

Towards a Solution for the
North Korean Nuclear Issue
ISDP-KIDA Joint Project
on North Korean WMDs

Sangsoo Lee, Editor

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**Edited by
Sangsoo Lee**

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Contents

Preface by KIDA Director.....5

Preface by ISDP Director.....7

WMD Control Measures in Case of a Sudden Change in North Korea.....9
Seung Joo Baek

How to Bring North Korea Back into the NPT, with a little help from Sweden30
Thomas Jonter

Deterring a Nuclear but Insecure North Korea: Hurdles in Coping with North Korea’s Nuclear Issues47
Kyung Joo Jeon

Sweden’s Role in a Peaceful Solution for North Korea’s Nuclear Crisis.....67
Sangsoo Lee

About the Authors83

Preface by KIDA Director

North Korea conducted its second nuclear test on May 25, 2009, increasing the concern of the international community regarding the development of the North's nuclear program and its proliferation to third actors. Moreover, when it emerged that North Korea is responsible for the sinking of the *Cheonan* and the bombardment of *Yeonpyeong* in 2010, the whole world was again frustrated by the boldness of North Korea's threats.

The North's provocative actions on the Korean Peninsula and against the international community may have been supported by its nuclear deterrent, into which the North has put every effort for decades. There is a growing necessity to share ideas and build consensus among the relevant actors on the North's intentions and strategy in its nuclear development and on international cooperation arrangements to deter the North.

Under these circumstances, KIDA has sought to extend its reach beyond Northeast Asia to have more research partners on North Korean issues. As one of a number of initiatives, this KIDA-ISDP joint project is the first effort to facilitate the exchange of knowledge between our institution and the Institute for Security and Development Policy (ISDP) in Sweden. ISDP is one of the few European institutions to have a research focus on Northeast Asia and the sole institution in the world with a close working relationship with research institutions in North Korea. Project participants from KIDA and ISDP are expected to encourage shared perspectives on North Korean issues, particularly those related to WMDs.

In 2009, Niklas L. P. Swanström, the director of the ISDP, and I agreed on the launch of this joint research, and four research participants from both institutions (two from each) started operational exchanges for research in April 2010. In September 2010, a KIDA delegation, including myself, paid a visit to the ISDP, signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the two institutions, and held a closed workshop on North Korean WMD issues. At the workshop, Korean participants presented South Korean and Northeast Asian perspectives on current and future preparations for the North's WMD issues, and Swedish participants suggested measures in cooperation with European countries, including Sweden, for addressing the North's WMD issues. This edited book is a collection of the papers written

by four participants, which has been finally been produced in December, following their active exchange of knowledge and views.

This first outcome of the KIDA-ISDP joint project will be useful to researchers and policy makers on relevant issues. As the KIDA-ISDP cooperation continues year by year, it will develop a framework for expanding further research cooperation on unlimited issues and make a substantial contribution towards a denuclearized Korea and peaceful Korean Peninsula.

December 2010

Koo Sub Kim

President, Korea Institute for Defense Analyses

Preface by ISDP Director

The situation on the Korean Peninsula has reached a new low after the sinking of the Cheonan, the realization that the North Korean nuclear program has gone much further than was anticipated by the outside world and the recent military skirmishes in the sea between North and South Korea. This development has created a very negative climate between the two states both at the political level but also significantly at the public level where distrust are significantly on the rise.

North Korea has further isolated itself by suggesting that new nuclear tests are on the way. This would not only further increase the problems for dialogue with South Korea, but also effectively put North Korea at odds with the international community, potentially even with China. Unfortunately, further isolation seems to be heading towards us at all levels official, as well as at a think-thank level; something that would only increase the misunderstandings of the North Korean intentions and perceptions. This has made the need to share insights with and about North Korea imperative.

To do this, ISDP has extended its network beyond its initial and long-term contacts with North Korea towards South Korea and other regional and international organizations that deal with North Korea with an open mind. KIDA has become a focal point for research on North Korea and this joint project has been a first step towards sharing and developing knowledge about North Korea. KIDA is the one of the leading institutions on North Korea in Asia and has an impressive track-record when following and analyzing the events on the Korean Peninsula. Over time, the ISDP-KIDA collaboration should include other actors on the Korean Peninsula, both military as well as civilian to further increase understanding and information exchange.

The President of KIDA, Koo Sub Kim, visited ISDP in 2010 to sign a Memorandum of Understanding after initial contacts in 2009 between myself and President Kim. This book is a first attempt to increase cooperation and develop more significant research on the Korean Peninsula, especially North Korean WMDs. The focal point here was to exchange perspectives for the handling of the WMD situation in Northeast Asia and to look

back into the European history to explore what has been done and if this could be useful in the future.

We hope that this project, and future endeavors, will be useful for policy-makers and create better understanding, as well as increased trust on the Korean Peninsula and beyond, regardless of whether it concerns WMD issues or issues of trust building. Hopefully, this will contribute, in some way, to a peaceful and prosperous Korean Peninsula.

December 2010

Niklas Swanström

Director, Institute for Security and Development Policy

WMD Control Measures in Case of a Sudden Change in North Korea

Seung Joo Baik

Foreword

It is no longer a secret that the governments of both the U.S. and South Korea, since the late 1990s, have prepared measures against possible sudden changes in North Korea. Back in 1997, the two countries had already started taking proactive measures against the sudden changes expected to occur in the North in accordance with the Korea–U.S. Guidelines for Countermeasures against an Unstable Situation on the Korean Peninsula adopted at the 29th ROK–U.S. Security Consultative Meeting (SCM) in December 1997. The guidelines included measures to deal with people fleeing the North in massive numbers, humanitarian support for North Koreans and the control of the use of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs).¹ Even though there has been much controversy and conflicting statements regarding the fact that the two countries have been discussing such measures from 1998 to 2007, official confirmation was never given due to the subsequent negative impact this would have on North Korea policies.

However, on October 1, 2009, a U.S. government official disclosed that the two countries had, indeed, been discussing counteractive plans for a possible sudden change in the North, since 2008.² It was revealed that at

¹ ROK Ministry of National Defense (MND), *The Defense White Paper 1998* (Seoul: Ministry of National Defense, 1999), p. 69; and *The Defense White Paper 1999* (Seoul: Ministry of National Defense, 2000), p. 68. These show that various scenarios have been considered, such as countermeasures against a large number of North Korean refugees, the means of providing humanitarian support for North Korea in accordance with a UN resolution or an agreement made between the two Koreas, and the countermeasures to be taken should the control of WMDs be lost, etc. Item 9 of the 29th SCM Joint Communiqué states “Under these uncertain circumstances of North Korea, the two Ministers shared the same opinion that it is only prudent for the US and ROK to jointly prepare for a wide range of possible situations.”

² According to the *Kukmin ilbo* dated October 2, 2009, a high-ranking U.S. diplomat disclosed that the matter had been discussed by the authorities of the two countries in September 2008, April 2008, and August 2009 and that the relevant U.S. officials from

a meeting held in August 2009, the U.S. and South Korea discussed the need for the establishment of an early warning system concerning a sudden change in North Korea and measures for the control of WMDs. The two countries agreed on the need to exercise control over WMDs, including nuclear weapons, stockpiled in the North, within the shortest possible time, and to cooperate with each other to prevent the North from taking any provocative military action against the South.

Since 2008, many studies have been conducted to ascertain the effects a sudden change in the North would have both domestically and internationally, as well as at a governmental level. In January 2009, the U.S. Council on Foreign Relations released a report entitled *Preparing for a Sudden Change in North Korea* that presented diverse scenarios that would result from a sudden change in North Korea, along with policy suggestions for the US.³ In Korea, similar research was conducted by government-run research institutions, such as the Korea Institute for National Unification (KINU) and the Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security (IFANS), and private institutes, including the Sejong Institute.

However, there have been very few occasions when WMD control, which would be central to all concerned in the event of a sudden change in the North, was specifically discussed. The scarcity of such discussions should be seen as a reflection of the limited accessibility of the relevant information and data, rather than an indication that the issue has been marginalized.

Under such circumstances, this article aims to suggest policy measures pertaining to the aforesaid subject, i.e., how to control the North's WMDs in the event of a sudden internal change in this country. This article is comprised of four sections: a brief overview of the current status of WMDs in the North; the system used by the North Korean military to control its WMDs; an examination of the possible problems related to the control of the WMDs that might occur in the event of a sudden change in the North, and an introduction of the U.S. policy concerning WMD control with policy suggestions for both the US, Korea and the international community.

the Department of State, the Department of Defense, the White House, and the NSC and Korean officials had attended meetings between August 4 and 5, 2009. The government authorities of the two countries neither confirmed nor denied the accuracy of this report.

³ Paul Stares and Joel Wit, *Preparing for Sudden Change in North Korea*, Council Special Report No. 42 (Washington, DC: Council on Foreign Relations, January 2009).

2. Current status of North Korea's WMDs and Neighboring Countries' Responses

A. Current status of the North's WMDs

In order to effectively control WMDs in the case of a sudden change in North Korea, it is crucial to obtain an accurate picture of the WMDs stockpiled in the North. The WMDs that North Korea is believed to possess include nuclear weapons, ballistic missiles, and biochemical weapons. As Joel Wit and Paul Stares, from the U.S., point out, "Locating, safeguarding, and disposing of materials and stockpiles of the North's estimated six to eight nuclear weapons, four thousand tons of chemical weapons, and any biological weapons, as well as its ballistic missile program, would be a high priority, especially for the United States."⁴

Nuclear Weapons

Given the two nuclear tests it has carried out, it can be assumed that North Korea has ended up possessing nuclear weapons. It is also estimated that North Korea has obtained about 40 kg-plus of plutonium as a result of three rounds of fuel reprocessing.⁵ The country might possibly have eight or nine nuclear weapons if 40 kg-plus of nuclear material was used to make standard-type weapons. There is some controversy over whether the North has been successful in reducing the size of its nuclear weapons and developing the means for their delivery, but it appears that the country has yet to develop the technology to launch its nuclear weapons.

Numerous analyses have concurred on the fact that the North had already developed nuclear weapons before it signed the Geneva Agreement with the U.S. in the early 1990s. On November 19, 2002, the CIA submitted a report to the U.S. Congress that indicated the high probability of the North having already developed nuclear weapons.⁶

Intelligence authorities both at home and abroad are keeping an eye on three facilities in North Korea with regard to its nuclear program: first, the

⁴ Stares and Wit, *Preparing for Sudden Change in North Korea*, p. 22.

⁵ MND, *The Defense White Paper 2008*, p. 29.

⁶ "North Korean Nuclear Weapons: CIA Estimate for Congress, November 19, 2002," Unclassified CIA Report 2002 from FAS website, <http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/dprk/nuke/cia111902.html>

5Mw experimental nuclear reactor in Yeongbyeon, which was constructed in 1980, is known to have started operation at the end of 1986. The operation of this reactor would have enabled the North to produce about 7 kg of plutonium every year, which is sufficient to manufacture a nuclear bomb. According to an analysis made by a U.S. intelligence agency, "The North stopped the operation of the 5Mw nuclear reactor for about 70 days in 1989 to replace its fuel rods, and it appears that the country thus secured the plutonium required to produce a nuclear weapon."

Second, there is a 50Mw-class reactor whose construction was stopped halfway through its construction schedule. If this reactor (construction commenced in 1984 and was scheduled to be completed in 1995) was completed, the North could have secured 200 kg of plutonium every year and produced 30 nuclear weapons every year.

Third, there is a radiation chemistry laboratory. The North commenced construction of this laboratory with its own technology in 1985. 80 percent of the buildings and 40 percent of its internal facilities (with the completion of the No. 1 production line) were completed by 1992. In March 1993, the IAEA inspectors found that the construction of the No. 2 production line was under way and estimated that it would be completed by 1995. However, the Geneva Agreement, signed in 1994, led to the suspension of construction. The scale of the facility was to be a six-story building 180 m long and 20 m wide.

As the North announced that it was pushing ahead with a nuclear program using enriched uranium after its second nuclear test, much attention has been focused on the related facilities.

Ballistic Missiles

Having started research into the production of ballistic missiles in 1976, the North became able to manufacture its own model of Scud missile in 1984. In 1985, it tested Scud B Missiles with a range of 300 km. Subsequently, it developed the Scud C Missile with a range of 500 km. In 1993, it developed a missile named Nodong No. 1 with a range of 1,000 km, which covered all of South Korea and part of Japan within its range.⁷ In 1998, the North succeeded in extending the range of Nodong No. 1 to 3,000 km. It then tested

⁷ MND, *The Defense White Paper 2008*, p. 30.

the Daepodong No. 2 missiles in 2006 and 2009. Controversy still exists over the Gwangmyeongseong No. 2 test launch in 2009, but it appears that the North succeeded in extending its range. As for the number of missiles stockpiled in the North, which the South Korean and U.S. authorities treat as classified information, civilian experts, both within and outside Korea, estimate the number to be 800-plus.⁸

Biochemical Weapons

North Korea has emerged as the third power in the world, after only the U.S. and Russia, in terms of chemical weapon stockpiles and production capacity. Initially, it had depended on the Soviet Union for its chemical warfare capability, in the period following the Korean War, but developed the means for independent production in 1961. At present, it has the capability of producing 4,000 tons of chemical weapons a year from eight facilities, plus 2,500~5,000 tons of stockpiles of biochemical weapons.⁹ It is known to have 17 kinds of chemical agents, including nerve agents, blood agents, blister agents, choking agents, tear agents and vomiting agents. Chemical weapons can be delivered by trench mortars, field guns, multiple rocket launchers, missiles, aircraft and chemical landmines.

The North is especially capable of carrying out acts of chemical terrorism in the rear areas of the South through the use of portable chemical weapons, such as the DKT-8 and 11. The North has demonstrated its willingness to use chemical weapons by the fact that it distributed gas masks to all residents and carried out training for chemical weapon-based attacks and defense.

The North established an institution for the research and production of biochemical weapons in the early 1960s under the instruction of its leader Kim Il Sung and has since concentrated on their development. As a result, it has had mass production of chemical weapons capability since the 1980s. The North is known to have succeeded in virus cultivation in 1980 and to have completed human body experiments pertaining to biological weapons by the end of the 1980s.

⁸ International Institute for Strategic Studies, *Military Balance 2008*: more than 200 scud missiles; more than 90 Nodong missiles; a small number of Daepodong missiles; AFP, "U.S. Anticipates Multiple N. Korean Missiles," *Defense News*, March 19, 2009: more than 800 missiles; BBC reported about 800 ballistic missiles.

⁹ MND, *The Defense White Paper 2008*, p. 30.

Currently, North Korea ranks third in the world in terms of biochemical warfare capability. Coupled with regular military exercises, such biochemical warfare capability contributes to North Korea's military power, which could pose a clear threat to the South.

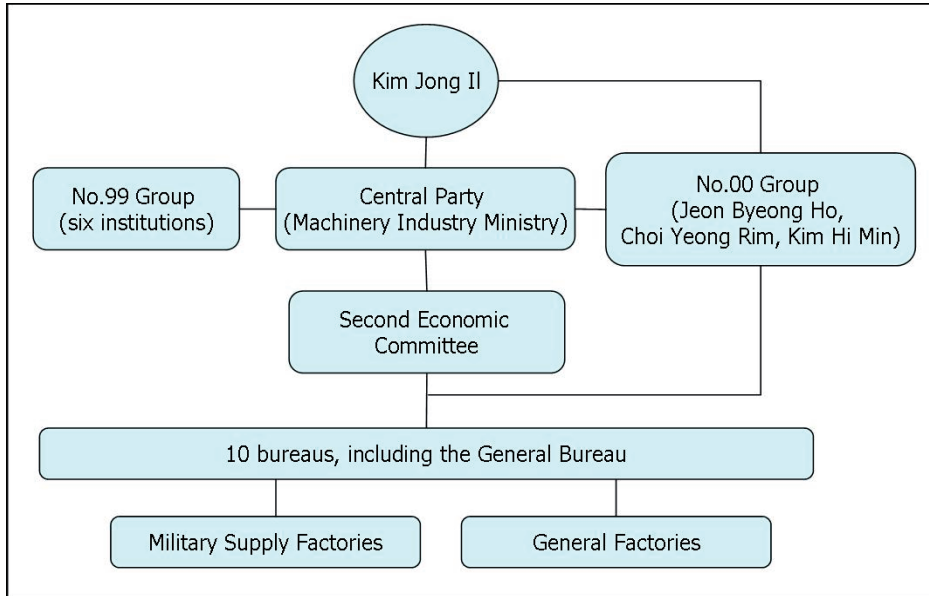
B. Nuclear Weapon Development and Control System of North Korea

The North's nuclear weapon development and production system will be different from the system for their strategic and tactical control. However, during peacetime, the nuclear development system is thought to be almost identical to the nuclear control system. Therefore, it is important to accurately ascertain what North Korea's nuclear development system entails during peacetime in order to control the North's nuclear weapons in the event of any abrupt change.

Nuclear weapons development in North Korea is assumed to be carried out by its Second Economic Committee. The existence of the Committee has been made public through the testimonies of North Korean defectors or ethnic Koreans that have been in Japan since the end of the 1980s. The Committee is believed to have a larger influence on policymaking than the economic wing of the Council of Ministries that is responsible for overall economic planning and management.¹⁰¹

In North Korea, the development and production of WMDs is assumed to be implemented by the Central Committee (Military Industry Department Chief Jeon Byeong Ho) under the instructions of its leader Kim Jong Il, as indicated in Figure 1.

¹⁰ Seung Joo Baek et al, *Strength and Weakness of the North Korean Regime* (Seoul: KIDA, 2006).

