# The Nuclear Taboo Revisited: The North Korean Nuclear Crisis and Constitutive Antagonism

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#### **Abstract**

This study reevaluates the subject of nuclear nonproliferation and North Korea's nuclear crisis. It is prompted by two major questions: Why does North Korea resist international calls for its denuclearization, and how has it rationalized its pursuit of nuclear weapons programs? This study rejects the views that North Korea's pursuit of nuclear weapons is merely a flagrant violation of the near-universal moral principle or an isolated act of irrationality. Instead, this study examines the dynamic workings of negative identification and negative interaction through which North Korea came to rationalize its pursuit of a nuclear weapons program tabooed by the international community. Taking the constructivist approach, which posits that identities and interests figure prominently in interstate interactions, this study hypothesizes that North Korea's negative identification and negative interactions with the outside world increased Pyongyang's anxiety about its position in a hostile environment and its mistrust of multilateral dialogues as a means of resolving crises, leading to it rationalizing its decision to become a nuclear weapons state, rather than internalizing the nuclear taboo through collective identity formation.

In order to address the questions of how and why negative interactions and negative identification have influenced North Korea's nuclear choice and the outcome of the nuclear talks, this study presents the process of dialectical development of the nuclear crisis, examining the factors that constituted the antagonisms that shaped North Korea's adversarial relationship with others and caused its noncompliant attitudes. Then, it discusses the theoretical, practical, and policy implications of these findings to the ongoing nuclear crisis by addressing the reemergence of the antagonistic structure that produced the process of temporal compromise and setback from the nuclear talks. In the conclusion, it highlights the key findings of this study and provides suggestions for future studies.

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# **Chapter I. Theoretical Framework**

#### 1. Research Questions

The North Korean nuclear problem is a twenty years crisis in the making. Over the past two decades, North Korea's attitude toward the IAEA and nuclear talks has varied, shifting between cooperative and uncooperative behavior. North Korea's noncompliance was demonstrated in its refusal to participate in the talks, while its temporary cooperation was demonstrated in the form of its partial implementation of the agreements, concluding the agreement, disenabling/freezing its nuclear weapons program and conducting nuclear tests. North Korea, at least rhetorically, had proposed the idea of freeing the Korean peninsula of any nuclear threat in the early 1990s, but the North gradually changed its rhetoric on its nuclear weapons program when tension between Pyongyang and Washington hiked up in the 2000s although it calls for the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. At that time, Pyongyang argued that its decision to react to America's accusation of the North's secret nuclear weapons program based on lack of transparency was driven by US hostility and North Korea's mistrust of the US and called for America to respond. North Korea announced that it was ready to begin talks with the US in order to resolve the nuclear crisis, and Kim Jong II also stressed that "denuclearization of the Korean peninsula" was Kim Il Sung's instruction in June 2005. After agreeing to disenable its nuclear program toward the ultimate goal of denuclearization of the Korean peninsula, Pyongyang conducted its first nuclear test in October 2006 and argued that the test "constituted a positive measure for its implementation." North Korea's philosophy of "nuclear test for denuclearization" sounds paradoxical to foreign observers, which leaves many

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> "Termination of Rivalry on the Korean Peninsula," *Rodong Sinmun*, April 28, 1998; "Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula is an Urgent Request of the Time," *Rodong Sinmun*, March 9, 1999; "North Korean Delegates Call for the End of US Hostile Policy toward North Korea," *KCNA*, October 12, 2002; "The US Should Make a Choice," *KCNA*, November 4, 2002; "The Faith of Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula Depends on the US Policy: Foreign Ministry Statement," *KCNA*, May 1, 2003; "Jeong Dong Young-Kim Jong Il Meeting/ No Reason to Have Nuclear Weapons, Only for Self-Defense," *Hankyoreh*, June 18, 2005, 3.

wondering about such questions as "Why does North Korea resist international calls for its denuclearization?" and "How has North Korea rationalized its pursuit of nuclear weapons programs?"

To interest-based theorists, Pyongyang's seemingly confusing decision—first to join the NPT and then to withdraw from it—and the development of nuclear weapons at the risk of provoking its regional neighbors and alienating further the international community in times of urgent need of international aid may seem like a very irrational approach. To norm-based theorists, North Korea's noncompliance is understood in the light of the country's international isolation, which has led to its markedly different perception of nuclear weapons technology. North Korea seems not to have been burdened by the normative belief that developing nuclear weapons programs is a risk or liability that increases anxiety about the utility of the NPT among those who are concerned about erosion of the nonproliferation regime.

However, North Korea has also participated in many international forums and protested against practices of distorted global politics and vertical nuclear proliferation, which implies that North Korea is aware of the normative international culture on nuclear weapons. North Korea's requested preconditions for freezing its nuclear program have been very consistent, which weakens the argument that the North's chimerical behavior is hard to fathom. Thus, this study rejects the view that North Korea's pursuit of nuclear weapons is merely a flagrant violation of the near-universal moral principle or an isolated act of irrationality. Instead, this study aims to examine the dynamic workings of negative identification and negative interaction<sup>2</sup> through which North Korea came to rationalize its pursuit of nuclear weapons program tabooed by the international community.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Negative identification means a process through which a state identifies itself in an adversarial relationship with others and regards itself as being outside the system. Negative interaction occurs in an antagonistic structure and inhibits a state's positive identification. The notions of negative identification and negative interaction are further discussed in Chapter 2.

# 2. Hypotheses

This study hypothesizes that North Korea's negative identification hinders internalization of the nuclear taboo<sup>3</sup> and instead leads to Pyongyang's resistance to social expectations. Social constructivists suggest that social identity enables actors to determine relative positions in a society of shared understandings and expectations and that an internalization of new identity occurs when states engage in cooperative behavior and gradually come to change their own beliefs about their self identity. However, social identities can be either cooperative or conflictual, since identification is a continuum from negative to positive. Not all states form a collective identity that determines expected patterns of behavior, and hence North Korea's flaunting of the nuclear taboo can be examined in the light of negative identification.

This study also hypothesizes that North Korea's negative interactions with the outside world increase Pyongyang's anxiety about its position in a hostile environment and provide grounds for rationalizing its decision to become a nuclear weapons state. The core claims made by social constructivists are that states' interests are constructed by intersubjective interactions in the system<sup>5</sup> and that frameworks of interstate interaction composed of practices, shared understandings, and threat complexes play an indirect causal role in defining states' interests.<sup>6</sup> Social constructivists also argue that the formation of norms by symbolic practices within the nonproliferation regime leads to legitimate actions and that compliance with the shared nuclear norms reinforces the identity of states and their status as legitimate members of the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> "Nuclear taboo" is defined as a normative prohibition on the "use" "development" of nuclear weapons. However, in this study, nuclear taboo means the "denial" of developing a nuclear weapons program. I prefer to use the term "nuclear taboo" rather than "nuclear norm," because taboo restrictions differ from moral prohibitions in the sense that taboos restrictions are accepted without question by those upon whom such restrictions are thrust but norms are observed based on moral judgment.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Alexander Wendt, "Collective Identity Formation and the International State," *American Political Science Review* 88, no. 2(1994): 384-96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Martha Finnemore, *National Interests in International Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996); Alexander Wendt, "Collective Identity Formation and the International State," 384-96; Alexander Wendt, "Constructing International Politics." *International Security* 20 no. 1(1995): 71-81; Friedrich V. Kratochwil, *Rules, Norms and Decisions: On the Conditions of Practical and Legal Reasoning in International Relations and Domestic Affairs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Zehfuss, Maja. *Constructivism in International Relations: The Politics of Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

international community.<sup>7</sup> However, the converse logic also comes into play, and conflict is also an intersubjective phenomenon by virtue of social relations.<sup>8</sup> Accordingly, increasing hostility by making aggressive moves and creating suspicion about the implementation of agreed promises leading to the breakdown of negotiations can be understood in the light of North Korea's negative interactions.

In sum, taking the constructivist approach that posits that identities and interests figure prominently in interstate interactions, this study aims to explain that North Korea's negative identification shaped by its negative interactions with other states underlies Pyongyang's valuation of its nuclear weapons program. It is likely that North Korea conceives its nuclear weapons program as a means to defend itself against what it perceives to be an unfair and threatening external environment and even an existential threat to its supreme national interest in regime preservation, exercising autonomy (*Juche*), and developing the image of a strong, prosperous state (*Kangsungdaekuk*).

In order to test the two above-mentioned hypotheses, this study will examine the international, regional and domestic variables pertinent to North Korea as follows. First, in order to analyze how North Korea's negative identification leads Pyongyang to pursue complete fuel-cycle nuclear capability and ultimately nuclear weapons technology over complying with international demands for denuclearization, this study will address: 1) consolidation and indoctrination of *Juche* ideology and Pyongyang's reaction to any intrusive measure based on a rigid interpretation of sovereignty under the continued Cold War paradigm; 2) North Korea's decades-old precedent of hostile relationships with the US and South Korea; 3) the imposition of a rogue identity by outsiders, which clashes with Pyongyang's presumptive national identity; 4) Pyongyang's unsuccessful struggle for international recognition and its fear

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Abraham Chayes, and Antonia H. Chayes, *The New Sovereignty: Compliance with International Regulatory Agreements* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995); Richard Price, and Nina Tannenwald. "Norms and Deterrence: The Nuclear and Chemical Weapons Taboo," in *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, ed. Peter J. Katzenstein (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Richard K. Ashley, "The Poverty of Neorealism," in *Neorealism and Its Critics*, ed. Robert O. Keohane (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).

of being absorbed by South Korea, the other half of a divided nation, which is favored by most of the world; 5) Pyongyang's insistence on its special status in the aftermath of its declaration of forsaking the NPT membership.

Second, in order to examine how North Korea's experience of negative interactions with the outside world leads it to attempt provocative actions and re-evaluate its nuclear program, this study will examine: 1) North Korea's critical attitude toward the politicization of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and unfair practices within the nonproliferation regime; 2) North Korea's experience of being suspected of deliberately avoiding obligations from the moment of its admission to the nuclear nonproliferation regime without the presentation of hard evidence, an experience that is directly linked to the North's actual development of nuclear weapons, and the tendency on the part of external powers to treat North Korea's noncompliance as cause for punishment; 3) tension between North Korea and other states, especially the US, over the unfulfilled promises offered by the nuclear talks and the refusal by the US to recognize Pyongyang as a respected counterpart; 4) Pyongyang's critical stance on the attempts to delegitimize North Korea by raising non-nuclear issues outside the nuclear talks and strengthening security initiatives that encourage collective action against North Korea; 5) North Korea's allergic reaction to the changes of the military balance on the Korean peninsula in the context of the relocation of the US Forces in Korea (USFK) and reinforcement of the South Korean army. Based on these considerations, this study will argue that international pressure on North Korea has become less and less credible a deterrent as North Korea has viewed the framework of nuclear talks as a repressive mechanism and reacted negatively to the hostile environment it has faced.

#### 3. Literature Review

International Relations scholars who explore the question of why some states make the decision to go nuclear have tended to present their various views mainly through the lens of

realism. However, only a few have explored the issue of the nuclear crisis on the Korean peninsula before the outbreak of the second nuclear crisis in 2002. It is also only in recent years that scholars have applied the constructivist approach to the proliferation puzzle. In order to demonstrate the expected contribution of this study to the existing literature, this section will first examine the recent literature on the North Korean nuclear crisis. Then, it will refer to social constructivism literature that provides the theoretical framework of this study.

#### 3.1. Recent Literature on the North Korean Nuclear Crisis

The majority of previous studies, except for some scientific research studies on nuclear technology<sup>9</sup>, are policy-oriented papers on the internal dynamics within the US government and changes in US policy toward North Korea. Others are regional studies on the relationship between North Korea and its neighboring states provided by a small number of Asia specialists who closely describe North Korea's behavioral pattern of reaction to external pressures. Most studies focus on security rationales and tend not to provide a comprehensive analysis of both the contextual and ideational variables that shape North Korea's nuclear policy decision-making process.

Very few studies have been done on the first nuclear crisis in the 1990s, but Mazarr's North Korea and the Bomb, <sup>10</sup> Oberdorfer's The Two Koreas, <sup>11</sup> McCormack's Target North Korea<sup>12</sup> and Pollack's No Exit<sup>13</sup> are noteworthy for providing detailed historical background of North Korea's nuclear program. They offer useful illustrations of how the first nuclear crisis put the US and North Korea on a collision course, and McCormack, in particular, provides insights

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> David Albright, and Kevin O'Neill, *Solving the North Korean Nuclear Puzzle* (Washington, DC.: institute for Science and International Security, 2000); Sung Taek Shin, *North Korea Nuclear Crisis Report* (Seoul: News Korea, 2009); Ho Gun Um, *North Korea's Weapons Development* (Seoul: Baeksan, 2009).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Michael J. Mazarr, *North Korea and the Bomb: A Case Study in Nonproliferation* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1995).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Don Oberdorfer, *The Two Koreas: A Contemporary History* (New York: Basic Books, 2002).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Gavan McCormack, *Target North Korea: Pushing North Korea to the Brink of Nuclear Catastrophe* (New York: Nation Books, 2004).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Jonathan D. Pollack, *No Exit: North Korea, Nuclear Weapons and International Security* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

into North Korea's thinking based on Pyongyang's historical experience. The process-tracing of the bilateral nuclear negotiations offered by Sigal, Wit et al., and Snyder can be good sources for understanding the dynamic interactions between the US and North Korea during negotiations. <sup>14</sup> However, these books lack theoretical rigor and an overarching analytical framework.

The number of studies on the North Korean nuclear issue has increased in the 2000s because the process to end North Korea's nuclear program ended almost where it began within less than a decade. Due to the pervasive skepticism among those who presently view the deadlocked negotiations on reversing North Korea's nuclear program, there seems to be a tendency to accept North Korea's nuclear aspiration as unstoppable. Hence, rather than exploring why and how North Korea has been driven to develop its nuclear weapons program, scholars have paid more attention to finding problems in the framework of nuclear talks and making policy suggestions. These policy-oriented studies, however, disagree on an ideal framework for terminating North Korea's nuclear weapons program due to diverging views on North Korea's motivations to pursue nuclear capabilities. Scholars have variously found the causes of the second North Korean nuclear crisis in 1) the hostility between the US and North Korea; 2) conflicting regional security interests; 3) domestic dynamics; 4) diplomatic leverage for gaining other benefits; and 5) the negotiation framework.

#### Hostility between the US and North Korea

A number of scholars have focused on the bilateral relationship between the US and North Korea and the confrontational bilateral relationship as the chief obstacle to resolving the nuclear crisis. Leon Sigal views Washington's hostile policy as the cause of slow progress, because Pyongyang refuses to eliminate nuclear facilities without abundant evidence of an end

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Leon V Sigal, "Hand in Hand for Korea: A Peace Process and Denuclearization," *Asian Perspective* 32, no. 2(2008): 5-20.

to Washington's hostility. He presents a series of events that provoked Pyongyang to retaliate. However, the question of how the US might present a convincing demonstration of non-hostile intent lies beyond the scope of this study. Hwang observes that North Korea aims to ease its security dilemma and maintain its regime survival, and appears to be critical about Washington's perception of North Korea merely as a reckless and aggressive expansionist. He argues that the security dilemma that North Korea is facing should be eased in order to make progress in nuclear talks and resolve the current nuclear crisis. Huntley stresses the importance of negotiations and argues that Washington's hostile neglect exacerbates the situation. In his later article, Huntley consistently finds obstacles arising from the ideational predispositions of the Bush administration and suggests that a lasting resolution is a bold action to institute regional security cooperation. However, this seems a self-contradictory argument because forging a cooperative mechanism cannot be productive without coordinating Washington's interests with that of the regional powers surrounding the Korean peninsula.

Others contend that Washington has sent mixed signals to North Korea. Mazarr, for example, criticizes that US policy toward North Korea was not rigorously debated at the highest levels from the start of the Bush administration and argues that unresolved internal disputes in Washington was responsible for the failure to put forward a coherent policy. Pritchard also views Washington's refusal to negotiate with North Korea under Kim Jong Il's rule as providing no opportunities to address the dangerous issues of nuclear security. Moore points out that the failure to prevent North Korea from possessing nuclear weapons was a result

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Jihwa Hwang, "Realism and US Foreign Policy toward North Korea: The Clinton and Bush Administrations in Comparative Perspective," *World Affairs* 167, no. 1(2004): 15-30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Wade L. Huntley, "Sit Down and Talk," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 59, no. 4(2003): 28-29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Wade L. Huntley, "US Policy toward North Korea in Strategic Context: Tempting Goliath's Fate," *Asian Survey* 47, no. 3(2007): 455-81.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Wade L. Huntley, "The Korean Conundrum: A Regional Answer to the Nuclear Crisis," *Global Dialogue* 8, no. 1(2006): 93-103.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Michael J. Mazarr, "The Long Road to Pyongyang: A Case Study in Policymaking Without Direction," *Foreign Affairs* 86, no. 5(2007): 75-94.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Charles L. Pritchard, *Failed Diplomacy: The Tragic Story of How North Korea Got the Bomb* (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institutions Press, 2007).

of the Bush administration's blanket rejection of the previous administration's approach to North Korea, divisions within the administration, and neoconservative influence on foreign policy. Harrison is very critical about Washington's accusation of North Korea's uranium program, pointing to it as an attempt to reverse the previously established US policy toward North Korea. These studies present close examination of power politics in Washington—two distinct policy tracks toward North Korea and the absence of a long-term strategy on the nuclear issue. However, difficulties in reconciling diverse concerns arising out of US-South Korea and US-Japan relations have also been a factor in Washington's inability to put forward a coherent strategy, which is a perspective that is missing in these studies.

Scholars have also extended the parameters of US policy to the US-South Korea security alliance policy, pointing to it as another factor that creates tension on the Korean peninsula. Bahng connects the US-South Korea alliance and North Korea's position based on the observation that issues concerning the transfer of operational command and relocation of army bases have triggered a hard-line position on the part of North Korea.<sup>24</sup> Park argues that the thaw in US-North Korea relations is the key to open a new opportunity, pointing out that the rollback of North Korea's nuclear program, which was short-lived, is closely intertwined with the peace process on the Korean peninsula.<sup>25</sup> However, taking Washington's attitude toward North Korea as a dependent variable of the nuclear crisis does not explain the dynamics of the crisis. Furthermore, a narrow focus on the bilateral relationship leaves out multi-dimensional interactions that also affect the process of the nuclear talks.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Gregory J. Moore, "America's Failed North Korea Nuclear Policy: A New Approach," Asian Perspective 32, no. 4(2008): 9-29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Selig S. Harrison, "Did North Korea Cheat?" Foreign Affairs 84, no. 1 (January/February 2005): 99-110.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Tae-Seop Bahng, "Prerequisites to Upgrading the ROK-US Alliance: North Korea and Wartime Operational Control," *SERI Quarterly* 2. no. 4(2009): 112-19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Kun Young Park, "Preparing for a Peace Process in the Korean Peninsula," *Asian Perspective* 32, no. 1(2009): 183-200.

#### Regional security concerns

Examining the conflicting interests among neighboring states is critical for this study because attempts to maintain the status quo on the Korean peninsula have contributed to the persistence of the nuclear crisis. Suh suggests that three failures of the past led to Pyongyang's nuclear tests: first, the failure to recognize that North Korea's nuclear problem is part and parcel of the interdependence of security concerns; second, the failure to acknowledge that Pyongyang and Washington are caught in a state of war and that both sides are concerned about the other's means of violence; third, the failure to address the region's power politics, which complicates Pyongyang's and Washington's strategic calculations. <sup>26</sup> Suh concludes that a high degree of uncertainty causes each country to remain susceptible to the whims of other actors and suggests establishing a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone, and ending the enmity by concluding simultaneous peace pacts and providing a regional architecture of peace. Suh's comprehensive analysis of the regional security environment helps us understand the complex situation in which Pyongyang lies, but doesn't sufficiently discuss why conflicting interests have not been resolved. Huntley points out the security consequences of North Korea's nuclear program in the Northeast Asian region, highlighting the linkage between North Korea's activities and the military spending decisions of the neighboring states.<sup>27</sup> Based on historical analysis, Funabashi finds that the legacy of the colonial past and the Korean War influenced both North Korea's identity crisis and its distrust of regional powers, contributing to the crisis on the Korean peninsula.<sup>28</sup>

Many scholars provide perspectives of the neighboring states on the nuclear crisis on the Korean peninsula. Ha and Chun observe that the contending positions of China and South Korea, on one hand, and the US and Japan, on the other, drag out the nuclear talks.<sup>29</sup> Cai

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Jae Jung Suh, "Three Failures of the Past, Three Structures of Peace," Asian Perspective 34, no. 2(2010): 201-208.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Wade L. Huntley, "Bucks for the Bang: North Korea's Nuclear Program and Northeast Asian Military Spending," *Asian Perspective* 33, no. 4(2009): 147-84.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Yoichi Funabashi, *The Peninsula Question: A Chronicle of the Second Korean Nuclear Crisis* (Brooking Institution Press, 2007).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Yong Chool Ha, and Chaesung Chun, "North Korea's Brinkmanship and the Task to Solve the Nuclear Dilemma," *Asian Perspective* 34, no. 1(2010): 87-111.

examines the changing Sino-North Korea relationship and concludes that China needs to develop a long-term strategy.<sup>30</sup> Holmes also argues that China is reluctant to pressure North Korea for its own reasons. 31 Moltz, Buszynski and Toloraya explain Russia's objectives in its relationship with North Korea.<sup>32</sup> They emphasize the close cooperation between the US and Russia, but Buszynski foresees that Russia will adjust to a nuclear North Korea because Russia has interests in promoting influence on the Korean peninsula to balance the US and Japan. Park and Kim focus on the leadership and social dynamics that shape inter-Korean relations.<sup>33</sup> They write that South Korea's tough stance toward North Korea's nuclear ambition creates a sense of frustration within the North Korean leadership, but they present optimistic predictions that the two Koreas will move toward cooperative behavior because both Koreas have political and economic incentives to do so. However, these two authors place too much significance on cooperation in non-security issues and the role of nongovernmental organizations and come to their conclusion without sufficient consideration of the intricacy of the decades-old rivalry between Seoul and Pyongyang on legitimacy and other concerns that are hard to reconcile. In the end, many of these studies are descriptive and merely present an idealistic solution to forging regional cooperation without considering obstacles borne out of complex internal Korean dynamics or regional power politics among the states concerned.

#### Domestic dynamics

Many predict that North Korea is unlikely to relinquish its nuclear program because of various domestic factors. Noticing that a state's behavior is not merely a response to the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Jian Cai, "The Korea Nuclear Crisis and the Changing Sino-DPRK Relationship," *Asian Perspective* 34, no. 1(2010): 137-60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> James R. Holmes, "Lessons of the Korean War for the Six-Party Talks," World Affairs 169, no. 1(2006): 3-25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Leszek Buszynski, "Russia and North Korea: Dilemmas and Interests," *Asian Survey* 49, no. 5(2009):809-31; James C. Moltz, "US-Russian Relations and the North Korean Crisis: A Role for the Russian Far East?" *Asian Survey* 45, no. 5(2005): 722-735; Georgy Toloraya, "The Six Party Talks: A Russian Perspective," *Asian Perspective* 32, no. 4(2008): 45-71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Myoung-Kyu Park, and Philo Kim, "Inter-Korean Relations in Nuclear Politics," *Asian Perspective* 34, no. 1(2010): 111-138.

international structure but also a reaction to a state's domestic situation, scholars present domestic variables such as threat perception, dictatorship, and elite structure. They point out that the North Korean regime is in jeopardy and refuses to give up its own modest nuclear arsenal without an iron-clad security guarantee from the US. Lim observes that North Korea's provocations aim at improving its self-defense, cementing its authority and upgrading its offensive capability. His suggestion of strengthening the deterrence power of the US and Japan against North Korea and pursuing dialogue at the same time, however, seems paradoxical because North Korea refuses to attend the nuclear talks on the grounds that the US and Japan are beefing up their own military capabilities.

Others believe that the North's nuclear weapons program serves to maintain Kim Jong II's leadership.<sup>35</sup> Habib argues that the nuclear program has been a long-term project significant to the perpetuation of the Kim Jong II regime.<sup>36</sup> Caryl observes that Kim Jong II's leadership is weakening and points out that the nuclear program is the key source of his legitimacy, because it is the only national success that Kim Jong II can call his own.<sup>37</sup> Holmes writes that North Korea's skillfully managed power politics accounts for Pyongyang's continued refusal to make concessions to the US, a function of the hitherto failure of US coercive diplomacy.<sup>38</sup> Oh and Hassig also argue that North Korea enjoys the status quo because North Korean elites live comfortably and feel little need to open the borders.<sup>39</sup> Mansourov pays attention to changes of leadership and organizational structure within the North Korean government and observes that the power of the military continues to increase.<sup>40</sup> Studies on the role of the elites' worldview

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Soo-Ho Lim, "Motives behind North Korea's Nuclear Weapons and Prospects for Denuclearization," *SERI Quarterly* 2, no. 4(2009): 118-25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> John Farrell, "Red Rogue: The Persistent Challenge of North Korea," *Air & Space Power Journal* 22, no. 4(Winter, 2008): 105-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Benjami Habib, "Rogue Proliferator? North Korea's Nuclear Fuel Cycle & Its Relationship to Regime Perspectation," *Energy Policy* 38, no. 6(2010): 2826-34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Christian Caryl, "The Hermit Kingdom," Foreign Policy (November/December, 2009): 31-34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> James R. Holmes, "Lessons of the Korean War for the Six-Party Talks," World Affairs 169, no. 1(2006): 3-25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Kongdan Oh, and Ralph Hassig, "North Korea in 2009: the Song Remains the Same," *Asian Survey* 50, no. 1(2010): 89-99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Alexandre Mansourov, "DPRK after Kim Il Sung: Is a Second Republic Possible?" (paper prepared at International

may be useful for foreseeing predictable patterns of North Korea's behavior<sup>41</sup>, but they seem to be biased against some passions or paranoia in the North Korean leadership. In addition, these studies often lack in-depth analysis on North Korea's political structure, which centers on the political party that provides guiding principles. Moreover, little attention has been paid to the ideological factor that also affects North Korea's foreign policy decision-making.

# Diplomatic leverage for gaining other benefits

Some scholars argue that North Korea uses its nuclear weapons program as a tool to increase gains from negotiations. Lee argues that North Korea's primary concern is extracting benefits in exchange for pledging to give up the program. Those who believe that North Korea aims to draw concessions and gain leverage vis-à-vis regional states are pessimistic about the prospect of resolving the crisis. Miller sees that Pyongyang has been playing nuclear games for decades, provoking nuclear crises. Lee believes that North Korea, incapable of competing with economically flourishing South Korea, has successfully played military and political brinkmanship to make up ground and played games of duplicity. Clemens examines overall WMD issues and explains in detail how each side uses the arms control negotiations as an instrument to promote its own political and economic agenda. Lee argues that North Korea's concern for security cannot be traded off for economic gains and explains that North Korea deals with the US to resolve security issues while dealing with other states on economic matters.

Those who pay attention to North Korea's non-nuclear concerns suggest that adequately

Conference on 'North Korea after Kim Il Sung', Melbourne, Australia, 26-27 September 1994).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Peter Hayes, "Dr. Strangelove in Pyongyang," *Policy Forum 06-85A*, October 9, 2006; Kongdan Oh, "Northeast Asia: Changes and the Potential for a Cooperative Future," Brookings Institution, accessed December 8, 2010, http://www.brookings.edu/articles/2003/01northeastasia\_oh.aspx.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Steven E. Miller, "The Real Crisis," *Harvard International Review* 25, no. 2(2003): 83-84.

<sup>43</sup> Sung Yoon Lee, "The Pyongyang Playbook." *Foreign Affairs* (August 2010)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Walter C. Clemens, "Negotiating to Control Weapons of Mass Destruction in North Korea," *International Negotiation* 10, no. 3(2005): 453-486.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Han-Hee Lee, "North Korea and Shifting Global Balance of Power," SERI Quarterly 2, no. 2(2009): 100-106.

dealing with North Korea's economic difficulties and conventional military forces can end the nuclear threat. 46 Park writes that the two most pressing problems that North Korea faced at the beginning of the second nuclear crisis were resisting international pressure and coping with a crippled economy. 47 Mansorouv argues that the fundamental objectives of the North Korean regime include international legitimacy and procuring foreign assistance. 48 However, studies with too much emphasis on North Korea's so-called "brinkmanship" seem to overlook the fact that Pyongyang showed some willingness to eliminate nuclear programs if certain demands were met and that North Korea's experience of neglect has gradually shaped its perception that it is running out of options.

# Negotiation framework

After the the unintended consequences of North Korea's nuclear tests in the thick of protracted negotiations of the Six-Party Talks, a number of policy-oriented papers were produced that sought to provide prescription rather than diagnosis. Some contend that pressure has proved counterproductive, only leading North Korea to become reclusive, <sup>49</sup> while others insist on an enforcement mechanism and on imposing penalties for noncompliance.<sup>50</sup> Ha and Chun argue that the six-party framework is not an effective format for resolving the nuclear crisis, warning that the prolonged dialogue allows North Korea to make advances in its nuclear technology while hindering domestic reforms that North Korea needs for survival.<sup>51</sup> On the other hand, Cai believes that the nuclear talks were moving in the right direction and were not a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Michael E. O'Hanlon, and Mike Mochizuki, Crisis on the Korean Peninsula: How to Deal with a Nuclear North Korea (New York: McGrawHill, 2003).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Kyung-Ae Park, "North Korea in 2003: Pendulum Swing between Crisis and Diplomacy," Asian Survey 44, no. 1(2004): 139-46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Alexandre Mansourov, "The Hermit Mouse Roars: North Korea," Asian Affairs: An American Review 30, no.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Leon V. Sigal, "Hand in Hand for Korea: A Peace Process and Denuclearization," Asian Perspective 32, no. 2(2008): 5-20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Yen-Chiang Chang, "Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons," Energy Policy 37, no. 6(June, 2009): 2131-2135; Tae-Seop Bahng, "Prerequisites to Upgrading the ROK-US Alliance: North Korea and Wartime Operational Control," SERI Quarterly 2. no. 4(2009): 112-19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Yong Chool Ha, and Chaesung Chun, "North Korea's Brinkmanship and the Task to Solve the Nuclear Dilemma," Asian Perspective 34, no. 1(2010): 87-111.

total failure.<sup>52</sup> Bahng also insists that the Six-Party Talks provide the best way to resolve the crisis, believing that it can eventually lead to the process of nuclear facility inspections and related activities if the negotiations continue.<sup>53</sup> Chu and Lin are convinced that the six-party framework brings all six countries together in terms of regional security.<sup>54</sup> However, these discussions do not present sufficient answers as to why negotiations to control North Korea's nuclear weapons appeared to achieve positive results in the 1990s yet this trend reversed direction in the 2000s. Moreover, they do not adequately address why agreements at the negotiations have not been implemented up to now.

There are also studies that tend toward theoretical inquiry. Cha and Kang argue that their application of prospect theory makes their work theoretically rigorous research. Cha and Kang offer different diagnoses of the nature of North Korea's nuclear crisis, but they come to the same conclusion that Pyongyang is rationally calculating the costs and benefits of its actions, and the two authors call for an engagement policy. Their efforts to understand North Korea's motives are noteworthy, but their conclusion is based on material conditions rather than North Korea's subjective frame of reference. There is still a need to bring in Pyongyang's perception of the situation based on an analysis of North Korea's ideological, cultural and political dimensions.

In sum, the literature on the nuclear crisis on the Korean peninsula presents various dimensions on the antagonism that North Korea encounters. However, what is noticeable in most discussions of North Korea is the glaring absence of North Korea. In other words, North Korea's perspective is not well presented, much less analyzed. Holsti notes that analyzing socio-psychological processes can be more relevant to the study of decision outputs in

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Jian Cai, "The Korea Nuclear Crisis and the Changing Sino-DPRK Relationship," *Asian Perspective* 34, no. 1(2010): 137-60

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Tae-Seop Bahng, "Prerequisites to Upgrading the ROK-US Alliance: North Korea and Wartime Operational Control," *SERI Quarterly* 2. no. 4(2009): 112-19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Chu Shulong, and Lin Xinzhu, "The Six Party Talks: A Chinese Perspective," *Asian Perspective* 32, no. 4(2008): 29-45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Victor Cha, and David Kang, *Nuclear North Korea: A Debate on Engagement Strategies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).

circumstances where non-routine situations require more than merely the application of standard operating procedures and decision rules.<sup>56</sup> The case of the North Korean nuclear crisis meets these criteria. The theoretical insights from constructivism open a new way to discuss this issue.

#### 3.2. Social Constructivism Literature

This study aims to rethink the subject of nuclear nonproliferation and North Korea's nuclear crisis that has long been examined within the framework of interest-based theories including neorealism and neoliberal institutionalism.

Scholars of International Relations have integrated hypotheses from other disciplines and expanded the range of research programs, <sup>57</sup> acknowledging the desirability of supplementary analyses. Likewise, social constructivism has expanded the theoretical discourse by reaching out to inter-disciplinary foundations in sociology, 58 occupying a middle ground between rational choice theorists and postmodern scholars, 59 and presenting new interpretations of international politics. Instead of treating North Korea's noncompliance merely as a nonsensical anomaly, this study takes social constructivism as a research methodology and analyzes how North Korea rationalized its pursuit of a nuclear weapons program with the view toward demonstrating the socio-psychological structure to be a key causal factor.

The social constructivist approach represents a further progression away from realist assumptions, demonstrating the potential impact of the social environment and shedding new

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Ole R. Holsti, "Cognitive Process Approaches to Decision-Making." *American Behavioral Scientist* 20, no. 1(1976):

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Lakatos emphasizes that a scientific research program is one in which a series of theories is developed. Lakatosian theory development is to protect the axiomatic basis of the program and to take the form of a surrounding belt of research findings that is open for review, and theorists construct auxiliary hypotheses to explain the anomalies in a progressive way. Imre Lakatos, "Falsification and the Methodology of Scientific Research Program," in I. Lakatos and A. Musgrave, eds. Criticism and the Growth of Knowledge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 116-122, 132-138; Patrick James, "Neorealism as a Research Enterprise: Toward Elaborated Structural Realism," Political Research Quarterly 53(June, 2000): 267-284.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Jeffrey T. Checkel, "The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory," World Politics 50, no. 2(1998): 324-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Wendt, Social Theory of International Politics, 21-23.

light on the socio-psychological aspect. Social constructivists problematize the actor's preferences, interests, and identities, which are taken as stable within a rational framework. Social constructivism treats norms and beliefs as an independent variable that offers insights on how the material world is perceived by states, <sup>60</sup> by focusing on socially constructed knowledge as a configuration of preferences of all states, 61 the role of extended discourse, 62 a normative framework 63 and the influence of the international epistemic community. 64 For social constructivists, not merely altering the price of cooperation but creating new definitions of self in relation to others is important. Such self-reflection based on which states make choices and manifest changes in identity and interest is understood as cognitive evolution, which goes beyond "old ideas and beliefs about the autonomy of states in the international arena". 65 Social constructivists pay particular attention to the processes of the selection, retention, and spread of expectations and values at both the national and international levels. Milner argues that national leaders are playing in both the domestic and international arenas, trying to achieve their goals and facing different pressures and constraints from each arena. 66 Adler adds to the concept of the two-level game<sup>67</sup> that "expectations and values enter into the political process through the active participation of political groups... these ideas help to define the national interest, which

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Michael Barnett, and Finnemore, Martha, *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004); Martha Finnemore, and Kathryn Sikkink, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," *International Organization* 52, no. 4(1998): 887-917; John G. Ruggie, *Multilaterlism Matters: The Theory and Praxis of an Institutional Form* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Andres Moravcsik, "Taking Preferences Seriously: a Liberal Theory of International Politics," *International Organization* 51, no. 4(1997): 513-41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Peter Katzenstein, *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); Richard Price, and Nina Tannenwald, "Norms and Deterrence: The Nuclear and Chemical Weapons Taboo," in *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, ed. Peter J. Katzenstein (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Paul Kowert, and Jeffrey Legro, "Norms, Identity, and their Limits: A Theoretical Reprise," in *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, ed. Peter J. Katzenstein (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Peter M. Haas, "Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination," *International Organization* 46, no. 1(1992): 1-35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Emanuel Adler and others, "Introduction: Defining and Conceptualizing Progress in International Relations," in *Progress in Postwar International Relations*, ed. Emanuel Adler and Beverly Crawford (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Helen Milner, *Interests, institutions, and Information: Domestic Politics and International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Robert D. Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: the Logic of Two-level Games," *International Organization* 42, no. 3(1988): 427-60.

then becomes a conceptual and normative input to the international game". 68

Since policy preferences are combined with the social environment, an extended discourse and practices are believed to bring about construction of a substantial awareness of nuclear issues and states' aversion to nuclear proliferation. Today's world is composed of a preponderant club of nations adhering to the NPT, and the norm embodied by the NPT represents "the global consensus that acquisition of nuclear weapons no longer is legitimate". 69 Mueller points out the significance of political, cultural, and ideological factors that play crucial roles.<sup>70</sup> Focusing on the significance of peace advocacy, he argues that nuclear weapons themselves have been sufficient, not necessary, factors that have kept superpowers avoid conflict. <sup>71</sup> Long and Grillot examine how beliefs and ideas shape the preference of states in the nuclear arena, arguing that "preferences are determined by a state's beliefs about cause-effect relationships which derive authority from the shared consensus." 72 Price and Tannenwald observe that states that identify themselves as members of responsible, civilized international society eschew obtaining nuclear weapons by conforming with the nuclear nonproliferation norm more readily than a state that adopts a dissimilar identity and balks at the norm. <sup>73</sup> Hymans stresses, "there is a widespread acceptance by states that good international citizens do not build nuclear arsenals". 74 In order to explain when and how norms matter, Rublee theorizes that states exercise nuclear restraint because they desire their rightful place in the international community, tend to accept superior norms, and rely on consistency of attitude, which again reinforces the nonproliferation commitments of member

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Emanuel Adler, "Opaque Nuclear Proliferation and the Political Selection of Arms Control Concepts," in *Opaque Nuclear Proliferation: Methodological and Policy Implications*, ed. Frankel Benjamin (London: Frank Cass, 1991).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Lewis Dunn, "Four Decades of Nuclear Nonproliferation: Some Lessons from Wins, Loses, and Draws," *Washington Quarterly* 13, no. 3(1990): 5-18; Scott D. Sagan, "Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons?: Three Models in Search of a Bomb," *International Security* 21, no. 3(1996/7): 54-86.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> John Mueller, *Retreat from Doomsday* (New York: Basic Books, 1989).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> John Mueller, *Quiet Cataclysm: Reflections on the Recent Transformation of World Politics* (New York: Harper Collins, 1995).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> William Long, and Suzette Grillot, "Ideas, Beliefs and Nuclear Policies: The Cases of South Africa and Ukraine," *The Nonproliferation Review* 7, no.1(2000): 24-40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Richard Price, and Nina Tannenwald, "Norms and Deterrence: The Nuclear and Chemical Weapons Taboo," in *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, ed. Peter J. Katzenstein (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Jacques Hymans, "North Korea's Nuclear Neurosis," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 63, no. 3 (2007): 44-49.

states.<sup>75</sup> All this material speaks to the emerging discourse about the significance of the social environment that states are embedded in.

In some cases, state interests, in the presence of a norm, are not shaped as expected. Social constructivists acknowledge that efforts to discuss this type of case, when the "dog does not bark," should continue. The North Korean nuclear crisis is a good case for this purpose. Previous studies have demonstrated how international norms regulate the interactions among democracies, or states in the Western sphere, and thus there has been a tendency to consider only ethically good norms. Previous studies have assumed that states have an interest in normalizing relations with the outside world and taking a rightful place in the international community, without understanding the potential conflict between domestically-held beliefs and imposed rules. Constructivists, emphasizing mutually constituting agents and structures, have gradually paid attention to the micro-level analysis, addressing how certain logics of appropriateness come to govern the behavior of actors. Wendt leaves answering the question of "why norms have such powerful constitutive effects in some states but not in others and why social construction varies across nationally" to the future studies. In this regard, for the theory building of social constructivism, this study seeks what has not been fully addressed—a different way of constructing the identity and interests of a particular state.

#### 3.3. Literature on Identification and Interaction

Constructivist studies introduce the concept of identification and interaction, but the concept of negative identification and negative interaction, although these terms appear in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Maria R. Rublee, *Nonproliferation norms: Why States Choose Nuclear Restraint* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Jeffrey T. Checkel, "The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory," *World Politics* 50, no. 2(1998): 324-348.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Thomas Risse-Kappen, *Bringing Transnational Relations Back in* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Paul Kowert, and Jeffrey Legro. "Norms, Identity, and their Limits: A Theoretical Reprise," in *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, ed. Peter J. Katzenstein (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Peter Katzenstein, and others. "The Role of Theory in Comparative Politics: A symposium," *World Politics* 48 (October, 1995): 1-49.

existing literature, is not thoroughly explained in previous studies. Constructivist studies focus more on positive identity formation, stressing that the formation of collective identity among states creates room for the emergence of cooperation among states. <sup>80</sup> They also stress the function of the social setting in which states' interactions occur and form their role identity, addressing that states learning to identify with each other see themselves as bound by certain norms. <sup>81</sup> This study will explain how the concepts of negative identification and negative interaction have developed from the existing literature to show that a state under a condition that promotes only negative identification has less incentive to identify with the others and behave according to their expectations.

# Negative identification

This study applies two theoretical frameworks—negative identification and negative interaction. The concept of identity is crucial since "it functions as a critical link between environmental structures and interests". <sup>82</sup> Constructivists hold that states' identities are consequential for the definition of national interests <sup>83</sup> because national identities exert an influence on the selection and employment of certain means by states. Because "states can identify their security competitively, individualistically, or cooperatively with other states", <sup>84</sup> notions of national security differ in the "manner in which the self is identified cognitively with the other". <sup>85</sup> Zehfuss writes that "how actors construe their identity in relation to others" affects the way that actors understand the environment." Johnston stresses that people interpret the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Wendt, "Collective Identity Formation and the International State," 384-96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Glenn Chafetz, "The Struggle for a National Identity in Post-Soviet Russia," *Political Science Quarterly* 111, no. 4 (Winter 1996-1997): 661-688.

Ronald L. Jepperson, and others, "Norms, Identity, and Culture in National Security," in *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, ed. Peter J. Katzenstein (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).
 Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics," *International*

Organization 46, no. 2(1992): 391-525; Peter Katzenstein, *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Glenn Chafetz, "The End of the Cold War and the Future of Nuclear Proliferation: An Alternative to the Neorealist Prospective," in *The Proliferation Puzzle: Why Nuclear Weapons Spread and What Results*, ed. Zachary S. Davis and Benjamin Frankel (Portland: Frank Cass and Co., 1993).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics," 391-525.

same information differently. Hopf also notes that identity supplies information about a state's likely behavior in a particular situation and about how a state interprets other states' intention and action. Constructivists claim that social identities involve a level of identification, which is a continuum from negative to positive—"from conceiving the other as an anathema to the self to conceiving it as an extension of the self". Wendt explains that actors fall between the extremes, motivated by both egoistic and solidaristic loyalties. He writes that states can tend toward the negative end of the identification continuum. If a state identifies other states negatively, it is more likely to define its interests egoistically in terms of relative gains. According to this logic, North Korea forms negative identity when it identifies its interests negatively with those of the others.

In his theoretical work, *Social Theory of International Politics*, Wendt discusses four types of identity—corporate, type, role, and collective—which help us understand North Korea's negative identity formation. He explains that a state with a corporate identity pursues selfish interests, while a state with a social identity pursues collective interests. He also asserts that in a condition where mutual fear is great, states form negative identifications with each other. North Korea is a sovereign state with the autonomy to decide its course of action (corporate), a socialist country ruled by unique political ideology (type), an enemy state of South Korea and an outlawed state in the international community (role). Bozdaglioglu stresses that with the presence of corporate identities, interdependence, a common threat, and acceptance by others contribute to the formation of collective social identity through positive interactions among states. However, North Korea faces difficulties in having an identity as a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Alastair Iain Johnston, "Treating International Institutions as Social Environments," *International Studies Quarterly* 45, no. 4 (2001): 487-515.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Ted Hopf, "The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory," *International Security* 23, no.1(1998): 171-200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> Wendt, "Collective Identity Formation and the International State," 384-96.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Wendt, Social Theory of International Politics.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Wendt, "Collective Identity Formation and the International State," 384-96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Yucel Bozdaglioglu, "Constructivism and Identity Formation: An Interactive Approach," USAK Yearbook vol. 1

member of the international community (collective) because its struggle for recognition and attempt to be integrated into the outside world were unsuccessful in the 1990s and even more so in the 2000s. Therefore, in the absence of confidence that its existence is not threatened, room for processes of positive identification is minimal for North Korea. Different types of identity formation help us understand how North Korea defines itself in relation to others in particular situations.

# Negative interaction

According to social constructivism who view that identities and interests are relationship-specific, 93 understanding North Korea's negative identification cannot be separated from its interactions with other states. For social constructivists, state identities and consequently interests are endogenous to state interaction and can change depending on the interaction. Wendt contends that security dilemmas are the effects of practices 94 because it is through a process of signaling and interpreting that the costs and probabilities of being wrong can be determined. He stresses that even corporate identity cannot be complete without understanding interactions with other states because even self-interest presupposes an other. 95 Johnston points out that the processes that may govern this interaction are persuasion and social influence and that "non-involvement will mean these effects don't appear". 96 He mentions that in world politics the identities of nations and states are formed in constant interaction with other nations and states. International politics is also envisioned as a continuum along which states exist. At one end of the continuum, the competitive security outlook exists, and, at the other end of the

<sup>(</sup>Ankara: International Strategic Research Organization, 2008), 210-11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics," 391-525.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Wendt, "Constructing International Politics," 71-81.

<sup>95</sup> Wendt, "Collective Identity Formation and the International State," 384-96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Alastair Iain Johnston, "The Social Effects of International Institutions on Domestic (Foreign Policy) Actors," in *Locating the Proper Authorities: The Interaction of domestic and International Institutions*, ed. Daniel Drezner (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2002).

continuum, the "cooperative" security system is available. <sup>97</sup> Barnett stresses that "the role identities of states can change as a result of interaction with other states". <sup>98</sup> According to Barnett, positive interactions result in a change toward friendship, but negative interactions cause states to see themselves as adversaries.

Rather than defining socialization as a strategy to induce value change in others, 99 social constructivists see socialization as features of interaction in terms of which all identities and interests are produced and reproduced. 100 Johnston sees that different types and degree of socialization lead to changes in behavior even though material constraints stay the same. 101 Wendt assumes that continuous interaction among states may have a transformative effect on the identities of states and consequently on their interests. Zehfuss contends that any conflict within a member of a broader community will be likely to result in a negative interaction which would produce an identity crisis. 102 By suggesting that repeated interactions create concepts of the self and others regarding the issue at stake, the social constructivist approach introduces a new way of understanding North Korea's uncooperative behavior. Furthermore, this discussion helps us understand that North Korea's identity is produced and reproduced and that its interests are shaped and reshaped. Wendt notes that states identify positively with one another so that the security of each is perceived as the responsibility of all, 103 which implies that states pursue policy to defend their own security if they identify negatively with one another. In this regard, this study argues that North Korea, through negative interaction caused by hostile relationships with others, makes an effort to enhance its own security unilaterally and ultimately perpetuates

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics," 391-525.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> Michael Barnett, "Institutions, Roles and Disorder: The Case of the Arab States System," *International Studies Quarterly* 37, no. 3(1993): 271-296.

*Quarterly* 37, no. 3(1993): 271-296.

<sup>99</sup> John G. Ikenberry, and Charles A. Kupchan, "Socialization and Hegemonic Power," *International Organization* 44, no. 3(1990): 283-315.

<sup>100</sup> James D. Morrow, "Social Choice and System Structure in World Politics," World Politics 41, no. 1(1988): 75-97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Alastair Iain Johnston, "Treating International Institutions as Social Environments," *International Studies Quarterly* 45, no. 4 (2001): 487-515.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> Maja Zehfuss, *Constructivism in International Relations: The Politics of Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 42-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics," 391-525.

distrust and alienation.

#### 4. Methodology

#### 4.1. Research Design

This dissertation is a case study analyzing the process of interaction and identification attendant to the complicated contexts that shape the North Korean state's nuclear decision. A case study seeks an in-depth, insightful, and informative analysis of a specific case; moreover, it is preferable when 'how' and 'why' questions are asked about contemporary events, and it can use multiple sources of evidence. 104 In this light, this study addresses the question of "how" and "why" negative interactions and negative identification have influenced North Korea's nuclear choice and the outcome of the nuclear talks. Thanks to the international salience of the North Korean nuclear issue, a growing number of sources of evidence can be examined for this research. This research adopts the single case design that is eminently justifiable under certain conditions—where the case is a rare or unique event or where the case serves a revelatory purpose. 105 This research is also based on a holistic design in that it focuses on the nation-state as the basic unit of analysis. Social constructivism accepts realist assumption that states are unitary actors, and North Korea, which is a highly centralized states, is capable of making nuclear policy decisions without bureaucratic or inter-branch politics. 106 It adopts a processoriented design<sup>107</sup> because it attempts to examine the relationship between key variables and the outcome of North Korea's nuclear decision-making.

In order to construct internal validity, <sup>108</sup> this study aims at testing theoretically

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> Seyom Brown, New Forces in World Politics (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1974).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Robert K. Yin, Case Study Research: Design and Methods (Newbury Park: Sage Publishing, 2002).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> Wendt, like Waltz, develops a systemic theory and adopts state-centric approach on the grounds that "since states are the dominant form of subjectivity in contemporary world politics this means that they should be the primary unit of analysis for thinking about the global regulation of violence."

A process-tracing procedure is intended to investigate the policy process by which inputs are translated into outputs. Internal validity guarantees the logical rigor of research by establishing valid relationships between research variables. This can be achieved by looking at the sequential relationships in selective aspects of the case. Alexander L. George, and Timothy J. McKeown, "Case Studies and Theories of Organizational Decision-Making," in Advances in

meaningful hypotheses based on theoretically structured questions in collecting and analyzing the data. 109 This study has some external validity 110 in that its findings can make it easier to understand other cases of noncompliance with the NPT in the future. 111 In addition, this study will have some utility<sup>112</sup> in that it can suggest policy implications that will be helpful in dealing with noncompliance with the nuclear taboo, a serious problem that draws much attention from policy practitioners and academic researchers.

The method of discursive analysis, particularly predicate analysis, will be employed because it is suitable for the study of language practices in texts. The role of language is important for social constructivist approach since language is the fundamental medium of international politics. 113 Since discourses define the relations within which subjects see and are seen by each other 114 and knowledgeable practices by these subject towards the objects, 115 discourses are structures that are actualized in their regular use by people<sup>116</sup> and work to silence "subjugated knowledge" and to endorse a certain common sense. 118 Examining dominating discourses and their structuring of meaning as connected to implementing practices and ways of these legitimate is crucial for the study of nuclear taboo.

North Korea's pursuit of its nuclear program merely as a matter of material use does not

Information Processing in Organization Vol. 2, ed. Robert F. Coulam and Richard A. Smith (Greenwich: JAI Press,

<sup>109</sup> Alexander L. George, "Case Studies and Theory Development: The Method of Structured Focused Comparison," in Diplomacy: New Approaches in History, Theory and Policy, ed. Paul Gordon Lauren (New York, London: The Free Press, Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1979).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> The more representative the case, the higher the external validity of research to that case is. Although this case study cannot be highly representative, the result of finding the causes of the nuclear crisis has implications for future study. <sup>111</sup> Arend Lijphart, "The Comparabe-case Strategy in Comparative Research," Comparative Political Studies 8(1975):

<sup>112</sup> Utility can be determined by the extent to which a study can contribute to problem identification and resolution.

<sup>113</sup> Harald Muller, "International Relations as Communicative Action," in Constructing International Relations: The Next Generation, ed. Karin M. Fierke and Knud E. Jorgensen (New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 2001).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> Ferdinand De Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics* (London: Fontana, 1974).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> James Keeley, "Towards a Foucauldian Analysis of International Regimes," *International Organization* 44, no.

<sup>116</sup> Michael J. Shapiro, "Textualizing Global Politics," in International/Intertextual Relations: Postmodern Readings of World Politics, ed. James Der Derian and Michael J. Shapiro (Lexington: Lexington Books, 1989).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> Michael Foucault, "Two Lectures," in *Power and Knowledge: Selected Interviews*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon, 1980).

<sup>118</sup> David Campbell, Politics Without Principles: Sovereignty, Ethics, and the Narratives of the Gulf War (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1993).

explain the changes in North Korea's rhetoric and attitude toward the nonproliferation regime since the 1990s. Drawing on the constructivist idea that a social world is constituted by shared meanings represented by symbols and languages, <sup>119</sup> this study will focus on rhetorical practices such as dialogue, discussion, political argument and symbolic actions. Hence, paying attention to certain linguistic elements and their combination, this study will focus on expressions regularly used in the language practices of the North Korean society in analyzing the main research materials that include diplomatic documents, propaganda material, memoirs and transcripts of dialogues.

The phenomena to be described, whether or not North Korea decides to comply with the nuclear taboo, is thus a decision-event in that North Korea decides to take practical steps to proceed with nuclear weapons acquisition. In addition, North Korea's determination to proceed with nuclear weapons acquisition can be established with official confirmation—demonstration and declaration. Hence, this study will closely examine the relationship between North Korea's negative identity and negative interactions and its uncooperative and cooperative behavior based on qualitative data collection.

#### 4.2. Data Collection

The scope of this project ranges from the early 1990s to the mid-2000s, with a particular focus on the first nuclear crisis, when Pyongyang delayed signing a comprehensive safeguard agreement with the IAEA and haggled over the Geneva Agreement which was agreed on October 21, 1994.

Completing the process-tracing aspect requires examining the text of agreements, UN

Emanuel Adler, "Imagined (Security) Communities: Cognitive Regions in International Relations." Millennium 26, no. 2(1997): 249-277; Karin M. Fierke, "Breaking the Silence: Language and Method in International Relations," in Language, Agency, and Politics in a Constructed World, ed. Francois Debrix (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2003); George H. Mead, Mind, Self and Society: From the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist (Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1965); Stefano Guzzini, "A Reconstruction of Constructivism in International Relations," European Journal of International Relations 6, no. 2(2000): 147-82; Nicholas Onuf, World of Our Making: Rules and Rules in Social Policy and International Relations (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989).

documents, government documents, policy statements and news reports. Data collection will be qualitative and will involve the following: To examine the process of negative identification, this study will examine publications issued by the Korean Worker's Party press, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Social Science Institution, and North Korea's media reports by Rodong Shinmun and Chosun Sinbo. For the study of negative interactions, this paper will examine IAEA documents; UN Security Council Resolutions and related documents; daily briefings by the US Department of State and the White House; hearings held by the US government and US Congress; the Quadrennial Defense Review; the Nuclear Posture Review; memoranda of the Six-Party Talks; biographies of North Korean leaders, testimony of North Korean elites; and data from the Korea Statistical Information Service, the Korea Atomic Energy Research Institute, and the National Intelligence Service, and other foreign news reports such as the China *People's Daily* and Voice of Russia. Data from elite interview with experts including US and South Korean delegates to the nuclear talks will be included.

Secondary data sources include publications from the Korea Institute for Defense Analysis, the Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security, the Institute for Far Eastern Studies, the Korea Institute for National Unification, the Korean Association of North Korean Studies, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Institute for Science and International Security, the International Institute for Strategic Studies, the Institute for Economics and Peace, Freedom House, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Center for Strategic and International Studies, the Brookings Institution, the Congressional Research Service, and the National Bureau of Asian Research.

# 5. Organization

This study consists of five chapters. The sixth chapter provides an introduction and a review of literature in order to clarify purpose, hypothesis, and methods of data collection. The second chapter presents a theoretical framework and explains how a constructivist approach can

be applied in analyzing the way North Korea's noncompliant attitude toward the external demand for denuclearization has been shaped. The third chapter discusses the context of the first nuclear crisis, focusing on the dialectical development of the crisis, with a close examination of the changes in North Korea's attitude—cooperative, ambivalent, and defiant. The fourth chapter discusses North Korea's negative identification—isolation after the Cold War, the consolidation of *Juche* ideology, and the conflict between the different valuations of its nuclear program, and it examines the obstacles in the way of reaching a synthesis of North Korea's interests and international demands. The fifth chapter analyzes North Korea's negative interaction—how North Korea's perceptions of injustice and ignorance increased its anxiety about interference, and how different priorities and the difficulty of coordinating the interests of various players proved to be obstacles to collaborative efforts toward an agreed framework. Lastly, the conclusion of this dissertation discusses the theoretical, practical, and policy implications of these findings to the second nuclear crisis by addressing the reemergence of the antagonistic structure that produced the process of temporal compromise and setback from the nuclear talks, which eventually led to North Korea's nuclear test in 2006.

# Chapter II: Toward a Critique of the Nuclear Taboo

The basic principle of the nuclear nonproliferation regime is that the spread of nuclear weapons constitutes a threat to national and international security, and further that seeking nuclear weapons by member states should be prevented. 120 However, the decision by states to develop nuclear weapons is still an ongoing issue: since there are enduring demands for enhancing a state's status in the international community and deterring against conventional as well as unconventional threats, a nuclear weapons program has been and can be a tempting option for states with the potential capacity or perceived need to develop one. Hence, understanding the conditions and circumstances under which the nuclear nonproliferation norm emerged, developed and changed is crucial to the study of a state's nuclear policy. An effort to describe how certain attitudes to nuclear nonproliferation emerged and developed and what constrained a state's nuclear aspiration is necessary to understand why such attitudes are not universally held. Understanding this problem of nuclear proliferation provides a case with which to study North Korea's noncompliant attitude during the first and second nuclear crises. This chapter aims to present the theoretical concepts that are central to our understanding of the concept of the nuclear taboo. This chapter explores 1) the difference between the norm and the taboo; 2) the construction and development of the nuclear taboo; and 3) an application of these concepts to the case study of North Korea's decision to develop nuclear weapons.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> There are other principles stipulated in the NPT. States with nuclear weapons should aid other states in the peaceful applications of nuclear energy and ultimately decrease the number of nuclear weapons. However, the basic rules concern the acquisition or development of nuclear weapons by non-nuclear weapons states. Non-nuclear weapons states shall not seek nuclear weapons, and nuclear weapons states shall not help others seek nuclear weapons. These principles are found in a number of treaties, agreements, and declarations. United Nations, Secretariat, Treaty Series, "Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons," July 1, 1968, in Treaties and Other International Agreements Registered or Filed with the Secretariat of the United Nations 729, no. 10485 (1970); United Nations, Atomic Energy Commission, Official Records, 1<sup>st</sup> meeting, no. 1 "Baruch Plan," June 14, 1946; "Atom for Peace: Address Before the General Assembly of the United Nations on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy," December 8, 1953, in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States:Harry S. Truman, 1945* (Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1953).

### 1. Understanding the Nuclear Taboo

#### 1.1. Previous Discussion on Nuclear Proliferation

Serious works on nuclear proliferation in the 1960s began by realists, but they focused on the impact that the spread of nuclear weapons could have on international security. Scholarly efforts during the Cold War focused on the impact of the superpower nuclear arms race on global stability and the effect of nuclear proliferation on the probability of crisis behavior. With the end of the Cold War, nuclear optimists and pessimists debated over the likelihood and the consequences of nuclear proliferation. Optimists believed that nuclear arsenals would necessarily result in peace, since nuclear weapons provide states with robust deterrence. On the other hand, pessimists argued that the spread of nuclear weapons has negative consequences in the international system, as the potential for accidents exists, especially in new states with less experience in managing nuclear arsenals. However, both proliferation optimists and pessimists have focused exclusively on the impact of nuclear weapons on global stability rather than the motivation behind states' decision to go nuclear. They tend to overlook non-military values and do not adequately explain why states would take a strong stand against the spread of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> Leonard Beaton and John Maddox, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons* (London: Chatto & Windus for the Institute for Strategic Studies, 1962); Richard N. Rosecrance, "British Incentives to Become a Nuclear Power," in Richard N. Rosecrance, ed., *The Dispersion of Nuclear Weapons* (New York, London: Columbia University Press, 1964); Leonard Beaton, *Must the bomb spread?* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966), 93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> William Epstein, "Why States Go and Don't Go Nuclear," *Annals 430* (March, 1977): 16-38; Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, and William H. Riker, "An assessment of the merits of selective nuclear proliferation," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 25, no. 2 (1982): 283–306; Robert Powell, *Nuclear deterrence theory: The search for credibility* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Thomas C. Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> Optimists have argued that states would not consider developing nuclear programs and using nuclear weapons because the costs of retaliation would exceed any potential gains. On the other hand, it was predicted that a state could benefit from nuclear proliferation, which could induce stability at the systemic level because "nuclear weapons dissuade states from going to war more surely than conventional weapons do." Scott D. Sagan and Kenneth N. Waltz. *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1995).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> Shai Feldman, *Israel's Nuclear Deterrence: A Strategy for the 1980s* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 216; Beaton, *Must the bomb spread?*, 93; Donald M. Snow, *National Security: Defense Policy for a New International Order, 3rd ed.* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> James E. Dornan Jr., "The Prospects of Nuclear Proliferation in Northeast Asia," *Comparative Strategy* 1 (1978): 71-93; Peter D. Feaver, "Command and Control in Emerging Nuclear Nations," *International Security* 17, no. 3 (winter, 1992-1993):160-187; Bruce G. Blair, *The logic of accidental nuclear war* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1993); Peter R. Lavoy, "Nuclear Deterrence and the New Nuclear States: Speculations on the Sources of Nuclear Doctrines in India and Pakistan" (paper presented at the conference on Nuclear Weapons in a Transformed World, McGill University, Montreal, Canada, November 4, 1995); George Rathjens, "Rethinking Nuclear Proliferation," *Washington Quarterly* 18 (Winter, 1995): 181-93.

nuclear weapons. The recent effort among scholars who have performed statistical analyses on new datasets such as the availability of technical means, crisis cost, and patron-recipient relationships, however, presents just necessary, not sufficient, conditions for nuclear proliferation—because the act of proliferating comes about through a discrete political decision.

126 Overall, the previous discourse on nuclear nonproliferation has primarily focused on national security and the weapons themselves, not on the intent to manufacture them.

Realist approaches explain a nuclear weapons program as an appropriate response to an existential threat, to secure useful shields against adversarial aggression, <sup>127</sup> to balance against a powerful rival <sup>128</sup> or to enhance prestige in the international community. <sup>129</sup> However, they tend to overpredict the likelihood of nuclear proliferation. Many observe that the self-reliance incentive of nuclear acquisition is sharpened by the regional rivalries and conflicts because, as Kalkstein notes, for many states "the main argument for acquiring nuclear weapons is to improve their security in a local context". <sup>130</sup> Rosecrance offers that nuclear weapons may be sought as a means of waging or terminating a struggle with a major foe. <sup>131</sup> In the same light, Goheen observes that a state threatened by an adversary's actual or potential nuclear weapons capability may be compelled to develop a similar capability of its own. <sup>132</sup> Epstein also writes,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> Dong-Joon Jo, and Erik Gartzke, "Determinants of nuclear weapons proliferation: A quantitative model," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51, no. 1 (2007): 167–194; Sonali Singh and Christopher R. Way, "The Correlates of Nuclear Proliferation: a Quantitative Test," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48, no. 6 (December 2004): 859-885; Matthew Kroenig, "Exporting the bomb: Why do states provide sensitive nuclear assistance," *American Political Science Review* 103, no. 1 (2009): 113-33; Kyle Beardsley, "Winning with the Bomb," *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53, no. 2 (April 2009): 278-301.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> George Quester, *The Politics of Nuclear Proliferation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973); Kyle Beardsley and Victor Asal, "Nuclear Weapons as Shields" *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 26, no. 3 (2009): 235-55

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> Scott D. Sagan, "Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons?: Three Models in Search of a Bomb," *International Security* 21, No. 3 (Winter 1996/7): 54-86. Mason Wildrich, and Theodore Taylor, *Nuclear Theft: Risks and Safeguards* (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger, 1974).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> Lloyd Jensen, *Return from the Nuclear Brink: National Interest and the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty* (Lexington Mass: Lexington Books, 1974); Ted Greenwood, Harold A. Feiveson, and Theodore B. Taylor, *Nuclear Proliferation: Motivations, Capabilities and Strategies for Control* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1977);

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> Marvin Kalkstein, "Preventing the Spread of Nuclear Weapons," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 20 (December, 1964): 18-19; Graham Allison, "How to Stop Nuclear Terror," *Foreign Affairs* 83, no. 1(2004): 64–74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> Richard N. Rosecrance, "British Incentives to Become a Nuclear Power," in *The Dispersion of Nuclear Weapons* ed. Richard N. Rosecrance (New York, London: Columbia University Press, 1964).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> Robert F. Goheen, "Problems of Proliferation: US Policy and the Third World." *World Politics* 35, no. 2(1983): 194-215.

"non-nuclear countries that are not under the nuclear umbrella of any of the nuclear powers and have no alternative means of ensuring their security feel that they may ultimately have to rely on nuclear weapons". According to this logic, North Korea becomes one of the nuclear candidates that are concerned foremost with their unique security concerns. However, such views do not adequately explain why North Korea's nuclear crisis broke out when tension on the Korean peninsula began to thaw or why North Korea pursued the nuclear weapons capability at the risk of embarrassing China and Russia. Besides, this logic does not adequately predict that Japan and South Korea remain fervent endorsers of denuclearization rather than having sought nuclear options after the North Korean nuclear crisis broke out.

Those who accommodate anomalies under a realist framework address the role of various domestic sources such as leaders' beliefs and preferences<sup>136</sup>, the definition of the situation<sup>137</sup>, bias<sup>138</sup>, mirror image<sup>139</sup>, narrow domestic constituencies<sup>140</sup>, political objectives of the leaders<sup>141</sup>, and public sentiment<sup>142</sup>. For neorealists, the structure of international politics retains importance

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> William Epstein, "Why States go and Don't go Nuclear," Annals 430 (March, 1977): 16-38.

William R. Ven Cleave and Harold W. Rood, "Spread of Nuclear Weapons," *Military Review* 46 (December 1966):
 Robert L. Rothstein, "Nuclear Proliferation and American Policy," *Political Science Quarterly* 82 (March, 1967):
 14-34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> Jonathan D. Pollack, *No Exit: North Korea, Nuclear Weapons and International Security* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 169-170.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> David Lake and Robert Powell, *Strategic Choice and International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999); H. Purkitt, S. Burgess, and P. Liberman, "Correspondence: South Africa's Nuclear Decisions," *International Security* 27(2002):186-194.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> Brian Ripley, "Psychology, Foreign Policy, and International Relations Theory," *Political Psychology* 14, no. 3 (1993): 403-416.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> Philip E. Tetlock and Aaron Belkin, "Counterfactual Thought Experiments in World Politics," In *Counterfactual Thought Experiments in World Politics*, ed. Philip E. Tetlock and Aaron Belkin (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), 3-38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> Ole R. Holsti, "Cognitive Process Approaches to Decision-Making," *American Behavioral Scientist*, 20, no.1 (September/October 1976): 11-32; D. W. Larson, *The Origins of Containment: A Psychological Explanation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985); Herbert A. Simon, "Human Nature in Politics: The Dialogue of Psychology with Political Science," *American Political Science* Review 79 (1985): 300.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> Richard Betts, "Paranoids, Pygmies, Pariahs and Non-Proliferation Revisited," *Security Studies* 2, no 3 & 4 (September 1993): 100-124; Robert M. Hathaway, and Jordan Tama, "The US Congress and North Korea during the Clinton Years: Talk Tough, Carry a Small Stick," *Asian Survey* 44, no. 5 (September/October, 2004): 711-33; Robert D. Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-level Gams," *International Organization* 42 (Summer, 1988): 427-60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> Blechman and Fisher argue that "the use of military force is considered an acceptable means of advancing personal ambitions or political objectives in some regions where traditional rules of military competition continue to govern state relations". Barry M. Blechman and Cathleen S. Fisher, "Phase out the Bomb," *Foreign Policy* 97 (Winter, 1994-5): 79-95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> Braham Chellaney, "India" in Nuclear Proliferation After the Cold War, eds. Mitchel Reiss and Robert S. Litwak

as a force that shapes a state's nuclear policy, but domestic processes are also recognized as one of the principal factors.<sup>143</sup> Mastanduno, Lake and Ikenberry assert that national leaders respond to internal challenges and demands in ways that often influence how a country conducts its relations with other states.<sup>144</sup> Solingen suggests that that the more open states are to the international economy, the less likely they are to seek nuclear weapons, due to harmful consequences that may jeopardize international trade and investment,<sup>145</sup> hinting that nuclear policy shifts toward cooperative nuclear postures in the regions where liberalizing coalitions have the upper hand.<sup>146</sup> The scapegoat hypothesis has often been used by scholars who contend that leaders may find it useful to go nuclear in times of internal crises or unrest in order to divert domestic attention away from internal problems.<sup>147</sup> The argument that domestic public enthusiasm pressures the government to undertake the nuclear option makes valid point in that domestic processes influence decision makers who owe their identities and interests to the domestic context.<sup>148</sup> However, some domestic variables behind a state's nuclear decision-making, including competition among political parties<sup>149</sup>, private groups and bureaucrats<sup>150</sup>, are

(Cambridge, MA: Ballinger, 1994), 165-90; Ali T. Sheikh, "Pakistan," in *Nuclear Proliferation After the Cold War*, eds. Mitchel Reiss and Robert S. Litwak (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger, 1994), 191-206.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> Waltz also claims that states' decisions are shaped by "the very presence of other states as well as by interaction within them". Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1979).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> For example, the rise of Hindu nationalist party made a final decision to cross the nuclear threshold, whereas leaders from the Congress Party had not been determined to possess nuclear weapons. France was more interested in refraining from building a nuclear bomb until the nationalist prime minister Pierre Mendes made a U-turn. Mastanduno, M., and others. "Toward a Realist Theory of State Action." *International Studies Quarterly* 33, no. 4(1989): 457-74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> Etel Solingen, *Regional Orders at Century's Dawn: Global and Domestic Influences on Grand Strategy* (Princeton University Press 1998).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> Etel Solingen, "The New Multilateralism and Nonproliferation: Bringing in Domestic Politics," *Global Governance* 1, no.2 (May-August 1995): 210.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> Lewis A. Dunn, "A Widening Nuclear Circle: South Asian Choices in Broader Perspective," in *Bridging the Nonproliferation Divide: The United States and India* ed. Francine R. Frankel (New York, London: University Press of America, 1995); Stephen M. Meyer, *The Dynamics of Nuclear Proliferation* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> The significance of multidimensional interactions is acknowledged by Buzan, Jones, and Little. They extend the neorealist framework to include both the system and state level, incorporating political, economic and societal interactions that mold states and the structure of the international system. Barry Buzan and others, *The Logic of Anarchy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993); Akhtar Ali, *Pakistan's Nuclear Dilemma* (Karachi: Economic Research Unit, 1984); Stephen P. Cohen, *The Pakistan Army* (Berkely: University of California Press, 1984).

<sup>149</sup> Michael Barnett and Jack Levy, "Domestic Sources of Alliances and Alignments: The Case of Egypt," *International Organization* 45, no. 3(1991): 369-395.

not very useful for the study of North Korea, which is characterized as a synthetic organism.

