclear Weapons In South Korea



"Military Armistice Agreement " (1953.7.27)

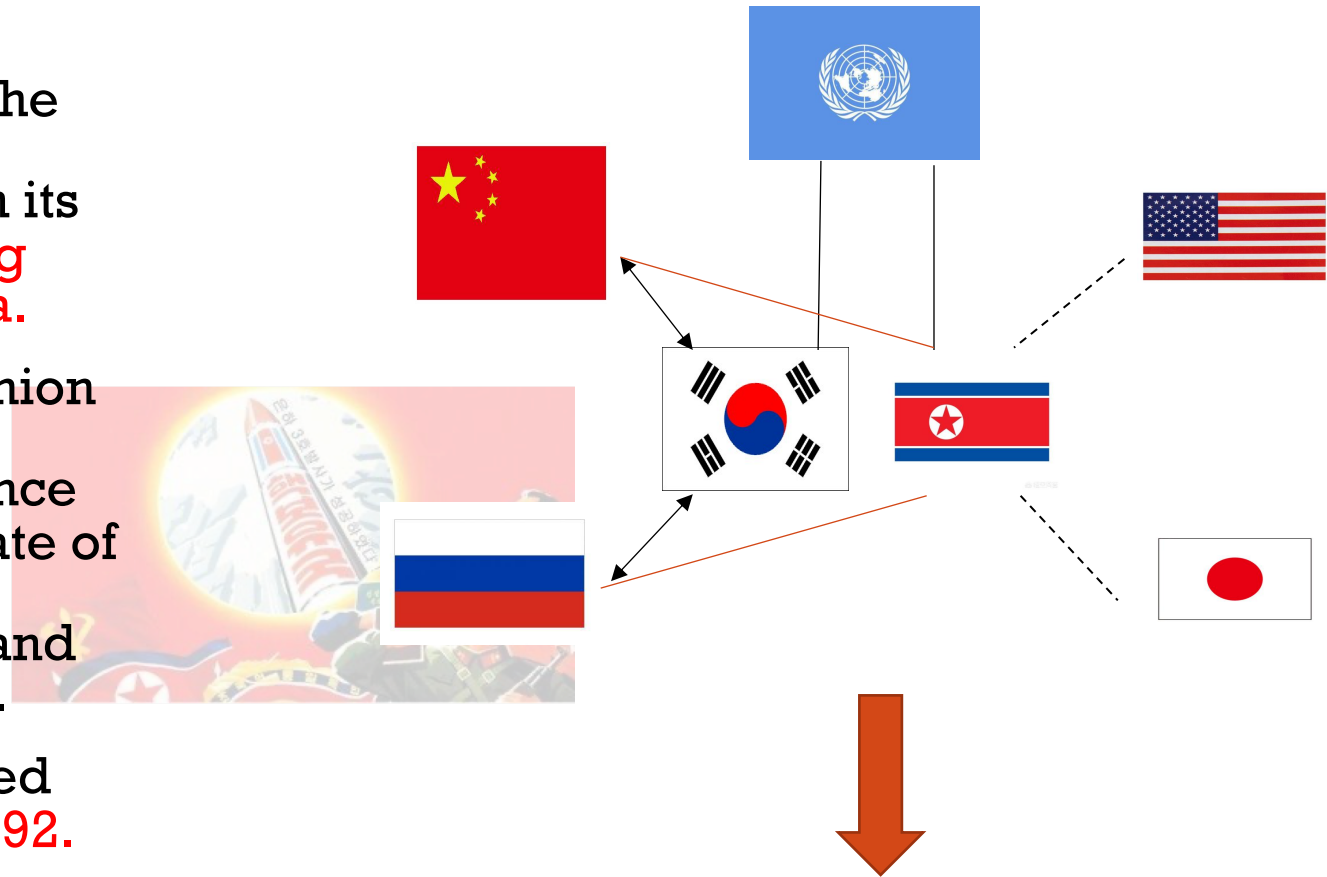
Hans M. Kristensen | www.nukestrat.com | Sep 2005