Figure 1. WMD-Related Policy Execution System in North Korea

1. General Bureau: planning, budget compilation, and procurement and distribution of energy and raw materials
2. First Bureau: production and supply of general weapons (rifles, machine guns, ammunition, hand grenades and military equipment, etc.)
3. Second Bureau: production and supply of tanks and armored vehicles
4. Third Bureau: production and supply of field guns, anti-aircraft guns, self-propelled guns, multiple rocket launchers, etc.
5. Fourth Bureau: production and supply of missiles and rockets
6. Fifth Bureau: production and supply of chemical weapons (except for nerve gases, such as sarin gas)
7. Sixth Bureau: production and supply of naval ships
8. Seventh Bureau: military communications and aviation
9. General Foreign Trade Bureau: in charge of foreign trade (concerning weapons, parts and raw materials). This bureau carries out activities under the name of Yongaksan Trading Co. or Geumgang Bank and carries out independent functions on

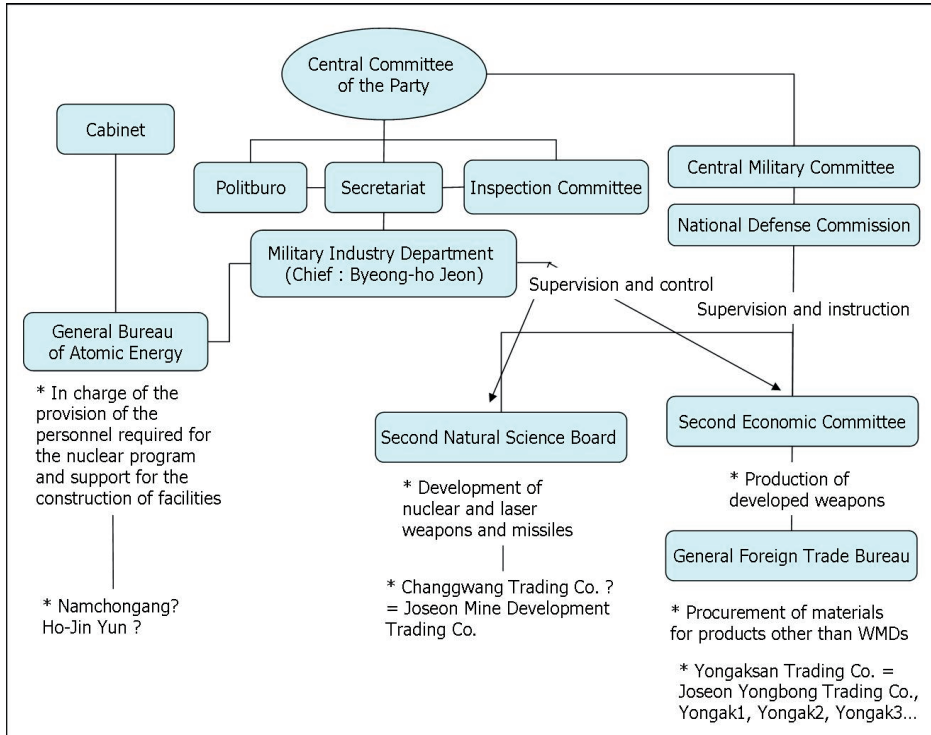
foreign currency funds. The export of weapons, non-ferrous metals and jewelry is exclusively under its control.

10. No. 99 Group: under the direct control of the Heavy Industry Ministry, Fifth Division and the Vice Chairman of the Second Economic Committee, it operates its own foreign military trade institutions.
 - It uses trading companies, such as Yongaksan, that are directly controlled by the Second Economic Committee, Geumryung and Yeonhap, depending on the specific requirements.
 - Its instructions are sent to the factories and enterprises for the supply of materials, goods, power and transportation have a higher priority than those from the Second Economic Committee.
 - Instructions sent from the No. 00 Group have a higher priority than those from the other institutions.

When the issue of imposing travel restrictions on the North Korean officials involved in the country's nuclear program was raised at the UN Security Council, as one means of enforcing sanctions (UNSC Resolution 1874) following the North's second nuclear test in 2009, a substantial amount of information that the international community, including the United States, had collected on the North Korean nuclear development system was revealed. Piecing together the views of experts on North Korean military affairs, high-ranking North Korean defectors and journalists specializing in North Korea, the North's nuclear development system can be described by Fig. 2.¹¹ However, detailed information on the personnel and facilities related to the General Bureau of Atomic Energy, the Second Natural Science Board and the Second Economic Committee is still required.

¹¹ The diagram is based on the views of North Korean defectors, who used to work in the offices related to the nuclear program, the UN personnel in charge of sanctions and relevant experts. One should thus be wary of its accuracy when utilizing Figure 2.

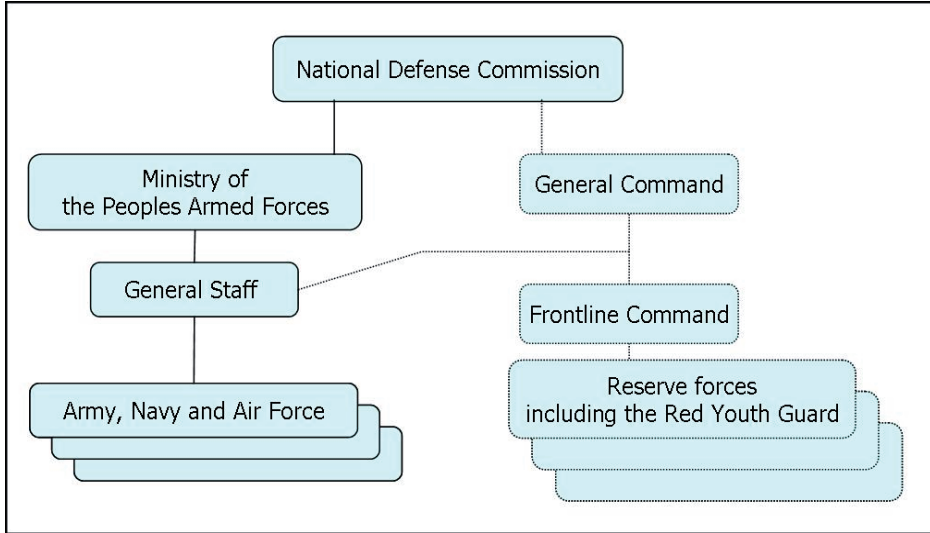
Fig. 2. Hierarchical Diagram of the Nuclear Development System of North Korea (2009)



Note: Estimated Draft

It is assumed that, in the event of a sudden change, the North will exercise control over their WMDs through the system of command that has been set up for time of peace: National Defense Commission → Supreme Command → Frontline Command. The North's military is characterized by the designation of a Supreme Commander during peacetime, whose duty is to control the military in wartime. The Supreme Command controls the entire military body through the General Staff-Chief of the Operational Bureau as well as the Worker-Peasant Red Guards, Red Youth Guards and the People's Security Force, without going through the Ministry of the People's Armed Forces.

Fig. 3. North Korea’s Military Command System



C. Neighboring States’ policies concerning the North’s WMDs

The U.S. WMD policy has focused on “counter-proliferation” since 2006, a shift from the focus on “non-proliferation” it adopted in 2002. For this purpose, the U.S. government has categorized the activities to be carried out by the Department of State and the Department of Defense, respectively.¹²¹ The U.S. policies for non-proliferation or counter-proliferation of WMDs, which are promoted in the areas of diplomacy and defense, are summarized in Table 1.¹³¹

The U.S. remains concerned about the North’s stockpiles of WMDs, particularly its long-range missiles, and possible proliferation of its nuclear

¹² Concerning the major activities related to its diplomatic and defense policies, the U.S. government categorized the following eight missions in its National Military Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction (NMS-CWMD) report released by the Defense Department in 2006: 1) security cooperation, 2) partner activities and threat reduction cooperation, 3) interdiction, 4) offensive operations, 5) elimination, 6) WMD consequence management, 7) passive defense, 8) active defense. See Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, *National Military Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction*, Washington, DC (February 13, 2006).

¹³ Eun Jong-hwa, *South Korea’s WMD-related Countermeasures Based on an Analysis of the Problem Concerning the North’s Nuclear Program – Comparison and Analysis of Cases of Successful and Failed Pressure of a Nuclear Program*, Ph.D. dissertation, Kyonggi University, Seoul 2008.

weapons. Thus, the U.S. is highly interested in controlling the North's WMDs in the event of any sudden change in the country. Taking such a change in the North as an opportunity, it will try to fundamentally resolve the security concerns caused by the North's WMDs.

China, for its part, does not recognize the North's WMDs as a direct threat to its national security. Yet it is worried that the North's nuclear weapons might provoke its neighboring countries, including Japan, to gain nuclear weapons of their own. China also appears to be concerned about the possibility of U.S. military intervention in North Korea, under the pretext of WMD control, should the North take aggressive and drastic action. Japan is wary of the North's WMDs as a realistic security threat. Several political parties in Japan have been trying to utilize the WMD policies of North Korea in an attempt to regain security sovereignty and reinforce its military stance. Like China, Russia does not view the North's WMDs as a threat to its national security.

3. Concepts and Types of Sudden Change in North Korea

A. Concepts of Sudden Change and Changed Discussion Agenda

The types of sudden change in the North that the South should be prepared for, in terms of foreign security policy, can be understood as 1) various crises aside from war; 2) any form of instability in North Korea that threatens the South and peace on the peninsula; and 3) an overarching concept for dealing with such forms of instability.

In this context, various scenarios that might result from war with the North include a massive number of North Korean defectors, foreign countries' humanitarian intervention in the North, North Korea's possible use of its WMDs in its foreign policies and problems with WMD control, civil war in the North or a hostage situation perpetrated by the North Korean authorities, either in or out of the country.

Based on the aforementioned discussions, a "sudden change" in the North holds two underlying implications: first, the existing North Korean regime might run into internal instability from which it cannot recover within a short period of time; second, as North Korea's internal instability expands and worsens, a situation may result that calls for the intervention of the international community.

Table 1. U.S. WMD Policy Activities (Foreign Affairs/

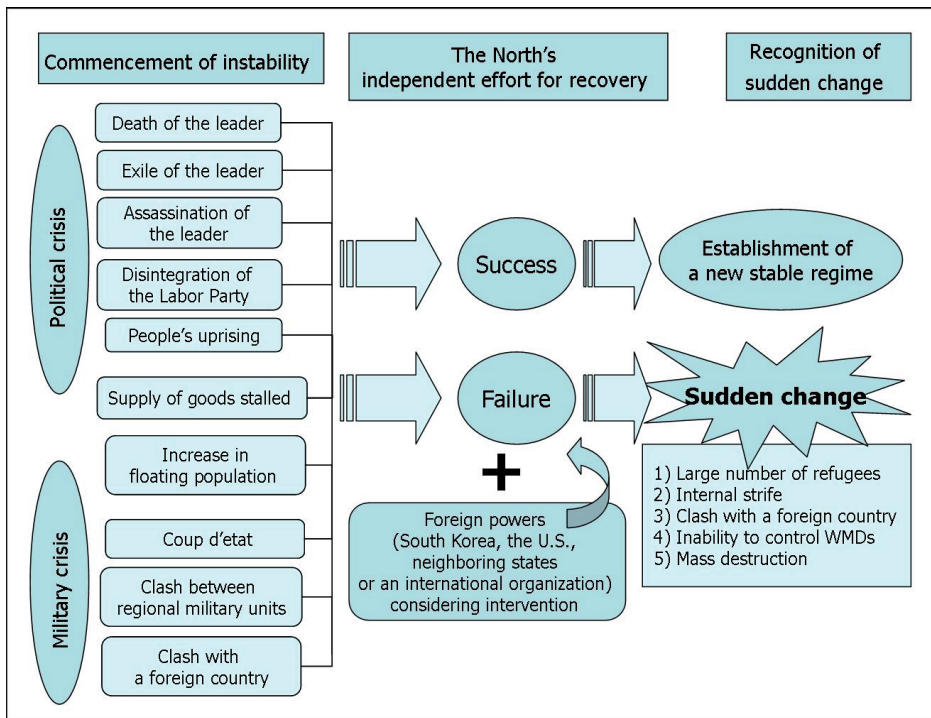
Missions (8)		Key elements/policy activities
Non-proliferation	<p>Safety / Security</p> <p>Foreign affairs</p>	<p><i>Joint efforts with related countries for WMD discussions, observation, detection and reduction</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Libya's abandonment of WMDs (Dec. 2003) 2. Cooperative Threat Reduction (CTR) 1991–2002, CTR Expansion Act at the U.S. Congress 3. Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terror (GICNT) (Jul. 2006) proposed by the U.S. and Russia <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – 13 countries regulate management and detection of radioactive material, relevant information sharing and punishment/sanctions
	<p>Partner activities</p> <p>Foreign affairs and Trade</p>	<p><i>Promotion of WMD-related treaties, cooperation on security, safety controls</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. UNSC Resolutions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – 1540 (Apr. 28, 2004): prevention of WMD proliferation; financial sanctions (participated in by 124 countries on May 11, 2004) – 1780 2. General Partnership Agreement (GPA-WMD) (Jun. 2002) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – G-8 Summit assumes the responsibility for the financial support (\$20 billion) for the removal of WMDs

Counter-proliferation	Interdiction	Defense / Foreign affairs	<p><i>Prevention of WMD transfer and proliferation</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) training – proposed by President George Bush in May 2003
	Offensive operations	Defense	<p><i>Establishment of the destruction system for underground WMDs</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Deployment of earth penetrating warheads (EPWs) 2. Adoption of the concept of preemptive and preventive attacks
	Elimination	Defense / Foreign affairs	<p><i>Transfer of WMDs to non-military use and blocking their proliferation</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Launch of the 20th Support Command (CBRNE) – dedicated to the removal of chemical, biological, radiological, nuclear and high-yield explosives (2007) / operation of JTF-E
	Active defense	Defense	<p><i>Reduction of WMD-caused damage and restoration of governmental functions</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Designation of regional JTF-CM (Joint Task Force-Consequence Management) units worldwide
	Consequence management	Defense / Foreign affairs	<p><i>Establishment of a multi-layered defense network</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. MD System 2. Launch of units dedicated to consequence management
	Passive defense	Defense	<p><i>Measures for the minimization WMD-caused damage</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Detection, forecast, defense and maintenance capability

Source: Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, *National Military Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction* (February 13, 2006), pp. 22–27.

In the mid-1990s, there were lively discussions about the possibility of the abrupt collapse of the North’s regime, but such discussions gradually lost validity as the Kim Jong Il regime remained relatively stable backed by the announcement of the U.S.–DPRK Joint Communiqué (2000) and the South Korean government’s adoption of the engagement policy. The fact that the North’s leader became seriously ill reignited discussions about a sudden change in the country, with the focus on who would succeed Kim Jong Il as the next leader.¹⁴¹

Fig. 3. Concept of a Sudden Change in the North and Expected Types



¹⁴¹ See Stares and Wit, *Preparing for Sudden Change in North Korea*. They discuss scenarios concerning possible changes in the North, dividing them into the successful inheritance of power, the struggle for the inheritance of power, and the failed inheritance of power.

B. Major Types of Expected Changes

The first type of “sudden change” in the North refers to a large number of North Korean defectors. This situation would differ from the current pattern of refugees defecting from the North area and would be caused by the North Korean government losing control of the country or conflicting with neighboring countries.

The second type is a civil war. A civil war can be defined as an armed conflict to obtain governmental control when a country has lost control of its governmental organizations and physical resources. Thus, a civil war in the North would be likely to continue until a single political party won control. The triggers of a civil war and its likely course of development are as follows. The main trigger would be the loss of the country’s leader. The assassination or exile of the country’s leader would likely lead to internal war between rival factions that sought to seize power. Even in the case of his natural death, the possibility for internal strife between military units in Pyongyang remains, unless there was a political faction ready to replace him. In such a situation, a coup d’état would occur. Confrontations between existing political factions wishing to expand their influence or seize power are likely to result from internal strife. Also, organized political struggles or an uprising on the part of grassroots movements may lead to a power struggle between military factions sympathizing with the movements and those in opposition. The next possibility is a clash with another country. Western countries’ preemptive and precise strikes against the North, in connection with its nuclear program, may result in internal strife in the North due to a difference in views of its government policies. Border disputes with neighboring countries, due to the mass exodus of North Korean residents, is also likely to cause a civil war due to differing ideologies in how to handle this problem.

Third, genocide may occur. International law defines “genocide” as any of the following acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group: killing members of a group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of a group; deliberately inflicting on a group such conditions of life calculated to bring about

its physical destruction in whole or in part, imposing measures intended to prevent birth within a group.¹⁵¹

Fourth, military confrontation between the North and a foreign country might also lead to a civil war in the North. In fact, there is a slim chance for this kind of situation, including a border dispute with China or a naval conflict with Japan, to occur. (The possibility of war, either all-out war or a limited war, with the South is not dealt with here.) In spite of the low probability of such, military confrontation between the North and another country might occur as a result of a number of events. First, a U.S. precision strike against the North's nuclear facility in order to deter it from restarting nuclear development. Second, a military clash between the North and China as China enforces its military measures along its border to prevent unstable conditions, while the North tries to control the mass exodus of its people. As long as China maintains a military alliance with North Korea, the chance for the outbreak of all-out war between these two countries is very low. Third, North Koreans escape to Japan, spreading instability to that country. Fourth, if a large number of North Koreans defect to Russia by overland routes, the manner in which control of these defectors is established might cause a military confrontation. Fifth, in the case of a civil war in North Korea, there is the possibility that North Korea would clash with China as it sought to intervene in the civil war. Sixth, if a civil war occurs in North Korea, a military confrontation with the US might result as it seeks to intervene in the civil war.

4. WMD Control Crisis and Response Measures

A. Crisis patterns

A "WMD Control Crisis" refers to a situation in which the stable management of WMDs is jeopardized in a manner serious enough to require the intervention of the international community, including the U.S., or the North's regime takes a decisive step towards utilizing its WMDs, either directly or indirectly, to overcome whatever crisis it is facing.

A WMD Control Crisis may be caused by a sudden change in the North when one of the following happens: (1) a core figure deeply involved in

¹⁵ *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*, Adopted by Resolution 260 (III) A of the United Nations General Assembly on December 9, 1948), Article 2.

the North's nuclear program defects and decides to help a third country develop a nuclear weapon, thus allowing important knowhow concerning WMD development to be transferred to a third country; (2) an internal faction of the North, which has seized control of the country's WMDs, attempts to attack its opponents by using the WMDs, thus jeopardizing WMD control; (3) a coup occurs in the North and either the regime or the coup faction considers the use of WMDs the best way to prevail; (4) the North's regime attempts to use WMDs against the international community when it intervenes with military action designed to halt the genocide being perpetrated in the North.

B. Response Measures by Crisis Pattern

(1) WMD Control Crisis amid Mass Escape from North Korea

It is necessary, during peacetime, to keep an eye on the experts and policy makers of the North who are involved in WMD development. When they decide to defect from North Korea amid a mass exodus of North Korean people, their likely destinations will be South Korea, China, Japan and Russia, due to the border conditions. The countries concerned, therefore, should establish a cooperation system for the sharing of information on the said North Korean WMD experts to prevent them from contacting countries (like Iran) that are interested in the North's nuclear weapons. In the event of a mass exodus from the North, the U.S., South Korea, China, Japan and Russia need to operate a joint team for the control of WMD-related personnel from North Korea.

A counter-proliferation policy should be adopted for the purpose of non-proliferation in connection with the WMD policy of the U.S. stated in the foregoing table. Consultations, supervision and detection should be jointly carried out with the relevant countries closely monitoring the North's nuclear program. Efforts should be made to strengthen international cooperation based on WMD-related UN resolutions.