Attention to the rising reputation of the nuclear nonproliferation regime and its centerpiece, the NPT, has been noticeable in academic writing. <sup>151</sup> Neoliberal institutionalists stress the role of international institutions that can highlight promising outcomes, mitigate fears of defection, and facilitate cooperation. <sup>152</sup> They also emphasize practicing reciprocity <sup>153</sup> and argue that national goals can change due to complex interdependence <sup>154</sup> because a player's decision is contingent on the choices of others. <sup>155</sup> They further suggest that regimes are more than purveyors of information <sup>156</sup> and that international-rule making can serve as an important source of political change. <sup>157</sup> Neoliberal institutionalism positively views mutual expectations among the parties and their commitment to cooperate with the regime <sup>158</sup> and demonstrates that regimes establish some degree of converging actor expectations and forging issue-linking. <sup>159</sup>

<sup>150</sup> Mitchell Reiss, Without the Bomb: The Politics of Nuclear Nonproliferation (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> A principal difference between neaorealists and neoliberal institutionalists "lies in their understanding of the nature of state interests and neoliberal institutionalists believe that states face the necessity of cooperation and collaboration under conditions of interdependence." Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984); Roger K. Smith "Explaining the Non-Proliferation Regime: Anomalies for Contemporary International Relations Theory," *International Organization* 41, No. 2 (Spring 1987): 253-281; Lisa L. Martin, "Institutions and Cooperation: Sanctions during the Falkland Islands Conflict," *International Security* 16 (Spring, 1992): 143-78; Gary K. Bertsch and Richard T. Cupitt, "Nonproliferation in the 1990s: Enhancing Cooperation on Export Controls," in *Weapons Proliferation in the* 1990s, ed. Brad Roberts (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995), 119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>152</sup> Robert Keohane and Lisa Martin, "The Promise of Institutionalist Theory", *International Security* 20, no. 1 (Summer 1995): 39-51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> Robert Axelrod, *The Evolution of Cooperation* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1984).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> Ernst B. Haas, "Why Collaborate: Issue-Linkage and International Regimes," World Politics 32 (April, 1980): 357-

<sup>155</sup> Charles Lipson, "International Cooperation in Economic and Security Affairs," World Politics 37 (Ovyonrt, 1984):1-37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>156</sup> Stephen D. Krasner, "Regimes and the Limits of Realism: Regimes as Autonomous Variables," in *International Regimes*, ed. Stephen D. Krasner (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 355-68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>157</sup> James N. Rosenau and Mary Durfee, *Thinking Theory Thoroughly: Coherent Approaches to an Incoherent World* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup> For example, the NPT was extended indefinitely in the expectation that global disarmament would continue. On the contrary, expectation of nuclear weapons as a more important feature of global security calculations and an eroding nonproliferation regime can make states rethink their nuclear options. Kurt M. Campbell and Robert j. Einhorn, "Avoiding the Tipping Point: Concluding Observations," in *The Nuclear Tipping Point: Why States Reconsider their Nuclear choices*, eds. Kurt M Campbell, Robert J. Einhorn, and Mitchell Reiss (Washington D.C.: Bookings Institution, 2004), 324; Sverre Lodgaard, *Nuclear Disarmament and Nonproliferation: Toward a Nuclear-Weapon-Free World?* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 170.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>159</sup> Kristin Rosendal, *The Convention on Biological Diversity and Developing Countries* (Norwell, MA: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000), 57.

Because repeated interaction can generate common acceptance of principles and rules, <sup>160</sup> the nuclear nonproliferation regime is also believed to create a convergence of expectations about behavior and to enhance cooperation among member states that share certain expectations and observe specific rules and decision-making procedures. <sup>161</sup>

However, neoliberal institutionalists limit their perspective to institutions and tend to be less concerned about the intersubjective conception of process in interstate relations. In addition, the framework based on the assumption of states' rationality does not take into account how principles and norms are actually perceived by the states. <sup>162</sup> Neoliberal institutionalism's utilitarian approaches <sup>163</sup>, which tend to regard the purpose-driven transformation of states' preference as a natural course, can only provide a partial explanation on North Korea's strategic mind. This logic cannot adequately explain why North Korea, after joining the NPT, has been so critical about the practices of the regime and raised the issue of unfairness and partiality of the regime. In the end, they provide little insight into why North Korea became disillusioned with the IAEA and withdrew from the NPT. North Korea's gesture, designed to hurt the nonproliferation regime, counters the belief that small states may view themselves as the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>160</sup> Those who take into account transnational actors suggest such mechanisms as coalitions between domestic and international actors and learning processes. Peter Haas has developed the concept of epistemic communities as "networks of knowledge-based communities with an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge within their domain of expertise." Whereas, Oran Young suggested intellectual leadership that relies on the power of ideas to shape the way in which participants in bargaining understand the issues at stake and to orient their thinking about options available. Peter M. Haas, Íntroduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination," *International Organization* 46, no. 1 (1992): 1-36; Oran Young, "Political Leadership and Regime Formation: on the Development of Institutions in International Society," *International Organization* 45, no. 3 (1991): 300.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup> Krasner defines regimes as "sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of international relations." Indeed, after the creation of NPT, a series of ad-hoc and institutionalized multilateral arrangements to deal with the spread of nuclear technology and materials have been invented to enhance the effectiveness of the nuclear nonproliferation regime. Stephen D. Krasner, "Structural Causes and Regime Consequences: Regimes as Intervening Variables," in *International Regimes* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 2; Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition* (Boston: Little Brown, 1977); Earnst Haas, "Is There a Hole in the Whole," *International Organization* 29, no. 3 (1975): 827-876; Stephen D. Krasner, *International Regimes* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>162</sup> Oye emphasized effective tit-for-tat strategy that can distinguish cooperation and defection, which will increase cooperation. Axelrod predicted that cooperation is likely when there are mutual interests and future payoffs from interaction. Kenneth A. Oye, "Explaining Cooperation Under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies," in *Cooperation Under Anarchy*, ed. Kenneth A. Oye (Princeton:\_Princeton University Press, 1986), 10-11; Robert Axelrod, *The Evolution of Cooperation* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 53-64, 99, 118, 176-77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup> Nicholas Jabko and Steven Weber, "A Certain Idea of Nuclear Weapons: France's Nonproliferation Policies in Theoretical Perspective," *Security Studies* 8, no. 1 (1998): 108-150.

beneficiaries of a collective good—an improved international security environment—and may join the regime to exploit the great<sup>164</sup> or adhere to the nonproliferation norm, believing that it gives them legitimacy and power<sup>165</sup>. Neoliberal institutionalism cannot adequately address the complexion of North Korea's nuclear crisis, which involves an affective reaction to the instructive principles.

Neoliberal institutionalists restrict their rationale to cost-benefit calculation of the states <sup>166</sup> and contend that states comply with the nonproliferation regime because the expected benefits outweigh perceived gains from costly nuclear weapons programs. <sup>167</sup> However, this logic does not adequately explain why North Korea stepped back from the 1994 Geneva Agreed Framework. The neoliberal institutionalist approach can explain that North Korea was persuaded to join the IAEA and furthermore the NPT because it could reap gains by cooperating with the IAEA. <sup>168</sup> However, the logic that incentives offered by the regime alter a state's strategies does not adequately explain why North Korea would no longer comply with the regime. North Korea was offered to receive support to build civilian nuclear reactors, which was significant for reducing its energy shortage, but it eventually abandoned its membership in the treaty when the second nuclear crisis broke out.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup> Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>165</sup> T.V.Paul, *Power versus Prudence: Why Nations Forgo Nuclear Weapons* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>166</sup> Since neoliberal institutionalists share assumptions with Realism, they agree that rational states cooperate only if they have common interests, and agreements cannot be enforced. Nicholas Jabko and Steven Weber, "A Certain Idea of Nuclear Weapons: France's Nonproliferation Policies in Theoretical Perspective," *Security Studies* 8, no. 1 (Fall, 1998): 108-150; Etel Solingen, *Nuclear Logics: Contrasting Paths in East Asia and the Middle East* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>167</sup> According to the neoliberal institutionalist approach, the nuclear nonproliferation regime has provided benefits to nonnuclear weapons states that intend to develop civilian nuclear power plant in the form of assistance from the IAEA. The regime has also enabled nuclear weapons states to maintain status quo by increasing verification and inspection capabilities via the IAEA. As Keohane notes, regimes are manifestations of rational, egoistic self-interests because regimes are "social institutions" created or used by states to regularize their expectations towards the other." Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 53-54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>168</sup> Keohane argues that even a small amount of power can create certain bargaining assets. The opportunity to extract benefits from the treaty promoters who have interests in controlling proliferation causes states to use their accession to the NPT as a bargaining chip and prefer to receive the concomitant benefits, including multilateral loans, technical assistance and exemption from the export control regime. Even states with considerable security concerns ratified the NPT because of opportunity costs for hold-outs and instead sought help to develop civilian nuclear power as an energy source. Robert Keohane, "The Big Influence of Small Allies," *Foreign Policy*, 1 (1971): 162-3.

The theory of hegemonic stability stresses that regimes are created and maintained by hegemonic influence and benefit all states. 169 Deutsch notes that Washington took the role of principal defender of a group of democratic states that self-consciously identify their interests collectively. <sup>170</sup> Therefore, international rules and principles are implemented while horizontal commitments generate self-sustaining momentum. <sup>171</sup> The US has held a preponderant influence on the creation of the nonproliferation regime, as it was the major player in developing the basic set of principles and rules. As Chafetz notes, the international community was led by the US, whose goals were to suppress demand for nuclear weapons and to stem the supply of materials needed for the development of nuclear weapons. <sup>172</sup> Indeed, while the US has provided the political leadership and the bulk of the logistical, financial, intelligence, and military support for the nonproliferation regime, the other nuclear weapons states, including the Soviet Union, accepted the hegemonic system espoused by the US. 173 The theory of hegemonic stability explains the emergence of nuclear nonproliferation, but it pays little attention to the process of generating knowledge about nuclear nonproliferation and shaping the ways that people perceive the nuclear nonproliferation norm. Less emphasized in the previous studies is also that states are not merely pressured by hegemonic influence 174 but voluntarily show commitment to or resistance to the nonproliferation norm. <sup>175</sup> Besides, the theory of hegemonic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>169</sup> Realists suggest that morality is rather an outcome of a political struggle and a reflection of the morality of the winning power while Constructivism explains how the taboo comes about. Realists contend that states can use norms as an extension of their power: states use universal norms of their own devising to justify imposing their own autonomy. In line with Machiavelli's "power trumps morality" argument, Kissinger pointed out that there is no universal standard of morality. Kennan and Carr also acknowledged that limited function of morality reinforces anarchy. Edward H. Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939:an introduction to the study of international relations* (New York: Palgrave, 2001). <sup>170</sup> Karl Deutsch, et al., *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area: International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience I* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>171</sup> Anne-Marie Slaughter, "Law in a World of Liberal States," *European Journal of International Law* 6 (December, 1995): 503-38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>172</sup> Glenn Chafetz, "The Political Psychology of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime," *Journal of Politics* 57, no. 3(1995): 743-75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>173</sup> The Soviet Union became more amenable to the US when Washington turned the 1954 Atomic Energy Act into law. The US played a leadership role in the establishment of the IAEA. Trevor McMorris Tate, "Regime-Building in the Nonproliferation System," *Journal of Peace Research* 27, no. 4 (1990): 399-414.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>174</sup> Robert Gilpin, *The Political Economy of International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Duncan Snidal, "The Limits of Hegemonic Stability Theory," *International Organization* 39, no .4 (1985): 579-614. <sup>175</sup> Keohane notes that hegemons impose constraints, but states have a degree of choice. His study on the "demand-

stability does not adequately explain why North Korea opposed NWSs' hegemonic influence on the IAEA and how its defiant actions led to harming the integrity of the nonproliferation regime.

Social constructivists offer a different perspective on the role of the nuclear nonproliferation regime through which nuclear nonproliferation norms are discussed and internalized. They pay more attention to the formation of common identity and stress that "norms shape the instruments or means that states find available and appropriate." Social constructivism is concerned to show that identities may be shaped through interaction because practices construct a social structure, which then shapes a direction of a state's behavior. The motivation behind states' desire for positive identification is neither an enforcement nor strategic choice from cost-benefit calculations. As Wendt notes, conceptions of self and interest tend to "mirror" the practices of significant others over time. States' desire to become a part of the web of relationships drives them to live up to the international principles and standards which then provide status and prestige. However, positive identification occurs "when an individual accepts influence because he wants to establish or maintain a satisfying self-defining relationship to another person or group." It should be noted that states with the

side" in the creation of regimes, however, puts more focus on the material conditions for regimes to be useful. Robert Keohane, *International Institutions and State Power* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1989), 104-111.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>176</sup> Ikenberry and Kupchan, who may not identify themselves as constructivists, have made similar arguments. They contend that hegemonic control emerges when foreign elites buy into the hegemon's vision of international order and accept it as their own. G. John Ikenberry and Charles A. Kupchan, "Socialization and Hegemonic Power," *International Organization* 44, no. 3 (1990): 285; Paul Kowert and Jeffrey Legro, "Norms, Identity and Their Limits: A Theoretical Reprise," in *The Culture of National Security*, ed. Peter J. Katzenstein (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 463.

Wendt notes that identities are relatively stable, but he also stresses identities change through a process of interaction. Deutsch asserts that group identity is created by practices, but it is also pursued by a desire for "we-ness." Karl Deutsch et al., *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area: International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 5; Maja Zehfuss, "Constructivism and Identity," in *Constructivism and International relations: Alexander Wendt and His Critics* eds. Stefano Guzzini and Anna Leander (New York: Routledge, 2006), 95; George Perkovich, "Reexamining Disarmament Obligations," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist*, April 1, 2009.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>178</sup> Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan eds., *Non-Western International Relations Theory: Perspectives on and Beyond Asia*, (New York: Routledge, 2010), 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>179</sup> Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 327.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>180</sup> Positive identification indicates that a state views itself as a member of international society and takes part in the affairs of this community. A state with positive identification accepts international norms and rules. The more it is been integrated into the international system, the more it defines itself as a responsible member.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>181</sup> Herbert C. Kelman, "Compliance, Identification, and Internalization: Three Processes of Attitude Change," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 2, no.1 (1958): 53.

potential to develop nuclear weapons refrain from becoming a NWS because they are not dissatisfied states, particularly in their relations with the NWSs. <sup>182</sup> Therefore, by positively identifying themselves with the others and endorsing the influence of the nonproliferation norm, these states confirm their positional status as respected member states and prevent others from obtaining nuclear weapons. This logic also implies that states with difficulties of constructing positive identification may not construct the same perception and attitudes toward the nuclear nonproliferation norm.

Social constructivist approach helps us understand that certain actions and sensations have an enormous influence on a state's reactiveness. <sup>183</sup> Constructivists suggest that the "goodness" of the nuclear nonproliferation norm has to be continuously validated and generally accepted for the effective functioning of the norm. Therefore, the virtue of nuclear nonproliferation has been determined and emphasized as a collective good by generating a sense of legitimacy. <sup>184</sup> Because of the very reason that social interactions are always in the process, the regime's prestige can also be waned by the practices of states' disrespect for the NPT including "nuclear apartheid" and favoritism performed by the NWS. <sup>185</sup> On the one hand, violation of the NPT spirit is restrained by the constitutional constraints acknowledged by the states in a social structure. On the other hand, there is deep rancor and resentment <sup>186</sup> among

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>182</sup> Ashok Kapur, "Nuclear Proliferation in the 1980s," *International Journal* 36, no. 3 (1981): 535-555.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>183</sup> As Abelson argued, emotion is derived from the relationship between the subject's goals and the perceived objects. Robert Abelson, "Whatever Became of Consistency Theory?" *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 9 (1983): 37-54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>184</sup> Critical constructivists stress that norm adoption may have a trace of authoritarian persuasion because it needs a sense of legitimacy. Nietzsche points out that the inability to resist is turned into goodness when "not-being-able-to-take revenge is called not-wanting-to-take-revenge." The submission is turned into compliance toward norms (in fact toward someone who orders this submission) and the inoffensiveness with which states are endowed is given good names, such as "patience," "responsibility" or "virtue." Arendt argues that "publicness is already the criterion of rightness" and "publicness is the transcendental principle" that should rule all actions. Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Will to Power* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1968), 29; Friedrich Nietzsche. *On the Genealogy of Morals* (1887). Trans. Keith Ansell-Pearson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 30; Hannah Arendt, *Lectures on Kant's Political Philosophy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 49, 60; Haralambos Athanasopulos, *Nuclear Disarmament in International Law* (Jefferson: McFarland & Co., 2000), 47; Kristin Rosendal, *The Convention on biological Diversity and Developing Countries* (Norwell, MA: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000), 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>185</sup> W. Walker, "The Troubled Quest for Nuclear Order," in *War, Peace and Hegemony in a Globalized World*, ed. Chandra Chari (New York: Routledge, 2007), 54-55.

<sup>186</sup> Resentment involves creation of the illusion of an enemy that can be blamed as an external evil. However, this term

some states over what they regard as unfair treatment under the NPT. For instance, parties to the Treaty could not reach agreement on a final document at the review conferences in 1980 and 1990, and a striking level of tension was revealed among member states at the 2005 review conference. <sup>187</sup> Indeed, North Korea made emotionally charged rhetoric when it perceived the situation becoming hostile or unpromising. The North Koreans complained that they had been "as humble or obedient as sheep" as they did their best to be cooperative with the IAEA, but received no benefits at all. <sup>188</sup> In October 1993, an official from the North Korean mission to the UN mentioned that the circumstances that North Korea had endured were not different from a "coercive blockade". <sup>189</sup> Therefore, this research takes social constructivist approach to examine under what conditions North Korea challenged the principles and rules of the nuclear nonproliferation regime by showing noncompliant actions.

#### 1.2. Understanding the Nuclear Taboo

This study uses the term "taboo" instead of "norm" to explain states' observance of and defiance to nuclear nonproliferation. Because taboo is something both avoided and admired, the concept of taboo better explains why certain states possess and pursue nuclear weapons. This study argues that the problem of ambivalent attitude toward nuclear nonproliferation becomes more serious in the case of North Korea, which is under an antagonistic structure that causes negative identification and interaction.

In Tannenwald's study of the role of norms on the use of weapons of mass destruction, the term "nuclear taboo" is used to indicate that states do not consider using nuclear

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does not mean a simple sense of hostility, because it arises in a special relationship between a sense of inferiority and the creation of morality. Friedrich Nietzsche. *On the Genealogy of Morals* (1887). Trans. Keith Ansell-Pearson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>187</sup> Andres O'Neil, *Nuclear Proliferation in Northeast Asia: The Quest for Security* (New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>188</sup> Joel S. Wit, Daniel B. Poneman, and Robert L. Gallucci, *Going Critical: The First North Korean Nuclear Crisis* (Washington: Brookings Institute Press, 2004), 53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>189</sup> "N.Korea and US Meet for Nuclear Talks/N.Korea, Optimistic about Direct Talks with the US," *Hankyoreh*, October 23, 1993, 1.

weapons. <sup>190</sup> Her study demonstrates that nuclear weapons were not used because they were seen as inappropriate on normative and practical grounds. She disputes the conventional framework of deterrence by using the concept of the nuclear taboo based on moral restraint, stressing that an inhibition on using nuclear weapons has arisen in global politics. <sup>191</sup> Other studies have demonstrated that states decided not to use nuclear weapons during the past half century, despite the enormous nuclear weapons stockpiles globally and the technical effectiveness of the weapons. <sup>192</sup>

However, today's concern is with nuclear proliferation: Nuclear Weapons States (NWSs) have committed to the "no-first-use" of nuclear weapons, but the proliferation of nuclear weapons by Non Nuclear Weapons States (NNWSs) in the developing world is of great concern. While the use of nuclear weapons has occurred only twice in history, nine states now possess nuclear weapons and others have pursued nuclear weapons program in the past. The fact that developing nuclear weapons has been both feared and attempted can be better explained by the concept of taboo than norm. In addition, restraint from nuclear proliferation is believed to be good and thus adhered to, but once proliferation is initiated by one state, others are tempted to imitate as if it has a contagious effect, which is also another characteristic of taboo. Therefore, in this study, the nuclear taboo refers to the "non pursuit" of nuclear weapons

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>190</sup> Nina Tannenwald, "The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-Use," *International Organization* 53, no. 3 (1999): 433-68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>191</sup> Nina Tannenwald, *The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons Since 1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>192</sup> While Tannenwald argues that nuclear weapons restraint is more than a tradition or a rule of prudence, Paul suggests that the prohibition against nuclear use is rather an informal social norm rather than a taboo. Scott D. Sagan, "Realist Perspectives on Ethical Norms and Weapons of Weapons of Mass Destruction," in *Ethics and Weapons of Mass Destruction: Religious and Secular Perspectives*, ed. Sohail Hashmi and Steven Lee (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 73-95; T.V. Paul, *The Traditions of Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009); William C. Potter, "In Search of the Nuclear Taboo: Past, Present, and Future," *Proliferation Papers*, no. 31 (Winter 2010): 1-31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>193</sup> Colin S. Gray, The Second Nuclear Age (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999); Victor A. Utgoff ed., The Coming Crisis: Nuclear Proliferation, US Interests, and World Order (Cambridge: Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, 2000); Graham T. Allison, Nuclear Proliferation: Risk and Responsibility: A Report to the Trilateral Commission (Washington D.C.: Trilateral Commission, 2006); Andrew O'Neil, Nuclear Proliferation in Northeast Asia: The Quest for Security (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Morten Bremer Maerli and Sverre Lodgaard ed., Nuclear Proliferation and International Security (New York: Routledge, 2007); William C. Potter, Forecasting Nuclear Proliferation in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century (Stanford: Stanford Security Studies/Stanford University Press, 2010).

and not just to the policy declaration that such states will not use nuclear weapons—known as the so-called non-use of such weapons policy.

Norms affect an actor's behavior by changing their motives and beliefs. <sup>194</sup> Norms become the standard of determining the appropriateness of an actor's behavior, socialize not only those in the institution but also others who want to join, and affect how actors behave. Norms further lead state actors to reevaluate their national interests. <sup>195</sup> The nuclear nonproliferation norm is explicitly codified in the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT), the cornerstone of the nuclear nonproliferation regime, and is apparent in other bilateral agreements on peaceful nuclear cooperation and in regional agreements. <sup>196</sup> However, states' restraint in pursuing nuclear weapons can be better explained as a "taboo" rather than a "norm" given the influence of several specific characteristics that are examined here.

What is missing in Tannenwald's study is the ambivalent nature of taboo, which brings about not only compliance but also noncompliance to the norms and principles shared by most states in the international community. She explains a significant normative element to explain why nuclear weapons have remained unused, describing taboo as a "constructed belief". <sup>197</sup> However, the root and mechanism of taboo illustrated in Freud's analysis of totem and taboo and Nietzche's analysis of the geneaology of our moral values suggest that the establishment of shared socially accepted taboos involve the repression, but not complete extermination, of desires and result in ambivalent attitudes toward the object of taboo. <sup>198</sup> Since the need, not the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>194</sup> Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth A. Simmons, *Handbook of International Relations* (London; Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2002), 128.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>195</sup> Martha Finnemore, *National Interests in International Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>196</sup> Carlsnaes explains that what norms are shared in a community can be observed by looking at the norm in codified laws, examining patterns of behavior, and analyzing the discourse in a community. Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth A. Simmons, *Handbook of International Relations* (London; Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2002), 129.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>197</sup> Richard Price and Nina Tannenwald, "Norms and Deterrence: The Nuclear and Chemical Weapons Taboos," in *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, ed. Peter J. Katzenstein (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 114.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>198</sup> Freud considers that a taboo is based on a desire for the taboo object and therefore the ambivalence towards the taboo arises. Nietzsche explains that because the root of our value system is "need" not "existence", the basis of our values undermines those values in the process. Those beliefs can no longer have the same status, but such an explanation does not mean that we need to sweep away our moral values because it does not invalidate all reasons. Sigmund Freud, *Totem and Taboo: Some Points of Agreement Between the Mental Lives of savages and Neurotics*, trans.

existence, of social values gives rise to those values and reevaluation occurs in the the construction of our currently held values and morals, this study aims to introduce not only one aspect of tabo—restraint—but also other aspects of nuclear taboo—temptation and contagion. Understanding the characteristics of taboo helps us better analyze North Korea's resistance to the general expectations that accompany the nuclear nonproliferation norms and principles.

Drawing on Freud and Nietzsche's analysis, this study conceptualizes that taboo has four characteristics: self-restraint, ambivalence, contagion, and denigration. First, taboo is a constructed belief about a certain behavior and observed by self-restraint-desired but not pursued. 199 Tannenwald does not draw an explicit distinction between a norm and a taboo. 200 She explains norm as a shared expectation about behavior and a standard of right or wrong, and other studies argues that norms are either self-interested or a function of "perceived legitimacy". 201 However, unlike norms that involve moral judgment, taboos are taken as a matter of standard behavior as if they contain in themselves some intrinsic goodness.<sup>202</sup> Nuclear weapons had been something that had to be kept, in short, untouchable. 203 Nuclear

James Strachey (London: Routledge, 2001), 73; Friedrich Nietzsche, Beyond Good and Evil, trans. R.J.Hollingdale, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

<sup>199</sup> With regard to the characteristics of taboo, Verna Gehring notes that taboo depends not on considered reflection but on revulsion. Verna Gehring, "The Nuclear Taboo," Institute for Philosophy and Public Policy, Summer 2000, accessed April 5, 2011, www.puaf.umd.edu/IPPP/Summer00/nuclear\_taboo.htm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>200</sup> She explains that the phenomenon of non-use is a "tradition of non-use," while a robust normative concern with a sense of obligation is a taboo. Nina Tannenwald, The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons Since 1945 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>201</sup> As Tannenwald notes, people believe it to be such. Constructivists see norms as constitutive of actor's identities and interests in the first place. However, rationalists view that actors may desire to follow norms because it is useful to do so, and, hence, norms are regulative of the behavior of exogenously given actors. On the other hand, Wendt does not deny the function of 'interest' as he contends that states make a group's interest in upholding norms their own interest. James D. Ferejohn, "Rationality and Interpretation," in *The Economic Approach to Politics*, ed. K. Monroe (New York: Harper Collins, 1991): 279-305; Alexander Wendt, Social Theory of International Politics, 337; Martha Finnemore and Stephen Toope, "Alternatives to Legalization: Richer Views of Law and Politics," International Organization 55 (2001): 743-58; Nina Tannenwald, The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons Since 1945 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>202</sup> Nietzsche notes how ideals are fabricated and explains that values, as a sheer matter of habit, come to be felt as good as if they contain in themselves some intrinsic goodness. Hume also writes that "there is a step taken by the mind which is not supported by any argument or process of the understanding... but it must be induced by some other principles... this principle is custom or habit." Nietzsche. On the Genealogy of Morals, 10, 167; Hume Antony Few, in A Critical History of Western Philosophy, ed. D.J. O'Conner (New York: The Free Press, 1964), 258:57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>203</sup> Tannenwald also notes that taboo is "a forceful kind of normative prohibition that deals with the sociology of danger" and "central to the classification and identification of kinds of transgression." She cites Franz Steiner, Taboo (London: Cohen and West, 1956), 21; Margaret Mead, "Tabu," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, vol. VII (New

nonproliferation has been declared as a rule, principle, or procedure that must be observed. Since the nuclear nonproliferation regime took shape, the majority of NPT member states, including those with a large-scale nuclear power infrastructure, have refrained from developing nuclear weapons. The end of bipolarity has led to more nonproliferation than proliferation, and a number of countries, including Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus, chose to give up nuclear programs. Despite North Korea's nuclear tests, anti-nuclear elements still convince the people in Japan with the argument that nuclear forbearance is still in the best interest of Japan. Egypt, once seeking nuclear weapons and adjacent to a nuclear-armed neighbor, has taken on the cause of nonproliferation, exerting a strong leadership in nonproliferation even when the Iranian nuclear program emerged as a great concern.

Second, a taboo leads to ambivalent attitudes in two contrary directions. <sup>204</sup> In other words, a taboo creates both veneration and horror. 205 A taboo means sacred and consecrated, but it also means uncanny and dangerous. A nuclear taboo, too, is on the one hand sacred and on the other hand forbidden. As Betts notes, the concept of taboo is inherent in nuclear weapons, given their destructive power. 206 Tannenwald also notes that the widespread unease and fear of nuclear weapons hardened international opinion against nuclear weapons. 207 Hence, it was in this climate that the collective fear of nuclear proliferation developed into a rule of behavior. Libya's abandonment of the nuclear option shows a state's struggle between searching for prestige as a nuclear weapons state and avoiding condemnation as a norm-violating country. As much as Libya sought the positional status of a regional power, it also craved normalization of its relations with other states, which affected Qadhafi's decision to transform Libya by

York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1937), 502-05.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>204</sup> Since Tannenwald puts emphasis on the role of taboo that can often counteract deep urgings or temptations, such emotional ambivalence is less mentioned.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>205</sup> He said the word 'taboo' had a double meaning from the very first and that it was used itself as an ambivalent word. Sigmund Freud, Totem and Taboo (New York, N.Y.: W.W. Norton & Company, 1989), 24, 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>206</sup> Richard K. Betts. *Nuclear Blackmail and Nuclear Balance* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1987), 9; Colin S. Gray, The Second Nuclear Age (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999), 106

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>207</sup> Nina Tannenwald, "The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-use," International Organization 53, no.3 (Summer 1999): 433-68; Andrew O'Neil, Nuclear Proliferation in Northeast Asia: The Quest for Security (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 36.

renouncing its nuclear weapons program.

Third, the concept of a taboo has a contagious character, which refers to the temptation to imitate and emulate. Nuclear proliferation is forbidden with the greatest emphasis because it is desired by others.<sup>208</sup> Indeed, many studies have so far warned the likelihood of the domino effect of nuclear weapons programs. <sup>209</sup> India, which once strongly advocated global disarmament in the early 1960s under Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, became apprehensive about China's nuclear weapons program and was not deterred from developing a bomb in the 1970s. The Pakistani reaction to India's test of a nuclear explosive was confirmed soon. The nuclear rivalry that Argentina and Brazil engaged in for nearly three decades before they pulled back from the nuclear brink by signaling their resolve to change policy priorities on the part of the new civilian governments shows that competition and emulation can bring states with bad relations to the threshold of nuclear proliferation. <sup>210</sup>

The last characteristic of a taboo is that the one who touches the tabooed object becomes itself tabooed. Since a taboo is something unapproachable, the one who is tempted to possess nuclear weapons is criticized by those who apparently show restraint. This is so because the possession of nuclear weapons is the very means that creates these tremendously dichotomous statuses among states. Nuclear proliferators' achievements are glorified domestically, but proliferators create fear internationally and ultimately become untouchable as "rogue states." For the nuclear taboo to remain intact, the international community collectively reacts to any symptom of violation, confirming the authority of NWSs and sending warning signals to those who are tempted to do what is forbidden. The concept of rogue states has become intertwined with the threat of proliferation, and the "rogue threat" is framed in terms of the pursuit of

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>208</sup> There is no need to prohibit something that no one desires to do. The importance of the thesis proposed by Freud is that where there is a prohibition there must be an underlying desire. Sigmund Freud, *Totem and Taboo* (New York, N.Y.: W.W. Norton & Company, 1989), 88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>209</sup> Graham T. Allison et al., *Avoiding Nuclear Anarchy: Containing the Threat of Loose Russian Nuclear Weapons and Fissile Material* (Cambridge: Center for Science and International Affairs/Harvard University, 1999); Matthew Kroenig, *Exporting the Bomb: Technology Transfer and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010). <sup>210</sup> Etel Solingen, *Regional Orders at Century's Dawn: Global and Domestic Influence on Grand Strategy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

nuclear weapons by potentially hostile Third World states.<sup>211</sup> When Iraq was found to have secretly pursued a multi-billion-dollar nuclear weapons program by the IAEA investigations following the Gulf crisis of 1991, it came under harsh international condemnation and the international community continued to suspect that Iraq could be hiding nuclear equipment and material years after it pledged to dismantle its nuclear weapons program. When inconsistency in North Korea's report on its nuclear program was first found out, Pyongyang immediately became the target of harsh criticism for its "cheating" of the others. When North Korea conducted its first nuclear test in October 2006, the US and many other states denounced Pyongyang, saying that it was "recklessly challenging the international community" and the danger posed by North Korea's threatening activities warranted "action by the international community".<sup>212</sup>

In short, the nuclear weapons evoke both collective fear and temptation among states. Because the decision by states to renounce the nuclear option is mostly based on self-restraint, the maintenance of the nonproliferation regime is taken as something desirable although the regime itself has so many problems. Hence, the nuclear taboo has become something that must be observed and mainly been expressed in terms of prohibitions and restrictions. Due to these characteristics, states' adherence to and violation of the principles and norms established in the nuclear nonproliferation regime can be possible. Thus, this research explores under what conditions states may challenge the nuclear taboo by examining the mechanism of negative identification and negative interaction. Then, it examines how these apply to the North Korean nuclear crisis using the concept of the nuclear taboo and its relationship to the nonproliferation norm that exists sporadically in international politics.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>211</sup> Michael Klare, Rogue States and Nuclear Outlaws (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995), 169.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>212</sup> "The World Outraged by North Korea's Latest Nuclear Test," *CNN*, May 25, 2009, accessed July 11, 2011, http://edition.cnn.com/2009/WORLD/asiapcf/05/24/nkorea.nuclear/index.html.

### 2. Deconstructing the Nuclear Taboo

Coping with challenges to the nuclear nonproliferation regime has been the central problem for nonproliferation policy since the designing of the NPT.<sup>213</sup> Formed in 1968, the NPT became effective in 1970 when most nations of the world became members.<sup>214</sup> The IAEA, as a provider of benefits to the member states, has served as a counterpart to sovereign states whose capacities are limited and are vulnerable to direct and indirect consequences of nuclear proliferation. The provision of article X specifies the right to withdraw from the treaty as a way of exercising the national sovereignty of the member states.<sup>215</sup> However, non-compliance with key obligations of the NPT had never been attempted until the mid 1990s when North Korea declared its intention to withdraw from the NPT. Indeed, many tried to find answers to the question, "Why is a certain state challenging the nuclear order?" Taking a social constructivist approach that a state's decisions are influenced by structures of experience, this study aims to explain that the structure in which negative identification and negative interaction occur shapes a state's noncompliant behavior.

#### 2.1. Negative Identification

Identity is the mechanism that describes and prescribes how the actor evaluates and behaves in a group and a means for comprehending the relationship of itself to the external environment.<sup>216</sup> Likewise, a state's identity guides its behavior in the international community. Many scholars in international relations view states as actors who behave consistently within the specific roles with which they identify.<sup>217</sup> Studies on the individual and group psychology in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>213</sup> Joseph S. Nye, "Nonproliferation: The Long Term Strategy," *Foreign Affairs* (April, 1978): 601-23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>214</sup> By the second Review Conference in 1980, the membership had increased to 112 parties. Nuclear Threat Initiative, "Compliance and Growth-NPT Review Conferences," *NPT Tutorial*, accessed December 11, 2011, http://www.nti.org/h\_learnmore/npttutorial/chapter04\_01.html#1980.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>215</sup> George Bunn and John Rhinelander, "The Right to Withdraw from the NPT: Article X is Not Unconditional," *Disarmament Diplomacy* no. 79 (April/May 2005); The Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, Article X.1, accessed October 19, 2011, http://www.un.org/en/conf/npt/2005/npttreaty.html.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>216</sup> Susan T. Fiske and Shelley E. Taylor, *Social Cognition*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: McGraw Hill, 1991), 180-204.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>217</sup> National role conception is the views of political elites on the "roles their nations should play in international

the decision making process acknowledge cognitive factors as important variables.<sup>218</sup> Scholars, including Tversky and McDermott, link leader's context-driven preference and policy choices and argue that beliefs can steer decision-making by shaping the decision-maker's perceptions of reality.<sup>219</sup> They stress that belief systems function independently, not just as an intervening variable, when states fail to account for the objective reality of the international system.<sup>220</sup> Because actors make choices based on substantive reality, knowledge of the external

affairs." For Holsti, national role identity is "their 'image' of the appropriate orientations or functions of their state toward, or in, the external environment." Holsti argues that states' self-image is formed through the selective information processing framework which maps behavior, and a domestically shared understanding regarding the proper role of states. Hymans presents his concept of states' role-identity based on Holsti's national role conception, explaining that a specific type of threat perception combined with nationalism creates a high probability for nuclear ambition. Other such explorations include Alstair Iain Johnston's work on Chinese "cultural realism," Peter Katzenstein's study of Japanese security politics, and Ruggie's "self-perception," or "sense of self as a nation" of America. Kal J. Holsti, "National Role Conceptions in the Study of Foreign Policy," *International Studies* Quarterly 14, no. 3 (1970): 233-309; Alastair Iain Johnston, "Cultural Realism and Strategy in Maoist China," in *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, ed. Peter J. Katzenstein (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 216-268; Peter Katzenstein, *Cultural Norms and National* Security (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 21; John Gerard Ruggie, "The Past as Prologue? Interests, Identity, and American Foreign Policy," *International Security* 21, no. 4 (1997): 89-125.

<sup>218</sup> Holsti constructed a typology matrix of operational code that is based on "master belief" that dominates the other beliefs on the actor's worldview. Walker revised Holsti's typology matrix to account for beliefs about power relationships and conflictual or cooperative perceptions of self and the other. Holsti, O. *The 'Operational Code' as an Approach to the Analysis of Belief Systems*. Final Report to the National Science Foundation, Grant No. SOC 75-14368 (Durham: Duke University, 1977); Holsti, O. "Foreign Policy Viewed Congnitively," in *Structure of Decision*. ed. R. Axelrod (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), 18-54, 79; Stephen Walker, "The Evolution of Operational Code Analysis," *Political Psychology* 11 (1990): 402-418; S. Walker and M Schafer, "Belief Systems as Causal Mechanisms in World Politics: An Overview of Operational Code Analysis," in *Beliefs and Leadership in World Politics: Methods and Applications of Operational Code Analysis*, ed. M. Schafer and S. Walker (New York, NY: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2006).

<sup>219</sup> Tversky argued that people are risk-averse in the domain of gain, but become risk-acceptant in the domain of loss. McDermott's prospect theory also suggests the similar argument that preference changes over time according to the situation of the leaders. R.C. Snyder, H.W. Bruck, and B. Sapin, "Decision-making as an Approach to the Study of International Politics," *Foreign Policy Decision-Makiing: An Approach to the Study of International Politics* (New York: Free Press, 1962); Daniel Kahneman and Amos Tversky, "Prospect Theory: An Analysis of Decision under Risk," *Econometrica* XLVII (1979): 263-291; P.E. Tetlock, "Social Psychology and World Politics," in *Handbook of Social Psychology*, eds., D. Gilbert, S. Fiske, and G. Lindzey (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, 1998), 876-78; Rose McDermott, James H. Fowler, and Oleg Smirnow, "On the Evolutionary Origin of Prospect Theory Preferences," *Journal of Politics* 70, no. 2 (April 2008): 335-350.

<sup>220</sup> Bruner stressed that decision makers avoid direct outcome calculations and block off competing alternatives from serious consideration to eliminate the pressure of inconsistency. Simon's study on bounded rationality highlighted constraints imposed by external situation and individual capacity, and Steinbruner's cybernetic theory suggested that people have a tendency to draw lessons from history and process information in reference to existing beliefs. John D. Steinbruner, *The Cybernetic Theory of Decision: New Dimensions of Political Analysis* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974); Irving L. Janis, *Groupthink: Psychological Studies of Policy Decisions and Fiascoes* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1982); Herbert Simon, "Bounded Rationality and Organizational Learning," *Organization Science* 3, no. 1(1991): 125-134; P. E. Tetlock, and A. Belkin, eds. *Counterfactual Thought Experiments in World Politics: Logical, Methodological, and Psychological Perspectives* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).

environment mirrored by their belief shapes a state's nuclear policy.<sup>221</sup>

This study prefers using the concept of "identification" rather than "identity" to describe the change of a state's preference and interest in pursuing nuclear weapons. Neorealism and its variants have expanded our understanding on international relations, but when these approaches take actor identities as given, they leave a hole in our understanding of how states' behavior is constructed over time. Those who focus on a state's identity argue that national image as a liberal state gives rise to internalizing nonproliferation norms. <sup>222</sup> Chafetz notes that most proliferators and would-be proliferators are authoritarian states. <sup>223</sup> Spector argues that the experience of Argentina, Brazil, and South Africa supports the correlation between liberal democracy and nuclear nonproliferation. South Africa's renunciation of its nuclear weapons after its rejection of apartheid and Argentina and Brazil's transitions to democracy were followed by the discontinuation of their nuclear weapons programs. <sup>224</sup> However, there is no consensus on whether liberal states are less disposed to develop nuclear weapons. <sup>225</sup> Therefore,

shapes the hierarchical operational codes that determine policy choices. George says that central beliefs—whether a state views the international system conflictually or harmoniously—exert more influence. As Lavoy notes, nuclear acquisition or development is pursued in states which contain strong proponents of the efficacy of nuclear weapons. Lebow and Almond noted that statesmen on the basis of their domestic interests and that the elite's view is reflected in the domestic opinion. Alexander L. George, "The 'Operational Code': A Neglected Approach to the Study of Political Leaders and Decisio-Making," *International Studies Quarterly*, 13, no. 2 (Jun., 1969): 190-222; R. N. Lebow, *Between Peace and War: The Nature of International Crisis* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1981), 169; Herbert Simon, "Human Nature in Politics: The Dialogue of Psychology with Political Science," *The American Political Science Review* 79, no. 2 (Jun., 1985): 293-304; Peter Lavoy, "Nuclear Myths and the Causes of Nuclear Proliferation," *Security Studies* 2, nos. 3/4 (Spring/Summer 1993): 192-212; Glenn Chafetz, "The Political Psychology of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime," *Journal of Politics* 57, no. 3(1995): 743-75; R.N. Lebow, "What's so Different about a Counterfactual?" *World Politics* 52 (2000): 550-585.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>222</sup> Rosenau describes that such role is the "attitudinal and behavioral expectations that the occupant has of himself or herself" in given situations. James Rosenau, *Turbulence in World Politics: A Theory of change and Continuity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 220.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>223</sup> He argues, based on Gastil's definition and scale of liberalism, that only Israel is strongly liberal, and India is moderately liberal. The remainders are authoritarian. Raymond Duncan Gastil, "The Comparative Survey of Freedom: Experiences and Suggestions," *Comparative International Development* 25(1990): 24-50; Glenn Chafetz, "Role Theory and Foreign Policy: Belarussian and Ukrainian Compliance with the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime," *Political Psychology* 17, no. 4(1996): 727-757.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>224</sup> Previous studies have shown that a belief system is a potential causal variable. Spector, "Repentant Nuclear Proliferants," *Foreign Policy* 88 (1992): 21-37; S. Grillot and W. Long, "Ideas, Beliefs and Nuclear Policies: The Cases of South Africa and Ukraine," *The Nonproliferation Review* 7 (2000): 24-40; H. Purkitt, S. Burgess, and P. Liberman, "Correspondence: South Africa's Nuclear Decisions," *International Security* 27 (2002): 186-194; Solingen, *Nuclear Logics*, 118-140.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>225</sup> George Perkovich, *India's Nuclear bomb: The Impact of Global Proliferation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Jack Snyder, *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict* (New York: Norton &

we cannot simply determine that a state's national identity is an indicator of adherence to the nuclear taboo. The problem with such a static classification is that, as is often found in rationalist models, states' identity and interests are set prior to interaction. Therefore, this study operates under the assumption that social expectations and reputations constrain a state's capability to define and redefine itself,<sup>226</sup> and it further stresses understanding of intersubjective relations with one another. This study adopts a social constructivist approach that examines how actors construe their identity in relation to others and examines "identification," which is a dynamic model that better represents the formation of North Korea's interests.

Social constructivists view that national identities are socially constructed phenomena.<sup>227</sup> They argue that a state's identity is based on a desire to create, maintain, or strengthen a relationship. Wendt notes that identities are formed in relation to others, and states that fail to form common identities with the other states can construct the negative identity of being "not a member of the system."<sup>228</sup> States with this negative identity, while keeping their corporate identity, can feel insecurity, maintain negative views of inter-state relations, and make different moves in contrast to others.<sup>229</sup> Wendt argues that a state that has a well-developed collective identity, in other words a positive identification with other states, will perceive security threats

Company, 2000).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>226</sup> Dennis Chong, *Rational Lives: Norms and Values in Politics and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 216.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>227</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *Theories of Nationalism*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1983); Kal.J. Holsti, "National Role Conceptions in the Study of Foreign Policy," in *Role Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis*, ed. S. Walker (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987); Stephen Saideman, "Thinking Theoretically about Identity and Foreign Policy," in Shibley Telhami and Michael Barnett, eds., *Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), 169-170.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>228</sup> Wendt, Social Theory of International Politics, 21-23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>229</sup> Critical constructivists seek to investigate how identity performances and cultural boundaries define the source of insecurity differentiating self and other. In these instances, the other is dangerous and distrustful of the self, which is defined in opposing terms. As Kant notes, intersubjective dependence shapes common sense. He writes, "men are dependent on their fellow men" and "such intersubjective dependence happens in the universal communicability." What he means is that individuals can imagine the possibility and validity of universal communication and consensus in relationship with others. For the discussion of critical constructivist approach, see Yosef Lapid, "The Third Debate: On the Prospect of International Theory in a Post-Positivist Era," *International Studies Quarterly* 33, 3 (1989): 235-254; Pauline Rosenau, "Once Again into the Fray: International Relations Confronts the Humanities," *Journal of International Studies* 19 (Spring 1990): 83-110; Hannah Arendt, *Lectures on Kant's Political Philosophy*, ed. Ronald Beiner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 60; Yale H. Ferguson and Richard W. Mansbach, "The Past as Prelude to the Future?: Identities and Loyalties in Global Politics," in *The Return of Culture and Identity in IR Theory*, eds. Yosef Lapid and Friedrich Kratochwil (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, Inc., 1996), 21; Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams, eds. *Critical Security Studies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

as the responsibility of all.<sup>230</sup> Therefore, positive identification leads to greater harmonization in a nonproliferation effort. Indeed, much greater cooperation is achieved between the US and its allies in export control than was possible before.<sup>231</sup> Negative identification is more likely to cause a state to resist a decision-making process influenced by collective interests. Wendt points out that the transformation of identity through the evolution of a cooperation story faces a fundamental constraint because it presupposes that actors do not identify negatively with one another. This logical progression of this train of thought, this study argues, is that antipathy and distrust lead a state to sustain a competitive identity and show nonconformative behavior.

Identities can be altered by and through interactions, and a state can have multiple identities, such as East Asian state and member of the UN, as it belongs to multiple groups of states. <sup>232</sup> Interactions move a state from holding a corporate identity to creating a social identity, and the level of identification depends on a state's interaction with the others. As Wendt notes, identification exists in a continuum from positive to negative. <sup>233</sup> Being an "adversary of the US and South Korea", North Korea's level of negative identification with the US and South Korea increased and the level of positive identification decreased after the Korean War. A state not only creates beliefs, role conceptions and attitudes but also internalizes those constructs. <sup>234</sup> North Korea's negative identification seemed inevitable because it failed to share identities with others through various interactions. States given new roles or new environments may reorder their priorities and change nuclear policy. However, such radical changes never happened to North Korea.

The importance of North Korea's corporate identity has been reinforced externally by the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>230</sup> Wendt, "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics," *International Organization* 46, no.2 (1992): 399-400.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>231</sup> Gary K. Bertsch and Richard T. Cupitt, "Nonproliferation in the 1990s: Enhancing Cooperation on Export Control," *Washington Quarterly* 16, no. 4 (1993): 53-70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>232</sup> Samuel Gaertner, et al., "The Common Ingroup Identity Model," in *European Review of Social Psychology* 4, ed. Wolfgang Stroebe and Miles Hewstone (New York: Wiley, 1993), 1-26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>233</sup> Alexander Wendt, "Collective Identity Formation and the International State," *American Political Science Review* 88, no. 2(1994): 384-96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>234</sup> Michael A Hogg, Deborah J. Terry, and Katherine M. White, "A Tayle of Two Theories: A Critical Comparison of Identity Theory with Social Identity Theory," *Social Psychology Quarterly* 58 (December 1995): 259-62.

hostile situation and internally by its political ideology. Interest-based theories may argue that the level of identification increases as the rewards from cooperation get better. However, North Korea's negative identification continued even after receiving rewards for its abandonment of nuclear facilities as a result of the 1994 Geneva Agreed Framework. A static model of incentive salience cannot adequately explain North Korea's attitude change. Because foreign policy is the external manifestation of domestic institutions, ideologies and other attributes of the polity, conflict between domestic ideology and externally imposed rules is likely to dissociate a state from others. Therefore, this study argues that North Korea's dissociation—an act of ceasing to associate with a system that the state had once joined—from the nonproliferation regime is one of the indicators of North Korea's negative identification and examines internal factors as one of the causes of dissociation.

Dissociation becomes more likely when the mindset and belief system of a state become critical components of the policy decision-making. When a state externalizes its domestic values and ideas in contrast to internationally endorsed principles and rules, it may view the world as more discordant than harmonious. This is so in the case of a totalitarian state, where there is homogeneity of beliefs within and between organizations. This phenomenon is very obvious in the case of North Korea: its unique political culture and ideology constructed its approach to the nuclear nonproliferation regime. Therefore, it is not surprising that after decades of an adversarial relationship with South Korea and equidistant diplomacy in dealing with China and Russia<sup>237</sup>, North Korea's identity as *Juche Kangkuk* (Self-reliant Great Nation) was constructed, which caused the North to put extreme emphasis on nonintervention and fairness in international relations. Under the continued Cold War environment on the Korean peninsula, North Korea insisted its adherence to these principles, which, however, collided with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>235</sup> Lewis Dunn, "Four Decades of Nuclear Nonproliferation: Some lessons from Wins, Losses, and Draws," *Washington Quarterly* 13, no. 3 (1990): 5-18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>236</sup> Ole R. Holsti, "Cognitive Process Approaches to Decision-Making," *American Behavioral Scientist*, 20, no.1 (September/October 1976): 11-32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>237</sup> North Korea kept its distance from China and Russia when its two neighbors fought for communist hegemony in order not to be mired in this conflict.

the international demands of confirming correctness and completeness of North Korea's nuclear program. Therefore, this study examines the influence of domestic ideology on North Korea's nuclear policy and explains how externalization of North Korea's internal rules causes a worsening of the situation, which further antagonizes the North.

Negative identification is not only indigenously formed, but also structurally shaped. Because identifying "the other" is the beginning of identifying one's subjectivity, such a "we vs. other" distinction is constitutive of the maintenance of any system. Among that the constructed identity of the "evil one" shifted from the Soviet Union to the outlaw states in the post-Cold War era, and it appears that the existence of rogue states—Iraq, Iran and North Korea—becomes integral to reaffirming the liberal states' raison d'être. The term "rogue states," which had not gained currency until the collapse of the communist bloc, referred to a state whose behavior failed to observe either the spirit or the letter of international law. North Korea was given an identity as an outlaw nation, pariah state, and renegade regime, which distinguished the North from the world outside and intensified the significance of North Korea's negative identification. Repetitive stigmatization of North Korea as a state with persistent nuclear ambitions put it in a situation where it showed rogue behavior regardless of its initial motivation to so. Therefore, this study examines North Korea's adversarial relations with others, the continuing influence of its negatively fixed image, and its experience of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>238</sup> As Hegel points out, identification is possible only if there is another who is the source of one's identification. In Hegel's dialectical process of master-slave relationship, he provides a clue to understanding the nature and structure of consciousness. Nietzsche also points out that one insists on having an enemy to oneself as a mark of distinction. Mouffe contends that the "we-others" distinction is central to the constitution of collective political identities. Hegel, *Phenomenology of Mind*, trans. J.B. Baillie (New York: Harper Torch book, 1967), 65; Hegel, *Philosophy of History*, trans. J. Sibree (Mineola: Dover Publications, 2004), 34; Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, 25; Mouffe, *The Democratic Paradox* (London: Verso, 2000), 93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>239</sup> A rogue, meaning "luring off the straight path," is always the other, a principle of disorder, and a threat against public order. The meaning of "rogue" extends to someone whose behavior appears deviant or violates the customs and conventions of their own community. Robert S. Litwak, *Rogue States and US Foreign Policy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 88-89; Noam Chomsky, *Rogue States: The Rule of Force in World Affairs* (Cambridge:South End Press, 2000), 1-2; Beatrice Hanssen, *Critique of Violence: between poststructuralism and critical* theory (London; New York: Routledge, 2000), 113; George Perkovich, "Bush's Nuclear Revolution: A Regime Change in Nonproliferation," *Foreign Affairs* 82, no. 2(2003): 2-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>240</sup> Oxford English Dictionary defines rogue as a dishonest, unprincipled person, Oxford University Press, *Oxford English Dictionary*, accessed May 11, 2011, http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/rogue?region=us.

conflict between its domestic ideology and the imposed rules as elements that affect North Korea's negative identification.

#### 2.2. Negative Interaction

Studying a state with troubled relations with others requires an understanding of the particular structure that guides how the state interacts with others. In this study, structure is an intersubjective term and includes not only material but also social conditions. As social constructivism stresses that material condition acquires meaning through the social structure, the structure in which North Korea's interactions with other major actors occur is important for this study, which aims to present various angles—not only the geographical setting of the coldwar structure on the Korean peninsula, but also the bilateral and triangular relationships between North Korea and others. Social constructivists hold that actor identities are affected by social interactions which consist of first encounter, interpretation, reaction, and comparison.<sup>241</sup> Domestic factors are initial sources of identities, but social interaction among states may lead to identity diffusion and change. As positive interactions promote reassurance of common beliefs, negative interactions reinforce a negative image. Positive interactions increase the probability of a shift toward a more cooperative system because factors such as interdependence, understanding of common fate, and affirmation of homogeneity increase the probability of states' compliance. Therefore, positive interactions among states can increase a state's susceptibility to international inducements and the likelihood of embracing cooperative nuclear arrangements. In fact, states with close interaction with the NWSs were fast to ratify the NPT, which leads us think that states' decisions to give up nuclear options can be affected by such

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>241</sup> Wendt explains four steps of interactions: 1) engaging in some action based on a prior definition of the situation, 2) considering the meaning of the other's action, 3) engaging in an action of its own based on its new definition of the situation, and 4) interpreting the other's action and preparing its response. If there is a gap between identities and expected behaviors, the powerful actor exerts greater ability to impose its own view of the world on the weaker one. Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, 1999, 330; David L. Rousseau, *Identifying Threats and Threatening Identities: The Social Construction of Realism and Liberalism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 51.

# interaction.<sup>242</sup>

The significance of negative identification is either intensified or lessened by the interaction among actors because the outcome of interaction for each depends on the choices of the other.<sup>243</sup> Reciprocity is an important point in the constructivist analysis because actors learn to see themselves in the roles that other actors attribute to them. <sup>244</sup> As Wendt argues, internalization of the Hobbesian image of other states becomes possible because of antagonistic interactions between them. <sup>245</sup> He explains that competitive identities are transformed when a state's practices are rewarded by others, which encourages more positive practices by the state and institutionalizes a positive identification. <sup>246</sup> Barnett stresses that states continuously produce and reproduce meanings of the self that will stabilize and change their identifications with others. <sup>247</sup> Suh also notes that patterns of interactions contribute to the emergence of an intersubjectively held understanding of others. Indeed, North Korea has raised the issue of politicization and discrimination within the nuclear regime, complained inattention to its demands, and attempted defiant actions as a response to international criticism during the nuclear crisis.

This study examines contradiction, discrimination, condemnation, inattention and inaction as the factors constitutive of negative interaction. First, contradiction may occur when a state experiences a continuous conflict between reality and anticipations. Studies have shown that inconsistency between the information and schemata that decision makers use to understand themselves and their environment causes anxiety because of a tendency of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>242</sup> Germany, Japan, Australia, and Italy had considerable security concerns and a suitable technology base but eventually ratified the NPT by 1975.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>243</sup> Wendt, Social Theory of International Politics, 344.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>244</sup> Ronald Jepperson, Alexander Wendt, and Peter J. Katzenstein, "Norms, Identity, and Culture in National Security," in *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, ed. Peter J. Katzenstein (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>245</sup> Wendt, Social Theory of International Politics, 1999, 296.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>246</sup> Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics," *International Organization* 46, no. 2(1992): 391-525.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>247</sup> Michael Barnett, "Identity and Alliances in the Middle East," in *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, ed. Peter J. Katzenstein (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

individuals or groups to render information consistent with their preconception. Therefore, a state may attempt a series of unforeseen actions in order to rearrange the situation rather than abandoning pre-existing beliefs. Since its joining of the NPT, North Korea has been critical about paradoxical practices found in the way that the nuclear taboo was established and practiced: guardians of the nuclear taboo are those who originally proliferated, vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons is not efficiently restrained while horizontal proliferation is prohibited, and the vast majority of states are prohibited from acquiring nuclear weapons while threats of nuclear weapons exist. Shared understanding among states in the nonproliferation regime may become impossible due to different valuations and prioritizations among the actors involved. In a situation where such problems were salient to North Korea, Pyongyang became disillusioned by practices that are not in accord with what was stipulated in the treaty. Soon after the first encounter between North Korea and the IAEA, North Korea interpreted the way its nuclear issue was handled by the Agency as an unfair treatment and reacted with defiance.

Second, states' perception of and reaction to the discriminative practices may give rise to unpredictability in their future actions. Studies have shown that ingroup-outgroup bias influences the way decision-makers perceive the situation, and their beliefs about the situation determine whether leaders like or dislike other states. <sup>250</sup> Indeed, America's tolerance of the nuclear policy of its allies, including Japan and South Korea, and its choice of nuclear cooperation with them while suspecting North Korea's intention to cheat increased the impression of nuclear favoritism in the eyes of the North Koreans, who no longer had such a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>248</sup> Irving L. Janis and Leon Mann, *Decision Making: A Psychological Analysis of Conflict, Choice, and Commitment* (New York: Free Press, 1977), 107-33; Yaaco Y. I. Vertzberger, The World in Their Minds: Information Processing, Cognition, and Perception in Foreign Policy Decision Making (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 137-43, 159. <sup>249</sup> As Quester argues, the NPT was the "first unequal treaty of the twentieth century" because it granted five NWSs the right to possess nuclear weapons but requires all others to renounce their right to develop their own. Ikle contends that the discourse that describes nuclear armaments as the ultimate guardian of world peace gains influence and at the same time spreads anxiety about disastrous consequences of nuclear proliferation, calling for preventing proliferation. George H. Quester, "Preventing Proliferation: the Impact on International Politics," *International Organization* 35, no.1(Winter, 1981): 213-240; Fred Charles Ikle, "The Second Coming of the Nuclear Age," *Foreign Affairs* 75, no. 1 (1996): 119-128.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>250</sup> Marilynn B. Brewer, "Ingroup Bias in the Minimal Intergroup Situation: A Cognitive Motivational Analysis," *Psychological Bulletin* 2 (1979): 307-24; Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International* Politics (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 121.

"special relationship" in the aftermath of the end of the Cold War. North Koreans encountered what they perceived to be partial and unjust, and resisted to the imposed rules.

Third, a state perceived to be tempted tempted to violate the nuclear taboo may become the subject of condemnation and react to what it interpreted as undue denunciation. Studies have shown that emotions play a critical role in directing an actor's cognitive picture of the other, and resentment arises among those who perceive that the surrounding environment is hostile to them. When the North Korean nuclear crisis broke out, fear was created not because North Korea was actually crossing the red-line, but because it was close to doing so. The suspicion that a violation of taboo would be sought by North Korea in a way that was dangerous to the international community left little room to improve the pre-existing negative image of North Korea. Therefore, North Korea was under the condemnation of the international community, which increased North Korea's distrust regarding the prospect of the nuclear negotiations.

Lastly, a state, once perceived to be outlawed, may encounter denial of recognition and disapproval of behavior. Due to the fear of proliferation chain reaction, approaches of the international community toward North Korea's noncompliant actions were discussed in terms of correction rather than reciprocity and mutual respect. Inattention took the form of ignorance of demands and refusal to negotiate, causing North Korea to struggle to get attention. Inaction took the form of slow implementation, causing the North to predict that the prospect of reaching a mutually agreed-upon solution was dim and to commit further provocative actions.

In short, a state, based on its own definition of the situation, engages in an act of corresponding role it envisages. The others, on the basis of interpretation of the state's behavior, engage in an action of their own. <sup>252</sup> Therefore, the interactive processes of signaling,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>251</sup> Heider theorizes that a subject's emotional sentiments toward another object are balanced with the subject's cognitive picture of the other. Simon also notes that emotion will play the critical role in determining where cognitive attention is directed. Fritz Heider, *The Psychology of Interpersonal* relations (New York: Wiley, 1958), 176-77; Herbert

Simon, *Models of Thought* (New Haven: Yale University, 1979), 30-38. <sup>252</sup> Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, 1999, 330.

interpreting and responding can develop either way—positive or negative. A state's decisions do not result directly from the international structure, but they result from the way that states conceive their identity in the structure, which then shapes policy choices. A state adopts the induced behavior by way of matching its self-constructed identity, which is a continuous process. Because identification is constructed within a structure, those who share a common membership are more likely to act for the collective interests than those who do not have a sense of group identity. 253 Through positive interactions, a state's nuclear policy decision is affected by its consciously determined self-image as a compliant. When the frame disintegrates, on the contrary, the state begins to perceive reality as undesirable. Taboo characteristics such as self-restraint, ambivalence, contagion and denigration are related to several aspects of negative interactions, which lead to exclusion and dissociation of a negatively identified state.

**Table 2.1 Taboo Characteristic** 

Taboo	Negative interaction	Negative identification
Self-restraint	Discrimination	Exclusion
Ambivalence	Contradiction	Exclusion
Contagion	Inattention/Inaction	Dissociation
Denigration	Condemnation	

#### 2.3. Application to the North Korean Nuclear Crisis

It was generally understood that North Korea's nuclear ambition led to its reluctance to cooperate with the IAEA. This study challenges this conventional understanding by arguing that negative identification and negative interaction are more important factors that explain the dialectical development of the North Korean nuclear crisis. Exploring how these two mechanisms work leads us to a better understanding of North Korea's attitude toward the nuclear taboo.

Predictions that North Korea would not cooperate were prevalent before negotiations

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>253</sup> M.B. Brewer and R.J. Brown, "Intergroup Relations," in D.T. Gilbert and S.T. Fiske, eds., *The Handbook of Social* Psychology vol. 2, 4th ed. (New York: McGraw Hill, 1998).

began. Therefore, politicians and scholars came up with worst-case scenarios, which then deepened the general suspicion of North Korea's nuclear ambition. North Korea eventually became the first state ever to withdraw from the NPT after continuing refusals to allow IAEA safeguards on all of its nuclear activities. Because North Korea was expected to behave differently from the responsible members of the international community, not much attention was paid to how North Korea's rhetoric and attitudes have changed between the early days and the final days of the crisis. Seeing North Korea's identity and actions as the product of social constructions, this study will examine many aspects of practices that constructed the perception and experience of North Korea's behavior during the nuclear crisis.

**Table 2.2 Concepts and Indicators** 

Concepts	Indicators	
Contradiction	Confrontation between irreconcilable notions–Sovereignty and <i>Juche</i>	
	Asymmetric progress for curving horizontal and vertical proliferation	
	Incompatibility between engagement policy and military preparation	
	Contention between unconditional renunciation and "actions for action"	
	principle	
Discrimination	Political influence within the IAEA	
	Demands of special inspection	
	Tendency to apply double standards	
	Negative discourse and collective action	
Condemnation	Branding as a 'rogue state'	
	Presumption of defiant actions	
	Exaggerated reports on nuclear program	
	Tendency to sustain status of enemy	
Inattention/Inaction	Refusal of requests to hold bilateral talks	
	Slow implementation of agreed-upon framework	
	Little attention to demands of fulfilling preconditions	
	Different prioritization of issues on the agenda	
	Truncated communication	

### 2.4. State Actor Assumption

This study treats North Korea as a unitary actor.<sup>254</sup> Previous studies examined domestic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>254</sup> Waltz's three images remain useful tools, but neorealists integrate international and domestic politics. Domestic politics has become central to most discussions. Rogowski describes governments as the relative passive registrants of societal pressure, and Gourevitch introduced the idea that interaction occurs between levels. Allison has proposed three models that suggest interplay between many branches of domestic politics interacting with each other. His first model of unitary actor assumption best applies to North Korea, which acts as a unitary rational actor to make decisions because the influence of sub-units of North Korea on the nuclear policy decision is very minimal. Graham T. Allison, "Conceptual models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," *American Political Science Review* 63, no. 3 (1969): 689-718; Peter Gourevitch, "The Second Image Reversed: International Sources of Domestic Politics," *International* 

variables of a state that supports pro-nuclear policy. As argued by Morgan, special beneficiaries are likely to be effective political actors, and those who have interests in developing nuclear weapons may support aggressive nuclear policies. As Rosato pointed out, political leaders who also lead public opinion can form pro-nuclear sentiments and bypass open debate in order to protect national interests. 255 Some believe that there was contention between economic reformists and conservative militarists within the North Korean government over North Korea's nuclear program.<sup>256</sup> However, due to intense socialization, even trivial differences in political beliefs were suppressed or eliminated within North Korea. North Korea is a highly centralized bureaucratic regime organized around a leader who elaborated the Juche idea into a set of principles that govern the whole society. Therefore, there is no competition among interest groups or political faction and no checks and balances system among state organs in North Korea.<sup>257</sup>

North Korea has established a feudalistic structure. 258 North Korea is hardly a model of Marxist-Leninist orthodoxy because North Korea's totalitarian system is characterized by a personality cult and the hereditary succession of power.<sup>259</sup> The North Korean regime instructs the North Korean people in the *Juche* ideology using an analogy drawn from human anatomy: Kim I Sung, the Great Leader, is the brain that issues order, the Party is the nerve system that channels information, and the people are the bone and muscle that execute the orders.<sup>260</sup> Therefore, since he is at the center of unity and leadership, the leader plays the decisive role in

Organization 32, no. 4 (1978): 881-911; 479-512; Ronald Rogowski, "Trade and the Variety of Democratic Institutions," International Organization 41, no. 2 (1987): 203-23; Thomas Risse-Kappen, "Public Opinion, Domestic Structure and Foreign Policy in Liberal Democracies," World Politics 43, no. 4 (1991).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>255</sup> Sebastian Rosato "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory," American Political Science Review 97, no. 4 (2003): 585-602.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>256</sup> Solingen, Nuclear Logics, 118-140.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>257</sup> Dae Kyu Yoon, "The Constitution of North Korea: Its Changes and Implications," Fordham International Law Journal 27, no. 4(2003): 1289-1305.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>258</sup> Hwang Jang Yop, "North Korea's Truth and Falsehood," Wolgan Chosun, August 1998, 111-24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>259</sup> Koh Dae Won, "Dynamics of Inter-Korean Conflict and North Korea's Recent Policy Changes: An Inter-Systemic View," Asian Survey 44, no. 3 (May-Jun., 2004): 422-441.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>260</sup> Don Oberdorfer, *The Two Koreas: A Contemporary History* (New York: Basic books, 1997), 20.

shaping the destiny of the masses.<sup>261</sup> In his "theory of the revolutionary leader," Kim Jong II formulated a system of thought that explains that the leader, the party, and the mass are combined as an organic whole through which individuals find the true meaning of their existence.<sup>262</sup> In the process of transforming *Juche* ideology into "Kim II Sung-ism"—an overarching philosophical system of *Juche* ideology, theory, and methodology for the realization of *Jajusong* (independent spirit) of every North Korean, the significance of leadership is stressed even more strongly.<sup>263</sup>

Unlike other communist states in the 1980s that underwent the process of "De-Stalinization," North Korea has not experienced the post-totalitarianism that might loosen the leadership's control. 264 North Koreans are accustomed to a highly centralized, top-down command system in which those in the lower levels of the organization are expected to obey the dictates of those in the upper level. The North Korean regime does not tolerate any dissidents that challenge the leadership: there is no second party or partisan that can check and balance foreign or domestic policies directed by Kims. 266 In an authoritarian system, debate and discussion are not permitted, and everyone observes an iron discipline and follows the party line. 267

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>261</sup> Kim Jong II, "On Some Problems of Education in the Juche Idea," (lecture, Talk to the Senior Officials of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, July 15, 1986), accessed, July 2, 2011, http://www.koreadpr.com/lib/Kim%20Jong%20II%20-

<sup>%204/</sup>ON%20SOME%20PROBLEMS%20OF%20EDUCATION%20IN%20THE%20JUCHE%20IDEA.pdf.

However, the mass is fundamentally the center of the history; the leadership should be united with the mass. Kim Jong II, *Revolutionary Leadership*, October 1982; Institute of Philosophy, North Korea Social Science Institute, *Philosophy Dictionary* (Seoul: Hym, 1988), 668, 112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>263</sup> Kim II Sung has consolidated the cult of personality and is still revered as the founding father of the Republic. Legacies of Kim II Sung are well preserved, and it becomes easy for North Koreans to honor his predecessor. Jakchon Yoo, *Jeongtongkwa Kyesyung* (Orthodoxy and Succession) New Korea Times (Seoul: Hyundaesa, 1992), 200-201; Dae Sook Suh, "New Political Leadership," in *The North Korean System in the Post-Cold War Era*, ed. Samuel S. Kim (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 66-67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>264</sup> Andrew Scobell, "Making Sense of North Korea: Comparative Communism," *Asian Security* 1, no. 3 (2005): 245-66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>265</sup> Myoung Kyu Park and Philo Kim, "Inter-Korean Relations in Nuclear Politics," *Asian Perspective* 34, no. 1 (2010): 111-135.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>266</sup> "Interview with Bajim Trachenko," *Hankyoreh*, October 19, 1993, 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>267</sup> North Korea's power structure is described as a "circular flow of power." Senior leaders of the political party select supporters to fill positions in the lower organs, and these supporters vote for the leaders who chose them. This system of strong bondage ensures strong party unity. Merle Fainsod and Jerry F. Hough, *How the Soviet Union is Governed* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 144-46.

North Korea wholly integrates the idea, the party and the masses not only organizationally but also emotionally.<sup>268</sup> As Martin notes, the emotional appeal of nationalism has reinforced the ties of personal and familial loyalty.<sup>269</sup> Emphasis on a perfectly harmonious whole counts on the powerful emotional appeal of nationalism and loyalty of individuals to the political party. North Koreans are educated to form a socio-political organism which is "immortal as an independent being," and they find their reason of being within the socio-political community.<sup>270</sup> Giving unconditional loyalty to the leadership is thought to be a noble expression. Then, the revolutionary cause of the working class becomes the leader's cause, and therefore, recognizing and upholding the role of the leader constitutes the supreme duty of the communists.<sup>271</sup>

The nuclear crisis broke out when the leadership transition was about to be finalized. Kim Jong II was running the country, although he was not named as a president, by consolidating his power.<sup>272</sup> Kim Jong II emerged as "*Dangjoongang*" (the Center of the Party) on April 25, 1974, and as the unmistakable heir apparent in October 1980 when his appointment was officially blessed.<sup>273</sup> On December 24, 1991, Kim Jong II was named supreme commander of the North Korean Armed Forces, and he was publicly declared to be in charge of internal affairs. After ascending to the position of Chairman of the National Defense Commission, which became an independent body in April 1992, Kim Jong II became the *de facto* leader of North Korea, holding power on the North Korean military as a chairman of the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>268</sup> The party is the core of the masses, and it is rallied closely around the leader.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>269</sup> Bradley K. Martin, *Under the Loving Care of the Fatherly Leader: North Korea and Kim Dynasty* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004), 698.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>270</sup> Kim Jong II stressed, "Individuals can acquire socio-political integrity only when they become members of this community." (lecture, Talk to the Senior Officials of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, July 15, 1986), 19-24, accessed, July 2, 2011, http://www.korea-dpr.com/lib/Kim%20Jong%20II%20-

<sup>%204/</sup>ON%20SOME%20PROBLEMS%20OF%20EDUCATION%20IN%20THE%20JUCHE%20IDEA.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>271</sup> Young C. Kim, "North Korea in 1980: The Son also Rises," *Asian Survey* 21, no. 1 (January 1981): 112-124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>272</sup> Steve Glain, "North Korea's position is hardening in talks on reactors, liaison offices," *Wall Street Journal*, Oct 17, 1995, A17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>273</sup> His name was listed fourth in the five-member Presidium of the Politbureau of the Central Committee, second in the 10-member Secretariat, and third in the 10-member Military Commission. Kim II Sung and Kim Jong II were the only two people who occupied positions in all three leading organs. *Rhodong Shinmun*, April 25, 1974; *Pyongyang Times*, October 15, 1980.