- In the early period of the Cold War, North Korea believed that it was under tremendous threat and chose to rely on the USSR for **security, economic, and energy guarantees and assistance**. It also received assistance from the USSR in conducting limited nuclear research.
- It may be worth noting that the USSR did not appear to have the intention to help North Korea develop nuclear weapons. While passing on nuclear physics technology, it did not provide uranium enrichment or plutonium production technology.
- **1959:** Yong-byon Nuclear Scientific Research Center for the peaceful use of nuclear energy ;
- **1965:** First 2-megawatt small light water reactor;
- From the beginning of the **1980s**, North Korea started to construct a 5-megawatt natural uranium graphite gas-cooled reactor, which would be able to produce 6 kilograms (13 pounds) of weapons-grade plutonium each year after its completion.
- **1985:** U.S. pressured the USSR to force North Korea to accede to the NPT,
- In exchange, the USSR signed an economic, scientific, and technological agreement with North Korea and pledged to provide it with new light water reactors.



- In the early 1990s, with the implementation of the U.S.-USSR Nuclear Disarmament Initiative, the U.S. withdrew all of its nuclear weapons from the Peninsula, with its Pacific Headquarters **undertaking nuclear protection of South Korea**.
- **In 1991**, when the DPRK-Soviet Union Agreement on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance expired, Russia, the successor state of the USSR, did not declare an automatic renewal of the treaty (and in 1994 annulled the agreement).
- China and South Korea established diplomatic relations **in August 1992**. North Korea was un- happy and disappointed at this development and felt ever more isolated.



* The events of the early 1990s deeply upset North Korea and led to its decision to go its own way, including by making the "**nuclear choice**" as far as its **security** was concerned.



- 1993: First Korean nuclear crisis
- 2003: Second Korean nuclear crisis
- 2003-2007: From Three-Party Talks to Six-Party Talks
- 2006-2017: DPRK nuclear tests

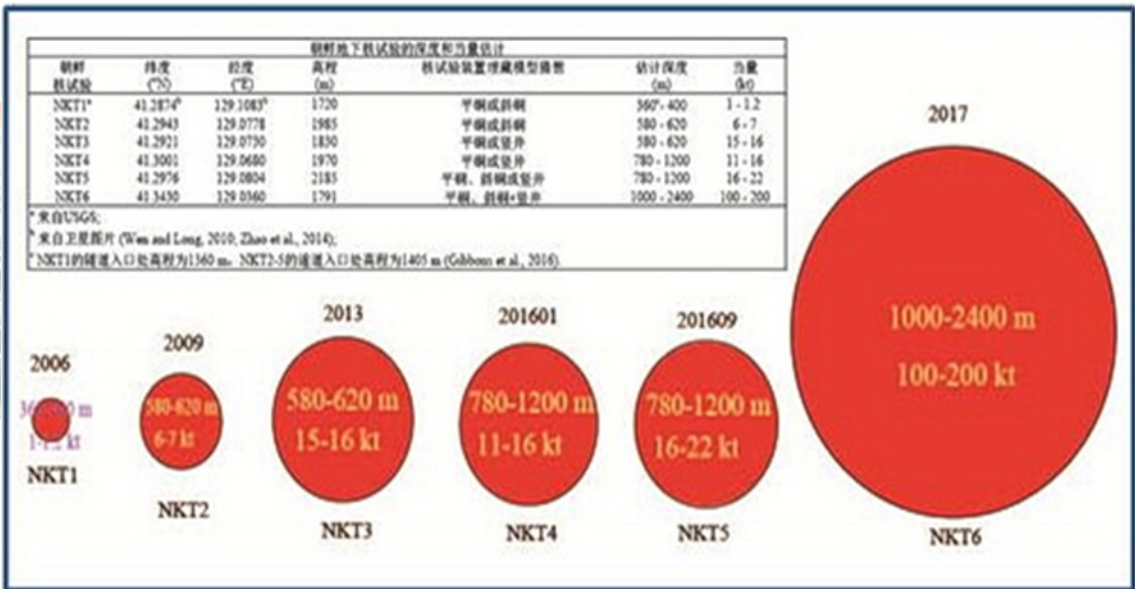


2. THE SECURITY DILEMMA: NUCLEAR AND MISSILE CRISIS ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA



1). NUCLEAR AND MISSILE CRISIS ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA

- 2006.10 Pyongyang declared a successful underground nuclear test(BDA issue and U.S. sanctions).
- 2009.5 DPRK conducted its second nuclear test.
- 2010.5 Rodong Sinmun reported the country's development of nuclear fusion technology.
- 2012.5 DPRK amended the country's constitution as "Comrade Kim Jong-il has established our motherland as an invincible political and ideological power, a nuclear nation and an unrivaled military power.
- 2012.12 DPRK announced the successful launch of a second Kwangmyŏngsŏng-3.
- 2013.2 DPRK conducted its third nuclear test.
- 2015.5 DPRK issued a statement, claiming that it has achieved a miniaturized and diversified "nuclear strike capability."
- 2016.1 DPRK conducted its fourth nuclear test
- 2016.9 DPRK conducted its fifth nuclear test
- 2017.9 DPRK conducted its sixth nuclear test



Institute of Geology and Geophysics, Chinese Academy of Sciences(2017.9.4)



- **Missile**

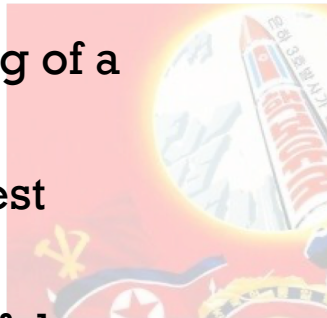
- 2012.4 DPRK launched its first application satellite, Kwangmyŏngsŏng-3.

- 2012.12 DPRK announced the successful launch of a second Kwangmyŏngsŏng-3.

- 2016.2 DPRK announced the launching of a satellite with a long-range rocket

- 2016.7-9 DPRK conducted five more test launches of its Musudan missiles.

- 2017.11 DPRK announced the successful launch of a Huasung-15.



World nuclear forces, January 2019

Country	Deployed warheads*	Other warheads**	Total 2019	Total 2018
USA	1 750	4 435	6 185	6 450
Russia	1 600	4 900	6 500	6 850
UK	120	80	200	215
France	280	20	300	300
China		290	290	280
India		130-140	130-140	130-140
Pakistan		150-160	150-160	140-150
Israel		80-90	80-90	80
North Korea	(20-30)	(10-20)
Total	3 750	10 115	13 865	14 465

Source: SIPRI Yearbook 2019

* 'Deployed warheads' refers to warheads placed on missiles or located on bases with operational forces.

** 'Other warheads' refers to stored or reserve warheads and retired warheads awaiting dismantlement.

Total figures include the highest estimate when a range is given. Figures for North Korea are not included in total figures. All estimates are approximate.



Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 2019



북한 ICBM 탑재 핵탄두 소형화 성공

대기권 재진입체

탄두구조물(150kg)

핵폭탄 기폭을 위한 전자장비 및 고압배터리(200kg)

소형화 핵탄두

표준 핵폭발 장치(600kg)

정밀자세제어용 추진 시스템(100kg)

3단

2단

1단

소형화 핵탄두

2016년 3월

화성-13 높이 : 19.0m (KN-08) 지름 : 2.1m

자료/ 탈인바르 이스라엘항공우주전략연구소 우주연구센터장 2016년 6월 보고서, 장영근 항공대 교수

핵탄두 소형화 성공 국가

110kg	255kg	350kg	500kg	600kg
탄두 중량				
미국	러시아	영국	인도	중국
소형화 기간 : 7년 (1952년 완성)	6년 (1955년)	7년 (1959년)		2년 (1966년)

연립뉴스

박영석, 김토일 기자 / 20170809 트위터 @yonhap_graphics, 페이스북 tuneyk/LeYNT

International Institute For Strategic Studies(2017)



2.) DPRK NUCLEAR ISSUE FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF SIX-PARTY