(2) WMD Control Crisis Caused by a Civil War or a Military Coup

It is crucial to constantly be aware of the locations of the North's WMDs during peacetime,¹⁶¹ compile an accurate list of them and mobilize all of the

¹⁶ See Stares and Wit, *Preparing for Sudden Change in North Korea*. The international

information resources of the countries in the region, including the U.S. and South Korea. The countries concerned should consider adopting a WMD control policy by dispatching a special unit of troops, based on the relevant UN resolution, if necessary.

The countries concerned, including the U.S., need to consider “offensive operations” and “elimination” in connection with the counter-proliferation policy of the U.S. “Offensive operations” refers to a situation in which the international community considers military intervention necessary due to WMD control being in jeopardy amid a civil war in the North. Thus, it would be necessary to create such conditions as are conducive to the stable control of WMDs, while preparing for military intervention in a firm display of the international community’s resolve. Should an issued warning not be properly heeded, safety should be secured by dispatching a unit of troops assigned a special mission: WMD removal.

Should a certain faction engaged in an internal conflict have an overwhelming military superiority over the others, it might be possible to secure the safety of the WMDs by providing the faction with political and military support. Still, the best alternative in seeking control of WMDs would be through cooperation with a faction friendly to the international community, without intervening in a civil war.

(3) WMD Control Crisis under Foreign Military Intervention for Genocide

Should a mass murder of North Korean citizens be perpetrated in the North, resulting in the intervention of the international community, the regime may threaten to use its WMDs so as not to yield to such an intervention. In such a situation, securing justification for the international community’s military intervention under international law by obtaining a UN Security Council resolution would be most important. A strongly worded warning should be issued to notify the North that its regime would be annihilated if it considered using its WMDs. In addition, it might become necessary to show military might, which is formidable enough to conduct an air strike on the North Korean regime, as well as the WMDs. A show of military might disuade the North from the temptation of using the WMDs in the first place.

community, including the U.S. government, is not getting an accurate and reliable picture of the North’s WMD facilities.

5. Conclusion and Policy Suggestions

South Korea has a serious dilemma concerning its security in the midst of the efforts being made by the international community to peacefully settle the issue of the North's nuclear program. South Koreans believe that the North's regime, under the leadership of Kim Jong Il, will never give up its nuclear program.

South Korea also has a similar dilemma concerning a possible sudden change in the North. Most South Koreans share the view that the probability of an unrecoverable sudden change in the North is very low, given that the North Korean regime has survived diverse hardships for 60-plus years. Nonetheless, South Korea has been preparing itself against the possibility that an unexpected sudden change might occur due to a crisis situation arising in the North. Few experts or governments wish to see a sudden change in the North, but it is also true that none of them think that it is unnecessary to prepare for possible sudden change in the North.

In the event of a sudden change in the North, safe control of the stockpiled WMDs will be a crucial factor for the security of the Korean Peninsula and for the coordination of the interests of the various countries in the region. Among the expected sudden change situations in the North, the most likely one is that WMDs are left neglected or develop a crisis of control amid internal strife.

What shall the South Korean government do in the event of a WMD control crisis? Some argue that Korea does not have to waste its diplomatic resources on this matter because the U.S. will play a leading role in resolving the issue, as WMD control is the major issue of interest to the U.S. Basically, such an argument is grounded in an incorrect assumption. South Koreans should realize that WMD control would be their top priority in a security-related emergency situation. The U.S. is supposed to be interested in WMD control due to the need to prevent the spread of WMDs, but South Koreans should deal with it from the perspective of securing their own survival. This is because Koreans, either Southerners or Northerners, would be the ones to suffer the most should something go wrong with WMD control (radioactive contamination or their actual usage in real warfare). South Korea should thus establish its own policies concerning WMD control, in the following directions, to be prepared for a sudden change in the North:

1. The crucial importance of WMD control should be recognized from the perspective of securing the right of survival for every individual Korean. In the event of a crisis caused by a failure to control and manage WMDs, the Korean Peninsula would suffer lethal damage caused by radioactive contamination. Also, the problem of the North's nuclear program needs to be distinguished from that of other WMDs. The missiles, biochemical weapons and nuclear weapons stockpiled in the North all pose a threat to the security of the South. However, it is desirable for the international community to draw a clear line between nuclear weapons and other types of WMDs under international law.
2. South Korea should maintain policy collaboration with the U.S. and other countries in the region concerning the WMDs stockpiled in the North so that it can establish a warning system in the event of a sudden change in the North, share the relevant information, formulate a joint response with the relevant countries and discuss what course of action would be in the best interest of all parties in consideration of the possible coverage range and durability of the radioactive contamination.
3. It would also be necessary to minimize the friction between the countries concerned in the event of a sudden change in the North. The U.S. has a high stake in WMD control. China is concerned about a possible attempt to establish a pro-U.S. regime in the northern part of the Korean Peninsula, under the pretext of WMD control. Japan, for its part, is concerned about its territory and seas being contaminated by radioactivity. A diplomatic step should be taken, on a priority basis, to minimize the strategic friction between the countries in the region being generated by the WMDs stockpiled in the North, preferably by intervention based on a UN Security Council resolution.
4. It is necessary to create a military unit dedicated to North Korean WMD-related matters. A "science unit" is needed to analyze the intelligence gathered on the North's WMDs in peacetime and to assume control of the WMDs in time of emergency.

5. The information-sharing system should be reinforced between the relevant agencies of the South Korean government, i.e., the Defense Ministry, the National Intelligence Service, the Unification Ministry and the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology. They should continue to collect information on key WMD-related figures in the North.

South Korea should make joint efforts with the other countries in the region to share information on the status of the WMD stockpiling and management in the North as part of the efforts to prepare for a sudden change in the country and to maintain tight national security. It will be possible to prevent sudden change only when we are prepared for such a change. In addition, it might be worthwhile to consider that disclosing our knowledge and information on the North's WMDs will make the North fearful of the South's intelligence capability and military contingency preparedness.

How to Bring North Korea Back into the NPT, with a little help from Sweden

Thomas Jonter

Introduction

In which direction is Sweden's foreign and security policy headed? Many observers make the claim that developments in the international political arena since the end of the Cold War have led to an inevitable and drastic reorientation of Swedish foreign and security policy. The downfall of Eastern European communism and Sweden's entry into the European Union in 1995 have pulled the rug from under the feet of Sweden's traditional policy of neutrality, so the argument goes. With the disappearance of the policy of neutrality, the possibilities for a more activist Swedish foreign policy have also evaporated. On this, both policy analysts and the Swedish government seem to be in agreement. In the current Swedish center-conservative government's foreign policy declaration of February 14, 2007, even the term "neutrality" has been edited out. The operational security policy is defined merely as "non-participation in military alliances." And below in the same section, it says: "Through membership of the political alliance that the European Union constitutes, Sweden has broken away from a tradition dating back to 1812."¹ Sweden's traditional double role as peace mediator between warring parties and moral critic of the illegitimate power strivings of great powers and other states, which resonated around the world during the Cold War under social democratic leadership, seem to belong to the past. This conclusion might even be valid in a Swedish high profile area such as nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament as well, if we are to judge

¹ The foreign policy declaration of the Swedish government, July 31, 2007, <http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/3216/1/58247>. For an analysis of Sweden's policy of neutrality in a longer historical perspective, see Mikael af Malmberg, "Neutraliteten och den svenska identiteten," *Internationella studier*, No. 1 (2001). The classic formulation from the days of the Cold War—"Non-participation in military alliances in peacetime aiming at neutrality in the event of war"—which permeated government declarations and other policy documents, is now but a memory.

from the policy pursued over the last few years under the reign of the present center-conservative government. For example, in 2008 Sweden did not join other states in the Nuclear Supplier's Group (NSG) in opposing India's exemption from the NSG's ban on export of nuclear material and equipment to other states that do not have full-scope safeguard agreements with the IAEA. This exemption has been interpreted as a violation of the rules and norms upheld by the NPT regime, since the nuclear weapons state India was not accepted as a party to the NPT. Other states such as Austria, Ireland, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway and Switzerland have criticized the proposal, arguing that it goes against the purpose of the export control regime to open the door to India. In July 2009, when Sweden headed the EU presidency, non-proliferation and disarmament were not priority issues. Sweden did not urge for a ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), which surprised many international observers. In the same year, the center-conservative government cut the funding for the Commission on Weapons of Mass Destruction headed by the former director general of IAEA, the well-known Swedish diplomat Hans Blix, in spite of it having attracted internationally attention for its bold recommendations on how to reduce the threat posed by WMDs.²

Does this mean that will it not be possible for Sweden to use its formidable experience as a peace mediator in North Korea with the purpose of disarming and bringing North Korea back into the NPT? In this paper the argument is put forward that there is still room for an active Swedish non-proliferation role (both in the case of North Korea and in other places). Moreover, the argument is raised that even the present center-conservative government is in fact lately moving in the direction of more engagement in the nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament field. This slight reorientation of the present government's foreign policy could be used to mobilize political will to engage Sweden more actively in the process to persuade North Korea to give up its nuclear weapons program and join the NPT, from which North Korea withdrew in 2006. Sweden, with its diplomatic competence and experience as a small non-aligned state with its own extended

² Johan Bergenäs and Richard Sabatini, "The Rise of a White Knight State: Sweden's Nonproliferation and Disarmament History," *Nuclear Threat Initiative*, Issue Brief, February 10, 2010, http://www.nti.org/e_research/e3_white_knight_state_sweden.html (accessed November 30, 2010).

nuclear weapons plans in the past, has unique preconditions to contribute positively to a process to convince the North Koreans to abolish their nuclear weapons program.

In the next section, the emergence of the Swedish role as an international mediator and critic is discussed in the context of the non-aligned policy. In addition, the Swedish nuclear experience is analyzed, i.e. the transition from a possible nuclear weapons state to a fierce international activist against nuclear weapons proliferation during the Cold War. This background is needed to understand the great impact Sweden has had in the Cold War period and what sort of resources Swedish diplomats and experts could possibly use in a process to promote a non-proliferation political course for North Korea. In the third section, the new preconditions for Swedish foreign and security policy since the end of the Cold War are discussed. How has membership of the EU influenced a possible neutral position and in what way does this have an impact on Sweden's role as a mediator and as a strong actor in the nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament field?

Swedish foreign and security policy during the Cold War

To understand the Swedish activist policy, especially in the field of non-proliferation, we need to acquaint ourselves with the emergence of the non-aligned policy and its modern roots. The modern version of a more conscious strategy aimed at establishing a firmer policy of neutrality started at the end of WWI. Since then, the policy of non-participation in military alliances has been tested in various crises, and during the Cold War it developed into a security policy that integrated a number of different tasks in addition to the obvious objective of preventing the country from getting involved in wars. This policy represented a conscious effort to fulfill important obligations in the international political system, to "do one's share" to create a more secure and peaceful world. In the fulfillment of these obligations, we also find arguments in support of the classic formulation of the official Swedish foreign and security policy during the Cold War motivating a policy of "nonparticipation in military alliances aiming at neutrality in the event of war." There are four main arguments that have been put forward in support of the Swedish policy of neutrality (its positive aspects) in the modern era:

1. To keep Sweden out of war. This argument says that the position of neutrality is the most important means of keeping the country out of war. This has also been the strongest argument for a neutrality-leaning security policy ever since 1812, when the Swedish policy of neutrality was born, according to the research consensus.³
2. To conduct a policy of bridge-building and mediation between warring parties, usually in connection with a great power conflict, in order to promote détente. Sweden may, on the basis of its position of nonalignment and neutrality, act as an intermediary between states in conflict, with the objective of creating positive preconditions for negotiating peace and lessening the risk of future war. During the Cold War this commitment was very much in force, and many researchers have described it as an important part of the “active foreign policy” that emerged during the 1960s. The concepts of “bridge-building” and “mediation” should be understood in the sense that Sweden’s foreign policy is used as a tool for mediation by a third party in an ongoing conflict.⁴
3. To act as a critic of the illegitimate actions and power strivings of other states in the international arena (to act as a moral engine). Through this stance, international law, one of the pillars of the international political system, may be defended, and this serves to render more difficult, and at best to prevent, violations of these rules and norms on the part of great

³ af Malmborg, “Neutraliteten och den svenska identiteten.”

⁴ In this paper I follow the definition proposed by political scientist Ulf Bjereld: “The difference between ‘mediation’ and ‘bridge-building efforts’ may then be interpreted as implying that ‘bridge-building’ is oftentimes less formalized, often consists of isolated efforts, and often has a more general purpose than mediation. By the latter is meant that the purpose of a bridge-building effort does not primarily have to be to solve the conflict; instead, it may restrict itself to the act of making resources available in order to try to increase understanding and reduce tensions amongst the parties. If mediation aims at solving the conflict, then bridge-building efforts may be described as aiming at making possible such mediation.” In Ulf Bjereld, *Kritiker eller medlare? En studie av Sveriges utrikespolitiska roller 1945-90* (Stockholm: Nerenius & Santérus, 1992), pp. 19–20. On the formation of Sweden’s activist foreign policy and the role of Östen Undén, see Marie Demker, *Sverige och Algeriets frigörelse 1954-1962: Kriget som förändrade svensk utrikespolitik*, Göteborg studies in politics 34 (Stockholm: Nerenius & Santérus, 1998).

powers and other states. A position of nonalignment and/or neutrality makes such a policy feasible.⁵

4. To give “independent” assistance and aid to individuals and states devastated by war and to function as a haven of refuge for refugees and persecuted persons. These are tasks that cannot be performed as easily if the country is a belligerent party in a military conflict.⁶

Have all these prerequisites for a security policy of military nonalignment, as described in the four points really disappeared, as many the policy analysts and the foreign policy declaration seem to maintain?

The emergence of a Swedish activist foreign and security policy

The Swedish foreign and security policy position had already been established at the end of WWII: non-participation in military alliances in peacetime aiming at neutrality in the event of war. Sweden’s basic security-political position rested on two pillars: one, a strong and independent military defense; and two, the promotion of détente and dialogue between the great powers within the framework of the newly formed United Nations (UN). There were reasonably optimistic expectations in the immediate aftermath of the war regarding the possibilities for a continued co-existence between capitalism and communism. The United States and the communist Soviet Union together had defeated Nazi Germany.⁷ But these hopes soon turned out to have been illusory. Already by 1947, it was apparent that the world

⁵ In his study titled *Kritiker eller medlare? Sveriges utrikespolitiska roller 1945-1990*, Bjereld finds that it was possible to combine the roles of mediator/bridge-builder and moral critic during the Cold War. Political scientist and diplomat Krister Wahlbäck, by contrast, sees a major conflict between these two roles. See Krister Wahlbäck, “Från medlare till kritiker,” *Internationella studier*, No. 3 (1973). As a consequence of this role conflict, the Swedish policy of nonalignment and neutrality comes into question, and this reduces Sweden’s chances of being entrusted with more mediation assignments in future.

⁶ For a good overview of the research position, see Harald Runblom, “Sverige och förintelsen i ett internationellt perspektiv: Karaktäristik av ett forskningsläge,” in Stig Ekman, ed., *Forskning om nazismen, nazityskland och förintelsen: en översikt* (Stockholm: Vetenskapsrådet, 2001).

⁷ An account of this positive atmosphere, particularly in the United States is given by U.S. historian John Lewis Gaddis in his *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941-1947* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973).

was being divided into blocs. On the Western side, planning began for the setting up of a Western defense system, culminating in the formation of NATO in 1949. In parallel with the formation of NATO, economic and political cooperation intensified on the Western side under the guise of the Marshall plan. One aspect of this economic cooperation consisted of economic warfare against the Soviet Union and the Eastern European states, the so-called embargo policy, which was aimed at preventing these countries from obtaining strategically vital products.⁸ During the initial phase of the Cold War, Sweden attempted to stand clear of these international political divisions. The Swedish government wished to cooperate and conduct trade with the whole world, including the Soviet Union. This policy also encompassed a willingness to uphold good neighborly relations with the Soviet Union as part of the effort to build up confidence in Sweden's policy of neutrality.⁹ The United States, in its capacity as the leading superpower on the Western side, strove to induce Sweden to join NATO and take part in the economic warfare against Eastern European communism. As the Cold War intensified, the U.S. tightened up its position vis-à-vis Sweden. The Swedish government confronted a dilemma: if it did not accept the U.S. military strategic and trade principles, it faced the risk of being subjected to discriminatory measures. The Swedish government feared that such discrimination would lead to a reduction of imports of key military equipment that was considered necessary for building up the strong military defense that the policy of military nonalignment was deemed to require. Sweden, wishing to belong to the West both economically and culturally, while intending at the same time to hold on to its policy of nonalignment, soon faced a couple of crucial choices. In order to retain its Western affiliation and to be able to purchase military equipment and receive classified technical information concerning weapons systems from the United States, Sweden had to modify its policy

⁸ On the Marshall plan and its consequences for Sweden, see Thomas Jonter, *Socialiseringen som kom av sig: Sverige, oljan och USAs planer på en ny ekonomisk världsordning 1945-1949*. Diss. (Stockholm: Carlsson, 1994), Charles Silva and Thomas Jonter, eds., *Sverige inför en ny världsordning, 1945-1950: Formativa år för svenskutrikespolitik?* (Stockholm: Utrikespolitiska institutet, 1995), Charles Silva, *Keep Them Strong, Keep Them Friendly: Swedish-American Relations and the Pax Americana, 1948-1952*. Diss. (Stockholm: Akademiförlaget, 1999), Cay Sevón, *Visionen om Europa: Svensk neutralitet och europeisk återuppbyggnad 1945-1948*. Diss., *Bibliotheca Historica* 3 (Helsinki: Suomen historiallinen seura, 1995).

⁹ Birgit Karlsson, "Sveriges relationer till Östeuropa 1945-1950," in Silva and Jonter, eds., *Sverige inför en ny världsordning, 1945-1950*.

of nonparticipation in military alliances. Once NATO had been formed in 1949, the United States ceased to try to pressure Sweden into joining the military alliance.¹⁰ On the other hand, the U.S. demanded more cooperation and accommodation from the Swedes in the security policy area. The upshot was a broadened defense-policy cooperation arrangement between the two states. Sweden took part in the Marshall Plan, and also joined the embargo policy, but arrangements were made for Sweden to be able to continue its policy of nonalignment.¹¹

In official communications during the Cold War, successive Swedish governments asserted that no military cooperation was taking place with either NATO or the United States. But research and official investigations carried out in the last few years have revealed that Sweden in fact pursued far-reaching cooperation with the Western European powers and the United States since the late 1940s. For example, the Swedish navigation system was coordinated with NATO's system, Swedish airfields were adjusted to be able to accommodate U.S. bombers returning from possible bombing raids over Soviet territory, military technology was secretly transferred to Sweden, and Sweden and the United States cooperated in the area of military intelligence throughout the Cold War.¹² In 1952 and 1962, respectively, two agreements were signed between Sweden and the United States regarding cooperation in the areas of war equipment and information technology. For example, the Swedish army bought and manufactured under license several U.S. rocket systems, such as the Falcon, the Sidewinder and the Hawk.¹³

This security policy brought Sweden a greater measure of independence compared with countries that opted to join NATO. Sweden was able to conduct a more independent and outspoken foreign policy than it would have been able to do had it been a member of NATO. Within the framework of the United Nations, Sweden was able to pursue an independent policy that not infrequently clashed with the intentions of the great powers. In the research literature, this policy has been characterized as *activist*.¹⁴

¹⁰ Silva, *Keep Them Strong, Keep Them Friendly*.