Defense Committee.<sup>274</sup> Hence, Kim Jong II was the day-to-day manager of the North Korean government and directly controlled the nuclear program.<sup>275</sup> For instance, during the bilateral negotiations, North Korean delegates engaged in talks with the US by adhering to the approved script, and then they had time to formulate a response according to new instructions from Pyongyang. North Korean delegates follow instructions directly from Pyongyang, and negotiators who received orders from Pyongyang had to suddenly reverse course from what had been almost agreed on during the discussions.<sup>276</sup> This does not mean that North Korea's nuclear policy is directed by the leader's personal predilection because Kim Jong II establishes his legitimacy as a leader on preserving the *Juche* ideology and accomplishing the socialist cause. Therefore, North Korea's actions are analyzed by assuming that North Korea is a unitary actor.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>274</sup> The commission was given a status of a top organ of the state by placing management of all military affairs under the commission's authority, according to the decision made by the 1<sup>st</sup> session of the 9<sup>th</sup> Supreme People's Assembly in April 1998. Therefore, Kim Jong II assumed ultimate executive power. By abolishing the position of president (*chusok*) and enhancing the power of the National Defense Commission through a 1998 amendment of the North Korean constitution, Kim Jong II continued to strengthen the position he held. Chung In Moon and Yongho Kim, "The Future of the North Korean System," in *North Korean System in the Post-Cold War Era*, ed. Samuel S. Kim (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 230-231.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>275</sup> "Interview with Kim Il Sung," *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, April 16, 1992, 2; "Pyongyang Expect to have a US Embassy Soon/Kim Jong Il in Charge of Domestic Affairs," *Hankyoreh*, April 1, 1992, 1.
<sup>276</sup> Wit, *Going Critical*, 73.

## **Chapter III: Context of the 1st Nuclear Crisis (1991 ~ 1994)**

Before analyzing the factors that constructed North Korea's negative identification and negative interaction, this chapter will present an overall description of how the crisis has developed. The negotiation over North Korea's nuclear program went through ups and downs, but the dialectic development of the crisis ended without terminating anxiety about nuclear proliferation on the Korean peninsula. Unresolved conflict from the first crisis reemerged during the second nuclear crisis when North Korea's nuclear tests occurred. Many in the US believed that North Korea was secretly developing nuclear weapons, and thus had to be stopped.<sup>277</sup> However, North Korea continued to stress that it has neither the intention nor the capability to build nuclear weapons. If so, why was it impossible to have an early resolution to the crisis? If North Korea's pursuit of developing nuclear program serves political purposes, such as attracting attention—one of North Korea's decades-old concerns—instead of military ones, it is important to examine why such an argument did not get much attention at the time. The US and South Korea took measures to meet North Korea's demands to a certain degree, but negotiations between the US and North Korea met a series of deadlocks. What caused the complexity of the nuclear crisis on the Korean peninsula?

These answers will be examined in the light of North Korea's attitude to taboo violation and antagonistic structure in which negative interaction and negative identification impeded North Korea's entry into the system of compliance to the nuclear taboo. Undoubtedly, North Korea has made significant progress towards building an indigenous nuclear program. Suspicions that North Korea intended to develop nuclear weapons and would possess a

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>277</sup> In October 2002, a US report disclosed that North Korea has been operating a secret nuclear program based on uranium enrichment in the early 1990s with the assistance of Pakistan. Hwang Jang Yop, a Communist Party secretary who defected in 1997, has testified that North Korea had traded its long-range missile technology for Pakistani HEU technology in the summer of 1996. The Clinton Administration reportedly learned of this fact in the 1990s, and a CIA report to Congress revealed that North Korea attempted to acquire centrifuge-related materials in large quantities to support a uranium enrichment program in late 2001. Larry A. Niksch, "North Korea's Nuclear Weapons Program," CRS Issue Brief for Congress, March 25, 2005; Larry A. Niksch, "North Korea's Nuclear Weapons Program," October 5, 2006; Larry A. Niksch, "North Korea's Weapons of Mass Destruction," in *North Korea: The Politics of Regime Survival*, eds. Young Whan Kihl and Hong Nack Kim, (New York: An East Gate Book, 2006), 106.

weapons program were in the end found to be true. Because North Korea seemed to continuously refuse to allow IAEA safeguards as required by the NPT, , North Korea was believed to be intentionally buying time only to cheat. Suspicions of North Korea's nuclear ambition became an established fact as deadlocked bilateral negotiation met with North Korea's further resistance to external demands. However, less attention was paid to the fact that discussions were delayed because North Korea's proposal of conditions for accepting the international inspections was not adequately addressed. Arguably, North Korea could have shut down its nuclear reactor and reprocessed it to extract enough plutonium to make nuclear bombs at any time from 1992. Therefore, whether such hesitation was enforced or internally motivated still needs to be carefully examined.

What this study will focus on is the structural environment which shaped North Korea's perception of the future of the negotiations as unpromising, with special attention to ideational confrontation, competitive relationship, ambivalence, inattention, discrimination, and perceptual gap that complicated the negotiation process. The North Korean nuclear crisis has gone through at least three phases; at each phase, progress and regress alternated. From December 12, 1985 to January 30 1992, North Korea delayed signing the safeguards agreement but took practical steps to accept the IAEA inspections after the joint declaration of denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. From January 31, 1992 to June 11, 1993, IAEA inspection took place but North Korea declared withdrawal from the NPT under pressure to clarify significant discrepancies. From June 12, 1993 to October 21, 1994, US-DPRK high-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>278</sup> Leon V. Sigal, "Who is Fighting Peace in Korea?: An Undiplomatic History," *World Policy Journal*, 14, no. 2 (1997): 44-58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>279</sup> ROK-DPRK Joint Declaration of the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula was agreed on December 31, 1991 and entered into force on February 19, 1992. The South and the North expressed their desire to eliminate the danger of nuclear war through denuclearization nof the Korean peninsula by declaring that the South and the North shall not test, manufacture, produce, receive, possess, store, deploy or use nuclear weapons; shall use nuclear energy solely for peaceful purposes; shall not possess nuclear reprocessing and uranium enrichment facilities; shall conduct inspections of the objects selected by the other side and agreed upon between the two sides; and shall establish and operate a South-North joint nuclear control commission. "Joint Declaration of South and North Korea on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula," January 20, 1992, accessed April 2, 2010, http://contents.archives.go.kr/next/content/listSubjectDescription.do?id=002895.

level dialogue began and the US and North Korea concluded the Geneva Agreed Framework after the defueling campaign in Yongbyon.

**Table 3.1 Developmental Phases** 

Period	Description	Events
December 12, 1985 ~ January 30, 1992	From signing the NPT to accepting the IAEA safeguards	-5MWe reactor operation -IAEA resolution -Withdraw US nukes from S.KJoint Declaration of Denuclearization -IAEA safeguards agreement, signed
January 31, 1992 ~ June 11, 1993	From IAEA inspection to suspension of withdrawal announcement	-Kanter-Kim meeting in New York -IAEA safeguards agreement, ratified -IAEA inspections on nuclear sites -finding significant discrepancy -IAEA resolution -N.K. withdrawal announcement
June 12, 1993 ~ October 21, 1994	From US-DPRK high-level dialogue to Geneva Agreed Framework	-UNSC presidential statement -UNSC resolution 825 -US-DPRK high-level meeting -UNGA resolution -UNSC presidential statement -remove rods from 5MW reactor -Jimmy Carter visit to Pyongyang -concluding GAF

## 1. Beginning of the Crisis (~1991)

## 1.1. Building nuclear capability

When the nuclear crisis began, estimates of North Korea's nuclear capability were inconclusive although there were signs that the country was developing a full-scale nuclear fuel cycle. North Korea was at the early phase of nuclear weapons development and production. Developing nuclear weapons requires nuclear material, manufacturing technology, and explosion tests, which North Korea had not fully achieved when the crisis broke out.<sup>280</sup> North Korea's intention to develop nuclear weapons program was also uncertain. North Korea has long expressed interest in developing only peaceful nuclear capability and has taken measures to maintain basic international safeguards on its nuclear facilities in Yongbyon. Pyongyang's call for bilateral talks with the US seemed rather desperate, but North Korea's message to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>280</sup> "South Korea Exceeded North Korea in Nuclear Facilities: Russian Intelligence North-South Korea Nuclear Report," Hankyoreh, November 2, 1993, 8.

international community was viewed as a trick to buy time for manufacturing nuclear weapons.

North Korea had made substantive progress in developing infrastructure, but denied since the early 1990s allegations that it was developing a nuclear weapons program. However, reports on uncertainties about North Korea's nuclear program deepened suspicion about North Korea's intention. There was no hard evidence that North Korea was producing nuclear weapons, but it was undeniable that North Korea was taking serious steps that could enable it to possess the capacity to develop one. Since North Korea's intention was hardly known, what could be done in the future was worrying. Ironically, absence of evidence to prove North Korea's nuclear weapons program would lead to consolidating suspicion. Hence, the international community became more sensitive to any suspicious act by North Korea.

## Energy Supply Need

Whether North Korea was in need of an energy supply and took practical steps to develop peaceful nuclear energy has to be examined. Indicators of North Korea's energy supply show that North Korea suffered from shortage of energy resources to meet growing demands that successfully implementing the seventh economic plan would require. Securing power supply was critical for North Korea's energy self-sufficiency, not only to meet growing domestic demands but also to reduce dependence on imported oil from its patron—Russia—who began to ask for hard currency to pay for trades. North Korea energy consumption per capita was twice as much as South Korea's in the 1970s, but this energy supply began to take a downturn in 1985 due to fuel shortages and deteriorating infrastructure. In the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>281</sup> "Retaliatory Measurement in the Case of Military Attack in Yongbyon Nuclear Complex," *Sisa Press* no. 105, October 31, 1991, accessed July 22, 2011, http://www.sisapress.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=34265.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>282</sup> North Korea's Seven-Year Plan, its centrally planned economic plan, gave a great deal of attention to developing foreign trade and joint ventures, but no quantitative plan targets had been made public by the end of 1991, indicating that the plan has not fared well. Therefore, North Korea announced a Three-Year transitional economic policy to the standard of living by addressing consumer needs in December 1993. Ministry of Unification, Information Center of North Korea, "Socialist Economic Plan," Ministry of Unification, accessed July 22, 2011,

 $http://munibook.unikorea.go.kr/?sub\_name=information\&cate=1\&state=view\&idx=111\&page=5\&ste=.$ 

North Korea's total coal production decreased up until 1998 and then slightly increased. Building power plants

field of atomic energy became more important since North Korea emphasized scientific technology as one of the key areas of national development.<sup>284</sup> Under the direct order of Kim Jong II, North Korea pushed its three-year development plan for science and technology in the field of atomic energy.<sup>285</sup> Under these circumstances the fate of North Korea's economic revitalization plan hinged on solving its power shortage.

## Establishment of Nuclear Plants

The choice of nuclear reactors was a sensitive issue that increased doubts about North Korea's intention to develop nuclear weapons capability. The construction of graphite reactors raised doubts because they could be an efficient source of weapon-grade plutonium. Due to limited technology and foreign trade, North Korea could not diversify energy resources, but it did have rich uranium reserves for nuclear power plants. After conducting a nation-wide excavation of uranium mines, North Korea estimated 26 million tons of reserves in November 1978. Based on its experience with IRT-2000, which had been placed under IAEA inspection since July 1977, North Korea began to build an experimental 5MWe nuclear reactor, which began operation in January 1986. In November 1985, North Korea began construction of 50 MWe Nuclear Power Plant due to be completed in 1995. In November 1989, construction of

slowed down due to limited investment while production was heavily dependent on aging infrastructure and equipment. For North Korea's energy crisis and its economic downfall, see Sin Hwa Young, et al., "Analysis of North Korean Energy Shortage using Energy Supply Data," The Korean Society for Ecosystem Engineering 45, no. 5 (2008): 567-577.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>284</sup> Su Hoon Lee, "New Prospect of North East Asia" in *Korean Peninsula in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, ed. Nak Cheong Baek (Seoul: Changbi Publishers, 2004), 237.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>285</sup> Jae Sung Lee, North Korean Technocrat Driving the Nation (Seoul: Ilbit, 1998), 56-57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>286</sup> North Korea's 5MWe reactor was detected in 1989. Joseph S. Bermudez Jr., "North Korea-Set to Join the 'Nuclear Club," *Jane's Defense Weekly* 12, no. 12, September 23, 1989, 594-597.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>287</sup> Almost 4 million tons were available for mining. Min Jo and Ji Ha Kim, *North Korean Nuclear Book 1955~2009* (Seoul: KINU, 2009), 4; Korea Atomic Industrial Forum, *Nuclear Energy Year Book* (Seoul: KAIF, 1994), 74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>288</sup> North Korea upgraded the previous IRT-2000 reactor into 5MWe reactor with little help from the Soviet. The 5MWe reactor was an ideal choice for North Korea because it uses natural uranium which is abundant in North Korea for its fuel, has a gas-cooled system which does not need heavy water, and requires graphite which is also available in North Korea as a moderator. Joseph S. Bermudez Jr., "North Korea on Way to Decisive Weapon," *Jane's Defense Weekly* 16, no. 15, October 12, 1991, 653; Jo, *North Korean Nuclear Book*, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>289</sup> The 50MWe reactor was graphite-moderated, gas-cooled Magnox (French G-2 type) and could produce up to 55kg plutonium per year. This reactor has frozen under the terms of the Agreed Framework. Tae-woo Kim, Sung Tack Shin,

200 MWe Nuclear Power Reactor began and was expected to be completed by 1996.<sup>290</sup> In 1986, North Korea established the Radio-Chemical Laboratory, which was discovered to be a reprocessing facility by the IAEA inspection in 1992, and two reservoirs of plutonium-bearing waste in Yongbyon in the 1990s.<sup>291</sup> Additional nuclear-related facilities in Yongbyon included a research center, housing complex, nuclear detonation test site, and a reprocessing facility.<sup>292</sup>

Evidence shows that North Korea was moving forward with a plan to build peaceful nuclear power plants. Kim Il Sung asked the Soviets to provide North Korea with civil nuclear power stations to compensate for its power shortage on his May 1984 trip to Moscow to meet with Chernenko. Sang Sang Sang Sang Secretary of KWP, signed a science and technology agreement with the Soviet Union in exchange for North Korea's accession of the NPT. Moscow's request was not simply an act of pressure to curve North Korea's deceptive attempt to build nuclear bombs. The Soviet Union, as a member of the NPT, could help North Korea construct a nuclear power plant in North Korea only after the North Korea became a member of the NPT. North Korea negotiated with the Soviet Union for a long-term project of building four 440MW graphite reactors in Shinpo, Hamgyong Province. However, after the impact of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident on April 26, 1986, the Soviet Union decided to provide three 650MWe light-water reactors instead. After North Korea signed the NPT, Soviet scientists took a geological survey for the construction of nuclear power plants.

Myong Jin Kim, and Sang Beom Kim, *Inter-Korean Military Confidence Building After 2003* (Seoul: Korea Institute for Defense Analyses, 2003).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>290</sup> The 200MWe reactor was also modeled after the French G-2, and this caused worries because the French developed the G-2 reactor primarily for plutonium production. It could produce about 220kg of plutonium per year. ROK Ministry of National Defense, *WMD Encyclopedia* (Seoul: Ministry of National Defense, 2001), 95-96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>291</sup> John Merrill, "North Korea in 1992: Steering Away from the Shoals," *Asian Survey* 33, no.1(1993): 43-53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>292</sup> Jo, North Korean Nuclear Book, 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>293</sup> Don Oberdorfer, *The Two Koreas: A Contemporary History* (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1997), 254.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>294</sup> Moscow would reportedly maintain various agreements with North Korea while observing the framework of international law. "Interview with Alexander Jasov, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet's Commission on International Affairs," *Segye Ilbo*, June 4, 1990, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>295</sup> The spokesperson of Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs mentioned that North Korea has planned to introduce and build four VVER series nuclear reactors on March 1, 1990. "Soviet, help North Korea build nuclear plants," *Segye Ilbo*, March 3, 1990, 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>296</sup> Chun Kun Lee, Science Technology to Understand North Korean Nuclear (Seoul: Seakakuinamu, 2010), 81.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>297</sup> "North Korea, Indigenous Capability to Build Light-Water Reactor?" Chosun Ilbo, April 14, 2009, accessed April 2,

Pyongyang's request for two 1,000 MWe light-water reactors in exchange for giving up its nuclear program was not arbitrary but came from a desire to replace the previous nuclear deal with the Soviet Union.

### 1.2. Delayed signing of the IAEA Safeguards Agreement

### IAEA Mistake

Many believed that North Korea did everything it could to delay treaty implementation. North Korea was suspected of uncooperative intention, but it was indeed given extra time to sign the safeguards agreement. North Korea therefore had considerable time before it ratified and implemented the agreement. North Korea signed the NPT on December 12, 1985, and, according to the NPT provisions, North Korea had 18 months to negotiate and sign a safeguards agreement with the IAEA. However, the additional delay was partially caused by the IAEA mistakenly handing out the wrong document, which gave an extra 18 months to Pyongyang. The fact that neither the IAEA nor the US looked closely enough at the draft agreement to acknowledge such mistakes shows how trivial North Korea's nuclear program was considered to be at the time. It was only after the deadline had passed that the US asked the IAEA to press North Korea to comply with its nonproliferation commitments.

<sup>2011,</sup> http://issue.chosun.com/site/data/html dir/2009/04/15/2009041500556.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>298</sup> Michael J. Mazarr, "Going Just a Little nuclear: Nonproliferation Lessons from North Korea," *International Security* 20, no. 2(Autumn, 1995): 92-122; Richard K. Beets, "Wealth, Power and Instability: East Asia and the United States after the Cold War," *International Security* 18, no. 3(Winter, 1994): 66; Gerald F. Seib, *Wall Street Journal*, March 9, 1992, A10.Victor Cha, "Korea's Place in the Axis," *Foreign Affair* 81, no. 3(May-Jun., 2002): 79-92. <sup>299</sup> Jo, *North Korean Nuclear Book*, 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>300</sup> The whole process consists of 1)submitting an official report of its existing nuclear facilities, 2)conducting a series of ad hoc inspections by IAEA to verify the aforementioned list, 3)signing various subsidiary agreements with IAEA to the accord describing inspection procedures for specific facilities, 4)IAEA inspections designed to ensure that the nuclear facilities are not being used for military purposes. Steven R. Weisman, *New York Times*, January 31, 1992, 2; *Washington Times*, February 3, 1992, A10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>301</sup> In order for the IAEA inspection to take place, ratification by North Korea's Supreme People's Assembly was necessary. The agreement was ratified by North Korean Supreme People's Assembly in April 1992. Joseph S. Bermudez Jr., "North Korea's Nuclear Programme," *Jane's Defense Weekly* 3, no. 9, September 1991, 404-412.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>302</sup> The IAEA handed over the same document that was previously sent to another state before North Korea. Therefore, on June 5, 1987, the IAEA had to send another document to North Korea. Laura Rockwood, IAEA Section Head of Nonproliferation and Nuclear Policy, Interview by author, Tape recording, July 14, 2008.

## Satellite Image of Yongbyon Facilities

Suspicions about a North Korean nuclear weapons program hardened in the early 1990s. A delegation of five US intelligence officials briefed the South Koreans and Japanese on North Korea's nuclear program. A US satellite photographed an unroofed plant with a long series of thick-walled cells arranged in a configuration typical of plutonium separation facilities in early 1989. A photo of the area surrounding the Yongbyon nuclear complex was taken by a French Satellite Probatorie d'Observation de la Terre (SPOT) in September 1989 and was compared with a July 1986 photo by Japanese scientists from Information Technology Center at Tokai University. Deputy Chief Cabinet Secretary Nobuo Ishihara expressed serious concerns about North Korea's delay in revealing its nuclear facilities.

### Circumstantial Evidence

Although there was no hard evidence to verify North Korea's nuclear weapons program, there was circumstantial evidence including construction of reprocessing facilities, development of a long-range delivery system, and explosion tests. In January 1990, US satellites photographed the construction of additional facilities at Yongbyon. The mere existence of the reprocessing facility, although unfinished, was a significant discovery because it could have enabled North Korea to separate the substantial quantities of plutonium, necessary for military use. North Korea's experiments at the radio-chemical laboratory were not strictly against the IAEA rules, as long as inspectors could monitor the type and amounts of nuclear material. However, the international community worried that the laboratory could reprocess

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>303</sup> Suspicion about North Korea's 'hidden' nuclear program was first reported by Far Eastern Economic Review in February 1989 and discussed in the European Parliament's plenary session in Strasbourg, France "North Korean Nuclear Weapons Program Is Realistically Impossible," *Hankyoreh*, March 6, 1990, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>304</sup> Don Oberdorfer, Two Koreas: A Contemporary History, 251.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>305</sup> "North Korea's Building Nuclear Plant Confirmed," *Donga Ilbo*, February 9, 1990, 2; Cho Yang Wook, "North Korea's Nuclear Facilities Confirmed," *Kookmin Ilbo*, February 9, 1990, 1. "First Picture Shows North Korea N-Plant," *The Daily Yomiuri*, February 9, 1990, 1.

<sup>306 &</sup>quot;Japan, Worrying about North Korea's Nuclear Plants" Kookmin Ilbo, February 10, 1990, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>307</sup> Andrew Mack, "If North Korea is Indeed Building a Nuclear Bomb," *International Herald Tribune*, January 8, 1990, 23.

large quantities of plutonium within one or two years. 308

North Korea's extensive missile production strengthened the argument that North Korea was determined to develop nuclear weapons. Developing a long-range delivery system, which was less accurate but more suitable for weapons of mass destruction, raised doubts about the sincerity of Pyongyang's remarks that it had no intention to develop nuclear weapons. <sup>309</sup> Finding of modified Scud-B missiles and mobile missile launchers in Rodong 65 miles north from Pyongyang sparked suspicion that North Korea was developing inter-continental missiles that could load nuclear weapons. <sup>310</sup>

What really increased suspicions of North Korea's intention to develop nuclear weapons were media reports on a high-explosive testing site. Such a site is necessary for making a nuclear weapon with plutonium, not for a civilian nuclear program. North Korea was suspected of conducting high explosive tests that were believed to be part of its nuclear weapons program. A KGB document dated early 1990 revealed that North Korea was near developing an explosive device. US intelligence sources also commented that North Korea had conducted as many as seventy explosive tests at the site. Although all of this circumstantial evidence was not sufficient to accuse North Korea of the violation of the NPT, such discovery of potential capability of North Korea's nuclear weapons program was sufficient enough to

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>308</sup> "North Korea Pursues Chemical and Biological Weapons Development," *Kukmin Ilbo*, November 8, 1990, 14; Andrew Mack, "The Nuclear Crisis on the Korean peninsula," *Asian Survey* 33, no. 4 (April 1993): 339-59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>309</sup> Missile development and export worsened North Korea's image: Iran and North Korea signed an arms deal that included the purchase of Scud-Bs in 1987. In a nuclear-missile deal, North Korea reportedly secured assistance from Pakistan which then received missile technology from Pyongyang. This was taken as a serious issue for the US foreign policy in the Middle East. "Retaliatory Measurement in the Case of Military Attack in Yongbyon Nuclear Complex," *Sisa Press* no. 105, October 31, 1991, accessed July 22, 2011, http://www.sisapress.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=34265.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>310</sup> South Korean ambassador to the US insisted that such discovery is a corroborative evidence of North Korea's pursuit of nuclear program. "North Korea Digs Tunnels for Nuclear Arms," *Washington Times*, February 21, 1992, A9; "US Satellite Photographed North Korea's Developing Ballistic Missile," *Kukmin Ilbo*, June 5, 1990, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>311</sup> Crater-like test site on the banks of the Kuryong River were suggested as evidence that proved North Korea's secret nuclear weapons program. "North Korea Nuclear Development," *Kukmin Ilbo*, June 18, 1990, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>312</sup> The KGB document released in 1992 says, "The KGB has received information from a reliable source that scientific and experimental design work to create a nuclear weapon is continuing in North Korea." It mentioned that "development of the first atomic explosive device has been completed." Michael J. Mazarr, "Predator States and War: The North Korean Case," in *The US and the Two Koreas*, ed. Tong Whan Park (Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 1998), 85

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>313</sup> James Hackett, "Close to Producing the Bomb?" Washington Times, November 7, 1991, 4.

spark suspicion.

### 1.3. North-South Declaration of Nuclear-free Korean peninsula

## **Unfulfilled Preconditions**

Since many complicated issues had to be tackled at the same time, international inspection of North Korea's nuclear site could only be delayed. Between receiving a new draft agreement from the IAEA and accepting the IAEA safeguard agreement, North Korea explicitly mentioned its intention to accept the international inspection. North Korea did not simply oppose signing the IAEA agreement but suggested preconditions before placing its nuclear facilities under the international safeguard system. In early 1990, the IAEA and North Korea made some progress in negotiating over the safeguards agreement. North Korea and the IAEA were reportedly close to concluding the negotiation over North Korea's acceptance of the IAEA inspection in February 1990. Although there was little left to discuss between the IAEA and North Korea, the issue of negative nuclear guarantee from the US was still a critical aspect to be resolved before accepting the international inspection. At the IAEA Board of Governors meeting, North Korea asserted that it would not sign a safeguard agreement because of nuclear weapons in South Korea and the US-South Korea joint military exercise. An IAEA resolution on North Korea's noncompliance and increasing accusations of North Korea's deliberate delay of international inspections were met with North Korea's stern opposition.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>314</sup> Washington suspected that North Korea was threatening that it would withdraw from the NPT. Chang Ki Kim, "North Korea, Threats to Withdraw from the NPT," *Chosun Ilbo*, May 26, 1990, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>315</sup> Boris Semenov, Deputy Director General of the IAEA, mentioned during the fifth annual joint conference of the Korean Atomic Industrial Forum in April 1990 that North Korea and the IAEA completed three or four paragraphs to the satisfaction of both parties. "North Korea Considers Acceptance of International Inspection in Yongbyon Nuclear Facilities," *Donga Ilbo*, April 2, 1990, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>316</sup> At the Soviet-US Foreign Minister Talks, the Soviet informed the US that North Korea was almost finalizing safeguard agreement with the IAEA. "US-Soviet Foreign Minister Talks on the Korean Peninsula," *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, February 12, 1990, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>317</sup> Naoaki Usui, "Blix Says North Korea is Close to Finalizing its NPT Safeguards," *Nucleonics Week* 31, no. 45, November 8, 1990, 14.

<sup>318 &</sup>quot;Crucial Moment of Nuclear Safeguard Inspection in North Korea," Daehan Mail, February 25, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>319</sup> IAEA Board of Governors passed a resolution calling on North Korea to ratify the safeguards agreement and actual implementation. Only Cuba voted against it.

On the one hand, the US government rejected North Korea's request that the US negotiate the withdrawal of US nuclear weapons from South Korea as a precondition for North Korea's acceptance of IAEA inspections.<sup>320</sup> On the other hand, Pyongyang has consistently demanded the elimination of nuclear threats against North Korea before it would accept IAEA inspectors.<sup>321</sup>

However, North Korea repeatedly emphasized that it would accept international safeguard inspections. Jin Jung Kuk, North Korean special envoy to the IAEA, emphasized its readiness to sign a safeguards agreement and open its nuclear facilities to international inspections at the Board of Governor's meeting on June 14, 1991. North Korea confirmed its intention to accept international safeguards through various channels: Kim Su Ik, North Korean Ambassador from US Commission in Paris on January 3, 323 Jun In Chan, Ambassador to Vienna, on January 6, 324 and Ministry of Foreign Affairs on January 7, 1992. Pyongyang accepted the international inspection after the US finally declared withdrawal of its nuclear weapons from the Korean peninsula. 326

## North-South Nonaggression Agreement

Toward the end of this phase, a series of positive interactions among the two Koreas and the US took place. In September 1991, Washington declared that the US would withdraw all tactical nuclear weapons abroad, which was reportedly completed on July 2, 1992.<sup>327</sup> This was a

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>320</sup> "North Korea refuses to Build Diplomatic Relations with the US," *Chosun Ilbo*, May 21, 1990, 1; "US Rejects North Korean Conditions on Nuclear Inspection," *Japan Economic Newswire*, July 31, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>321</sup> "IAEA Safeguard Inspection Conditions," *Chosun Ilbo*, February 16, 1990, 2.

<sup>322 &</sup>quot;North's Envoy to IAEA Criticizes Japan," Korea Times, June 14, 1991, 1.

<sup>323 &</sup>quot;North Korea Intends to Accept Nuclear Inspection/North Korea Commission in Paris," *Segye Ilbo*, January 4, 1992, 2.

 <sup>&</sup>quot;North Korea, Signs Nuclear Inspection Agreement in a Month/Statement by North Korean Ambassador in Vienna,"
 Seoul Shinmun, January 7, 1992, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>325</sup> "North Korea, Announcement to Sign the Nuclear Safeguard Agreement Soon/Foreign Ministry Statement," *Segye Ilbo*, January 8, 1992, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>326</sup> On November 27, 1991, North Korean Ambassador to China Joo Chang Jun reiterated that North Korea would sign the IAEA safeguards agreement following the withdrawal of US nuclear weapons from South Korea. David Holley, "N.Korea Opens Door to Nuclear Facilities Pact," *Los Angeles Times*, November 28, 1991, A1, A13.

<sup>327 &</sup>quot;The US Completed Withdrawal of Tactical Nuclear Weapons/President Bush Announcement," Kukmin Ilbo, July 3,

slight change of Washington's NCND (Neither Confirm Nor Deny) policy and was a positive step taken by the US. 328 The North Koreans welcomed Washington's announcement of withdrawing all tactical nuclear weapons, and North Korean Foreign Minister Kim Young Nam emphasized that this was the first time in history that North Korea expressed such a positive remark toward the US. 329 North Korea and South Korea signed a nonaggression agreement on December 13, 1991. Despite earlier opposition, North Korea agreed to officially acknowledge the existence of two states on the Korean peninsula by concluding an accord. 330 Keeping positive momentum, the two Koreas concluded a joint declaration of nuclear-weapons free zone on the Korean peninsula. Immediately after the US and South Korea declared the canceling of Team Spirit, a joint military training exercise of US Forces Korea and the Military of South Korea, the North Korean Foreign Ministry announced that it would sign the IAEA safeguards agreement. 331 The moment that highlighted such a reconciliatory mood between the US and North Korea was a high-level meeting between them. 332 North Korea signed the IAEA safeguards agreement on January 30, 1992, and expressed its intention to fully abide by the agreement. 333

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<sup>1992. 1.</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>328</sup> Hans M. Kristensen, "The Neither Confirm Nor Deny Policy: Nuclear Diplomacy at Work," A Working Paper, Federation of American Scientists, February 2006, 74b, accessed March 12, 2011, http://www.nukestrat.com/pubs/NCND.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>329</sup> Kim Yong Nam said, "We welcome President Bush's announcement and hope that same measures will also take place on the Korean peninsula." on October 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>330</sup> Joint Declaration of South and North Korea on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, January 20, 1992, http://contents.archives.go.kr/next/content/listSubjectDescription.do?id=002895.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>331</sup>US President George Bush and South Korean President Roh Tae Woo announced that they would cancel the Team Spirit on January 6, 1992. The next day, North Korea formally announced that it would sign the IAEA safeguards agreement by the end of the month. David E. Sanger, "In Nuclear Deal, Seoul Halts War Games with US," *New York Times*, January 7, 1992, A.8; "Nuclear Agreement Will Be Signed on 29-30/North Korean Ambassador to Vienna," *Segye Ilbo*, January 8, 1992, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>332</sup> US Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs Arnold Kanter and North Korea's Director of the International Department of the Communist Party Kim Young Sun met in January 1992. The US-North Korean high-level meeting was held at the US Mission to the UN in New York where North Korea agreed to sign the IAEA safeguards agreement. Don Oberdorfer, *The Two Koreas: A Contemporary History* (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1997), 266-67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>333</sup> INFCIRC/403, "Agreement of 30 January 1992 between the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the International Atomic Energy Agency for the Application of Safeguards in Connection with the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons," May, 1992, accessed April 12, 2011, http://www.iaea.org/Publications/Documents/Infcircs/Others/inf403.shtml.

### 1.4. Assessment

At the beginning of North Korea's nuclear program, the relationship between North Korea and the international community moved from contention to temporary settlement. Overall, signs of crisis emerged during this period but were not as serious as the next period of contention. Inattention was apparent until suspected activities were reported after the deadline of international safeguards agreement had passed. The IAEA-North Korea negotiations did not make much progress, arguably because North Korea's demands for "preconditions for accepting international inspections" were not paid due attention. This further increased suspicion of North Korea. North Korea's concern about a nuclear threat from the US was the most distinctive obstacle that hindered negotiations with the IAEA. On the one hand, North Korea had continuously insisted on a guarantee from the US on the non-use of nuclear weapons against North Korea and the removal of nuclear weapons from the South. On the other hand, North Korea's attempt to delay concluding the safeguards agreement increased concerns on the part of the US that North Korea's nuclear program would become one of America's greatest security concerns. 334 In order to eliminate these concerns, North Korea had offered several proposals including "denuclearization of the Korean peninsula" and "mutual inspection between two Koreas." Pyongyang's demand for a negative security guarantee in written form from the US and removal of nuclear weapons from the South remained very much consistent. However, many suspected that these demands were part of North Korea's tactics to delay international inspections.

Because the antagonistic structure did not disappear, the contentious situation continued. Suspicion of North Korea's intention not to comply with the safeguard obligation increased pressure on North Korea to accept international safeguards, which then provoked North Korea's resentment. Ironically, it also gave North Korea bargaining chips for further negotiation because increasing anxiety about North Korea's "secret" nuclear program also put pressure on

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<sup>334 &</sup>quot;North Korea with Nuclear Capability in the Mid-1990s/US Pacific Command," *Joongang Ilbo*, July 27, 1991, 2.

North Korea's counterparts in the negotiations. In addition, allegations that North Korea had almost completed reprocessing facilities to produce plutonium for nuclear weapons aroused public awareness, although it turned out later that many reports on suspicious works done by North Korea were not entirely true. The IAEA team discovered that what was supposed to be a reprocessing building had equipment only 40 percent ready for full-scale production. 335 Construction of the six-story building called a "radiochemical laboratory" by the North Koreans was only 80 percent complete, and the IAEA officials reported that the works inside the building were "extremely primitive and thus far from ready to produce quantities of plutonium needed for a stockpile of atomic weapons." The IAEA team inspected three reactors—5MWe research reactor, 50MWe power plant and 200MWe power plant—and confirmed that the reports of electrical equipment around the nuclear plant were also false. 337 Nevertheless, allegations such as North Korea were hiding underground nuclear weapons program did not disappear. 338 This showed deep-seated mistrust of North Korea, which had already been perceived to be a violator of the nuclear taboo.

The international agency appeared to have limited ability to exert influence on North Korea's policy decision between 1985 and 1991. North Korea signed a comprehensive safeguards agreement with the IAEA only after the US government announced that it would withdraw all naval and land-based tactical nuclear weapons from abroad, including South Korea on September 27, 1991, and the North-South Joint Declaration, with its pledge to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes only, was signed on December 31, 1991. This does not mean that the international nonproliferation regime was incapable of persuading North Korea to walk back from the nuclear option. The delay in accepting the IAEA investigation can be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>335</sup> David Albright, "North Korean Plutonium Production," Science & Global Security 5 (1995): 63-87.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>336</sup> IAEA, "Transcript from the Press Briefing by Dr. Hans Blix, Director General of the IAEA," Beijing Hotel, Beijing, May 16, 1992.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>337</sup> Don Oberdorfer, *The Two Koreas*, 268-69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>338</sup> "North Korean Nuclear Issue Cannot be Solved by IAEA Inspection/Secret Underground Facilities Needs Mutual Inspection," *Kukmin Ilbo*, May 21, 1992, 2; "Possibilities of Underground Nuclear Facilities in North Korea," *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, May 19, 1992, 5.

attributed to the lack of awareness of the significance of North Korea's nuclear program on the one hand, and the difficulty in changing the antagonistic environment that surrounded the Korean peninsula on the other hand. The fact that North Korea agreed to observe its safeguard obligation once its demand was, at least partially, fulfilled, weakens the argument that the delay was merely caused by Pyongyang's secretiveness or irrationality.

## 2. Declaration of Forsaking NPT Membership (1992-93)

### 2.1. Beginning of Inspection

## Ratification of IAEA Safeguards Agreement

The second phase began with positive interactions. North Korea was very cooperative with the IAEA immediately after it ratified the IAEA safeguards agreement. The North Korean Supreme People's Assembly ratified the IAEA safeguards agreement on April 9, 1992. The IAEA and North Korea agreed on protocols in time. 339 North Korea provided the IAEA with a 150-page report on its nuclear facilities and materials twenty-five days ahead of schedule.<sup>340</sup> North Korea invited IAEA Director General Hans Blix and the IAEA inspection team to Yongbyon for a tour of any site, whether or not it was listed in the initial declaration. 341 After visits to Yongbyon, Hans Blix announced that North Korea had fulfilled its obligations to submit lists of nuclear facilities, allow inspections and help the inspectors to better understand its nuclear program.<sup>342</sup> He confirmed that the nuclear facilities in Yongbyon were for research purposes and that the IAEA could not find evidence that showed development of a nuclear weapons program yet. By the end of 1992, the IAEA inspection team visited North Korea's nuclear facilities, including two additional sites unlisted in the initial report, totaling 195 days

<sup>339</sup> North Korea was supposed to agree on the protocol in 90 das after the IAEA safeguard agreement was taken into effect. "Nuclear Safeguard Protocol/N.Korea Agreed," Donga Ilbo, July 11, 1992, 2.

<sup>340 &</sup>quot;List of Nuclear Facilities/N.Korea Submits Early in May," Seoul Shinmun, Apil 16, 1992, 2; "Inspections under Full-scope Safeguards Agreement Proceed; Safeguards Inspection to DPRK," IAEA Newsbriefs 7, no. 3 (June-July 1992): 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>341</sup> David Albright, "North Korea's Plutonium Puzzle," Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists November 1992, 36-40.

<sup>342 &</sup>quot;N.Korea No Evidence of Developing Nuclear Weapons, Yongbyon Reprocessing Facilities for Experiment," Hankyoreh, May 17, 1992, 1.

per person.<sup>343</sup>

North Korea revealed its past experiment by informing the IAEA that very small amount of plutonium had been separated at the radiochemistry laboratory and telling the US that the experiment produced a small amount of plutonium.<sup>344</sup> The first IAEA inspection team was able to verify the location of fissionable material declared in North Korea's initial report but did not find any evidence of suspicious nuclear facilities in the May preliminary inspection.<sup>345</sup> North Korea reported to the IAEA not only completed facilities but also others under construction, which it was not obliged to. The IAEA announced that North Korea had run research-level facilities that were not fully constructed for reprocessing a considerable amount of plutonium.<sup>346</sup> David Kyd, IAEA spokesperson, mentioned in an interview with The Washington Post that North Korea's nuclear facilities were so primitive that North Korea was far from plutonium production.<sup>347</sup> US Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Richard Solomon said that the US government acknowledged that North Korea had been cooperative with the IAEA and was pleased with the fact that the reprocessing facilities were incomplete.<sup>348</sup> The IAEA inspections were held from May 25, 1992 to February 6, 1993 until the US and South Korea resumed Team Spirit, which was regarded by North Korea as a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>343</sup> These included two research reactors, one each in Yongbyon and at Kim II Sung University. In addition, nuclear fuel processing plant, a nuclear fuel storage facility, a 5MWe nuclear reactor, an unfinished radiochemical laboratory, an unfinished 50MWe nuclear reactor, an unfinished 200 MWe atomic power plant in Taechun, a uranium mine in Pyongsan, uranium refinery in Paekchon, and a a 635MWe atomic power plant in Shinpo. Tae Woo Kim and Min Seok Kim, "The Nuclear Issue of the Korean peninsula," *Bukhan Yongu* 1, no. 6 (Fall 1993): 57-70; "IAEA Continues Nuclear Inspection," *Hankyoreh*, December 5, 1992, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>344</sup>Jeon In Chan, North Korean Ambassador to Vienna visited IAEA Director General Hans Blix on April 10 to deposit the ratification passed by North Korean Supreme People's Assembly on April 9. Ambassador Jeon informed the IAEA that North Korea would submit a list of nuclear materials and facilities before the official deadline and accept IAEA inspection in June. "N.Korea Will Accept IAEA Inspection in June/Jeon In Chan Ambassador Submits the Ratification," *Donga Ilbo*, April 11, 1992, 1; Sheryl Wudunn, "North Korean Site has a Bomb Hints," *New York Times*, May 17, 1992, A1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>345</sup> "N.Korea Allows an Official IAEA Inspection Next Month/Informed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs," *Hankyoreh*, July 10, 1992, 2.

<sup>346 &</sup>quot;Interview with General Director Blix," *Hankyoreh*, June 12, 1992, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>347</sup> "N.Korea Nuclear Facilities at a Rudimentary Stage/Long Way to Manufacture Nuclear Weapons/Informed by IAEA Spokesperson," *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, June 5, 1992, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>348</sup> "N.Korea Agreed on IAEA Special Inspection/US Assistant Secretary Solomon Briefing," *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, July 10, 1992, 6.

'rehearsal' for an invasion but as 'Our Super Bowl' by US officers. 349

## Acceptance of IAEA Inspection

The moment of easing strained relations between North Korea and others seemed to be short-lived after the IAEA's inspection. Traditionally, the result of preliminary inspections were not revealed to the public, but, in this case, the result of the inspection was reported amid varying speculations about North Korea's nuclear capability. IAEA Board of Governors meeting concluded that most of North Korea's secret nuclear program had come to light but some had remained unclear, and it asked for more inspections in June and simultaneous mutual inspections with South Korea in December. The fact that nuclear-reprocessing facilities had been constructed could be interpreted either as a violation of N-S joint declaration or not. The construction had been stopped, but the South Korean government and the US contended that North Korea violated the joint declaration. Therefore, conservative South Korean media outlets warned that North Korea's reprocessing capability posed the grave threat of the "total extinction of humanity."

## 2.2. Reemerging Contention

### Finding of Significant Discrepancy

The crisis took another turn with the finding of "significant discrepancy" in the amount of plutonium production<sup>354</sup> and the request of special inspection that was an unprecedented

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>349</sup> Joel S. Wit, Daniel B. Poneman, and Robert L. Gallucci, *Going Critical: The First North Korean Nuclear Crisis* (Washington: Brookings Institute Press, 2004), 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>350</sup> "N.Korea Suspected of Secret Nuclear Development Reconfirmed/IAEA Board of Governors," *Donga Ilbo*, June 19, 1992, 3.

<sup>351 &</sup>quot;North to Accept Nuclear Inspection," Yonhap News, December 5, 1992.

<sup>352 &</sup>quot;Truth about N.Korean Nuclear Issue Distorted," *Hankyoreh*, June 13, 1992, 1.

<sup>353 &</sup>quot;Denuclearization Violated by N.Korea's Nuclear Development," Kyunghyang Shinmun, June 12, 1992, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>354</sup> Inconsistencies were found between the composition and quantity of plutonium declared to the IAEA and the IAEA's analyses and between the isotopic composition of plutonium extracted by North Korean technicians and liquid waste samples. A scientific ground of this conclusion was based on difference in the amounts of the radioactive isotope americium-241 in these samples. North Koreans explained that a small amount of plutonium, less than 100 grams, had

measure. The IAEA inspection team projected that the amount of plutonium separated from the reactor that was more than the 90g that North Korea declared in the report. 355 Some argued that North Korea was simply overconfident that it could manipulate the IAEA and underestimated IAEA inspectors' expertise. 356 Others suggested that the analysis can be interpreted otherwise.<sup>357</sup> Whatever is true, the allegation that North Korea had extracted more plutonium than it had reported immediately got media attention. 358 Therefore, the IAEA pressed for access to additional sites and information to expedite solving the mystery.<sup>359</sup> Exercising the right to demand special inspections had never previously been used by the IAEA. However, the Agency could visit any undeclared locations and facilities if it believed that information made available by the state concerned was not adequate for the agency to fulfill its responsibilities under the safeguards agreement.<sup>360</sup>

been extracted from damaged fuel rods discharged from the 5MWe reactor during a single reprocessing operation in 1990. The IAEA's analyses showed that there had been several reprocessing campaigns. Therefore, the international community began to suspect that the undeclared materials must be hidden in a secret facility elsewhere in North Korea. David Fischer, History of the International Atomic Energy Agency (Vienna: IAEA, 1997); Jong Gu Kang, "Reality of the International Response to the Nuclear Issue: Response from South Korea, the US and IAEA," Yuksabipyong, no. 29 (November 1994): 177-216.

<sup>355</sup> Replacing nuclear rods from the reactor could either prove of disprove the allegation of North Korea's pursuit of nuclear weapons. After plutonium has been extracted from used uranium fuel it breaks down into neptunium. This is enough evidence for the IAEA to request a special investigation of the sites where nuclear waste was dumped after reprocessing. David Albright, "Inconsistencies in North Korea's Declaration to the IAEA," in Solving the North Korean Nuclear Puzzle, eds. David Albright & Kevin O'Neill (Washington, D.C.: ISIS, 2000), 83-98; Nayan Chanda, "North Korea: Atomic shock waves" Far Eastern Economic Review 156, no. 12, March 25, 1993, 10.

<sup>355</sup> In November 1993, President Clinton declined to comment on whether or not pre-emptive strikes against the North were an option. He did, however, state flatly that North Korea "cannot be allowed to develop a nuclear bomb." Doyle Mcmarnus, "Clinton Warns North Korea Against Making Nuclear Arms," Los Angeles Times: AP, November 8, 1993. 356 Gary Samore, North Korea's Weapons Programmes: A Net Assessment (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 8. <sup>357</sup> David Albright and Devin O'Neil, Solving the North Korean Nuclear Puzzel (Washington D.C.: Institute for Science and International Security Press, 2000).

<sup>358</sup> North Korean government's argument that it has extracted 90g of plutonium in the Spring of 1990, the IAEA analyzed that it has extracted 150g, which has been reprocessed in 1989, 1990 and 1991 based on the existence of neptunium of three different ages in the sample. "N.Korea Plutonium Production More than Reported," Kyunghyang Shinmun, February 2, 1993, 2; "North Korea Nuclear Suspicion, What is the Truth?/About Negotiations over Special Inspection," Kyunghyang Shinmun, February 19, 1993, 2.

<sup>359</sup> These two sites were suspected of being used as a waste dump-site. The IAEA Board of Governors made a tentative conclusion that suspicion of North Korea's pursuing of a nuclear weapons program could not be cleared in September 1992. "Prospect of Special Inspection in North Korea/IAEA, Consultations with Member States," Hankyoreh, February 11, 1993, 2; Oberdorfer, The Two Koreas, 269-70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>360</sup> IAEA resolution on special inspection was adopted in September 1991. Authorized by INFCIRC/153 paragraph 73 and 77 for the purpose of allowing the IAEA to verify or gather additional information, special inspections can be requested by the Director General or by the Board of Governors, and can be aimed at, with reasonable justification, undeclared sites, but must be individually notified and agreed to by the state before being carried out. US Congress, Office of Technology Assessment, Nuclear Safeguards and the International Atomic Energy Agency, OTA-ISS-615

## Denial of Additional Inspection

As suspicion begets suspicion, a high degree of mistrust only encouraged negative actions to spiral out of control. North Korea protested IAEA's additional requests to visit suspected nuclear waste disposal sites, which deepened suspicion of North Korea's secretive intention.<sup>361</sup> North Korea would not allow measures that could shed more light on how much plutonium had been separated, insisting that it did not extract more plutonium than was reported in the initial declaration.<sup>362</sup> Due to North Korea's refusal to let IAEA prowl about its sensitive nuclear sites, which North Koreans claimed as military installations, the IAEA postponed its showdown with North Korea.<sup>363</sup> Accordingly, Hans Blix formally demanded a special inspection, and the US and South Korea decided to resume Team Spirit, which might force North Korea to close its nuclear facilities to IAEA inspection.<sup>364</sup> Ministers of Foreign Affairs from thirteen states in Asia Pacific requested North Korea to accept special inspections and mutual inspections in a joint declaration.<sup>365</sup> However, North Korea publicly stated that it might take countermeasures of "self-defense" if the US and other countries pressed for special inspections.<sup>366</sup>

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<sup>(</sup>Washington D.C.: US Government Printing Office, June 1995), 80; IAEA, Model Protocol Additional to the Agreements between States and the International Atomic Energy Agency for the Application of Safeguards, accessed March 2, 2011, http://www.iaea.org/Publications/Documents/Infcircs/1997/infcirc540c.pdf; Hans Blix, *IAEA: Personal Reflections, A Fortieth Anniversary Publication* (Vienna: IAEA, 1997), 129, accessed July 2, 2011, http://www-pub.iaea.org/MTCD/publications/PDF/Pub1033\_web.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>361</sup> Mark Hibbs, *Nucleonics Week*, January 30, 1992, 14-16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>362</sup> Nayan Chanda, "North Korea: Atomic shock waves," *Far Eastern Economic Review* 156, no. 12, March 25, 1993, 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>363</sup> John J. Fialka, "Atomic agency delays showdown with North Korea," *Wall Street Journal*, Mar 1, 1993, B3C.
<sup>364</sup> The US and South Korea decided to resume Team Spirit joint military exercise which has been suspended on the condition that North Korea fulfils its obligation to the IAEA and South Korea for inspections of its nuclear facilities. General Robert RisCassi, Commander of US Forces Korea, mentioned that additional reduction of USFK would be put on hold and resumption of Team Spirit would be considered. Son Song Pil, North Korean ambassador to Russia, warned against holding Team Spirit scheduled for March 1993. "Card for Pressure on N.Korean Nuclear Program/Background of Gen. RisCassi's Comment on Resumption of Team Spirit," *Dona Ilbo*, June 1, 1992, 5; "If Team Spirit Resumes, IAEA Inspection Will Be Denied/North Korean Ambassador to Russia," *Donga Ilbo*, January 31, 1993, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>365</sup> "Pressure on N.Korea to Accept Special Inspection/Asia Pacific 13 Foreign Ministers Joint Announcement," *Donga Ilbo*, July 27, 1992, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>366</sup> David E. Sanger, "In Reversal, North Korea Bars Nuclear Inspectors," New York Times, February 9, 1993, A13.

### IAEA Resolution

In response to the IAEA's asking North Korea to grant the IAEA access and information on two additional undeclared sites, North Korea accused the IAEA of a grave violation of national sovereignty. After a one-month grace period for North Korea's acceptance of the inspection, the nuclear issue would be taken to the UN Security Council. However, Pyongyang refused again to accept special inspections of its suspected sites because, as it states on March 8, 1993, North Korea was allegedly in a "state of semi-war." Kim Jong II, Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army, ordered the whole nation to switch to a state of readiness for war while Team Spirit was held in the South. The grace period of compliance was about to end, and thus North Korea needed a way out of an increasingly difficult situation, a moment to rearrange the chessboard in its favor.

#### Withdrawal Announcement

Against IAEA's unprecedented action of demanding special inspection, North Korea also responded with an unprecedented action: it declared withdrawal from the NPT.<sup>370</sup> While North Korea intended to describe its withdrawal decision as an exercise of a legitimate right, it tried to gesture that the withdrawal declaration was not a total rejection of the nonproliferation commitment.<sup>371</sup> Quoting Article X.1 of the NPT, North Korea argued that it had a right to withdraw from the NPT in order to "protect the nation's supreme interests."<sup>372</sup> At the same time,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>367</sup> "Request of Special Inspection on N.Korea/IAEA Decision/Official Letter Will Be Sent," *Hankyoreh*, February 12, 1993. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>368</sup> Don Oberdorfer, *The Tow Koreas: A Contemporary History*, 279.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>369</sup> "Order No. 0034 of the KPA Supreme Commander," *Pyongyang Times*, March 13, 1993, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>370</sup> North Korea held 7<sup>th</sup> session of the 9<sup>th</sup> Central People's Committee where issues including US-South Korea Team Spirit joint exercise and withdrawal from the NPT caused by tension over the IAEA special inspection were discussed at Mansudae Assembly Hall in Pyongyang. "N.Korea Withdrew from the NPT/Official Notification to the IAEA/Self-defense for the Protection of Socialism," *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, March 13, 1993, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>371</sup> "N.Korea Withdrawal from the NPT/Central Committee Statement" *Segye Ilbo*, March 13, 1993, 1; "N.Korean Nuclear Issue to the UN Security Council/Significance and Prospect of UN Resolution," *Donga Ilbo*, April 10, 1993, 3. <sup>372</sup> NPT Art. X.1 states that "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." The Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, accessed May 2, 2011, http://www.un.org/en/conf/npt/2005/npttreaty.html.

North Korea expressed its intention to come back to NPT if the US would stop threatening North Korea and the IAEA would observe the principle of independence and fairness. This implies that such a decision could have been an attempt to reduce pressure from the IAEA rather than create an opportunity to build nuclear weapons. In fact, North Korea did not take any practical steps to ignore its basic obligation during the 90-day notice period described in Article X of the NPT.

It seems that North Korea intended to open a window of opportunity for further negotiations. Returning to the NPT was a bargaining chip for North Korea that had no other way to escape the pressure of special inspections. On the one hand, the North Korean Ambassador to China Joo Chang Jun warned that North Korea would take counter-measures as a self-defense if certain countries attempted to pressure or sanction North Korea over its withdrawal from the NPT.<sup>373</sup> On the other hand, North Korea proposed that it would return to the negotiating table if certain conditions were met.<sup>374</sup> Only five days after North Korea announced its intention to withdraw from the NPT, Pyongyang suggested conditions for retracting its declaration.<sup>375</sup> On March 15, 1993, Lee Chul, Ambassador to Geneva, mentioned that North Korea intended to negotiate returning to the NPT once its request for the permanent termination of Team Spirit joint exercise was granted and the fairness of the IAEA was restored.<sup>376</sup>

## 2.3. Suspension of Withdrawal from the NPT

### **International Actions**

The fear of nuclear taboo violation brought about collective actions against North Korea.

North Korea's decision to withdraw from the NPT was significant because this was the first

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>373</sup> "Corresponding Measures Will be Taken if Sanctions and Pressure Are Pushed Forward/North Korean Ambassador in Beijing," *Seoul Shinmun*, March 13, 1993, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>374</sup> "Joo Chang Jun, North Korean Ambassador to Beijing, Press Conference," *Hankyoreh*, March 13, 1993, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>375</sup> "Ho Jong, North Korean Ambassador to the UN, Press Conference," *Hankyoreh*, March 19, 1993, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>376</sup> "N.Korea Will Consult on Retracting Withdrawal Announcement if Team Spirit Is Canceled,/N.Korean Ambassador to Geneva, Lee Chul," *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, March 17, 1993, 1.

time that a member state had taken such action. The major concern was that North Korea's defection would discredit the international nonproliferation regime, particularly the upcoming 1995 Review Conference.<sup>377</sup> Three days later the IAEA adopted a resolution that requested North Korea to accept a special inspection.<sup>378</sup> While North Korea accused the IAEA of ignoring its proposal, IAEA Board of Directors decided in a special meeting that it would call for the UN Security Council to intervene.<sup>379</sup> For the first time, outside of the abnormal case of Iraq, the IAEA Board referred the North Korean nuclear issue to the Security Council.<sup>380</sup> North Korea's official response was to criticize the UN Security Council resolution as an unjust pressure equal to a declaration of war.<sup>381</sup> However, the IAEA statute directs it to report significant incidents of noncompliance to the Security Council for maintenance of international peace and security, and the possibility of North Korea's acquisition of nuclear weapons was widely regarded as a threat to international peace and security.<sup>382</sup>

# Effect of UN Resolution

If North Korea intended to get others to engage urgently with Pyongyang, its gambit seemed to have paid off. Due to China's threat to veto any punitive measures against North

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>377</sup> The US could not afford to see that North Korea would sabotage and undermine its effort to save the regime. Susan Rosegrant, *Sticks and Question Marks: Negotiating the North Korean Nuclear Crisis* (Cambridge: John F. Kennedy School of Government, 1995), 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>378</sup> The IAEA passed a resolution at the General Conference, calling on North Korea to cooperate immediately with the IAEA in the full implementation of the safeguards agreement. The resolution received 72 votes in favor, 11 abstentions, and negative votes by Libya and North Korea. "Resolution on Special Inspection in N.Korea Adopted," *Hankyoreh*, March 20, 1993, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>379</sup> The voting results were 28 in favor, 2 opposed, 4 abstentions among thirty five member states. China and Libya opposed the resolution, and India, Pakistan, Syria and Vietnam abstained from voting. "N.Korean Nuclear Issues Will be Referred to the UNSC/IAEA Resolution Passed," *Hankyoreh*, April 2, 1993, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>380</sup> "Inspection Refusal goes to UN Security Council," *Nuclear News* 36, no. 7, May 1, 1993, 54-55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>381</sup> The resolution calls North Korea to reconsider the announcement contained in the letter of March 12, 1993; to honor its nonproliferation obligations under the Treaty and comply with its safeguards agreement with the IAEA; to continue to consult with the IAEA. It also urges all Member States to encourage North Korea to respond positively to this resolution and decides to consider further Security Council action if necessary. UN Security Council Resolution 825, May 11, 1993, accessed June 4, 2011, http://daccess-dds-

ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N93/280/49/IMG/N9328049.pdf? Open Element; Korean Central Broadcasting State ion, May 12, 1993.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>382</sup> In 1992 the members of the Security Council agreed that nuclear proliferation constituted a threat to international peace. UN Charter Articles 39, 41, and 42 state that the Security Council is empowered to take action against threats to international peace and security. See Statute of the IAEA Arts. III.B.4 and XII.C.

Korea, the UN Security Council adopted a less-binding document. Since the May 11, 1993 UNSC resolution urged all member states to facilitate a solution, the resolution created an opportunity for bilateral talks between the US and North Korea. The US became the main player in the handling of the nuclear crisis. The US, South Korea and Japan decided to begin talks to persuade North Korea to return to the NPT but insisted the previous request of special inspection due to IAEA's persistent request of confirming correctness of North Koreas initial report. Pyongyang proposed detailed requests, which could allow serious discussion of practical implementation of demands from each side. However, some of these issues could not be discussed without consultations with South Korea, which was concerned about a weakening of the US-South Korean military alliance structure. Negotiations began under such structural limitations.

# Beginning of the US-North Korea Talks

After fourth rounds of high-level talks, the US and North Korea announced a joint declaration on July 11, 1993. 387 North Korea agreed to begin inter-Korean dialogue and consultations with the IAEA in exchange for US efforts to "support" introducing light-water

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>383</sup> China held a large-scale military exercise, demonstrating its intention to warn against US military actions on North Korea. *Joongang Ilbo*, October 3, 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>384</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 825, May 11, 1993, accessed June 4, 2011, http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N93/280/49/IMG/N9328049.pdf?OpenElement.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>385</sup> North Korean Deputy Ambassador to the UN Ho Jong announced that Pyongyang would resume negotiations with the IAEA, and US State Department Spokesperson Richard Boucher announced that the US and North Korea would hold high-level meeting in June. "South Korea, the US and Japan Agreed on Not Demanding Special Inspection in North Korea," *Hankyoreh*, May 16, 1993, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>386</sup> Issues laid out by North Korea included 1) no use of nuclear weapons by the US against North Korea, 2) suspension of Team Spirit, 3) opening of US bases in South Korea for inspection, 4) no supply of US nuclear umbrella to South Korea, 5) withdrawal of USFK from the Korean peninsula, and 6) respect to the preservation of the North Korean socialist system. "No-use of Nuclear Weapons, Cancellation of Team Spirit, Withdrawal of USFK/North Korea Presents Six Demands to the US," *Hankyoreh*, May 29, 1993, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>387</sup> The first-ever joint statement declared that they had agreed to the principles of: 1) assurances against the threat and use of force, including nuclear weapons, 2) peace and security in a nuclear-free Korean peninsula, including impartial application of full-scope safeguards, mutual respect for each other's sovereignty, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and 3) support for the peaceful reunification of Korea. "Joint Statement Following US-North Korea Meeting," (text of US-North Korean joint statement released by the Office of the Spokesman, US Department of State, New York, June 11, 1993).

reactors in a deliberately ambiguous formulation.<sup>388</sup> North Korea resumed negotiations with the IAEA, but conflict existed from the beginning of the negotiation. Holding inter-Korean talks was part of an agreement reached previously by the US as a precondition for continuing bilateral talks between the US and North Korea. Because North Korea engaged in inter-Korean talks with reluctance, little progress could be made, which hindered progress in the US-DPRK talk.<sup>389</sup> North Korea allowed inspection limited only to surveillance activities from August 3 to August 10, 1993. Because Washington's position was not to begin new discussions until North Korea engaged in serious discussions with the IAEA and South Korea, Pyongyang's failure to make progress in those channels affected the US-North Korea bilateral talks.

### 2.4. Assessment

The second phase of the North Korean nuclear crisis developed from a positive to a negative direction until the US-North Korean bilateral talks put a brake on what seemed to be a collision course. There is no denying that North Korea was very cooperative with the IAEA in the first place. North Korea appeared to have had high hopes for clarifying suspicion and beginning talks to improve relations with the US as a result of its compliance with the IAEA. However, different interpretations of the "serious discrepancy," which was controversial even among IAEA experts, put more pressure on Pyongyang. There might not have been much for North Korea to lose after the deadline passed if Pyongyang was determined to develop nuclear weapons. At this moment, however, it seemed that Pyongyang was not determined to remove the last legal constraint on its pursuit of nuclear weapons program, because it was willing to conclude a diplomatic solution. The fact that North Korea continued to allow an IAEA ad hoc inspection team to perform technical work related to maintenance of the safeguards equipments

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>388</sup> "Nuclear Reactor Technology Transfer/North Korea-US Talk Faltered," *Hankyoreh*, July 18, 1993, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>389</sup> "Message to Hold the Next North Korea-US Talk/Background and Significance of North Korean Statement," *Hankyoreh*, September 2, 1993, 2.

indicates North Korea's intention not to drive the situation into crisis.<sup>390</sup>

North Korea's withdrawal declaration gave Pyongyang not only diplomatic momentum to begin direct negotiations with the US but also a negative effect—consolidation of lingering suspicion about North Korea's nuclear ambition. On the one hand the US had to choose engagement in negotiating with North Korea although it suspected that North Korea might be using ongoing talks with the US as a tactic in order to gain time for developing a nuclear weapons program.<sup>391</sup> Since North Korea repeatedly announced that it would return to the NPT if certain conditions were met, the US could have been accused of not responding adequately. On the other hand, the IAEA persistently raised the issue of unlimited ad-hoc and routine inspections since North Korea's withdrawal came out after the IAEA's request to clarify suspected activities. Because obtaining hard evidence could only be possible with North Korea's cooperation, contention over North Korea's acceptance of special inspections hardened such allegations.

North Korea's decision to suspend withdrawal from the NPT after the June 1993 meeting was a concession in the sense that North Korea came away with only abstract principles for future actions. What was agreed between the US and North Korea at the June 1993 meeting was mostly fairness, nonintervention, mutual recognition, etc. What North Korea got was continuation of talks, in exchange for suspension of withdrawal.<sup>392</sup> The US, in fact, instead laid out basic principles for further actions that should be taken by the North Koreans first. However, at least for the North Koreans, concluding the first joint statement with the US had a significant meaning. After the New York meeting, Kang Suk Joo, the head of the North Korean delegation, called the meeting an "historic moment." North Korean delegates even asked about the possibility of getting the document signed by both negotiators, which could be of political

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>390</sup> David Albright and Devin O'Neil, Solving the North Korean Nuclear Puzzle (Washington D.C.: Institute for Science and International Security Press, 2000), 271.

391 Barry Schweid, "Christopher Warns North Korea about Stalling on Nuclear Controls," *Associated Press*, July 2,

<sup>392 &</sup>quot;North Korea-US Agree on 'Political Dialogue'/Joint Statement at the 4th Round of Talk," Hankyoreh, June 13, 1993,

significance. <sup>393</sup> However, Washington's "two-track approach" to persuade North Korea to return to the NPT had drawbacks. The US demanded North Korea's return to the NPT as a precondition for improving diplomatic relationships. At the same time, the US demanded that North Korea resume IAEA consultations and inter-Korean dialogue before resuming the bilateral talks. The problem was that North Koreans reluctantly engaged with the IAEA and South Korea with different priorities that had to be negotiated with the US first.

### 3. Toward the Agreed Framework in Geneva (1994~)

## 3.1. Fear of Taboo Violation

## **August Inspection**

The third phase began with renewed IAEA inspections with the expectation that positive momentum would continue. Since the IAEA and North Korea resumed consultations on safeguard issues that had not been fully addressed at the US-North Korean bilateral talks, disagreement on the scope of the inspection emerged. North Korea cooperated with the IAEA only to the extent that it kept the safeguards continuity that was set as a red line not to be crossed. Since the talks on the implementation of nuclear safeguards held during September 1-3 in Pyongyang accomplished little, the IAEA Board of Governors on September 23 issued a final statement urging North Korea to take steps to ensure continuity of safeguards.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>393</sup> Wit, Going Critical, 60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>394</sup> North Korea announced that it would continue allowing only limited inspections, but the IAEA asserted that it had the right to conduct more extensive inspections. While North Korea insisted on its "special status" and allowed inspections different from what other NPT signatories were required to accept, the IAEA demanded that North Korea comply with all inspection requirements as a party to the NPT. IAEA inspectors were allowed only to replace film and batteries in monitoring devices, which was not satisfactory for IAEA. "North Korean Nuclear Issue Will e Referred to IAEA Conference/Board of Governors Resolution/N.Korea Causes 'Significant Outcome,'" *Kukmin Ilbo*, September 24, 1993, 2. Tongilwon, *Unification White Paper1995* (Seoul: Tongilwon, 1995), 215-21

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>395</sup> IAEA's activities include 'ad-hoc' inspections to verify the characteristics of a facility and 'regular' inspections to provide assurance against the diversion of nuclear material. In the case of North Korea, the IAEA thoguth "continuity of safeguards inspections" was a plausible option to assure that nuclear material had not been diverted. Therefore, Mike McCurry, State Department spokesperson, explained that loss of basic nuclear safeguard information could come if North Korea would not allow the changing of batteries and film of the surveillance camera. Wit, *Going Critical*, 34-44. <sup>396</sup> After conducting limited inspections, the IAEA announced that the inspections in North Korea were still insufficient for the agency to discharge its responsibilities because access to two suspected nuclear waste disposal sites was not granted. Jon Brook Wolfsthal, "US Awaits North Korean Actions after Progress in Nuclear Talks," *Arms Control Today* 

Director General Hans Blix reported on September 27, 1993 that North Korea refused the second round of negotiations with the IAEA.<sup>397</sup> North Korea suggested holding a meeting with the IAEA, but after the IAEA decided to put the North Korean issue on the agenda of the next IAEA General Conference, North Korea overturned its previous decision to hold consultations in October 1993.<sup>398</sup> The IAEA Board of Governors issued a resolution on September 23, 1993 despite North Korea's warning that it could reconsider withdrawal from the NPT.<sup>399</sup>

### Derailed Inter-Korean Dialogue

The other channel of inter-Korean dialogue was also shut down, complicating Washington's search for a solution to the crisis by narrowing the scope for further diplomacy. Because the US set inter-Korean talks as one of the preconditions for re-engaging Pyongyang in bilateral talks, North Korea proposed an exchange of special envoys between the two Koreas. North Korean Prime Minister Kang Sung San sent a letter to South Korea stating that North Korean delegates would be sent to discuss the exchange of special envoys without preconditions, hinting that North Korea did not want total isolation. However, South Korea did not address the issue of canceling Team Spirit, one of North Korea's greatest concern, and, to make matters worse, conservative South Korean newspapers emphasized sanctions might be

<sup>23,</sup> no. 7 (September 1993): 21; "N.Korea Refuses the 2<sup>nd</sup> Nuclear Consultation/Official Letter to IAEA, *Hankyoreh*, September 28, 1993, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>397</sup> It was only four days after David Kyd, the IAEA spokesperson, announced that Pyongyang informed the IAEA that it agreed to hold the second round of meeting in Vienna. It was reported that North Korea's Atomic Energy Minister Choi Hak Kun informed IAEA Director General Hans Blix that North Korea rejected the IAEA's offer to restart consultation due to efforts to put North Korea's nuclear program on the agenda. "N.Korea, Refuses the 2<sup>nd</sup> Consultations with the IAEA/The Agency Demands Comprehensive Inspection," *Hankuk Ilbo*, September 28, 1993, 9. <sup>398</sup> "North Korea Agrees to Holding Consultation on Nuclear Inspection/IAEA Offered October 5-8," *Hankyoreh*, September 24, 1993, 3.

Board of Directors meeting adopted the resolution, proposed by twenty-one member states including South Korea, received 29 votes in favor and 5 abstentions, to discuss North Korean issue at the IAEA General Conference. "Today IAEA Board of Governor's Meeting Begins," *Hankyoreh*, September 21, 1993, 3; "N.Korea Will Consider Reconsider Suspension of Withdrawal from the NPT If IAEA Refers N.Korean Case to the UNSC," *Hankyoreh*, September 22, 1993, 3; "N.Korean Nuclear Issue Will be Referred to the IAEA General Conference," *Hankyoreh*, September 25, 1993, 3

<sup>3. 400 &</sup>quot;South-North Dialogue Expected to Resume/North Korea, Retracts Conditions for Special Envoy Exchange, Offers Executive Meeting on October 5," *Hankyoreh*, October 3, 1993, 1.

sought if preconditions—talks with the IAEA and South Korea—were not met. 401 Eventually, talks ended without agreement, and, like the IAEA, the South Korean government relied on the US-North Korean discussions, the last and seemingly only way to engage North Korea.

The fear of taboo violation brought about collective actions by the international community. The UN General Assembly urged North Korea to cooperate with the IAEA in the full implementation of the safeguards agreement. The ROK Ministry of National Defense (MND) announced that it was considering a military option. Russia expelled a North Korean General for recruiting missile and space technology experts to work on Pyongyang's nuclear weapons program. The US Department of Defense warned that North Korea would face substantial pressures unless it stops its nuclear weapons program and that it would request the UN to impose sanctions on North Korea as early as May 1994.

## Package Deal

In a situation where North Korea was left with the choice of either confronting the US or agreeing to the proposed actions, it proposed a new offer to break the stalemate, but everworsening international opinion rendered attempts toward a turning point unsuccessful. When the US Secretary of Defense Les Aspin said that the US would not hold another round of dialogues with North Korea unless IAEA inspectors were allowed to visit new-suspected nuclear sites, North Korea offered a package deal. In an unofficial meeting between Kang Suk Joo and Ken Quinones, a former state Department negotiator and Korea expert, new

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>401</sup> "N.Korea, Does It Want Sanction?" *Hankuk Ilbo*, September 29, 1993, 3; "US, Can It Control N.Korean Nuclear Issue?/Limitations of Sanctions on 'Lawless State' Going Nuclear," *Segye Ilbo*, July 15, 1993, 5; "N.Korea's Dangerous Decision," *Donga Ilbo*, September 29, 1993, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>402</sup> The UN General Assembly passed a resolution urging North Korea to cooperate immediately with the IAEA in the full implementation of the safeguards agreement. The resolution was received 140 in favor, nine abstentions and negative votes by North Korea. "Report of the International Atomic Energy Agency," A/RES/48/14, UN General Assembly 46<sup>th</sup> plenary meeting, November 1, 1993, accessed March 27, 2011,

http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/48/a48r014.htm; Andrew Mack, "A Nuclear North Korea: The Choices Are Narrowing," *World Policy Journal* 11, no. 2 (summer 1994): 27-35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>403</sup> Anne McElvoy and Wolfgang Munchau, *The Times*, November 17, 1993.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>404</sup> Jeffrey Smith, Washington Post, April 23, 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>405</sup> "US, Warns to Refer 'North Korean Nuclear Issue' to the UNSC," *Hankyoreh*, October 17, 1993, 2; "Aspin Leaves Next Move on Nuclear Issue to North Korea," *Associated Press*, November 3, 1993.

proposals for "small" and "big packages" from Pyongyang were presented. <sup>406</sup> In a special statement on November 13, 1993, Kang Suk Joo announced that North Korea would observe the safeguard agreements if the US took practical steps to give up posing a nuclear threat and a hostile policy against North Korea. <sup>407</sup> The statement stressed that North Korea temporarily suspended its withdrawal decision and resumed consultations with the IAEA and inter-Korean dialogue under a "special circumstance" in order to implement its pledge to "prove the transparency of North Korea's nuclear activities."