Country	Interests and concerns	Solution	Bargaining chip
US	DPRK's denuclearization; PVID(Permanent Verifiable Irreversible Dismantlement);	North Korea abandons its nuclear weapons program as a precondition; comprehensive solution ;	Provide security for DPRK political system;
CHN	Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula; Maintain influence;	Advocate dialogue between the US and the DPRK;	Financial aid;
DPRK	Maintain political system; Establish diplomatic relations between US and DPRK;JPN and DPRK;	US provide enduring security for DPRK;	Nuclear weapons and missile program;
ROK	Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula; Establish peaceful system on Korean peninsula;	Intermediator between the US and the DPRK;	Financial aid;
RUS	Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula; Expand its influence in Northeast Asia;	Neutral mediation	Russia-DPRK relations;
JPN	DPRK's denuclearization; Japanese hostage kidnapping.	U.S.-Japanese cooperation	Financial aid; Establish diplomatic relations ;



3). THE SECURITY DILEMMA BETWEEN US. AND DPRK



	Order of interests	Goal
US.	nuclear nonproliferation;	DPRK's denuclearization;
	Regional security and stability;	US influence in the region;
DPRK	national security;	Survival of the regime;
	Economic development;	External assistance

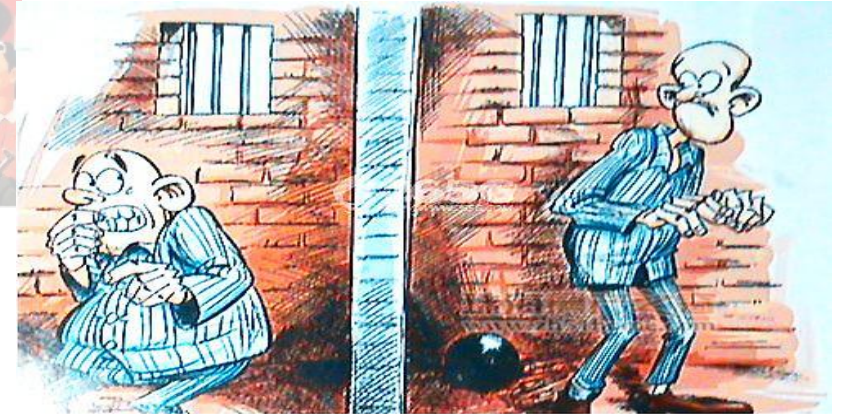


PRISONER'S DILEMMA

		Prisoner B	
		Confession	Deny
Prisoner A	Confession	R(8),R(8)	S(0),T(10)
	Deny	T(10),S(0)	P(1),P(1)

- For individuals : $T > R > P > S$
- For the whole : $2R > T + S$ or $T + P$

R: rewards
 T: temptation
 S: sucker
 P: punishment



US. AND DPRK STRATEGY MATRIX DIAGRAM

		US	
		cooperative	uncooperative
DPRK	cooperative	R,R	S,T
	uncooperative	T,S	P,P

$T > R > P > S$



▪ $2R > T+S$ or $T+P$



3. THE TREND OF THE DPRK NUCLEAR ISSUE AND CHINA'S COUNTERMEASURES



1) THE TREND OF THE DPRK NUCLEAR ISSUE

- **First possibility:** Talks and serious negotiations between US and DPRK continue, which may ease or even resolve the nuclear issue.

- PVID: Permanent

Verifiable

Irreversible



Phased and synchronous measures



nuclear freeze

International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) 's verification .



Requires the cessation of all nuclear activities, including the production of nuclear materials, the operation of nuclear facilities and the research and development of nuclear technology etc.



- **Second possibility:** The Talks and negotiations between US and DPRK broke down, the situation on the peninsula became more tense.

- 1). almost no mutual trust;
- 2) domestic politics, “Libya model”;
- 3) DPRK ,as a nuclear power;

The vicious cycle of U.S. and U.N. sanctions followed by DPRK nuclear and missile tests goes on until reaching a tipping point.



The US determined to carry out a **limited military strike** (Such as intercepting DPRK missile test firing, attacking **missile launchers, launching cyber warfare**), triggering military conflicts and even wars.



- **Third possibility:** The US and DPRK prefer to formed a more serious military confrontation than move towards military conflict and war.