¹¹ Karlsson, "Sveriges relationer till Östeuropa 1945-1950."

¹² Two government commissions have investigated the Swedish-U.S. military technological cooperation during the Cold War (SOU, 1994; SOU, 2002).

¹³ Mikael Nilsson, *Tools of Hegemony: Military Technology and Swedish-American Security Relations 1945-1962* (Stockholm: Santérus Academic Press, 2007).

¹⁴ Sten Ottosson, *Svensk självbild under kalla kriget: En studie av stats- och utrikesministrarnas bild av Sverige 1950-1969* (Stockholm: Utrikespolitiska institutet, 2003), p. 9.

Throughout the period of the Cold War, Sweden also played a major role as an international mediator and bridge-builder. As examples, one can mention Folke Bernadotte's mediation assignment in the Israeli–Arab conflict in 1948, Foreign Minister Östen Undén's proposals of nuclear-free zones and nuclear disarmaments talks between the United States and Soviet Union in the 1950s and 1960s, Olof Palme's mediating role in the war between Iraq and Iran, and Swedish foreign minister Sten Andersson's efforts to mediate between the PLO and Israel during the 1980s. Dag Hammarskjöld's appointment as Secretary-General of the United Nations is another example of Sweden's prominent role on the international scene, as is the fact that two Swedes, Sigvard Eklund and Hans Blix, were entrusted with leading the work of the UN atomic energy agency, the IAEA. There is no doubt but that Sweden's policy of neutrality was a significant factor contributing to the fact that Swedes were appointed to these positions and given these assignments. The Cold War division between the Warsaw Pact and NATO made it all but impossible to give top positions to persons from countries belonging to either bloc.¹⁵

The Swedish nuclear weapons program

In line with the goal of the Swedish security policy of building a strong and independent military defense, Sweden started to look into the possibility of manufacturing nuclear weapons in the end of 1940s. The military and leading Social Democrats in the government argued that the nation needed a strong defense equipped with nuclear weapons in order to uphold her neutrality policy, which meant at that time to defend itself against Soviet Union. Co-operation was initiated between the Swedish National Defence Research Institute (Försvarets forskningsanstalt, FOA) and AB Atomenergi, a government-controlled company that was created in 1947 in order to be responsible for the industrial development of civilian nuclear energy. One of the most important first tasks was to acquire and extract uranium. To extract uranium from primarily kolm-type shales was the basis of the plan for self-sufficiency that Sweden early on decided to fulfill. To reach

¹⁵ It also bears emphasizing that the period when Sweden had a right-wing government, 1976–82, did not bring about any significant changes in Swedish foreign policy. Sweden's critical and activist stance was even strengthened during the right-wing period of rule, according to Bjereld, *Kritiker eller medlare? Sveriges utrikespolitiska roller 1945-1990*, p. 73.

self-sufficiency in the nuclear energy supply was an obvious aim for Swedish politicians and researchers shortly after WWII. For this reason, Sweden chose a technology where the reactors could be loaded with natural uranium to be used without preceding enrichment. Sweden was considered to have one of the largest uranium deposits in the Western world, albeit of low-grade quality.¹⁶ This opportunity constituted the foremost prerequisite to reaching self-sufficiency in the nuclear energy field. Consequently, a reactor technology was chosen in which heavy water could be used as the moderator. In 1949, a more extensive collaboration agreement was signed for continued research and development work between FOA and AB Atomenergi.¹⁷ In general terms, the agreement meant that FOA should be responsible for overall nuclear weapons research. For this reason, FOA was in charge of the construction of the nuclear device and the study of its effects. Additionally, AB Atomenergi should deliver basic information on possible production of weapons-grade plutonium and investigate the possibility of production or procurement of inspection-free heavy water (i.e. without inspections by the supplying country). AB Atomenergi should also build reactors and a reprocessing plant and manufacture fuel elements to be used in the reactors for a production of weapons-grade plutonium. In other words, the civil nuclear energy program should be designed in such a way that it could include a Swedish manufacture of nuclear weapons, if the Swedish Parliament took a decision in favor of such an alternative. With a certain technique—which implies frequent changes of fuel batches—even weapons-grade plutonium could be obtained in combination with energy production for civilian purposes.¹⁸

During the 1950s and 1960s, Sweden invested heavily in this military program. Two reactors were built in order to produce plutonium of weapons-grade quality, a uranium plant and a fuel element facility was set up and a program for weapons carrier systems was designed. As early as 1955

¹⁶ Gunnar Skogmar, *De nya malmfälten. Det svenska uranet och inledningen till efterkrigstidens neutralitetspolitik*, Research programme Sverige under kalla kriget, Arbetsrapport nr 3, 1997.

¹⁷ "Överenskommelse," October 30, 1950, FOA archives, H 129.

¹⁸ Thomas Jonter, *Sverige, USA och kärnenergin: Framväxten av en svensk kärnämneskontroll 1945-1995*, SKI Report 99:21, May 1999; *Sweden and the Bomb: The Swedish Plans to Acquire Nuclear Weapons, 1945-1972*, SKI Report 01:33, September 2001; *Nuclear Weapons Research in Sweden: Co-operation Between Civilian and Military Research, 1947-1972*, SKI Report 02:18, May 2002.

FOA drew the conclusion that it was technically feasible from then on for Sweden to produce a nuclear weapon, given access to plutonium.¹⁹ Technically the plutonium question had been solved, although it would be modified with time. It was equally clear to FOA what steps would have to be taken in the production process and approximately what the project as a whole would cost in terms of capital and scientific and technical expertise. A nuclear weapons program with the goal of producing 100 so called tactical nuclear weapons emerged on the FOA's drawing boards.²⁰

Plans for Swedish nuclear weapons began to be discussed openly around the middle of the 1950s. Earlier it had been a question for a smaller circle of politicians, officers and scientists. A serious debate started, however, following a study by the Supreme Commander that was presented in 1954. In the report, the Supreme Commander maintained that Sweden needed a nuclear weapons capability in order to defend its neutrality.²¹ The resistance to these weapons plans started to grow within and outside the government and parliament, and became progressively stronger from the end of 1950s onwards. In the beginning of the 1950s, the Prime Minister, Tage Erlander, the Minister of Defense, Per Edwin Sköld, and many leading social democrats were in favor of these nuclear plans. According to polls that were made, so was the majority of Swedes during the 1950s. However, in the 1960s Prime Minister Erlander and many in the political elite changed their minds, and became increasingly skeptical about equipping the Swedish defense with nuclear weapons. The polls from the 1960s also reflected a drastic change in the public's views on acquiring nuclear weapons. In the 1960s it was more common for Swedes to be against a nuclear option.²²

Why then did Sweden give up its nuclear weapons program? Firstly, manufacturing nuclear weapons on the basis of a wholly domestic produc-

¹⁹ Torsten Magnusson, "Utredning av betingelserna för framställning av atomvapen i Sverige," November 25, 1955, FOA archives, 87-H 163:1-21A.

²⁰ Until the summer of 1955 the expectation was that the bombs would have to contain at least 10 kg of plutonium or 18 kg of U-235. At the Geneva conference, certain calculations were released concerning the critical mass of a device that meant that the Swedish National Defence Research Institute's calculations had to be heavily revised.

²¹ *Alltjämt starkt försvar. ÖB-förslaget 1954* (ÖB 54); *Kontakt med krigsmakten* (Stockholm: Försvarsstaben, 1954), pp. 9–10.

²² Anna-Greta Nilsson Hoadley, *Atomvapnet som partiproblem: Sveriges socialdemokratiska kvinnoförbund och frågan om svenskt atomvapen 1955-1960*, Diss. Stockholm studies in history 40 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1989).

tion cycle is a technically complicated and time-consuming process. As a consequence of the problematic and time-consuming efforts to integrate civilian and military nuclear objectives, critical assessments of and resistance against the nuclear weapons plans had time to form and be articulated in different sectors of Swedish society, especially in those sectors where critical political and technical decisions were made. The fact that Sweden was a democratic state made this political resistance possible. The vigorous public debate of the nuclear weapons issue prompted leading politicians to rethink their positions and try out new arguments in regard to Sweden's defense planning, and this led to a profound change in the way that nuclear weapons use was regarded. Secondly, the international nuclear disarmament discussions and the emerging nonproliferation regime that started to emerge from mid-1950s also affected the Swedish public discussion and strengthened the arguments against Swedish nuclear weapons acquisitions. Thirdly, the choice to integrate the production of nuclear weapons within the civilian nuclear energy program was that Sweden, in spite of its intentions, became dependent on U.S. technology. This technological dependence increased over time, and afforded the United States the opportunity to steer Sweden away from using its civilian program for the production of weapons-grade plutonium. All these influences led to a gradual process among the political elite of Sweden of backing down from the nuclear weapons option. When the Swedish parliament voted for the signing of the NPT in 1968, the decision was based on unanimous support from all political p

In parallel with the process of backing down from the nuclear weapons plans at the beginning of the 1960s, the Swedish government invested much political will into creating a legal framework for preventing the spread of nuclear weapons. At the United Nations and through regional cooperative efforts, Sweden advanced proposals aimed at creating nuclear-weapons-free-zones and achieving nuclear disarmament. For example, in October, 1961, foreign minister Östen Undén put forward a proposal to create a "non-atomic club" in the UN General Assembly, the so-called Undén Plan. The idea was for states that did not have nuclear weapons to commit themselves to "abstain from developing, acquiring or, on another party's account, storing such weapons." On December 4, 1962, the General Assembly adopted a resolution based on Undén's proposal. The Undén Plan should be understood as forming part of a more ambitious strategy aimed at reaching the

objective of full and comprehensive nuclear disarmament. By having the non-nuclear armed countries form a “non-atomic club,” the idea was to pressure the nuclear powers into entering negotiations on a nuclear test ban treaty, in itself an important step on the path towards complete nuclear disarmament.²³ The Irish proposal to establish a non-proliferation treaty in 1961, which also was transformed into a UN resolution, was well supported by Swedish efforts to move in the same direction. During the subsequent negotiations that lead to the NPT in 1968, Sweden played a most active role.²⁴

It is fair to say that before 1968, Sweden had a double-track policy where both the nuclear weapons option and the non-proliferation option were followed and investigated with, for obvious reasons, varying impact at different stages. If the efforts to create an international legal framework with the aim of preventing the spread of nuclear weapons came to nothing, Sweden might have to acquire nuclear weapons. However, after the signing of the NPT in 1968, Sweden became one of the strongest supporters of the treaty. In the creation of the export control regimes Zangger Committee and NSG, Sweden was one of the most engaged states. Since then, Sweden has signed and ratified all important treaties and agreements and has taken up seats in all vital organizations within the NPT regime. Sweden has been a great contributor to a number of international non-proliferation efforts to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. Worth mentioning is the work at the NPT Review Conferences, where Sweden has been part of a group of countries, the G-11, which jointly prepared position papers in advance of the meeting, including on the treaty’s disarmament provision. As a founding member of the “New Agenda Coalition” (NAC) that called on the nuclear weapon states to commit to their disarmament obligations under Article VI of the NPT, Sweden has been an active partner. In one of the actions taken at NPT Review Conference in 2000, the NAC proposed the so-called 13 Steps, with the aim of meeting the disarmament obligations contained in Article VI. Moreover, Sweden has been actively involved in multilateral forums,

²³ Stellan Andersson, *Den första grinden: Svensk nedrustningspolitik, 1961-1963* (Stockholm: Santérus, 2004), p. 86.

²⁴ Paul Davis, “Giving up the Bomb: Motivations and incentives,” *International Commission on Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament*, May 2009, p. 6; Jan Prawitz, *From Nuclear Option to Non-Nuclear Promotion: The Swedish Case*, Research Report (Stockholm: Swedish Institute of International Affairs, 1995).

especially the Conference on Disarmament (CD) and the Hague Code of Conduct against missile proliferation. The CD was initially established as the Ten Nation Committee on Disarmament in 1960, and transformed into the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee, with Sweden as a member, in 1961. Sweden has most actively contributed to all the major disarmament treaties negotiated by the CD.²⁵ In the beginning of the 1990s Sweden has been deeply involved in projects, together with the United States and other states, to assist Russia and former Soviet Union states in developing nuclear security and safety infrastructures.²⁶

A New Strategy for a Swedish Activist Foreign Policy is Needed

Is the Swedish nonaligned policy really a dead project in the post-Cold War period due to the membership of EU? According to voices heard in the public debate and according to the government's foreign policy declaration, the new Europe that is taking shape, including an enlarged European Union, necessitates increased security-political cooperation with other countries on Sweden's part. There is reason to believe that the official declaration of the death of the Swedish policy of neutrality is greatly exaggerated. But if it is to survive, there will have to be a profound reorientation of the current foreign and security policy. A strategy needs to be formulated which will define new tasks for a new era for Sweden's policy of neutrality, one which would allow Sweden to continue to play the role of bridge-builder, mediator and moral critic. Of course, the European Union and the new peace order being constructed in Europe would form an important starting point for this strategy-creating work. And Sweden must surely cooperate with NATO when it comes to strengthening the security policy structures that have been erected in Europe since the fall of the Berlin Wall. But instead of reacting passively to the new Europe taking shape and to the expanded role of NATO in the Baltic Sea area, Swedish politicians should ask themselves the inescapable question: in what way may Sweden *best* contribute to more peaceful development in the surrounding world? The answer is not necessarily through

²⁵ Bergenäs and Sabatini, "The Rise of a White Knight State."

²⁶ Sarmite Andersson and Thomas Jonter, "Lessons Taught and Lessons Learned in the Swedish Program to Improve Education in Nuclear Non-Proliferation in Former Soviet Union," paper presented at the Pacific Northwest International Conference on Global Nuclear Security – the Decade Ahead, April 11–16, 2010, Portland, Oregon, USA.

striving for NATO membership or for a common European Union military defense. To be sure, the times have changed and it would be naïve to assume that it would be possible to pursue an identical policy today, given the fact that we live in a different world with different problems and axes of conflicts. Nevertheless, there are still strong reasons to hold on to the policy of nonalignment, with the option of neutrality in the event of war, since such a policy may benefit the continued work of European integration and strengthen a new peace order. Sweden, with its unique competence as a bridge-builder and critical voice, may in fact be in a position to contribute more to these efforts as an independent force than as a member of either NATO or a future common European defense system.

In the Swedish public debate, the EU and NATO are often misleadingly equated with one another. To be sure, most EU states are members of NATO, but Finland, Ireland, Sweden and Austria remain nonaligned. Conversely, there are also NATO member states that are not part of the EU: the United States, Norway and Turkey. In other words, deepened EU integration does *not* necessarily mean that Sweden also has to embrace NATO membership. Swedish NATO membership remains unlikely against the backdrop of the values and the longstanding tradition that have underpinned Sweden's security policy since at least 1918. Rhetorically, one could state the case for Swedish neutrality as follows: If we managed to stay out of NATO when the security situation was truly alarming, as was the case during the Cold War, why wouldn't we do so today when there is no imminent threat against our security and territorial integrity?

If we study the motives underlying Sweden's security policy since the fall of the Berlin Wall, and compare them with those that informed the country's policies during the Cold War, the differences are not as significant as the foreign policy declaration would appear to assume. The current motives are basically identical to the four motives that undergirded the independent foreign policy pursued by Sweden during the Cold War. Even today, the primary objective of Sweden's security policy is to keep the country out of war. Sweden has acted as a bridge-builder between warring parties since the end of the Cold War. Nor has Sweden ceased voicing public criticism against the actions of other states as part of its foreign policy. But the criticism is of a different kind than during the Cold War. These days, public

pronouncements by Swedish foreign policy officials are mostly concerned with human rights, and Sweden's policy does not appear to deviate from that of other Western countries in that regard.²⁷ In other words, the present criticisms are more aligned with predominantly Western views of democracy and human rights, and for this reason are less critical of the West's own policies. Nor has Sweden ceased providing independent aid and assistance to afflicted regions and peoples. On the other hand, Sweden does not deviate from the patterns evinced by other rich Western countries in that regard either, although it probably receives more refugees than most other EU countries. All four motives undergirding Sweden's position of neutrality thus remain vitally important. The difference between the present situation and the days of the Cold War is that this position is no longer described with the words, "Non-participation in military alliances in peacetime aiming at neutrality in the event of war," but, rather, as "non-participation in military alliances" only. The problem today is that Sweden is not making use of the room for maneuver that it actually obtains within the EU. Sweden could be playing a politically much more active role than it does. To be sure, Sweden must coordinate its foreign policy with other EU states, but that does not mean that it has to follow the mainstream and merely adjust itself to what appears to be the dominant position. But the present center-conservative Swedish government, just like its social-democratic predecessor, has chosen not to view the new geopolitical world now taking shape as an inspiring challenge for its traditional foreign policy. The disappearance of the Soviet Union and Sweden's joining the European Union, and the many repercussions of these events, appear to have derailed Sweden's foreign and security policy in many ways. Owing to its independent position and its tradition of activism, Sweden should in fact be able to play an important political role in the years ahead. And there is no lack of important matters to deal with for a country willing to take on such a role. For example, the newly resurgent Russia under Medvedev and Putin, which is acting more aggressively towards the West than before, is one such security problem that urgently needs to be dealt with. Sweden could act as a bridge-builder between Russia, on the one hand, and the new NATO member countries, NATO and

²⁷ Kristian Julin, "Svensk utrikespolitik efter det kalla krigets slut: En jämförande studie av svensk utrikespolitisk kritik före och efter murens fall," Department of Economic History, Stockholm University, Unpubl. paper (Autumn 2003).

the West, on the other. The role of acting as a moral engine in the event that relations between NATO and Russia deteriorate even further would also be an important aspect of such a nonaligned position. Moreover, owing to its position of military nonalignment, Sweden could, in various international contexts and forums, pursue policies that would not be seen as favoring any particular military alliance. Sweden could then also strive to make sure that the rest of the world, not just Europe and the United States, be allowed to take part in the formation of global collective security structures.