## 3.2. Escalation to Crisis

### Consideration of Military Actions

The situation was aggravated when the US stepped up its efforts to develop options to augment allied military forces. The US had reportedly prepared surgical attacks on North Korea's nuclear facilities since early 1992, obscuring the prospect of the nuclear negotiation. President Clinton asked Department of Defense to examine USFK's defense posture in South Korea in order to prepare for an emergency likely to be caused by the nuclear issue. The Pentagon considered contingency plans for cruise missile strikes against Yongbyon, and the Principals Committee discussed options including military actions on November 15, 1993.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>406</sup> The US and North Korea reached preliminary agreement on four steps. North Korea would begin IAEA inspections at the seven sites and resume talks with South Korea for the exchange of special envoys. In return, Seoul would announce cancellation of Team Spirit, and the US would announce the date for the next meeting between Gallucci and Kang. North Korea insisted that 1) there must be a clear distinction between the guarantee of the continuity of the safeguards and the full compliance with the Safeguard Agreement, 2) North Korea's full compliance must be debated in connection with the abandonment of the nuclear threat from the US through bilateral talks, and 3)nuclear issue would be solved by reaching on the formula of package solution. "Chinese Military Envoys Visit N.Korea," *Hankyoreh*, November 9, 1993, 2; *Pyongyang times*, November 20, 1993, 3; Wit, *Going Critical*, 95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>407</sup> North Koreans complained, "If the US took practical steps to remove nuclear threat on the Korean peninsula, North Korea could have returned to the NPT soon." "N.Korea Urges Simultaneous Actions to the US/Kang Suk Joo," *Hankyoreh*, November 12, 1993, 1; "Chosun (Korea) Is Ready for Defending Any Military Threat," *Rodong Sinmun*, December 18, 1993, 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>408</sup> "N.Korean Delegate Kang Suk Joo's Statement on the Nuclear Package Deal," *Hankyoreh*, November 13, 1993, 3. <sup>409</sup> "US, Examines Surgical Attack on N.Korea's Nuclear Facilities," *Kukmin Ilbo*, January 6, 1992, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>410</sup> "US, Evaluates Defense Posture on the Korean Peninsula," *Hankyoreh*, December 3, 1993, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>411</sup> In November 1993, President Clinton declined to comment on whether or not pre-emptive strikes against the North were an option. He did, however, state flatly that North Korea "cannot be allowed to develop a nuclear bomb." "N-Arms Clinton Warns North Korea," *Sydney Morning Herald*, November 9, 1993.

US Department of Defense directed preparations to augment troops in South Korea, the Cabinet briefed President Clinton on the reinforcement plan, and the Pentagon prepared plans to attack the Yongbyon nuclear facilities. These steps could trigger mobilization by North Korea, worsening fear and increasing uncertainty. After North Korea's "sea of fire" remark in March 1994, South Korea turned away from its previous reluctance and instead proposed a gradual increase of military preparation to put pressure on Pyongyang. These measures included deploying Patriot missiles and rescheduling Team Spirit.

## Rising tension on the Korean peninsula

The US military preparation, which intended to support diplomatic efforts and reduce anxiety among South Koreans, worsened North Korea's perception of the environment as hostile. When General John Shalikashvili, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, visited South Korea in November 1993, the USFK Commander in Chief Gary Luck recommended deploying Patriot missiles in South Korea. When the news that Pentagon planned to send 1,000 troops to Korea for Team Spirit was reported, the US Senate passed two measures—considering sanctions and redeploying American nuclear weapons in South Korea. North

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>412</sup> "US, Plan for the Defense of S.Korea," *Donga Ilbo*, February 7, 1994, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>413</sup> Some argue that North Korea's "sea of fire" remark was premeditated. However, North Korean negotiator Park Yong Su made some threatening remarks in response to provocative questions by his South Korean counterpart during the Panmunjom meeting on March 19. While each side exchanged inflammable remarks, the South Korean negotiator asked, "Are you threatening to wage a war against us?" Then, Park answered, "Seoul is not far away from here. If a war breaks out, Seoul will turn into a fireball." In principle, video recording at the Panmunjom shall be classified, but the South Korean government decided to publicize it. Therefore, North Korea retracted his statement, explaining that Park overreacted at the meeting. Kwon Sang Park, "What's behind North Korea's Seoul-into-Sea-of-Fire Threat?" *Donga Ilbo*, March 26, 1994; Kang, "Reality of the International Response to the Nuclear Issue," 177-216.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>414</sup> In the increasing tension on the Korean peninsula, North Korea warned South Korea that Seoul would be "sea of fire" in May 1994. "North Korean Media, Recited Sea of Fire," *Daily NK*, May 16, 2006, accessed April 2, 2007, http://www.dailynk.com/korean/read.php?num=22329&cataId=nk00700.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>415</sup> "North Korea Refuses Nuclear Inspection/Redeployment of Tactical Nuclear Weapons Should be Reconsidered," *Hankyoreh*, February 3, 1994, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>416</sup> The request had been endorsed by the Pentagon and was forwarded to the White House in December. "US, Patriot Deployment in S.Korea Soon," *Hankyoreh*, January 27, 1994, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>417</sup> US Senate discussed reintroduction of tactical nuclear weapons into South Korea or placing nuclear weapons on board ships of the US Seventh Fleet on June 1, 1994. "Senate Calls for Isolation of North Korea," *Reuters*, February 2, 1994; "Daily Reports ROK, US Prepare for Team Spirit," *Joongang Ilbo*, February 7, 1994, 1; Richard P. Cronin, "North Korea's Nuclear Weapons Program: US Policy Options." *CRS Report for Congress*, CRS94-470F, June 1, 1994, accessed July 5, 2011, http://www.fas.org/spp/starwars/crs/94-470f.htm.

Korea immediately responded to the introduction of Patriot missiles on January 28, 1994, criticizing the missile deployment as a serious military provocation at a time when the US-North Korean senior-level talks were underway to resolve the nuclear issue. 418

North Korea made a public announcement via the spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs accepting the IAEA inspection team for safeguards continuity. 419 However, the issue of routine and special inspections remained unresolved, which obviously dissatisfied the IAEA. Meanwhile reports on North Korea's nuclear weapons program came out, increasing concerns that North Korea might be reprocessing spent fuel through an unsafeguarded second reprocessing line. 420 This series of events increased suspicion that North Korea had no intention to accept the IAEA inspections that had already been agreed to.

Because the March 3-15 inspection began without resolving different positions between the agency and North Korea, it ended without completing the full scope of the planned inspections. 421 The IAEA confirmed that the seal was intact and there was no evidence of plutonium production in the nuclear facilities. 422 The IAEA inspectors ensured that the monitoring equipment at key nuclear facilities continued to function, and North Korea allowed the agency to install a new device at the reactor that would help monitor operations when the rods were unloaded. However, the IAEA inspection team discovered that North Korea had facilitated construction of a second reprocessing line, which could double North Korea's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>418</sup> "N.Korea Requests Immediate Cancellation of Deploying Patriot in S.Korea," *Hankyoreh*, January 29, 1994, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>419</sup> In December, North Korea offered that it could allow unlimited access to five of its seven declared places and replacement of maintenance and surveillance equipment in the two other sites and would negotiate expansion of inspections with the IAEA later on. On December 22, 1993, North Korea informed the US that it would allow IAEA to conduct an ad-hoc inspection on the nuclear reactor and radio-chemical laboratory and demanded the US to confirm 'perpetual cancelation' of Team Spirit and holding a senior-level talk between the US and North Korea 'in an official document.' IAEA's ad hoc inspections is to verify the characteristics of a facility while regular inspections is to provide assurance against the diversion of nuclear material. North Korean Deputy Ambassador to the UN, Ho Jong announced that North Korean could open seven nuclear facilities to the IAEA to keep continuity of international safeguards.

<sup>&</sup>quot;N.Korea Accepts Ad-hoc Inspection/Informs the US at a New York Meeting," Hankyoreh, December 5, 1993, 1;

<sup>&</sup>quot;N.Korea Accepts Limited Inspection in Two Additional Sites/N.Korea-US Contact," Hankyoreh, December 12, 1993, 1; "N.Korea, Allows Nuclear Inspection/IAEA Report," Segye Ilbo, February 16, 1994, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>420</sup> "N.Korea's Acceptance and Disturbance of International Inspection," *Seoul Shinmun*, March 16, 1994, 3.

<sup>421 &</sup>quot;Threat or Signal," Donga Ilbo, November 13, 1993, 3; "Package Deal Shall Be Successful," Hankyoreh, November 14, 1993, 3; "First Nuclear Inspection in N.Korea," Hankyoreh, March 4, 1994, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>422</sup> "No Evidence of Additional Plutonium Reprocess/Government Officials Confirmed," *Hankyoreh*, March 19, 1994, 1.

capability to separate plutonium. Since two new nuclear reactors were under construction, this disturbing news undermined confidence in North Korea's self-restraint. Therefore, an IAEA special Board of Governor's meeting passed a resolution to refer the North Korean issue to the UNSC. The resolution criticized North Korea for being non-cooperative with the IAEA. Against IAEA's discontent about the inspection results, North Korea argued that it had been very cooperative to the IAEA inspection team whose mandate was limited to keeping safeguards continuity. North Korea sent an ultimatum warning that it would back out of the North-South meetings and suspend all cooperation with the IAEA and US if the US evaded its obligations to cancel Team Spirit and to hold US-North Korea talks.

# Defueling Campaign

Tension peaked as the IAEA inspections ended without completing the planned mission. The US began briefings for Security Council members that argued that the council should take actions if necessary. Ale North Korea stressed that the nuclear issue was not something that could be discussed at the UNSC, and such an attempt would be an outrageous violation of the UN Charter. The *Korean Central News Agency*, North Korea's official news organization, warned that imposing sanctions against North Korea would be considered a declaration of war. However, the UNSC announced a presidential statement on March 31, 1994, asking for North Korea's cooperation with the IAEA for conducting additional inspections by early May.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>423</sup> R. Jeffrey Smith, "N.Korea Adds Arms Capacity," Washington Post, April 2, 1994, A1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>424</sup> The IAEA Board of Governors approved a resolution calling North Korea to "immediately allow the IAEA to complete all requested inspection activities and to comply fully with its safeguards agreements," on March 21, 1994. "IAEA Referred North Korean Nuclear Issue to the UNSC/Special Board of Governor's Meeting Passed a Resolution," *Hankyoreh*, March 22, 1994, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>425</sup> "N.Korea Argues It Allowed Inspection for Safeguard Continuity/Calls IAEA's Report Unfair," *Hankyoreh*, March 19, 1994, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>426</sup> Paul Lewis, "US Urges China to Pressure North Koreans to Open Nuclear Sites," *New York Times*, February 5, 1994, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>427</sup> "Sanctions Mean Declaration of War/N.Korea Central News Agency," *Hankyoreh*, March 24, 1994, 1.

<sup>428</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>429</sup> UN Security Council, *Statement by the President of the Security Council*, S/PRST/1994/13, March 31, 1994, accessed March 8, 2011, http://daccess-dds-

ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N94/161/19/PDF/N9416119.pdf?OpenElement.

Although the presidential statement would carry less weight, it was more detailed than the March 1993 UNSC statement, the May 1993 UNSC resolution, and the November 1993 UNGA resolution. North Korea chose another defiant campaign in response to this escalated pressure: on April 19, North Korea announced that it decided to unload the fuel rods from the 5MWe reactor in Yongbyon.<sup>430</sup>

After North Korea announced that it could not but normalize its peaceful nuclear activities due to "irrational and senseless" condemnations in the UN resolution, it shut down its 5MW reactor in Yongbyon to begin unloading the fuel rods in May. It began to unload spent fuel rods from its 5MW reactor before the arrival of IAEA inspectors who were expected to conduct working-level talks with North Korea and set aside fuel rod samples for future measurement. Because verifying the exact location of key rods in the reactor core was necessary in order to calculate how much plutonium might have been extracted in the past, the US had stressed an IAEA presence during any unloading operations as an important condition for dialogue since 1993. However, the speed of removing the rods was faster than anticipated, and the New York channel meeting could not agree on the conditions for separation and segregation of the discharged fuel rods and failed to set a date for the third round of meetings in the meantime. The next day, the IAEA reported that the opportunity to separate the critical rods would be lost within days. On May 30, the UNSC issued a statement urging North Korea to proceed with the discharge operations at the 5MWe reactor in a manner that preserved the technical possibility of fuel measurements and to hold immediate consultations between the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>430</sup> "Perilous Development," KCNA, April 19, 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>431</sup> David Albright, "How Much Plutonium Does North Korea Have?" *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 50, no. 5 (September/October 1994): 46-53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>432</sup> North Korea argued that it would allow the observation of the fuel rod replacement, containment and surveillance over all replaced fuel and other sufficient inspections for the maintenance of the continuity of safeguards but selective fuel rod sampling could not be allowed because it means routine and ad hoc inspections that ignore North Korea's unique status under the NPT following the temporary suspension of its withdrawal from the NPT. United Nations Security Council, "Letter Dated 5 May 1994 From the Permanent Representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the UN Addressed to the President of the Security Council," United Nations Security Council, S/1994/540, May 5, 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>433</sup> "Pyongyang to Allow IAEA to Monitor Fuel Rod Exchange," *Asian Political News*, April 25, 1994.

<sup>434 &</sup>quot;North Korea Foils Efforts to Halt its Nuclear Plans," New York Times, May 29, 1994, A1.

IAEA and North Korea.<sup>435</sup> However, a new round of confrontations began when the IAEA informed the UN Security Council that North Korea had removed the fuel rods without allowing the IAEA to monitor the entire process and made it impossible to determine the past activities of the reactor.<sup>436</sup>

# 3.3. Geneva Agreed Framework

## Discussion of UN Sanctions

North Korea's defueling campaign provided a reasonable cause for building an international coalition. And the Korea tried to defend the defueling campaign by arguing that the fuel rods of the reactor had to be replaced on time and hence it acted on reasons of safety, and tried to defend its action, pointing out the legal ground of its action by claiming that nothing in the NPT treaty and the IAEA safeguard accord would prevent it from exercising its sovereignty. The US State Department announced that the third round of US-North Korea talks had been canceled, and President Clinton said that the UN would address the question of sanctions. And the China, which had acceded to the NPT and moved toward cooperation in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>435</sup> UN Security Council, *Statement by the President of the Security Council*, S/PRST/1994/28, May 30, 1994, accessed March 8, 2011, http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N94/233/20/PDF/N9423320.pdf?OpenElement.
<sup>436</sup> The fuel unloading has been faster than anticipated due to North Korea's possession of more unloading equipment than was previously indicated by IAEA inspections. IAEA officials claimed that North Korea had the ability to reprocess the spent fuel rods and separate out the weapons-grade plutonium by early August 1994. The IAEA argued that it had been unable to accept North Korea's proposal to supply the IAEA with a sample of 40 of the reactor's 8,000 fuel rods, instead of the 300 that are sought by the Agency. The proposal has been rejected because 40 fuel rods are insufficient to trace the 5MW gas-graphite reactor's history. The IAEA Director General Has Blix said "North Korea has removed the fuel rods of the core fuel element and mixed them up without marking their exact location in the reactor. There was no technical way of knowing whether North Korea secretly removed fuel from the reactor in 1989 when it was shut down for 100 days and if plutonium was extracted from it." The principals convened on May 27 and 28, and the Deputies Committee gathered on June 1 to discuss sanctions strategy. UN Security Council, *Statement by the President of the Security Council*, S/PRST/1994/28, May 30, 1994, accessed March 8, http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N94/233/20/PDF/N9423320.pdf?OpenElement; Paul Lewis, *New York Times*, June 4, 1994, A3; Thomas Lippman, *Washington Post*, June 4, 1994, A14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>437</sup> Pyongyang explained that unloading rods was inevitable because of technical reasons to perform overdue maintenance at the reactor. However, the US believed that unloading all the rods were not necessary because North Korea has removed some of the failed rods during a short shutdown in early 1994, which was confirmed by the IAEA. Wit, *Going Critical*, 141.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>438</sup> Economic sanction included two phases: the first phase involved preventing the flow of money from North Koreans living abroad to their families in North Korea, stopping arms sales to North Korea and terminating North Korea's reliance on the UN for economic and nuclear cooperation. The second phase involved a full trade embargo Paul Lewis, "US Offers a Plan for UN Sanctions on North Korea," *The New York Times*, June 16, 1994, A1.

counterproliferation, was not in a position to favor North Korea; Russia confirmed that the 1961 military assistance treaty between the Soviet Union and North Korea was dead; and South Korea and the US agreed that the time was right to move forward with sanctions. 439 While urging Beijing and Moscow to signal that they would not save Pyongyang from the impact of such sanctions, Washington secured critical support from Seoul and Tokyo. Trilateral meeting between the US, South Korea, and Japan led to a joint statement which declared that the international community, through the Security Council, should consider an appropriate response which included sanctions. 440 The IAEA Board of Governors decided on June 10, 1994 to suspend all IAEA technical assistance to North Korea. In response, North Korea gave notice of its withdrawal from the Agency on June 13. On June 16, senior US officials convened to make a decision on the number of additional troops to send to South Korea and to deliberate on the "Osirak option." The Korean peninsula was driven to the brink of war until former President Jimmy Carter's visit to Pyongyang, which led to the eventual negotiation of the 1994 Agreed Framework between North Korea and the US. 442

### Breakthrough

At the Jimmy Carter-Kim II Sung meeting, North Korea agreed to refrain from reprocessing the spent fuel and to allow the IAEA to keep its inspectors in the DPRK, if the US was prepared to agree on certain points including diplomatic recognition, an assurance that it

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>439</sup> The US pushed for two-phased UN sanctions which composed of a ban on development assistance, an arms embargo and a drawdown of diplomatic ties between North Korea and others as "soft measures" as well as an embargo on trade and financial transactions as "hard measures." Wit, *Going Critical*, 196-197.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>440</sup> T.R. Reid, "Accord Near on N.Korea Sanctions," Washington Post, June 12, 1994, A1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>441</sup> The US intended to pose considerable threat on North Korea to change behavior. Yet, in response to Carter's June 16 interview with North Korean leader Kim II Sung, President Clinton issued an official statement outlining the terms of resuming talks with North Korea. Michael R. Gordon, "Clinton Offers North Korea A Chance to Resume Talks," *New York Times*, June 22, 1994; Michael J. Mazarr, "Opportunity Seized: Preventive Diplomacy in Korea," in *Opportunities Missed, Opportunities Seized: Preventive Diplomacy in the Post-Cold war World*, ed. Bruce W. Jentleson (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publisher, Inc., 2000), 312; Barry M. Blechman and Tamara Cofman Wittes, "Defining Moment: The Threat and Use of Force in American Foreign Policy," *Political Science Quarterly* 114, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 23. <sup>442</sup> Ashton B. Carter and William J. Perry, *Preventive Defense: A New Security Security for America* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1999), 128-133.

would not attack North Korea, and access to US nuclear power technology. 443 Although it was not specified that North Korea would forgo reprocessing or producing more plutonium, another round of negotiations resumed on the condition that North Korea would not refuel the 5MWe reactor. 444 On August 5, 1994, high-level talks reopened in Geneva, and the two sides announced that they had been able to concur on an "Agreed Framework" which was finalized on October 21, 1994. 445 Although the North Korean leadership argued that the question of spent fuel shipment was an infringement of their sovereignty, they agreed to help the US save face on the spent fuel issue. Therefore, the nuclear rods would be stored with the US team of experts assisting in preventing corrosion. The North Koreans opposed the idea of South Korea playing a major role in providing new reactors, but they expressed confidence in the American president's assurances and agreed to the multilateral reactor project. The North Koreans explained that freezing the graphite-moderated nuclear reactor meant giving up research opportunities for North Korea's nuclear physicists, employment for thousands of North Korean citizens. North Korea made a political decision, which, therefore, could change depending on the implementation of the agreed framework based on the US presidential assurance.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>443</sup> Transcript of interview with Jimmy carter, CNN, June 15, 1994; Oberdorfer, The Two Koreas, 331.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>444</sup> Press Conference by President Clinton, *Federal News Service*, June 16, 1994; "Press Conference by Robert L. Gallucci and Kang Suk Joo at the DPRK Mission" (statement, Joint Statement at the Democratic People's Republic of Korea Mission, August 12, 1994).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>445</sup> DPRK would freeze its existing nuclear program and accept international verification of all existing plants; the IAEA would verify compliance with the freeze and would continue to inspect unfrozen activities; the two government would seek methods of storing the fuel from the 5MWe reactor and disposing of it in a way not to involve reprocessing in the DPRK; the US would put together an international consortium to arrange financing for and the supply of two 1,000MWe light water reactors; the US would arrange for the supply of heavy oil to offset the energy forgone due to the freeze of the graphite moderated reactors; both states would ease trade restrictions and move toward establishing diplomatic relations; the US would provide formal assurances to the DPRK against the threat of use of nuclear weapons by the US; the DPRK would consistently take steps to implement the N-S Korean agreement on denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. International Atomic Energy Agency, *Agreed Framework of 21 October 1994 Between the US and the DPRK, IAEA INFCIRC/457*, November 2, 1994, accessed March 11, 2011,

http://www.iaea.org/Publications/Documents/Infcircs/Others/infcirc457.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>446</sup> President Clinton wrote, "I wish to confirm to you that I will use the full power of my office to facilitate arrangements for the financing and construction of a light-water nuclear project within the DPRK,… I will follow this course of action so long as the DPRK continues to implement the policies described in the agreed framework between the United States of America and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea." See Letter from the US president Bill Clinton to supreme leader of the DPRK, Kim Jong Il, October 20, 1994.

### **Unresolved Issues**

Concluding the Geneva Agreed Framework did not end suspicion about North Korea's nuclear program or antagonism toward North Korea. The Geneva Agreed Framework did not resolve the issue of a special inspection despite the IAEA's consistent efforts to discover the historical truth of North Korea's nuclear activities. North Korean asserted that special inspections would only be possible once mutual trust could be built between North Korea and the US, and it emphasized that rejecting the special inspections was the will of the North Korean leadership. 447 North Korea would remain party to the NPT, but it would only come into full compliance with its safeguards agreement once a significant portion of the light-water reactor project was completed 448. This meant that full implementation of the safeguard agreement and the inspection of two suspect waste disposal sites would not be possible before delivery of key nuclear components, which was supposed to take at least five to seven years. The IAEA could not confirm the completeness and correctness of North Korea's initial declaration, and almost ten years elapsed until the second nuclear crisis began in 2002. The US promised a "politically binding" presidential guarantee based only on a "good-faith" effort to bring about the light-water reactor project. 449 Therefore, North Koreans worried things could change if a Republican president took office, and expressed concerns that the presidential guarantee might not be legally binding. 450 North Koreans asserted that freezing nuclear activities in Yongbyon would automatically fulfill the N-S declaration and avoided commenting on the issue of implementation of the N-S Denuclearization Declaration that addressed a ban on uranium enrichment activities. The issue of uranium enrichment became a significant concern that triggered the second nuclear crisis.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>447</sup> Wit, Going Critical, 275.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>448</sup> The problem was that the 1994 Agreed Framework does nto specify when the IAEA inspection should begin.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>449</sup> Wonhyuk Lim, "The Anatomy of a Failure: The Geneva Agreed Framework of 1994" (paper presented at Asian Network of Economic Policy Research, January 17, 2004).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>450</sup> US President Clinton had to write a separate letter to certify the genuine intention of its implementation. Young Whan Kihl, "US-DPRK Nuclear Accord and KEDO," *Asian Perspective* 21, no. 2 (Fall 1997): 99-117.

### 3.4. Assessment

The North Korean nuclear issue seemed to be spiraling out of control under the antagonistic environment in which conflicting positions on unconditional inspections held by the IAEA and North Korea could not be merged. North Korea feared that it was being "strangled" by international pressure in the form of collective actions at the Agency and the UN. While the US retained the ability to launch nuclear attacks on Pyongyang with Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles and Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles, it discussed introducing Patriot missiles to South Korea and augmenting US forces in South Korea. 451 The North Koreans witnessed a series of seemingly hostile actions, including Secretary of Defense Perry's announcement on March 23, 1994 of the deployment of 40 Patriot missile launchers and 160 warheads to South Korea, and DoD's further stream of military moves which included deploying new Apache attack helicopters, a second Patriot battalion, and the rapid insertion of weapons designed to target North Korean artillery. 452 Because the North Koreans kept retracing their traumatic experiences in the Korean War, they argued that the US was breaking the armistice on the Korean peninsula and increased their alert level by placing new long-range ballistic missiles and large numbers of forces closer to the 38th parallel during the winter training. 453 Therefore, North Korea attributed its defiant actions to the hostility of others, claiming that Washington was responsible for not having been sincere about holding further talks and instead driving the situation to the brink of war. 454

The inescapable situation was that the US had to continue promoting a resolution against

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>451</sup> South Korean President Kim held a publicized meeting that approved deployment of Patriot missiles, and the South Korean Defense Minister testified before the National Assembly about the US-South Korean war plan. "Kim Young Sam Chairs Ministers Meeting," *Yonhap News*, March 21, 1994; "ROK War Plan to Invade North Denounced," *KCNA*, March 30, 1994; Michael Mazarr, *North Korea and the Bomb: A Case Study in Nonproliferation* (London: Macmililan Press, 1997), 129-30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>452</sup> R. Jeffrey Smith, "Perry Sharply Warns North Korea," *Washington Post*, March 31, 1994, A1; "Premeditated Military Buildup Maneuver," *Pyongyang Korean Central Broadcasting Network*, April 21, 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>453</sup> "North Korea's nuclear impasse: Getting nowhere fast," *Business Korea* 11, no. 8 (Feb 1994): 21; "Status of DPRK Missile Development Examined," *Chosun Ilbo*, March 20, 1994; Walter Pincus, "A Korean Nuclear Conflict Has Deep Roots," *Washington Post*, October 15, 2006, A 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>454</sup> *Rodong Sinmun* reported deployment of offensive missile system and introduction of B-52 bomber and UAVs in the South. US nuclear submarine around the Korean peninsula was one of the concerns as "dangerous movement of US military." "Pressure and Sanctions Cannot Resolve Nuclear Issues," *Rodong Sinmun*, December 31, 1993, 6.

the North at the UN, while Pyongyang warned that UN actions meant a declaration of war. Pushing ahead with inspections without resolving the contention over the definition and scope of the "safeguard continuity" and "safeguard obligation" as a "NPT signatory" in a "special case," North Korean officials and IAEA inspectors clashed during the on-going inspection. Because the inspection took place under such conditions, it was not surprising that the IAEA' announced that the inspection was not sufficient. The IAEA was about to declare that North Korea had destroyed the continuity of safeguards, and the "sea of flame" threat drove Seoul's decision to deploy Patriot missiles and reschedule Team Spirit. To make matters worse, North Korea seemed to be shunned by China, which would not be inclined to defend its former ally. 455 It should be noted that the US had gone forward with preparations for military operations on the one hand and while pushing for UN sanctions on the other hand before it began negotiations over the March IAEA inspection. The US had to prepare for the worst scenario and North Korea cornered itself against forebodings of international pressure. In this situation, the defueling campaign was also a rational counter-action available to Pyongyang.

Former President Carter's visit was timely in the sense that it allowed North Korea to find a face-saving means out of the crisis. The US was succeeding in mobilizing collective action, which would either bring North Korea back from the brink or drive it off the precipice. It should be noted that as coercive diplomacy in the form of sanctions was shaping up, Pyongyang threatened that it would resume reprocessing, but stressing that such action would be taken only if Washington reversed its previous promises. It is noticeable that North Korea refrained from using harsh language to accuse the US government and signaled its intention to resolve the crisis. Interestingly, allegations about North Korea's capacity to produce weaponsgrade plutonium, as well as its influence on other proliferators, increased concern about North

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>455</sup> China did not oppose the UNSC statement which was almost the same as the draft resolution. Yoichi Funabashi, "China's New Thinking on North Korea Policy?" Social Science Research Council, accessed June 11, 2011, http://northkorea.ssrc.org/Funabashi/index.html#e41.

<sup>456 &</sup>quot;DPRK Accuses US of Bad Faith, Threatens NPT Withdrawal," FBIS Trends, February 2, 1994.

Korea's nuclear program, and further narrowed the options for America's diplomatic maneuvering. If it were not for an unofficial channel that would allow North Korea to find a way out, the US had to push for the UN sanctions and augment forces in South Korea, which could possibly provoke dangerous North Korean reactions. Indeed, the Geneva Agreed Framework was a relief because the North Koran nuclear crisis could have brought about military confrontation on the Korean peninsula. However, the Agreed Framework was concluded based on the assumption that both sides would act in good faith and fulfill their respective commitments in a situation where potential contention still very much remained.

### 4. Consistency and Changes of Attitude toward the Nuclear Taboo

## 4.1. Dialectical Development of Crisis

The crisis has gone through a dialectical course, shifting between negative and positive interactions. The period between 1990 and 1991 was a time of lingering suspicion but it moved to reconciliatory events—the denuclearization declaration and nonaggression statement. In 1990, North Korea clarified that that it would accept IAEA inspectors in order to take steps to place its nuclear facilities in Yongbyon under the international safeguards system. Repeatedly confirming its intention to cooperate fully, Pyongyang informed director general Hans Blix that any place and facility that was not on the list submitted to the IAEA would be open to the IAEA. The next period between 1992 and mid 1993 turned for the worse because the IAEA inspections increased suspicion about past activities. Tensions escalated because North Korea refused the IAEA's request to visit two undeclared sites in December 1992. Haggling over

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>457</sup> North Korea has sent invitations to the Carter Center since 1980s. In February 1993, North Korea invited former US President Jimmy Carter again, and renewed the invitation three times in vain. After meeting with Jim Laney, the US Ambassador to South Korea, Carter called the White House to discuss his idea of visiting Pyongyang. Joel S. Wit, et al., *Going Critical*, 201-202; Jimmy Carter, "Report of Our Trip to Korea, June 1994." *Korea Report* (Fall 1994).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>458</sup> State Deprtment Report, August 17, 1994, accessed June 10, 2011, http://www.fas.org/news/dprk/1994/85359016-85363680.htm

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>459</sup> Hitoshi Tanaka, "Five Myths about Dealing with North Korea: A Japanese Perspective," *East Asia Insights* 2, no. 3 (2007):1-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>460</sup> Tae Jin Oh, "North Korea's Secret Intention," *Chosun Ilbo*, April 3, 1990, 2.

<sup>461 &</sup>quot;N.Korea Admits Reprocessing Nuclear Material/Intends to Import HEU," Kukmin Ilbo, May 16, 1992, 2.

special inspections and envoy exchanges, North Korea announced withdrawal from the NPT, which led to collective actions by the international community. The period between mid 1993 and 1994 changed from negative to positive. It began with the resumption of bilateral talks between the US and North Korea, but contention over the unresolved issue of special inspection led to North Korea's defueling campaign. As the pressure from the international community intensified, June 1994 became a turning point: tensions began to ease following former US President Jimmy Carter's visit to Pyongyang. As positive interactions continued, North Korea made concessions to keep the momentum moving forward.

Apparently, a breakdown of the dialogues and the difficulty of coordinating the positions of all the players almost paralyzed the overall negotiation process. There were at least four main issues that have been discussed by the US and North Korea: 1)IAEA inspection, 2)Inter-Korean dialogue, 3)US-South Korea military exercise, and 4)US-DPRK negotiation. Since these concerns all had to be resolved, any stalemate in one area affected the entire process. The pattern was that US-North Korea dialogue created momentum for positive interaction, but a chain of positive actions was cut by stalemate in other channels. Any emerging issue came back to the US-North Korean talks. Occasional conflict between the two Koreas and standoffs between North Korea and the IAEA delayed the implementation of an agreement between the US and North Korea. In a deadlocked situation, North Korea reacted to actualized threats in order to get out of a spiral of escalated tension by making a move in a series of reactions and counter-reactions.

North Korea's actions can be understood as attempts to reshape the antagonistic structure, not isolated events. North Korea's proposal of a nuclear-free zone on the Korean peninsula was prompted by its concerns to eliminate nuclear threat from the US. However, the joint declaration became the basis of demands to open military sites in North Korea, and North Korea came to be blamed for the lack of progress in inter-Korean dialogue on mutual

inspections. 462 Therefore, North Korea walked out of the JNCC (South-North Joint Nuclear control Commission), and concentrated on direct talks with the US. However, this caused South Korea to retract its earlier pledge not to hold joint military exercises. In order to escape mounting pressure North Korea announced withdrawal announcement, which prompted Washington's serious consideration of military options. When the Patriot Missile issue came about, North Korea complained that the US was reneging on its diplomatic promises. Then, North Korea's defueling campaign followed. North Korea needed another moment to rearrange the chessboard in order to put itself in a stronger negotiating position.

**Table 3.2 North Korea's Interactions with Others** 

Positive actions Negative actions					
Period	US-N.Korea	US-S.Korea	Inter-Korea	IAEA-N.Korea	N.K Actions
1990. 2				deadline for IAEA agreements passed	request NSA and removing nuclear weapons in S.Korea
11					request mutual inspection
1991. 7				discuss terms of safeguards agreement	request denuclearization declaration
9	US decision to withdraw nuclear bombs in S.Korea			IAEA resolution on special inspection and N.Korea	
11			nonaggression declaration		
12			declaration of denuclearization		
1992. 1	Kim-Kanter high- level meeting in New York	announcement of cancellation of Team Spirit		safeguards agreement signed	
3			first N-S JNCC meeting		request access to US bases in S.Korea
4				safeguards agreement ratified	request N-S envoy exchange
5				invitation of IAEA inspections and Director General	
12			JNCC failed to make agreement	unconditional inspection requested	
1993. 1		indicate resuming Team Spirit		finding of inconsistencies	
2				access to suspected sites denied	warn possible countermeasures
3		Team Spirit		IAEA resolution adopted	withdrawal announcement

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>462</sup> Vladimir Nadashkevich, "North Korea Favors a Nuke-Free Zone on Korean Peninsula," *ITAR-Tass New Agency*, November 9, 1990.

		1		UNSC presidential	
4				statement	
5				UNSC resolution	
6	New York meeting				suspension of withdrawal
7	Geneva meeting				
8		Ulji Focus Lens military exercise		limited inspection	
10				IAEA resolution	
11	package deal proposed by N.Korea	package deal opposed by S.Korea	N-S dialogue suspended	UNGA resolution	
12	New York meeting				
1994. 1		decision to deploy Patriot		IAEA check-list for inspection denied	
2	agreement on 4- simultaneous steps	decision to cancel Team Spirit		consultations on inspection	
3			N-S dialogue deadlocked	UNSC presidential statement	
4					5MWe reactor shut down
5	working-level talks broke down	US military options reported		IAEA report to UNSC	discharge spent fuel rods
6	Carter visit to Pyongyang			IAEA resolution	statement of withdrawal from the IAEA
7	Geneva meeting				
8	Interim Agreed Framework				
9	Berlin expert's talks				
10	Geneva Agreed Framework	Suspend Team Spirit			

### 4.2. Consistency

At a first glance, North Korea's behavior was confusing. On the one hand, North Korea indicated that it would cooperate with the IAEA, but on the other hand, it delayed signing the IAEA safeguards agreement. However, there was a great deal of consistency in Pyongyang's demands and reactions to the outside. These consistencies in North Korea's behavior include signaling, denial of developing nuclear weapons program, reacting to unfulfilled promises, fear of violating taboo, and engagement in talks with the US.

# Signaling

North Korea's actions were not entirely unpredictable. North Korea has rather matched its words and deeds by signaling future actions to be taken. Before taking action, North Korea signaled its future course of action in the form of public statements, warnings, and through

unofficial channels to the IAEA, the US and the others. Because of North Korea's notorious reputation for defiance, few paid attention to what Pyongyang frequently mentioned. North Korea had publicly indicated its withdrawal from the NPT. 463 North Korea had also often warned that it would take countermeasures if the pressure for special inspections continued, including placing surface-to-air missiles near Yongbyon and declaring a state of semiwar in order to be fully prepared for battle. 464 Before the IAEA Board of Governors meeting, the spokesperson for North Korea's Ministry of Foreign Affairs warned that North Korea would withdraw from the NPT if the demands for special inspections were not dropped. 465 When special inspections were officially requested by the IAEA, North Korea repeated the same remarks. Kim Il Sung also warned that any pressure or threat would not be effective but would result in a catastrophe. 466 With regard to Washington's offer to sell offensive weapons to South Korea in 1994, North Korea responded that it would take appropriate measures. 467 Before defueling the 5MWe reactor, North Korea's announcement in early April explained that it had no choice but to conduct "peaceful nuclear activities" that had been frozen to promote dialogue with the US. 468 On April 19, North Korea informed the international community that it decided to unload the fuel rods from the 5MWe reactor in Yongbyon. 469

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>463</sup> "We Do Not Make Empty Promise," *Rodong Sinmun*, February 3, 1994, 6.

<sup>464 &</sup>quot;What Does N.Korea Aim to Achieve?" Kukmin Ilbo, March 13, 1993, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>465</sup> "Withdraw from the NPT if Special Inspection is Requested/N.Korea Foreign Ministry Spokesperson," *Kukmin Ilbo*, February 21, 1994, 1.

<sup>466 &</sup>quot;Will Not Tolerate Violation of Sovereignty/Remarks by Kim Il Sung," *Hankyoreh*, March 13, 1993, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>467</sup> During bilateral talks, North Korean delegate Park Yong Soo said that Seoul can be turned into a sea of fire in response to South Korean's sensitive remarks. In the aftermath, Secretary William Perry recommended the South Korean military to be equipped with radar detectors, Apache helicopter, tank destroyer, and so on. "Exciting Sea of Flame for US Arms Dealers," *Hankyoreh*, March 27, 1994, 2; "US Pressure South Korea to Purchase Ammunitions," *Hankyoreh*, March 28, 1994, 3; "N.Korea Prepares for US Military Pressure/Warning from Vice Minister of N.Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs," *Hankyoreh*, March 29, 1994, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>468</sup> North Korea contended that the US would refuse to implement what had been agreed at the February 25 New York meeting. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesperson warned in the statement that North Korea would not be bounded by the agreement once the US overturned its promises and instead turned the nuclear talk as a means to pressure North Korea. "If the US Insists Pressure and Coercion, We Will Take Measures to Exercise Sovereign Right of our Nation/Statement by the Spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs," *Rodong Sinmun*, March 22, 1994, 4. <sup>469</sup> "Perilous Development," *Pyongyang KCNA*, April 19, 1994.

## Denial of Nuclear Weapons Capability

North Korea did not entirely reject the nuclear taboo; in fact, it sought to avoid violating it. North Korea's concerns to not cross a red-line were demonstrated by its consistent denial of nuclear weapons capability, demands for continuing bilateral talks, and its maintenance of a basic level of safeguard continuity. By emphasizing its anti-war and anti-nuclear policy, North Korea intended to demonstrate its coherent "nuclear-free-zone" policy. North Korea tried to defend itself against suspicions through various channels, including a press release given at the UN, interviews with the media, and back channels. North Korea had consistently expressed its intention not to develop a nuclear weapons program despite mounting suspicion regarding the number of bombs, the scope of the program and the location of hidden facilities. North Korea asserted in January 1990 that the construction of nuclear facilities with the assistance of the Soviet Union and development of a peaceful nuclear program were designed to meet the growing domestic demand for electricity. 470 The Korean Central News Agency in February 1990 mentioned that the nuclear power plants were not for possessing nuclear weapons. 471 North Korea expressed confidence in May 1992 that the IAEA inspection would prove that its nuclear program was for peaceful purposes. 472 Choi U Jin, deputy director of North Korea's Institute of Disarmament and Peace at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said that it would become clear that North Korea was not developing nuclear weapons once the IAEA inspections took place.473

North Korea issued a statement asserting that it did not intend to develop nuclear weapons through the Korean Central News Agency in August 1989.<sup>474</sup> The *Rodong Shinmun*, the official daily of the Korean Workers Party, emphasized that North Korea had neither nuclear

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>470</sup> "N.Korea Admits Peaceful Nuclear Capability," Kyunghyang Shinmun, January 9, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>471</sup> "N.Korea Admits Building Nuclear Power Plants," *Chosun Ilbo*, February 27, 1990, 1.

<sup>472 &</sup>quot;N.Korea Delays Mutual Inspection/Procrastinated Negotiation over Making Provisions," *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, May 28, 1992, 2.

<sup>473 &</sup>quot;N.Korea Accepts Inspection on 25/Remarks from Choi Woo Jin," *Donga Ilbo*, May 20, 1992, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>474</sup> Korean Central New Agency, August 4, 1989.

weapons nor the intention to acquire them after signing the NPT in May 1991. Kim Il Sung personally gave interviews to Kyodo News Service on September 26, 1990 and on November 11, 1991. Kim Il Sung told The Washington Times that North Korea had no intention, need, or delivery vehicles for nuclear weapons and was ready to accept international inspection. The fact that Kim Il Sung took the rare step of giving an interview with the US media to confirm North Korea's suggests that he intended to send a message to the US to allay the doubts that had hindered the resumption of bilateral talks.

North Korea's intention not to develop nuclear weapons had repeatedly been emphasized even after the withdrawal announcement. Kim II Sung emphasized North Korea's denial of a nuclear weapons program when he met Gary Ackerman, Chairman of the Subcommittee on East Asia and Pacific Affairs. The Ju Chang Joon, North Korean Ambassador to China, emphasized that the North Korean Worker's Party and the government were endorsing global effort of nuclear nonproliferation, arguing that North Korea had neither the capacity nor the intention to develop nuclear weapons. At the ceremony to celebrate Kim II Sung's eighty-second birthday on April 15, 1994, foreign correspondents were told that North Korea would build better relations with the US and cooperate with IAEA inspectors. Kim II Sung stressed that North Korea would never have nuclear weapons, saying, "the world is calling on our country to show the nuclear weapons we don't have." While scheduling of the third round of high-level talks was stalled in early 1994, Kim II Sung gave an interview to a Cuban news agency in which he stated that North Korea had neither the intention nor the capability to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>475</sup> Yong Kun Lee, "There Is No Nuclear Weapons in N.Korea/Rodong Sinmun Argues," *Donga Ilbo*, May 10, 1991, 2. <sup>476</sup> "N.Korea Strongly Insists Establishing Diplomatic Relationship/Interview with Kim Il Sung," *Donga Ilbo*, April 16, 1992–1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>477</sup> "Talks to Resolve Nuclear Inspection Can be Possible/Choi Tae Bok," *Hankyoreh*, April 6, 1993, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>478</sup> Kim II Sung repeated, "We do not have the capability to build them, the money to buy them, or the desire or need to have them." October 9-12 visit to North Korea. "N.Korea Promised Not to Develop Nuclear Weapons/Kim Il Sung Rejects Special Inspection," *Hankyoreh*, October 14, 1993, 1.

<sup>479 &</sup>quot;Briefing by N.Korean Ambassador to China Joo Chang Jun," *Hankyoreh*, March 13, 1993, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>480</sup> Mike Chinoy, *China Live: People Pwer and the Television Revolt* (New York: Row-man and Littlefield, 1999), 342-45.

develop nuclear weapons. 481 During Carter's visit to Pyongyang, North Korea proclaimed over loud speakers at the DMZ that it did not have the intention or the capability to build nuclear weapons.

#### Request for Bilateral Talks

It was US-North Korean talks that made a breakthrough in the deadlocked negotiations. North Korea had consistently shown commitment to continuing bilateral talks with the US. North Korea asked the IAEA to engage in consultations on the implementation of the safeguards agreement and expressed its willingness to seek a negotiated resolution to this issue. 482 Even North Korea's withdrawal announcement called for an end to the US threat and impartiality of the IAEA, which implied that future negotiation was possible. 483 As a response to the UNSC statement on March 31, 1993, North Korea again emphasized that the issue should be discussed in negotiations with the US. 484 On April 21, North Korea again showed interest in continuing talks with the US on the nuclear issue. 485 During the New York meeting in June 1993, Deputy Ambassador Ho Jong announced to the press that North Korea could agree on a compromise if the US nuclear threat was removed and IAEA impartiality was restored, quoting the same language in the March 12 withdrawal statement. 486 Before its notice of withdrawal from the NPT was due to take effect, North Korea continued to show its desire to reach an agreement. As the first and second meetings of high-level talks ended without any agreement and the third round of talk was inconclusive, the US State Department mentioned that two sides

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>481</sup> Prensa Latina news Agency, April 18, 1994, in "North Korean Leader's Comments on Nuclear Capability Reported by Cuban Agency," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, April 20, 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>482</sup> "Nuclear Issue Can Only Be Resolve by N.Korea-US Talk," *Rodong Sinmun*, November 2, 1993, 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>483</sup> North Koreans argue, "IAEA is acting like an international police by accepting information handed over by our enemy state. Such an arrogant attitude to threaten us with warnings of tragic outcome is an act of crime to disrespect our intention to observe NPT and safeguard obligation in good faith." "IAEA's Impartiality Becomes Greater," *Rodong Sinmun*, November 5, 1993, 5; John Merrill, "North Korea in 1993: In the Eye of the Storm," *Asian Survey* 34, no.1 (1994): 10-18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>484</sup> "N.Korea Stresses Talks to Resolve Nuclear Issues/Ministry of Foreign Affairs Statement," *Hankyoreh*, April 11, 1993, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>485</sup> "N.Korea, Interested in Talks with the US/KCNA Report," *Hankyoreh*, April 22, 1993, 1.

<sup>486 &</sup>quot;Successful Talks US Responsibility," Yonhap News, June 8, 1993.

made no significant progress. After a bilateral talk ended in June 4, 1993, only eight days before the actual withdrawal from the NPT, the US delegates expressed disappointment that the talks ended without tangible results and predicted that the US would immediately consider the next step. However, Kang Suk Joo said, "The talk has not failed yet." North Korea still attempted to resolve the crisis, predicting that the next talk would produce a positive outcome. 488

North Korea tried to add significance to the bilateral talks. It explained that its decision to suspend withdrawal from the NPT was due to the fact that US promised to hold US-DPRK "political dialogue" to resolve "Korean issues," which implies that North Korea aimed to continue forward momentum by discussing long-standing problems. North Korea reiterated that the only viable option to resolve the nuclear issue was bilateral talks through other channels, including *Rodong Shinmun* on October 16, 1993, a speech by Pak Kil Yon at the UN General Assembly on November 3, 1993, and the statement by North Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs on April 11, 1993, etc. 489 Pyongyang sent encouraging signs as North Korea's premier Kang Song San commented that the discussion had laid the foundation for "putting an end to the 40 years of hostile relations." North Korean media outlets also described the negotiation as productive and emphasized that North Korea would sincerely try to resolve the nuclear issue through talks. In January 1994, Kim II Sung announced in his annual address on New Year's Day that the US-North Korea joint statement would pave the way for the nuclear dispute to be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>487</sup> "N.Korea-US Talks Failed/What is the Next Move?" *Kukmin Ilbo*, June 5, 1993, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>488</sup> North Korean Ambassador Ho Jong commented, "Another high-level talk will be held next week...Talks has not failed yet," presenting his optimistic view. "N.Korean Nuclear Issue, Arranging Compromise/Prospect of the N.Korea-US Talks," *Hankyoreh*, June 6, 1993, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>489</sup> "N.Korea Insists Direct Talk with the US," *Hankyoreh*, October 17, 1993, 2; "N.Korea-US Talk, Single Way to Resolve Nuclear Issues," *Hankyoreh*, November 3, 1993, 3; "Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and Peaceful Unification Shall No Longer Be Delayed/Speech by N.Korean Delegate at the UN Assembly," *Rodong Sinmun*, November 10, 1993, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>490</sup> "IAEA Impartiality Is the First Consideration/Interview with Kang Suk Joo," *Donga Ilbo*, June 13, 1993, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>491</sup> "Rodong Sinmun Tones Down Criticism toward the US/No Comments on US Imperialism," *Segye Ilbo*, June 27, 1993, 4.

settled fairly. 492

North Korea did resort to war rhetoric, but it did so with restraint. On the one hand, Pyongyang warned of possible military confrontation, but on the other hand, it suggested that a peaceful resolution of the nuclear issue was still possible. The March 28 Foreign Ministry statement condemned the introduction of Patriot missiles to South Korea but did not outspokenly criticize President Clinton. And May 12, when North Korea began unloading nuclear fuel rods, the spokesperson of the North Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced that the progress of the US-North Korean talks could determine whether North Korea would allow measurement of the rods. On March 30, 1994, KCNA signaled its interest in a peaceful resolution to the crisis, showing willingness to restart discussions with the US.

Because direct contact with the US was limited, North Korea used various unofficial channels as well as official dialogues with the US. North Korean Ambassador Oh Chang Rim attempted to meet with US delegates during the IAEA Board of Governors meeting in June 1992. 497 The North Korean Mission in New York had urged Rev. Billy Graham to bring messages from President Clinton, invited a US delegation led by Retired General Richard Stilwell in June 1991, 498 arranged Stephen Solarz's visit in December 1991, and Gary Ackerman's visit in October 1993, and invited Jimmy Carter in June 1994. When talks with the IAEA and South Korea reached a deadlock, North Korea sent a detailed agenda for bilateral talks to Washington during Ackerman's visit to Pyongyang in October 1993. 499 Kim Il Sung

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>492</sup> David E. Sanger, "Hints of Progress, and Warning from North Korea," New York Times, January 2, 1994, 3;

<sup>&</sup>quot;Summary of Kim Il Sung's New Year's Speech," Donga Ilbo, January 4, 1994, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>493</sup> "Pyongyang Mixes harsh Rhetoric with Signs of Moderation," FBIS Trends, February 9, 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>494</sup> "Patriot for Offence/Serious Outcome Will Be Caused/N.Korean Foreign Ministry Statement," *Hankyoreh*, March 29, 1994, 2; "Patriot Deployment in S.Korea/Dangerous Actions to Provoke War/N.Korea Foreign Ministry Statement," *Hankuk Ilbo*, March 30, 1994, 2.

<sup>495 &</sup>quot;North Korean Fuel Rods Are Being Removed," New York Times, May 15, 1994, A1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>496</sup> "DPRK-ROK-US: North Sharpens War Rhetoric, Leaves Door Ajar for Talks," FBIS Trends, March 30, 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>497</sup> "N.Korea, Suspected of Developing Nuclear Weapons/IAEA Board of Governors Meeting," *Donga Ilbo*, June 19, 1992, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>498</sup> David E. Sanger, New York Times, June 9 1991,10; Gamini Seneviratne, Nucleonics Week, June 13 1991,14-15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>499</sup> Kim II Sung asked him to support for improving relations between the Washington and Pyongyang. "Kim II Sung Asks Ackerman to Support to Improve US-N.Korea Relations," *Hankyoreh*, October 17, 1993, 3; Joel S. Wit, et al., *Going Critical*, 95.

asked Rev. Graham to send an urgent message to President Clinton, expressing his hope to manage the crisis.<sup>500</sup>

Obviously, positive interaction through unofficial channel made a breakthrough at critical moments. After Rev. Graham visited North Korea amid contention between North Korea and the IAEA over the issue of unconditional inspection, North Korea relaxed its stern opposition to the IAEA inspections by announcing that the IAEA had backed down. It should be noted that the IAEA had not backed away from its previous demands, but North Korea created an opportunity to gracefully concede to resuming consultations with the Agency. Undoubtedly, former President Carter's visit to Pyongyang created a chance to resume bilateral talks.

It was seemingly ironic that North Korea anticipated that a "good atmosphere was expected to prevail" after its announcement of withdrawal from the NPT.<sup>502</sup> This indicates that North Korea anticipated that talks with the US could be close at hand. At the July 1993 meeting, Kang Suk Joo said that "continuing the bilateral talks was so important and valuable" that North Korea decided to suspend its withdrawal from the NPT. He repeatedly mentioned the "political" and "historical" significance of the meeting in a lively tone.<sup>503</sup>

### Fear of Taboo Violation

North Korea's announcement of withdrawal from the NPT was a violation of the nuclear taboo in the sense that such action was unprecedented. However, North Korea expressed an intention, at least rhetorically, not to deny its safeguards obligation, and it took a minimal level of actions to do so, which implies Pyongyang's concern not to cross a red line. It should be noted that, before signing the IAEA safeguards agreement, North Korea had repeatedly

<sup>500</sup> "Kim Il Sung Urgent Message to Clinton/Interview with Rev. Graham," *Hankyoreh*, February 4, 1994, 1; "Graham to Deliver Kim Il Sung Message to Clinton," *Yonhap News*, February 3, 1994.

<sup>501</sup> "Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Urges End to Pressure Campaign," *Korean Central Broadcasting Network*, February 12, 1994.

<sup>502</sup> "Settlement through International Coalition/Background of N.Korea's Offer to Have a Dialogue," *Hankyoreh*, May 21, 1993, 2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>503</sup> "Head of DPRK Delegation Interviewed in New York," *Pyongyang Times*, June 19, 1993, 8.

emphasized its intention to observe the international safeguards agreement, a cautious action designed to avoid generating unnecessary suspicion. Before signing the IAEA safeguards agreement, the North Korean Ambassador to the IAEA emphasized on January 8, 1992 that North Korea would observe its obligations as a member of the NPT. 504 Ho Jong, North Korean Deputy Ambassador to the UN, gave a January 19, 1992 interview to CNN that also confirmed that North Korea was ready to sign, ratify, and implement the IAEA safeguards. 505

Even after its withdrawal announcement, North Korea mentioned that it would keep in contact with the Agency. North Korea did not create any technical barriers that would prevent the IAEA from continuing inspections.<sup>506</sup> North Korea allowed the IAEA inspection team to carry out maintenance activities on the safeguard equipment installed at the nuclear facilities on May 1, 1993. North Korea informed the IAEA that all of the inspection requirements had been accepted, which was an obvious indication that North Korea wanted to stand down from confrontation. 508 Therefore, an IAEA inspection team could visit North Korea to perform technical work to maintain and replace the safeguard equipment during May 10 and 14, 1993.<sup>509</sup> When the IAEA worried that the second reprocessing line could be online soon, North Korea continuously expressed its willingness to allow the agency to visit the reprocessing line.<sup>510</sup>

North Korea continued to keep basic measures, although minimal, to keep safeguard continuity intact. In October 1993, Ho Jong offered to invite IAEA inspectors to maintain and repair safeguards equipment.511 Therefore, an unofficial executive-level meeting was held on October 21, 1993 in New York to discuss resuming IAEA inspections and the third-round high-

<sup>504 &</sup>quot;Interview with N.Korean Ambassador to Vienna/No Comment on Nuclear Inspection," Donga Ilbo, January 8,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>505</sup> "N.Korea, Ready for Inspection/Remarks from N.Korean Ambassador," Kyunghyang Shinmun, January 19, 1992, 1. <sup>506</sup> Wit, Going Critical, 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>507</sup> Leon V. Sigal, *Disarming Strangers: Nuclear Diplomacy with North Korea* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 59; David Albright and Devin O'Neil, Solving the North Korean Nuclear Puzzle (Washington D.C.: Institute for Science and International Security Press, 2000), 271.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>508</sup> "DPRK: Yonhap Cites IAEA Spokesman on DPRK Inspection Agreement," Yonhap News, February 16, 1994; David Sanger, "North Koreans Agree to Survey of Atomic Sites," New York Times, February 16, 1994, A1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>509</sup> Don Oberdorfer, *The Two Koreas: A Contemporary History* (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1997), 271.

<sup>510</sup> Wit, Going Critical, 89.

<sup>511 &</sup>quot;N.Korea-US 'Nuclear Inspection' Secret Meeting in New York/N.Korea Suggests Conditions for Accepting IAEA Inspectors," Hankyoreh, October 22, 1993, 1.

level bilateral talk. <sup>512</sup> On October 30, 1993, North Korea informed the IAEA that it would accept IAEA inspectors to replace films and batteries for maintaining the safeguards continuity. <sup>513</sup> On November 1, 1993, North Korea asked the IAEA to send an inspection team beforehand so that it the team could perform inspections if the US-North Korean bilateral talks made progress. <sup>514</sup> North Korea warned that it would unload nuclear rods on April 19 before it began its defueling campaign. <sup>515</sup> However, it did not fail to mention that the IAEA might be allowed to select and segregate fuel rods, hinting that Pyongyang wished to resolve the nuclear confrontation. <sup>516</sup> By hinting that it was considering a proposal to accept IAEA inspections on the two undeclared sites, North Korea tried to seek an escape hatch in April 1994. <sup>517</sup> The unloading began without proper IAEA supervision, but North Korean technicians cooperated with the IAEA inspectors by providing them information. <sup>518</sup>

The IAEA was also afraid of publically announcing North Korea's breach of nuclear taboo. The IAEA refrained from declaring that safeguard continuity was broken.<sup>519</sup> The IAEA warned "irreparable loss of the agency's ability to verify whether all nuclear material subjected to safeguards in the DPRK is in fact under safeguards and that no such material has been diverted" in the absence of proper safeguard measures during the discharge operation. <sup>520</sup> However, it had long abstained from declaring that North Korea had crossed the line, because such a violation seemed to be irreparable. In November 1993, Blix did not claim that the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>512</sup> "N.Korea-US Continues to Contact/N.Korea, Optimistic about 'Direct Talk' with the US," *Hankyoreh*, October 23, 1993, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>513</sup> "N.Korea Can Allow Changing Inspection Devices for Safeguard Continuity/N.Korea Sends Telegram to the IAEA," *Hankyoreh*, October 30, 1993, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>514</sup> "N.Korea Accepts Inspection if N.Korea-US Bilateral Talks Make Progress," *Hankyoreh*, November 3, 1993, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>515</sup> Kang Suk Joo sent letters to Gallucci to stress that satisfactory arrangements would have to be made. However, the US warned that unloading the reactor without IAEA inspectors present would mean that North Korea no longer wished to resolve the nuclear confrontation through dialogue. Joel S. Wit et al, *Going Critical*, 172.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>517</sup> North Korea proposed conditions that the IAEA proved that they were nuclear-related and as long as the North was not pressed too hard early in negotiations. "N.Korean Nuclear Issue Takes a New Turn," *Hankyoreh*, April 24, 1994, 3. <sup>518</sup> "Unloading Rods from Yongbyon Reator/N.Korea Invites IAEA Inspectors," *Segye Ilbo*, April 22, 1994, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>519</sup> On September 20, 1993, Blix informed that the agency would have to conclude that the area of noncompliance was widening, which was a less serious remark. "N.Korea Should Inform Its Intention to Accept Inspection by the Next Day/IAEA Ultimatum," *Kukmin Ilbo*, September 22, 1993, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>520</sup> Patrick Blum and Michael Littlejohns, "North Korea Violating Nuclear Pact," *Financial Times*, May 20, 1994, 5.

safeguard continuity was broken, although he warned, "the more safeguards-related data deteriorate, the less assurance safeguards provide". <sup>521</sup> At the March 21 meeting, Blix explained that the continuity of safeguards in North Korea had not been broken, although he said that the agency was prevented from re-establishing the continuity of safeguards at the reprocessing plant. <sup>522</sup> When all the important rods of the core had been discharged from the reactor in June 1994, the IAEA announced that it could not segregate rods to save the records of the past activities but held out hope that the history of Pyongyang's program could be determined by other means. <sup>523</sup>

By resetting the point of no return, the US also tried to minimize the significance of North Korea's defiant actions. Ensuring the presence of IAEA inspectors was set as a red line at the first Gallucci-Kang meeting in June 1993. The US tried to minimize the impact of the defueling campaign by commenting that North Korea was only "guilty of a technical violation". 524 Then, refueling the 5MWe reactor was set as another red line that should not be crossed in June 1994. Recognition and understanding of these consistent actions could have led to positive interactions among all the players concerned. However, amid inattention to positive signals, North Korea's attitude changed.

#### 4.3. Change

Before exploring why North Korea accused others of closing out opportunities for consultation between the IAEA and North Korea and what conditions made North Korea say so, we need to examine the evolution of North Korea's demands throughout the crisis. What was unshakable was the antagonistic structure characterized by mistrust, inattention, and incoordination of competing interests. While positive interactions brought about forward

<sup>521</sup> Wit, Going Critical, 99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>522</sup> Hans Blix, Statement to the IAEA Board of Governors, March 21, 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>523</sup> Hans Blix "Report by Director General on the Implementation," gov/2687/add.7, June 2, 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>524</sup> "US Accepts North Korean Demand for New High-Level Talks," Washington Post, May 21, 1994, A20.

momentum, at least temporarily, disputes endured. In a situation where North Korea's concerns were not resolved but sanctions were escalating, North Korea could not carry out its goals of reducing its security anxiety and forming a favorable environment for the revival of its economy. Instead, it faced consistent demands for unconditional inspections, which the Koreans thought were unfair and unjust.<sup>525</sup> Even after its attempt to declare withdrawal from the NPT, which was conceived as an opportunity to start a dialogue with the US, North Korea could not reshape the antagonistic environment that was characterized by mistrust, inattention, and competing interests. Consequently, North Korea's cooperative attitude changed when Pyongyang perceived itself to be alone and was pressured to take actions without its demands being considered.

# Change of Agenda

Even agreeing on the actions to be implemented by both sides was difficult. Because concerns mounted, agendas on both sides of the negotiation changed accordingly. While the nonproliferation issue was the top priority, the normalization of bilateral relations and additional nonnuclear demands had to be dealt with along the way. Because such a comprehensive approach was a complicated task, it was hardly possible for each side to implement a detailed road map simultaneously. North Korea's main concern had been consistent: eliminating the nuclear threat posed by the US. However, implementing IAEA inspections was linked to improving relations with the US, which again was linked to holding inter-Korean dialogue. Therefore, resuming bilateral talks became the main issue on the agenda. Since the early 1990s, Pyongyang had insisted that the US meet two conditions—removal of US nuclear weapons from South Korea and a negative security assurance from the US. 526 In

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>525</sup> "N.Korea Rejects Special Inspection/KCNA Report," *Segye Ilbo*, February 21, 1993, 1; "Nuclear Issue Can Only Be Resolved by N.Korea-US Talk," *Rodong Sinmun*, November 2, 1993, 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>526</sup> Don Oberdorfer and T.R. Reid, "North Korea Issues Demand for Mutual Nuclear Inspections," *Washington Post*, June 21, 1991.

1992, the issue of re-establishing the fairness of the IAEA was added. In 1993, the provision of the light-water reactor was officially mentioned during the US-North Korean bilateral talks. On the US agenda, the IAEA's request for special inspections and South Korea's request for envoy exchanges were added; but were later dropped because demanding those two issues as preconditions for talks turned out to be obstacles to resuming negotiations. In a situation where issues went unresolved, North Korea aimed at upping the ante by sustaining the framework of bilateral negotiations.

Table 3.3 Change of Agenda

	Agen	ıda	Fulfilled		
Year	North Korea	Others	North Korea	Others	
1991	normalization with the US assurance of US nonaggression removal of nuclear weapons from the South opening US bases for inspection	IAEA safeguard agreement	Removing nuclear weapons from the South	Ratifying IAEA safeguard agreement	
1992	cancellation of Team Spirit fairness of IAEA inspection holding US-North Korean bilateral talks	IAEA special inspection N-S mutual inspection	Canceling T.S.(temporary) Holding bilateral talks	Limited inspection	
1993	termination of Team Spirit, scheduling US-North Korean talks provision of light-water reactors	safeguards continuity envoy exchange	Holding bilateral talks	Limited inspection	
1994 1 <sup>st</sup> half	termination of Team Spirit, scheduling the 3 <sup>rd</sup> US-DPRK talk "simultaneous actions"	freezing nuclear program, resuming inter-Korean dialogue	Canceling T.S.(temporary)		
1994 2 <sup>nd</sup> half	diplomatic recognition assurance of non-aggression access to US nuclear power technology	N-S envoy exchange, IAEA inspections	Holding bilateral talks	IAEA inspections	

Obviously, North Korea continued to add issues that, nonetheless, were not at all unrelated. The anxiety about threat to the North Korean regime was of the utmost concern for North Koreans. Demands were replaced but not retracted. In the first place, North Korea suggested signing a peace treaty, which was not feasible in the short term. North Korea tried to find alternative means to achieve normalization with the US, which was an alternative demand but comprehensive in scope. Then, North Korea suggested a more detailed agenda for the same purpose—ending the hostile environment on the Korean peninsula. It is noteworthy that for North Korea, the core issue of the bilateral talks with the US on resolving the nuclear crisis was

not observing nonproliferation obligations, but rather resolving decades-old hostile relations.

Comprehensive **Ending hostility** Peace treaty Normalization of Diplomatic Relations Detailed Removal of nuclear weapons Cancellation of Team Spirit Negative Security Assurance

Table 3.4 North Korea's Agenda

# Displacement of Problems

The Causes of anxiety could only be displaced, not eliminated. At the IAEA Board of Governors, North Korea confirmed its position that it would not sign the IAEA safeguards agreement because of the existence of nuclear weapons in South Korea and the US-South Korea Team Spirit Joint Military Exercise. 527 The temporary suspension of the joint military exercise could not remove North Korea's fear of threat to its regime. After the cancelation of Team Spirit and Washington's declaration of removal of all overseas tactical nuclear weapons, another type of military operation was conducted and the reintroduction of tactical nuclear weapons was discussed as the consultations between North Korea and the IAEA became deadlocked. Hence, North Korea has consistently proposed confidence-building measures between the two Koreas, phased arms reductions on the Korean peninsula, withdrawal of all foreign forces, assurance of nonaggression from the US, and the conclusion of a peace treaty. 528 These demands were the same as when it announced conditions for returning to the NPT. Because the nuclear issue had already begun when the US defended the South decades ago, resolving the origins of the problems between the US and North Korea could not easily be accomplished.

Varying sources of contention tended to feed anxiety that hindered the implementation of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>527</sup> "N.Korea Refuses Safeguard Inspection Again/IAEA Board of Governors," Segye Ilbo, February 25, 1990, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>528</sup> Leonard S. Spector and Jacqueline R. Smith, "North Korea: the Next Nuclear Nightmare?" Arms Control Today, March 1991, 8-13.

agreed actions. Such anxiety came from the possibility to drive a wedge between the two allies, to export nuclear-related technology or material outside the Korean peninsula, to run clandestine activities in hidden facilities, and to pocket the rewards without corresponding measures. Undoubtedly, all of these varying anxieties were not superficial but originated from the long-held preconception of North Korea. On its part, North Korea shifted blame for the deadlocked situation on the unresolved threat coming from the other side, and it reasoned that acceptance of international demands would lead to further demands that threatened its regime. See Kang Suk Joo mentioned, "In a situation where North Korea's supreme interests were violated by the IAEA's impartiality and Washington's hostile policy and nuclear threat, political concerns that facilitated North Korea to withdraw from the NPT were not resolved while only technical matters were focused with an intention to make excuse for imposing pressure on us." The antagonistic structure in which North Korea and others interacted seemed to be so unshakable that negative outcomes were produced and reproduced. Therefore, an examination of the structure that shaped North Korea's behavior throughout the crisis using the theoretical framework of social constructivism is warranted.

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<sup>530</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>529</sup> "Nuclear Issue on the Korean peninsula Can Be Resolved by Dialogue, Not by Pressure," *Rodong Sinmun*, November 12, 1993, 4.

#### **Chapter IV. Negative Identification**

North Korea's attitude toward the nuclear taboo may depend not only on the cognitive prism through which it understands the significance of compliance to external demands but also on its position in relation with the other members of the international community.<sup>531</sup> In other words, North Korea shapes its nuclear policy based on the prism of its unique political doctrine and its experiences with other states. 532 Wendt notes, identity relates to the intersubjective aspect of structures and is shaped by patterns of interaction.<sup>533</sup> In this light, this study examines the influence of structure on the construction of North Korea's negative identification. First, North Korea has consistently stressed its national identity with reference to Juche which exerted significant influence on creating the attitudinal expectations shared by North Koreans. 534 Because North Korea has externalized its domestic principles rather than indiscriminately internalizing external rules, its nuclear policy has been guided by what seemed to be discordant actions. Second, North Korea's unsuccessful "struggle for recognition" influenced North Korean's prospects in the negotiation process. Because the frame of "mutual recognition" disintegrated, the North Koreans began to perceive the reality as hostile to the North Korean regime and were driven to defiant actions. Third, a negatively fixed image of North Korea shaped the attitude of the others, which was perceived to be unjust to North Koreans. Due to its predetermined image of a "rogue" state intent on acquiring nuclear weapons, Pyongyang was believed to take certain courses of action that might seriously

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>531</sup> Constructivists stress that the concept of identity functions as a crucial link between structures and interests. The images of individuality and distinctiveness are held by an actor and formed through relations with significant others. Therefore, identities come into two forms—intrinsic to an actor and relationally defined within a social structure. Ronald L. Jepperson, Alexander Wendt, and Peter J. Katzenstein, "Norms, Identity, and Culture in National Security," in *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, ed. Peter J. Katzenstein (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>532</sup> Combination of nationalism and socialism is a unique characteristic of North Korea's political ideology. While consolidating his power, Kim Jong II emphasized Juche ideology by arguing that leadership plays the major role in the revolutionary struggle to realize *Juche*. The revised Party guideline in 1970 specified that Kim II Sung-ism, which is a creative application of Marx-Leninism, is a guiding principle of an individual life. The 1972 Supreme People's Assembly adopted a new constitution based on *Juche* Ideology. Chan Haeng Lee, *Man Kim Jong II*, *Suryong Kim Jong II* (Seoul: Yolin Sesang, 1994), 66-67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>533</sup> Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 27, 35,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>534</sup> "North Korea is a Society Where Juche and Spirit of the Nation is Alive," *Rodong Sinmun*, Novemer 5, 1993.

undermine, if not crush, the pillars of international nuclear order.<sup>535</sup> North Korea characterized its position somewhere between the NPT member and non-member status when North Korea suspended its withdrawal announcement. It should be noted that what North Korea insisted was not a maintenance of a "special status" but a change of conditions that made such special status inescapable.<sup>536</sup> However, the negotiations over the proposed offer met with various obstacles, and, hence, North Korea offered a set of conditions. Therefore, it is important to examine how North Korea's negative identification was shaped and how it affected the course of action.

# 1. Antagonism I: *Juche* Identity and Taboo Abstinence

The confrontation between North Korea and the international community over different valuation features was noticeable. Since politics always contains a certain irreducible level of institutional alienation and exception, the nonproliferation regime also has the problem of choosing certain values at the expense of others. As Wendt argues, an individual state enters the international system with its own intentions, beliefs and desires. <sup>537</sup> Therefore, contention between different conceptions and priorities was inevitable in the case of the North Korean nuclear crisis.

Notably, Pyongyang's rhetoric in the public announcement was heavily value-laden. The June 1993 joint statement laid out a number of principles that included mutual respect for each country's sovereignty and noninterference in internal affairs, assurance against the threat and use of force, and impartial application of safeguards that North Korea had persistently

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>535</sup> Sebastian Harnisch, "US-North Korean Relations under the Bush Administration," *Asian Survey* 42, 6 (2002): 856-882.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>536</sup> The fact that North Korea insists its "special status" within the NPT provides excuse for North Korea's refusal to accept IAEA's special inspection. IAEA passed Blix's request to back special inspections on sites where the agency suspects that safeguards agreements were being violated. However, such measures would be possible only in the countries that have full safeguards agreements with the agency. John F. Murphy, "Force and Arms," in *United Nations Legal Order* vol. 1, eds., Oscar Schachter and Christopher C. Joyner (New York: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1995), 314.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>537</sup> Ronald L. Jepperson, Alexander Wendt, and Peter J. Katzenstein, "Norms, Identity, and Culture in National Security," in *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, ed. Peter J. Katzenstein (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 59

claimed.<sup>538</sup> The values that were frequently mentioned by the North Korean government were "dignity of the nation," "sovereign right," and "just cause," and North Korea's provocative reactions were described as "righteous actions against injustice." North Korean negotiators often stressed that Pyongyang would agree to seek a solution if the IAEA did not "abuse its authority" and the US demonstrated sensitivity for North Korea's "prestige."<sup>539</sup>

# 1.1. Influence of Juche Ideology

The North Korean leadership is arguably the most secretive, which makes it difficult to understand the cognitive processes driving its decision-making. However, there is little doubt that North Korea's domestic ideology is one of the primary forces driving its actions because ideology is a "structure essential to the historical life of societies." To find answers for how much different North Korea's value system is in contrast to others, it is important to examine *Juche* ideology, which shapes North Korean's social relations, world view and foreign policy.