- 1) Strengthen its deterrence and containment against DPRK and allies (conventional deterrence + nuclear umbrella);
- 2) Strengthen its regional anti missile system;
- 3) Even consider redeploying tactical nuclear weapons on the peninsula;
- 4) Even consider nuclear sharing policy in Europe during the cold war.



DPRK may have a profound internal crisis;



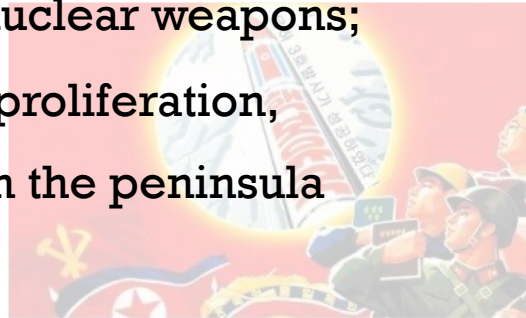
Antimissile system



- **Fourth possibility:** Under the circumstances that DPRK made certain concessions, the US acquiesces in DPRK as a nuclear power, compromises with DPRK (like India and Pakistan case).

- **Concessions:**

- 1) Stop the nuclear missile test, especially ICBM test;
- 2) Announce not to be the first to use nuclear weapons;
- 3) Announce not to engage in nuclear proliferation,
- 4) Accept the long-term US garrison on the peninsula



Domino effect: Japan, South Korea, Taiwan etc.

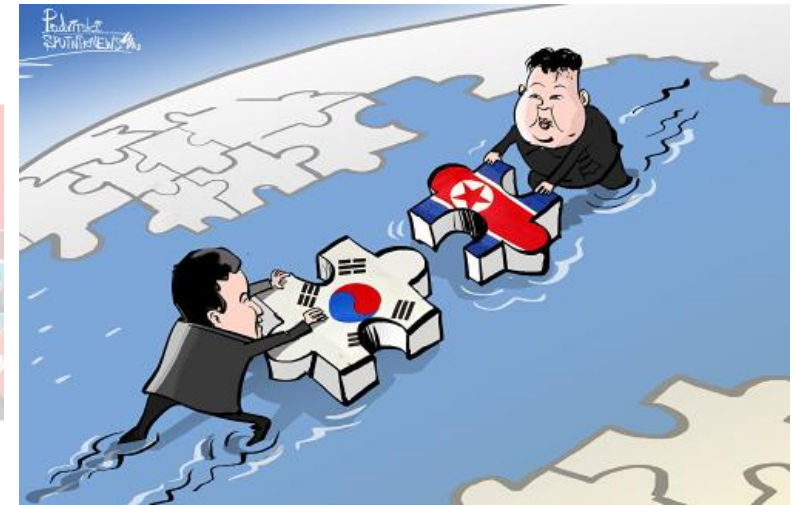
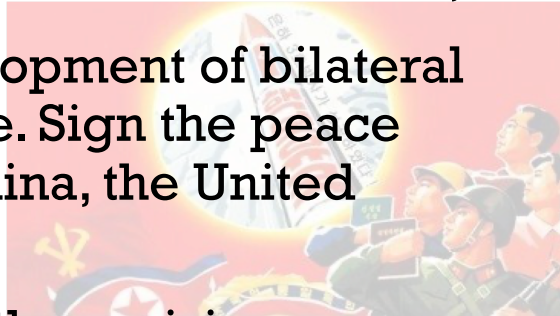


2) CHINA'S COUNTERMEASURES

- China should improve the relations with ROK and DPRK, support and promote the dialogue between ROK and DPRK and their reconciliation process. Help DPRK achieve its strategic transformation.
- China should support the US and the DPRK to reach an early agreement on denuclearization, try to achieve verifiable DPRK nuclear freeze and partial defunctionalization of nuclear facilities;



- China should Participate in the dialogue between the US and DPRK; put forward China's suggestions on the road map and timetable of denuclearization;
- China should promote the development of bilateral dialogue to multilateral dialogue. Sign the peace treaty through the four party: China, the United States, the DPRK and the ROK.
- China should continue to strengthen crisis management and make preparations for military struggles.



THANK YOU!