Other serious issues that could represent tasks to be dealt with for a country acting as an independent bridge-builder include climate change and resource- and energy-related issues, areas in which poorer countries are particularly hard hit. In the field of disarmament and nuclear non-proliferation, Sweden could become more engaged with the international efforts to convince North Korea to abandon its nuclear weapons program. With its long-standing experience, expertise and competence in this field, Sweden could contribute positively in the process of persuading North Korea to abolish its nuclear weapons program and allow further IAEA inspections on its soil. There is no real legal or political restriction that would hinder such a Swedish extended engagement due to EU membership or other obligations. In fact, the position “non-participation in military alliances” that is formulated in the government’s foreign policy declaration allows such an active role. Sweden is one of the few Western states to have an embassy in Pyongyang, which could be used more actively and other Swedish experts could be involved in a more engaged way. However, so far, the center-conservative government and Foreign Minister Carl Bildt do not seem to be interested in playing such a role. Lately, however, there are signs that the present government is moving in the direction of a more engaged non-proliferation policy. Bildt has taken steps that might be the beginning of a new trend in the present Swedish government’s security policy. In an article in the *New York Times*, he and the Polish Foreign Minister Radek Sikorski argue for an elimination of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe and call upon Russia to withdraw its nuclear forces close to Europe and to destroy its nuclear

storage facilities.²⁸ In a speech delivered at the Global Zero Summit, initiated by President Obama and President Medvedev, Bildt gave strong support for the non-proliferations efforts²⁹ and the same could be said about Sweden's engagement in the Obama initiative to promote a nuclear free world during that was held in the spring of 2010. This new interest in non-proliferation issues could, hopefully, lead to a more active Swedish role in North Korea.³⁰

²⁸ Carl Bildt and Radek Sikorski, "Next, the Tactical Nukes," *New York Times*, February 1, 2010, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/02/opinion/02iht-edbildt.html> (accessed November 30, 2010).

²⁹ "Remarks By Carl Bildt at the Global Zero Summit," February 2, 2009, <http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/12529/a/138949> (accessed November 30, 2010).

³⁰ Thomas Jonter, "The Swedish Plans to Acquire Nuclear Weapons, 1965-1968: An Analysis of Technical Preparations," *Science & Global Security: The Technical Basis for Arms Control, Disarmament, and Nonproliferation Initiatives*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (2010).

Deterring a Nuclear but Insecure North Korea: Hurdles in Coping with North Korea's Nuclear Issues

Kyung Joo Jeon¹

The gravest threat from North Korea (DPRK) is its nuclear program. Much controversy regarding whether or not the North actually had the ability to develop nuclear weapons finally ended when the North's regime conducted its first underground nuclear test on October 9, 2006. As the North's second nuclear test on May 25, 2009 reaffirmed, the North's consistent pursuit of its nuclear ambition, regardless of increasing international pressures, has led to North Korea being labeled an official enemy to the world along with Iran.

Despite multilateral international efforts like the Six-Party Talks over the past decade, none of these measures have been successful in resolving North Korea's nuclear issues. Negotiations began in 1993 and are currently in stalemate as of 2010. Why is the international community becoming less and less capable of dealing with North Korea? Why are North Korean nuclear issues unlikely to be resolved despite the enduring efforts of five neighboring countries and the rest of the world? Why have sanctions been regarded as "not too weak but not too harsh?"

This paper seeks to address these questions. Briefly, the answer is two-fold. First, the international community's counteractions against the North Korean nuclear program have become inherently fragile due to the common challenge faced by regional actors: North Korea is seemingly on the verge of collapse. Neighboring countries, i.e., South Korea, the U.S., China, Japan, and Russia do not want a sudden collapse of North Korea, due to its dangerous spillover effects. While all of them cannot accept the perpetuation of a nuclear North Korea, they are aware of the fact that effective options in terms of dealing with the nuclear issue may accompany serious risks if the North is to remain stable. Second, there are several operational discords among North Korea's five neighboring countries in coping with the North

¹ The author wishes to thank Nick Bishop, ISDP, for his valuable comments on earlier drafts of this article. The views in this paper are my own, and should not be construed as representing the opinions of KIDA.

because they have different threat perceptions, which lead to different reactions. In consequence, they have hardly developed a unified collective action plan regarding North Korea, making their counteraction ineffective. We have seen the empirical evidence of this impotency for years; pertinent examples will be discussed in the main text.

This paper first introduces a nuclear but insecure North Korea, a tricky problem which is common for its five neighbors. Then it identifies four discords among them in dealing with North Korea. In doing so, this paper illuminates how difficult it is to come up with a common and effective strategy for dealing with the North's nuclear weapons, and draws the conclusion that any policy which is narrowly focused singularly on the problem of the nuclear program is doomed to failure.

A Nuclear but Insecure North Korea

Many observers tend to see the North Korean nuclear issues as being separate from the current situation of the regime, but in practice the latter is the key to answering the question of why North Korea sticks to its nuclear policy and also why the international community cannot dissuade North Korea from possessing nukes. The international community has been deterred not only by a nuclear North Korea, but also by an insecure North Korea likely to collapse, which itself serves as a bomb threatening an even more dramatic situation than the threat of nuclear weapons. Thus, the North finds itself in a bizarrely secure position: most countries despise the DPRK, but no one wants it to collapse.²

An "Insecure" North Korea

More important than that North Korea is nuclear is that the nuclear North is becoming insecure. The situation is making the problem of the North's nukes even more problematic. When North Korea conducted its first nuclear test in 2006, its pursuit of its nuclear ambition was not as serious and real as it is today. Its overt claims that it was 'going nuclear' served as an effective leveraging tool to earn more concessions from the U.S. and South Korea at that time.

² Jennifer Lind, "The Once and Future Kim: Succession and Stasis in North Korea," *Foreign Affairs*, October 25, 2010.

However, North Korea's commitment to its nuclear weapons program today should be viewed in relation to regime survival.³ These two factors are inseparable. Kim Jong Il's regime seemingly learned that its nuclear program is its best survival strategy. Not only does it preserve North Korea's political support, it acts as a deterrent and threat to the outside world. As a result, it continues to develop its nuclear program and provocative actions regardless of incentives and favorable gestures from the U.S. It is very unlikely that the North Korean regime will reverse its decision and move away from its nuclear status.

In the meanwhile, North Korea is increasingly insecure, with a two-fold challenge that may lead the regime to collapse. First of all, as Kim Jong Il is reported to have suffered a stroke in August 2008, the regime has to spur the transition to a new generation of leadership that was largely unplanned. This sudden salience of the succession issue must have embarrassed the North's regime, since Kim Jong Il endured a long period of apprenticeship before taking over from his own father, Kim Il Sung. Although Kim Jong Il's son Jong Un has been hastily groomed as successor and Kim Jong Il has started to multiply propaganda activities to build his son's authority, experts doubt this young boy's capacity to replace his father in the immediate future should Kim Jong Il's health deteriorate further.

Two worst-case scenarios are a contested succession and succession failure, both of which could jeopardize the existence of the North Korean state. In order to prevent such situations during the leadership transition period, the leader should acquire a firm legitimacy derived from current and future elites in the regime and also from the North Korean people, since otherwise they might organize a rival group to vie for power. In either case, how a power struggle would play out and who the eventual winner or winners might be is obviously impossible to predict,⁴ but given the fact that power struggles in many underdeveloped countries are frequently protracted for decades, a prolonged, divisive, and potentially violent succession struggle is quite plausible. Spillover effects, such as an exodus of North Koreans and

³ James J. Przystup, "Dealing with the Twin Dangers of Proliferation and Instability," paper presented at the Korea Research Institute for Strategy (KRIS) Symposium on "The Strategic Balance in Northeast Asia and North Korea's Nuclear Armament," July 7, 2009.

⁴ Paul Stares and Joel Wit, *Preparing for Sudden Change in North Korea*, Council Special Report No. 42 (Washington, DC: Council on Foreign Relations, January 2009), p. 13.

loss of control over Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs) are of major concern to regional neighbors.

Second, North Korea is suffering from a severe economic crisis. A sizable part of the North's population lives on the edge of existence.⁵ In 2009, UNICEF reported that between 2003 and 2008, 45 percent of North Korean children under five showed signs of stunted growth due to malnutrition, while 9 percent suffered from wasting and a quarter were underweight.⁶ In the mid-1990s, North Koreans experienced an unprecedented economic crisis, aggravated by a series of natural disasters and the fall of the Soviet Union. Although Kim Jong Il made some enhancements to the economy during the first years of the twenty-first century, North Korea has been in a downward spiral since 2005. The Korea Development Institute (KDI) has claimed that North Korea's economy would continue to plummet in 2010, following a 0.9 percent contraction in 2009. This economic hardship in every household generates a variety of problems, from famine to health care and other infrastructure issues. KDI has also predicted a possible repetition of the level of crisis seen in the 1990s, if this recent downward trend continues.⁷ In May 2010, the World Food Program announced that the drop in international donations for North Korea meant that food stocks would run out by the end of June 2010.⁸

Moreover, the currency reform of November 2009 rather than sparking a partial recovery impaired further any attempts at economic growth. The currency reform, in an attempt to control unauthorized economic activity and to restore the integrity of the socialist system, wiped out the savings of anybody with more than US\$30 to their name, and caused the collapse of the private markets where many bought their food and earned their living.⁹ Reports from North Korea indicated spiraling inflation, food shortages and

⁵ Dick K. Nanto and Emma Chanlett-Avery, "North Korea: Economic Leverage and Policy," *Congressional Research Service 7-5700 (RL32493)*, June 4, 2009, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL32493.pdf>

⁶ Justin McCurry, "North Korea facing health and food crisis, says Amnesty International," *The Guardian*, July 15, 2010.

⁷ Kang Seung-woo, "N. Korea runs risk of economic crisis again," *The Korea Times*, July 6, 2010.

⁸ Bomi Lim, "North Korea's food aid will run out next month, UN Agency says," *Bloomberg*, May 3, 2010, <http://www.businessweek.com/news/2010-05-03/north-korea-s-food-aid-will-run-out-next-month-un-agency-says.html>

⁹ Barbara Demick, "North Korea's giant leap backwards," *The Guardian*, July 17, 2010.

public unrest. Compared to prices before the reform, the cost of rice had more than doubled in December 2009 to KPW50 per kg.¹⁰ Without access to markets and with state stores displaying empty shelves, many people were forced to pay exorbitant prices for food from black marketers.¹¹ The aid group also reported that thousands of people had starved to death in South Pyongan province between mid-January and mid-February 2010.¹²

Although less plausible than contested succession or succession failure, civil unrest or upheaval is not out of the question especially if the economic situation becomes worse. "North Korea has failed to provide for the most basic health and survival needs of its people," said Catherine Baber, Amnesty International's deputy director for the Asia-Pacific region.¹³ Moreover, since the currency reform, many newspapers reported that the North's population has been angry and dissatisfied with the authorities. The fact that North Korean authorities lifted the ban on free markets at the end of December 2009 and in 2010 allowed markets to operate more freely illustrates the fact that the regime has real concern over the possibility of revolution from below. Given that ordinary North Korean citizens have taken the full blunt of the worsening economic conditions for decades, they might finally be running out of patience.¹⁴

Since the current situation in North Korea is already very fragile, these scenarios are not imaginary. There is a growing possibility that one of these two drivers will eventually endanger the regime's survival and if they were combined, North Korea's collapse would be inevitable.

When an Insecure North Korea has "nukes"

However, even worse is that as North Korea becomes more vulnerable, it acts more aggressively and has greater incentives to develop its nuclear programs. As the succession issue and economic collapse make its future uncertain, North Korea believes it needs to be armed with nuclear weapons

¹⁰ KPW stands for North Korea Won.

¹¹ Lee Hyo-sik, "N. Korea Facing Worst Economic Crisis," *The Korea Times*, July 17, 2010.

¹² Good Friends, *North Korea Today*, No. 335 (March 2010), quoted in Amnesty International, *The Crumbling State of Health Care in North Korea* (London: Amnesty International Publications, 2010), p. 8.

¹³ Justin McCurry, "North Korea facing health and food crisis, says Amnesty International," *The Guardian*, July 15, 2010.

¹⁴ Lee, "N. Korea Facing Worst Economic Crisis."

to defend itself from internal discredit and external hostility. By engaging in missile and nuclear tests and a series of other belligerent actions including the sinking of the *Cheonan*, a South Korean naval vessel, North Korea praises its own alleged accomplishments in an attempt to maintain domestic legitimacy and prevent internal division. Due to such bellicosity, neighboring countries do not dare to implement any coercive actions against the North. As a result, despite international pressure with multi-layered sanctions, it is highly unlikely that North Korea will “abandon all nuclear weapons and return to the NPT.”

Instability increases the possibility of the loss of WMD control and also the risk of proliferation on the Korean peninsula. Instability could also invite miscalculation and unintended consequences for other powers to deal with WMDs.¹⁵ What if a guerilla group took control of the WMDs, posing a direct threat towards South Korea or the U.S.? What if non-state actors exchange the North’s nuclear material or technologies with external terrorist groups? What if the North’s nuclear program were exposed to people who are ignorant of its risks? In other words, a stable North Korea with nuclear weapons or an unstable North Korea without nuclear weapon is much more tractable.¹⁶ A nuclear but insecure North Korea might be difficult to cope with even more than a nuclear and robust North Korea.

Moreover, such loss of WMD control could be the worst-ever scenario, by inviting neighboring countries to enter into North Korean territory. The U.S. military may come to view intervention in the North as inevitable. Michael O’Hanlon has stated that “the notion that somehow we could defer to a single ally [South Korea] of relatively modest means in stabilizing a country holding 8 to 10 nuclear weapons at unknown locations within its territory is illusory and irresponsible.”¹⁷ O’Hanlon sees South Korea as having little capacity and expertise to manage a crisis involving WMDs. Whatever the reason for intervention, the U.S. must urge China and Russia to work together on this issue. Without their cooperation, the U.S. may be risk-

¹⁵ Przystup, “Dealing with the Twin Dangers of Proliferation and Instability.”

¹⁶ The former would allow hope for a diplomatic resolution of the nuclear crisis since it would not view the possession of nuclear weapons in the context of its survival; the latter’s sudden collapse would not have the total loss of WMD control as a possible outcome.

¹⁷ Michael O’Hanlon, “North Korea Collapse Scenarios,” Brookings Institution, Brookings Northeast Asia Commentary, No. 30 (June 2009), http://www.brookings.edu/opinions/2009/06_north_korea_ohanlon.aspx

ing a tragic repeat of the same geopolitical dynamics that led to the Korean War in 1950s, unleashing again a contest between the U.S. and China.¹⁸

Although many analysts have placed heavy emphasis on the necessity of planning for all contingencies related to the North, especially its WMDs, preparation itself is extremely difficult since intelligence on the nature and scope of its nuclear program and facilities borders on nonexistent.¹⁹ Thus, the only alternative appears to be managing the current situation and pursuing a steady change so that worst-case scenarios can be avoided, despite the North's very intractable and recalcitrant attitude towards the outside world. This dilemma explains why the U.S.-ROK alliance has never initiated any offensive military action against North Korea and why sanctions are deemed viable options.

As Jennifer Lind has pointed out, as insecure as the country appears, the North would not face serious external pressure because "North Korea's greatest deterrent lies not in its power but in its weakness."²⁰ The nuclear armed but insecure North Korea is one main reason why the U.S.-ROK alliance has never attempted countermeasures comparable to those of North Korea despite the North's long history of violent acts against South Koreans. The U.S.-ROK alliance should aim to put an end to the North's provocative nature and nuclear programs without causing an outright collapse. Although the international community has learned that the North's belligerent behavior is a signal that its regime feels threatened and unstable, it still fails to take effective multilateral action against the North.

Operational Discords among North Korea's Five Neighbors

The second reason why the international community has failed to put a significant amount of pressure on North Korea to end its nuclear program is that relevant regional actors have no unified action plan. Since the nuclear North is dangerously insecure, the international community, including South Korea, the United States, China, Russia and Japan, has adopted measures that are inherently weak. And as countries take their own unilateral measures they are often in conflict with one another.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Przystup, "Dealing with the Twin Dangers of Proliferation and Instability."

²⁰ Lind, "The Once and Future Kim: Succession and Stasis in North Korea."

Sanctions against North Korea

To date, there are four United Nations Security Council resolutions directly targeted at North Korea. Notable are the latest two, UNSCR 1718 and UNSCR 1874.²¹ First, UNSCR 1718 of October 2006 is a strong resolution passed under Chapter VII, Article 41 of the UN Charter against the North.²² In the aftermath of North Korea's underground nuclear test on October 9, 2006, UNSCR 1718 banned all member states from any trade in major weapons systems, all products related to the production of WMDs, and luxury goods with the North.

However, North Korea's series of provocations in the first half of 2009—including the second nuclear test—underscored the failure of two decades of U.S. and international efforts to stop North Korea's nuclear development.²³ As a result, the latest resolution, UNSCR 1874 of June 2009, expanded the arms embargo on North Korea under UNSCR 1718 to include a ban on all arms sales from North Korea and all arms except small arms or light weapons to North Korea. The ban includes exchanges of WMD or missile-related technology and exports of luxury goods to North Korea.²⁴ The resolution also banned all grants, training or assistance related to the North's proliferation effort.²⁵

While North Korea has apparently felt threatened by international sanctions, Pyongyang was said to even predict international sanctions following the second nuclear test and was prepared to bear the anticipated costs.²⁶ Pyongyang also seemed confident it could largely circumvent those same

²¹ The other two are UNSCR 825 (1993) and UNSCR 1695 (2006).

²² Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter sets out the UN Security Council's powers to maintain peace. It allows the Council to "determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression" and to take military and nonmilitary action to "restore international peace and security."

²³ Scott A. Snyder, et al., "U.S. Policy toward the Korean Peninsula," *Independent Task Force Report No. 64* (New York, NY: Council on Foreign Relations, June 2010), p. 6.

²⁴ Richard Lugar, "Implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 1874," *Congressional Research Service*, October 8, 2010.

²⁵ Stephan Haggard and Marcus Noland, "What To Do about North Korea: Will Sanctions Work?" *Oriental Economist*, July 3, 2009.