### Principles of Juche Ideology

In the case of North Korea, *Juche* ideology has sustained the vision of North Korean's ideological construct. National identification is by definition sustained as long as members of the community believe in it.<sup>541</sup> For North Koreans, *Juche* is what North Koreans identify themselves as. *Juche*, known as "self-reliance," means "autonomy" and "main subject" and indicates that North Korea determines the faith of the nation.<sup>542</sup> The North Korean government

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>538</sup> "Joint Statement Following US-North Korea Meeting," Text of US-North Korean joint statement released by the Office of the Spokesman, US Department of State, New York, June 11, 1993.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>539</sup> Joel S. Wit, Daniel B. Poneman, and Robert L. Gallucci, *Going Critical: The First North Korean Nuclear Crisis* (Washington: Brookings Institute Press, 2004), 71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>540</sup> Louis Althusser, For Marx (London: Verso, 1979), 232-33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>541</sup> Slavoy Žižek, *Tarrying with the Negative: Kant, Hegel, and the Critique of Ideology* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), 202.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>542</sup> Kim II Sung explained that "establishing Juche means being the master of revolution and reconstruction in one's own country. Kim II Sung and Kim Jong II wielded the Juche idea as a political doctrine to arouse nationalistic drive among North Koreans for the purpose of political independence and economic self-reliance. For the construction of Juche Ideology in North Korea as a political ideology, see Jae Jin Seo, *New Analysis of the Construction and Change of Juche Ideology* (Seoul: KINU Press, 2001).

has worked to inspire the entire nation with *Juche* ideology, as manifested in Kim Jong II's guideline to "infuse the entire nation with *Juche* ideology" publicized in February 1974.<sup>543</sup> Ever since, *Juche* ideology has been a world view that affirms the penultimate value of North Koreans lives.<sup>544</sup> In other words, *Juche* ideology has been the standard and the source of pride of North Koreans who believe themselves to be the best nation on the earth in terms of people's pride and autonomy.<sup>545</sup> Therefore, denying *Juche* principles comes to mean nothing less than denying the legitimacy of the North Korean regime.

North Korea's *Juche* ideology values self-determination above anything else and thus it becomes hard for North Koreans to reconcile with requests for unconditional compliance to external demands. *Jaju*, which means holding an ultimate control of one's own destiny, is the central idea of *Juche* ideology. Therefore, adherents to *Juche* claim that a man should exercise the right of self-determination. Kim Jong II recommends, in *On the Juche Idea*, that "the party and people of every country must firmly establish *Juche* and carry out the construction in their country with the attitude of masters." According to *Juche* ideology, North Koreans should "resolutely repudiate the tendency to swallow things of others...and to imitate them mechanically." Historically, North Korea has refused to import ideas and customs from other communist countries, including the Soviet Union, choosing instead to create its own national

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>543</sup> Kim Jong II suggested impending tasks to infuse "Kim II Sung-ism" in every parts of the society, which was adopted as an official party line at the 6<sup>th</sup> KWP convention in 1980. He proposed three principles of North Korea's policy—*Jaju* in politics, *Jarip* in economy, and *Jawi* in national defense—that have evolved from Juche ideology share a common feature, which is an emphasis of self-determination. Principles of *Juche* ideology were introduced by Kim II Sung in his speech "On Socialist Construction and the South Korean Revolution in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea," on April 14, 1965.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>544</sup> Kim II Sung said, "to establish Juche is a question of special importance for us in the light of our country's geographical situation and environment, of the peculiarities of its historical development, and the complex and arduous nature of our revolution." Li Yuk Sa, ed., *Juche! The Speeches and Writings of Kim Il Sung* (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1972), 157.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>545</sup> Kim jong II mentioned, in his *On Some Problems of Education*, that in conformity with the level of development of his *jajusong*, man proceeds with the reative movement to transform nature and society to shape his own destiny. *Jajusong* is first principle of North Korea's foreign policy. It should be noted that the principle of autonomy came first, which reveals North Korea's priority of observing autonomy in foreign policy decision-making. For changes of North Korea's diplomatic relations, see Yon Ju Jung, "Interview between N.Korean Scholar and a S.Korean Correspondent," *Hankyoreh*, May 22, 1990, 5; Hak Joon Kim *North Korea Fifty Years History* (Seoul: Dona Publication, 1995), 340-376. <sup>546</sup> Kim Jong II, *On the Juche Idea*, 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>547</sup> In constructing the socialist revolution in North Korea, Kim II Sung warned that the North Koreans should not mechanically follow others. Lee Yuk-Sa, ed., *Juche! The Speeches and Writings of Kim II Sung* (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1972), 159.

identity and unique political system based on *Juche* ideology. Such vision has also directed North Korea's behavior in relationship with others during the crisis. Therefore, it is not surprising that North Koreans have strongly adhered to *Juche* ideology in a situation where they should adjust their policy to an environment that requires dependence on the outside world.

Juche ideology provides guidelines for North Korea's foreign policy decisions. The realization of Juche has been a goal of North Korea's foreign policy, and reciprocity, nonintervention and nonaggression are the general rules that govern North Korea's foreign policy. Since Juche was believed to be the intellectual product of Kim II Sung's brilliance and experience from guerrilla fighting for national independence against the Japanese rule, a sentiment of national resistance against foreign intervention was inevitably aroused during the inculcation of Juche ideology. Kim II Sung had stressed limited dependence even on other socialist states, and Kim Jong II predicted that dependence on foreign powers would lead to the failure of socialist revolution. Kim Jong II continued to emphasize North Korea's identity based on two elements—nationalism and self-determination—in the post-Cold War era. Therefore, the principles of Juche dictate North Koreans to reject dependence on others, to display the revolutionary spirit, and thus to solve their own problems under all circumstances. Adherence to Juche ideology is also a means of cultivating a sense of national dignity and, hence, national pride was especially significant in North Korean life.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>548</sup> Juche ideology became the governing principle of all aspects of North Korean life and the basis of all state policies. In the process of consolidating the full authority of Kim Il Sung, the infallibility of the *Juche* philosophy was established and accordingly self-sufficiency, self-defense, and self-respect became core values of North Korean life. Although Kim Il Sung introduced the ideological guide, his son, Kim Jong Il, has refined and systematized this outlook into a coherent body of thought. Byung Chul Koh, *The Foreign policy systems of North and South Korea* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>549</sup> Kim Jong II, On the Juche Idea (Pyongyang: Foreign Language Pub. House, 1989).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>550</sup> Kim Jong Il, Accomplishing Juche Revoluitionary Cause (Pyongyang: Foreign Language Publishing House, 1990), 47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>551</sup> Kim Jong II, "On Pursuing Juche Identity and National Identity in Revolutionary Construction," *Rodong Sinmun*, June 19, 1997; *Kim Jong Il Anthology* Vol. 14 (Pyongyang: Korean Worker's Party Press, 2000), 306-333.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>552</sup> Kim Il Sung, "Let Us Defend the Revolutionary Spirit of Independence, Self-reliance, and Self-defense More Thoroughly in All Fields of State Activities," speech to the Supreme People's Assembly, December 16, 1967; Kim Il Sung, *Revolution and Socialist Construction in Korea: Selected Writings of Kim Il Sung, vol. 4* (Pyongyang: International Publishers, 1971), 567-572.

<sup>553</sup> However, some of the American negotiators observe that pride becomes all important because of North Korea's

The conflict highlighted during the nuclear crisis was not simply between giving up nuclear ambitions and a nuclear weapons program but rather between obedience to external rules and adherence to principles of *Juche* ideology. During the nuclear crisis, North Koreans have repeatedly emphasized their adherence to *Juche* ideology. 554 However, *Juche* ideology does not require North Korea to pursue nuclear weapons, because being independent is not equal to being strong. Kim Il Sung himself commented that becoming a super power was not what North Korea intended, and having one or two nuclear weapons would not make any difference when the US possesses thousands more. 555 He confirmed that, under the changing environment of the post-Cold War era, North Korea intended to be a neutral state between super powers, which North Korea believed to be a realistic option that would allow the country to remain independent.

Some argue that North Korea hoped for becoming a nuclear weapons state because the application of *Juche* ideology in the military results in developing North Korea's military capabilities for jawi (self-defense), and nuclear weapons apparently serves this goal. 556 However, realizing *Juche* by developing nuclear weapons becomes self-contradictory because emphasizing jawi cannot be pursued along with economic jarip (self-reliance) and threatens political jaju (self-determination). The fact that North Korea had tried partial economic reform to attract foreign investment and expand diplomatic relations the early 1980s and early 1990s suggests that North Korea was in a situation where all three national goals needed to be well balanced. In fact, the first nuclear crisis worsened North Korea's diplomatic isolation, cut foreign aid, and drove North Korea to the brink of regime demise, but the tentative settlement of the crisis in 1994 provided North Korea with fuel and food aid. Therefore, nuclear weapons

inferior position. Therefore, North Korea's bluster at the negotiating tale was viewed as a means by which to cover up its own weakness. Scott Snyder, "Patterns in North Korea's Diplomatic Style," in Korea in the 21st Century, eds. Seung Ho Joo and Tae Hwan Kwan (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2001), 118-19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>554</sup> "The Only Hope that Can Help Us is *Juche* Ideology," *Rodong Sinmun*, November 13, 1993, 6.

<sup>555</sup> Interview with Kim Il Sung," Kyunghyang Shinmun, April 16, 1992, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>556</sup> Suck Ho Lee, Party-Military Relations in North Korea: A Comparative Analysis (Seoul: Research Center for Peace and Unification of Korea, 1989), 126.

program were both an opportunity and a challenge to all these national goals.

### Juche and Development of Indigenous Nuclear Capability

Understanding the significance of *Juche* Ideology for North Koreans leads us to see why they pursue the development of an indigenous nuclear program. Pyongyang's pursuit of a full nuclear fuel cycle was motivated by its self-reliant policy not to be affected by changes in the external environment. From the point of view of *Juche* ideology, possessing indigenous enrichment and reprocessing technology was crucial for realizing autonomy. <sup>557</sup> The North Koreans explained that the radiochemistry laboratory was constructed in order to complete the nuclear fuel cycle necessary to create their own nuclear fuel, although the IAEA believed that these capabilities were not needed. <sup>558</sup> In fact, North Korean delegates explained that pursuing graphite technology was the only alternative available to North Korea because such technology did not require dependence on foreign suppliers of enriched uranium. <sup>559</sup> Abundant natural reservoirs of uranium and graphite helped North Korea promote its nuclear program. <sup>560</sup> During the first visit by Blix in May 1992, the North Koreans stressed that they had developed a peaceful nuclear program for the purpose of socio-economic development according to the principle of self-sufficiency. <sup>561</sup> At the 1994 Geneva meeting, Kang Suk Joo also explained that the Supreme People's Assembly had mandated an increase in the number of indigenously

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>557</sup> For North Korea's nuclear infrastructure and capabilities, see Seongwhun Cheon, "North Korea's Nuclear Issue," in *North Korea's Weapons of Mass Destruction: Problems and Prospects*, ed. Kim Kyoung Soo (Seoul: Hollym, 2004), 27-78; Um Ho Gun, *North Korea's Nuclear Weapons Development* (Seoul: Baeksan Jeryowon, 2009).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>558</sup> IAEA Director General Hans Blix mentioned that it is hard to see a state like North Korea has a legitimate reason for building uranium enrichment and reprocessing plants. Tom Wilkie, "Inspectors on Korean Bomb Hunt," *The Independent*, March 22, 1992, 14; Man Ho Choi, "Blix Reports on May DPRK Nuclear Inspections," *Donga Ilbo*, June 11, 1992.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>559</sup> Joel S. Wit, Daniel B. Poneman, and Robert L. Gallucci, *Going Critical: The First North Korean Nuclear Crisis* (Washington: Brookings Institute Press, 2004), 72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>560</sup> In an effort to reduce dependence on external assistance, North Korea began to develop a new uranium mine in Shinpo in the early 1990s and operate milling facility in Pyongsan. Dr. Bermudez was the first to mention specific uranium milling site in North Korea, which increased suspicion of North Korea's developing nuclear full-cycle capability. Joseph S. Bermudez, Jr., "North Korea's NBC Capability," *Jane's Intelligence Review*, February 12, 1990; Tai Sung An, "The Rise and Decline of North Korea's Nuclear Weapons Program," *Korea and World Affairs* 16, no.4 (Winter 1992): 670-684. Paul Bracken, "Nuclear Weapons and State Survival in North Korea," *Survival* 35, no.3 (Autumn 1993): 139.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>561</sup> "N.Korea Admits Reprocessing Nuclear Material/Intends to Import HEU," Kukmin Ilbo, May 16, 1992, 2.

produced reactors because it was unlikely to acquire new ones from the outside. 562

Although the Soviets helped construct the Yongbyon nuclear research complex, it was North Koreans who completed key components. Solution North Korea has had the expertise required for the manufacturing of nuclear weapons since the end of the Korean War, and has educated a new generation of promising scientists and technicians who are currently occupying key positions in North Korea's nuclear program. North Korea constructed an Atomic Energy Research Institute in Yongbyon and Pakchon in 1962, created a nuclear department in Kim Chaek Engineering College and Kim II Sung University, and began to operate the Soviet-supplied IRT-2000 nuclear research reactor at Yongbyon in 1965. In addition to working to build a team of specialists in the field of atomic energy, North Korea built a nuclear reactor and research institutions in April 1971. Pyongyang institutionalized its nuclear program by approving the Nuclear Act at the third Supreme People's Assembly in March 1974. North Korea joined the IAEA, through which it introduced related facilities and other technical assistance, including equipment and training of scientists, in September 1974. North Korea's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>562</sup> Joel S. Wit, Daniel B. Poneman, and Robert L. Gallucci, *Going Critical: The First North Korean Nuclear Crisis* (Washington: Brookings Institute Press, 2004), 252.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>563</sup> North Korea sent a group of scientists to an international conference on peaceful use of nuclear energy and concluded "Founding Character of the Soviet Union's Joint Institute for nuclear Research" on February 28, 1956, which allowed North Korea to train its scientists in the Soviet. Accordingly to Aleksei Sissakian, director of the Dubna facility, about 100 North Koreans have passed through the institute and North Korea became one of 11 states to join the Joint Institute for Nuclear Research at Dubna.Donald Greenless, "How North Korea fulfilled its nuclear dream," *International Herald Tribune*, October 23, 2006; Akl Kairouz, "North Korean Nuclear Crisis," *Economic and Political Weekly* 39, no. 1 (2004): 25-31.

Safety Committee in 1984 and extended in 1989. North Korea's Ministry of Atomic Power Industry, established on December 29, 1986, concluded an agreement with East Germany's Nuclear and Radioactive Safety Committee in May 1989 and a protocol on Cooperation in the Field of Atomic Energy for Peaceful Purposes with Czechoslovakian Nuclear Energy Commission on May 22, 1989. Joseph S. Bermudez Jr., "North Korea, Set to Join the Nuclear club," *Jane's Defense Weekly* 12, no. 12, September 23, 1989, 594-597; Joseph S. Bermudez Jr., "North Korea's Nuclear Programme," Jane's Intelligence Review3, no. 9, September 1991, 404-412.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>565</sup> Eun Chol Lee, "Scientific and Technological implication of North Korean nuclear weapons," *North Korean Study* Summer (1992): 113; Joseph S. Bermudez, "N Korea-set to join the Nuclear Club?" *Jane's Defense Weekly* 2, no. 12 (September 1989): 594.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>566</sup> Overseas North Korean scientists who had education and practical training returned home. This group includes Lee Sung Ki, a Japanese-trained chemist, Do Sang Rok, a quantum field theorist and Han In Suk, a German-based physicist who studied in Moscow in the 1960s and Kim Kyung Ha, a Canadian nuclear bomb expert in 1972. Jae Sung Lee, *Technocrat in North Korea* (Seoul: Ilbit, 1998); Min Jo and Ji Ha Kim, North Korean Nuclear Book 1955~2009 (Seoul: KINU, 2009), 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>567</sup> According to the bilateral agreement on peaceful use of nuclear energy, North Korean began to send scientists to

development of a full nuclear fuel cycle was motivated by the principle of self-determination, and it followed the same principle during the negotiation to resolve the nuclear crisis.

### Central Link Theory

North Korea's *jungshimgori* (central link) strategy, an idea originated from *Juche* ideology, dictates the development of indigenous nuclear technology, not nuclear weapons, as a means to solve a number of complex issues all at once. The central link refers to something that is the most important part of any problem and therefore becomes the one key aspect which, once identified, can resolve the whole complicated situation, no matter how complex it may be. The nuclear talks over North Korea's nuclear program were viewed as a key opportunity to resolve economic and political issues, including building a better relationship with the US, and therefore, giving up the nuclear program without solving the other problems was the most unlikely option for the North Koreans to choose. In this regard, North Koreans negotiated compensation for abandoning its nuclear program, not for developing nuclear weapons.

The significance of North Korea's "bold decision" offered at the June 1992 New York meeting needs due attention. Given that indigenous efforts advanced North Korea's nuclear program, North Korea's decision to replace gas-graphite moderated reactors with light-water reactors was significant. Building new light-water reactors provided by a multilateral consortium was a real sacrifice on the side of North Korea in terms of modification of its adherence to *Juche* ideology. Besides, as expressed by Kang Suk Joo, freezing the graphite-

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receive professional training in nuclear physics in 1955. After establishing the Bureau of Nuclear Defense in the Korean People's Army in 1954, North Korea sent almost 30 students to study nuclear physics in the Soviet in 1956. The North Korean government educated students expert in nuclear physics, nuclear materials engineering and nuclear electronic engineering in 1973, trained engineers and researchers in France in 1976, and recruited physicists and chemists that gave it its start in nuclear science in the late 1950s. Institute of North Korean Studies, *North Korea Bibliography: 1945-1982* (Seoul: INKS, 1983), 113.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>568</sup> Central Link Theory is North Korea's unique strategy to resolve issues that are interconnected at once. Leonard S. Spector and Jacqueline R. Smith, *Nuclear Ambitions: The Spread of Nuclear Weapons 1989-1990* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1990), 139; Frank Barney, *How Nuclear Weapons Spread: nuclear Weapon Proliferation Proliferation in the 1990s* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 94-99; Tae-Whan Kwak and Seung-Ho Joo, "The Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula: Problems and Prospects," *Arms Control* 14, no.2 (August 1993): 69; Joseph S. Bermudez Jr., "North Korea's Nuclear Infrastructure," *Jane's Intelligence Review* (February 1994), 74-79.

moderated reactors for many years until the new reactors were provided meant changing North Korea's self-reliant economic policy and, therefore, a political loss. Despite decades of investment in complete nuclear fuel-cycle technology, however, North Korea agreed to the joint statement for denuclearization of the Korean peninsula, accepted international safeguards, and offered to stop reprocessing plutonium if alternative reactor technology could be provided. <sup>569</sup> By signing on the Geneva Agreed Framework, North Korea intended to resolve multiple issues—ensuring energy supply, diplomatic recognition by the US and elimination of threats to its regime—in exchange for complying with the international control over its nuclear program. <sup>570</sup>

The nuclear program became the key to potentially solve a number of complicated issues, including solving the power shortage, cultivating the spirit of national pride, and creating opportunities to improve diplomatic and economic relations with other states. Accordingly, pursuing only nuclear weapons meant losing opportunities to solve all these issues. However, to those outside North Korea, Pyongyang's persistent denial of a partial concession has been understood as a strategy of brinkmanship.<sup>571</sup> Therefore, rather than explaining North Korea's pursuit of a proliferation-prone nuclear program simply in terms of North Korea's irrational nuclear ambition, the North Korean nuclear issue can be better understood in terms of the value of nuclear program as a key to solve all of North Korea's related problems.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>569</sup> "Korean Nuclear Issues," *Yonhap News*, June 7, 1992.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>570</sup> Pritchard notes that North Korea has consistently put key agendas on the table. What was a key to everything included light-water reactor and nonaggression treaty. Charles Pritchard, *Failed Diplomacy: The Tragic Story of How North Korea Got the Bomb* (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2007), 119.

<sup>571</sup> North Korea's brinkmanship has been described as a unilateral strategy in a condition where the negative situation created by such tactics are not of much concern. North Korea's behavior has been viewed as "If you don't accept our proposal, we will walk out." Therefore, American negotiators ignored what seemed to be old tactics of brinkmanship as empty threats. For North Korea's brinkmanship tactics, see R. Manning, "The United States in North Korea Foreign Policy," in *North Korean Foreign Relations*, ed. Samuel Kim (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Scott Snyder, "Patterns in North Korea's Diplomatic Style," in *Korea in the 21*<sup>st</sup> Century, eds. Seung Ho Joo and Tae Hwan Kwak (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2001), 117-118.

#### 1.2. Externalization of Internal Rules

Traditionally, states joining the international regime are expected to internalize the norms shared by members within the system. However, because individuals tend to be motivated by core values and to make choices accordingly, in a controlled place like North Korea, domestically endorsed values are more likely to affect North Korea's nuclear policy decision-making. Voluntary obedience was given a good name in the nuclear nonproliferation regime. However, for North Koreans, unconditionally following the external rules was nothing but "an act of submissive obedience." The fact that North Korea valued *Juche* ideology means North Korea would independently interpret the situation and react based on its guiding principles. 574 Consequently, rejecting obedience dissociated North Korea from the foreign others who voluntarily placed themselves under the hegemonic rule within the NPT.

### Practice of Jajusong (Spirit Of Self-Determination)

Because North Korea viewed the world as more discordant than harmonious, it would stick to its central belief. Notably, North Korea had been very cooperative once the IAEA safeguard agreement was ratified by submitting reports on its nuclear program and consulting with the IAEA for procedural matters immediately.<sup>575</sup> Up to this point, North Korea seemed to have sacrificed the principles of autonomy by complying with the IAEA and taken the unprecedented step of opening its facilities to outsiders. However, when North Korea perceived enduring hostility and an upcoming crisis, it took actions of its own accord by giving free play to *jajusong* (spirit of self-determination).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>572</sup> Dennis Chong, *Rational Lives: Norms and Values in Politics and Society*(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 148.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>573</sup> Kim II Sung viewed that the collective action to problematize North Korea's nuclear program as an act of submissive obedience. "Pyongynag Feels Warm due to Visitors from the US and Japan/Interview with Kim II Sung," *Hankuk Ilbo*, April 3, 1992, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>574</sup> Kim Il Sung stressed *Jajusong* as a principle to be observed in North Korea's foreign relations with other states. "Fundamental Principle in Foreign Policy," *Rodong Sinmun*, March 10, 1994, 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>575</sup> "N.Korea Admits Peaceful Nuclear Development," *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, January 9, 1990, 3; "N.Korea Submits 'Nuclear Information' Immediately/Implementation according to the Agreement," *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, April 11, 1992, 2.

North Korea's decisions throughout the crisis can be described as efforts to exercise selfdetermination in order to secure the prosperity of its people as it best sees fit. 576 The North Koreans understand external threats as the opposite of self-determination. 577 Therefore, North Koreans who practice self-determination would resist any symptoms of infringement of Urisiksahaejui (North Korean style socialism). 578 Choi U Jin, North Korean delegate to the Joint Nuclear Control Commission talks, said, "imposition of a timetable on North Korea is an interference with its national integrity." At the July 1993 meeting, Kang Suk Joo stressed that North Korea did not intend to trade its withdrawal decision with a high-priced reward, but agreed to "respect each other's system" and "not to intervene in internal affairs." When the US delegates asked Pyongyang to defuse the whole issue by following the examples of Romania and South Africa, North Koreans stressed that there was no chance that it would take steps similar to those taken by others. 580 Increasing external pressure in the form of passing resolutions at the UN was taken as an infringement on North Korea's right of selfdetermination.<sup>581</sup> A closer look of the first joint statement between the US and North Korea on June 11, 1993, tells us that North Korea would confirm its individualism in dealing with the nuclear issue, since the statement says North Korea decided to suspend its withdrawal from the NPT for "as long as it considers necessary." It meant that North Korea would not be controlled by others in the future negotiations.

North Korea's decision to withdraw from the NPT was again an exercise of the right of

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>576</sup> "The leader is the center which integrates the interests of the masses and their desire for independence." Kim Jong II, "On Some Problems of Education in the Juche Idea," (lecture, Talk to the Senior Officials of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, July 15, 1986), accessed, July 2, 2011, http://www.korea-dpr.com/lib/Kim%20Jong%20II%20-

<sup>%204/</sup>ON%20SOME%20PROBLEMS%20OF%20EDUCATION%20IN%20THE%20JUCHE%20IDEA.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>577</sup> Kim Il Sung, "Let's Enhance the Superiority of Our Socialism, in *Selected Works of Kim Il Sung* Vol. 42 (Pyongyang: Korean Worker's Party Press, 1995), 320.

North Koreans stressed, "We will respond to talk with talk and war with war." "Revolutionary Sovereignty Must Be Strengthened/We Are Determined to Adhere to Socialism of Our Style," *Rodong Sinmun*, November 4, 1993; "If We Keep Socialism, We Will Win. If We Abandon Socialism, We Will Die," *Rodong Sinmun*, February 2, 1994, 4; "If We Observe our Socialism, We Can Enjoy Dignity and True Life," *Rodong Sinmun*, March 25, 1994, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>579</sup> "North Korea Pledges to Sign Accords in Prelude to Nuclear Inspections," *Associated Press*, December 26, 1991.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>580</sup> "N.Korea Raises the Issue of S.Africa's Nuclear Program/N.Korean Foreign Ministry Complains Unjust Inspection," *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, April 5, 1993, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>581</sup> "N.Korea Cannot Tolerate Violation of Sovereignty/Kim Il Sung," *Hankyoreh*, May 13, 1993, 1.

self-determination. North Korea described its decision to withdraw from the NPT as a "just and revolutionary measure to save the entire nation from the peril of war and protect *jaju* and dignity of the nation," <sup>582</sup> and a "rightful exercise of sovereign right." <sup>583</sup> North Korea has emphasized that the whole chain of events was decided solely on the country's will. <sup>584</sup> Kim Il Sung emphasized a sense of socio-political superiority by claiming that his regime's success was creditable to the independent manner in which all problems were solved. <sup>585</sup> For the North Koreans, who value autonomy and national pride above anything else, measures such as "special inspection" and "ultimatum with a deadline" were hardly acceptable. <sup>586</sup> Since Kim Il Sung stressed that North Koreans "do not beg peace," countering the perceived imperialist moves with violence was seen as the best way to defend national independence. <sup>587</sup> The sense of threat to regime survival was reportedly prevalent among North Korean leaders who were determined to fight a "life and death struggle". <sup>588</sup> When North Korea made the withdrawal announcement, Joo Chang Jun, North Korean Ambassador to China, mentioned in a press conference that North Korea's government and its political party make decisions on their own, stressing that North Korea had not even consulted with China on this matter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>582</sup> "Protest against Resolution on Special Inspection," *Hankyoreh*, March 15, 1993, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>583</sup> North Korea argued that imposing special inspection is a violation of international law and the spirit of UN Charter because it is an unlawful oppression on a sovereign state. "Withdrawal from the NPT Means Exercise of Sovereignty/Statement from India," *Hankyoreh*, March 27, 1993, 2; "Special Inspection in Opposition to the International Law and UN Charter," *Rodong Sinmun*, February 12, 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>584</sup> North Koreans tried not to indicate that their decision to continue talks wasressured by external threat of sanction. "Prospect of Inspection in N.Korea/No Interference from China/N.Korean Ambassador to Beijing," *Segye Ilbo*, January 10, 1992, 2; "Interview with North Korean Ambassador to China," *Hankyoreh*, March 13, 1993, 3; "We Will Make Efforts to complete Settlement of Nuclear Issues through Dialogues," *Rodong Sinmun*, December 31, 1993, 6. <sup>585</sup> Kim Jong Il, *Accomplishing Juche Revolutionary Cause* (Pyongyang: Foreign Language Publishing House, 1990),

<sup>585</sup> Kim Jong II, Accomplishing Juche Revolutionary Cause (Pyongyang: Foreign Language Publishing House, 1990). 52-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>586</sup> "Having invincible Juche ideology is Korean's Pride and Honor," *Rodong Sinmun*, November 2, 1993.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>587</sup> Kim Jong Il, *Accomplishing Juche Revolutionary Cause* (Pyongyang: Foreign Language Publishing House, 1990), 53.

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&</sup>lt;sup>588</sup> North Korea argued that the more it opens its nuclear facilities to the international inspection, the more the complexity of the issue increases and the sovereignty and safety of DPRK weakens. North Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs Statement, June 13, 1994; "'N.Korean Nuclear Issue' Will be Referred to the UN/Response from US and Japan to N.Korea's Withdrawal from the NPT," *Hankyoreh*, March 14, 1993, 3.

#### North Korean Understanding of Sovereignty

Another aspect of different valuation is a dissimilar understanding of state sovereignty. North Korea perceives the concept of sovereign right in terms of noninterference rather than membership in reasonably good standing in the international community. The North Koreans have developed a unique concept of sovereign right as a principle of foreign policy. They understand sovereignty as a complete realization of national self-determination and as the embodiment of political independence. During the nuclear crisis, North Korea has expressed its sovereignty through a unique action to achieve its principal purposes—maintenance of the regime in a self-reliant manner. In previous studies, many have argued that establishing North Korea's positional ordering among states was a great concern, and nuclear weapons were perceived by the North Korean leadership to be a crucial means to assert sovereignty.

However, the acquisition of nuclear weapons was not simply a means for protecting North Korea's sovereignty. Defeating threats caused by the nuclear crisis was a means to ensure North Korea's sovereignty. The North Korean government explained that its withdrawal from the NPT was a countermeasure designed for self-defense and to protect the sovereignty and supreme interests of the nation.<sup>592</sup> Ho Jong stressed, "We exercised our sovereign right, which is our life."<sup>593</sup> On March 11, 1993, a North Korean diplomat at the North Korean Commission

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>589</sup> Chayes and Chayes insist that, for all but a few self-isolated nations, sovereignty no longer means the freedom of states to act independently for self-interst, but in membership in reasonably good standing in the regime. Abram Chayes and Antonia Handler Chayes, *The New Sovereignty: Compliance with International Regulatory Agreements* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>590</sup> *Dictionary of Policy*, 1973, 724.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>591</sup> As a number of studies have argued nuclear weapons have historically been regarded as a symbol of strategic prowess. Gjelstad argues that nuclear weapons can be regarded as the ultimate security guarantee for a country fearful that its sovereignty might otherwise be jeopardized. Beaton acknowledges that prestige plays an important role in national decision to acquire nuclear weapons. Jorn Gjelstad and Olav Njolstad, *Nuclear Rivalry and International Order* (London: Sage Publication, 1966), 106; Leonard Beaton, *Must the bomb spread?* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966), 62; Sukanta Acharya, "Security Dilemmas in Asia," *International Studies* 44, no. 1 (2007): 57-72.

<sup>592</sup> "Interview with N.Korean Ambassador Joo Chang Jun," *Hankyoreh*, March 13, 1993, 3; "Revolutionary Sovereignty Must Be Strengthened/We Are Determined to Adhere to Socialism of Our Style," *Rodong Sinmun*, November 4, 1993.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>593</sup> North Koreans raise the issue that nuclear threats from the US does not become an issue because of hegemonic influence in the international politics. About North Korea's understanding of equal sovereignty in the international affairs, see Kim Il Sung, "Response to the issues Raised by the Chair of Japanese Kyodo News," in *Selected Works of Kim Il Sung* vol. 43 (Pyongyang: Korean Workers Party Press, 1996), 76.

in New York also mentioned that IAEA's unjust pressure did not work on North Koreans.<sup>594</sup> After the IAEA General Conference adopted a resolution that urged North Korea to allay all suspicions about its nuclear program, the North Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that North Korea rejected the resolution as "wanton encroachment on the sovereignty of the DPRK."

Because sovereignty is based on mutual recognition, isolation of North Korea from the international community and negative relations with other countries let the North Korean leadership stress an exclusive concept of sovereignty. In this sense, North Korea's dissociation was not of its own creation. North Korea, without a sense of peer-group identification, was distinguished as "the outlawed" since its admission to the nuclear nonproliferation regime. The North Koreans complained that criticism was so harsh that they felt the Agency was determined to expel North Koreans out of the nuclear nonproliferation regime. <sup>596</sup> Condemnation at the IAEA meeting drove Pyongyang to walk out of a meeting and the subsequent loss of support even from states of the non-aligned movement reinforced North Korea's sense of urgency. <sup>597</sup>

### **Protection of Equality**

Equality is a significant component of *Juche* ideology because a man, as the master of his own destiny and an independent being, should not be subordinate to anyone else. The principle of equality has a significance in internal and foreign affairs. Like the systems of other socialist countries, North Korea built its socialist system based on liberation and equality. This principle of equality contributes to its fight against inequality in foreign relations.<sup>598</sup> Before signing the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>594</sup> "Optimistic View about Resolving Nuclear Issues/N.Korean Delegates to the UN," *Hankyoreh*, March 13, 1993, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>595</sup> "N.Korea Rejects IAEA Resolution, Calls for Talks with the US," *Agence France Presse*, October 4, 1993.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>596</sup> "N.Korea is Ready for Counter-attack if Yongbyon Facilities Are Attacked," *Sisa Press*, October 31, 1991.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>597</sup> A North Korean delegate left an IAEA meeting after Japanese Ambassador Tetsuya Endo questioned North Korea for being reluctant to sign the IAEA safeguards agreement and asked to clarify North Korea's position to accept IAEA inspections in all nuclear facilities in North Korea. Tong Myong Im, "North Reportedly Walks Out on IAEA Meeting," *Chosun Ilbo*, June 11, 1991, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>598</sup> North Korea values the principles of complete equality and mutual benefit. This concept stems from Art. 17 of the Socialist Constitution of September 1998. North Korea's Socialist Constitution, accessed July 2, 2011,

IAEA safeguards agreement, North Korea stressed that the inspection should be conducted in a fair and independent manner. The North Korean Ambassador to China, Joo Chang Jun, stressed that the international inspection would be implemented under a situation where "fairness and autonomy could be guaranteed." 599 North Korea resisted coercive pressure by issuing an official statement, which stated that "if unreasonable demands were presented to us in a coercive manner, North Korea would take necessary countermeasures for its own defense."600 North Korea warned that pressure was not an ideal means to solve the nuclear issue because the nuclear issue was essentially a political problem. 601 The North Korean delegate to the IAEA, in his statement, mentioned that consultations with the IAEA would be possible, but unfairly pressuring North Korea would only produce a "serious outcome." In his 1992 New Year's speech, Kim Il Sung mentioned that North Korea had no problem with accepting international inspections if impartiality could be guaranteed. 602 The problem was that "restoration of fairness" was a subjective term that involved situational interpretation.

Cooperation with other states on the basis of equality and mutual benefit is foremost in the North Korean theoretical framework for international law. 603 Because North Korea cherishes equality, it stresses reciprocity in actions. After its withdrawal announcement, the North Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs called for bilateral talks with the US based on "the principles of equality and reciprocity."604 The North Korean nuclear issue was understood by the international community as a problem caused by Pyongyang that could be fixed by one-

http://confinder.richmond.edu/admin/docs/nkorea.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>599</sup> "N.Korea 'Autonomous Nuclear Inspection," *Hankuk Ilbo*, January 13, 1992, 1.

<sup>600 &</sup>quot;IAEA Requests Special Inspection in N.Korea/IAEA Decision/Official Letter was Sent," Hankyoreh, February 12,

<sup>601 &</sup>quot;Nuclear Issue Can Only Be Resolve by N.Korea-US Talk," Rodong Sinmun, November 2, 1993, 6; "Any Pressure or Threat Can Make North Koreans Surrender," Rodong Sinmun, November 28, 1993, 6; "Conclusion Remarks at the IAEA General Conference," Hankyoreh, October 3, 1993, 5.

<sup>602 &</sup>quot;No Comment about N.Korean Policy/Message in Kim Il Sung's Annual Address," Segye Ilbo, January 4, 1992, 3. <sup>603</sup> North Korea has actively participated in international organizations if their decision-making process seemed to be fair. Since the 1970s, North Korea joined a number of international organizations. Myung Soo Lee, "North Korea and International Law: Theory and Practice in the Post-Cold War Era," in The North Korean System in the Post-Cold War Era, ed. Samuel S. Kim (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>604</sup> For the merits of following the principle of reciprocity in dealing with Pyongyang to induce Pyongyang's cooperative behavior, see Woosang Kim, "In Dealing with a Hawkish Rival: Game Theoretic and Empirical Analyses of the Korean Peninsula Case," Korean Journal of Defense Analysis 14, no. 2 (2002): 29-50.

sided implementation of its safeguard obligations. However, North Korea viewed the nuclear issue as an interconnected matter to be resolved by both sides, and it consistently emphasized that the US should meet its obligations. From the point of equality, North Korea thought it was unfair that the North Koreans had to assume of all the responsibility for the delayed implementation of international inspections. After the June 1993 New York Channel meeting, Kang Suk Joo mentioned in his public statement that both sides would achieve positive results by continuing negotiations in good faith and on a fair and equal basis. In November 1993, he again asserted that the delay in nuclear negotiation originated from Washington's ignorance of the principle of mutual respect and equality and its lack of will to implement agreements simultaneously.

# Internal Unity

North Korea's adherence to *Juche* ideology was domestically significant. In a situation where North Korea needed to support itself politically and economically, political ideology was required to mobilize the North Korean people, a pattern that could be observed in other communist states. <sup>608</sup> Because *Juche* ideology dictates that for the popular masses to be independent subjects they "must be united into one organization with one ideology under the guidance of the party and the leader," cementing the unity of the community is overly emphasized when there is any threat to the North Korean regime. Previous studies have shown that a state pursues nuclear weapons to maintain its prestige for the purposes <sup>609</sup> of attracting attention from external nuclear states <sup>610</sup> and mobilizing internal national solidarity. <sup>611</sup> Since

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>605</sup> "Nuclear Inspection Is a Matter between N.Korea and the IAEA/N.Korea Criticizes Pressure from the US and Japan," *Hankyoreh*, February 9, 1993, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>606</sup> "Interview with Kang Suk Joo," *Seoul Shinmun*, June 13, 1992, 4; "IAEA Impartiality is the Most Important Task/Interview with Kang Suk Joo," *Donga Ilbo*, June 13, 1993, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>607</sup> "Nuclear Issue on the Korean peninsula Can Be Resolved by Dialogue, Not by Pressure," *Rodong Sinmun*, November 12, 1993, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>608</sup> Bo Hyuk Seo, *Two Faces of North Korean Identity* (Seoul: Chaekseasang, 2003), 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>609</sup> George Kelly, "The Political Background of the French A-Bomb," *Orbis*, IV (1960): 293.

<sup>610</sup> Robert A. Strong, "The Nuclear Weapon States: Why They Went Nuclear," in Nuclear Proliferation in the 1980s,

North Korea's *Juche* identity has been formed based on anti-imperialism, in the form of resistance to the influx of Western culture and systems, North Korea showed similar attitudes of resistance to any slights to its national dignity and rights of determination during the crisis. It should be noted that the crisis peaked at a critical moment in North Korea's history. Kim Jong II announced the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Korean War armistice as a national holiday to celebrate "the second liberation day." Since the memory of Korean War aroused a sense of resistance that was compounded by national sentiment, the North Korean identity was consolidated and nation-wide support for the policy-decisions made by the leadership was strengthened. Confrontation during the nuclear crisis eventually helped North Korea reconfirm internal unity and reproduce national identity among its people.

The nuclear crisis broke out when Pyongyang was newly vulnerable, but the North Korean leadership managed to prevent the ultimate failure of leadership. Twenty political parties and public organizations released a joint statement calling for the opening of the US bases in South Korea if North Korea allowed nuclear inspections. North Korea held rallies among secretaries of party cells, for the first time since the founding day of the Korean Worker's Party in June 1949, in order to discuss "their duties to give loyalty to the party and the leader" for the purpose of battle to glorify the achievements of socialism. Before announcing its intention to withdraw from the NPT, the North Korean government stressed the internal

eds. William H. Kincade and Christoph Bertram (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), 16.

<sup>611 &</sup>quot;Unity, Physical and Spiritual, of the Military and the Mass Is the Origin of Invincibility," Rodong Sinmun,

November 8, 1993, 1; "Maxim of Our Party's Revolutionary Tradition for Being One in Body and Spirit Surrounding *Ryongdoja*(Dear Leader, Kim Jong II)," *Rodong Sinmun*, December 4, 1993.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>612</sup> North Korea asserted, "The world supports our cause, and imperialist who attempt to exterminate us will be accused of their contemptible maneuvers to increase nuclear suspicion." *Dictionary of Policy* (Pyongynag: Social Science Press, 1973), 1094-95; "The World Accuses Imperialists' Attempt to Increase Nuclear Suspicion," *Rodong Shumun*, November 25, 1993, 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>613</sup> "N.Korea Plans to Celebrate Liberation of the Nation/Military Parade is Scheduled in July," *Donga Ilbo*, April 17, 1993, 2; "N.Korea Celebrates '40<sup>th</sup> Anniversay of Winning' the Korean War," *Dona Ilbo*, July 26, 1993, 4;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>614</sup> "With You, We Can Win," *Rodong Simmun*, February 16, 1994, 2; "The Military and the People Have One Mind in the Arms of Our Great General," *Rodong Simmun*, March 26, 1994, 2.

<sup>615</sup> Marcus Noland, "Why North Korea Will Muddle Through," Foreign Affairs 76, no. 4 (1997): 115-17.

<sup>616 &</sup>quot;Twenty Organizations Issue Nuclear Statement," KCNA, June 11, 1991, 9-11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>617</sup> "N.Korea Hols Conference of Secretaries of Party Cell/ Internal Unity and Nuclear Issues," *Hankyoreh*, March 27, 1993, 2.

unity among North Korean people against "vicious provocation of the enemy." 618 Rodong Shinmun and Pyongyang Radio criticized the US for preparing for nuclear war against North Korea and called for nation-wide readiness for war. 619 Demonstrating Kim Jong II's ability to successfully handle the nuclear crisis was a crucial goal for the North Korean government, which had had several big events in mid 1993—the fortieth anniversary of the end of the Korean War and eighty-one-year-old Kim II Sung's birthday. Before the UNSC took actions by issuing a presidential statement, North Korea stepped up exercises of offensive and defensive forces, mobilized its population by staging a mass rally, and held a conference of party cells. 620 As many as 100,000 people participated in the rally, and Lee In Mo, a national hero known for his 34 years of resistance in the South Korean prisons, was touted as the "incarnation of faith and conviction." 621 Kim Jong II issued "order no. 0034 of the Supreme Military Commander," increasing the alert status of the military forces. 622 Because the decision to withdraw from the NPT was a serious decision for the nation, the North Korean people were ordered to rally around the leadership responsible for the success or failure of the decision. 623

In short, the North Korean leadership had the burden of demonstrating its ability to manage crises. Because the legitimacy of the regime had been built on *Juche* ideology, North Korea exercised principles of *Juche* ideology rather than internalizing the norms shared by the other members of the system.

<sup>618 &</sup>quot;N.Koreans In Preparation for War/Rodong Sinmun," Kyunghyang Shinmun, March 15, 1993, 1.

<sup>619</sup> Ibid

<sup>620 &</sup>quot;DPRK-ROK-US: North Sharpens Rhetoric on Patriot Missiles," FBIS Trends, March 30, 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>621</sup> Lee In Mo was released and returned to North Korea in 1993 and became a symbolic figure of resistance. "Significance Examined," *KCNA*, April 3, 1994.

<sup>622 &</sup>quot;North Korea Escalates Warlike Mood among Populace," North Korea News, no. 675, March 22, 1993, 1-2.

<sup>623</sup> On March 14, 1993, it was reported that North Korea's withdrawal decision was ordered by Kim Jong II. Yim Hyung Gu, Kangwon Provincial Party Chief, mentioned that "Party Secretary Kim Jong II made a wise decision to issue an official statement to withdraw from the NPT to protect the supreme interests of the DPRK based on his insight into serious situation surrounding North Korea." On March 30, 1994, North Koreans participated in a rally for the purpose of criticize introduction of Patriot to South Korea. During April 1 and 4, 1994, North Korea held nation-wide party convocation. "Withdrawal from the NPT/Direct Order from Kim Jong II," *Hankyoreh*, March 16, 1993, 2; "We Criticize US Imperialists and Kim Yong Sam's Party Supporters for Their Decision to Deployment of Patriot Missiles in the South," *Rodong Sinmun*, March 30, 1994, 3; "Holding Convocation of Party Cell Secretaries," *Rodong Sinmun*, April 1, 1994.

### 2. Antagonism II: Legacy of Cold-War Paradigm and Normalization

As Katzenstein notes, a state's perception of its national identity is a historical creation. 624 North Korea entered its interaction with the US and other actors concerned with a unique identity that had been constructed under the Cold War paradigm. Having a 'corporate identity,' North Korea held pre-existing ideas about its national identity that guided its behavior throughout the negotiation process.<sup>625</sup> The unique circumstance of North Korea as a highly militarized but small, weak country with a history of territorial invasion surrounded by super powers created North Korea's unique identity. 626 A state of alienation from its patrons and competition with South Korea worsened after the Cold War when the North Korean leadership assumed responsibility to lead the country without dependence on external input. 627 The lasting Cold War legacy on the Korean peninsula made it impossible to negotiate with the enemy on friendly terms. Therefore, the argument that North Korea's anxiety directly brought about North Korea's "nuclear ambition" does not take into account the intricate relationship between the two Koreas, which involves the North-South rivalry and an absence of trust-building mechanism.

#### 2.1. Dilemma of Normalization

#### Isolation and Failure of Cross-Recognition

The Korean peninsula is the last place where the Cold-War legacy exists, and therefore it is important to examine how North Korea's unique security environment put it in a situation to find ways to change the antagonistic structure. Previous studies explain that the absence of a security guarantee results in proliferation. They argue that a state surrounded by nuclear

624 Peter Katzenstein, Cultural Norms and National Security (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 22.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>625</sup> Wendt explains a state's corporate identity as the intrinsic qualities that constitute actor individuality. This aspect of identity is based on domestic politics. Ronald L. Jepperson, Alexander Wendt, and Peter J. Katzenstein, "Norms, Identity, and Culture in National Security," in The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics, ed. Peter J. Katzenstein (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 50.

<sup>626</sup> Moon Young Huh, Characteristics of North Korea's Diplomacy and Prospect of Change (Seoul: Korea Institute of National Unification, 2001), 3.

<sup>627 &</sup>quot;Interview with Bajim Trachenko," *Hankyoreh*, October 19, 1993, 8.

weapons states has an incentive to consider the acquisition of nuclear weapons and retain the option to do so in the future if its security deteriorates. Mearsheimer notes that any state bent on survival is suspicious of other states and aims to guarantee its own survival. As Bull notes, states rely on alliances to balance the military capability of their adversaries, but they try to maximize their relative power position because alliances are temporary. Goheen and Harkavy observe that a state threatened by an adversary's actual or potential nuclear weapons capability can be compelled to develop a similar capability of its own in the absence of dependable big power support. Like Pakistan's and India's development of their own nuclear programs, North Korea had to spend a large portion of its efforts to provide the means of protecting themselves against others. Indeed, North Korea has long emphasized its pursuit of self-reliant defense based on its "four-point military guidelines.

<sup>628</sup> Kalstein notes that states acquire nuclear weapons to improve their security, primarily in a local context. Harrison argues that a state may be instigated by a proliferation cycle to acquire nuclear weapons out of self-preservation. Van Cleave and Rood argues that North Korea was concerned foremost with its unique security concerns. Rathjens points out that the unwillingness of the great powers to quarantee the security of other states increases a state's interest in acquiring nuclear weapons. Benjamin Frankel, "The Brooding Shadow: Systemic incentives and Nuclear Weapons Proliferation," *Security Studies* 2, no. 4(Spring/Summer, 1993): 37-65; Marvin Kalkstein, "Preventing the Spread of Nuclear Weapons," Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists 20 (December, 1964): 18-19; William Van Cleave and Harold W. Rood, 1966, 6; Stanley L. Harrison, 1965, 163; Rathjens, 1995, 186; Natalya Bazhanova, "North Korea's Decision to Develop an Independent Nuclear Program," in *The North Korean Nuclear Program: Security, Strategy and New Perspectives from Russia*, eds. James Clay Moltz and Alexandre Y. Mansourov (New York: Routledge, 2000), 127-128. 629 John J. Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institute," *International Security* 19, no. 3 (Winter, 1994/5): 11-12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>630</sup> Hadley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* (London: Macmillan, 1977), 111-12.
<sup>631</sup> Goheen observes that a state threatened by an adversary's actual or potential nuclear weapons capability can be compelled to develop a similar capability of its own. Harkavy also notes that lacking dependable big power support leads to acquiring nuclear weapons. Robert F. Goheen, "Problems of Proliferation: US Policy and the Third World," *World Politics* 35, no. 2 (1983): 204; Robert E. Harkavy, "Pariah States and Nuclear Proliferation," *International* Organization 35, no. 1 (1981): 136.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>632</sup> Like Pakistan's development of its nuclear program in response to regional security dynamics and India's pursuit of nuclear weapons under its tense relations with China, North Korea was in a situation where it perceived relative vulnerability. In order to protect its regime from the upheaval in the communist bloc, North Korea maintained its military policy with minor changes, such as comprehensive measuress for the guarantee of peace on November 7, 1988, arms reductions on May 31, 1990, and reconciliation, nonaggression, exchange and cooperation between South and North on December 13, 1991. William A. Schwartz and Charles Derber, *The Nuclear Seduction* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 146-168; Yang Byung Kie, "Changes in North Korea's Military Policy and East Asian Security," *Quarterly Sasang* (Winter 2002).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>633</sup> The 'four-point military guidelines' includes 1) arming the entire people, 2) fortifying the entire territory, 3) making all troop members officers, and 4) modernizing all troops, laying foundation for its aggressive military policy thereafter. The North Korean government has implemented its policy since its adoption at the 5th meeting of the 4th session at the Worker's Party Central Committee in 1962, and later codified it in the Article 60 of Chapter 4 of its socialist constitution in April 1992. Institute for Unification and Culture, "Four-point Military Guidelines," in *Digital North Korea Encyclopedia*, accessed April 2, 2007, http://www.kplibrary.com/nkterm/read.aspx?num=500.

choices and judgments were decided based not only on material bases but also on relational factors, as Buzan, Jones, and Little stress, multidimensional aspects molded North Korea's behavior during the crisis.<sup>634</sup>

North Korea did not have stable expectations about others' patterns of behavior and thus had difficulties in developing working relationships.<sup>635</sup> The sudden change in the Soviet bloc shook North Korea's foreign relationships and facilitated its isolation. While speculation about North Korea's nuclear weapons development increased, South Korea and North Korea's former allies—China and the Soviets—accelerated moves to establish full diplomatic relations. 636 The idea of political recognition was seriously discussed by the Soviets for the first time in 1988, and Moscow opened a Consular Department in Seoul in February 1990. 637 The relationship between North Korea and Russia had soured to the point that Russia and North Korea agreed to amend Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, and neither side exchanged congratulatory message nor held ceremony on the 31st anniversary of the DPRK-Soviet Treaty of 1961. 638 Following Moscow's support for South Korea's UN membership, Kim II Sung did not invite any Soviets to his 78<sup>th</sup> birthday ceremony, and recalled North Korean students and technicians from the Soviet Union. 639 The Soviets showed that the Soviet-DPRK alliance had already changed, as imports of military equipment from the Soviet Union to North Korea had been significantly reduced since 1991, and economic and technical support had also taken a sharp decrease. 640 The North Koreans acknowledged that nuclear weapons from Russia or

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>634</sup> Buzan, Jones and Little extended the neorealist framework to include political, economic and societal interactions that mold states and the structure of the international system. Barry Buzan, Charles Jones, and Richard Little, 1993, 12.
 <sup>635</sup> Smith believes that the establishment of stable mutual expectations about other's patterns of behavior permits the development of working relationships. Smith, 1987, 273.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>636</sup> Mary Dejevsky, "Moscow Hastenes Seoul Times," *The Times*, March 27, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>637</sup> Byung Joon Ahn, "South Korean-Soviet Relations: Contemporary Issues and Prospects," *Asian Survey 31*, no. 9(1991): 816-825.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>638</sup> "N.Korea-Soviet Treaty New Defunct,/No Ceremony for the 31<sup>st</sup> Anniversary," *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, July 8, 1992, 2; "N.Korea and Russia Cuts 'Ideological Link'/Comprehensive Revision of Treaties," *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, February 3, 1993, 3.

<sup>639 &</sup>quot;N.Korea in Shock without Countermeasures/Pyongyang's Dilemma after S.Korea-Soviet Talk," *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, June 2, 1990, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>640</sup> Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev confirmed that Russia halted all support to North Korea for nuclear plants. "Joint Effort/Foreign Ministers Meeting/Concluding A Treaty of Amity at Yeltsin's Visit to Seoul," *Donga Ilbo*, March

China had no deterrence value and therefore had no "fantasy of nuclear umbrella" from their patrons.<sup>641</sup> All these structural changes increased North Korea's fear of isolation.<sup>642</sup>

It is important to understand the significance of the impact of North Korea's failed normalization with the US under the ongoing Cold-War paradigm in the post-Cold War era. In the period of regime change in East Europe, North Korea aimed to remove threats on the Korean peninsula and create a favorable environment for the restoration of its economy by normalizing relations with the US and Japan. However, cross-recognition (the US and Japan recognizing North Korea; China and the Soviet Union recognizing South Korea) was only half-completed because resolving the nuclear issue became a precondition for North Korea's normalization with the US and Japan. However, cross-recognition for North Korea's normalization with the US and Japan. However, cross-recognition did not benefit North Korea although there was a mild thaw in US policy toward North Korea in 1988. Consultations with the IAEA stalled partly due to procedural and technical matters, but, above all, the delay was caused by unresolved anxiety about US hostility toward the North Korean regime.

The issue of normalization, which North Korea suggested at the beginning of the crisis, was the ultimate goal of North Korea's policy toward the US. What North Korea wanted was not just normalizing the diplomatic relationship with the US, but also minimizing risks that

<sup>28, 1992, 2; &</sup>quot;Peace on the Korean Peninsula and Sincerity of Soviet," *Segye Ilbo*, Feburary 13, 1990, 3; "Russia Reportedly to Stop Arms supply to DPRK," *KBS-1 Television*, June 21, 1992; "End of Russia-N.Korea Tie/Suspension of Technological Support," *Kukmin Ilbo*, July 1, 1992, 2; "Thirty Six Nuclear Soviet Experts to N.Korea/Banned Departure," *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, December 21, 1992, 2.

North Korean General Kim Yong Chul's remark in an interview with Peter Hayes on October 1, 1991. "Retaliatory Measurement in the Case of Military Attack in Yongbyon Nuclear Complex," *Sisa Press* no. 105, October 31, 1991, accessed July 22, 2011, http://www.sisapress.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=34265.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>642</sup> Seoul and Moscow agreed on exporting South Korean products to the Soviet in 1979, Korean Trade Promoting Corporation and the Soviet Chamber of Commerce and Industry exchanged a trade memorandum in 1988, and trade offices opened in Seoul and Moscow in April and July 1989, respectively. In the absence of official relationship, Seoul and Beijing agreed on postal service in 1974, and the trade increased from USD \$19 million in 1979 to USD \$3.1 billion in 1988.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>643</sup> Direct talk between North Korean and Japan for normalization of diplomatic relations began from November 3, 1991. About the DPRK-Japan relations after the Cold War, see Jong Hwa Shin, "North Korea's National Strategy and DPRK-Japan Relations," *North Korean Studies* 12, no. 2 (2008): 157-180.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>644</sup> Robert A. Manning, "Clinton and Korea: From Cross-Recognition to Trilateral Package," *The Korean Journal of National Unification* 3, no. 1 (1994): 4-292.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>645</sup> South Korea established diplomatic relations with all of North Korea's allies, including the Soviet Union on September 30, 1990, and China on August 24, 1992. Leon V. Sigal, "Who is Fighting Peace in Korea?: An Undiplomatic History," *World Policy Journal* 14, no.2 (1997): 44-58.

might consume North Korea's energy, which otherwise could be used for national development. Normalizing its relationship with the US could open a gate for improving economic conditions, reducing the threat alert level, and concentrating resources on other key areas. Having in mind the dynamics of the breakthrough in Eastern Europe, which was welcomed by the US, North Korea asked for US support to ease barriers between North Korea and other states. However, Washington tried not to connect issues. The US State Department announced that the normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and South Korea had nothing to do with US-DPRK relations.

It should be noted that engaging North Korea by agreeing to its demands to cancel Team Spirit and keeping the US-South Korean military alliance intact at the same time was impossible. North Korea accepted the IAEA inspections on the premise that the threats from the US would cease via the canceling of Team Spirit. However, before inconsistencies in the initial report submitted by North Korea to the IAEA were found, the US and South Korea announced that a joint military exercise would be held. Instead of Team Spirit, the US and South Korea began the Ulji Focus Lens joint exercise, which was held 20 miles south of Seoul from August 19 to August 30, 1992. He March 1993, Team Spirit resumed. All of these events antagonized the North Koreans, rekindling the existential threat of American hostility. North Korea faced a situation where the nuclear issue was a trap that delayed negotiations that could minimize the nuclear issue.

#### Nuclear Dilemma

The impact of North Korea's frustration, stemming from the failure to improve its

<sup>646 &</sup>quot;N.Korea Negotiates Safeguard Agreement/Offers US to Remove Obstacles," *Hankyoreh*, January 9, 1990, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>647</sup> "S.Korea-Soviet Diplomatic Relations and US-N.Korean Relations Are Separate Issues/US State Department," *Seoul Shinmun*, June 1, 1990, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>648</sup> "Strengthening S.Korea-US Focus Exercise Aims at Pressuring Nuclear Inspection in N.Korea," *Hankyoreh*, July 14, 1992, 2; "Computerized Connection between S.Korea, the US and Germany/Combat Simulation," *Donga Ilbo*, August 29, 1992, 21.

relationships with the foreign others, on the policy decisions made by the leadership should also be noted. As Lavoy stresses, the relationship between the international structure and domestic culture in which the North Korean leadership constructed its own preferences and behavior is important. The mid 1990s were a period of power transition from Kim II Sung to his first son, Kim Jong II, who, unlike his war hero father, did not have the record of military service which was needed to assume the Chairman of National Defense Commission. Showing his leadership in the military was critical for Kim Jong II, who held a position that required him to plan and direct the defense industry, which provided him with the foundation to develop North Korea's nuclear program. The new leadership faced the dilemma that strengthening military policy and pursuing a new economic policy were incompatible, and the nuclear program was at the center of this conflict. So, many argue that the North Korean government was so committed to developing its military capabilities and prioritized military buildup in order to uphold national strength and mobilize national pride. The policy decisions and prioritized military buildup in order to uphold national strength and mobilize national pride.

However, it is equally important to note that North Korea moved toward reform and openness to the outside world to meet these challenges, movement which was interrupted by the breakout of the nuclear crisis. Kim Il Sung's 1992 New Year's speech to the nation revealed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>649</sup> Lavoy assesses not only the strategic culture but also the role of individual elites who respond to incentives and transform the culture in line with their own preferences and their understanding within the constraints of the international security system and domestic political culture with some degree of freedom to expand the boundaries of their behavior. Peter R. Lavoy, "Nuclear Myths and the Causes of Nuclear Proliferation," *Security Studies* 2, no. 3/4 (Spring/Summer, 1993): 192-212.

<sup>650</sup> Elected as a supreme command of the armed forces in 1991, Kim Jong II needed support for his smooth succession of power from his father. It was the 11<sup>th</sup> Supreme People' Assembly when Kim Jong II was elected as Chairman of National Defense Commission. It took time for him to be take this position once was held by his father, Kim II Sung. Accusations against him include "a man with one month of military training at the university cannot master military strategies and tactics," "he might destroy the whole military affairs," "he lacks capacity to become a successor of the great leader." "North Korea: No pushover," *The Economist*, Vol.327, Iss. 7805, April 3, 1993, 38; Yong Tae Jeong, "Kim Jong II's military leadership: Power succession and military directive," in *North Korea's Survival Strategy* (Seoul: Bosungmuwhasa, 1995), 275.

for the intention of the North Korean government to build up military capabilities has been at all-time high and the nuclear weapon has been at the center of the "military-first policy." However, it was 1999 that 'military-first' policy appeared in the North. People's Army serves as the main force of the revolution and the unity of the army and the people. In January 2000 'military-first' policy made its way into a joint New year's Day editorial for the first time. In July 2003, it entered Pyongyang's political lexicon, signaling that Kim Jong II's 'military first' method of leadership could be officially accepted as a social norm. North Korean government explicitly says that 'military-first' policy has ideological origin from 'Juche Ideology'. "Korea Is One of the First Nations in the East," *Rodong Sinmun*, November 26, 1993, 6; *Kim Jong II's National Ideology* (Pyongyang: Pyongyang Press, 1999); *Principle for Enforcing People's Army and Emphasizing Military Capability* (Pyongyang: Korean Worker's Party Press, 1999).

that North Korea aimed to resuscitate its economy and strengthen internal unity while emphasizing the need to open borders for political, economical and cultural exchange. The Third Seven-Year Plan (1987-1993) gave a great deal of attention to developing foreign trade and joint ventures for the first time in North Korean history. When the first nuclear crisis occurred, North Korea was trying to initiate economic reform and attract foreign investment. After introducing the Law of Equity Joint Venture in order to induce the investment of capital of foreign governments and corporations in 1984, North Korea had expressed its interest in partial economic reform while still preserving the system. North Korea had membership in several multilateral organizations, and particularly pursued the UNDP project in the early 1990s.

Even though the nuclear program could be both militarily and politically significant to

<sup>652</sup> For thirty seven minutes of his annual address, Kim II Sung spent fifteen minutes to stress improvement of North Korean economy. He called for achieving victory of socialism under any "political tempest," which implies his worries about external impact on the internal system. North Korea's cabinet reshuffles in December 1991 and December 1992 increased influence of technocrats who were close to Kim Jong II including Kang Sung San who pushed for "openness within the boundary of socialism". Among members in the Secretariat and Political Bureau more than half were technocrats. "No Comment about N.Korean Policy/Message in Kim II Sung's Annual Address," *Segye Ilbo*, January 4, 1992, 3; Chan Haeng Lee, *Man Kim Jong II*, *Suryong Kim Jong II* (Seoul: Yolin Sesang, 1994), 258-270.

<sup>653</sup> It was reported that at the 6<sup>th</sup> party convention in 1980 openness and expanding diplomatic relations with capitalist states were discussed. "N.Korea Prepares to Introduce Chinese Style Openness," *Hankyoreh*, February 8, 1994, 8. 654 At this moment, the barter and aid agreement with the Soviet Union wounded up in 1991, and China indicated that it is not prepared to supply key goods at friendly prices. Kim Il Sung and Yon Hyung Muk visited industrial cities in China in 1991 and held talks there with China's president, Jiang Zeming. "N.Korea Will Ride on a 'Reform Express,' Together/Interview with Jeong Ju Young on New Year's Day," *Kukmin Ilbo*, January 1, 1990, 7.

<sup>655</sup> Kim Dal Hyun, a second-generation revolutionary and a technocrat known as the most promising reformer and chairman of external economic committee, visited Seoul to discuss inter-Korean exchange and cooperation. Kim Dal Hyun was known for having special interests in economic exchange with Capitalist states. The Supreme People's Assembly passed Foreign Investment Bank Act that intended to attract foreign investment by ensuring legitimate rights and interests of foreign-invested businesses and the Law on Foreign Investment that allowed foreign investors lease lands in the economic and trade zone near Duman River. DPRK Law on Foreign Investment was adopted by the resolution of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly on October 5, 1992. DPRK Law on Foreign Investment, adopted by the resolution of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly, October 5, 1992. "N.Korean Vice Premier Kim Dal Hyun Comes to Seoul/Joint Announcement of N-S Economic Cooperation," *Kukmin Ilbo*, July 15, 1992, 1; Ahn Taeg Sik, "Analysis and Prospect of North Korea's Revised Joint Ventures Law," *Hanyang Buphak* 21, no. 8 (2007): 491~511.

<sup>656</sup> North Korea and UNDP concluded an agreement on the list of areas of cooperation on August 20, 1990; agricultural study on March 21, 1991; modernization power supply system on March 19, 1992; increased production of coal and development of mining industry on March 25, 1993; and agricultural science technology on July 7, 1994. UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali reviewed UNDP project and offered Kim Il Sung of technological assistance and cooperation on December 25, 1993. Kim Jong Woo traveled Singapore, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Vietnam to call for foreign investment in the Rajin-Sonbong Special Zone, confirming that any business in this city would be operated by the principles of market economy. "N.Korea Active in Attracting Foreign Investment," *Hankyoreh*, December 7, 1993, 8.

the North Korean leadership, suspicion of its nuclear program resulted in limits on international trade, foreign aid and support from the international institutions that were most needed to effectuate economic reform and openness. A report issued by the North Korean government on the 3<sup>rd</sup> Seven-Year Plan indicated a disappointing economic performance. Chronic trade deficits and dwindling foreign aid had constrained North Korea's economic development while scarce resources from developmental project had to be diverted to defense. In particular, the demise of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe resulted in North Korea's loss of traditional trade partners in the early 1990s. The report specifically mentioned that conflict on the Korean peninsula due to US-South Korea joint military exercises had a negative impact on industrial and agricultural development. 657 This explains why North Korea was obsessed with the cancelation of Team Spirit.

Therefore, the nuclear crisis could be either an opportunity to make a breakthrough or a fiasco that could bring about regime demise. The outbreak of the nuclear crisis had a negative impact on North Korea's economy but it could also bring the US to change the post-Cold war structure on the Korean peninsula. International economic assistance and better political relations were the key factors needed to revitalize North Korea's economy, which could not be possible without resolving tension with the US, let alone improving diplomatic relations. However, structural change was not something that could come rapidly, and the issue of North Korea's nuclear program blocked negotiations on improving relations with Japan, another important player that could have a significant impact on North Korea's economy. Japan put the nuclear issue on the agenda for negotiations on the normalization of relations. Besides, it warned of putting restrictions on the business run by the pro-Pyongyang federation of Korean residents in Japan. Under these circumstances, North Korea sent an official letter explaining

<sup>657 &</sup>quot;The 3<sup>rd</sup> Seven-Year Economic Plan," *Hankyoreh*, December 14, 1993, 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>658</sup> "N.Korea's Counteraction in Disturbance/Pyongyang's Dilemma Following Soviet-S.Korean Talk," *Kyonghyang Shinmun*, June, 2, 1990, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>659</sup> Kim II Sung "Signs of Normalization between N.Korea and the US/Trends in the Aftermath of S.Korea-China Normalization of Diplomatic Relations," *Hankyoreh*, September 3, 1992, 5.

its desire to improve relations with the US and accepting IAEA inspections. However, North Korea's reconciliatory efforts were shadowed by suspicions about the nuclear program. In short, the failure to normalize relations with Western countries, especially with the US, increased North Korea's perception of being cornered.

### 2.2. N-S Nuclear Rivalry

North Korea's inferior position in the nuclear rivalry caused its hyper-sensitivity, extreme demands and difficulty in building trust. Since there has been no mechanism that could effectively reduce security anxiety between the two Koreas, the inexorable shifting of the military balance against North Korea was an ill omen for North Koreans. <sup>660</sup> Hence, it was believed that North Koreans, facing unwanted threats from the outside and less reliable support from the Soviet Union and China, felt compelled to begin developing their own nuclear weapons capability to preserve a nuclear deterrent. <sup>661</sup> In this regard, as Mazarr also notes, North Korea's desire to acquire nuclear weapons no longer appears as an irrational act. <sup>662</sup> However, whether or not North Korea intended to build its own nuclear shield has to be carefully examined.

#### Traumatic Experience

The experience of nuclear rivalry shaped North Korea's perception of a hostile environment. As Milner notes, a state determines its course of actions depending on its perceptions and expectations of other states' behavior.<sup>663</sup> As many note, North Korea's pursuit

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>660</sup> Kwang Chi Oh, "The Military Balance on the Korean Peninsula," *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis* 2, no. 1 (Summer 1990): 95-109.

Peggy Falkenheim Meyer, "Gorbachev and Post-Gorbachev Policy toward the Korean Peninsula," *Asian Survey* 32, no. 8 (August 1992): 757-772; Byung-Joon Ahn, "South Korea-Soviet relations," *Asian Survey* 31, no. 9 (September 1991): 816-825; Jia Hao and Zhuang Qubing, "China's Policy toward the Korean Peninsula," *Asian Survey* 32, no. 12 (December 1992): 1137-1156.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>662</sup> Michael Mazarr, "Going Just a Little Nuclear: Nonproliferation Lessons from North Korea," *International Security* 20, no. 2 (1995): 100.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>663</sup> Helen Milner, "The Assumption of Anarchy in International relations Theory: A Critique," *Review of International Studies* 17, no. 1 (1991): 83.

of a nuclear weapons program was prompted by its anxiety about nuclear weapons in South Korea. North Korea had experienced an actual nuclear threat from the US that included plans for the use of a nuclear weapon during the Korean War. The Mutual Defense Treaty between US-Korea in 1954, 665 the New Look Strategy announced by Dulles in January 1954, 666 the announcement of President Eisenhower about the possible use of tactical nuclear weapons against China in March 1955, 667 and Secretary of Defense James R. Schelesinger's remarks about the deployment of nuclear weapons in Korea along with US forces in June 1975 have all escalated tension on the Korean peninsula.

While designated as an "arch-enemy," South Korea has accepted its inferior position in nuclear imbalance for decades. As part of a global nuclear competition between the Soviet Union and the US during the Cold War, the South has been provided with military aid, US warship visits and forward bases as the "invariable components" of US security arrangements, while the North deployed heavy armories to defend against the boundaries of the US sphere. After the Cold War, little change came to the situation in which the North was heavily guarded

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>664</sup> North Koreans argue that nuclear crisis was the product of Cold War contention and called for comprehensive and complete disarmament. Rosemary J. Foot, "Nuclear Coercion and the Ending of the Korean Conflict," *International Security* 13, no. 3(1989): 92-112; "Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and Peaceful Unification Shall No Longer Be Delayed/Speech by N.Korean Delegate at the UN Assembly," *Rodong Sinmun*, November 10, 1993, 5; Bruce Cumings, "Consequences of the "forgotten" war: Korea, forgotten nuclear threats," *Le Monde, Diplomatique* December(2004); Robert Osgood, *Alliances and American Foreign Policy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1968), 77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>665</sup> Mutual Defense Treaty between the Republic of Korea and the United States of America, October 1, 1953.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>666</sup> The Secretary of State John Foster Dulles said it would allow the nation to retaliate against Communist aggression by means and at places of its own choosing. Campbell Craig, *Destroying the Village: Eisenhower and Thermonuclear War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 216.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>667</sup> President Eisenhower declared the US was seriously considering using atomic bomb in the Matsu area on March 16, 1955 and US Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Robert B. Carney stated that the president is planning to destroy Red China's military potential. Dwight D. Eisenhower, *The White House Years: Mandate for Change, 1953-1956* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1963), 179-180.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>668</sup> On June 20 1975, Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger said, "the US have deployed nuclear weapons in Europe and Korea along with our forces, and those nuclear weapons are available as options for the President." Paul Joseph, "Making Threats: Minimal Deterrence, Extended Deterrence and Nuclear Warfighting," *The Sociological Quarterly* 26, no.3 (1985): 293-310.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>669</sup> Peter Hayes, "American Nuclear Hegemony in Korea," *Journal of Peace Research* 25, no. 4 (1988): 351-364; Cheong Wook Sik, "The Collision between Nuclear Sovereignty and Nonproliferation," *Policy Forum 05-70A*, August 18, 2005.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>670</sup> Donald S. Zagoria, "Soviet-American Rivalry in Asia," *The Academy of Political* Science 36, no. 1 (1986): 103-115; James Kurth, "Economic Change and State Development" in J. Triska ed., *Dominant Powers and Subordinate States* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1986), 442; Fred Greene, *US Policy and the Security of Asia* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1968), 169.

by American troops and US nuclear weapons were close to the North. Although the importance of nuclear deterrence between the US and Russia weakened, nuclear imbalance on the Korean peninsula was still significant for the two Koreas' continued rivalry. Given the psychological impact of these weapons on North Koreans for decades, it is not hard to imagine that North Korea was desperate to acquire an available defense system of any kind.

North Korea described itself as a victim of the nuclear rivalry of two superpowers. It wanted acknowledgement of its unique position that required special considerations aimed at eliminating the causes of security anxiety. At the beginning of the nuclear crisis, North Korea stressed it was morally superior to South Korea because it had a legitimate right to develop a nuclear program for peaceful purposes while nuclear weapons in the South serve different purposes. For North Korea repeated its demand for direct talks with the US, promises not to launch a nuclear attack against Pyongyang and withdrawal of US nuclear weapons from South Korea as conditions for agreeing to IAEA on-site inspections in July 1990. In July 1991, North Korea demanded an additional clause in the IAEA safeguards agreement that would release it from mandatory inspection if there are US-supplied nuclear weapons in South Korea and there is a nuclear threat against North Korea. The October 1991, North Korea presented a new set of conditions that include South Korea's renunciation of the US nuclear umbrella, the discontinuation of US flights over Korea, and transportation by planes and ships containing nuclear weapons to South Korea. All of these were extreme demands but also indicate that North Korea was in a position to have troubles with trust building.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>671</sup> For military balance on the Korean peninsula, see William J. Taylor, Jr., "The Military Balance on the Korean Peninsula: Trends, Linkages, and the Dangers of Premature Judgments," in *The US-South Korean Alliance: Time for a Change*, eds. Doug Bandow and Ted Carpenter (Washington D.C.: Canto Institute, 1992), 17-36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>672</sup> "N.Korea Allows Inspection but Connects Issues of Removing Nuclear Weapons from the South," *Joongang Ilbo*, February 15, 1990, 2; "USFK Gradual Withdrawal from the South/Tasks and Prospects," *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, June 22, 1990.

<sup>673 &</sup>quot;N.Korea, Suggests Nuclear Negotiation/Hopes for Direct Talks," *Donga Ilbo*, July 22, 1990.

<sup>674</sup> Steven R. Weisman, New York Times, October 24, 1991, A3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>675</sup> Perkovich argues that Washington's supply of nuclear umbrella to Seoul and Tokyo restricts nuclear proliferation by these two allies but instigates North Korea's nuclear ambition. George Perkovich, "Bush's Nuclear Revolution," *Foreign Affairs* 82, no. 1 (Mar/Apr 2003): 5; Steven R. Weisman, *New York Times*, October 24, 1991, A3.

The troubled relationship was compounded by the absence of trust, resulting in difficulties in carrying out agreed actions during the crisis. When the UNSC began to discuss economic sanctions on North Korea, the US Department of Defense prepared a measure to support sanctions by strengthening its defense posture, but a series of activities including the deployment of Patriot missiles caused North Korea to doubt the US promises from the bilateral talks. The preparations to have assets on the ground in anticipation of a possible outbreak of military conflict could be indicative of an emerging crisis on the part of North Korea, which had learned lessons of the danger of overwhelming US military power from the Korean War. After observing overseas-based warplanes of various types flying into US Air Force bases in South Korea and lethal equipment being deployed in operational zones, North Korea concluded that these activities indicated that "the situation on the Korean peninsula resembled that on the eve of the past Korean War." 676

# South Korea's Nuclear Program

Not only the nuclear rivalry on a global scale but also the rivalry on the Korean peninsula shaped competitive relationship between two Koreas. As Muller notes, unabated arms race frustrates a state's aspirations for equality. When the US had decided to remove nuclear weapons from South Korea to increase pressure on the North to curtail its nuclear weapons program, attention was paid to a resurgence of South Korea's nuclear program issue. North Korea had a keen awareness of not only nuclear weapons in South Korea, but also South Korean activities aimed to develop nuclear weapons capability. Yeight Young Chul from the North Korean Ministry of People's Armed Forces mentioned that North Korea was concerned

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>676</sup> Yossef Bodansky, Crisis in, Korea (New York: SPI Books, 1994), 266-67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>677</sup> Harald Muller and Johan Jorgen Holst, "Nuclear Proliferation: Facing Reality," *Center for European Policy Studies Paper* 14, no. 15 (1984).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>678</sup> "US Says It Doesn't Need Nuclear Weapons in Korea," Wall Street Journal, Oct 21, 1991, A15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>679</sup> Pyongyang invited from September 28 to October 5 Peter Hayes, who published an article on the presence of US nuclear weapons in South Korea. Joel S. Wit, Daniel B. Poneman, and Robert L. Gallucci, *Going Critical: The First North Korean Nuclear Crisis* (Washington: Brookings Institute Press, 2004), 54.

about South Korea's development of indigenous nuclear capability, and asked what the US reaction would be if South Korea developed nuclear weapons, which showed North Korea's anxiety about nuclear rivalry on the Korean peninsula. Although South Korea declared that it would continue to refrain from developing nuclear weapons, it warned that the North's activities could force South Korea to reconsider its stance on nuclear weapons.

South Korea's plans for its nuclear weapons program began in August 1970 followed by negotiations with France and Belgium for a reprocessing facility and a nuclear fuel laboratory. South Korea was pressured to give up its physical infrastructure and the technical capability to develop a nuclear weapons program, and confirmed its promise to halt its nuclear weapons program by ratifying the NPT on April 23, 1975. However, South Korea had reportedly pursued a clandestine nuclear program until the late 1970s. South Korea has not developed nuclear technology exclusively for the production of nuclear weapons ever since, but North Korea suspected that South Korea's civilian nuclear program and advanced research, due to the "duel-use" nature of nuclear technology, could have been diverted for military use against North Korea.

When the nonaggression agreement and denuclearization statement were issued, North

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>680</sup> "Discussion on Mutual Inspection Becomes Rational," *Hankyoreh*, November 24, 1991, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>681</sup> "S.Korea Can Consider Nuclear Weapons Development if N.Korea Does not Give up Nuclear Ambition," *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, December 22, 1991, 2; Kurt M. Campbell et al., *The Nuclear Tipping Point: Why States Reconsider their Nuclear Choices* (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2004), 262.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>682</sup> President Park Chung Hee established the Agency for Defense Development and the secret Weapons Exploitation Committee. South Korea pursued the completed plutonium production facilities that could produce 20kg plutonium per year in 1974.

South Korea sought to procure a reprocessing plant for spent nuclear fuel from France. US government pressured South Korea to give up its nuclear weapons program, and the French-Korean reprocessing deal was abandoned. South Korea pledged to give up the program completely in exchange for the cancellation of USFK withdrawals from the Korean peninsula. The US promised to provide loans to enable South Korea to build a nuclear power plant in 1976, which, as some argue, is reminiscent of the 1994 Geneva Agreed Framework. Key Young Son, *South Korean Engagement Policies and North Korea: Identities, Norms and the Sunshine Policy* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 140-41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>684</sup> Since the US surveillance got tougher, South Korea accumulated nuclear technologies indirectly to become a potential nuclear developer like Japan while pursuing a full-scale development of nuclear industry as quietly as possible. For South Korea's nuclear program after 1976, see Byung Kook Kim and Ezra Vogel, *The Park Chung Hee Era: The Transformation of South Korea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), 508-509.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>685</sup> North Koreans argue that South Korea has pursued nuclear weapons program since 1970s and possessed 10 ton of plutonium and will have 24 ton of plutonium enough to manufacture 450 nuclear bombs by 2000. "International Science Magazine Revealed South Korea's Nuclear Weapons Development Program," *Rodong Sinmun*, December 12, 1993, 5.

Korea's policy toward South Korea was moving toward peaceful coexistence, giving up, at least rhetorically, the idea of revolutionizing the South. <sup>686</sup> The joint declaration of denuclearization of the Korean peninsula aimed at ending nuclear rivalry that hindered the early settlement of the crisis. The fact that North Korea was an active advocate of denuclearization of the Korean peninsula disproves the argument that North Korea was simply avoiding obligations stated in the joint declaration. <sup>687</sup> Instead, disagreement about the fair implementation of mutual inspections, especially on the proportionality of inspection sites, scope, and the time between advance notice and inspection, occurred. <sup>688</sup> The delay in reaching an agreement on the implementation of the statement was believed to be caused by North Korea's intention of developing nuclear weapons.

As taboo has a contagious effect, suspicion about North Korea's nuclear weapons capability sparked South Korea's insistence on nuclear sovereignty, which again increased North Korea's skepticism of South Korea's intention to move toward denuclearization. Indeed, many in South Korea would not give up the option of developing a full nuclear fuel cycle in order to manage the nuclear crisis. 689 For South Korea, declaration of a nuclear-free-zone was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>686</sup> There was no consensus among conservatives who viewed North Korea's reconciliatory message as a diplomatic ploy and others who were optimistic about change in North Korea's rhetoric. "Interview with the Vice Chair of the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of Korea," *Hankyoreh*, April 12, 1991, 3; "Kim Il Sung and Change of N.Korea," *Seoul Shinmun*, April 15, 1991, 2; "Mistrustful Intention of N.Korea's Change/S.Korea Should Be Aware of Optimism," *Segye Ilbo*, December 30, 1992, 11; "N.Korea No Intention to Hold Nuclear Talks with the South/Dual Purposes of N.Korea's Offer," *Segye Ilbo*, June 8, 1993, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>687</sup> In June 1986, Pyongyang publically proposed the idea of preventing nuclear test, production, storage and introduction as well as restricting transporting nuclear weapons by airplane over the Korean peninsula. Jong Kuk Baek, *Implementation of South-North Agreement and Realization of Denuclearized Korean peninsula* (Seoul: Christian Books, 2000), 80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>688</sup> South Korea insisted that the same number of places on both sides should be subject to inspection. On the contrary, North Korea argued that it could place Yongbyon under inspection while the South should open USFK bases for inspection. South Korea insisted 24-hour notice before any inspection taking place, but North Korea argued inspection should be based on mutual agreement as stated in the joint statement. Due to such disagreement, North Korea suggested holding next meeting on June 16. However, South Korean media reported that North Korea has refused the next meeting. "South and North Failed to Agree on Provisions for Mutual Inspection/Impossible to Hold Meeting in June," *Seoul Shinmun*, May 28, 1992, 1; Baek Sung Hyuk, "Freezing and Technical Verification of North Korea's HEU Program," *Hanbando Kunbitongjae* 34 (Dec. 2003): 265-267.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>689</sup> "Securing South Korea's Nuclear Sovereignty," *Hankuk Ilbo*, August 3, 1991, 2; "Demands of Abandoning 'Nuclear Sovereignty'/Problems of Codifying Denuclearization of the Korean peninsula," *Donga Ilbo*, January 17, 1994; Kang Choi and Joon Sung Park, "South Korea: Fears of Abandonment and Entrapment," in *The Long Shadow: Nuclear Weapons and Security in 21st Century Asia* ed. Muthiah Alagappa, (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2009), 395.

an exercise of the right to determine its own destiny as a sovereign state, but it meant, at the same time, the abandoning of nuclear sovereignty. Therefore, the declaration was met by criticism from within.<sup>690</sup> Nationalists in South Korea argued that any nation has the right to develop complete nuclear fuel cycle technology, if not nuclear weapons technology, and viewed South Korea's attempts to develop a nuclear weapons program as an expression of self-determination. Those who advocated nuclear sovereignty emphasized that South Korea was disadvantaged by the outbreak of nuclear issues while Japan, right next to the Korean peninsula, had developed such capability.<sup>691</sup> Washington asked Seoul to make the statement as a treaty that could be binding on both sides, which was adamantly opposed by many South Koreans.<sup>692</sup>

The denuclearization statement between the two Koreas could have created ample opportunities to reduce tensions on the Korean peninsula, but frustrating outcome of the stalled negotiations over mutual inspections reconfirmed the gap between Seoul and Pyongyang. Besides, since IAEA inspections were taking place, North Korea believed that South Korea's demand for special inspections could create double-sided pressure on North Korea. North Korea's insistence on keeping its nuclear options seemed to resonate, sustaining the nuclear rivalry between the two Koreas. In short, the cold war legacy shaped North Korea's identity as a competitor of the nuclear rivalry which, again, hindered the settlement of the nuclear crisis. Because the experience of nuclear rivalry and competitive relationship between the two Koreas shaped North Korea's perception of a hostile environment, the troubled relationship was compounded by the absence of trust, resulting in difficulties in carrying out agreed actions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>690</sup> Peter Hayes, *Pacific Powderkeg: American Nuclear Dilemmas in Korea* (Lexington: Lexington Books, 1991), 236. <sup>691</sup> Some even pointed out South Korea's unique security environment that it was surrounded by super powers that had produced hundreds of nuclear weapons. Therefore, Kim Jin Hyun Minister of Science and Technology during his speech in Japan said that South Korea would give up the option of reprocessing capability came under harsh criticism.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Convition of Minister of Science and Technology," *Hankyoreh*, March 6, 1992, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>692</sup> "US Intention to pursue 'Treaty on Denuclearization of the Korean peninsula," *Hankyoreh*, January 18, 1994, 3; "Discussion on N.Korea Nuclear Issue and Denuclearization Treaty," *Hankyoreh*, January 20, 1994, 1.

## 3. Antagonism III: Triangular Relationship and Ambivalence

A complicated triangular relationship in which love and hatred coexisted among the US, South Korea, and North Korea shaped an antagonistic structure in which check and balance, rather than cooperation based on shared interests, is dominant. On the one hand, North Korea had been obsessed with fears of a concerted US-South Korean effort to promote its collapse and absorption by the South. On the other hand, for North Koreans, normalization of diplomatic relations with the US was a critical component of establishing peace and stability on the Korean peninsula. However, such normalization inevitably involves driving a wedge between the US and South Korea, which was undoubtedly acknowledged by Seoul.

South Koreans, too, had ambivalent attitude toward the US. Some in South Korea viewed the presence of the US Forces in the South as obstructing reunification, although the US was not solely responsible for the division. On the other hand, many conservatives in South Korea believed that the US influence on the Korean peninsula prevented North Korea's provocative actions but they feared abandonment by the US. On the US. On the other hand, many conservatives in South Korea believed that the US influence on the Korean peninsula prevented North Korea's provocative actions but they feared abandonment by the US. On the US. On the other hand, many conservatives in South Korea facilitation between facilitating and hindering Washington's diplomatic effort made it hard to arrive at some joint conclusion about approaches to Pyongyang. Anxious not to become a bystander, Seoul insisted on taking the initiative in establishing the denuclearization regime on the Korean peninsula and pushed for the exchange of special envoys between the two Koreas as a precondition for resuming the US-North Korea talks. In response, North Korea complained about giving Seoul veto power over a matter between the US and North Korea. Therefore, a resolution to the nuclear crisis was inseparable from the structural constraints caused by the complicated inter-Korean relations.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>693</sup> Selig Harrison, *Korean Endgame: A Strategy for Reunification and US Disengagement* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 70; Victor Cha, "We Have No Plan," *Chosun Ilbo*, June 9, 2008.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>694</sup> "S.Korea's Diplomacy in Isolation," *Hankuk Ilbo*, September 4, 1994, 3; "Improvement of US-North Korea Relations Needs Speed Control," *Segye Ilbo*, September 3, 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>695</sup> Martin Hart-Landsberg, *Korea: Division, Reunification, &US Foreign Policy* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1998), 189-192.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>696</sup> For Changes of US-S.Korean Alliance, see Doug Bandow and Ted Galen Carpenter, *The US-South Korean Alliance: Time for a Change* (Washington D.C.: Cato Institute, 1992), 1-16.

#### 3.1. Coexistence of Love and Hatred

The division into two Koreas by external forces has created a situation where the North and the South vie with one another while longing to be reunited with each other: these two Koreas vacillate between competing and embracing each other. <sup>697</sup> On the one hand, the two Koreas have developed negative feelings of jealousy, hostility and rivalry toward each other since the Korean War, but on the other hand, they retain brotherly affection as one nation.<sup>698</sup> For the South and the North, the existence of the other side challenges its own legitimacy, and winning over the other has been an important political legitimator on the Korean peninsula. Therefore, the two Koreas have a long history of competition to delegitimize each other. However, the formal policy of the two Koreas has been commitment to peaceful reunification, although each takes different approaches to this goal. <sup>699</sup> The advent of post-Cold War era brought a short-term relaxation of tension between the two Koreas. After the Cold War, South Korea made some breakthroughs including the lifting of restrictions on investment in and aid to North Korea, while North Korea toned down its hostile rhetoric to the South Korean government and agreed on family exchanges. 700 Since many South Koreans prefer the German model of unification with an air of supremacy, the possible collapse of North Korea caused them to support assistance to Pyongyang in order to bring about a "soft-landing". 701 North

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>697</sup> Chae Jin Lee, *A Troubled Peace: US Policy and the Two Koreas* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 265.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>698</sup> Freud explains ambivalence as the simultaneous presence of love and hate toward the same object. Sigmund Freud, *Totem and Taboo: Some Points of Agreement between the Mental Lives of savages and Neurotics* (London: Routledge, 2001), 182.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>699</sup> Both Koreas concluded a communiqué calling for independent and peaceful reunification through a great national unity on July 4, 1972. North Korea proposed a "Confederal Republic of Koryo" in 1973 and "Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo" in 1980. Kim Il Sung, *On the Proposal for Founding a Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publication House, 1988), 64-65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>700</sup> Leon V. Sigal, *Disarming Strangers: Nuclear Diplomacy with North Korea* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 125.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>701</sup> Politicians and scholars in South Korea and elsewhere expressed high hopes for "reunification by absorption" modeled by East Germany's experience which North Korea decried. Various academic papers opined that the regime's survival might be imperiled by the uncertain and uneven process by which Kim Jong II was edging toward the power once possessed by his father. Choong Nam Kim, "The Uncertain Future of North Korea: Soft Landing or Crash Landing?" *Korea and World Affairs* 20, no. 4 (Winter 1996): 623-36; Michael Green, "North Korea Regime Crisis: US

Korea's anxiety that South Korea pursued absorption of the North by exterminating the North Korean regime prompted Pyongyang to reach out for a better relationship with the US, but further complicated the context that involves North Korea, South Korea and the US.

### Legitimacy Competition

There exists a gap between actual practices and the anticipation that the new South Korean government would pursue a policy of appeasement and cooperation for the peaceful coexistence of the two Koreas, which frustrated Pyongyang. The two Koreas' having seats at the UN on September 17, 1991 meant seemingly an international recognition of peaceful coexistence of two nations, but the separate membership in the UN also sustained competition between two separate political entities. The reconciliatory mood on the Korean peninsula did not last long because deep-seated mistrust did not disappear. Pyongyang criticized South Korean President Roh Tae Woo as a puppet and traitor, and Seoul prosecuted students charged with "benefiting the enemy." After President Kim Yong Sam's speech on the 100<sup>th</sup> day since his inauguration mentioned that "we cannot shake hands with those with nuclear weapons," North Korea denounced the civilian government as not at all different from the previous military regime and said that the South Korean cabinet members were antinational.

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Perspectives and Responses," *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis* 9, no. 2 (Winter 1997); Charles Wolf, "Korean Reunification and Reconstruction: Circumstances, Costs, and Implications," *Defence and Peace Economics* 17, no. 6 (2006): 681-690; Taek Hyun In, "Strategic Thought toward Asia in the Kim Young-sam Era," in *South Korean Strategic Thought Toward Asia*, eds. Gilbert Rozman, In Taek Hyon, and Sin Hwa Yi (New York: Palgrave, 2008), 61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>702</sup> Despite North Korea's opposition to separate membership South Korea could successfully persuade Moscow and Beijing to support South Korea's entry to the UN. At the 46<sup>th</sup> session of the UN General Assembly on September 17, 1991, North Korea and South Korea along with new other members—Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, the Marshall Islands and Micronesia were admitted. North Korea's concern was perpetuating partition of the Korean peninsula because officially recognized separation becomes obstacles to national unification in the long run. However, two Koreas had already maintained separate memberships in 12 specialized UN agencies. David E. Sanger, "North Korea Reluctantly Seeks UN Seat," *New York Times*, May 29, 1991; Park Chi Yong, *Korea and the United Nations* (Hague: Kluwer Law International, 2000), 69.

<sup>703</sup> Bruce Cumings, "For Korea's Cold War?" Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist 48, no 3 (April 1992): 14-23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>704</sup> "Beyond Nuclear Bar and Resumption of Talks/Background and Implication of inter-Korean Summit Talk," *Hankyoreh*, February 26, 1994, 3; "N.Korea's Perception of Kim Yong Sam Administration/From Expectation to Criticism," *Hankyoreh*, October 5, 1993, 8.

### Ambivalent Attitudes toward Each Other

South Korea's change of attitude was evident as Seoul tried not only to embrace Pyongyang but also to compete against North Korea. President Roh Tae Woo attempted to reach a breakthrough that would end hostility with the North before he left office, and agreed to the cancellation of the Team Spirit military exercise and the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from the Korean peninsula. The Kim Yong Sam government, which preferred less conciliatory action than the previous approach, opposed the idea of clearing the peninsula of nuclear weapons while the threat from North still remained. As a result of the July 1993 meeting, North Korea resumed negotiations with South Korea, including talks to resume the Joint Nuclear Control Commission, which was tasked with setting up an inter-Korean bilateral nuclear inspection regime. However, after the South Korean government announced that cancellation of Team Spirit would be reconsidered, North Korea argued that holding the JNCC talks could not be compatible with the joint military exercise. Nevertheless, the US and South Korea commenced a joint military exercise "Ulji Focus Lens."

In order to prepare for a possible breakdown of the US-North Korean bilateral talks, North Korea approached South Korea with a proposal to exchange special envoys with the rank of deputy prime minister. In reaction to North Korea's positive diplomatic offensive, conservatives in South Korea called for a prudent response, because a prompt welcome of North Korea's suggestion could be viewed as a willing endorsement of North Korea's plans. South Korea did not reject North Korea's offer but argued over form, dates, and agenda, which delayed further discussions. Meanwhile, President Kim Young Sam told the press that he wanted to make clear that he refused to shake hands with any partner who had nuclear weapons,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>705</sup> On November 19, 1993, South Korean president Kim Young Sam stated, "North Korea's nuclear development should be stopped by all means." Kenneth R. Timmerman, "Recruit China to rein in North Korea," *Wall Street Journal*, Dec 20, 1993, A12.

 <sup>706 &</sup>quot;Once Team Spirit Is Resumed, N.Korea warns 'Measures for Self-Defense," Hankyoreh, January 28, 1993;
 "S.Korea Accepts S-N Talks but Refuses North Korea's Demands of Canceling Team Spirit," Hankuk Ilbo, September 2, 1993.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>707</sup> "North Hints at Possibility of Holding Inter-Korean Summit," FBIS Trends, May 26, 1993.

infuriating Pyongyang.<sup>708</sup> After the US-DPRK bilateral talks successfully ended, the scheduled June 15 meeting was canceled and South Korea's offer to meet on June 24 was rejected by North Korea, who criticized that South Korea demonstrated "undue attitude" despite North Korea's month-long patient efforts.<sup>709</sup> Therefore, President Kim, in an interview with the Washington Post on October 24, 1993, mentioned that North Korea was merely playing for time to finish its nuclear program.<sup>710</sup> South Koreans were also skeptical about the New York talks, arguing that North Korea might abuse the joint statement for its own purposes.<sup>711</sup> At a formal White House dinner, South Korean President Kim insisted issuing a joint statement less conciliatory than the previous US approach.<sup>712</sup>

Due to ambivalent feelings toward Pyongyang, Seoul's role vacillated between facilitator and hindrance for Washington's negotiations with Pyongyang. In order to lessen anxiety, South Korea activated a mechanism of identification with the US based on similar value systems. However, national sentiment and a strong feeling of attachment between the two Koreas at times drove public opinion into different directions. Within South Korea, nationalists and pro-American conservatives coexisted. Therefore, South Koreans were afraid of weakening alliance structures and seriously wanted the nuclear issue to be handled immediately, but Washington's request to push North Korea to comply with the international demand provoked anti-US sentiment. For some Koreans, US pressure was thought to be an act of provoking alienation between the two Koreas. <sup>713</sup> In a situation where the two Koreas were moving toward reconciliation and cooperation after a nonaggression declaration, the US pressure on Pyongyang seemed to cause negative effects. South Koreans raised their eyebrows when the US

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>708</sup> "Ridiculous N.Korea." *Donga Ilbo*, March 4, 1994, 3; "Executive-level Meeting and Conditions for Negotiation," *Segye Ilbo*, March 4, 1994, 3; "Special Envoy Exchange First, Possible to Resolve," *Hankyoreh*, April 9, 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>709</sup> "Premier Issues Statement on North-South Talks," *Pyongyang Korean Central Broadcasting System*, June 25, 1993. <sup>710</sup> Lally Weymouth, "Peninsula of Fear: Will North Korea Start an Asian Arms Race?" *Washington Post*, October 24, 1993. C1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>711</sup> "N.Korea to a Negotiating Table," *Seoul Shinmun*, April 2, 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>712</sup> Robert S. Greenberger, "Clinton calls on North Korea to adhere to nuclear pledges in bid to end split," *Wall Street Journal*, November 24, 1993, A6.

<sup>713 &</sup>quot;US Threatens 'Peaceful Coexistence' on the Korean peninsula," *Hankyoreh*, March 8, 1992, 2.

seemed to intervene in domestic affairs, complaining that outsiders did not understand national enthusiasm for a reconciliation and unification of the two Koreas.<sup>714</sup> Kim Yong Sam's government, claimed as the first civilian government in South Korean history, was very susceptible to shifting domestic opinion, and thus pursuing coherent policy was not easy.

### 3.2. Triangular context

The structure of enduring rivalry in which North and South Korea held each other in check complicated the triangular relations. As much as North Korea's lack of trust in its counterpart was a problem, so was South Korea's ambivalent attitude toward the US. South Korea felt both an attachment for its ally and an anxiety of abandonment. North Korea complained that South Korea was driving a wedge between Pyongyang and Washington. On the other hand, South Koreans thought North Korea's goal was to estrange Seoul from Washington. Therefore, South Korea sometimes bluntly, expressed its opposition to closer US-DPRK relations.

#### Anxiety of Diplomatic Estrangement

North Korea sought easing diplomatic relations with the US by agreeing to return US soldiers killed during the Korean War at a ninth round of diplomatic talks in Beijing on May 15, 1990.<sup>717</sup> In order to meet the preconditions for diplomatic reconciliation between the US and

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<sup>714 &</sup>quot;US Foreign Policy and the Korean peninsula at a Cross Road," *Hankyoreh*, March 11, 1992, 10.

<sup>715</sup> North Koreans argued, "S.Korea was blocking the US-DPRK talk. They are afraid of losing nuclear umbrella and chances of nuclear armament. Causes of nuclear issue come from the South." North Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs Spokesperson commented in the statement that Washington's comment on US response to North Korea's Threat to Attack S.Korea aimed to give assurance to its ally but a betrayal of its counterpart of a nuclear talk. "There Is Nothing to Be Gained from Nuclear Dispute," *Rodong Sinmun*, November 5, 1993, 5; "If the US Wishes to End the Talk, We Will No Longer Suspend Our Decision to Withdraw from the NPT," *Rodong Sinmun*, November 30, 1993, 3; "Dilemma between Nuclear Capability and Bilateral Talk/Background of N.Korea's 'Package Deal,'" *Seoul Shinmun*, November 13, 1993, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>716</sup> "Prospect of Accepting N.Korea's 'Package Deal,'/S.Korea's Position to the US-N.Korean Talk," *Seoul Shinmun*, October 24, 1993, 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>717</sup> At talks in Beijing, North Korea agreed to return the remains of US soldiers from the Korean War for the improvement of relations with the US. Yet, the channel between the US and North Korea was limited to Bejing meeting and exchange of civilians, and North Korea remained in the list of state sponsors of terrorism. "Conditions for

North Korea, Pyongyang decided to send remains of an additional thirty US soldiers in May 1992.<sup>718</sup> Kim II Sung's New Year's speech in 1994 was obviously respectful of the US, but vituperative toward the South.<sup>719</sup> Such a slow change in the relations between Pyongyang and Washington appeared to Seoul a source of anxiety of diplomatic estrangement.<sup>720</sup>

Due to the triangular relationship, the pursuit of two different goals—inter-Korean dialogue and US-North Korea talks—was unachievable. On the one hand, Pyongyang wished to deal directly with Washington, linking the issue of improving US-DPRK relations with resolving nuclear crisis. Whenever North Korea's reconciliation with South Korea was suggested by the US as one of the conditions for further talks, North Koreans have repeatedly argued that linking inter-Korean issues with a bilateral meeting between the US and North Korea would complicate matters.<sup>721</sup> On the other hand, as South Korea worried about being disadvantaged as the US engaged North Korea, the US refused to be directly involved in inter-Korean issues and let the negotiation over a nuclear-free Korean peninsula be handled by the South Korean government despite North Korea's request for Washington's participation. The US would not accept North Korea's request to take any measure that could possibly lead to any change of US-South Korea alliance structure, not only because the US had an interest in keeping a strong defense posture in times of uncertainty, but also because such an idea was strongly opposed by the South Korean government.<sup>722</sup>

For the US, providing assurance of nonaggression was not a big problem because it had made a similar statement to the newly independent state of Ukraine. However, the

Improving Relations between North Korea and the US," Segye Ilbo, May 15, 1990, 3.

<sup>718 &</sup>quot;Thirty Corps of Soldiers Killed during the Korean War/N.Korea Sends to the US this Month," Kyonghyang Shinmun, May 11, 1992, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>719</sup> Kim Il Sung emphasized that the only way to resolve nuclear issue is to holding direct dialogue with the US, while he criticized that the civilian government in the South was not different from the military regime in the past. "US is the Only Counterpart of Negotiation/Kim Il Sung's Annual Address," Donga Ilbo, January 4, 1994, 2; "Intensified Criticism on the S.Korean Government," Hankyoreh, January 6, 1994, 8; "N.Korea Changed View on S.Korean President Kim," Donga Ilbo, January 9, 1994, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>720</sup> "Emerging Blue Print of Normalization between the US and N.Korea," *Kyonghyang Shinmun*, January 10, 1994, 6; "US-N.Korea Relations 'Slow Change'/Diplomatic Relations among Ambassadors," Kukmin Ilbo, January 15, 1990, 3. 721 "S.Korea's Response to the US-N.Korea Talk," *Donga Ilbo*, January 7, 1994.

<sup>722 &</sup>quot;Summary of Comments by the US Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense at a Congressional Hearing," Seoul Shinmun, February 3, 1990, 5.

normalization issue could not be pursued without consideration of South Korea's position. The US, although rhetorically, mentioned that it would improve diplomatic relations with North Korea once Pyongyang accepted international inspection. 723 Nonetheless, North Korea's tongmi-bong-nam<sup>724</sup> strategy valued the US-North Korean relationship at the expense of South Korea's isolation. Although Pyongyang did not intend to exclude South Korea from the process, the triangular context dictated that it do so.

# Impact on Negotiations during the Nuclear Crisis

While the Geneva meeting was taking place, South Koreans who worried that Pyongyang would move forward rapidly with Washington rather than with Seoul complained that the dialogue went too far without progress in inter-Korean talks. 725 The Geneva meeting made progress on outlining the issues needed to resolve the crisis, but South Koreans worried that excessive progress was being made in US-North Korean talks despite the unstable North Korean situation. 726 The South Korean government used the death of Kim II Sung in July 1994 to show its toughness with North Korea, but such a hard-line stance could negatively affect fragile compromise in Geneva. Although the US acknowledged that explicit linkage was not the right approach, it agreed to include a commitment to restart inter-Korean dialogue in the agreement. 727 Because South Koreans leaned toward a conservative stance, North Korean delegates said that Pyongyang would not tolerate a reference to North-South dialogue.

As a result of Foreign Minister Han's efforts to persuade the Blue House, South Korea agreed to fund the light-water reactor project if South Korean companies could play a major role. Although North Koreans eventually accepted the project that appeared to be multilateral

"US Considers Improving Relations with N.Korea/Assistant Secretary Solomon," Kyunghyang Shinmun, June 9,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>724</sup> North Korea employed a so-called "tong-mi-bong-nam" strategy which literally means "contact America and contain South Korea" as an effort to drive a wedge in the South Korea-US alliance.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>725</sup> "US-North Korea Agreement and S.Korea's Countermeasures," *Hankuk Ilbo*, August 15, 1994, 3.

<sup>726 &</sup>quot;Conflicting Policy on DPRK-US ties Alleged," *Joongang Ilbo*, August 21, 1994, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>727</sup> Joel S. Wit, Daniel B. Poneman, and Robert L. Gallucci, *Going Critical: The First North Korean Nuclear Crisis* (Washington: Brookings Institute Press, 2004), 268.

but drew almost totally from the South Korean model, they have long insisted that building South Korean reactors would not be politically acceptable. Since the project might not be insulated from the ups and downs of inter-Korean politics, North Koreans worried that the KEDO (Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization)<sup>728</sup> project would be a "Trojan Horse." North Korea's was anxious that South Korea would continue to drive a wedge between Washington and Pyongyang by taking advantage of the role in providing the lightwater reactors. North Koreans blamed South Korea for getting in the way of the Geneva talks and began to search for another reactor. In short, the intricate relationship intensified North Korea's perception of an unfavorable negotiation environment. The problem of this triangular relationship was that North Korea viewed Washington to be standing by South Korea for its own political interests, taking advantage of the delayed resolution of nuclear issues. <sup>731</sup>

### 4. Antagonism IV: Fixed Image and Collective Action

Negative image was a prism through which predictions about the analysis of North Korea's nuclear program and North Korea's commitment to comply with safeguard obligations were projected. Isolation of North Korea from the international community was inevitable; the international community was replacing the old enemy with a new source of threat in the post-Cold War environment. Since having an enemy to oneself is a mark of distinction, the rogue state in the international system became a source of disorder and a threat against public order. Because identification is intersubjectively constructed, the existence of "evil regime" that replaced the Soviet Empire was inevitably constitutive to identify the community of liberal

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>728</sup> The Main role of KEDO are the financing and supply of a LWR project; the supply of interim energy alternatives; the implementation of any other measures deemed necessary to accomplish the objectives of the Agreed Framework. KEDO Secretariat, Reactor Project, accessed March 11, 2001, http://www.KEDO.org.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>729</sup> "US, Concession at the Nuclear Talk/S.Korea's Views Were Almost Neglected," *Segye Ilbo*, October 14, 1994, 3. <sup>730</sup> "North Korea Reaffirms It Will Never Allow Special Nuclear Inspections," *North Korea News*, no. 750, August 29, 1994

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>731</sup> North Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesperson said, "US is unnecessarily questioning North Korea's nuclear program for its political bargain with South Korea." "US Should Stop Taking Advantage of Nuclear Issue for its Political Purpose," *Rodong Shunmun*, December 14, 4.

states. On the other hand, the mechanism of a delusional remolding of reality is part of the policy decision-making process through which states attempt to procure a certainty of their rationality. The process are also process through which states attempt to procure a certainty of their rationality. The process are also process at the last bastion of Stalinism had influence on the process of judgment. Regardless of what has been argued and presented, North Korea's nuclear ambition became a *fait accompli*. Therefore, strong aversion to a taboo violator precluded the chance of sensing positive signals from Pyongyang while further consolidating its negative image.

### 4.1. Pride and Prejudice

### Negative Image of North Korea

The tendency to seek reference to the past plays a critical role in directing an actor's cognitive picture of the other, and North Korea's actions during the nuclear crisis were viewed within a long-held framework. As Litwak notes, once a state has been relegated to the status of rogue, it is difficult to change that image.<sup>734</sup> Indeed, North Korea's image as an "irrational pariah" state fixated such prediction that North Korea would take sudden, unanticipated actions

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>732</sup> Sigmund Freud, Civilization and Its Discontents. Trans., James Strachey (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1961), 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>733</sup> Hazel Smith, "Bad, Mad, Sad or Rational Actor? Why the 'Securitization' Paradigm Makes for Poor Policy Analysis of North Korea," *International Affairs* 76, no. 3 (2000): 593-617.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>734</sup> Robert S. Litwak, *Rogue States and US Foreign Policy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 9.

and provoke militarized disputes.<sup>735</sup> A history of confrontation between North Korea and the US (acting as an ally of South Korea) fixed a negative image of North Korea. Because of the relationship between North Korea and America's foes—the Soviet Union and China—during the Cold War, the enemy image has long been held by US policy makers. North Korea was part of "communist aggression in Asia," and North Koreans were viewed as "ruthless invaders" and "task masters" that would undermine the 1953 armistice by seeking to create dissonance and assassination of the South Korean leadership.<sup>736</sup> In the early 1990s when US focus moved to rogue states after winning the Cold War, the US viewed nuclear threats from North Korea through the lens of an emerging rogue state. For Congressional members, North Korea, unlike other Soviet satellite states, seemed to seek to develop nuclear arms.<sup>737</sup> Therefore, North Korea's aggressive attempt to attack South Korea constructed an unshakable belief that North Korea would use nuclear weapons against South Korea.<sup>738</sup>

Although North Korea had signaled that it dropped the idea to communize the entire Korean peninsula, it did not eliminate the image of a "revisionist state". North Korea was responsible for several belligerent behaviors toward South Korea. Whether or not such incidents were related to North Korea's enduring competition for the acknowledgement of being the sole legitimate regime on the Korean peninsula, North Korea's attempt to take

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>735</sup> Hajime Izumi, "North Korea and the Changes in Eastern Europe," *Korean Studies*, 16 (1992): 1-12; Tong Whan Park, "Issues of Arms Control Between the Two Koreas," *Asian Survey* 32, no. 4 (April 1992), 353.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>736</sup> UN Representative of the US, Arthur Goldberg, cited in *Department of State Bulletin*, January 1968; "Address by President Johnson," *Department of State Bulletin*, January 26, 1968.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>737</sup> Alan Cranston, Senate Hearing, March 13, 1992

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>738</sup> Stephen Solarz, Congressional Records, February 4, 1992.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>739</sup> A US defense official commented that North Korea's approach to the unification is that: "There could be a unification within the next three years. Or there could be war." However, Yoon Ki Bok, Chair of KWP Committee for Peaceful Reunification mentioned that North Korea gave up aims to liberalize the South from Capitalism. "N.Korea, Strongly Wishes to Normalize Relations with the US/Interview with Kim Il Sung," *Donga Ilbo*, April 16, 1992, 1; Jeffrey Smith, "N.Korean Strongman: 'Crazy' or Canny? *Washington Post*, September 26, 1993; Moon Young Huh and Mun Yong Ho, *North Korea's Negotiation Behavior toward South Korea* (Seoul: Korea Institute for National Unification, 2006), 17-18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>740</sup> North Korea dispatched armed spies to Blue House in vain on January 21, 1968. The Korean Air 858 Bombing on November 29, 1987 was designed to distract attention from Seoul's holding of Olympic Game. Officials in Seoul speculated that a bomb was planted by North Korean agents in order to make provocative moves to obstruct the upcoming presidential election and the Olympics. Chae Jin Lee, *A Troubled Peace: US Policy and the Two Koreas* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 128-129; "The Mystery of Flight 858," *The Time*, December 14, 1987, accessed March 24, 2011, http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,966262,00.html.

advantage of instability in South Korea was undeniable.<sup>741</sup> Therefore, some portrayed North Korea as a "belligerent rogue regime" or an "organized gang," one of the tyrannical mass-murdering regimes of the twentieth century along with Adolf Hitler's Germany, Stalin's Russia, Mao Zedong's China and Pol Pot's Cambodia.<sup>742</sup> Others believed that North Korea, falling far behind the South in almost every dimension, must be motivated to be belligerent.<sup>743</sup> In fact, the growth rate of North Korea's overall military capabilities began to decrease in the 1980s, and its slowdown was apparent before the nuclear crisis began.<sup>744</sup> Therefore, many believed that North Korea would replicate the horrors of the past by developing unconventional military capability. Hence, many in the US concluded that "the best way to stop aggression is through firmness and strength."<sup>745</sup>

Besides, the image of illiberal regime, a state with a notorious reputation for holding the most egregious human rights record in Asia unlike other states that supported the rule of law, marred North Korea's image. While the US was perceived as a beacon of light that would "stand with the forces of liberty," North Korea had to be changed by eliminating the dictator from the last remaining communist state. Therefore, the image of North Korea as a "less than developed state" shaped US perception that Pyongyang lacked reliability, rejected adherence to international norms, and desired a conflictual international system. Very few commented on the likelihood of North Korea's use of nuclear weapons, but many discussed North Korea in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>741</sup> President Chun began his first official visit to six countries in South Asia and Oceania and Burma(Myanmar) was the first place to stop. On October 9, 1983, the North Korean terrorist bombing occurred. Chun's government was responsible for Kwangju Incident from May 18, 1980 to May 27, 1980. North Korea was responsible for the assassination of seventeen South Koreans including three cabinet members during President Chun's first official visit to South Asia during the time when Chun's administration notorious for seizing power by a military coup and accused of flagrant violation of human rights law was losing popularity among South Korean people. Juergen Kleiner, *Korea, A Century of Change* (London: World Scientific Publishing Co. Ltd., 2001), 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>742</sup> William C. Triplett, *Rogue State: How a Nuclear North Korea Threatens America* (Washington: Regnery Publishing, 2004), 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>743</sup> Norman Levin, "Global Détente and North Korea's Strategic Relations," *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis* 2, no. 1 (Summer 1990): 33-54; Leonard S. Spector and Jacqueline R. Smith, "North Korea: The Next Nuclear Nightmare?" *Arms Control Today* 21, no. 2 (March 1991).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>744</sup> Korea Institute for Defense Analyses, *Military Capabilities in North East Asia*, (Seoul: KIDA Press, 2004).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>745</sup> Statement by Senator Robert Dole, Congressional Record, June 16, 1994, S6999.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>746</sup> Orin Hatch, Congressional Records, September 8, 1992.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>747</sup> Stephen Solarz, House Hearing, July 8, 1992; Helms, Senate Hearing, January 13, 1993.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>748</sup> John McCain, Congressional Records, January 1, 1992.

terms of a "despotic" and "totalitarian" regime with an inferior system, and an "evil" regime carrying out arms trade. Because of such pre-determined images of North Korea, aversion to North Korea's non-Western, illiberal system complicated US attitudes toward North Korea when dealing with nuclear issues.

#### Assessment Based On Preconception

Assessment of North Korea's nuclear weapons capability was often misguided by preexisting conceptions. Since North Korea's nuclear program was largely unknown to the public and speculations were mostly based on presumptions, the presented scenarios varied greatly. South Korean media reported that North Korea was capable of producing nuclear weapons by the end of 1990. On the contrary, the US State Department denied reports that North Korea was capable of producing nuclear weapons within several months. A report to the Defense Committee in South Korea's National Assembly expected that North Korea would complete the construction of a plutonium reprocessing facility by the end of 1990, while the US State Department commented that there was evidence that North Korea completed reprocessing facilities in April 1990.

Prior to IAEA inspection, CIA director Robert Gates mentioned in his testimony at a Senate hearing that North Korea's nuclear program was so advanced that it could produce a nuclear weapon in as little as two months. Right after North Korea invited Hans Blix to view its nuclear facilities, the International Institute for Strategic Studies reported that North Korea had almost completed the development of a nuclear bomb even though it accepted international

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>749</sup> "Estimation of N.Korea's Plutonium Production Differs Ten Times/Conflicting Prediction of 'N.Korean Nuclear Capaility,'" *Hankyoreh*, June 11, 1992, 5.

<sup>750 &</sup>quot;N.Korea Can Manufacture Nuclear Weapons within a Year," *Chosun Ilbo*, June 18, 1990, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>751</sup> "US Denies N.Korea's Possession of Nuclear Weapons," *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, June 19, 1990, 2; "N.Korea's Development of Nuclear Weapons, Very Skeptical," *Joongang Ilbo*, June 20, 1990, 2.

<sup>752 &</sup>quot;N.Korea Completed Reprocessing Facilities," *Chosun Ilbo*, April 15, 1990, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>753</sup> "US, N.Korea Different Views Confirmed/Implication of the First High-Level Talk," *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, January 24, 1992, 3; Rupert Cornwell and Michael Wise, "Pyongyang 'Months off Nuclear Bomb," *The Independent*, February 26, 1992, 10.

inspections.<sup>754</sup> In May 1992, *The New York Times* reported the possibility that North Korea had an underground tunnel through which nuclear-related materials could have been moved.<sup>755</sup> In June 1992, *The Washington Post* raised suspicions that the IAEA inspection was improperly used to cover up North Korea's secret nuclear program.<sup>756</sup> SIPRI also reported that North Korea had the capacity to build 4-7 nuclear weapons by the end of 1995. Gerald Sigal, Senior Fellow for Asian Security at the IISS, told the South Korean media that North Korea must be hiding its plutonium production for building bombs.<sup>757</sup> Even after diplomatic efforts were sought, uncertainties lingered over North Korean nuclear intentions and thus North Korea's "nuclear ambition" was taken as a *fait accompli*.<sup>758</sup>

Actual findings of North Korea's nuclear program were not exactly what was predicted. The first and second IAEA inspections proved that North Korea's nuclear program was not as serious as expected. David Kyd, IAEA spokesman, said that the IAEA disagreed with CIA reports that North Korea would be able to produce a nuclear weapon in the near future. Hans Blix testified that the IAEA could find no evidence to prove that North Korea was developing enrichment uranium technology in July 1992. According to the IAEA Director General Hans Blix, North Korea allowed IAEA inspectors to visit all the declared nuclear facilities, and the IAEA confirmed that North Korea had stopped the construction of an alleged nuclear reprocessing plant. North Korea stopped constructing the facilities in Yongbyon when the IAEA inspections began. In February 1993, the Soviet Union confirmed in an official statement that

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>754</sup> "N.Korea Nuclear Program, Grave Threat to the International Security/Military Options Are Examined," *Segye Ilbo*, May 22, 1992, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>755</sup> "Yongbyon Underground Tunnel Confirmed/NYT/Undeniable Evidence of Nuclear Weapons Program," *Kyonghyang Shinmun*, May 18, 1992, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>756</sup> "N.Korea Ended Nuclear Inspection/IAEA/WP Warns Means to Avoid 'Hidden Program'" *Kukmin Ilbo*, June 6, 1992, 1.

<sup>757 &</sup>quot;End of Negotiation on N.Korean Nuclear Issues/Interview with Dr. Sigal," Donga Ilbo, October 20, 1993, 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>758</sup> Stephen Solarz, Congressional Records, February 2, 1992.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>759</sup> "No Evidence of N.Korea's Nuclear Weapons Program/IAEA Director General Report on the 3<sup>rd</sup> IAEA Inspection in N.Korea," *Hankyoreh*, September 17, 1992, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>760</sup> Roland Prinz, "UN Agency Report: North Korea Not Close to Making Nuclear Bomb," *Associated Press*, June 15, 1992.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>761</sup> "N.Korea Allows Unlimited Access to IAEA Inspectors/IAEA Director General Blix Comments on a US House of Representatives Hearing," *Hankyoreh*, July 24, 1992, 4.

there were no nuclear weapons in North Korea, explaining that Pyongyang had encountered technical difficulties with extracting plutonium.<sup>762</sup> China's Energy Ministry also mentioned that there was no evidence that North Korea was building facilities to produce nuclear weapons.<sup>763</sup> After the March 1994 inspection ended, the IAEA found out that no reprocessing had taken place since the August 1993 visit.<sup>764</sup> However, the IAEA was discontent about North Korea's uncooperative attitude, and this important finding was overshadowed by IAEA's decision to hold a special session to discuss unsatisfactory inspection results.

# Tendency to Continue Construction of Beliefs

Because North Korea's negative image was so grave, the fact that North Korea had at times responded with a positive attitude received little attention. At the beginning of the US-North Korean negotiations, North Koreans emphasized that they would never commit themselves to manufacturing nuclear weapons if the US stopped threatening North Korea. In October 1991, Kim Yong Sun, the Worker's Party secretary for international affairs, mentioned that North Korea was "ready to begin international inspection even tomorrow" once the US responded to North Korea's proposal for denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. In January 1992, Kim II Sung, in his New Year's speech, refrained from criticizing the US and expressed high hopes for normalizing relations with the US and having a US Embassy in Pyongyang. He stressed that North Korea was ready to be a part of the international economy and to build constructive relations with other states. Kim II Sung ordered citizens to stop

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>762</sup> "Interview with Bajim Trachenko," *Hankyoreh*, October 19, 1993, 8.

<sup>763 &</sup>quot;China Denies N.Korea's Construction of Nuclear Weapons Facilities," Joongang Ilbo, March 2, 1990, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>764</sup> Carol Giacomo, "US Says N.Korea Did not Cooperate on Inspections," *Reuters*, March 15, 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>765</sup> Joel S. Wit, Daniel B. Poneman, and Robert L. Gallucci, *Going Critical: The First North Korean Nuclear Crisis* (Washington: Brookings Institute Press, 2004), 53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>766</sup> "Removal of Nuclear Weapons in the South as a Conditions for Denuclearization/N.Korea Indicates Acceptance of International Safeguard Inspection," *Hankyoreh*, October 1, 1991, 2; "N.Korea Suggests Nuclear Talk to the US/Kim Yong Sun, N.Korea Party Secretary," *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, October 2, 1991, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>767</sup> "N.Korea, Strongly Wishes to Normalize Relations with the US/Interview with Kim Il Sung," *Donga Ilbo*, April 16, 1992, 1.

criticizing the US and holding anti-US rallies in July 1992.<sup>768</sup> After the New York Channel meeting in June 1993, North Korea toned down its rhetoric toward the US and refrained from doing rallies during that year's "month for the anti-US joint struggle." Change of rhetoric was followed by positive actions, which included returning the remains of US soldiers killed during the Korean War and renouncing support of international terrorism.

However, during the period between North Korea's signing of the IAEA safeguard and its acceptance of the IAEA inspectors on the ground, a flurry of reports suspecting North Korea's secret nuclear weapons program came out, calling for international pressure on North Korea. The delay of a ratification of the safeguard agreement was partly due to a matter of administrative procedure, because ratification could be done by North Korea's Supreme Peoples Assembly, normally held once a year. In February 1992, North Korean Ambassador to the IAEA Oh Chang Rim mentioned that the safeguard agreement would be ratified when the Assembly was held in April and provided a more detailed timeline the next month. However, a senior official in the US State Department mentioned that North Korea's argument could not be trusted unless the inspection teams were to be granted unlimited access to anywhere in North Korea, and some member of the Congress suggested that the US might have to use force to coerce North Korea to allow international inspections, which North Korea called "absurd"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>768</sup> "Kim Il Sung Ordered to Stop Anti-US Rally/Kim Il Sung-Tylor Dialogue," *Hankuk Ilbo*, July 2, 1992, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>769</sup> Pyongyang saved sensitive words such as "US imperialists." North Koreas Official Newspaper *Rodon Shinmun* saved aggressive remarks toward the US and instead appealed to improving relations between the US and North Korea, showing obvious difference in rhetoric within a year. "Change of N.Korea's Attitude toward the US Is Noticeale," *Seoul Shinmun*, July 6, 1992, 2; Warren Strobel, "North Korea Is to Please US, Cancels Rallies," *Washington Times*, June 23, 1993.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>770</sup> North Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs opposed 'all kinds of terrorism' in an official statement when the UN passed resolution on Libya. "Lee Sam Ro Acknowledges 'Presence of USFK'/ Significance of his Remarks," *Hankyoreh*, June 25, 1992, 3; "DPRK Returning US Remains Positive," *Yonhap News*, July 9, 1993.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>771</sup> Kim II Sung mentioned that only procedural matters were left before ratification. He was positive about implementing the international inspections, although he hoped that inspecions should be implemented in a fair manner. "Only Procedural Matters Are Left/Interview with Kim II Sung," *Seoul Shinmun*, April 2, 1992, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>772</sup> In practice, it passes all proposals by the government into law during its sessions. However, according to the Constitution of North Korea, the Assembly is the highest organ of state power and officially exercises power to adopt, and amend state policy. Yonhap Tongsin, *North Korea Handbook* (New York: An East Gate Book, 2003), 117-118.
<sup>773</sup> In February, he mentioned that the safeguard agreement would be ratified in early April, and that there is no

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>173</sup> In February, he mentioned that the safeguard agreement would be ratified in early April, and that there is no possibility that it would be rejected. He reconfirmed the timeline in March. "N.Korea Ratifies Safeguard Agreement in April, Accepts Inspection in June," *Joongang Ilbo*, February 26, 1992; "N.Korea Ratifies Safeguard Agreement in June," *Kukmin Ilbo*, March 9, 1992.

remarks."<sup>774</sup> US Ambassador to South Korea Donald Gregg stated that North Korea might have relocated nuclear installations out of Yongbyon.<sup>775</sup> US Assistant Secretary of Defense James Lilley mentioned that the UN might have to become involved.<sup>776</sup>

Lack of information did not mean lack of confidence in North Korea's compliance; however, the possibility of hiding nuclear activities was thought to be a highly likely scenario because North Korea was a "closed society where nobody has ever visited." South Korea and the US suspected that North Korea hid its nuclear program before the IAEA inspection, and held a meeting to discuss comprehensive measurements immediately after the inspection ended.<sup>777</sup> Some predicted North Korea's intentions before the IAEA analyzed the data from its inspections. 778 Others raised the issue of IAEA's incompetency to discover North Korea's nuclear program and held a meeting in order to take actions before the IAEA report came out. It proposed a series of actions that had been suspended during the inspection, which included resumption of the Team Spirit joint military exercise, suspension of economic cooperation, complete blockade of North Korea's weapons export, and embargo of the oil supply and technical assistance from China and Russia. 779 Before the IAEA inspection took place in March 1994, the US had warned that it would bring the issue to the UN and engage in military actions. State Department Spokeswoman Christine Shelly and Assistant Secretary of the States for East Asia and the Pacific Winston Lord mentioned that the North Korean nuclear issue would soon be brought to the UNSC, although he mentioned that there was no definite timeline. 780 While

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>774</sup> "President Bush Warns 'Rapid Reconciliation between Two Koreas,'/ NYT Report," *Donga Ilbo*, January 7, 1992, 4; "N.Korea's Nuclear Weapons Development Should be Deterred/Military Options Are on the Tale/Congressman Solarz," *Segye Ilbo*, March 14, 1992, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>775</sup> Cayman Kim, "US Steps Up Pressure on North Korean Nuclear Plan," *Japan Economic Newswire*, March 7, 1992.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>776</sup> "Seoul Accuses North Korea of Stalling Nuclear Inspections," *Associated Press*, March 4, 1992.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Evidence of N.Korean Hidden Nuclear Program/S.Korean Government Discusses Emergency Measures Next Week," *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, June 7, 1992, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>778</sup> "N.Korea Criticizes US Congressman Solarz," *Hankyoreh*, March 11, 1992, 2; "N.Korean Nuclear Issue/Prejudice Needs to be Avoided/Former Congressman Visits Pyongyang," *Hankyoreh*, July 28, 1992, 2.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Daily Examination of Preparation/S.Korean Government Meeting," *Kukmin Ilbo*, June 4, 1994, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>780</sup> "If N.Korea Refuses Inspection, North Korean Nuclear Issue Will Go to the UNSC/US State Department," *Hankyoreh*, January 26, 1994, 2; "If Inspection Does not Take Place within a Month, UN Sanction Will be Unavoidable/US State Department," *Hankyoreh*, January 27, 1994, 1; "N.Korea's Refusal to Accept Inspection Will Bring About Collective Actions at the UN/US Senior Official Comments," *Seoul Shinmun*, March 1, 1992, 1; "If

IAEA inspections were taking place, one US official mentioned that economic sanctions would be the next step if North Korea did not wholeheartedly cooperate with the IAEA.<sup>781</sup>

In short, due to the preconceived image of North Korea, Pyongyang's actions during the nuclear crisis were viewed within a long-held framework throughout the crisis. Therefore, such a preexisting conception ensured its continuation by exerting influence on the assessment of North Korea's nuclear weapons capability and the international reaction to signs of North Korea's uncooperative attitudes.

# 4.2. Fear of Contagion and exclusion

# Fear of Contagion

The international community feared a spillover effect of North Korea's noncompliant actions, which could create a proliferation chain reaction. Those who worried about potential damages to the nonproliferation regime warned that taboo violation, once attempted by Iraq, was imitated by North Korea, and would be followed by others reconsidering their options. Not all equated North Korea to Iraq, but indeed Iraq was often used as a prototype to describe threats from North Korea, and many thought North Korea as more of a threat to nuclear development than Iraq in terms of developing clandestine activities. Therefore, North Korea was perceived to be "the greatest threat in Northeast Asia" and "probably the gravest current concern." After North Korea's withdrawal announcement, the international community worried that North Korea's withdrawal could trigger further defections from the treaty by setting a precedent for other states. North Korea's action could also provoke its neighboring states to pursue nuclear weapons of their own. Besides, a North Korean nuclear crisis could

N.Korea Refuses Inspection, UNSC Sanctions Will be Followed/WP Calls for Collective Security Measures," *Hankuk Ilo*, March 2, 1992, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>781</sup> "If IAEA Inspections Are Insufficient, UN Will Take Political and Economic Measures/US Official Comments," *Hankuk Ilbo*, May 10, 1992, 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>782</sup> Some US representatives observed that North Korea could be after Iraq and Libya in the rank order of importance. Roth, Congressional Records, February 16, 1993; Cranston, Congressional Records, February 6, 1992.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>783</sup> Joseph Biden, Senate Hearing, March 13, 1992; James Woolsey, Senate Hearing, February 24, 1993.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>784</sup> Stephen Solarz, House Hearing, July 22, 1992.

trigger movement of Soviet scientists seeking jobs in new places.<sup>785</sup> Washington believed North Korea would consider selling nuclear material on the open market to anyone with enough money.<sup>786</sup> *The New York Times* warned, "now that one country has pulled out of the treaty, others obviously can begin to think about it."<sup>787</sup> Such fear caused sensitive reactions in the international community, and a more provocative counter-reaction from Pyongyang.

Because its sudden regime demise seemed to be a likely scenario, nuclear material in the hands of an unstable regime in North Korea was perceived to be a disabling factor in regional and international security. In March 1990, Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney commented that North Korea's unpredictability posed a serious threat, and Pyongyang's nuclear program development added insecurity to East Asia. The US Security Strategy for the Asia-Pacific region stressed that North Korea's threat to South Korea would continue even though contention over North Korea's nuclear program was being resolved. In June 1992, US Ambassador to South Korea Donald Gregg confirmed the report of US intelligence on plutonium-related suspicious activities in Yonbyon got more media focus. A congressional report submitted on July 28, 1992 specified that North Korea was the greatest threat to security in North East Asia. In June 1993, the DoD's Asia-Pacific Strategy Report noted that North Korea was the utmost destabilizing factor in East Asia because of uncertainty related to North Korea's nuclear program and political change. In November 22, 1993, Warren Christopher, US Secretary of State, pointed out that North Korea was the most dangerous place in the world

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>785</sup> Betty Sims, Congressional Records, February 3, 1992.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>786</sup> Ashton B. Carter and William J. Perry, *Preventive Defense: A New Security Security for America* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1999), 131.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>787</sup> David E. Sanger, "The Nonproliferation Treaty Bares its Toothlessness," New York Times, March 14, 1993, 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>788</sup> "N.Korea, Spreads Anxiety in the East Asia," *Chosun Ilbo*, March 3, 1990, 1; "N.Korea's Nuclear Development Plan," *Chosun Ilbo*, March 3, 1990, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>789</sup> "Trucks Reported Hauling From A-Site," *Washington Post*, February 28, 1992, A29; "N.Korea Nuclear Weapons Development, Unclear/Interview with US Ambassador Gregg," *Hankyoreh*, June 23, 1992, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>790</sup> Department of Defense, *A Strategic Framework for the Asian Pacific Rim: Report to Congress* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1992); "US, Suggests Principles of East Asia Strategy Initiative/DoD Report to the US Congress," *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, July 30, 1992, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>791</sup> "N.Korean Nuclear Program Is the Greatest Threat to Peace in the North East Asia/Report of the US DoD Report," *Segye Ilbo*, July 30, 1992, 5.

in terms of nuclear proliferation.<sup>792</sup> In January 1994, Defense Intelligence Agency Director James Clapper also mentioned that North Korea would be the greatest danger to the US national interest until the mid 1990s.<sup>793</sup> The IISS reported, in the Military Balance 1993-1994, that North Korea's nuclear capacity threatened not only regional stability, but also international nuclear nonproliferation efforts.<sup>794</sup>

#### Collective Action

The fear of contagion caused collective action, which shaped North Korea's perception of hostility. Since North Korea's withdrawal from the NPT was considered a violation of nuclear taboo, the international community promptly responded with collective actions. Therefore, North Korea's observance of its NPT obligation was treated as international security issue. Many argued that North Korea could threaten to destabilize not only the Korean peninsula but also all of Northeast Asia. When the IAEA mentioned significant discrepancy in the initial report, the G8 discussed North Korea's nuclear program, calling for a special inspection on North Korea and North-South mutual inspections. After North Korea's withdrawal announcement, one hundred and forty countries issued statements denouncing North Korea's decision. The US had forged a multilateral coalition in opposition to Pyongyang to pass a UN resolution that would increase pressure on Pyongyang. There were some discussions over the option of UN sanctions, including not only punitive sanctions but also surgical air strikes. The UN decision showed the determination of the international community that any roguish behavior would be met by correction of a certain kind. The message was that any state

<sup>792 &</sup>quot;Secretary Christopher Address to the APEC," Hankyoreh, November 22, 1993, 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>793</sup> "Background and Implication of US Patriot Missile Deployment to S.Korea," *Hankyoreh*, January 28, 1994, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>794</sup> "IISS 'Asia Military Balance," *Donga Ilbo*, October 21, 1993, 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>795</sup> Curtis H. Martin, "Rewarding North Korea: Theoretical Perspectives on the 1994 Agreed Framework," *Journal of Peace Research* 39, no. 1(2002): 51-68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>796</sup> "G7, Strongly Asks Mutual Inspection/ Presidential Statement," Segye Ilbo, July 8, 1992, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>797</sup> "International Community Calls for Coercive Actions on N.Korea/UNSC Deliberates on Resolution," *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, May 9, 1993, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>798</sup> Han S. Park, North Korea: Ideology, Politics, Economy (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prince-Hall, 1995), 228-230.

disturbing international peace and order would not go unpunished. The IAEA passed a resolution that called on North Korea to cooperate immediately with the Agency on the last day of the 37<sup>th</sup> General Conference on October 3, 1993. North Korea was accused of "failure to discharge its safeguards obligations and widening the area of noncompliance by not accepting scheduled Agency ad hoc and routine inspections as required by the safeguards agreement."

Fear of taboo violation led to a general understanding that the international community should speak with one voice. Even China publicly said that its abstention on the proposed resolution did not reflect opposition to the will of the international community. China would not agree to any form of economic sanction against North Korea or to any pressure from the United Nations. Eeijing opposed the deployment of Patriot missiles to the South and the resumption of Team Spirit, and even argued that North Korea's withdrawal from NPT might not be sufficient for imposing international sanctions. However, China expressed that North Korea's nuclear weapons program was not in China's best interest, did not oppose issuing a Security Council presidential statement at the UN. The Soviet Union has also been cooperative since the beginning of the crisis, pressuring North Korea to accept full-scope safeguards, cutting all Soviet supplies to North Korea, and halting exports of nuclear equipment and technology to North Korea. The Soviet Union warned that it might sever all ties with Pyongyang unless North Korea permitted full inspection. The Soviets' interest was to build better ties with prosperous South Korea and discount any suspicion that it had provided North

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>799</sup> "US-DPRK Talks to Follow UN Act," Yonhap News, April 29, 1993.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>800</sup> Byung-Jong Lee, "Right Back Where We Started from," *Business Korea* 11, no. 10 (April 1994): 19; Don Oberdorfer, *Washington Post*, November 27 1991, A19.

<sup>801</sup> Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen says that a nuclear weapons program on the Korean Peninsula is not in China's best interest. Kenneth R. Timmerman, Recruit China to rein in North Korea, Wall Street Journal, Dec 20, 1993, A12; George D. Moffett and Peter Grier, Christian Science Monitor, April 29 1992, 3; Mark Hibbs and Naoaki Usui, Nucleonics Week, August 15, 1991, 14-16; William Rusher, Washington Times, November 20, 1991, F3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>802</sup> Vladlen A. Martynof of the Soviet Academy of Sciences announces that all Soviet supplies to North Korea will be cut if IAEA inspections continue to be denied in April 1991. Mark Hibbs and Naoaki Usui, *Nucleonics Week*, April 18, 1991, 8-9; David A. Sanger, *New York Times*, April 16, 1991, A3; George Leopold and Naoaki Usui, *Defense News*, May 27, 1991, 4, 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>803</sup> Leonard S. Spector, "The North Korean Nuclear Threat," Wall Street Journal, Apr 19, 1991, A14.

# Korea with plutonium. 804

Reactions to North Korea's noncompliance were discussed in light of punishment, and those who supported engagement policy were criticized for "becoming a coconspirator with North Korean leader Kim Il Sung" in dragging out diplomatic talks. <sup>805</sup> The prevalent expectation was that international community should be prepared to take punitive actions in case any insincerity were to be found in the report. <sup>806</sup> International response to North Korea's action was considered an effort to make North Korea "sane again." <sup>807</sup> President Bush announced that curbing proliferation of nuclear material and nuclear weapons would be tackled by international action including UNSC sanctions. <sup>808</sup> US policy makers suggested that the US should act multilaterally with other states to determine the best actions against North Korea. <sup>809</sup> The US warned that it would take punitive action in a collective manner if North Korea violated a safeguards agreement with the IAEA. When the IAEA and the US held a joint hearing in order to take coordinated action in July 1992, some IAEA officials commented that more strong actions in the form of IAEA special inspections and other compulsory measures by the UN were discussed because North Korea had shown practices of delaying ratification and acceptance of the international safeguards. <sup>810</sup>

#### Counter-reaction

It should be noted that the afterimage of the Gulf War traumatized Pyongyang, since North Korea witnessed US military operations during Desert Storm. The implications of the Gulf War heightened attention among North Koreans who faced daily reports on strengthened

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>804</sup> Vladimir Orlov, "Nuclear Program in North Kroae and Iran: Assessing Russia's Position," PONARS Policy Memo, Center for Policy Studies in Russia, 178, November 2000, 2.

<sup>805</sup> Statement by Senator John McCain, Congressional Record, June 23, 1994, S7497.statement

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>806</sup> "Information about N.Korean Nuclear Facilities/Possibility of False Intelligence/LA Times," *Kukmin Ilbo*, January 21, 1992, 2.

<sup>\*\*</sup>SDF Head Opposes Foreign Pressure on DPRK," *Kyodo News*, March 18, 1993.

<sup>808 &</sup>quot;US Hints UN Sanctions/President Bush Statement," Seoul Shinmun, July 15, 1992, 1.

<sup>809</sup> Woolsey, Senate Hearing, February 24, 1992.

<sup>810 &</sup>quot;US, IAEA Discuss Joint Action/US-IAEA Joint Hearing," Donga Ilbo, July 21, 1992, 2.

arguments in favor of preventive measures to forestall North Korea's development of nuclear weapons capability.<sup>811</sup> Some worried that North Korea, after the Gulf War, might be the next target of the US military action.<sup>812</sup> At a US-DPRK meeting in July 1993, North Korean delegates emphasized that North Korea is not "Iraq" and expressed concerns about America's next move. Besides, North Koreans were cautious about the possibility that the Libyan case of Pan Am 103 and the related Security Council Resolution could have repercussions.<sup>813</sup>

The American military buildup and mobilization of multilateral support on international sanctions was seen as a preparation for a second Korean War in the eyes of North Koreans. When reports on the US military preparation came out, North Korea warned that the US had no reason to attack nuclear facilities in North Korea, and, if attacks occurred, the US would be accused of provoking war on the Korean peninsula. In May 1993, *KCNA* argued that its decision to withdraw from the NPT was not a matter to be discussed at the UNSC. In October 1993, Kim Kwang Seop, North Korean envoy in Vienna, warned that the IAEA and the forty-six states that collectively proposed the resolution were responsible for the future outcome. In January 1994, North Korea complained that the US has been leading the international pressure on North Korea after intentionally delaying bilateral negotiations until the batteries of surveillance cameras ran out with an intention to press with additional inspections.

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<sup>811 &</sup>quot;Multifaceted Pressure on N.Korea/WP Analysis of Counter-measures," Donga Ilbo, April 22, 1992, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>812</sup> Colin Powell, in a Congressional hearing, asserted that the US should maintain its world leadership in resolving global issues. "US Military Strategy Targeting 'new evil'/Correspondent Report," *Hankyoreh*, April 7, 1992, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>813</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 748 on Lybia was passed on March 31, 1992. UN Security Council, Resolution 748, S/RES/748, March 31, 1992, accessed July 2, 2011,

http://www.terrorismcentral.com/Library/NGOs/UnitedNations/SecurityCouncilRes/UN748.html.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>814</sup> "Attacks on Nuclear Facilities Means Provocation of War/N.Korean Ambassador to China," *Seoul Shinmun*, March 17, 1992, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>815</sup> Korean Central News Agency argues, "The nuclear issue is not something that should be discussed at the UNSC, and there is no legal ground for adopting resolution on North Korea." "KNCA, 'Cannot Tolerate Violation of National Sovereignty,'/Kim Il Sung Comments," *Hankyoreh*, May 13, 1993, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>816</sup> Against these collective actions, North Koreans argued, "Some states in the West and their followers are seemingly pursuing settlement of the nuclear issue, but they are plotting to harm us." "IAEA Asks N.Korea to Implement Safeguard Agreement/IAEA General Conference," *Hankyoreh*, October 3, 1993, 3; "Statement of the Foreign Ministry Spokesperson," *Rodong Sinmun*, November 5, 1993, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>817</sup> "No Obligation for Implementing Comprehensive Safeguard Agreement/N.Korea Argues through Rodong Sinmun," *Hankyoreh*, January 23, 1994, 2.

overthrow mutual agreement and made every effort to bring the nuclear issue to the UNSC, and *Minju Chosun* asserted that the US intended to block peaceful resolution of the nuclear issue by complicating the situation on the Korean peninsula. When the UNSC was moving toward sanctions in March 1994, North Korea warned that, unlike the Iraq war, North Korea would not allow time to collect troops around the Korean peninsula, saying, "America's pressure-bound machinations would drive North Korea out of the NPT." The situation was such that North Korea could not escape the charges of deception. In short, the tendency to treat North Korea as a taboo violator worsened North Korea's anxiety about hostile environment. Under this antagonistic structure, Pyongyang made a series of bold decisions.

<sup>818 &</sup>quot;N.Korea Asks the US to Stop Pressure," *Hankyoreh*, February 13, 1994, 3.

<sup>819 &</sup>quot;DPRK Calibrates War Rhetoric, Leaves Door Ajar for Talks," FBIS Trends, March 30, 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>820</sup> North Koreans perceived collective actions against Pyongyang as attempts of unjust suppression. Kim Il Sung said, "We cannot but believe that such effort to sensitize the nuclear issue and hurt reputation of our nation shows intentions other than settling the nuclear dispute. "Instruction from the Great Leader," *Rodong Sinmun*, November 5, 1993, 5.

## **Chapter V. Negative Interaction**

While positive interactions among states increase the likelihood of embracing cooperative nuclear arrangements, a continuous contest between reality and expectations often leads to noncompliant actions. Negative interactions prompt a situation where a state's policy is less affected by social interactions built by civil societies on a global scale. Inattention, perceptual gap, exchange of hostile rhetoric, and vacillating attitudes were apparently in place during the North Korean nuclear crisis. In addition, a gap between codified principles and actual practices, which stimulated North Korea's questioning of the legitimacy of existing beliefs, further worsened misperceptions and misjudgments, completing a vicious cycle of negative interactions. The outcome was that North Korea's behaviors seemed to be less influenced by generalized principles of conduct. This study argues that negative interactions antagonized North Korea and caused it to take provocative actions in an attempt to make a breakthrough in an antagonistic situation. As Oh and Hassig note, North Korea was rational, but its calculus of rationality was "bounded" by the specific context of the surrounding environment. Therefore, it is important to carefully examine the structure, which was so constraining as to plya a role in driving North Korea into a corner.

#### 1. Antagonism V: Politicization and Discrimination

What the international community believed to be a necessary step only increased North Korea's resistance. These steps included special inspections, UN resolutions, and a coalition among states and between member states and the Agency. North Korea's keen awareness of the unfair practices in the nonproliferation regime, particularly during the IAEA inspections, made it recalcitrant. In contrast, the IAEA would defend the integrity of the nonproliferation regime after its authority was discredited by its handling of Iraq's nuclear program. The IAEA wanted

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>821</sup> Kongdan Oh and Ralph C. Hassig, *North Korea through the Looking Glass* (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2000), 192.

to protect its image, and, therefore, it pushed North Korea by taking unprecedented measures of conducting special inspections.

However, North Korea argued that these measures were an infringement of sovereign right and interference in domestic affairs. While Pyongyang criticized collaboration between the Agency and the US, it insisted that conflicts over implementing IAEA safeguards measures had to be resolved at the bilateral talks. However, continuing consultation with the IAEA was one of the conditions for holding bilateral talks with the US. Because North Korea boycotted its inspections, the US refused to hold bilateral talks and took the case to the UN to mobilize collective actions. This in turn was protested by North Korea. At the center of the crisis was contention between the IAEA's extreme concern about any possibility of noncompliance and North Korea's perception of unfair treatment.