²⁶ North Korean diplomats told Chinese foreign ministry officials they expected sanctions after the test, but it would be worth it in the long-run because of the security benefits. Crisis Group interviews, Beijing, July 2009. International Crisis Group, "North Korea under Tightening Sanctions," *Crisis Group Asia Briefing*, No. 101, March 15, 2010, <http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/asia/north-east-asia/north-korea/B101%20North%20Korea%20under%20Tightening%20Sanctions.ashx>

sanctions by way of a complex network of temporary shell companies for international transactions; in any case, the individuals targeted by sanctions do not travel abroad and are very unlikely to hold foreign assets.²⁷

Apart from its imperviousness to international sanctions, North Korea is indirectly benefiting from a situation where relevant countries have shown uneven commitment to the sanctions against the North due to their own interests. While countries are requested to report their implementation to the UN and their cases of noncompliance are scrutinized, UN sanctions have no enforcement and there is much leeway for alternative interpretation of the items included in the sanctions themselves. Notably, China and Russia have taken a minimalist approach to implementing sanctions against North Korea although they hold the key to the successful use of sanctions over the DPRK.²⁸

Regarding financial aid and trade, UNSCR 1874 made exclusions for humanitarian or development purposes. These provisions provide countries, especially China, with great flexibility in deciding if and what assistance will be given to Pyongyang.²⁹ China's economic relations with North Korea are largely unaffected by 1718 nor 1784, as Beijing has no link with the North's WMD programs, while neither resolution has banned the transfer of small or light weapons to North Korea.³⁰ In terms of luxury goods, China's exports of US\$212.2 million in luxury goods to North Korea in 2009 reportedly constituted almost two-thirds of trade in luxury goods based on U.S. and U.K. definitions of such goods.³¹ Russia accounts for US\$4 million and surprisingly a large quantity of the items were shipped from Japan.

Even the U.S. appears to place a higher priority on implementation of UN sanctions on Iran than on North Korea for several reasons,³² while it maintains extensive unilateral sanctions against the North including the most recent bevy of sanctions implemented in August 2010.³³ Moreover,

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Lugar, "Implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 1874."

²⁹ Dingli Shen, "Cooperative Denuclearization toward North Korea," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (October 2009), pp. 175-188.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Lugar, "Implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 1874."

³² For the reasons, see *ibid.*

³³ In August 2010, the U.S. State Department briefed an additional U.S. sanction to pressure North Korea to end its nuclear program. The sanction focuses on illicit activities with which the North is believed to earn hundreds of millions of dollars to provide

even though the U.S. authorities work effectively with relevant U.S. nationals, the sanctions do not accompany any enforcement over entities or individuals of third countries. Robert Einhorn, the State Department's Special Advisor for Nonproliferation and Arms Control, said that the U.S. would make a concerted effort to inform third party countries of the North's illicit activities and persuade them to join the sanctions.

As of September 1, 2010, the sanctions committee had not received reports from 112 of the 192 UN member states, while submitted reports including those by Beijing and Russia are largely incomplete and unsatisfactory.³⁴ Moreover, these sanctions generate some unintended consequences. First, North Korea's dependence on China has grown dramatically in both absolute and relative terms.³⁵ Sino-North trade, which has been rising continuously for the past decade, accounted for US\$2.68 billion, 78.5 percent of all North Korean trades with foreign countries in 2009, despite a slight decrease in the absolute amount compared to the previous year.³⁶ In the first half of 2010, the trade increased again, rising 22.3 percent from the same period in 2009.³⁷ Another consequence is that North Korea has sought out other partners that do not pose sanctions risks or with whom Pyongyang's nuclear and missile interests are aligned, most notably Iran, Syria, Myanmar and potentially Egypt. This shift makes it much more difficult, if not impossible, to pursue an effective sanctions strategy.³⁸

funding for its burgeoning nuclear program. Notable is that the new measures specifically target entities and individuals deeply involved in these activities, and to freeze any of their assets under the control of a U.S. person or bank.

³⁴ Lugar, "Implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 1874."

³⁵ For more information in English on China-North Korea Relations, see Dick K. Nanto, Mark E. Manyin, Kerry Dumbaugh, "China-North Korea Relations," *CRS Report for Congress*, No. 7-5700, January 22, 2010, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R41043.pdf>

³⁶ Korea Trade-Investment Promotion Agency (KOTRA), "The Trend of North Korea's Foreign Trade 2009" (in Korean), KOTRA resources, No. 10-038, July 5, 2010.

³⁷ KOTRA, "NK Economic News Updates" (in Korean), KOTRA official website, November 3, 2010.

³⁸ Stephan Haggard and Marcus Noland, "Sanctioning North Korea: The Political Economy of Denuclearization and Proliferation," *Working Paper Series 09-4*, Peterson Institute for International Economics, July 2009, <http://piee.com/publications/wp/wp09-4.pdf>

ROK's Defense Policy toward the North's Nukes

The three pillars of the ROK's policy towards the North's nukes are non-proliferation, Grand Bargain and extended deterrence. This section seeks to discuss the policy divide over non-proliferation and extended deterrence, where regional actors' stances are relevant. Although all five countries from the Six-Party Talks (minus the North) are fully aware that North Korea continues to threaten the security of South Korea, they exhibit different levels of accord regarding the North's policy. Even within South Korea, there is a large political divide over North Korean policy. Without collective support from the region and domestic consensus, the ROK's policy cannot be effective. First of all, all five countries in the region involved in the Six-Party Talks are believed to have consensus on non-proliferation, if not on counter-proliferation.³⁹ The ROK has been a party to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) as a non-nuclear state since 1975, is scheduled to become a member of the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI)'s core Operational Experts Group (OEG) in November 2010, and will host the Nuclear Security Summit in 2012.⁴⁰ While five countries including China have shown a sincere, although in varying degrees, commitment to the NPT and the Nuclear Security Summit, China has adhered to a position not to participate in the PSI, unlike the other four remaining regional powers.

It is needless to explain the position of the U.S. and Japan on non-proliferation. In recent years, Russia, whose stance on non-proliferation had been inconsistent, has taken a leading role in international non-proliferation efforts as President Dmitry Medvedev has adopted a strong anti-proliferation stance, which was displayed throughout the Washington Nuclear Summit and negotiation process for the new Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) with the U.S. during 2009–10. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of

³⁹ "Nonproliferation denotes activities to deter or dissuade state and non-state actors from acquiring weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Alternatively, counter-proliferation pertains to strategies adopted after proliferation has occurred to compel these actors to give up those unconventional military capabilities." Definition by Michael Nacht, Professor, Goldman School of Public Policy, University of California at Berkeley.

⁴⁰ Key members of the Proliferation Security Initiative have agreed to accept South Korea as a member of its core Operational Experts Group, a decision which will become official at the upcoming OEG meeting in Tokyo, November 2010.

China, however, states in its official homepage that China has not joined the PSI due to concerns that it bypasses international law.⁴¹

Although the U.S., Russia, Japan and, since November 2010, the ROK are members of OEG, Beijing's opposition to the PSI hampers the success of this non-proliferation regime, helping Pyongyang bypass PSI activities on the high seas and bearing a less threatening message to the North.⁴² North Korea continues to use air and land routes through China with little risk of inspection, and luxury goods from China and from other countries transiting through China continue to flow almost unabated to Pyongyang.⁴³ Moreover, China's absence in the PSI seems to provide justification for those countries of highest proliferation concern to remain outside of the initiative under the so-called "Beijing Consensus."⁴⁴ In brief, while ready for active participation in global issues as an emerging super power, China has yet to show itself willing to embroil its national interests in the configuration of a global common good.

In its Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) report 2010, the U.S. Department of Defense officially underscored that it would observe "the provision of extended deterrence to Japan and the Republic of Korea."⁴⁵ Extended deterrence is a U.S. pledge to use its nuclear arsenal in response to any nuclear attack on South Korea.⁴⁶ This pledge serves both South Korea and Japan as part of their own deterrent against the North instead of having to develop their own nuclear arsenals. In June 2009, ROK President Lee Myung-bak and U.S. President Barack Obama reaffirmed "the continuing commitment of extended deterrence, including the U.S. nuclear umbrella."⁴⁷

⁴¹ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China, "The Proliferation Security Initiative," <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjwb/zzjg/jks/kjlc/fkswt/t410725.htm>

⁴² However, it is not North Korea that explains Beijing's opposition to the PSI. China has itself often been involved in the transfer of suspected materials and technologies. In the past China has been accused by the United States of exporting weaponry to Pakistan as well as the rogue regimes in North Korea and Iran. See Eben Kaplan, "Background: The Proliferation Security Initiative," Council on Foreign Relations, October 19, 2006, http://www.cfr.org/publication/11057/proliferation_security_initiative.html?breadcrumb=%2Fpublication%2Fby_type%2Fspecial_report

⁴³ Lugar, "Implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 1874."

⁴⁴ Those countries are Malaysia, Pakistan, and South Africa.

⁴⁵ U.S. Department of Defense, *Quadrennial Defense Review Report*, February 2010, p. 66.

⁴⁶ Snyder et al., *U.S. Policy toward the Korean Peninsula*, p. 37.

⁴⁷ The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, "Joint Vision for the Alliance of the United States of America and the Republic of Korea," June 16, 2009, http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Joint-vision-for-the-alliance-of-the-United-States-of-

In October 2010, the U.S. Defense Secretary Robert Gates pledged that the U.S. would further strengthen extended deterrence for South Korea to deter the North's attempt to destabilize the security of the Korean Peninsula.

However, to date South Korea and Japan have not been very satisfied with the U.S.'s current policy of extended nuclear deterrence. Many South Korean experts deplore the sinking of the *Cheonan* in March 2010 as an explicit example that extended deterrence has been far from effective. Moreover, the fact that a nuclear-tipped missile fired from the North could reach targets in South Korean territory within 3-7 minutes highly underscores the defensive weakness of South Korea, which is also very vulnerable to the North's chemical and biological weapons. Although the U.S. has reiterated its commitments to extended deterrence to reassure South Korea and Japan that U.S. security assurances are credible, without any visible or tangible policies this only reaffirms its ambiguity and poses reasonable doubts about the possibility of an immediate and automatic prevention or counteraction from the U.S. to the North in the outbreak of any nuclear contingencies.

Furthermore, Beijing is irritated and threatened by the notion of extended deterrence along with U.S. military presence in South Korea and Japan. While it understands that Seoul does not perceive extended deterrence beyond the context of North Korea, Beijing is concerned about U.S. intentions in the region, which seemingly seeks to contain and deter the rise of China. As a contrast, the U.S. is concerned that China is currently pursuing its own extensive military modernization program, especially related to missile systems and new technologies that can deliver nuclear weapons.⁴⁸ In fact, Tokyo has also been outspoken about the need to maintain the credibility of extended deterrence, fearing not only the fledgling North Korean nuclear capability, but also a resurgent Russia and China's growing nuclear arsenal.⁴⁹ Therefore, while Japan is very urgent to deter North Korea's nuclear threat, the theater of extended deterrence conceived by the

America-and-the-Republic-of-Korea/

⁴⁸ Defense Secretary Robert Gates, "Nuclear Weapons and Deterrence in the 21st Century," address at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, October 28, 2008, <http://www.mindfully.org/Nucs/2008/Gates-Nuclear-Weapons28oct08.htm>

⁴⁹ Barry M. Blechman, "Extended Deterrence: Cutting Edge of the Debate on Nuclear Policy," The Henry L. Stimson Center, Policy Forum Online 09-066A: August 13, 2009, <http://www.nautilus.org/publications/essays/napsnet/forum/2009-2010/09066Blechman.html>

U.S. tends to focus more on China in cooperation with Japan, not on North Korea in cooperation with South Korea.

The Purpose of the Six-Party Talks

The Six-Party mechanism basically seeks to bind the participating countries together in the shared objective of “the verifiable denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula in a peaceful manner.”⁵⁰ However, because the parties have brought their own interests and perspectives to the talks, the process has been far from fruitful—in fact, many analysts have already declared the process dead. This difference has been a source of confusion and limitation in pushing denuclearization. Yet, they agree upon the judgment that in the absence of alternative measures the talks are the sole viable option for dealing with a nuclear North Korea.

First of all, South Korea seeks the denuclearization and reunification of the Korean Peninsula as the ultimate goal of the Six-Party Talks. That is, South Korea has a comprehensive approach, which considers South–North relations and the future of the Korean Peninsula as well as nuclear issues within the context of the talks. While hoping to avoid sudden regime change in Pyongyang, it believes that the North’s renunciation of its nuclear programs should be integrated into a longer process of achieving peaceful reunification on the Korean Peninsula. Therefore, rather than preoccupation with a specific goal, South Korea regards the talks as a vehicle for a multilateral dialogue with regional actors including the North on the future of the Korean Peninsula. With such a multilateral framework for enhanced negotiation or, alternatively, for enhanced coercion, South Korea can increase its leverage over North Korea more effectively than doing so unilaterally.

Interestingly, China has a stance rather similar to that of South Korea in that it is more concerned with the viability of North Korea’s political system than the U.S. and Japan are.⁵¹ Denuclearization is also important, but Beijing is not as desperate as Washington or Tokyo to achieve this end. Beijing finds the Six-Party process useful in that China can control North Korean escalation tactics on the peninsula to some extent through the talks without

⁵⁰ Scott Snyder, Ralph Cossa, and Brad Glosserman, “Whither the Six-Party Talks?” *USIPeace Briefing*, May 2006, <http://www.usip.org/publications/whither-six-party-talks>

⁵¹ Yong Chool Ha and Chaesung Chun, “North Korea’s Brinkmanship and the Task to Solve the ‘Nuclear Dilemma,’” *Asian Perspective*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (2010), pp. 87–109.

directly distressing Pyongyang. That is, as long as the North Korean nuclear crisis remains “under control,” China has no intention of provoking the North.⁵² And as long as the talks are protracted and in a stalemate, China’s critical role in facilitating the talks increases. In doing so, Beijing can raise its profile as a responsible leader to ensure its influence on the peninsula and prevent proliferation in Northeast Asia.⁵³

According to their official statements, the U.S. is reported to maintain comprehensive, verifiable and irreversible dismantlement (CVID) as the ultimate goal within the framework of the Six-Party Talks.⁵⁴ CVID is an approach that focuses solely on the nuclear aspects, which is not acceptable to North Korea.⁵⁵ Secretary of State Hillary Clinton described the baseline for U.S. policy when she stated that “within the framework of the Six-Party Talks, we are prepared to meet bilaterally with North Korea, but North Korea’s return to the negotiating table is not enough. Current sanctions will not be relaxed until Pyongyang takes verifiable, irreversible steps toward complete denuclearization”⁵⁶

However, despite the strong words, the Obama administration’s actions to date suggest that the objective of rolling back North Korea’s nuclear program appears halfhearted. Analysts see a growing possibility that the current policy of “strategic patience” might result in acquiescence to North Korea’s nuclear status as a *fait accompli*.⁵⁷ The U.S. officials are feeling “conference fatigue” from these protracted talks and appeared to realize that the fundamental approach to eliminate North Korea’s nuclear programs is an unrealistic goal and that Six-Party process has serious constraints as a viable mechanism.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, since the Six-Party process is the only tool for the U.S. to maintain the North’s nuclear weapons program as a multilateral

⁵² Snyder, Cossa, Glosserman, “Whither the Six-Party Talks?”

⁵³ Melissa Hanham “Impact of the Cheonan Incident on the Six-Party Talks”, *Issue Brief*, Nuclear Threat Initiative, May 17, 2010, http://www.nti.org/e_research/e3_impact_cheonan_incident_six_party_talks.html

⁵⁴ Ha and Chun, “North Korea’s Brinkmanship.”

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Hillary Rodham Clinton, “Remarks at the United States Institute of Peace,” Washington, DC, October 21, 2009, <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2009a/10/130806.htm>

⁵⁷ Snyder et al., “U.S. Policy toward the Korean Peninsula,” p. 10.

⁵⁸ Ha and Chun, “North Korea’s Brinkmanship,” p. 98.

problem rather than a bilateral one, the Six-Party process remains the preferred framework.⁵⁹

Japan also has a distraction. While Tokyo worries about North Korea's testing of missiles that could reach Japan's population centers or U.S. military bases there, it also regards the Six-Party Talks as a forum for negotiating an admission of Pyongyang's guilt in the 1970s and 1980s abductions of Japanese citizens by North Korean spies.⁶⁰ The issue marks a policy difference between the U.S. and Japan.

Russia, although officially opposing the North's nuclear program, is not really interested in enforcing the goal of eliminating North Korea's nuclear programs, since Moscow is aware that Russia is not a target of North Korea. Strictly speaking, Russia participates in the Six-Party Talks not for its own security assurances but for strategic or geopolitical reasons. Russia doesn't want to be excluded from the negotiation process of regional actors over a very serious issue and want to play a significant role to reassert its influence in Northeast Asia. While Moscow may present itself as a moderator, it has little incentive to resolve the problem and finally end the talks. Moscow believes endangering the North either in order to get rid of the WMD threat or for geopolitical reasons is simply not cost-effective.⁶¹

What is the intention or purpose of the North participating in the talks? To date, North Korea has used the Six-Party Talks to protect its nuclear development. While having officially supported the terms of the talks, "to denuclearize the Korean Peninsula," Pyongyang has in fact interpreted this as an eventuality to be realized in the very long term but not in the short term.⁶² Rather, Pyongyang is interested in both developing nuclear weapons and improving its relationship with the U.S. through the talks.⁶³ Continuous talks assure Pyongyang that it can advance its nuclear program "peacefully," though clandestinely, as it believes that the U.S. and its allies will not

⁵⁹ Jayshree Bajoria, Carin Zissis, "The Six-Party Talks on North Korea's Nuclear Program," Backgrounder, Council on Foreign Relations, Last updated on July 1, 2009, http://www.cfr.org/publication/13593/sixparty_talks_on_north_koreas_nuclear_program.html

⁶⁰ Georgy Toloraya, "Continuity and Change in Korea: Challenges for Regional Policy and U.S.-Russia Relations," The Brookings Institution, February 2009, http://www.brookings.edu/papers/2009/02_korea_toloraya.aspx

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Dingli Shen, "Cooperative Denuclearization toward North Korea," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (October 2009), pp. 175–88.

⁶³ Ibid.

strike while negotiations are underway.⁶⁴ At the same time, Pyongyang has had many opportunities to suggest bargaining solutions to the U.S. during the talks.

As of October 2010, Beijing and Pyongyang appear to want to resume the talks even if they result in another stalemate, while Seoul and Washington made a strong argument that they would not continue negotiations for the sake of negotiating, after the shock of the *Cheonan* incident. However, as discussed above, it is highly unlikely the talks will be declared dead in the near future since all parties have a stake in their continuity, although every party has realized their inherent futility.⁶⁵

The Prospects for the End State of the Korean Peninsula

Last but not least, the most significant discord among relevant countries is the end state of the Korean Peninsula. First of all, while South Korea and North Korea regard reunification as the ultimate end state of the Korean Peninsula, they conceive of a very different type of unified nation. As written in the Constitution of the Republic of Korea (Chapter 1, Article 3), South Korea defines its territory as “consisting of the Korean Peninsula and its adjacent islands.” This article underscores the South’s perception that South Korea is in possession of the sole legitimate sovereignty on the Korean Peninsula. Similarly, the Constitution of North Korea reads that the nation has “set forth the country’s reunification as the supreme task of the nation” since the Kim Il Sung era. Moreover, South Korea pursues a unified peninsula where liberal democracy would be a key element, while the North wants the peninsula to be dominated by socialism.

Although Washington and Tokyo support the position of South Korea, the road to reunification on the Korean Peninsula has not been seriously pursued by either side. It is due in part to the fact that the ROK government does not understand what the majority of South Koreans want, and there are growing voices within South Korea who are concerned about the financial cost of reunification. Washington has never made an official statement on its preferred end-state on the peninsula, but during the George W. Bush administration, the president declared North Korea a part of the “axis of evil” and a target for regime change. However, as of 2010, the official

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Snyder, Cossa, Glosserman, “Whither the Six-Party Talks?”

position of the ROK–U.S. alliance is that neither the U.S. nor South Korea should provoke any direct action to facilitate the total collapse of North Korea. However this potential collapse is viewed as a spontaneous opportunity to achieve the reunification. Therefore, the top priority issue regarding the Korean Peninsula for both countries is denuclearization rather than reunification.

Japan develops its policy on the peninsula within the larger context of the Japan–U.S. security alliance, which means Japan basically supports the end state that the U.S. and South Korea conceive of. However, the number of Japanese who prefer the status quo on the Korean peninsula is not negligible.⁶⁶ Since Japan's acute security concern in the current North Korea is physical threats from its WMDs, if the peninsula were denuclearized before reunification, the Japanese might have few reasons to risk any instability and unpredictable geopolitical dynamics in the region led by such drastic change.

Officially, Beijing supports the eventual peaceful unification of the peninsula, but privately most Chinese analysts say that China's preferred end state, rather than a unified nation under ROK rule, is a commonwealth arrangement that preserves North Korea as a separate entity.⁶⁷ There are several reasons for this position: instability on the peninsula will cause an exodus of refugees, economic damage in its northern region, and possibly even U.S. intervention. A large exodus of refugees from the North into China could provoke ethnic Koreans and other minorities living in the region, whom Beijing has managed to control until now. While a few analysts even

⁶⁶ There is a controversy over Japan's position toward the end state of the Korean Peninsula. Some scholars view that Japan prefers status quo to a unified Korea which is unpredictable, while others view that a majority of Japanese people pursue a unified, democratic Korean Peninsula. See, e.g., Yong Shik Choo, "US-Korea Cooperation in Case of North Korea's Emergency," paper presented at the 2009 International Conference on North Korean Human Rights, Seoul, September 25, 2009; Center for U.S.-Korea Policy, "North Korea Contingency Planning and U.S.-ROK Cooperation," a project of the Asia foundation, September 2009.); "Korea-Japan Security Cooperation Preparing for a Sudden Change in North Korea (북한 급변사태 대비 한미 안보협력방안)" (in Korean), *KRIS Report 2009: proceedings of KRIS-JINF Roundtable*, December 23, 2009. KRIS stands for Korea Research Institute for Strategy and JINF stands for Japan Institute for National Fundamentals.

⁶⁷ Bonnie S. Glaser and Scott Snyder, with See-Won Byun and David Szerlip, "Responding to Change on the Korean Peninsula: Impediments to U.S.-South Korea-China Coordination," report of the CSIS Freeman Chair in China Studies (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, May 2010), p. 7.

argue that a unified Korean Peninsula would serve Chinese interests, China's attitude toward North Korea in the aftermath of the *Cheonan* incident suggests that Beijing does want North Korea to survive and still has a strong desire to protect its troublesome ally.⁶⁸

Russia has a similar position with that of China. Bordering North Korea, it does not want instability on the peninsula, which could negatively influence its national security with an exodus of refugees and accompanying violence. Also, U.S. dominance over the peninsula is a scenario that Russia as well as China would prefer to avoid. Moreover, as mentioned above, while Russia asserts that North Korea should give up its nuclear program, it finds the possibility that they might target Russian territory very low. Therefore, while Russia currently seeks to improve its cooperation with South Korea in economic and political affairs, it has even less incentive to take strong actions towards North Korea than Japan does.

Concluding Remarks

As U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton defined North Korea's nuclear program as the "most acute challenge to stability in Northeast Asia," the North's nuclear arsenal, its pursuit of more advanced missile technology, and the possibility that it could transfer nuclear weapons or materials to others pose significant dangers to the Northeast Asian region and beyond.⁶⁹ Moreover, North Korean nuclear weapons capability is reportedly getting stronger, while international actions have consistently turned out to be very unsuccessful.

First, the international community has been deterred both by collective fear of the North's susceptibility to sudden collapse and the likelihood that neighboring countries would be embroiled in all-out war in the region. Elimination of the North Korean nuclear weapons is a goal at odds with the regime survival of North Korea, which regional actors prefer to the state's outright demise, at least in the short term. Moreover, the more insecure North Korea finds itself internally and externally, the longer it continues to assert its status as a nuclear power, thus making the task of complete denuclearization even more difficult.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Snyder et al., "U.S. Policy toward the Korean Peninsula," p. ix.

⁷⁰ Przystup, "Dealing with the Twin Dangers of Proliferation and Instability."

Second, the continued belligerency of the North, including the development of its nuclear arsenal is unlikely to be impeded upon, as relevant regional actors fail to build a unified position. Due to different threat perceptions and interests, they have implemented varying degrees of sanctions against North Korea sometimes without enforceability; decreased the deterrent power against the North Korean nuclear threat in the region; brought only limited sincerity to the Six-Party process, and conceived of different blueprints for the Korean Peninsula. Unless regional actors muster the collective will to eliminate these protracted security concerns, North Korea will always have leeway to bypass pressure from the international community.

In sum, Pyongyang is highly unlikely to give up its nuclear power in the foreseeable future as long as the abruptly groomed Kim Jong Un does not suggest a very innovative plan to improve internal and external security, while reassuring relevant regional actors. Therefore, a narrowly focused approach toward the North's nuclear program cannot prove successful. Regional actors should design a comprehensive approach toward North Korea as a whole, while making consistent attempts to reduce differences among their strategic positions on the North rather than hastily entering into another round of negotiations with North Korea.

Sweden's Role in a Peaceful Solution for North Korea's Nuclear Crisis

Sangsoo Lee

The security environment on the Korean Peninsula has once again become highly volatile since North Korea carried out a second nuclear test and a long-range missile test in May, 2009. Moreover, it is now a grave concern, following a news report that North Korea showed the visiting U.S. nuclear scientist Dr. Siegfried Hecker a uranium enrichment facility containing hundreds of centrifuges. Hecker noted the sophistication of the new plant, which the North Koreans claimed to have 2,000 centrifuges.¹ If North Korea has indeed succeeded in acquiring uranium enrichment technology, the nuclear crisis would enter a completely new phase, affecting not only Northeast Asia but the whole world. Thus, the importance of peace and the issue of nuclear weapons on the Korean Peninsula are increasingly referred to as a global issue. This is also a matter of grave concern for the future, which moreover risks opening the way for continued proliferation of nuclear weapons in the world, which is the most critical factor for the international nonproliferation system.²

Obviously, there are outstanding concerns about the possibility that North Korea may not dismantle its nuclear program, as it represents a life-line for the survival of the regime. North Korea has realized that the possession of nuclear weapons is a bargaining chip that represents the only way it can negotiate with the U.S. and other parties. North Korea's nuclear weapons could have serious consequences beyond the Korean Peninsula, and as such, there is an urgent need for attention to focus on peace-building efforts between North and South Korea.

¹ Siegfried S. Hecker, "A Return Trip to North Korea's Yongbyon Nuclear Complex," Center for International Security and Cooperation, Stanford University, November 20, 2010, <http://iis-db.stanford.edu/pubs/23035/Yongbyonreport.pdf> (accessed November 25, 2010).

² Ingolf Kiesow with Sangsoo Lee, *No Confidence in Korea: A Regional Problem in a Global Context* (Stockholm-Nacka: Institute for Security and Development Policy, 2010).

Despite the need for an immediate resolution, the discussion process under the framework of the Six-Party Talks, which was created to deal with the North's nuclear weapons program, has stalled since North Korea withdrew from the talks in April 2009. Furthermore, the sinking of a South Korean military ship, the *Cheonan*, in March and North Korea's artillery strikes on *Yeonpyeong* Island in November 2010 significantly escalated tension on the Korean Peninsula and made efforts to achieve a peaceful resolution more complicated. Following the *Cheonan* and *Yeonpyeong* incidents, a new "Cold War-type" situation has emerged in Northeast Asia, as shown by the increased pressure of the military exercises and sanctions that South Korea and its allies, the United States and Japan, have put in place, moving towards a political confrontation involving China, Russia and North Korea. With this most recent series of confrontational statements and actions in the region, it is unlikely that there is any prospect of making progress on the issue of the dismantlement of North Korea's nuclear weapons program, at least in the short term.

There is also the risk of proliferation, as North Korea is the only country to have left the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). The issue of further proliferation of nuclear weapons in North Korea is indeed important, because sudden political instability in North Korea in the future could result in a crisis situation in which not only disarmament, but also the more pressing non-proliferation problems would be even more difficult to manage.

Given the failure of the current multilateral regimes to control the North Korean nuclear program, now is the time to find an alternative method to prevent further conflict on the Korean Peninsula and the spread of North Korea's nuclear weapons. As tensions continue to rise, Sweden may have a supporting role to play as a mediator acceptable to North Korea in helping to resume the stalled negotiations between the relevant parties on the North Korean nuclear issue. This process will be further bolstered by Sweden's own strong track record in global peace activities and its political neutrality would. Furthermore, Sweden's low political profile and status as a non-member state of the Six-Party Talks would be a major asset, since no actor in the region would perceive it as a security threat.

The central focus of this paper is to examine what potential role Sweden could play by utilizing its neutral position as a possible acceptable mediator

to North Korea, in promoting understanding and discussion of a peaceful resolution concerning North Korea's nuclear crisis.

This paper reviews the Non-Proliferation Treaty, the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) and the Six-Party Talks as the major international nuclear control measures for North Korea's nuclear weapons program and examines the role that Sweden could play. Finally, it also attempts to illustrate possible Swedish–South Korean cooperation in the peaceful resolution of the issue of North Korea's nuclear weapons.

The Dilemma of International Control Measures for North Korea's Nuclear Program

President Barack Obama took an important step toward his goal of a nuclear free world when he and Russian President Dmitry Medvedev signed a landmark treaty in Prague that commits the two former Cold War foes to reductions in their nuclear arsenals. It is worth mentioning that, even with the new treaty, the number of weapons still permitted to each side would be more than sufficient to destroy the other completely.³ Moreover, the 2010 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) was able to enter the overwhelming majority of states into legally binding commitments not to receive, manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices from nuclear-weapon states – a move towards nuclear disarmament.⁴ With all recent efforts to create a nuclear free world, it seems that there is optimism about the world's future sustainable development.

Nevertheless, it only represents one symbolic step forward on what will be a long road to a nuclear-free world. In fact, many obstacles still remain, such as countries like North Korea and Iran, who either have or are explicitly attempting to become nuclear powers, in direct rejection of the establishment of a nuclear free world. North Korea in particular figures centrally in the issue of disarmament, as it poses a significant problem to the international regimes such as the NPT, PSI and the Six-Party Talks.

³ "US and Russia agree nuclear cuts," *BBC World*, July 6, 2009, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8136918.stm> (accessed November 25, 2010).

⁴ Final Document: The 2010 Review Conference for the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, *United Nations Headquarters*, NPT/CONF.2010/50, Vol. I, June, 2010, [http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=NPT/CONF.2010/50\(VOL.I\)](http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=NPT/CONF.2010/50(VOL.I)) (accessed November 25, 2010).

Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)

The NPT is the core international regime to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, and it is the only legal document committing all states to abandon nuclear weapons. North Korea ratified the treaty in 1985. However, it announced its withdrawal from the treaty in 1993 before rescinding its decision and remaining a party. In 2003, North Korea again announced its withdrawal, but this time fully withdrew, and it appears unlikely that North Korea will return to the treaty. The withdrawal of North Korea has damaged the NPT and the treaty's inherent structural dilemmas have progressively become exposed.

According to the NPT Article X, "each party shall in exercising its national sovereignty have the right to withdraw from the Treaty if it decides that extraordinary events, related to the subject matter of this Treaty, have jeopardized the supreme interests of its country."⁵ The countries most concerned with the need for nonproliferation have argued that North Korea's decision to withdraw was done without valid reason, since there was no threat to North Korea. According to this view, a party to the treaty is not entitled to leave it *solely* because it has the ambition to become a nuclear-weapon state.⁶ The question is a serious one, since it also concerns the possibility that Iran, which is suspected of having similar ambitions, may see the North Korean withdrawal as setting a precedent and thus may also leave the treaty.⁷ There has been much debate over the grounds on which a country may withdraw from the NPT, and whether the United Nations Security Council has the right to oppose the reason given for that country's withdrawal.⁸

This issue was discussed at the 2010 Review Conference of the Parties to the NPT. According to the outcome of the conference, given the particular

⁵ Text of the Treaty on The Non Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), *Department for Disarmament Affairs: United Nations*, May 2005, <http://www.un.org/en/conf/npt/2005/npttreaty.html>

⁶ Kiesow with Lee, *No Confidence in Korea*.

⁷ Jane A. Morse, "The NPT: History's Most Successful Non-Proliferation Treaty," *Federation of American Scientists*, <http://www.fas.org/nuke/control/npt/news/941107-366788.htm> (accessed November 25, 2010).

⁸ See, e.g., Jenny Nielsen and John Simpson, "The NPT Withdrawal Clause and its Negotiating History," Mountbatten Centre for International Studies, *MCIS NPT Issue Review* (July 2004), http://www.mcis.soton.ac.uk/Site_Files/pdf/withdrawal_clause_NPT_nielsen&simpson_2004.pdf (accessed November 25, 2010).

circumstances envisaged in article X for the exercise of the right to withdraw, the conference noted that numerous states reaffirmed the responsibility entrusted to the U.N. Security Council. Without prejudice to the legal consequences of the withdrawal and to the status of compliance by the withdrawing state, the conference noted that numerous states were of the view that states should undertake consultations immediately, as well as undertake regional diplomatic initiatives.⁹ The conference also called on the DPRK and all states to fully implement all relevant nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament obligations.¹⁰ Nevertheless, if the DPRK continues to ignore or stays away from the NPT solely because it has the ambition to possess upgraded nuclear weapons, the reviewed NPT is not relevant to North Korea's nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament obligations.

The Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI)

The PSI, which is led by the U.S., was built as a mechanism for detecting and impeding efforts by North Korea (and other countries) to secretly export technology and material for constructing nuclear weapons – and North Korea has been proved to have exported such materials.¹¹ However, there are structural problems in implementing this initiative as the basis for actually stopping a North Korean ship in the process of exporting them.

First, the PSI has been criticized for its contradictions: stretching if not violating the principles of international law; weakening the UN system; being ineffective and politically divisive, and diluting other non-proliferation efforts. In fact, it is unclear whether the PSI will use existing international law, or whether there will be attempts to change international law to accommodate it. As the law stands at present, states not bound by an international treaty prohibiting the transfer of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) technologies – including the PSI's ostensible main target, North Korea – are permitted to transport cargoes that include weapons of mass destruction.¹² Even more controversial would be any attempts to intercept

⁹ Final Document: The 2010 Review Conference for the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Mark J. Valencia, "The Proliferation Security Initiative: Making Waves in Asia," *Adelphi Paper* 376 (2005), pp. 35–36.

¹² Andrew Prosser and Herbert Scoville, "The Proliferation Security Initiative in Perspective," *Center for Defense Information*, June 2004, <http://www.cdi.org/pdfs/psi.pdf>

missile shipments, the transfer of which is not subject to any formal international treaty prohibition. In the case of boarding a foreign ship without permission in contravention of international law, such conduct is traditionally associated with an act of war.¹³ Therefore, there is a question about the limits of permissible interference both on the open sea and when under passage in territorial waters according to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS).¹⁴ Bilateral boarding agreements may help to increase the probability that PSI participants will be able to stop and search a given ship's cargo, but such agreements are currently the exception to the rule, and it remains unlikely that states of "concern" to PSI countries will allow their ships to be boarded.¹⁵ Furthermore, many countries have not taken the PSI seriously, as the United States has not ratified UNCLOS.

Second, several nuclear states such as India, Pakistan and China have not accepted the PSI.¹⁶ Many states along sea-lanes and international straits are also outside of the initiative and even openly oppose it, for instance, Indonesia, Malaysia and Egypt.¹⁷ They do not wish to see the U.S. or other great powers commit any acts of interdiction in areas under their control, which they fear would be weakened as a result. The position of China as a neighbor of North Korea is especially important, as any ship on its way between North Korea and South Asia, the Middle East or Africa will have to pass nearby or traverse Chinese territorial waters.¹⁸

Third, there has been a very strong reaction by North Korea to the U.S.-led PSI. North Korea sees the PSI as strengthening relationships among the U.S. allies, which could lead to a confrontation vis-à-vis China and North Korea. North Korea has declared that regardless of where it takes place, any attempt to stop, check or inspect its vessels will be regarded as a violation of

(accessed November 25, 2010).

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ See Valencia, "The Proliferation Security Initiative," p. 26, and Kiesow with Lee, *No Confidence in Korea*, p. 28.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 29.

¹⁷ See Emma Belcher, "A Tighter Net: Strengthening the Proliferation Security Initiative," *Lowy Institute*, August 2009, <http://www.lowyinstitute.org/Publication.asp?pid=1093> (accessed November 25, 2010) and Kiesow with Lee, *No Confidence in Korea*, p. 29.

¹⁸ Kiesow with Lee, *No Confidence in Korea*.

its sovereignty and territory. North Korea has also stated that if such actions are taken it will reply with military action, especially against South Korea.¹⁹

Six-Party Talks

Conflict management on North Korea's nuclear crisis was initiated with the creation of the Six-Party Talks in 2002. The talks have played an important role by exploring ideas and proposals for the establishment of regional mechanisms for security cooperation in Northeast Asia. However, the discussion process under the Six-Party framework has stalled since North Korea's withdrawal from the talks in April 2009 after the U.N. Security Council censured it over its test of a long-range rocket. Furthermore, in May 2009, North Korea carried out its second nuclear test and in July announced that it would not return to the negotiation table if the international community did not lift the sanctions against North Korea. These events have demonstrated that the situation is becoming more and more difficult, with the possibility of future negotiations in a deadlock. There is now disagreement as to whether or not the Six-Party Talks should continue to be the main forum for resolving North Korea's nuclear issues. Indeed, there have been some problems with the framework of the talks.

First, each member country often has different views and goals when trying to gain benefits from the negotiation process. The U.S., Japan and South Korea would like to see North Korea dismantle all of its nuclear weapons and materials first. However, both China and Russia will not consent easily to the U.S. pressure on the North Korean regime. In fact, these two countries have concern about instability in North Korea for their security reasons. - China also has a strong will to maintain its leadership and maximize its leverage as de-facto mediator of the Six-Party Talks by utilizing its access to the North Korean regime. Meanwhile, Russia is becoming more and more modest in its approach due to domestic security concerns.²⁰ As a result, the Six-Party Talks have often faced deadlock due to the different underlying interests of the participating countries.