#### 1.1. Politicization: Challenge and post-Iraq Aftereffect

## Post-Iraq Symptom

The IAEA was put to a test to prove that it was capable of adapting to a post-Iraq reality, and this affected its dealings with North Korea. North Korea's noncompliance was the first issue of concern after Iraq was found to have pursued a nuclear weapons program. Thus, any suspicion related to North Korea's nuclear program was viewed with extreme doubt by IAEA officials traumatized by the revelations of Saddam Hussein's secret nuclear weapons program in the aftermath of the Gulf War. After detection of Iraq's secret nuclear program, the IAEA became alert to any signs that were out of the ordinary. Amidst mounting criticism of its failure to monitor Iraqi's nuclear weapons program, the IAEA sought restoring its marred reputation by strengthening its capability to collect and analyze intelligence data from member states to help monitor undeclared nuclear activities. 822 IAEA Director General Hans Blix stressed that

<sup>822</sup> The IEAE inspector called Iraqi cooperation with the safeguards agency exemplary and praised Iraqi scientists as solid citizens of the NPT. The agency hadn't clue of the vast Iraqi nuclear weapons program that was later unearthed.

the IAEA should be empowered to have sufficient capacity to determine legitimate nuclear activities in a place like North Korea. Against this backdrop, the IAEA viewed the North Korean nuclear issue as an important test of its own credibility. The fact that the IAEA lacked information and implementation power, which fundamentally weakened the NPT regime, led to toughening IAEA inspections of North Korea and increasing doubts about any suspicious events.

North Korea's deferral or limitation of the IAEA nuclear inspections was considered a challenge against the authority of the IAEA. Resolutions It was feared that North Korea would take advantage of international failure to curb Iraq's WMD development. Resolution It international community complained that the IAEA's role was insufficient and asked the Agency to be active in preventing proliferation of nuclear weapons by unlawful states. Push policy makers believed that the US must take actions to limit the North Korean arms trade, and suggested coercive and invasive actions similar to those employed in Iraq. At the IAEA special meeting where the decision to refer the North Korean issue to the UNSC was made, North Korea was not able to clear up the inconsistencies between their declaration and the IAEA inspector's observations. Although North Korea's explanations for some discrepancies made sense, they were not enough to overturn the final decision that North Korea was wrong. Because the IAEA was under pressure to clarify any suspicion raised by the US and its allies, the agency intentionally showed confidence about its assessment in order not to let North Korea

Paul Leventhal and Steven Dolley, "US Must Fight for Monitoring of Iraq's Continued Atom Threat," *Nuclear Control Institute Newsday*, April 27, 1998, accessed March 22, 2007, http://www.nci.org/a/a42798.htm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>823</sup> At the UN General Assembly, Hans Blix emphasized strengthened authority of the IAEA to determine whether a state is developing a clandestine nuclear weapons program. Olivia Ward, "New Curbs Urged on Nuclear Arms," *Toronto Star,* October 22, 1991, A12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>824</sup> For the weaknesses of the IAEA safeguards, see Matthias Dembinski, "North Korea, IAEA Special Inspections, and the Future of the Nonproliferation Regime," *The Nonproliferation Review* 2, no.2 (Winter 1995): 31-39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>825</sup> US House Representatives, *North Korean Nuclear Program: Joint Briefing, July 22, 1992* (Washington D. C.: US GOP, 1992), 6.

<sup>826</sup> Cranston, House Hearing, February, 6, 1992.

<sup>827 &</sup>quot;IAEA Must Be Strengthened/NYT Report," *Hankyoreh*, February 16, 1993, 4.

<sup>828</sup> Cranston, House Hearing, January 14, 1992; Cranston, Congressional Report, February 6, 1992.

to claim that it was right about even one minor inconsistency.<sup>829</sup> The Board of Governors was composed of representatives who had little patience with Pyongyang's behavior, and North Korea was losing supporters as the constant battle continued. The problem was that North Koreans viewed unprecedented actions as prejudiced attitudes toward their sovereign state.

### Cooperation between the US and the IAEA

The IAEA faced challenges in overcoming technical and institutional limitations to exercise full competence in not only correcting but also preventing nuclear proliferation. Therefore, it decided to rely on technical support from the US, which was protested by North Koreans. Traditionally, the IAEA's verification measures, implemented under comprehensive safeguard agreements, were focused primarily on the "correctness" of a state's "declarations." The Agency could not check other undeclared deals—including a nuclear energy-related agreement with East Germany on a technology transfer, a shipment of a special steel alloy for containing radioactive materials, and a supply of electron beam furnaces in the early 1990s. 830 In order to prevent North Korea from manufacturing nuclear weapons with materials that were supposedly hidden, the IAEA needed technical assistance from a certain group of member states. This was a sensitive issue that involves political implication. 831

In addition, the IAEA had no coercive power to pressure North Korea to accept special

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>829</sup> Joel S. Wit, Daniel B. Poneman, and Robert L. Gallucci, *Going Critical: The First North Korean Nuclear Crisis* (Washington: Brookings Institute Press, 2004), 21.

Rechnology transfer of nuclear energy from the East German Nuclear and Radioactive Safety Committee was possible as North Korea signed a protocol on cooperation in the field of atomic energy for peaceful purposes with the Czechoslovakian Nuclear Energy Commission. Leis Engineering GmbH, an East German company, was suspected of selling a special steel alloy to North Korea that can be used for containing radioactive materials in November 1991. West German company, Leybold A.G. is suspected to have supplied North Korea with two electron beam furnaces in 1992. The German Federal Intelligence Service (BND), the West German intelligence agency reported that the West German company, Leybold A.G. supplied North Korea with two electron beam furnaces, two laboratory furnaces via India or Pakistan and a small laboratory furnace via former East Germany. The BND also suspected that a Leybold employee went to North Korea to work on a nuclear facility. The safeguards agreements was able to provide assurance only in relation to the non-diversion of nuclear material that had been "declared" to the Agency. Joseph S. Bermudez Jr., *Jane's Intelligence Review*, September 1991, 408-410; Joseph S. Bermudez Jr., *Jane's Defense Weekly*, September 23 1989, 597; David E. Sanger, *New York Times*, November 10, 1991, 1,6; *Nuclear Engineering International*, February 1992, 7-8; IAEA, *The Safeguards System of the International Atomic Energy Agency*, accessed March 21, 2007, http://www.iaea.org/OurWork/SV/Safeguards/safeg\_system.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>831</sup> Joh Lepingwell, IAEA Information Analysis Unit, Interview by author, Tape recording, July 16, 2008.

inspections, and it could only refer the North Korean nuclear issue to the UNSC. <sup>832</sup> The problem was that whether or not North Korea's noncompliance constituted a "threat to international peace and security" had to be determined. In a situation where North Korea keeps safeguard continuity, the IAEA's decision to bring the North Korean issue to the UN provoked sensitive reactions from North Korea. In fact, when the IAEA Board of Governors decided to bring the North Korean case to the UNSC, Kim Kwang Seop, North Korean Ambassador to Vienna, asserted that referring the nuclear issue to the UNSC would call for confrontation, not resolution. <sup>833</sup>

The fact that the IAEA had the backing of Washington antagonized North Korea, which caused Pyongyang to complain favoritism within the regime. US intelligence briefings were designed to ensure that the IAEA team would not miss any information on nuclear facilities and materials in North Korea. <sup>834</sup> After the first preliminary inspection in Yongbyon, some US officials complained that the IAEA trusted North Korea more than the US. Others emphasized that the duty of IAEA inspectors was to find "hidden" nuclear programs. <sup>835</sup> To avoid accusations of being incapable of making an accurate assessment, the Agency used intelligence offered by the US for the first time in history. However, North Korea protested the IAEA's reliance on US intelligence, hindering further dialogue. The US government began briefing the IAEA at the end of 1992 on development at Yongbyon, and the new administration continued disclosing photographs. <sup>836</sup> US satellite images of what seemed to be a site for storing nuclear waste with underground tanks were provided to the IAEA, and the Agency concluded that North Korea had processed plutonium at sites that were not reported to the IAEA. Providing US

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>832</sup> The IAEA Board of Governors advised North Korea in January 1990, the IAEA council meeting that proposed a resolution in February 1990, the NPT Review Conference in August 1990, and the IAEA Board of Governors passed a resolution calling on North Korea to ratify the safeguards agreement and facility-specific accords in September 1991. Maeng-Ho Choi, *Donga Ilbo*, June 1991, 1; *Seoul Sinmun*, March 7, 1990, 2; *Japan Times*, August 25, 1990; Don Oberdorfer, *Washington Post*, September 17 1991, A10; Paul Shin, *Monterey Herald*, September 14, 1991, 18A.
<sup>833</sup> "Referring N.Korean Issue to the UNSC Calls for Confrontation/Interview with N.Korean Ambassador Kim Kwang Seop," *Donga Ilbo*, April 3, 1993, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>834</sup> Don Oberdorfer, *The Two Koreas: A Contemporary History* (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1997), 268-69.

<sup>835 &</sup>quot;US Insists 'stick' on N.Korea/Washington's Comment on the IAEA Report," Kukmin Ilbo, June 12, 1992, 4.

<sup>836</sup> Wit, Going Critical, 20.

satellite photos to the IAEA Board of Governor's meeting was an unprecedented event. 837 However, North Korea accused the US of providing false information in order to facilitate special inspections by the IAEA out of "impure motives" to disarm North Korea. 838 North Korea questioned the IAEA's impartiality and criticized the international organization for using information obtained from a certain member state.

North Korea interpreted the IAEA's request to conduct special inspections as a matter of injustice, because conducting special inspections of undeclared nuclear sites had not been performed before. North Korea was keenly aware of the change in IAEA's position from December, when the IAEA reported in a positive manner, to February, when the IAEA requested special inspections. Criticizing the IAEA's "high-handed manner," North Korea argued that it was unfair to accuse North Korea of being noncompliant after only six inspections. 839 North Korea also argued that publicization of inspection results was a violation of the safeguard agreement and accused the IAEA inspectors of "taking instructions from the US."840 At the IAEA General Conference on October 3, 1993, Kim Kwang Seop, North Korean Ambassador to Vienna, argued that the IAEA relegated itself to the role of "puppet" of the US by relying on a state whose hostility against North Korea had not been settled yet.<sup>841</sup> North Korea stressed that the IAEA should work independently, not at the mercy of US influence.<sup>842</sup> North Korea believed that the US was seeking information about North Korea's military facilities through IAEA special inspections, which constituted a grave infringement of North Korea's supreme interest. 843 North Korean Ambassador Son Sung Phil mentioned that the IAEA's special inspection would result in disclosure of secret information about North Korea's

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<sup>837 &</sup>quot;N.Korean Nuclear Development/WP Report," Hankyoreh, April 29, 1993, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>838</sup> North Korea accused the IAEA that it was acting on behalf of other states including the US. "N.Korea Criticizes 'Unjust Request of Special Inspection,'" *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, February 20, 1993, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>839</sup> "N.Korean Nuclear Issue, Referred to the UNSC/N.Korea Criticizes Dual Standard," *Hankyoreh*, April 6, 1993, 2. <sup>840</sup> Michael J. Wise, "UN Agency Tightens Rules for Nuclear Inspections," *The Independent*, February 27, 1992, 14;

Don Oberdorfer, *The Two Koreas: A Contemporary History* (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1997), 275.

<sup>841 &</sup>quot;Statement at the IAEA General Conference," *Hankyoreh*, October 3, 1993, 5.

<sup>842 &</sup>quot;N.Korean Nuclear Issue, Referred to the UNSC/N.Korea Argues 'Unjustness,'" Seoul Shinmun, April 5, 1993, 2.

<sup>843 &</sup>quot;What Does N.Korea Aim at?" Kukmin Ilbo, March 13, 1993, 3.

military, which could cause North Korea to renounce its NPT membership. 844

When the US pressed for economic sanctions at the UN, setting a deadline for international inspections in North Korea, Pyongyang warned that UN sanctions would be equivalent to a declaration of war. North Korea accepted the IAEA inspections; however, it did not allow the IAEA to take swipes from the glove box area of the plutonium production line because previous samples from those locations had led to the IAEA assertion that North Korea's report was wrong. North Korea repeatedly emphasized that the IAEA's activities were allowed within the scope needed for maintaining the continuity of safeguards, arguing that further demands from the IAEA would be an attempt to "widen its partiality for ill-disposed political purposes under the manipulation by the US government."

North Korea's approach to the IAEA's special inspection was different. Pyongyang took it as an unfair request, while the IAEA considered it necessary to increase transparency of North Korea's nuclear program. In a situation where North Korea considered external demands "a grave insult of interference," it reasoned that its noncooperation was a just reaction to NWSs' ignorance of the "basic spirit" of the NPT. North Korea stressed that North Korea would reconsider its withdrawal from the NPT only if impartiality of the IAEA would be restored. At the July 1993 meeting, North Korea paid attention to the issue of the IAEA's unfair practices, while the IAEA was mostly concerned about conducting special inspections. The spokesperson of the North Korean Foreign Ministry asked the IAEA to engage sincerely for the settlement of disputes over unfairness in future negotiations. In short, Pyongyang argued that the IAEA had become a place of political actions and accused the US of acting

<sup>844 &</sup>quot;N.Korea Can Denunciate Safeguard Agreement If IAEA Insists Special Inspection," *Hankyoreh*, February 17, 1993,

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&</sup>lt;sup>845</sup> Korean Central News Agency, March 18, 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>846</sup> "Pressure on N.Korea to Accept Nuclear Inspection Causes Tension on the Korean Peninsula/N.Korean Ambassador to Russia," *Seoul Shinmun*, March 3, 1993, 2; "S.Africa and N.Korea's Nuclear Policy," *Seoul Shinmun*, May 15, 1993, 6

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847 &</sup>quot;Interview with N.Korean Ambassador Ho Jong," *Hankyoreh*, March 19, 1993, 3.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>848</sup> "Request of Special Inspection in Yongbyon/US/N.Korea Calls for IAEA Impartiality," *Hankyoreh*, July 15, 1993, 1; "IAEA Inspectors Will Be Sent to N.Korea," *Hankyoreh*, August 22, 1993, 2.

behind the scenes to put pressure on North Korea.

### 1.2. Discrimination: Paradox and Class Struggle

# Framework of "Class Struggle"

North Korea began to see its contention with the IAEA in the light of "class struggle." Since the North Koreans had been inculcated with a sense of struggle against imperial West, they could not tolerate what they thought to be a unilateral imposition of unfair demands from the outside. North Korea's described its resistance as "an exercise of *jawi* (self-defense) to protect *jajukwon* (sovereign right)" and warned it could sacrifice itself as a "volcano to burn America's New Order into ashes." North Korea has justified its exclusionist policy in terms of the struggle against imperialism, opposing implementation of imperialist interests and needs and aggressive attempts to launch wars against weaker states. Therefore, North Korea's anti-imperialist outlook shaped its reaction to efforts to impose sanctions and mobilize military powers, which were viewed as typical characteristics of imperialism. North Korea viewed the international community's suspicion of its nuclear program with the same outlook. States of the same outlook.

North Korea criticized Washington's influence on the IAEA as "hegemonic practices" to protect the interests of the powerful at the sacrifice of the weak. See On September 12, 1991, when the IAEA Board of Governors passed a resolution to urge North Korea to accept the IAEA safeguards agreement, North Korea suspected that a small number of member states, including Japan and Australia, manipulated the vote. See North Korea rationalized its national mobilization before its withdrawal from the NPT by issuing a statement: "If we failed to stop

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>849</sup> "Pressure and Sanctions Cannot Resolve Nuclear Issues," *Rodong Sinmun*, December 31, 1993, 6; "Attitude to Respect Equality in a Negotiation Is the Key to Resolve Nuclear Issues," *Rodong Sinmun*, January 2, 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>850</sup> Kim II Sung, "Let's Enhance the Superiority of Our Socialism," in *Selected Works of Kim Il Sung* vol. 42 (Pyongyang: KWP Press, 1995), 320.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>851</sup> "Nuclear Issue is The Product of Anti-Social Anti-DPRK Scheme," *Rodong Sinmun*, January 11, 1994, 6; "US Conservatives Must Stop Unjust Pressure on US," *Rodong Sinmun*, January 19, 1994, 6.

<sup>852 &</sup>quot;Interview with N.Korean Ambassador Ho Jong," Hankyoreh, March 19, 1993, 3.

<sup>853 &</sup>quot;Retaliatory Measurement in the Case of Military Attack in Yongbyon Nuclear Complex," *Sisa Press* no. 105, October 31, 1991, accessed July 22, 2011, http://www.sisapress.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=34265.

this conspiracy by the US and its followers, it would drive the whole nation into confrontation and war that would result in making the nation a sacrifice for great powers."<sup>854</sup> After the announcement of its withdrawal from the NPT, North Korea continued to stress that the crisis can be resolved if the US no longer put unfair pressure on North Korea.<sup>855</sup> Against discussion to impose sanctions at the UN, North Korea argued that the UN Security Council had become a place of oppression by facilitating international pressure on Pyongyang based on unjust prejudice.<sup>856</sup>

## Paradox and Resistance

North Koreans were keenly aware of the asymmetric progress in curving vertical and horizontal proliferation because the US has deployed its nuclear weapons in South Korea since 1950s. S57 North Korean officials complained that asking North Korea to join the NPT without making progress in removing nuclear weapons in South Korea was an unequal treatment and even an insult to the nation. The latest Upon the issue of the UNSC statement, the North Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs released a statement that criticized a tendency not to problematize practices of nuclear weapons states that had already developed and built nuclear weapons. In March 1994, the French Atomic Energy Commission, which played a key role in making nonproliferation policy, argued that North Korea's continued noncooperation could set a dangerous precedent for other states and that the diplomatic solution would give way to North Korea's further noncompliance, which would ultimately undermine the authority of the agency and the legitimacy of the treaty. When France called for sanctions, North Korea responded

<sup>854</sup> Pyongyang Times, March 20, 1993, 1.

<sup>855 &</sup>quot;Nuclear Issue Can Be Resolved/N.Korean Diplomatis to the UN Comments," Hankyoreh, March 13, 1993, 1.

<sup>856 &</sup>quot;US Hostile Policy Toward North Korea Shall Fail," Rodong Sinmun, April 4, 1994.

<sup>857</sup> Andrew Mack, "The Nuclear Crisis on the Korean Peninsula," Asian Survey 33, no. 4 (April 1993): 341-344.

<sup>858 &</sup>quot;IAEA Inspection Violates N.Korea's Sovereign Right/N.Korean Ambassador to Kazakhstan," Seoul Shinmun, February 20, 1993, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>859</sup> "N.Korea Stresses Talks with the US to Resolve Nuclear Issues/N.Korean Ministry of Foreign Afairs Statement," *Hankyoreh*, April 11, 1993, 1.

<sup>860 &</sup>quot;N.Korea's Stupid Threat," Segye Ilbo, March 24, 1994, 5; "Extreme Contention over Nuclear Issue/Signs of

with sarcasm, stressing that a country that conducted nuclear tests could not charge North Korea with a nuclear problem. 861

North Koreans also raised the issue of "double standard." North Korea often argued that it was surrounded by neighbors who could pursue a future nuclear weapons program and complained that the international community applied double-standards by being soft on South Korea's and Japan's nuclear program. 862 Kim Kwang Seop, North Korean Ambassador to Vienna, criticized the IAEA for practicing in favor of powerful states.<sup>863</sup> Although international concern was for the diversion of reprocessed nuclear material, North Korea put more emphasis on the fact that the existence of reprocessed plutonium was not a violation of the NPT and that reprocessed fuel also exist in other countries. North Korea tried to divert attention to lessdiscussed issues of Japan's nuclear capability and South Korea's potential capability. The breakout of South Africa's revelation of its nuclear weapons program raised North Korea's guard against the IAEA activities. 864 The North Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs pointed out in an official statement that the US "assisted" the nuclear program in South Africa and that the IAEA "tolerated" nuclear weapons development despite 115 inspections in the country. In response to the March 31 Board of Governors' resolution, North Korea stressed that the IAEA was ignoring the Israeli and South African nuclear weapons program and trying to apply a "double standard." 865

North Korea's position was that the obligations of the NWSs could not be separated from

Behind-The-Scenes Negotiation," Hankuk Ilbo, March 26, 1993, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>861</sup> Pyongyang KCNA, February 11, 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>862</sup> North Korea doubted that Japan was trying to strengthen its position to develop nuclear weapons program in preparation for nuclear threat from Pyongyang. "What Does Japan Aim At By Fostering Nuclear Suspicion?", Rodong Sinmun. December 16, 1993, 6.

<sup>863 &</sup>quot;IAEA General Conference Statement," Hankyoreh, October 3, 1994, 5.

<sup>864 &</sup>quot;S.Africa Admits Manufacturing Nuclear Weapons/Six Bombs until 1989/Dismantled All by 1990," Hankyoreh, March 26, 1993, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>865</sup> Japan pushed forward with discriminatory inspection. *Yomiuri Shinbun* reported that it would propose the idea of discriminatory inspection to be applied to a certain number of states that were suspected of developing nuclear weapons program. A proposal prepared by Japanese Science and Technology Agency suggested decreasing the number of inspections in the NPT signatories with sound reputation of being compliant to the nonproliferation obligations while strengthening inspections in those who did not have such reputation. "States Suspected of Developing Nuclear Weapons Capability including N.Korea/IAEA Strengthens Inspection," Hankyoreh, June 24, 1992, 2.

the obligations of the NNWSs. Therefore, North Korea demanded simultaneous actions in fulfilling obligations stated in the NPT, including the issue of eliminating the nuclear threat to North Korea posed by the US. Rorth Korea emphasized "fairness" in conducting a mutual, comprehensive inspection when it requested that the inspection include all the US bases in the South. Rorth Korea was very critical about the failure of implementing "four-steps" by the US and South Korea. The problem was that delays in taking simultaneous actions provided an excuse for delaying IAEA safeguard activities. In principle, removing any nuclear threat to the North Korean regime had to be addressed along with North Korea's compliance to the NPT. In practice, resolving these two contending issues was not easy because the conflicting interests were irreconcilable.

In short, the contention between the IAEA's effort to defend the integrity of the nonproliferation regime after its traumatic experience in Iraq and North Korea's hypersensitivity to the unfair practices in the nonproliferation regime worsened the antagonistic structure under which North Korea's recalcitrant attitudes were constructed.

## 2. Antagonism VI: Inattention and Condemnation

The problem at the early stage of the nuclear crisis was that the nuclear issue could only be resolved through dialogue that could hardly take place. Because North Korea believed that nuclear crisis was a bilateral issue between Washington and Pyongyang, North Korea's interest was to change the structure that caused the nuclear crisis. For North Koreans, direct talks between Washington and Pyongyang seemed to be the only viable way to make a breakthrough in diplomatic and economic relations, as well as a reduction of security threat. However, Washington refrained from direct engagement until North Korea announced withdrawal from the NPT. Without considering what to provide North Korea in return, the US insisted that North

<sup>866 &</sup>quot;S. Korea's Independent Nuclear Policy," Donga Ilbo, August 2, 1991, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>867</sup> Min Jo and Ji Ha Kim, North Korean Nuclear Book 1955~2009 (Seoul: KINU, 2009), 8.

Korea observe its safeguard obligation within the NPT mandate. <sup>868</sup> The US demanded a clarification of suspicions of North Korea's nuclear program as a precondition to holding meetings with North Koreans. <sup>869</sup> Therefore, it turned out that a bilateral meeting became one of the benefits of North Korea's full compliance with international demands.

#### 2.1. Inattention and Inaction

## Reluctance of Direct Envolvement

Pyongyang argued that the only and the last avenue for resolving the nuclear issue was bilateral talks between the US and North Korea, indicating that its major interest was dialogue with the US. In response, the US immediately announced that North Korea should consult with the IAEA to allow inspections first. The US State Department stressed, "If North Korea refuses to keep safeguard continuity, the bilateral talk will be suspended." In fact, international actions, including an IAEA resolution, did not influence North Korea's position because North Korea was determined to deal with the US. In October 1993, rejecting the IAEA resolution, North Korea insisted on continuing bilateral talks with the US. The North Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs asserted that direct talks between the US and North Korea would be the only solution. Ho Jong stressed, "Whatever decision the IAEA made was not a significant matter to us. It is rational to resolve this matter at a bilateral meeting between North Korea and the US."

Initially, it was Washington's position not to open a direct dialogue with North Korea. Some Americans believed that having direct talks with the North Koreans could be viewed as a

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>868</sup> The Soviet and China refused assisting North Korea in developing a nuclear reprocessing facility. Kim Hak-kyong, *Korea Herald*, June 4, 1989, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>869</sup> "Without Doubt about Nuclear Development, Senior-level US-N.Korea Dialogue Can Be Possible," *Seoul Shinmun*, May 14, 1992, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>870</sup> "If N.Korea Fails to Implement Safeguard Inspection, the US Will Stop Dialogue/US State Department," *Hankyoreh*, October 14, 1993, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>871</sup> "US Continues to Contact with N.Korea/Worries about N.Korea's Refusal of Accepting IAEA Inspection," *Kukmin Ilbo*, October 5, 1993, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>872</sup> "Hard Time to Conclude IAEA Resolution/IAEA Board of Governors Special Session," *Hankyoreh*, March 20, 1993, 4.

sign of weakness and a risk of disrupting solidarity with South Korea.<sup>873</sup> They were concerned that talking with North Korea could be considered caving in to blackmail. Others doubted that North Korea was serious about a diplomatic solution. Therefore, at the beginning of the nuclear crisis, the US wanted to place North Korea under the auspices of the IAEA to reduce possible risks and to delay the option of bilateral talks.<sup>874</sup> The US planned to gradually increase pressure on North Korea through the UN, gaining leverage over Pyongyang. Washington considered a UN resolution as an indispensable component of the strategy to punish North Korea's nuclear defiance. North Korea's repeated defiant actions justified mobilization of international actions, gradually closing the window of opportunity for North Koreans to hold bilateral talks with the US.

The US maintained contact with North Korea at an insignificant level. <sup>875</sup> North Korea's long-awaited desire to have high-level talks would not be realized until the Kanter-Kim meeting in January 1992. <sup>876</sup> Even at that point, Washington wanted to make sure only nonsubstantive administrative details were discussed between Arnold Kanter, the third-ranking official in the Department of State, and Kim Yong Sun, the Worker's Party secretary for international affairs. <sup>877</sup> The first high-level talk lasted four hours, only confirming differences in positions without reaching any agreement. The US confirmed that the February 1992 high-level talk was only a one-time meeting and there would be no more talks to improve relations until the nuclear

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>873</sup> Wit, Going Critical, 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>874</sup> The US government recognized the IAEA's "vital role in preventing the spread of nuclear weapons, and in promoting cooperation in peaceful nuclear technologies among states," and President Bush reaffirms the US commitment to strengthen the Agency on September 25, 1989. Federation of American Scientists, *NPT Chronology*, accessed March 14, 2007, http://www.fas.org/main/home.jsp.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>875</sup> The Beijing channel to discuss practical matters since December 6, 1988, however, was not significant enough to have influence on Washington. Beijing meeting was held on January 24, February 28, May 15, and November 1 in 1989 after the first meeting on December 6, 1988. However, talks continued without real progress. "US Contact N.Korea in Beijing," *Hankyoreh*, January 7, 1990, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>876</sup> At a preliminary talk before holding US-North Korean negotiations, North Korean delegates were surprised to find out that the head negotiator was of a relatively low bureaucratic profile because they wanted to call the upcoming negotiations "high-level talks." The fact that Gallucci's profile was so low threatened to derail negotiations before they had begun. Douglas Jehl, "US-Korean Talks" on A-Pact," *New York Times*, May 18, 1993, A8; Joel S. Wit, Daniel B. Poneman, and Robert L. Gallucci, *Going Critical: The First North Korean Nuclear Crisis* (Washington: Brookings Institute Press, 2004), 49.

<sup>877 &</sup>quot;US-N.Korea High-level Diplomats Contact in New York," Seoul Shinmun, January 8, 1992, 2.

issue was resolved.<sup>878</sup> The decision to continue meeting only at a previous level was a great disappointment for North Koreans.<sup>879</sup> Kim Young Soon's letter to Arnold Kanter through the Beijing channel to arrange another bilateral talk did not make much difference, and North Korea's Deputy Ambassador to the UN Ho Jong's request for another Kanter-Kim meeting was refused.<sup>880</sup>

## Absence of Timely Actions

Pyongyang expected that Washington would also take proper measures as it signed the IAEA safeguard agreement and accepted the international inspections. On September 9, 1992, North Korea debriefed US delegates about the progress made between the IAEA and North Korea and asked Washington to take actions toward improving their diplomatic relationship. However, North Korea's failure to meet the preconditions set out by the US for holding bilateral talks resulted in both sides taking more than one year to agree on principles, let alone actions.

It should be noted that the Geneva meeting on July 7, 1994 was the first time that North Korea heard details of the US approach. 881 North Koreans responded very positively to the road map suggested by the US as an "alternative vision of the future." Although the meeting was temporarily suspended due to the death of Kim II Sung, North Korean delegates said that talks could resume after the mourning period, and there would be no change in their negotiating position. North Koreans suggested further compromises, including a freeze of the nuclear program once the reactor guarantee was received with a note that the new government would pursue the course set by Kim II Sung. This shows Pyongyang's interest in minimizing any negative impact that could derail the talks.

<sup>878 &</sup>quot;N.Korea Asks Kim Yong Sun-Canter Talk Again/US Is Determined to Refuse," Hankuk Ilbo, April 7, 1992, 2.

<sup>879 &</sup>quot;US-N.Korea Talk Ends without Agreement," *Hankuk Ilbo*, January 23, 1992, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>880</sup> US Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Clark mentioned that no action would be taken before mutual inspection takes place. All other measures for peace and security of North East Asia will be possible after North Korea's nuclear issue is resolved. "Resolving Nuclear Issues First, Improving Relations Next/Assistant Secretary Clark," *Hankyoreh*, August 13, 1992, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>881</sup> Wit, Going Critical, 253.

The international community's less attention to signals from Pyongyang hindered timely actions to prevent crisis from escalating. When North Korea declared a state of semi-war, a term that had not been used since 1983, the US considered it routine and remained calm. See In a memorandum to the secretary of state, Warren Christopher, Ambassador William Clark explained that North Korea's denouncing the Team Spirit was fairly typical and there was very little reason for serious concern. While North Korea signaled that peaceful resolution was possible, Kang Suk Joo sent a letter to Gallucci informing him that the unloading of the rods from the 5MWe reactor would begin since the US would not hold a third round of talks. Because North Korea's decision was made on an assumption that the US canceled, not delayed, the bilateral talk, the US would have to reaffirm its willingness to meet with North Korea. However, Pyongyang began its defueling campaign while US policy makers debated over how the US should respond.

## 2.2. Enduring Enmity and Negative Discourse

Negative discourse through discursive narrations constructed belief on North Korea's nuclear program, and North Korea's noncompliant attitude consolidated pre-existing suspicion into belief. Notably, there was a tendency to publicize speculative news stories due to the secrecy of North Korea's nuclear program; people tended to rely on supposition before concrete facts were verified since sufficient information about North Korea's motivations and nuclear capability was not available.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>882</sup> "Yonhap Notes Previous DPRK Mobilizations," *Yonghap News*, March 8, 1993; "Kim Chong II Orders Army Mobilization," *Korean Central Broadcast Network*, March 8, 1993.

<sup>883</sup> Wit, Going Critical, 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>884</sup> "US-N.Korea Senior-level Talk and Inter-Korean Dialogue," *Segye Ilbo*, May 2, 1994, 2; "US Letter to N.Korea on Inspection/Warning to Suspend Dialogue if Defueling Campaign Begins," *Donga Ilbo*, May 11, 1994; Joel S. Wit, Daniel B. Poneman, and Robert L. Gallucci, *Going Critical: The First North Korean Nuclear Crisis* (Washington: Brookings Institute Press, 2004), 126.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>885</sup> "NUB Delivers Report on Trends in North Korea," Dong A Ilbo, January 11, 1994, 5; "Defense Ministry Plans Future Oriented Policy," *Yonhap News*, January 20, 1994.

### Construction of Negative Discourse

The IAEA's discovery of "significant discrepancies" in North Korea's report was important not because of the amount of difference but because of its huge influence of amplifying suspicion. To make the situation worse, North Korea's refusal to allow full-scope inspections only transformed pre-existing suspicion into constructed belief. In early 1992, officials at the US State Department and the Pentagon argued that North Korea would need at least two more years to acquire nuclear weapons capability. The White House doubted CIA and IDA reports that North Korea had sufficient fissionable material and would be capable of building a nuclear weapon. 887

It should be noted that within a month, the allegation developed from "attempted to build a nuclear bomb" to "already built one." In October 1993, the IISS commented that North Korea tried to refuse international inspections because it was very close to manufacturing nuclear weapons. In December 1993, CIA Director James Woosley mentioned the possibility that North Korea had already developed a nuclear weapon. A Russian Defense Ministry report of October 1993 concluded that the development of an atomic bomb was in the final stage. On December 12, 1993, *The New York Times* reported US Secretary of Defense Aspin's remarks that US intelligence agencies believed that North Korea had produced enough plutonium for one or two nuclear bombs and could possibly "possess a single nuclear

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>886</sup> B.J. Cutler, *Washington Times*, March 10, 1992, F3; Elaine Sciolino, *New York Times*, March 10, 1992, A1, A8; Rupert Cornwell, *Independent*, February 26, 1992, 10; Edward Neilan, *Washington Times*, March 16 1992.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>887</sup> The Central Intelligence Agency guesses that the North Koreans separated enough plutonium for one to two weapons before the Agreed Framework was signed. Mark Hibbs, *Nucleonics Week*, January 6, 1994, 8-9; "Groundhog Day in North Korea," *Foreign Policy*, January 1, 2001, accessed September 2, 2011, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2001/01/groundhog\_day\_in\_north\_korea.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>888</sup> North Korea reported that 90g of plutonium was extracted, but it was suspected of having approximately 400g of plutonium. Regardless of the amount of plutonium necessary to make a bomb which is 7-8kg, what North Korea could possess was of a significant concern. "N.Korean Nuclear Weapons Development, Overstated Evaluation," *Hankyoreh*, October 26, 1993, 8.

<sup>889 &</sup>quot;N.Korea Begins Nuclear Weapons Development/IISS Estimation," Kyonghyang Shinmun, October 13, 1993, 2.

<sup>890 &</sup>quot;North Korea Could Go to war over Nuclear Row: CIA Director," Agence France Presse, December 1, 1993.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>891</sup> Akira Kato, "North Korea Already Has Nuclear Weapons—Classified Document of the Russian Defense Ministry Obtained," *Shukan Bunshun*, January 27, 1994, 50-53.

device." <sup>892</sup> Only six days later, *The South China Sunday Morning Post* reported that North Korea could have the capacity to enrich natural uranium and has built "several kilo-sized bombs." <sup>893</sup> On January 15, 1994, Vladimir Kumachev, an official of the Russian government's Institute of National Security and Strategy and Strategic Research, estimated that North Korea had nuclear warheads. <sup>894</sup> On January 27, 1994, North Korea had reportedly succeeded in creating one or two nuclear warheads with 10-12kg of uranium and 20kg of plutonium. <sup>895</sup>

In response, the IAEA expressed concerns over the tendency to exaggerate North Korea's nuclear program. In a closed meeting, IAEA General Director Hans Blix pointed out that the size of the reprocessing facility under construction was too big for research purposes, but it was too early to determine whether North Korea had the capability to reprocess a large amount of spent fuel. HEAA confirmed that, unlike the CIA report, no evidence was found to prove that North Korea's possession of plutonium was enough to make nuclear arsenals. Richard Solomon, US Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, also commented that the IAEA inspection showed that there was no need to worry about North Korea's nuclear weapons capability for the time being. Hence, some pointed out that some accusations deliberately aimed at increasing pressure on Pyongyang. Nonetheless, public opinion urged tough actions against Pyongyang because North Korea's positive actions seemed so minimal.

Reports on military actions against North Korea continued to emerge between discontinued talks, which undermined North Korea's confidence in US commitment to engage in a peaceful settlement. *The Times* reported that the US military strategy changed from "forward-defense" to "occupation" and that the USFK would be prepared for war against any

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>892</sup> Eric Schmitt, "A Nuclear Weapon for North Korea?" New York Times, December 13, 1993, A3.

<sup>893</sup> South China Sunday Morning Post, December 19, 1993, 1, 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>894</sup> Yonhap News Agency Report, January 15, 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>895</sup> Sergey Agafonov reported that "a total of 160 Russian, Nuclear Scientists and Missile-men helped North Korea to create a nuclear bomb." Sergey Agafonov, Izvestiya, January 27, 1994, 1,4.

<sup>896 &</sup>quot;N.Korean Nuclear Issue, Insufficient/What Is in the IAEA Report?" Kyunghyang Shinmun, June 16, 1992, 2.

<sup>897 &</sup>quot;N.Korea May Acquire Nuclear Weapons within a Year/IAEA Pessimistic View," Hankuk Ilbo, June 16, 1992, 1.

<sup>898 &</sup>quot;Little Possibility of N.Korea's Development of Nuclear Weapons," *Hankyoreh*, July 3, 1992, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>899</sup> "US Aims to Add Pressure N.Korea/Spread Unverified Information/US Nuclear Expert Comments," *Hankyoreh*, June 21, 1992, 2.

signs of upcoming attack from North Korea. 900 On March 7, 1992, US Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz mentioned that the US was not excluding every means possible to stop North Korea's development of nuclear weapons, hinting that military option was not excluded. 901 Colin Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, commented on a war scenario prepared by the DoD and explained that the US planned not only to defend but also to eject the North Korean Army within ninety days of North Korea's invasion. 902 He mentioned, at a Senate hearing, that the US military would not only defend North Korea's invasion but also eject the KPA. 903 In April 1992, South Korean media reported relocation of US bases aimed at managing regional threats, including North Korea's nuclear weapons program. 904 President Roh also commented on the possibility of military actions under consideration in Washington. 905 In May 1992, Congressman Solarz asserted that North Korea could have hidden nuclear weapons underground, and therefore the US should consider the military option to eliminate North Korea's nuclear weapons program. 906 Congressmen Biden and Pell also mentioned that the use of preemptive military action could be an acceptable policy option if containment failed. 907 In June 1992, a CRS report suggested that the White House could take new actions, including unilateral and joint military options, unless North Korea stopped "developing nuclear weapons."908

Furthermore, the US response to North Korea was often discussed in the light of preemptive measure. After North Korea signed the IAEA safeguards agreement, US Assistant

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>900</sup> US-ROK Combined Forces Command Warplan/OPLAN 5027-92, accessed January 2, 2011, http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/oplan-5027.htm.

<sup>901 &</sup>quot;Consideration of All Options to Deter N.Korea from Developing Nuclear Weapons," *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, March 7, 1992, 2.

<sup>902 &</sup>quot;N.Korea May Be Expelled," Seoul Shinmun, March 10, 1992, 5.

<sup>903 &</sup>quot;Power of a Champion/US New Hegemonic Power," Donga Ilbo, March 9, 1992, 5.

<sup>904 &</sup>quot;US, Developing Guam as a Major Military Base/Preparation for Nuclear Threat from N.Korea," *Segye Ilbo*, April 1, 1902. 4

<sup>905 &</sup>quot;N.Korea Must Accept International Inspection to Avoid Adversity," Seoul Shinmun, March 4, 1992, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>906</sup> "N.Korea Nuclear Program/IAEA Inspection Cannot Solve/Hidden Facilities Underground/Need Mutual Inspection," *Kukmin Ilbo*, May 21, 1992, 2.

<sup>907</sup> Biden Congressional Report, June 30, 1992; Pell, Congressional Report, May 6, 1992.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>908</sup> "N.Korea Pursues Nuclear Weapons Development/US Considers Military Response/Congressional Report," *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, June 25, 1992, 1.

Secretary of Defense James Lilley mentioned that the UN might have to be involved unless North Korea would allow IAEA inspections. After the preliminary inspections ended, *The Washington Times* reported that a failure to draw conclusions from the inspections would prompt Washington and Seoul to discuss next steps to pressure Pyongyang to verify its nuclear weapons development. <sup>909</sup> On May 21, 1992, Director of the IISS Francois Heisbourg mentioned that North Korea's adherence to nuclear ambition would justify UNSC actions. <sup>910</sup> In June 1992, a Japanese news agency urged the G8 to consider the North Korean nuclear issue seriously and to take action. <sup>911</sup> In September 1992, South Korea held the 34<sup>th</sup> IISS General Conference, in which international actions against North Korea's noncompliance were discussed. <sup>912</sup>

Before North Korea's defueling campaign, negative discourse was noticeably forming. In December 1993, CNN broadcasted about North Korean nuclear issues, stressing that steps to impose UN economic sanctions on North Korea were indispensible. In December 1993, President Clinton mentioned, in an interview with NBC, that he would not rule out any possibility of augmentation of USFK, although the US government was trying to manage the nuclear crisis. On January 16, 1994, President Clinton warned that North Korea should not mistakenly think that it could do whatever it wanted in disregard of the existence of US nuclear weapons, because the US could redirect its nuclear missile to anywhere, including Pyongyang. In April, 1994, Secretary of Defense William Perry stressed the importance of preventive measures, saying that it would be better to stand up to North Korea before it could produce bombs at a rate of a dozen a year in a few years. Senator John McCain argued that if

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>909</sup> "If N.Korean Nuclear Program Is not Verified, US and S.Korea Will Be in Diplomatic Trouble/WP," *Hankyoreh*, June 9, 1992, 4.

<sup>910 &</sup>quot;N.Korea Nuclear Weapons Acquirement Near at Hand/IISS Report," Seoul Shinmun, May 22, 1992.

<sup>911 &</sup>quot;N.Korean Nuclear Issue, Major Agenda of G7/Next Month Meeting in Germany," Hankuk Ilbo, June 7, 1992, 1.

<sup>912 &</sup>quot;IISS Conference Will Be Held on September 10," Kukmin Ilbo, September 8, 1992.

<sup>913 &</sup>quot;Enforcement of the USFK/President Clinton NBC Interview," Hankyoreh, December 4, 1993, 2.

<sup>914 &</sup>quot;President Clinton Warns Nuclear Missile Targeting N.Korea," *Hankyoreh*, January 16, 1994, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>915</sup> Then US Secretary of Defense William Perry recalls that the US was in serious danger of a major war. "Arms Sells Increase Crisis Awareness/Secretary of Defense Perry Comments on Military Options," *Hankyoreh*, April 2, 1994, 2; William J. Perry, "The United States and the Future of East Asian Security," in Woo Keun Min, ed., *Building Common Peace and Prosperity in Northeast Asia* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 2000), 121.

North Korea could not address American concerns, the consequences would "hasten the collapse of that despicable regime," and Senator Robert Dole suggested that the US should send more troops to South Korea. Senators John McCain and Bob Kerrey said that the US should act before North Korea's nuclear weapons program was complete, even at the risk of war. The director of the CIA reportedly felt a sense of impending crisis, because its officials were very much concerned about war preparation by the North Korean government. On March 18, 1994, Secretary Christopher mentioned that the UN would take action if North Korea continued its uncooperative stance. The same time, Secretary Perry warned that the US would make use of warships near Korea if there were an imminent risk of military activities.

# Media Attention and Change of Public Opinion

Competition among news agencies over reporting exclusive news on the newest developments of North Korea's nuclear program led to a tendency to exaggerate negative aspects. *The Far Eastern Economic Review* reported the likelihood of a "Second Korean War" based on a hypothesis of domestic insurgency, such as food crisis and military coup, within North Korea. In July 1992, South Korean media reported a testimony of a North Korean defector Kim Yong Sung, who mentioned that the North Korean government had dug an underground tunnel to store war supplies under the guidance of the Central Party's Military Committee in 1981. On January 5, 1994, *The New York Times* reported that the Clinton administration's effort to reach a compromise on the North Korean nuclear issue by canceling Team Spirit was a mistake, and two days later *The Washington Post* criticized that the US

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>916</sup> Nightline, American Broadcasting Corporation, March 23, 1994; Stephan Barr and Lena H. Sun, "China's Cooperation on N. Korea Seen," Washington Post, March 21, 1994, A12.

<sup>917</sup> ABC Nightline, Transcript 3403, June 8, 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>918</sup> "Significance of US Patriot Missile Deployment in S.Korea," *Hankyoreh*, January 28, 1994, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>919</sup> Martin Sief,, "Sanctions in Cards for North Korea, Officials Tell Hill," Washington Times, March 18, 1994, A14.

<sup>920</sup> Robert Burns, "Hamilton: Resume Korean Exercises," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 19, 1994, 14.

<sup>921 &</sup>quot;Kim Jong Il Can Order Nuclear Attack, If Cornered/The Second Korean War Scenario," *Donga Ilbo*, May 29, 1992,

<sup>4.
&</sup>lt;sup>922</sup> "Underground Facilities All Over N.Korea/Interview with N.Korean Defector Kim Yong Sung," *Seoul Shinmun*, July 1, 1992, 15.

"backed down" by reaching an agreement with North Korea. <sup>923</sup> Therefore, news agencies were often accused of overheated competition and reliance on limited information. <sup>924</sup> In some cases, statements provided by embassies were reported as direct quotations from the IAEA, and the IAEA spokesperson had to clarify misinformation. <sup>925</sup> South Korean newspapers competed against each other in reporting the nuclear issues with sensitivity. Conservative media in South Korea reported that North Korea was ready to start a war with South Korea. <sup>926</sup> Therefore, uncertainties led to a trend of conservatism sweeping the South, to the extent that a majority of South Koreans believed that North Korea would use its nuclear weapons for a second invasion of the South. <sup>927</sup>

#### Counter-discourse

Pyongyang protested against negative discourse about North Korea, showing sensitivity to public opinion. 928 North Koreans have always been hyper-sensitive to the discourse on whether the US should use nuclear weapons during the conflict, which led to further resistance on the side of North Korea. 929 North Korea complained such a tendency of swaying public opinion and creating a negative image of Pyongyang in its declaration of withdrawal from the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>923</sup> Brent Scowcroft and Richard Haass, "Foreign Policy Reaches a Peril Point," *New York Times*, January 5, 1994, A15; "US Conservatives Hurling on 'N.Korean Nuclear Issue," *Hankyoreh*, January 9, 1994, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>924</sup> "Tension on the Korean Peninsula, Exaggerated," *Kyunghayng Shinmun*, May 5, 1994; "Exaggerated Reports/S.Korean Government Offically Claimed against CNN," *Donga Ilbo*, June 18, 1994.

<sup>925 &</sup>quot;N.Korean Nuclear Report, Too Much," *Hankyoreh*, June 27, 1992, 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>926</sup> "Threat of War from N. Korea," *Seoul Shinmun*, June 6, 1993, 3; "N.Korea Should Give up Desire to Start a War," *Kukmin Ilbo*, May 3, 1994, 21;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>927</sup> In June 1992, a survey revealed concerns about North Korea's use of nuclear weapons on South Koreans, increasing the level of anxiety. The survey showed 55.8% believed that the use of nuclear weapons would be attack on South Korea whereas only 9% believed that North Korea would use nuclear weapons for self-defense. "More than Half Answered 'N.Korean Nuclear Weapons Aim at Invasion of the South'/Public Opinion about Inter-Korean Relations," *Segye Ilbo*, June 29, 1992, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>928</sup> North Korea argued, "US is swaying public opinion toward pressure to impose special inspection on us without making quid pro quo conciliation." "US Conservatives Must Stop Unjust Pressure on US," *Rodong Sinmun*, January 19, 1994, 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>929</sup> Assistant Secretary Lily informed Minister of Foreign Affairs Lee Sang Ok that DoD would withhold withdrawing USFK that was scheduled to take place in 1993. "If N.Korea Refuses Inspection by June, Coercive Measures Must Be Taken," *Kukmin Ilbo*, March 5, 1992, 2.

NPT. 930 In particular, North Korea criticized the way that the Western media reported North Korea's nuclear program. 931 North Korean Ambassador Oh Chang Rim argued in a formal statement that some states were distorting the truth. 932 Kang Suk Joo also warned, "The enemies were manipulating negative opinion against North Korea through which they aim to facilitate international actions including collective pressure and economic sanction." Through these actions and statements, North Korean officials showed concern for public opposition of nuclear weapons. 934

North Korea tried to initiate a counter-discourse by emphasizing publicly through various channels that its decisions were prompted by unfair practices toward it. 935 The North Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent letters to all the NPT members and the Associated Press to notify them of Pyongyang's intention and to raise public awareness of the background for its decision. 936 North Korea insisted that allowing demands from the US would make North Korea a victim of a super power, setting a precedent of legitimizing nuclear threat to other non-nuclear weapons states and intervention in domestic affairs of sovereign states. North Korea intended to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>930</sup> Korea Central News Agency criticized that those who intended to disturb the nation tried to sway the public opinion and make prospect of the nuclear issue pessimistic. "Implications of N.Korea's Suggestion of Simultaneous Actions and Response from S.Korea and the US," *Hankyoreh*, November 13, 1993, 4.

<sup>931 &</sup>quot;N.Korea Criticizes Western Media Report on Nuclear Issues/KCNA," Hankyoreh, April 4, 1993, 4.

<sup>932 &</sup>quot;Construction of Radio-chemical Lab Is Not a Violation of Joint Declaration," *Hankyoreh*, June 19, 1992, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>933</sup> North Korea argued that US pressure would have influence on any nation in any case. "N.Korea Warns Countermeasure If Pressure on Retracting Withdrawal from the NPT/Briefing by N.Korean Delegate Kang Suk Joo," *Donga Ilbo*, March 13, 1993, 2.

<sup>934 &</sup>quot;Retaliatory Measurement in the Case of Military Attack in Yongbyon Nuclear Complex," *Sisa Press* no. 105, October 31, 1991, accessed July 22, 2011, http://www.sisapress.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=34265.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>935</sup> For example, when the UN passed a resolution in November 1993, North Korea asserted, "Many states opposed or abstained from voting for the resolution, which proved the legitimacy of our position on this issue." *Rodong Sinmun* publicized foreign media reports of a country with friendly relations to build a counter-discourse to legitimize its position. North Korea sent out a letter of compliant to political parties, the national assembly, international organizations and nongovernmental organizations in other countries to make an issue of inspection demands as if they were an 'unjust interference' on a sovereign state. "Statement of the Foreign Ministry Spokesperson," *Rodong Sinmun*, November 5, 1993, 4; "US Should Face up the Reality and Behave Properly," *Rodong Sinmun*, January 13, 1994, 6; "Appeal to every government, party, people, and organization in every nation," *Rodong Sinmun*, February 11, 1994; "US Cannot Avoid International Criticism and Curse," *Rodong Sinmun*, March 30, 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>936</sup> North Korean Foreign Minister Kim Young Nam, sent an official letter to all the NPT member states and Associated Press on March 12, 1993. In the letter, North Korea argued that the US resumed nuclear war exercise Team Spirit and prodded the IAEA Board of Governors to adopt unfair resolution to demand opening of North Korea's military site that are unrelated to nuclear activities, contrary to the agreement concluded between the IAEA and North Korea. "N.Korea Submits Withdrawal Letter to the UNSC," *Kukmin Ilbo*, March 13, 1993, 1.

highlight its request of eliminating "nuclear threat from the US," and "impartial practices of the IAEA" and called for a response from NPT member states that were critical about the revision of nonproliferation treaty.<sup>937</sup>

In short, predictions about North Korea's nuclear ambitions were reinforced by an unshakable belief that had been constructed by negative discourse. This led the public to call for a more stern position on North Korea, which then took the absence of timely actions as an excuse for delaying cooperative actions. All these interactions led to the failure of preventing the crisis from escalating.

## 3. Antagonism VII: Perceptual Gap and Incompatible Goals

The discord between the priorities of the US and North Korea resulted in a prolonged deadlock—not only of agreeing on agendas to be discussed, but also of implementing measures to be taken by each side—because antagonistic structure allowed for no common ground. Besides, perceptual gap among different parties made it impossible to have a shared understanding or coordinated approach toward North Korea. On the one hand, North Korea insisted on negotiating what was simply nonnegotiable to the other sides—the IAEA, South Korea and the US. North Korea intended to use the bilateral talk as a place to negotiate comprehensive concerns by adding seemingly unrelated issues in order to extract benefits out of the bilateral negotiation as much as it could. However, on the other hand, the US did not suggest specific demands in return for North Korea's cooperation in resolving nuclear anxiety. When North Korea offered a package deal, it proposed four major steps to be taken by each

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>937</sup> Rodong Sinmun has often reported public opinion in favor of holding peaceful negotiation on the nuclear issues. "Dispute over Resolution/IAEA Special Meeting of Board of Governors," *Hankyoreh*, March 20, 1993, 4; "Nuclear Issue Must Be Resolved by Dialogue," *Rodong Sinmun*, December 12, 1993, 6; "We Criticize Unjust Partiality in Dealing with Nuclear Issues," *Rodong Sinmun*, January 31, 1994, 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>938</sup> North Korea added demands such as "publicizing the location of the USFK bases," "withdrawal of all the US forces in South Korea," and "respect North Korea's socialist system." These are added to the previous demands for "no use of nuclear weapons against North Korea," "no provision of US nuclear umbrella to South Korea" and "canceling Team Spirit." *Kyunghang Shinmun*, June 3, 1993.

side simultaneously as a test of Washington's commitment to resolve nuclear issues. Despite the significance of this proposal, almost one year elapsed until the Geneva Agreement was concluded. The problem was that each side could not agree on all the issues on the table and asked its counterpart to take actions first. While some issues were temporarily resolved, others remained unsettled. Examining why each side could not agree on working together to develop a mutually agreeable settlement is important in order to understand the causes of delay in resolving the nuclear crisis.

## 3.1. Temporarily Resolved Issues

### US-North Korean Dialogue

The significance of bilateral dialogue was different for the US and North Korea. North Korea demanded improved relations with the US as a precondition for signing the IAEA safeguards agreement, putting ahead the issue of security guarantee and elimination of potential threats from the US. <sup>941</sup> However, the US insisted that these conditions would follow North Korea's signing of the IAEA agreement. Kim II Sung even suggested holding a summit talk in the near future and a bilateral meeting to discuss an exchange of special envoys, emphasizing that he was prepared to sign a document at a summit pledging never to produce nuclear weapons. <sup>942</sup> However, better relations between the two countries could not be established all at once, no matter how serious North Korea's commitment for peaceful resolution.

What each side intended to achieve from the bilateral talk was different. While the US

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>939</sup> Kang Suk Joo argued that in the lack of mutual trust, North Korea could not take actions first. He stressed that simultaneously implementing a package deal would be a test of Washington's sincerity to resolve nuclear issues.
"Nuclear Issue on the Korean peninsula Can Be Resolved by Dialogue, Not by Pressure," *Rodong Simmun*, November 12, 1993, 4; "Whether or Not Nuclear Issues Can Be Resolved Depends on US Attitude to Observe Agreed Steps," *Rodong Simmun*, March 5, 1994, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>940</sup> "Implication of N.Korea's Suggestion of 'Package Deal' and Response from S.Korea and the US," *Hankyoreh*, November 13, 1993, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>941</sup> North Korea demanded the US to promise not to launch a nuclear attack against it in May, July, November 1990, June, July, September, October, November 1991. Bilateral security guarantee that North Kroea claimed to want desperately had little chance of passing in the Senate because of the realities of conventional military threats from the North. Terence Roehrig, *From Deterrence to Engagement: The US Defense Commitment to South Korea* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2006), 25.

<sup>942 &</sup>quot;Kim Il Sung, Offers Summit Talk with President Clinton," Hankuk Ilbo, February 16, 1994, 1.

focused on preventing nuclear proliferation on the Korean peninsula, North Korea's focus was on resolving its decades-old security concerns as a condition for compliance at a US-DPRK bilateral talk. Pyongyang added various demands to the agenda: issues of normalization, assurance of US nonaggression, opening of US bases for inspection, cancellation of Team Spirit, and removal of US nuclear weapons from the South. Although some of North Korea's demands were outside the nuclear issues, including the removal of North Korea from the US list of terrorist states and concluding a peace treaty, all these issues were more or less related to the antagonistic structure that North Korea had encountered. North Korea stressed that the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula had originated from Washington's anti-DPRK policy and therefore should be resolved by "eliminating the hostile relations between the DPRK and the US."

Expectation of future actions was also different. The international community supported the US-North Korean talks to resolve nuclear proliferation concerns, and viewed North Korea's suspension-of-withdrawal announcement as an indication of North Korea's determination to return to the NPT. The US objectives were to get North Korea to return to the NPT, comply with its IAEA obligations, and implement the Denuclearization Declaration. On the contrary, North Korea made such a decision because it sensed that it could resume talks with the US and make a breakthrough in the forty years of hostility. North Korean delegates mentioned that solving nuclear issues could be possible "without its returning to the NPT". 945 In June 1993, each side brought a different agenda to the table, and talks began to resolve conflict that had previously seemed irreconcilable. At a press conference on June 11, 1993, North Korean delegates called the future meeting as a "political dialogue," but the US side refused to use this

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>943</sup> North Korea asked 1)a written guarantee from the US that no nuclear weapons will be used against it, 2)no US nuclear weapons be deployed in South Korea,3)a permanent cancellation of the Us-South Korean Team Spirit military exercises, 4)an official peace treaty to replace the Korean armistice, 5)the removal of North Korea from theUS list of terrorist states, 6)a proposal seeking the reunification of the two Koreas. North Korea went on arguing that it could negotiate on the nuclear issue in exchange for US diplomatic recognition in October 1993.

944 *Pyongyang Times*, June 26, 1993, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>945</sup> "Without Returning to the NPT, Resolving Nuclear Issues/N.Korea's Argument at the High-Level Talk," *Hankyoreh*, June 20, 1993, 2.

term. Gallucci confirmed that no one in the US government mentioned any possibility of concluding treaty of amity and that political dialogue was not possible for the time being.<sup>946</sup> Washington would not discuss improving its "nonexistent political relations with Pyongyang," even though that was the key solution for an end to the crisis in the eyes of the North Koreans.

## Cancellation of US-South Korea Joint Military Exercise

North Korea's anxiety over the US-South Korea joint exercises was a thorny issue throughout the negotiations. Team Spirit, held by 200,000 USFK and South Korean service members annually since 1976, had provoked a chill, and has been said to be a reason for North Korea's withdrawal from the treaty in March 1993. During Team Spirit in 1993, North Korea declared withdrawal from the NPT after warning that it would take actions toward self-defense. When the US planned to reinforce the USFK and to resume Team Spirit in early 1994, North Korea began discharging nuclear rods from the reactor in Yongbyon. North Korea had consistently requested a cancellation of Team Spirit as a condition for signing the IAEA safeguards inspection, for implementing safeguard obligations, and for continued inter-Korean dialogue. However, South Korea would not stop military exercises without significant progress in resolving the nuclear crisis.

Canceling military exercises and conducting IAEA inspections were not pursued simultaneously because North Korea requested canceling Team Spirit as a precondition for conducting inspections. For South Koreans, halting the joint military exercise with the US meant removing one of the essential safeguards against North Korean aggression. South Korea's position was that canceling Team Spirit could only be possible after mutual inspections

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>946</sup> "Precondition for Holding Dialogue with N.Korea is Resolving Nuclear Issues/Interview with Gallucci," *Hankyoreh*, September 14, 1993, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>947</sup> John J. Fialka, "US, allies seem set to give North Korea time to consider treaty withdrawal," *Wall Street Journal*, March 18, 1993, A9.

<sup>948 &</sup>quot;N.Korea Warns 'Actions for Self-defense' if Team Spirit Resumes," Hankyoreh, January 28, 1993, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>949</sup> "The Third Round of US-N.Korean Talk/Background and Implication of the Statement of N.Korean Foreign Ministry," *Hankyoreh*, September 2, 1993, 2.

between the two Koreas and successful IAEA inspections were complete. 950 Like South Korea, the US took the position that canceling Team Spirit military exercises could be possible only after North Korea took practical measures to implement obligations under the NPT. 951 The US insisted this could not be an excuse for North Korea's barring of the IAEA. 952

Team Spirit served two different, conflicting purposes: stabilization of the Korean peninsula for the South and destabilization of the status-quo for the North. On one hand, the joint military exercise was symbolically meaningful as a necessary component of the US-South Korea alliance, but on the other hand, it was feared by North Koreans as a "dress-rehearsal" for an invasion in the North. North Korea called Team Spirit a preparation of "nuclear war against the North." 953 The North Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs in official announcement condemned the resumption of Team Spirit as a "betrayal of nonaggression agreement and denuclearization statement," and a "deliberate attempt to disturb inter-Korean dialogue." 954

Besides, resuming or canceling Team Spirit was a powerful bargaining chip for South Korea. For the US, the option of canceling Team Spirit enabled Washington to induce North Korea's compliance of international inspections. 955 Therefore, perpetual cancellation was not an option, and, consequently, Team Spirit was suspended only temporarily. 956 During the negotiations over a "package deal" in October 1993, the US presented expanded IAEA inspections and the beginning of an inter-Korean dialogue up front, while holding out the

<sup>950 &</sup>quot;Cancellation of Team Spirit Possible after Nuclear Inspection/MND Response to N.Korea's Signal to Accept IAEA Inspection," Donga Ilbo, February 17, 1994, 2.

<sup>951 &</sup>quot;Statement by President Bush," Donga Ilbo, January 6, 1992, 2; "If N.Korea Accepts Inspection, US and S.Korea Will Cancel Team Spirit/US-S.Korea Summit Talk," Segye Ilbo, January 7, 1992, 1.

<sup>952 &</sup>quot;The Koreas: The odd one," *The Economist* 326, no. 7798, February 13, 1993, 41.

<sup>953</sup> Son Song Phil, N.Korean Ambassador to Russia, mentioned that resuming Team Spirit will worsen security environment in North East Asia and give negative impact on inter-Korean dialogue. "After Team Spirit, Inter-Korean Dialogue May Begin/N.Korea Message to the US," Hankyoreh, December 26, 1992, 2; "If Team Spirit is Resumed, N.Korea Will Refuse Inspection," Hankyoreh, January 31, 1993, 2.

<sup>954 &</sup>quot;N.Korea Denounces Team Spirit/N.Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs Memorandum," Kyunghyang Shinmun, October 29, 1992, 2.

<sup>955</sup> Calling of Team Spirit was not entirely against US interest because the cost associated with this annual military exercise was three times South Korea's payment of 10.5 billion won. Therefore, the US has reduced the size of mobilized troops by 15,000 every year since 1989. "Suspension of Team Spirit and Disarmament," Donga Ilbo, January 8, 1992, 2.

<sup>956</sup> Joint Declaration of South and North Korea on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, January 20, 1992, http://contents.archives.go.kr/next/content/listSubjectDescription.do?id=002895.

possibility of Team Spirit. <sup>957</sup> However, North Korea demanded to discuss termination of Team Spirit first. At the Joint Nuclear Control Commission between the two Koreas, South Koreans argued they would continue to make preparations for Team Spirit unless the JNCC made substantial progress. <sup>958</sup> However, North Korea warned that it would withdraw from all inter-Korean dialogue and would stop IAEA inspections if Team Spirit exercises were not terminated. <sup>959</sup> Due to this impasse, making progress on inspections was almost impossible, and consequently further the US-North Korea dialogue was delayed.

## 3.2. Re-emerged Issues

## Removal of US Nuclear Weapons in the South

The issue of the existence of nuclear weapons in South Korea repeatedly emerged during the crisis. North Korea raised the issue of the establishment of the Korean peninsula as a nuclear-weapons-free zone and the removal of US nuclear weapons from the South throughout the crisis. <sup>960</sup> Pyongyang demanded removal of nuclear weapons from the South as a precondition for its acceptance of IAEA safeguards inspections. <sup>961</sup> After signing the NPT, North Korea proposed the idea of a nuclear-free Korean peninsula in June 1986, and repeatedly suggested the establishment of the Korean peninsula as a nuclear-weapons-free zone as one of the preconditions of signing the IAEA safeguards agreement. <sup>962</sup> At a Beijing meeting in January 1990, North Korea invited the US to trilateral talks to discuss a nuclear weapons free zone on the Korean peninsula to encourage US involvement. <sup>963</sup> However, the US did not respond

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<sup>957 &</sup>quot;Background of Negotiation on a Package Deal," Kyunghyang Shinmun, October 30, 1993, 3.

<sup>958 &</sup>quot;If Mutual Inspection Conducted, S.Korea Will Consider Canceling Team Spirit," Joongang Ilbo, October 22, 1992,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2.5</sup> "N.Korea Indicates Refusing International Inspection/Ministry of Foreign Affairs Statement," *Joongang Ilbo*, November 2, 1992, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>960</sup> "N.Korean Scholar Interview with S.Korean Correspondent," *Hankyoreh*, May 22, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>961</sup> North Korea intended to achieve was that the US, the Soviet and China legally guarantee the idea of nuclear-free zone on the Korean peninsula followed by other non-nuclear weapons states' endorsement. "N.Korea Wishes to Negotiate Directly with S.Korea on Denuclearization," *Hankyoreh*, August 2, 1991, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>962</sup> Andrew Mack, "North Korea and the Bomb," Foreign Policy, no 83 (Summer 1991): 87-104.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>963</sup> The US delegates mentioned that Washington was not ready for participating in the trilateral talk. "US-N.Korea

quickly due to Washington's NDNC policy. 964 The initial US position was to refuse to negotiate the withdrawal of US nuclear weapons from South Korea. 965 South Korea's position was that the issue of US nuclear weapons in the South must be discussed as a separate issue. 966

Even after the US announced the removal of overseas tactical nuclear weapons, nuclear weapons on the Korean peninsula remained an unresolved issue. Official declarations by the White House on removing tactical nuclear weapons from overseas bases seemingly foreclosed any additional demands from North Korea. Since North Korea insisted that it would sign the nuclear safeguards agreement if the US withdrew all the nuclear weapons from South Korea, there seemed to be no reason to postpone signing the agreement. 967 However, North Korea announced that it could not trust the US because the USFK reportedly constructed storage to hide nuclear weapons in March 1992. 968 Although the US declared removal of tactical nuclear weapons abroad, North Korea could not be assured until inspections of US bases in South Korea would be complete. 969 Therefore, North Korea again called for establishing a nuclearfree-zone in East Asia in February 15, 1994. 970

Due to the lack of mutual trust between North Korea and the US, Washington's declaration of removing all the overseas tactical nuclear weapons was not sufficient for North Korea to be convinced. In May 1992, North Korea requested a detailed report on "where and

Contact in Beijing," Hankyoreh, January 7, 1990; "N.Korea Negotiates Nuclear Safeguard Agreement/N.Korea Asks the US to Remove Obstacles," Hankyoreh, January 9, 1990, 4.

<sup>964</sup> Kongdan Oh, "Nuclear Proliferation in North Korea," in The Proliferation of Advanced Weaponry: Technology, Motivations, and Response, eds. W. Thomas Wander and Eric H. Arnett (Washington, DC: AAAS Publication, 1992),

<sup>965 &</sup>quot;US Rejects N. Korean Conditions on Nuclear Inspection," Japan Economic Newswire, July 31, 1990.

<sup>966 &</sup>quot;First Nuclear Negotiation with N.Korea/Foreign Affairs Spokesperson," Segye Ilbo, August 2, 1992, 2.

<sup>967</sup> North Korean Prime Minister Yon Hyong Muk's speech at the UN General Assembly on October 2, 1991. Sung Yong Kim, "Prospect of Holding South-North Summit Talk/N.Korean Delegate Yon Hyung Mook Speaks at the UN," Chosun Ilbo, October 4, 1991, 1.

<sup>968 &</sup>quot;N.Korea Cannot Believe Withdrawal of Nuclear Weapons from S.Korea/Pyongyang News," Hankyoreh, March 10, 1992, 2; "Jong Joo Young's Speech/N.Korea Requests Comprehensive Inspection in S.Korea," Seoul Shinmun, March 10, 1992, 1; "Press Conference by N.Korean Delegates," Donga Ilbo, June 1, 1992, 5.

<sup>969</sup> Kim Il Sung insisted that inspection in US bases in South Korea should begin because North Korea ccepted IAEA inspection to clarify suspicion of North Korea's development of nuclear weapons program. He stressed that delegates from North Korea and the US should meet to discuss this matter since South Korea has no right to determine whether or not to open those bases. "N.Korea Will Make Important Decision/Interview with CSIS Deputy Director Taylor," Kukmin Ilbo, July 2, 1992, 2.

<sup>970 &</sup>quot;Denuclearization of North East Asia/KCNA," Seoul Shinmun, February 15, 1994, 3.

how many US nuclear weapons were deployed in South Korea," which was beyond South Korea's discretion. <sup>971</sup> Kim Yong Soon suggested the idea of a trilateral meeting among the two Koreas and the US to discuss mutual inspections again in July 1992. <sup>972</sup> On the one hand, North Korea had repeatedly stressed that it would accept international inspections only if US military bases in South Korea were also open to inspections through various channels. <sup>973</sup> On the other hand, South Korea demanded that North Korea open the same number of military bases that were not related to nuclear programs. Since North Korea's nuclear facilities were allegedly concentrated in Yongbyon, opening all other military sites was thought to be a gross national security concern. <sup>974</sup> Whatever the reason, failure to agree on a mutual inspection between the two Koreas ended up increasing suspicions of North Korea's lack of commitment in realizing a nuclear-free Korean peninsula. Because holding a dialogue for mutual inspection was one of the preconditions for resuming US-North Korean talks, the fact that the JNCC meeting made little progress became an obstacle for US-DPRK dialogue.

#### Supply of Light-Water Reactor

North Korea informed the IAEA of its willingness to consider giving up its graphite reactors if the required assistance could be provided in May 1992. It was significant that North Korea wanted to trade its old facilities suitable for bomb-making with light-water reactors, whose fuel rods are harder to divert and more easily safeguarded. North Korea expressed its

<sup>971 &</sup>quot;North-South Talks Fail to Make Progress on Nuclear Issue," Yonhap News, May 15, 1992.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>972</sup> Previously, North Korea suggested this idea to the US in 1990. "Suggestion of Tripartite Meeting/N.Korean Delegate Kim Yong Soon/Discussed S.Korea-N.Korea-US Inspection," *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, July 26, 1992, 1.
<sup>973</sup> Kim Yong Sun, the Korean Workers Party Secretary for International Affairs, confirmed North Korea's position in February 1991, and Kim Yong Nam mentioned that North Korea would not allow inspections until verifying the removal of US nuclear weapons and receiving legal assurances that the US would not pose a nuclear threat in June 1991. Pak Kil Yon, head of North Korea's mission to the UN, called for simultaneous inspections in June 1991, Lee Kye Paek, chairman of the Central Committee of the Korean Social Democratic Party demanded removal of all nuclear weapons from South Korea in June 1991. "Envoy Urges Simultaneous Nuclear Inspections," *Yonhap News*, June 11, 1991; "US Nuclear Arms in South Korea Must Be opened to the Publicand Inspection of them be Made," *KCNA*, June 14, 1991.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>974</sup> The effort to establish the most strict inspection regime faces resistance from the North, and applying the same rule to the South is another obstacle to overcome. Sung Hoon Cheon, "Nuclear Crisis in a Dilemma: North Korean Policy in Need of Revision," *Tongil Hankuk* 12, no. 3 (1994): 28-33.

intention to eliminate certain elements of its nuclear program and to seek peaceful nuclear technology to Direct General Hans Blix, <sup>975</sup> to the IAEA inspection team during the first IAEA inspection in May 1992, <sup>976</sup> to the US at the Beijing channel, and to South Korea during North Korea's vice premier Kim Dal Hyun's visit to Seoul. <sup>977</sup> However, this idea was not immediately taken with due consideration. Therefore, when North Korean delegates reemphasized replacing their graphite-generated nuclear reactors with less-threatening light-water reactors in July 1993, the US took it as an unexpected suggestion. <sup>978</sup> North Korean diplomats explained that all North Korea wanted in return was a guarantee from the US that the new reactors would be made available. <sup>979</sup> At the July 8, 1994 Geneva meeting, North Korea emphasized the early introduction of light-water reactors as the first topic to be discussed. <sup>980</sup>

However, on the road to carry out this proposal were various obstacles. First of all, the IAEA was not in a position to make such an arrangement, and there was little chance for the US to provide North Korea with such assistance. When North Korea's proposal first came out in June 1992, the South Korean government showed interest, but ultimately denied the request because of a report on the construction of a radiochemical laboratory in North Korea that was in violation of the Joint Declaration of the Denuclearization. Secondly, the US was skeptical about the proposal because of the immense difficulties involved in financing of a multibillion-dollar deal. Although the US government agreed that it was desirable that North Korea obtain

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>975</sup> Jeffrey Smith, "North Korea May Consider Reducing Atom Program," Washington Post, June 20, 1992, A14.
 <sup>976</sup> "If Light-Water and Peaceful Nuclear Technology Is Provided, N.Korea Intends to Stop Production of Plutonium,"

Segye Ilbo, June 8, 1992, 1.