¹⁹ "DPRK Regards S. Korea's Full Participation in PSI as Declaration of War against DPRK," *Korean Central News Agency (KCNA)*, May 27, 2009, <http://www.kcna.co.jp/item/2009/200905/news27/20090527-17ee.html> (accessed November 25, 2010).

²⁰ Jae-Seung Lee, "Tension on the Korean Peninsula: Is there a security role for the European Union?" *IP Global*, November 11, 2010, <http://www.ip-global.org/2010/11/11/between-confrontation-and-cooperation/> (accessed November 25, 2010).

Second, a sense of mutual trust was difficult to form within the Six-Party Talks with its repeated “stop-and-go” negotiations, because countries doubt its commitment to “give and take,” which cannot be perceived as “trust and respect” between member countries. As seen in the past with the Six-Party Talks, any negative attitudes based on distrust toward North Korea have served to further exacerbate the deep-seated sense of victimization which has pushed North Korea to indulge in radical ideas and dangerous acts.

Third, it is now more difficult to resume the Six-Party Talks in the aftermath of the *Cheonan* and *Yeonpyeong* incidents. Due to recent North Korean provocations, the South Korean government does not seem to consider resuming the Six-Party Talks anytime soon. This raises the question of whether or not they will remain a failure or, sooner or later will be resumed as China wishes. Nevertheless, even if North Korea returns to the Six-Party Talks, it does not mean that North Korea will dismantle all of its nuclear weapons. At a minimum, it will hide or maintain some nuclear weapons in order to use them as a bargaining chip, even if Pyongyang agrees in principle with the request from Six-Party member states.

The Swedish Conflict Management Approach to North Korea's Nuclear Crisis

As the three major initiatives – NPT, PSI and the Six-Party Talks – are, at the moment, not adequate to control the problem of the North Korean nuclear weapons program, a new attempt at conflict management in combination with a trust building process will be needed in order to find a solution to, or at least prevent further, conflicts on the Korean Peninsula. In this regard, Sweden's role as a country that has a strong record of global peace-building and conflict management, which could play a supporting role in the area of resolving the nuclear crisis on the Korean Peninsula, should be considered.

Conflict Management and Mediation Diplomacy

Many of the priorities of Sweden's foreign policy – to restrict the spread of nuclear weapons and work for disarmament, to seek to develop instruments for the prevention of conflict, to renew the work of global development co-operation – have a direct relevance to conditions on the Korean Peninsula.²¹

²¹ Swedish Foreign Ministry, *Our Future with Asia: A Swedish Asia Strategy for 2000 and*

Sweden has traditionally supported the inter-Korean reconciliation process and international efforts to promote peace and maintain stability on the Korean Peninsula through its participation in the Neutral Nations' Supervisory Commission (NNSC), established in 1953 on the demarcation line between North and South Korea. The mission of the NNSC is to carry out the function of supervision, observation, inspection, and investigation and to report the results to the Military Armistice Commission. The task today can be described as maintaining the validity of the truce mechanism with the aid of a Swedish and a Swiss presence in the demilitarized zone between North and South Korea.²² As to mediation diplomacy, Swedish Prime Minister Göran Persson visited North Korea as a member of an EU delegation in May 2001, followed immediately afterwards by a visit to South Korea. His visit helped shore up the fragile reconciliation process with South Korea.

However, the Swedish involvement policy has recently been at a standstill, due to the North Korean nuclear standoff and nuclear tests. North Korea's development of nuclear weapons has made Sweden and other countries of the European Union extremely cautious about dealing with North Korea. Therefore, the future of Sweden's policy of engagement depends fundamentally on the situation in the Korean Peninsula. Nevertheless, given the traditional foreign policy of Sweden, which has been pursuing preventive and mediation diplomacy for global peace, the time is ripe to review national strategic interests on the Korean Peninsula and draft a foreign policy for peace promotion at this critical juncture. Moreover, although the international community considers China the only country that might be able to influence North Korea on the nuclear issue, China showed its lack of a reaction to North Korea's recent provocations, with its strategic benefits. In this regard, Sweden, with its long experience in neutral diplomacy and tradition of international mediation, could be a better candidate in playing a balanced political mediation role than China. More specifically, as Sweden maintains diplomatic ties with both South and North Korea, it can help deliver messages to the North, which is largely isolated from the West and from the international community. Over the long term, Sweden can increase its contact with North Korea through its "soft" approach, using preventive

beyond, Government Communication, Skr. 1998/99:61(1998), <http://www.sweden.gov.se/sb/d/574/a/94044> (accessed November 25, 2010).

²² Swedish Armed Forces, Korea, <http://www.forsvarsmakten.se/en/Forces-abroad/Korea/> (accessed November 25, 2010).

diplomacy in order to encourage North Korea to engage with the international community and prevent military action. Yet, as its political influence in the region is limited, Sweden could complement efforts made by other major actors in the region and contribute to the prevention of further conflict rather than being an independent player.

Enforcing International Norms in North Korea

Regarding the non-proliferation issue, Sweden and other European Union member states have maintained an embargo on arms, nuclear and ballistic missile-related materials from North Korea since their adoption of the Common Position of the EU Council in 2006. Sweden quickly condemned the 2006 and 2009 nuclear tests by North Korea. In response to the 2009 test, Sweden publicly protested, summoning the North Korean ambassador and expressing the need for North Korea "to resume the Six-Party Talks, to comply with the NPT and to allow inspections by the [IAEA]."²³ In July 2009, the European Union passed an internal regulation that made the sanctions under the resolution directly applicable within the domestic law of all

A key component of Swedish foreign policy is to safeguard existing treaties and agreements. Sweden is also working, particularly within the framework of the European Union, to encourage all states to accede to existing treaties (universalization), and to get a sufficient number of states to ratify treaties so that they can enter into force.²⁴ On the other hand, Sweden has played an active role in the development of the non-proliferation regime by joining and promoting nonproliferation and disarmament initiatives worldwide. With the beginning of the Cold War, when the Soviet Union was seen as Sweden's greatest threat, Sweden began developing a tactical nuclear weapons program as a deterrent against Moscow. However, Sweden's nuclear weapons ambitions were terminated around 1960 and confirmed by the signing of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) in 1968. Shortly after Sweden joined the NPT, it became a founding member of the Zangger Committee (ZC), formed in 1971 to establish guidelines for implementing the export control provisions of the NPT.

²³ Government Offices of Sweden, "Swedish Protest against North Korean Test," Press Release, May 25, 2009, <http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/11954/a/126993>

²⁴ Swedish Foreign Ministry, "Disarmament and Non-Proliferation," <http://www.swe-den.gov.se/sb/d/12086> (accessed November 25, 2010).

Subsequently, Sweden assumed an active role in the Biological and Toxic Weapons Conventions (BTWC) in 1976. In 1991, Sweden joined the Missile Technology Control Regime. Furthermore, Sweden also signed and ratified the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) in June 1993 followed by the Comprehensive Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) in 1998.

Considering its powerful influence on international rules and norms, Sweden can be expected to help develop and improve the international treaties' terms to prevent illegal nuclear transfers and to help define more precisely the ways in which North Korea will pursue disarmament and return to the international system of treaty-based regulation, such as the NPT.

Assistance for the Peaceful Use of Nuclear Power in North Korea

Traditionally, the European Union has been a major donor of economic and technical assistance. While not involved in the Six-Party Talks, the EU has been involved in various assistance programs and cooperation activities with other member states of the Six-Party regime. Since 1995, over €366 million in aid has been provided to North Korea in the form of food, medicine, water, sanitation assistance and agricultural support; the European Union also participated in the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO) regime, deciding in 1997 to contribute ECU 15 million annually for five years to KEDO.²⁵

The recent North Korean energy problem presents itself as the most urgent task in resolving the economic difficulties, agricultural production and environmental pollution problems faced by the North. However, given its lack of foreign capital and the domestic economy's negative growth and high inflationary conditions, North Korea lacks access to the technology and capital required to develop nuclear power and other energy resources, while rehabilitating its outdated electric transmission systems. A priority for North Korea is to seek technical assistance.

From an energy perspective, preventing North Korea's nuclear proliferation by fostering civilian nuclear energy would be one possible option for the international community. There is the potential to develop nuclear

²⁵ European Commission, II Commission, "Agreement on terms and conditions of the European Atomic Energy Community to the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organisation," *Official Journal of the European Communities*, March 3, 1998, <http://ec.europa.eu/world/agreements/downloadFile.do?fullText=yes&treatyTransId=1423> (accessed November 25, 2010).

energy in North Korea, which remains highly committed to restarting the light water reactor project with a highly trained workforce that is currently responsible for operating its civil and military nuclear programs. Nuclear energy cooperation with North Korea could be conducted in the areas of nuclear medicine and agriculture.²⁶ However, if concrete cooperation within the civilian nuclear sector is not an immediate option, assistance could be provided in the area of nuclear medicine as a humanitarian and confidence building measure. Sweden could facilitate this assistance in order to promote North Korea's pursuit of peaceful uses of nuclear power. Sweden is a leading country in the use of civil nuclear power. In 2008, Sweden generated almost 146 billion kWh, of which 42 percent was from nuclear plants (61.3 billion kWh).²⁷ Sweden also has the world's most advanced nuclear training and safety center (*Kärnkraftsäkerhet och Utbildning AB*, KSU), which is a vital ancillary organization and is responsible for training staff and for liaison with the World Association of Nuclear Operators (WANO).²⁸ Furthermore, Sweden has its nuclear waste management well in hand. What is more, Sweden has been an enthusiastic supporter of improving world environmental quality with advanced renewable technologies such as biomass and wind energies. All these factors could help resolve North Korea's energy crisis.

Swedish–South Korean Cooperation on North Korea's Nuclear Crisis

Since Lee Myung-bak took office as President of South Korea in 2008, he has criticized the Sunshine Policy of his predecessors Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun as tantamount to "appeasement," making it clear that future South Korean aid and cooperation to the North will be contingent on tangible reforms by North Korea to dismantle its nuclear weapons.²⁹ However, Pyongyang has stressed that the nuclear dispute is strictly a matter between

²⁶ David Albright, "Phased International Cooperation with North Korea's Civil Nuclear Programs," *Institute for Science and International Security (ISIS)*, March 19, 2007, <http://www.isis-online.org/publications/dprk/CivilNuclearNK.pdf>

²⁷ Brenda Sorensen, "New phase for Swedish Nuclear Energy," *IDN-InDepth-News*, June 22, 2010, <http://www.indepthnews.net/news/news.php?key1=2010-06-2208:20:05&key2=1> (accessed November 25, 2010).

²⁸ World Nuclear Association, "Nuclear Power in Sweden," *updated November 2010*, <http://www.worldnuclear.org/info/inf42.html> (accessed November 25, 2010).

²⁹ Sangsoo Lee and Alec Forss, "The 17th South Korean Presidential Election," *Institute for Security and Development Policy*, December 2007, p. 11, http://www.isdp.eu/images/stories/isdp-main-pdf/2007_lee-forss_the-17th-south-korean-presidential-elections.pdf

the North and the U.S., rejecting as “rubbish” and “ridiculous” the South Korean President’s proposal aimed at resolving the dispute.³⁰ In addition to this struggle, the sinking of the *Cheonan* amidst the alleged involvement of North Korea, and North Korea’s artillery strikes on *Yeonpyeong* Island which two South Korean soldiers and two civilians were killed, dramatically increased the tension and volatility of the political situation on the Korean Peninsula. Amid the growing tensions, the South Korean government has begun to face a more complicated political dilemma.

Currently, Lee’s government is facing difficulty over whether to engage in dialogue with the North to achieve stability on the Korean Peninsula or to try to change the North by applying sanctions and pressure. It seems that the international community, particularly China, hopes South Korea will open a dialogue as a way to ease tension. This situation is now a great challenge for President Lee, having passed the halfway mark of his term. It is now or never if he is going to attempt a breakthrough with North Korea to change his image of an anti-North leader. Nevertheless, his conservative supporters could oppose any rushed attempt to improve ties with Pyongyang.³¹ For South Korea to engage North Korea with economic assistance, it would have to insist that North Korea offer some sort of apology or at least condolences for the *Cheonan* sinking and the recent *Yeonpyeong* incident to appease conservative elements in South Korea.

Sweden supports South Korea’s attempt to resolve the North Korean issues peacefully. Furthermore, the role that Sweden can play in the Korean context can be made more effective by working in close cooperation with South Korea. In addition to Sweden’s continued diplomatic efforts for a peaceful resolution to the North’s nuclear crisis, efforts by South Korea and Sweden must go beyond this one issue. Sweden and South Korea can cooperate in three main areas: first, diplomatic efforts to contribute to peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula; second, helping North Korea to pursue disarmament and prevent North Korean transfers of nuclear material and

³⁰ “KCNA Dismisses S. Korean Chief Executive’s ‘Proposal’ as Rubbish”, *Korean Central News Agency* (KCNA), September 30, <http://www.kcna.co.jp/item/2009/200909/news30/20090930-14ee.html> (accessed November 25, 2010). Note: The South Korean Government proposed to reward North Korea with aid intended to bring the North’s per capita GDP up to \$3000.

³¹ Yoshihiro Makino, “Secret talks may have smoothed ties,” *The Asahi Shimbun*, September 14, 2010, <http://www.asahi.com/english/TKY201009130174.html> (accessed November 25, 2010).

technology to other countries, and third, helping to develop the peaceful or civilian use of nuclear energy in North Korea.

First, the issues of the *Cheonan* sinking and the *Yeonpyeong* incident are a crucial factor in bringing both North and South Korea back to the negotiation table. It seems that there is no possibility that North Korea will admit that it is responsible for both the incidents; at the same time, South Korea refuses to engage in dialogue without an apology from the North. Therefore, some compromise needs to be reached by both sides although it is very difficult for the moment. Although it can be argued that if Sweden could play a role in coordinating this kind of compromise between North and South Korea as Sweden has limited ability to influence North Korea, it has a potential role in delivering information from two Koreas. As Sweden joined the investigation team for the *Cheonan* sinking as the only neutral state, its role could be to send accurate information about the sinking to North Korea and make the North realize the need to resolve the *Cheonan* issue. To play this mediation role, Sweden needs to intensify its contacts with both North and South Korea, working closely together on exchanging information.

Second, Sweden and South Korea have been leading supporters of the global nuclear non-proliferation regimes. For example, Sweden and South Korea are on the IAEA Board of Governors in tackling key non-proliferation issues. Most importantly, the two countries have engaged in diplomatic efforts to bring their influence to bear on North Korea by continuing to call on the DPRK to return to the International regimes such as the NPT, the IAEA and the Six-Party Talks and sign and ratify the CTBT, while exploring the potential for Sweden and South Korean assistance activities to this effect. Nevertheless, given the current situation, there has been no interest on North Korea's part in joining such organizations. Given the lack of a commercial nuclear energy program as a first step, Sweden and South Korea can encourage North Korea to participate in other nuclear-related international organizations such as the World Nuclear Association (WNA) and the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA), which are aimed at scientific and technological cooperation between member states, including Sweden and South Korea. North Korea would then have access to information and, possibly, technical assistance in such areas as nuclear safety, production of medical radioisotopes, nuclear applications in agriculture, etc. However, such educational interactions need to be viewed in the context

of helping North Korean officials to understand current international standards on nuclear safety, regulations and security, as well as “rule of law” mechanisms. And as a desirable next step, a declaration by North Korea that it supports international efforts to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction can be issued.

Third, Sweden and South Korea could promote a long-term program for the peaceful use of nuclear energy in North Korea. Achieving North Korea’s nuclear weapons dismantlement will open the door to regional and international nuclear energy cooperation, which in turn could open up other possibilities for additional nuclear energy projects. While not involved in the Six-Party Talks, Sweden can be involved in various assistance programs for the development of North Korea’s nuclear power and cooperation activities with South Korea. Sweden and South Korea’s advanced nuclear power and research programs give them a strong position to develop peaceful nuclear power use in North Korea. Nuclear power in both Sweden and South Korea provides roughly 40 percent of the country’s electricity needs, which is among the highest levels in the world. Therefore, a priority could be increased joint cooperation between North Korea, South Korea and Sweden on a wide range of civil nuclear projects by transferring Swedish and South Korean nuclear technologies. On the other hand, since the 1970s the country has increasingly turned to coal as a core energy source, and thus air pollution has become a serious issue in North Korea. North Korea has recently become interested in the development of renewable energy technology due to its lack of energy resources and high levels of coal-burning related pollution. However, North Korea lacks access to both the technology and capital resources required to develop new energy sources that would allow them to improve their energy efficiency and rehabilitate their outdated electric transmission systems, as its isolation from the international community has prevented this transfer of knowledge. Given Sweden and South Korea’s strength in terms of energy technology, they could further support North Korea with a strong focus on energy efficiency and renewable energy facilities, which could eventually offer an alternative option for North Korea to resolve its energy problems and pursue the peaceful use of nuclear power in the future.

Concluding Remarks

Regardless of North Korea's political system, it remains a sovereign state and thus has a right to engage in diplomatic confrontation or reconciliation with other countries. However, its pursuit of nuclear weapons, a threat to not only Northeast Asia but the whole world and must be altered. The international community should put all of its efforts forward to make North Korea change its course. In these efforts it is essential to maintain close contact and communication with North Korea. Only by offering integration into the international community will peaceful change end North Korea's pursuit of nuclear weapons. Such a course – long overdue – would help to reduce tensions and create the political space necessary for resolution.

China has played a mediating role between the international community and North Korea by utilizing its access to Pyongyang. Indeed, China has been considered the only country that could persuade North Korea on the nuclear issue. However, the U.S. and South Korea are disappointed with China's lack of a reaction to North Korea's recent provocations, as well their siding with the North in order to gain strategic benefits. With the current complexity of relationships among countries in the region, Sweden would be the most appropriate country to engage in communicating with North Korea, and has the potential to play a role in helping to develop a peace-building process on the Korean Peninsula. Swedish continued efforts to promote peace and security through the development of the international instruments for conflict prevention, conflict resolution and disarmament can strengthen the Swedish political profile and yield strategic benefits within Northeast Asia, a region that presents many of the opportunities, challenges and problems usually held to be of significant importance in Swedish foreign policy. Therefore, Sweden should intensify its dialogue with North and South Korea in order to promote and enhance its goals for the peace and stability of the Korean Peninsula, the promotion of non-proliferation and in more practical areas in which Sweden can provide assistance.

Sweden and South Korea must take a leadership role in advancing diplomatic solutions and finally engaging North Korea in talks leading to a full integration of North Korea into the world community.

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