<sup>977 &</sup>quot;NK Energy Tech Tied to N-Issue," Korea Herald, June 10, 1993.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>978</sup> North Koreans explained that they had developed graphite reactor because sustainable supply of fuel from outside would not be feasible. North Korea's Atomic Energy Ministry expressed its intention to develop light-water reactor technology that is better for efficiency and safety if stable supply of enriched uranium fuel is secured. When North Korean delegates invited the US counterparts for lunch, they emphasized again that Pyongyang was ready to trade its existing nuclear program for new light-water reactors, which they decribed as "bold, new instruction." "Sudden Demand of light-water Reactor Technology/US-N.Korean Talk Halted," *Hankyoreh*, July 18, 1993, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>979</sup> Wit, Going Critical, 71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>980</sup> At the Geneva meeting on July 8, 1994, North Korea came up with a proposal that the US take real steps to secure the provision of light-water reactors to North Korea as a fundamental solution to end the nuclear crisis. Kang Suk Joo repeatedly emphasized that he wants a firm guarantee from the US an intergovernmental agreement to provide financing and construction of new reactors to replace existing reactors and others under construction by the year 2000. Wit, *Going Critical*, 252.

<sup>981 &</sup>quot;Light-Water Reactor Technology/S.Korea Will Not Provide N.Korea," Kukmin Ilbo, June 16, 1992.

light-water reactors with the help and support of the US, it was unclear whether the US congress would approve the provision of a light water reactor. 982 When Gallucci explained North Korea's proposal and the costs associated with this project, he was told not to make any commitments. 983 Thirdly, for those who were concerned about discovering North Korea's past activities, such an idea seemed to be a just another "negotiating ploy" to delay access to the two suspected sites, or a multibillion-dollar face-saver. 984 Therefore, the US could only promise it would "explore" ways in which North Korea might obtain new reactors. The July 1993 joint statement said that the US would consider ways to replace North Korea's gas-graphite moderated nuclear reactors "as part of a final resolution" of the nuclear issue and on the premise that a solution to the provision of a light water nuclear reactor was "feasible." Not surprisingly, actual engagement by the US was not followed until the Geneva Agreed Framework confirmed that the US played a "supporting role" in coordinating a consortium to build light-water reactors with South Korea's and Japan's participation.

The fact that North Korea repeatedly emphasized its intention of giving up its gasgraphite moderated reactors suggests that Pyongyang sought options other than developing its nuclear weapons program. North Korea's proposal was indeed a sensitive one that could be controversial even among North Koreans because it had to compromise its adherence to *Juche* 

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<sup>982</sup> Leon V. Sigal, Disarming Stranger, 1998, 66-67.

<sup>983</sup> Wit, Going Critical, 74.

<sup>984</sup> Previous studies of North Korean negotiating style argue that North Korea's real agenda is not reflected at the table, but rather maximizes political benefits by wearing down opponents through uncompromising insistence on its own positions. For North Korea's negotiating tactics, see R. Jeffery Smith and Ann Devroy, "US Debates Shift on North Korea," *Washington Post*, June 21, 1994, A1; Do Tae Kim, "North Korea's Consistent Negotiating Style," *Vantage Point* (April 1995): 31-40; Do Tae Kim, "Change and Continuity in North Korea's Negotiating Behavior in the Post-Cold War Era," *Social Science and Policy Research* 17, no. 2 (October 1995): 277-300; Yong Ho Kim, "A Comparison of Communist Countries' Negotiation Styles: North Korea, People's Republic of China, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," *Social Science and Policy Research* 17, no. 2 (October 1995): 277-300; Yang Sang Chul, "North Korean Negotiating strategy and South Korea's Policy Responses," *Social Science and Policy Research* 17, no. 2 (October 1995): 345-370; Wit, *Going Critical*, 72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>985</sup> The US delegates announced in a press statement that the US would be prepared to support the introduction of LWRs and to explore with the DPRK ways in which LWRs could be obtained "on the premise that a solution related to the provision of light water moderated reactors is achievable." "US-North Korea Talks on the Nuclear Issue," (Press Statement, Text of statement by the US delegation to the US-DPRK Talks on the Nuclear Issue, Geneva, July 19, 1993); Leon Sigal, "Who is Fighting Peace in Korea?: An Undiplomatic History," *World Policy Journal*, 14, no. 2 (1997): 44-58.

principle and reliance on the outside world. Nonetheless, the supply of safe and secure nuclear energy could be beneficial for North Korea's economy and diplomatically significant for improving relations with the US. Besides, unlike light-water reactors, North Korea's gasgraphite reactors could not operate without reprocessing. In order to implement the joint declaration, the issue of providing light-water reactor technology had to be dealt with eventually. However, Washington's position that it could only explore the possibility to make reactors available after Pyongyang satisfied its nonproliferation obligations stood in opposition with North Korea's demand that it would not continue talks with the IAEA without a US guarantee. Such discord hindered earlier negotiation on this issue.

#### 3.3. Unresolved Issues

## IAEA Special Inspection

One of the main causes of the lengthy dispute over North Korea's nuclear program was the request of a "special inspection." The question whether to investigate past nuclear activities or to prevent future nuclear activities was the central issue of discord among the IAEA, Washington, and Pyongyang. Pyongyang continued to refuse to submit two suspicious sites to IAEA inspection, in contrast with the IAEA's demand of comprehensive implementation of nuclear safeguard monitoring. North Korea and the IAEA argued over the definition and scope of safeguards continuity. While the IAEA sought inspections well beyond the limited activities conducted in May 1993, North Korea sought to limit IAEA access. On the one hand, North Korea argued that it would not accept what had not been discussed at the bilateral

<sup>986</sup> Seong Taek Shin, North Korean Report (Seoul: News Hankuk, 2009).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>987</sup> "UNSC Will Take Actions if N. Korea Refuses Comprehensive Inspection," *Seoul Shinmun*, November 3, 1993, 1; "Dispute on 'Comprehensive Inspection'/N.Korea Wanrs Withdrawal from the NPT/US Warns UNSC Actions," *Kukmin Ilbo*, February 1, 1994, 1; "IAEA Wishes to Finish Comprehensive Inspection This Month/Hans Blix," *Seoul Shinmun*, April 14, 1994, 1; "UN Requests N.Korea to Accept Comprehensive Inspection," *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, May 25, 1994, 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>988</sup> The IAEA demanded special inspections of two Yongbyon sites that North Korea had earlier declared off-limits. Gordon Chang, *Nuclear Showdown: North Korea Takes on the World* (Westminster, MD: Random House Inc., 2006), 26.

meeting. On the other hand, Pyongyang complained about the IAEA's inconsistency when the Agency extended the deadline of invitation of inspectors in order not to declare that North Korea crossed the "red-line." Therefore, some argue that North Korea was left with no other options but to announce its withdrawal. 990

There were obvious differences among the positions on special inspections among North Korea, the US, and the IAEA. The IAEA insisted that conducting one-time, limited inspections was not sufficient, but North Korea refused sampling or gamma mapping, critical methods for the IAEA inspections. <sup>991</sup> On February 22, 1994, the spokesperson of the North Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs officially confirmed that North Korea and the IAEA reached an agreement on the scope of IAEA inspections, which would only "guarantee safeguards continuity." On the other hand, North Korea insisted that the scope and type of inspections could be discussed at a third round of high-level talks, whereas the IAEA demanded unrestricted access to all seven declared nuclear sites. When the US State Department confirmed that North Korea should accept all IAEA conditions on nuclear inspections *before* it would consider a third round of talks, North Korea warned of "catastrophic consequences," calling for resuming talks with the US.

Demanding North Korea to accept special inspection was also a disputable issue within the US. The fear of North Korea's future activities, rather than past activities, encouraged the US to reach a tentative agreement which although postponed discovery of North Korea's past nuclear activities, which sustained lingering suspicion of North Korea's nuclear program. A nuclear-armed North Korea would be the first underdeveloped state in hostile relations with the

<sup>989 &</sup>quot;Debates on the Deadline of IAEA Inspection," *Donga Ilbo*, April 4, 1994, 2.

<sup>990</sup> Chang, Nuclear Showdown, 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>991</sup> "N.Korea Allows One-time Limited Inspection/N.Korea-US Agree on Principles/Disagreement Remains on the Scope of Inspection," *Hankyoreh*, January 22, 1994, 2; "North Korea Continues to Reject Nuke Inspections," *Washington Times*, January 22, 1994, A1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>992</sup> "N.Korea Confirms Nuclear Inspection/Denies 'Special Inspection'/Spokesperson, Ministry of Foreign Affairs," *Donga Ilbo*, February 22, 1994, 1.

US and could export nuclear-related technology to the Middle East. However, Washington also had the problem of bureaucratic differences between "safeguards-firsters" in the Department of State and "dismantlement-firsters" in the Department of Defense.

The question whether to investigate past nuclear activities or to prevent future nuclear activities was raised by North Korean delegates at the first New York Channel meeting in June 1993, but the US delegates did not clearly confirm their position on this issue. <sup>994</sup> In September 1994, North Korean delegates again asked their US counterparts to choose between uncovering North Korea's nuclear past and ending its present activities. <sup>995</sup> For the US, losing momentum to freeze North Korea's nuclear facilities by reaching a stalemate over special inspections was the worst scenario for Americans who worried that reactivating the 5MWe reactor that would spell disaster. <sup>996</sup> By agreeing to delay special inspections of suspected nuclear sites, the Geneva Agreed Framework left the discovery of North Korea's past activities to the future.

Discord between North Korea and the international community over IAEA special inspections was hardly reconciled because each understood North Korea's status after its withdrawal announcement in different ways. Thus, the starting point that each side set before the negotiation on IAEA special inspections was different. IAEA bureaucrats also believed that North Korea was still a member of the NPT and accordingly had an obligation to implement its safeguards agreement without exceptions. 997 The US considered North Korea a member remaining within the NPT, but North Korea insisted on its special status. 998 Therefore, the IAEA's attempt to exercise its right to inspect undeclared sites for the first time was met with North Korea's stern resistance. For North Koreans who claimed the IAEA's practices were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>993</sup> "Pressure on N.Korea over Signing IAEA Safeguard Agreement," *Chosun Ilbo*, April 18, 1990, 3.

<sup>994</sup> Wit, Going Critical, 60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>995</sup> Ibid, 300.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>996</sup> Ibid, 301.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>997</sup> North Korea's assertion of holding a special status due to temporary suspension of its withdrawal from the NPT was also rejected by the US. Joseph Cirincione, Jon B. Wolfsthal, and Miriam Rajkumar, *Deadly Arsenal* (Washington D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005), 290.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>998</sup> Pyongyang Times, September 20, 1993, 3; Pyongyang Times, February 5, 1994, 1; Pyongyang Times, February 19, 1994, 8.

"unfair and impartial," beginning consultations with the IAEA on special inspections without eliminating the causes behind its special status was unacceptable.

Investigating North Korea's past activities by conducting special inspections was a double-edged sword for all. On the one hand, choosing to deal with future activities and avoid complicated investigation of the past could prevent further accumulation of plutonium and possible transfer of nuclear materials to other places. If talks broke down due to North Korea's stern opposition to the special inspections, international actions including sanctions would be followed, which could lead North Korea to reprocess plutonium. On the other hand, dealing with past activities could reduce anxiety about possible plutonium production that could be used for manufacturing nuclear weapons at some point. Therefore, it was equally important to have access to suspected sites and discover past activities, which could damage the nonproliferation regime. 999 However, failure to bring North Korea to the nonproliferation regime could cause greater damage. Therefore, each course of action could have a negative impact on the nonproliferation regime.

This issue also involved the differing priorities of each side. At the July 1993 meeting, North Korea agreed to "consult" with the IAEA but insisted that negotiating special inspections was not an option. However, the IAEA would not withdraw its demand of conducting full-scope inspections in two suspected sites. IAEA's consistent demand of unlimited inspections in all nuclear sites, including two suspected facilities, contributed to a stalemate. North Korea argued that the IAEA's excessive demands jeopardized the third round of US-North Korean talks. The US did not agree with the "excessiveness" but warned that it would take other measures if the continuity of safeguards were broken. The US negotiators warned that no further talks would be possible unless North Koreans agreed to talk with the IAEA and to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>999</sup> Glyn Davis, Testimony Submitted for the Record, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 103 cong. 2 sess. (GPO, March 3, 1994).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1000</sup> The US and North Korean negotiations had reached understanding that the term 'special inspection' would not be used. Narushige Michishita, *North Korea's Military-Diplomatic Campaigns*, *1966-2008* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 97-98.

accept visits to the two suspected sites. Because there was no progress in the IAEA-North Korea consultations, US-North Korea bilateral talks were suspended at the moment that measures toward a breakthrough were most needed.

Because North Korea withdrew from the NPT after the IAEA insisted on special inspections, Pyongyang insisted that consistent demands of implementing special inspections would ultimately force it out of the nonproliferation regime. Washington eventually toned down its rhetoric about special inspections, but forming an agreement without special inspections mentioned up front could bring about not only international, but also domestic criticism. Such ambiguity gave North Korea an excuse to deny the IAEA's effort to confirm correction of North Korea's report. Therefore, when the US demanded to open suspected nuclear weapons development sites to inspections, North Korea argued that such a demand contrasted with the previous agreement between Washington and Pyongyang. The North Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs released an official statement in which it argued that the US "betrayed North Korea" by demanding comprehensive inspections in violation of the December 29 agreement and warned that North Korea could retract suspension of withdrawal from the NPT if the US continued to insist on an unlimited inspection.

### Inter-Korean Dialogue

South Korea wished to handle controversies over North Korea's nuclear program as inter-Korean issues. Facing criticism on the government's inability to restart dialogue, the South

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1001</sup> "US Must Observe its Responsibility and Obligation At a Critical Juncture/Dialogue between Ministry of Foreign Affairs Spokesperson and Correspondents," *Rodong Sinmun*, February 22, 1994, 5.

<sup>1002</sup> North Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesperson argued in the statement, "The US supported the Agency's attempt to implement special inspection on military sites, which is an act of betrayal. Delaying dialogue while forging international opinion in favor of imposing sanctions and military actions is an act of gaining time to crush us to death. It is our understanding that the US has no intention to resolve nuclear issues peacefully through dialogues." "N.Korea Warns Withdrawal from the NPT If the US Continues to Demand Comprehensive Inspection," *Hankyoreh*, February 1, 1994, 2; "US Must Be Responsible for a Catastrophic Situation on the Korean Peninsula Caused by its Breach of Trust." *Rodong Sinmun*, February 1, 1994, 4; "Criticizing the US of Overturning Promises," *Rodong Sinmun*, March 19, 1994, 6.

Korean government expressed, at least to the public, confidence in influencing North Korea. 1003 The US also demanded continuing inter-Korean dialogue to make the US-DPRK bilateral talks more acceptable to South Koreans. Therefore, the US demanded the North-South talks as a prerequisite for better relations between the US and North Korea. Ideally, inter-Korean dialogue should move in tandem with the US-DPRK talk, but inter-Korean talks could be productive only after US-DPRK discussions made progress. After the JNCC meeting was derailed, North Korea proposed executive meetings to discuss an exchange of presidential special envoys along with the US-DPRK bilateral talks. 1004 However, inter-Korean dialogue frequently faltered due to factors such as sociopolitical heterogeneity, the memory of historical competition, and South Korean conservative skepticism on engagement.

In a situation where deep distrust existed, North Korea asked South Korea to show "sincere attitude to stop all kinds of nuclear exercises," including Team Spirit, and to "stop efforts to form collective pressure on Pyongyang." Inter-Korean dialogue, especially the JNCC meeting designed to improve inter-Korean relations, was viewed as another venue to pressure North Korea's compliance with the IAEA. Therefore, the issue of inter-Korean dialogue could not be put up front out of concern that it could jeopardize IAEA inspections on the ground. Kang Suk Joo insisted that North Korea would halt IAEA inspections if the US continued to insist on an inter-Korean exchange of envoys." A North Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesperson mentioned, "The US was intentionally delaying bilateral talks by linking unrelated inter-Korean issues including the exchange of special envoys... We cannot

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1003</sup> Deputy Prime Minister Han Wan Sang insisted, "there is no possibility that we will be estranged from resolving the issue of the Korean peninsula even after the high-level talks between the US and North Korea." "Considers N-S, US talks," *Yonhap News*, July 9, 1993.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1004</sup> South Koreans were discontent about being isolated from the whole negotiation process. Because the nuclear issue was thought to be an issue of the Korean peninsula, they wanted to play a major role. "N.Korea Suggests 'Meeting on 10," *Hankyoreh*, June 9, 1993, 2.

<sup>1005 &</sup>quot;N.Korea, Conditional Inspection in Two Sites/US-North Korea Meeting," *Hankyoreh*, December 22, 1993, 1.

<sup>1006 &</sup>quot;North Reacts Fiercely to linkaege of Nucler and Other Issues," Yonhap News, June 30, 1992.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1007</sup> "N.Korean Nuclear Inspection Begins on March 1/N.Korea Issues Visa to IAEA Inspectors," *Hankyoreh*, February 27, 1994, 1.

but be cautious about such an attempt to delay dialogue with us."1008

The South Korean government, vulnerable to public opinion, was prone to reflect conservative views and to demonstrate a tough policy toward Pyongyang. South Korea's initial idea was to be flexible, provided Pyongyang was sincere in resolving the nuclear issue. 1009 However, Seoul discarded its previous position to promise canceling Team Spirit if Pyongyang agreed to accept international safeguards, and instead benevolently offered to cancel the military exercise when the North Korean special envoy came to meet President Kim. 1010 This idea could have been helpful for propagandizing South Korea's leadership in handling the nuclear issue, but the October 15 meeting ended without agreement between the North and South. North Korea canceled the next meeting, scheduled for November 4, 1993, after the South Korean Ministry of National Defense announced that it would discuss countermeasures at the US-South Korea Security Consultative Meeting because North Korea could perpetrate military provocations. 1011 The problem was that decreasing tension between the two Koreas could only be possible after resolving the nuclear crisis, not the other way around.

In short, mismanagement of negative interactions was partly due to different priorities in scope and venue among different parties. The US interest was limited only to the nuclear issue and inspection of nuclear sites in North Korea. However, North Korea's agenda was so comprehensive that overall concerns on the Korean peninsula were included. North Korea emphasized that US-DPRK bilateral talks should handle all the issues, including its nuclear program. Such parallax views constituted an antagonistic structure in which negative interactions continued. 1012

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1008</sup> "Losing the Last Chance of Resolving Nuclear Issues through Dialogue Is the US Itself," *Rodong Sinmun*, December 18, 1993, 5.

<sup>1009 &</sup>quot;Seoul Proposes North Send First Envoy," Yonhap News, October 5, 1993.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1010</sup> "N.Korean Nuclear Issue, Normalization, and Package Deal/Inter-Korean Dialogue and S.Korea's Response," *Seoul Shinmun*, October 26, 1993, 5; Joel S. Wit, Daniel B. Poneman, and Robert L. Gallucci, *Going Critical: The First North Korean Nuclear Crisis* (Washington: Brookings Institute Press, 2004), 87.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1011</sup> "North Korea Backs Out of Inter-Korean Talks for Envoy Exchange," North Korea News, no. 709, November 15, 1993

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1012</sup> Parallax is the gap between a multitude of perspectives on an issue, and such a gap separates two sides between

## 4. Antagonism VIII: Uncoordinated Approaches among Multiple Players

Conflicting interests among the key actors caused them to take divergent approaches, leading to a stalemate. In addition to mixed signals, a lack of coordination of the different interests of the three actors in the North Korean nuclear issue hindered progress. 1013 The US wanted to represent all the demands from concerned states. 1014 The complication was that the US government had to deal with North Korea, but, at the same time, it had to take into consideration the demands from the IAEA and South Korea. 1015 Addressing issues on behalf of the IAEA and South Korea, the US set North Korea's continuous dialogue with the IAEA and South Korea as a precondition for resuming talks with North Korea. However, the IAEA-DPRK talks were stalled due to IAEA's additional request of conducting special inspections that were not specifically requested by the US, and the inter-Korean dialogue stopped due to South Korea's hesitation to cancel Team Spirit, an integral part of the US-South Korea military alliance but an obstacle to reconciliation between the two Koreas. The dilemma that Washington faced was that it prioritized protecting the agency's prerogatives and maintaining solidarity with a key ally, but it could not risk causing further US-DPRK talks to be unpromising.

### 4.1. Discord between US and the IAEA

A purely technical matter could be resolved only after political obstacles were removed

which no synthesis is possible.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1013</sup> Kenneth Quinones notes different approaches to North Korea were one of the shortcomings of the nuclear negotiation. Kenneth Quinones, "The Quest for an Effective North Korea Strategy," in *Peace Regime Building on the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asian Security Cooperation*, eds. Tae Hwan Kwak and Seung Ho Joo (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2010), 83-84.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1014</sup> Winston Lord, "US Goals in the Asia-Pacific Region," in *National Strategic Studies*, ed. Michael D. Bellows (National Defense University Press, 1994).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1015</sup> It was obvious that carrots that the US could give to North Korea was the cancellation of Team Spirit, which faced protest from South Korea who felt being excluded from the nuclear negotiation. ROK MND argued that Team Spirit military exercise would be resumed unless North Korea would allow IAEA inspection and President Kim Young Sam, who were very sensitive to the public opinion, insisted that Team Spirit should be discussed in a "through and comprehensive approach" through which exchange of envoys and that serious dialogue between two Koreas should be agreed along with other issues. Leon V. Sigal, *Disarming Strangers*, 87-88.

between the US and North Korea through bilateral negotiations. Implementing the nuclear safeguards agreement was believed to be a matter between North Korea and the IAEA, but the US became the major player. As the progress of IAEA inspections relied on the US-DPRK senior-level talk, managing differences in attitudes and perspectives between the IAEA and the US became an issue. The first US-DPRK joint document mentioned the principle of "impartial application of safeguards," which implied that the previous inspections had not been impartial and caused the IAEA discomfort. Besides, some in the IAEA worried that the process of US-DPRK bilateral talks could undermine the IAEA's role simply as an "arbitrator" of safeguards requirements.

Conflict between diplomatic strategy and institutional imperatives occurred because North Korea's nuclear issue broke out at a critical moment when the IAEA was determined not to repeat its failure in Iraq. The IAEA's major concern was the presence of undeclared plutonium and North Korea's acceptance of special inspections in order to prevent North Korea from diverting facilities and materials for other purposes. However, the IAEA's commitment to maintaining the integrity of the nonproliferation regime left the agency little room for flexibility in dealing with North Korea. In contrast, Washington refrained from pushing North Korea too hard. 1017 Although the US government intended to uphold the IAEA's institutional integrity as a core supporter of the nonproliferation regime, the agency's consistent demand of expanded inspections for keeping continuity of safeguards put a burden on the US, which had to persuade North Korea on behalf of the agency. Since the US was concerned about continuing the negotiations with North Korea, it could not press too hard on the special inspections that had been consistently stressed by the IAEA. 1018

Amid diplomatic confrontation among concerned states, the IAEA's technical concern

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1016</sup> "Joint Statement Following US-North Korea Meeting," Text of US-North Korean Joint Statement realized by the Office of the Spokesman, US Department of State, New York, June 11, 1993.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1017</sup> Wit, Going Critical, 240.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1018</sup> Ibid, 62.

was not met by timely action.<sup>1019</sup> The March 1994 inspection was halted because North Korea insisted that any issue with the IAEA could only be resolved after US-North Korea talks ended in success. Accordingly, it argued, the IAEA should wait for its request to be discussed at the high-level bilateral talk without knowing when and where it would be held. North Korea informed the IAEA that allowing inspectors into North Korea would be deferred until a bilateral talk with the US took place.<sup>1020</sup> While this visa issue continued, North Korea asked the US to confirm the schedule for the bilateral meeting and the canceling of Team Spirit in a written form, which takes extra time and additional discussion. As previously mentioned by North Korea, the visa issue was not settled until the Ho Jong and Hubbard meeting in New York reached a final agreement on February 25, 1994.<sup>1021</sup> Meanwhile, the US had to deal with an IAEA that was concerned about safeguard continuity under pressure of time.

What had been agreed between the US and North Korea did not go beyond "routine or special inspections," which was unsatisfactory to the IAEA. By agreeing on four simultaneous steps between the US and North Korea at the third round of high-level talks on February 26, 1994, North Korea accepted the IAEA inspection team but did not allow the IAEA to conduct a full-scope inspection. Any additional activities would be negotiated in a bilateral talk between Pyongyang and Washington, which again frustrated the IAEA. When North Korea informed the US that it would unload nuclear rods from the 5MWe reactor, the US insisted that it should be done under proper monitoring by IAEA inspectors. However, the IAEA insisted on further demands not only to select rods, but also to measure them. In addition, the IAEA demanded to conduct new activities to complete the March inspection, which contradicted the US

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1019</sup> IAEA Director General Hans Blix emphasized the importance of complete access to the two undeclared sites that were suspected of being nuclear water dump-sites for determining if any nuclear materials have been diverted for nuclear weapons production and to the radiochemical lab which was suspected of being reprocessing facility and the 5MW gas-graphite reactor in order to learn whether the lab has been used since February 1993.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1020</sup> North Korean ambassador Park Gil Yon announced that US and North Korea would take "four simultaneous steps" to resolve the deadlock on the issue but he mentioned that visa would be granted as they speak. Paul Lewis, "North Korea Agrees to Some UN Nuclear Inspections," *New York Times*, February 26, 1994, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1021</sup> "Inspection Begins in N.Korea on March 1/Agreement on Four-steps between the US and N.Korea," *Donga Ilo*, February 27, 1994, 1.

position.<sup>1022</sup> Given that North Korea stressed its "special status" within the NPT, requiring such operating procedures, which were applied to countries with safeguards agreements, was likely to bring about a negative response from North Korea.<sup>1023</sup> Therefore, the IAEA had to retract its demand of a new inspection, and the US decided to insist on selection and segregation but defer measurements until after progress in US-North Korean talks.<sup>1024</sup>

## 4.2. Discord between the US and South Korea

South Korea opposed using the option of improvement of diplomatic relations between the US and North Korea as an added inducement for North Korea's cooperation, which continued to be a potential flash point between the US and South Korea. In December 1993, the US and North Korea reached a preliminary agreement on four steps for a "package deal": North Korea would begin IAEA inspections at seven sites and resume talks with South Korea for the exchange of special envoys. In return, Seoul would announce cancellation of Team Spirit, and the US would announce the date for the next meeting between Gallucci and Kang. However, these details were not resolved because of South Korea's request to reconsider North Korea's "comprehensive deal" with the US, which seemed to imply concession to Pyongyang. President Clinton approved the concept of a comprehensive approach before the South Korean president's arrival for a summit talk on November 23, 1993, but South

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1022</sup> "IAEA Asks Comprehensive Inspection/N.Korea's Response this Week," *Seoul Shinmun*, January 30, 1994; "IAEA Comprehensive Inspection Beyond US-N.Korea Agreement," *Hankyoreh*, February 13, 1994, 3; "IAEA Conceded to Limited Inspection," *Segye Ilbo*, February 17, 1994, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1023</sup> "Pyongyang Replies Positively to IAEA Inspection Request," *Kyodo News*, April 21, 1994; David B. Ottaway, "N.Korea Forids Inspections: 2 Nuclear waste Sites Off-Limits, Says Envoy, Reuffing US," *Washington Post*, June 8, 1994, A25.

North Korea insisted that the IAEA inspection is not a regular inspection applied to NPT members, emphasizing its special status. "US-N.Korea Uncertain Settlement/Different Statement on the Agreed Inspection," *Kukmin Ilbo*, February 28, 1994; Andrew Pollakc, "UN Says North Korea Refuses to Allow Nuclear Inspections," *New York Times*, May 1, 1994, 6; Joan Biskupic and R. Jeffrey Smith, "N.Korea Keeps Nuclear Inspectors at Bay," *Washington Post*, May 1, 1994, A36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1025</sup> During the 2<sup>nd</sup> nuclear crisis, South Korean President Kim Dae Jung's sunsine policy set forth flexile principles in accepting the US approach. However, the fundamental difference between the US and South Korea originates from their divergent policy goals toward North Korea: South Korea views the nuclear issue as a matter of Korean issue, while the US focuses its efforts on the responsibility of North Korea as a member of the international community. Chi Yong Pak, *Korea and the United Nations* (Hague: Kluwer Law International, 2000), 141.

<sup>1026 &</sup>quot;Nuclear Issue, Must Be Settled/Announcement of Team Spirit Cancellation," Kukmin Ilbo, March 3, 1994.

Korea viewed North Korea's offer to strike a package deal as "communist tactics." Facing South Korea's opposition, the US revised the deal and renamed it a "comprehensive and thorough approach." The US decided not to allow the small package to move forward until the North-South envoy exchange actually happened, and haggling over a "small package" to clear the way for the big package became complicated. There were signs that North Korea began to show some flexibility to foster a favorable atmosphere. However, President Kim began the Oval Office meeting with an argument that South Korea objected to a new approach on North Korea and that cancelation of Team Spirit should be reconsidered.

South Korea's opposition to a "package deal" originated from its anxiety about the American security commitment, which was believed to be undermined by negotiations between Washington and Pyongyang. South Korean press reported that the new policy would relegate North-South talks to a secondary role, and some officials of the South Korean government commented that the US would make a policy switch without consulting South Korea. <sup>1032</sup> Therefore, a new arrangement was announced at a press conference following the US-South Korea summit. <sup>1033</sup> South Korea viewed that holding Team Spirit could only be reconsidered

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1027</sup> As for "big package" North Korea would agree to remain a member of the NPT, fully comply with safeguards, and commit itself to implementation of the North-South denuclearization agreement. In return, the US should conclude a peace agreement, including legally binding assurances on the nonuse of force against the North, take responsibility for providing the North with light-water reactors, fully normalize diplomatic relations, and commit itself to a balanced policy in its relations with the North and South. As for "small package" which include practical steps, North Korea agreed to allow the IAEA to inspect some additional facilities, but to discuss the details when the agency team arrived in Pyongyang. The time when Team Spirit cancelation would be announced was not determined. North Korea insisted that the announcement must precede the third round, but the US took the opposite view. Joel Wit, *Going Critical*, 96-99, 113.

Mitchell Reiss, Bridled Ambition (Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1995), 262-63.
 Joint Statement of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States of America, New York, June 11, 1993.

North Korea hinted that it would accept international safeguards and announced plans to return more remains of American missing in action. "DPRK Seeks Face-Saving Way to Meet US Conditions for Talks," FBIS Trends, November 17, 1993; "DPRK Return of UN Soldier Remains Reported," Yonhap News, December 21, 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1031</sup> Chung Chong Wook National Security Advisor said, "The South Korean government has to reconsider resuming Team Spirit and review fundamentals of policy toward North Korea if North Korea continues to refuse special envoy exchange and comprehensive safeguard obligation." "IAEA Inspection and Exchange of Envoys May Fail/Team Spirit Resumption and Deployment of Patriot," *Kukmin Ilbo*, March 18, 1994, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1032</sup> "US-S.Korean Summit Talk, Different Analysis Projected by Media," *Donga Ilbo*, Novemer 25, 1993, 2; "Ministry Denies US Policy Change on DPRK," *Yonhap*, November 18, 1993.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1033</sup> "Now Opening the Door to the World/We Made the Final Decision on N.Korean Issue/Significant Meaning," *Hankuk Ilbo*, November 26, 1993, 1.

after the North Korea's special envoy visited Seoul and held serious discussions. However, this idea was against North Korea's argument that the US should announce cancelation before holding the third round of US-North Korea bilateral talks. Since scheduling the bilateral talks would not be announced until after exchange of envoys was undertaken, North Korea complained that the Americans had been tricked into giving Seoul control over the pace of US-North Korean talks. <sup>1034</sup>

The US respected South Korea's demand to hold the envoy exchange before the third round of bilateral talks in early 1994. However, Washington had to choose between smooth completion of IAEA inspections at the expense of souring relations with Seoul, and pushing Pyongyang to accept Seoul's demand at the risk of Pyongyang's noncooperation with the IAEA. While the IAEA was conducting inspections, US delegates visited Seoul to discuss the issue of inter-Korean talks, but the date for the envoy exchange remained a problem. When the US and North Korea hastily concluded an agreement on cancellation of Team Spirit and resuming the third round of talks based on the premise that the envoy exchange would take place beforehand, the agreement did not specify the timing of the envoy exchange between the two Koreas. Because the US and North Korea attached unilateral statements to the agreement to clarify that agreement on the envoy exchange had not been reached, the South Korean government felt its interests had been neglected. 1036

South Korea's ambivalent attitude toward US policy on North Korea added pressure to the US role of coordination. When Ackerman briefed South Korean President Kim about Pyongyang's offer to hold a summit on his way from meeting with Kim Il Sung, President Kim complained that the faith of the inter-Korean dialogue was in the hands of the US and the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1034</sup> Wit, Going Critical, 115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1035</sup> The US and South Korea discussed the idea of holding the envoy exchange and the third US-North Korea meeting, but a final agreement had not been reached when the IAEA withdrew its team from North Korea. "Envoy Exchange Impossible before the Third Round of US-N.Korean Talk/Resuming Team Spirit Is Possible," *Hankuk Ilbo*, March 13, 1994. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1036</sup> "Different Positions on Envoy Exchange/US-N.Korea Meets Again," *Donga Ilo*, February 25, 1994, 2; "Although Nuclear Inspections began," *Hankuk Ilbo*, February 27, 1994, 3.

UN. 1037 He argued "North Korea's duplicity was obvious as it tried to make a discord between the US and South Korea." 1038 He stressed that North Korea's missile program aimed to "communize the South" at a meeting with US Secretary of Defense Aspin, which blocked inter-Korean dialogue. 1039 North Korea responded in fury that such remarks intended to "ridiculously sabotage" the third US-North Korea meeting. After the death of Kim II Sung, South Korea's position shifted toward a tougher approach, threatening to derail American efforts to continue US-North Korean bilateral talks that ended in a promising mood on the first day. Seoul was discontented about the fact that Washington paid condolences to Pyongyang despite its advice not to do so. 1040 The idea of holding summit talk between Kim II Sung and Kim Yong Sam had to be revised, and the South divided on the issue of showing sympathy to the North. Conservative attacks on those who would keep the atmosphere for a summit began with the issue of sending messages of condolence to Pyongyang, followed by releasing documents that proved Kim II Sung's responsibility for starting the Korean War, arresting pro-North Korean students, and banning travel to the North. 1041 While Pyongyang expressed thanks to Washington, it asserted that inter-Korean relations were frozen. 1042

South Korea's desire to control its own destiny and to manage North Korea's nuclear crisis with US "support," not US "control," has been expressed often, and South Koreans opposed the idea of outsiders meddling in Korea's affairs. 1043 The public demanded South

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1037</sup> "N.Korea Was Asked for Dialogue and Inspection/Ackerman Meets President Kim for Briefing," *Hankuk Ilbo*, October 13, 1993.

<sup>1038 &</sup>quot;Hopes to Reflect S.Korea's View/Presidetn Kim, Comments about Talks with N.Korea," Hankyoreh, November 8, 1993. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1039</sup> "Beyond Nuclear Bar and Resumption of Talks/Background and Implication of inter-Korean Summit Talk," *Hankyoreh*, February 26, 1994, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1040</sup> Wit, Going Critical, 265.

<sup>&</sup>quot;S.Korean Government Arrests Condolers to N.Korea/Investigation of the Violation of National Security Law," *Seoul Shinmun*, July 17, 1994, 19; "Condolence' and '*Jusapa*(Pro-North Korean),' Ideological Battle Begins/Rise of Conservative Voice," *Seoul Shinmun*, July 27, 1994, 2; "N.Korea Criticizes 'Ban on Paying Condolence to Kim Il Sung," *Donga Ilbo*, August 10, 1994, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1042</sup> South Korean media called Kim Il Sung a "war criminal," which was an unforgivable insult for North Koreans. "Kim Il Sung Is Responsible for National Tragedy/S.Korea's Official View," *Seoul Shinmun*, July 19, 1994, 1; "Kim Il Sung, 'Responsible for National Tragedy'/Prime Minister Lee Statement," *Hankyoreh*, July 19, 1994, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1043</sup> Damon Darlin, "Baker Is Forced to Give and Take on Trip to Korea, China: Seoul, Wary of Pressure from Outside, Resists Call for Regional Talks," Wall Street Journal, Nov 15, 1991, A7.

Korea's independent role, criticizing that the South Korean government had no independent nuclear policy. 1044 After North Korea's defueling campaign unified the US and its allies, Seoul decided to take all necessary steps, which included suspending trade, banning civilian companies from contacting North Koreans in third countries, and strengthening unified actions among neighbor countries. However, Seoul's intention to exert influence in handling the nuclear issue often created obstacles. Seoul made a sudden statement that the South Korean president Kim Yong Sam would meet with Kim Il Sung at a summit, provided that the nuclear issue would be discussed. 1046 It was a sudden change of attitude because the announcement came out after the US and North Korea decided not to specify timing of envoy exchange on February 25, 1994 despite South Korea's persistent demands to hold the envoy exchange before the third US-North Korea high-level meeting. After negotiations over an envoy exchange failed, South Korea, without telling the US, tried to set up secret meetings with North Korea. 1047 Because Seoul had secretly engaged in these back-channel communications while the US was trying to hold front channel talks, this news was disturbing to Americans. 1048

### 4.3. Discord between South Korea and the IAEA

On the one hand, the IAEA did not like the idea of establishing a mutual inspection regime on the Korean peninsula because of anxiety that it could be considered an alternative to IAEA safeguards. <sup>1049</sup> On the other hand, South Korea did not have much confidence in the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1044</sup> The South Korean government was criticized for "playing the dummy." "South and North Korea Are the Major Negotiator of Nuclear Talks," *Seoul Shinmun*, August 3, 1991, 2.

President Clinton to stress that he would urge Russian President Boris Yeltsin to support sanctions. Foreign Minister Han Sung Joo flew to Beijing to secure support from China that showed interest in the details of a possible resolution. Office of Research, USIA, "South Koreans Have Mixed Views on Nuclear Issue; but Many Would Still Support Sanctions," USIA Opinion Research Memorandum, May 19, 1994; "President Phones Advisers about Nuclear Issue," *Yonhap News*, June 3, 1994; "Kim yong Sam Briefs Journalists on Russian Visit," *Hanguk Ilbo*, June 5, 1994; "Han Optimistic on PRC Taking Part in Sanctions," *Yonhap News*, June 7, 1994.

<sup>1046 &</sup>quot;Pyongyang Signals Preference for Talks with US over ROK," FBIS Trends, March 2, 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1047</sup> "Existence of 'Secret Channel,'/Background of Compromise of Nuclear Issues," *Kyunghyang Shinmun* February 17, 1994, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1048</sup> Wit, Going Critical, 148.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1049</sup> David Albright and Mark Hibbs, "North Korea's Plutonium Puzzle," Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists 48, no. 9

IAEA's ability to track down hidden nuclear sites, and it even wanted to send its own citizens to North Korea. South Koreans felt that only they had the necessary experience to deal with Pyongyang. South Korea expressed suspicion about the IAEA inspection, stressing that international inspection alone could not resolve the nuclear issue.

Different approaches among different agencies were hard to coordinate even within the US government. There were two officials at the Asian desk in the US National Security Council and only one in the Department of State. Other agencies that were engaged in this matter included the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the Department of Defense (DoD), the Department of the Treasury, and the Department of Commerce. Other agenciations over the nuclear crisis reached a deadlock, a regional issue became internationalized, and became a matter of concern to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA), which denied compensation for noncompliance to the IAEA safeguards to prevent nuclear proliferation. Thus, the Department of State was firm on increasing the cost on North Korea for its failure to abide by the NPT obligation or resolve North Korea, and the JCS argued that the cancellation of Team Spirit should be the last option proposed, but would not want to choose military action due to astronomical costs.

(November 1992): 36-40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1050</sup> "The Koreas: The odd one," *The Economist* 326, no. 7798, Feb 13, 1993, 41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1051</sup> "Concluding Agreement for Inspection Failed/5<sup>th</sup> Meeting," *Hankyoreh*, May 28, 1992, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1052</sup> Leonard C. Sebastian, "The Changing Dimensions of US National Security Stategy: A Review Article," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 16, no. 4 (March, 1995): 447-459.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1053</sup> C. Kenneth Quinones, *North Korea's Nuclear Threat "Off the Record" Memories*(Tokyo: Chuokoron-Shinsha, 2000).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1054</sup> Leon U. Sigal, *Disarming Strangers*, 310.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1055</sup> "The demand for North Korea was to concede to accept international inspection, abandon its nuclear program and implement inter-Korean declaration for nuclear-free Korean peninsula." Statement of Lynn Davis, Undersecretary of State for International Security Affairs, US Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, US Policy toward North Korea, 103<sup>rd</sup> Congress, Second session, March 3, 1994, 15-17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1056</sup> Statement of General Gary E. luck, US Congress, Senate, Committee on Armed Service, Security Implications of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Agreement with North Korea, 104<sup>th</sup> Congress, first Session, 20-23.

the NPT. <sup>1057</sup> The attitude of the US Congress was opposite to that of the US government. Before North Korea declared its intention to withdraw from the NPT, the US Congress preferred diplomatic resolution, but it soon took the hawkish side. <sup>1058</sup> The CIA suggested that in the worst scenario, North Korea would resort to a nuclear threat to the US in order to draw more concessions from the negotiations. <sup>1059</sup>

In short, discord not only between North Korea and other states, but also among the US, South Korea, and the IAEA had to be resolved before the US dealt with North Korea. Failure to do so led to an impasse in the negotiation, which gave North Korea a chance to argue that its effort to resolve the nuclear crisis had not been acknowledged and practical actions were not taken in return by the US.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1057</sup> Donald Zagoria, "North Korea and the Bomb: A Case Study in Nonproliferation," *Foreign Affairs* 74, no. 5(Sep 1995): 183.

US Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, Threat of North Korean Nuclear Proliferation, 102th
 Congress, First and Second Sessions, November 25, 1991; January 14 and February 6, 1992, S. HRG 102-635.
 The Letter from Defense Intelligence Agency to Dennis DeConcini Senator, the Chairman, Select Committee on Intelligence, March 22, 1994, US Congress, S. HRG 104-188, January 26, 1995.

## Chapter VI. Implication for the Second Nuclear Crisis

North Korea and the US agreed on an interim settlement in 1994, but the crisis reemerged in 2002. Some argued that North Korea secretly prepared an "exit strategy" in case it ended up in a disadvantaged situation. 1060 Others observed that North Korea prepared for the possibility that the 1994 Geneva Agreed Framework would not be respected by the others. 1061 Those who are interested in the interplay among North Korean elites argue that the military, which seized power over the technocrats in the late 1990s, attempted to seek nuclear weapons capabilities. 1062 However, for North Korea, the Geneva Agreed Framework was a watershed that could bring about normalizing the relationship with the US on the ambassadorial level and mend its former discrediting within the international community. Therefore, we cannot simply conclude that secretly developing its nuclear program was strategically important for North Koreans whose covert activities were caught by the US. Many believe that North Korea intentionally sabotaged the nuclear talks in order to buy time to manufacture nuclear weapons by demanding unreasonably high compensation in exchange for concession to international demands of denuclearization. However, developing nuclear weapons was a double-edged sword for North Korea because it could either enable or endanger its regime survival: a nuclear weapons program could increase not only North Korea's military capability but also its political isolation and economic sanctions. It is undeniable that suspicion of North Korea's nuclear weapons program gave North Koreans a great deal of leverage in nuclear issues. Because the second nuclear crisis was an extension of the first nuclear crisis, this chapter will examine the implication of the nuclear crisis in the 1990s to the occurrence of crisis in the 2000s in order to understand the causes of the problem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1060</sup> Victor D. Cha, "Korea's Place in the Asix," *Foreign Affairs* 81, no. 3 (May/June 2002): 79-92; Victor D. Cha, "Hawk Engagement and Preventive Defense on the Korean Peninsula," *International Security* 27, no. 1 (Summer 2002): 70-74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1061</sup> James T. Laney and Jason T. Shaplen, "How to Deal with North Korea," *Foreign Affairs* 82, no. 2 (Mar/Apr 2003): 16-31

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1062</sup> Philip C. Saunders, "Confronting Ambiguity," Arms Control Today (March 2003).

### 1. Assessment of the 1st Crisis

## 1.1. Agent-Structure Co-constitution

The first nuclear crisis poses several questions, including why there was no synthesis of interests and why a synthesis was hardly possible. Because agent and structure are co-constitutive, under an antagonistic structure, North Korea's negative interactions re-enforced North Korea's negative identification, which led to North Korea's noncompliant actions. In fact, the North Korean nuclear crisis showed a dialectical development that did not reach a synthesis of North Korea's interests and international demands. That antagonistic structure in the 1990s was supplanted by another similar structure in the 2000s; once the first problems were solved, more complicated problems emerged. Negotiation between the US and North Korea was intended to establish something positive, but the causes of the problems were simply set aside, not eliminated. Therefore, negative aspects of the crisis re-emerged. Negative interactions, as a learning process, also shaped North Korea's perception that the hostility toward its regime was overwhelming and increased North Korea's resistance to denuclearization, which continued the dialectical process.

North Korea's adherence to its domestic ideology and principles conflicted with the demands and expectations of the international community, consolidating North Korea's fixed

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1063</sup> Negative Dialectics is not the triadic form as the so-called synthesis is absent. Dialectics refers to the inner structure, not an architectonic pattern.

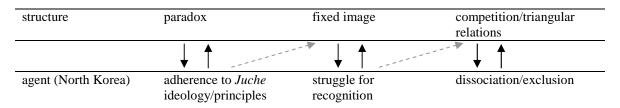
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1064</sup> Antagonism is contradiction in the concept, not between concepts. In a state of antagonism elements that are incompatible shape reality. Negative dialectics proposes a dialectical model that examines these antagonisms. Adorno takes a position critical to Kant's *aporias* and Hegel's triad—being, essence, and notion. Hegel did not consistently adhere to the so-called "triad" scheme. Hegel's Triad does not simply mean that synthesis a reconciliation that solves the conflict between the thesis and antithesis. In place of Hegel's totalistic view, he notes that none of the reconcilements has stood up, whether in logic or in politics and history. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Science of Logic; Encyclopaedia of Philosophical Science* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Co., 1991), 81; Theodor Adorno, *Negative Dialectics* ed. Rolf Tiedemann, Trans. Rodney Livingstone (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008), 7; Rose Wilson, *Theodor Adorno* (London: Routledge, 2007), 62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1065</sup> Nietzsche argues that contradictory valuations could become dangerously internalized and reveal themselves later. Mouffe contends that antagonism can never be eliminated because it constitutes an ever-present possibility in politics. Friedrich Nietzsche. *Genealogy of Morals*(1887). Trans. by Keith Ansell-Pearson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 17; Chantal Mouffe, *The Democratic Paradox* (London: Verso, 2000), 93, 98.

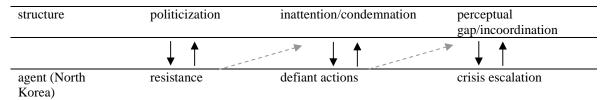
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1066</sup> Pyongyang continued to conceive that the US takes hostile policy against North Korea and warned that the US should take the responsibility for its high-endedness and failure to improve relationship between two countries. "We Criticize the Comprehensive Change of US Policy toward North Korea," *KCNA*, October 23, 1998.

image as a disobedient. The practices of the nuclear nonproliferation regime prompted resistance from North Korea, which in turn faced inattention and condemnation, leading to a deadlocked situation where conflicting interests among major players were uncoordinated. Under these circumstances, the crisis situation escalated.

**Table 6.1 Mechanism of Negative Identification** 



**Table 6.2 Mechanism of Negative Interaction** 



## 1.2. Causes of Negative Dialectic

The Geneva Agreed Framework, which was supposed to provide the basis for defusing the confrontation associated with the North Korean nuclear program, instead offered unsustainable promises, which in turn incubated potential causes of the second crisis. Some argued that the Agreed Framework died suddenly because of North Korea's defiant actions to disconnect IAEA monitoring devices, to eject inspectors and to announce its withdrawal from the NPT. 1067 However, it should be noted that the existence of the antagonistic structure under which North Korea and the US identified and interacted with each other limited what was available and achievable. As Cho argues, the international community did not focus enough on the "post-settlement settlement" by working continuously on complete implementation of the agreement. 1068 The Geneva Agreed Framework was not sustainable because neither side was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1067</sup> Chang Gordon, Nuclear Showdown: North Korea Takes on the World (Westminster, MD: Random House, 2006), 29. 1068 According to Alexander George, Clinton's policy toward North Korea was coercive diplomacy—use the threat of

satisfied with the Agreed Framework during the implementation phase. <sup>1069</sup> It should be noted that North Korea emphasized that it had frozen its nuclear facilities only as a result of bilateral agreement, indicating that it was not bound by the international safeguard agreement. <sup>1070</sup> Therefore, whether or not the Geneva Agreed Framework would be observed by each side could affect North Korea's behavioral change.

The Geneva Agreed Framework barely addressed the root causes of the first nuclear crisis. While hostility and mutual mistrust between the US and North Korea were obstacles for both sides in reaching an agreement to resolve the nuclear crisis, focusing on the provision of heavy oil and light water reactors in the absence of trust building measures sustained an illusion that the crisis took a positive turn. North Korea began to think that oil shipments were a "means of repression" to disarm North Korea. In addition, domestic conditions in the US and South Korea were not favorable for building relations—the Republican party took control of the US Congress and the conservative party was the ruling party in South Korea.

However, there are several reasons why the Geneva Agreed Framework was not well observed. First, the North Korean issue was again marginalized as the signing of the Geneva Agreed Framework spread a sense of relief in the US. Therefore, Washington was slow to

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force to persuade North Korea to "stop short of the goal" of nuclear activities underway. Bush administration turned to hawkish engagement for the purpose of changing the nature of the North Korean regime. Given that regime change is a potential goal of coercive diplomacy, Bush administration also pursued coercive diplomacy by forming discourse of "regime change" and "regime transformation" and concentrating military force in the Pacific Ocean. Alexander L. George, "Coercive Diplomacy: Definition and Characteristics," in *The Limits of Coercive Diplomacy* 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition eds., Alexander L. George, and William E. Simon (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), 13; Alexander L. George, "Strategies for Crisis Management," in *Avoiding War: Problems of Crisis Management*, ed. Alexander L. George (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), 384; Yoon Young Cho, "Issue Focus: US-North Korea Entering Preliminary Negotiation Phase," *Tongil Hankuk* 21, no. 3 (2003): 36-38.

<sup>1069</sup> Four agreements and eight protocols have been adopted under the Agreed Framework. Agreements are KEDO Charter-Agreement on the Establishment of the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization, Kuala Lumpur Statement, Supply Agreement, and KEDO-European Atomic Energy Community Accession Agreement. Protocols include Protocol on Transportation, Protocol on Communication, Protocol on the Juridical Status, Privileges and Immunities Consular Protectin of KEDO in the DPRK, Protocol on Labor, Goods, Facilities and Other Services, Protocol on Site Take-Over, Site Access and Use of the Site, Protocol on Non-Payment, Protocol on Training, Protocol on Quality Assurance and Warranties. "Criticizing Third-Party Intervention on Lifting Sanctions," KCNA, June 22, 1998

<sup>1070 &</sup>quot;We Denounce IAEA for Its Malpractice," Rodong Sinmun, October 5, 1998.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1071</sup> "Increasing US Scheme to Repress DPRK," *KCNA*, October 20, 1998; "The US Uses Four-Party Talk as a Place of Repression," *KCNA*, August 21, 1999.

<sup>1072 &</sup>quot;We Denounce the US Congress for Not Authorizing Heavy Oil Shipment", *Rodong Sinmun*, October 2, 1998.

follow up on its commitments to establish relations with North Korea, and the negative security guarantee was not formally given to North Korea. Negotiations on detailed procedures and protocols took more time than expected, and North Korea was very concerned about the fact that the construction of light-water reactors was delayed for many years. 1073 Disagreement between KEDO and North Korea arose over financing for the dismantling of the old graphitemoderated reactors, transport of spent fuel to a third country, power transmission facilities, and indemnity provisions. 1074 The question of KEDO's funding became a political issue. There were fears that oil shipments might be diverted to the military, frustration that the US had not pushed Pyongyang to resume direct talks with Seoul, and criticism from the Republicans that the deal gave too much to North Korea during the election campaign. 1075 Deteriorating North and South Korean relations, such as the incursion of a North Korean submarine and its crew into the South's territory in 1996, further delayed implementation of the agreement. 1076 Therefore, slow implementation of the Agreement fostered suspicion on both sides. North Korea was discontented about the fact that preconditions were not met and warned that Washington's inability to fulfill its promises would prompt North Korea to take necessary measures, including restarting its nuclear energy program. 1077 For North Koreans, these failures weakened Washington's reliability as a trusted partner. 1078

Second, North Korea and the US interpreted the Geneva Agreed Framework differently: North Korea considered it the "beginning of the second liberation toward national unification and peace." The significance of the Geneva Agreed Framework for North Korea was 1) to

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1073</sup> Duk-min Yoon, "Concluding Light-water Agreement and Prospect of North Korean Nuclear Issue," *Korea Research Institute for Strategy Policy Debate Report* 7 (1996): 1-13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1074</sup> For KEDO project, see Jeong Min Kang, "Nuclear Energy, Nuclear Energy Project and the Korean Peninsula: Technological Analysis of North Korean Nuclear Crisis and KEDO Light-Water Reactor Project," *Kwahaksasang*, no. 45 (May 2003): 74-90.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1075</sup> Nigel Holloway, "Political Fission," Far Eastern Economic Review 159, no. 30, Jul 25, 1996, 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1076</sup> Michael Schuman, "South Korea stalls on nuclear accord with North Korea," *Wall Street Journal*, Oct 9, 1996, A19. <sup>1077</sup> "North Korea should Be Back to NPT before discussion on LWR," *Radio Free Asia*, September 22, 2005, accessed April 19, 2011, http://www.rfa.org/korean/in\_focus/nk\_find\_tough\_break\_nuclear\_deal-20050922.html.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1078</sup> "We Cannot But Rethink Building a Nuclear Energy Plant," *KCNA*, July 18, 1998; "We Cannot Sacrifice Our Nuclear Energy: Foreign Ministry Statement," *KCNA*, September 10, 1998.

secure an opportunity to maintain bilateral relations, 2) to weaken South Korea's significance in the triangular relationship among the US and the two Koreas, 3) to secure a foothold to revitalize its economy, and 4) to form favorable external conditions to get out of isolation. However, these concerns were the least important to the others. The community's main concern was to stop North Korea from further extracting fissile materials from the spent fuel and terminate its nuclear program. The dialectical development of the negotiation process revealed the difference not only between ideal goals and achievable outcomes, but also between North Korea's stance on the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula and that of the others.

Third, the notion of denuclearization of the Korean peninsula has never been clearly expressed between the US and North Korea, although, both sides, at least rhetorically, have pursued the same goal. North Korea stresses that denuclearization of the "Korean peninsula" is Kim II Sung's instruction and the ultimate goal of North Korea. 1079 Because the Korean peninsula includes both the North and the South, denuclearization does not mean dismantlement of North Korea's nuclear weapons program alone without guaranteeing absence of nuclear threat from the US Forces in Korea. North Korea's conception of denuclearization of the Korean peninsula includes renunciation of South Korea's development of nuclear weapons capability in the future and a guarantee from the US not to redeploy nuclear weapons in any crisis situation. Establishing an inspection regime on both sides also requires placing US bases in the South under mutual inspections, which is unacceptable to the US. Obviously, North Korea's version of denuclearization required a significant reconstruction of the US-South Korea alliance structure, which was not acceptable to South Korea.

Fourth, North Korea's concern about nuclear threat could hardly disappear after the signing of the Geneva Agreed Framework because South Korea and the US continued

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1079</sup> "North Korean Foreign Ministry, We Will Regard US Pressure as a Declaration of War," *KCNA*, October 11, 2006; "North Korean Foreign Ministry Spokes Person, Six-Party Talk Should Handle Denuclearization and Arms Reduction," *KCNA*, March 31, 2005.

According to North Korea, denuclearized zone menas an area where production, storage, introduction and use of nuclear weapons are banned. *Korean Language Dictionary* (Pyongyang: 2004).

conducting military exercises in and around the Korean peninsula with a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier flotilla and introduced a US weapons system to the Korean peninsula. <sup>1081</sup> North Korea kept a close eye on the movement of US forces in and around the Korean peninsula, saying that Washington's gesture of negotiating while preparing for an invasion plan was a "smoke-screen tactic" to lower North Korea's guard. <sup>1082</sup> In particular, contingencies in Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq increased North Korea's interest in the movement of US combat forces, and Pyongyang asserted that deployment of nuclear-armed US forces around the Korean peninsula could lead to nuclear attack against North Korea. <sup>1083</sup> North Korea showed anxiety that the US army could shift its focus to the Korean peninsula while continuing diplomatic efforts and preparing war against North Korea behind the scenes. <sup>1084</sup> The annual US-South Korea military exercise was held with the participation of a Kitty-Hawk-class aircraft carrier, the USS Vincennes Aegis guided missile cruiser, and US amphibious ships, and it deepened North Korea's suspicion of the US' commitment to implement the agreement. <sup>1085</sup> South Korea

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1081</sup> "Rimpac 98 Must Be Stopped," *Rodong Sinmun*, June 8, 1998; "South Koreans Are Mad About Purchasing US Weapons," *KCNA*, June 11, 1998; "We Denounce Augmentation of US Forces on the Korean Peninsula," *KCNA*, July 27, 1998; "US Navy Support Is a Blackmail," *KCNA*, August 1, 1998; "Ulji Exercise is a Duplicate of Team Spirit," *Rodong Sinmun*, August 29, 1998; "Foreign Ministry Denounces Foal Eagle 98 Exercise," *KCNA*, October 25, 1998; "US Air Force around the Korean Peninsula on Alert," *KCNA*, April 9, 1999; "We Denounce Deployment of B-1 Fighter in the South," *KCNA*, May 27, 2000; "Foreign Ministry Considers US Repression a Declaration of War," "*KCNA*, October 11, 2006.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1082</sup> "We Criticize US-South Korean Joint Military Exercise," *KCNA*, October 15, 1998; "We Suspect US Intention to Hold Four-Party Talks," *KCNA*, December 3, 1998.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1083</sup> "Extreme Tension due to Ulji Exercise," *Rodong Simmun*, August 19, 1999; "We Denounce US OPLAN 5027-98," *KCNA*, May 29, 1999; "We Denounce Movement of US Forces and Weapons from Europe," *KCNA*, September 11, 2001; "US Imperialists Deployed Air Force in the South," *KCNA*, October 14, 2001.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1084</sup> "The US Uses Four-Party Talks as a Place of Repression," *KCNA*, August 21, 1999; "Does the US Ultimately Chooses Military Option?" *Rodong Sinmun*, August 21, 1999.

Pyongyang. These exercises include RIMPAC (Rim of the Pacific Exercise), RSOI (Reception, Staging, Onward Movement, Integration) which replaced Team Spirit, Philsung, Hwarang, Foal Eagle, Ulji, Key Resolve which replaced RSOI, etc. "US Military Training at Guam," *Rodong Sinmun*, March 26, 1998; "US and South Korean Air Force Exercises War Preparation," *KCNA*, July 9, 1998; "We Denounce US-South Korean Joint Exercise," *Rodong Sinmun*, October 15, 1998; "Comments on South Korea's Preparation of Invasion to the North," *Rodong Sinmun*, March 4, 1999; "South Korea Announced Holding RSOI," *KCNA*, April 9, 1999; "Endlessly Continuing War Preparation Targeting North Korea," *Rodong Sinmun*, July 22, 1999; "The US Should Consider the Aftermath of Military Confrontation: Foreign Ministry Statement," *KCNA*, August 16, 1999; "Statement on South Korea's Foal Eagle Military Exercise: Foreign Ministry Statement," *KCNA*, October 25, 1999; "South Korean Army Conducts War Preparation," *KCNA*, April 8, 2000; "US Arms Reduction and Peace Proposal Is Not Trustworthy," *Rodong Sinmun*, March 14, 2000; "We Demand Stopping War Preparation against DPRK: Foreign Ministry Statement," *KCNA*, April 13, 2000; "South Korea Announced Ulji Focus Lens Joint Military Exercise," *KCNA*, August 19, 2000; "US Must Behave Prudently," *Rodong Sinmun*, March 14, 2001; "The US Is Planning to Deploy Aegis to the East Sea," *KCNA*, May 12,

had to keep its military alliance with the US strong, which antagonized North Korea and consequently increased tension on the Korean peninsula. Therefore, concluding the Agreed Framework did not release North Korea from what it perceived as a threatening situation for its regime.

Fifth, since the temporary resolution of freezing North Korea's nuclear facilities did not end the North-South rivalry, North Korea continued to struggle for recognition. The death of Kim Il Sung in 1994 increased uncertainty about the future of North Korea. The significance of negative identification worsened as discourse on "regime collapse" and "contingency planning" continued to the extent that the collapse of the North Korean regime was viewed as almost certain. Many observers predicted that the North Korean regime would demise in the near future due to nationwide famine and natural disaster, and the image of a failed state at the brink of collapse prevented North Korea from being fully integrated into the international community. Such discourse, both in academia and political circles, infuriated Pyongyang since North Korea resisted with fury any insinuation that the regime was falling apart. Besides, South Korea's strategy of "unification through absorption of North Korea," not "co-existence of two Koreas," appeared appealing to the international community, but systematically deteriorated North-South relations. 1086

Sixth, the UN's competing interests of discovering North Korea's past nuclear activities and increasing transparency of its future activities by temporarily freezing the existing nuclear facilities continued. Critics of the Agreed Framework continued to argue that North Korea must accept an international inspection to uncover its past nuclear activities, although the US had no right to inspect any facilities in North Korea until the delivery of key components of the light water reactors. North Korea pledged, in 1994, to freeze its plutonium programs. However,

<sup>2001; &</sup>quot;Foreign Ministry Denounced US-South Korean Joint Military Exercise," KCNA, March 18, 2002; "War Preparation for Preemptive Attack," KCNA, July 17, 2002.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1086</sup> "S. Korean Authorities Urged to Drop Ambition for Unification through Absorption," *KCNA*, September 6, 2011. <sup>1087</sup> North Korea agreed to come into full compliance with the IAEA requirements when a significant portion of the LWR project is completed but before delivery of key nuclear components.

North Korea suspended its status as an NPT signatory although it accepted IAEA inspections under the Agreed Framework. Hence, until after a key component of the first light-water reactor had been completed, North Korea did not need to place its undeclared nuclear facilities under the IAEA's inspection.

Lastly, public debate on the policy toward North Korea has been built around the allegation that North Korea has secretly pursued nuclear ambition, and such an enduring suspicion led the US to consistent speculations that North Korea constructed underground nuclear facilities. Even though the suspected underground nuclear facility in Kumchangri was proved to be unrelated to nuclear activities, 1089 a suspicion that North Korea was not sincerely implementing the Geneva Agreed Framework lingered. Although North Korea's provocative actions, including missile tests, aimed at gaining favor of Pyongyang, they resulted in a worsening image of North Korea. Increasing suspicion ultimately led to the annulment of the Geneva Agreed Framework.

#### 2. Implication for the Second Crisis

The 1994 Agreed Framework provided only short-term stability on the Korean peninsula. Washington's accusation of North Korea's secret HEU program and North Korea's declaration of a developing nuclear deterrent marked a turning point. The second nuclear crisis began with an allegation that Pyongyang was secretly developing a second route toward manufacturing nuclear weapons, and North Koreans who previously denied any intention to develop nuclear

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1088</sup> Victor D. Cha, "North Korea's Weapons of Mass Destruction: Badges, Shields, or Swords?" *Political Science Quarterly* 117, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 209-230; James T. Laney and Jason T. Shaplen, "How to Deal with North Korea," *Foreign Affairs* 82, no. 2 (Mar/Apr 2003): 16-31; Phillip C. Saunders, "Confronting Ambiguity," *Arms Control Today* (March 2003).

North Korea argued US inspection of the Kumchangri site as an infringement of *jajusong* and national dignity, stressing that inspection of suspected sites are not manifested in the Geneva Agreed Framework. "Accusation of Underground Facilities Proved to be Wrong/Foreign Ministry Spokesperson," *KCNA*, November 24 1998.
North Korea asked the US to pay either 300 million US dollars in cash or other economic benefit of an appropriate form equivalent to that amount in compensation for insulting North Korea. North Korea invited US delegation and allowed access to the site. The visit proved that the underground facility in Kumchanri was an empty tunnel, not related to nuclear development. "DPRK Foreign Ministry Spokesman on Kumchanri Underground Facility," *KCNA*, June 9, 1998; Selig S. Harrison, "The Korea Showdown That Shouldn't Happen," *Washington Post*, November 22, 1998, C2.

weapons eventually declared that they had them, after years of negotiations to prevent North Korea from becoming a nuclear weapons state. North Korea's nuclear tests shocked the world because it was conducted after the the conclusion of the 9.19 joint statement and 2.13 agreement on disenabling its nuclear facilities. The second crisis occurred under a similar structure and therefore appears to be a repetition of the past, except that the second nuclear crisis was handled in a multilateral framework and North Korea upgraded its position as a declared "nuclear state". North Korea insisted on bilateral negotiations, despite Washington's concern not to repeat the prior failure of bilateral negotiations with North Korea. 1091 The North Korean government wanted the US, not South Korea, as a counterpart of the Peace Treaty on the Korean Peninsula in October 1980 and acknowledged the South Korean government merely as an "observer" in the three-party talk among the North, the South and the US in January 1983. This attitude still has not changed. 1092 Eventually, the US became the main negotiator during the second crisis. When North Korea warned that it would not participate in the six-party talks by repeatedly calling for direct and equal talks with the US, the US urged North Korea to return to the multilateral talks. 1093 Basically, the nuclear talk was held bilaterally in a multilateral framework. The 2005 Joint Statement at the six-party talks on conditionally disenabling North Korea's nuclear activities was not simply a repetition of the 1994 Agreed Framework, and many believed it to be another synthesis of interests among concerned parties of the negotiation. There were certain differences between the first and second nuclear crises, but the fact remained that agreements were reversed. North Korea expressed that it had no choice but to pursue self-reliant measures, which were actualized by its testing of nuclear weapons in 2006 and 2009. Initially, the US government attempted to dismantle North Korea's nuclear weapons

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1091</sup> Robert Puckett, *The United States and Northeast Asia* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1993); Susan L. Shirk, "Asia-Pacific Regional Security: Balance of Power or Concert of Powers?" in *Regional Orders: Building Security in a New World*, eds. D.A. Lake and P.M. Morgan (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 245-270.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1092</sup> "Urgent Request for the Peace and Security of the Korean Peninsula," *Rodong Sinmun*, August 22, 1999; Sung Han Kim, "Peace Treaty Negotiation after the Six-Party Talk," *AllinKorea*, February 17, 2007, accessed April 2, 2007, http://www.allinkorea.net/sub\_read.html?uid=4904&section=section5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1093</sup> Michael O'Hanlon and Mike Mochizuki, Crisis on the Korean Peninsula: How to Deal with a Nuclear North Korea (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2003).

program, but it was unsuccessful. It is important to analyze what caused a recurrence of similar patterns.

Table 6.3 US Policy toward North Korea

Similarities and differences	Clinton Administration	<b>Bush Administration</b>	
negotiating framework	bilateral	bilateral within multilateral	
		framework	
role of the IAEA	employed during the early	excluded from the beginning	
	stage		
nuclear issue	plutonium program	plutonium program, uranium	
		program	
important agreement	Geneva Agreed Framework	9.19 statement, 2.13 accord	
implementation plan	freezing of nuclear facilities	disenabling of nuclear facilities	
reversal	restarting 5MWe reactor,	conducting nuclear test, starting	
	withdrawal from the NPT	uranium enrichment program	

First, North Korea took provocative actions to increase the strategic importance of stopping its nuclear program by alerting others of a crisis situation. An adverse effect of this strategy was that North Korea lost the trust of the international community, which worsened negative interactions. Consuming time for reaching a consensus among the six parties made all others, except for North Korea, feel pressured to make a tangible outcome and strike deals before skepticism about the utility of the talk spread. The fear of taboo and interest in minimizing the impact on the regime maintenance led to "suturing of the wounds" rather than "surgical operation" to eliminate the original causes.

Second, the problem of coordination re-emerged. The original purpose of the six-party talks was to pressure North Korea by forming a "coalition of the willing", <sup>1094</sup> a term that was first used by President Clinton on the issue of imposing sanctions on North Korea in 1994. <sup>1095</sup> The difficulty to coordinate conflicting interests among the parties further hindered the six-party talks: contention between Russia and China, on the one hand, and the US and Japan, on the other hand, continued while South Korea's stance shifted between reconciliatory and hard-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1094</sup> "Bush: Join 'Coalition of Willing,'" CNN, November 20, 2002.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1095</sup> Since the US led a "coalition of the willing" to disarm Iraq, the term has been frequently used to forge multilateral cooperation in taking actions to spread democracy and freedom. However, the term has already been used by President Clinton on the issues of imposing sanctions by building a coalition of the willing that includes many nations that do nto wish North Korea to be a nuclear power. "Interview of the President by Sam Donaldson," The White House Press Release, June 5, 1994.

line with North Korea. 1096 China acted more as a host than as a full-fledged party, 1097 demonstrating its close relationship with North Korea. 1098 North Korea's relationship with Russia also had been becoming closer, as Russia had shown interest in joint ventures such as construction of energy and transport links through the North and opening of Khassan-Rajin railway. 1099 Though allied, the US and South Korea sometimes took different approaches toward North Korea, and the Trilateral Coordination and Oversight Group (TCOG) ceased holding official meetings in 2003. 1100 Japan's insistence on discussing the abduction of Japanese nationals between 1977 and 1983 continued to affect the six-party talks, blocking further negotiations on the core issues. 1101 The situation worsened until talks were discontinued because of a deadlock.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1096</sup> Because closing window for future contact without dialogue for years is also a burden on the US, Washington explored the prospect of talks, but South Korea's conservative ruling party continued to insist on stern position on the North and the spy submarine incidents in 1996 and 1998 increased public outrage about the aggressiveness of the North Korean regime.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1097</sup> Even though China supported US sanctions on a North Korean bank account in Macau for money laundering and warned North Korea of the multiple missile/nuclear test. Although China's loss of patience was often expressed, its position was not to disturb the regional stability by antagonizing North Korea. Before the nuclear test, China's UN ambassador stated that no one would "protect" Pyongyang "for bad behavior." Chinese President Hu Jintao and Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe said they were "deeply concerned" about North Korea's prospective nuclear test, which "would be a great threat and would be unacceptable." James Kynge and Andrew Ward, "US Set for 'Bilateral' Talks with N. Korea," *Financial Times*, Aug. 27, 2003, 1; Doug Bandow, "Enlisting China to Stop a Nuclear North Korea," *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis* 18, no. 4 (2006): 73-93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1098</sup> Keith Bradsher and James Brooke, "Chinese News Media Critical of North Korea," *New York Times*, Feb. 13, 2005, A4.

<sup>1099</sup> Russia plays a minor role as the least effective participant of the six-party talks and considers its relations with the other nations more important in every way than its ties to North Korea. However, Russia has sought commercial opportunities in the North. In July 2001, a plan of a railway connection was agreed between North Korea and Russia, the North Korean delegate visited Russia to discuss the railway connection between the two countries in March 2006, and the Russian delegation visited North Korea in July 2006. A Russian Railway Company concluded the memorandum of understanding concerning the modernization of the Khasan-Rajin railway section with the Ministry of Railway of North Korea in April 2007, and both sides established a joint-venture company in March 2008. Mitsuhiro Mimura, "DPRK's Cross-Border Cooperation Projects and their Prospects" (paper presented at the 2010 Presidential Committee on Regional Development International Conference, July 7, 2010).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1100</sup> TCOG aimed at close consultation and coordination among the US, South Korea and Japan in addressing North Korean nuclear issues. It has developed from the meeting of high-level diplomats from the three states since March 1993 but stopped official meeting and dropped the habit of issuing statements in 2003. James L. Schoff, "The Evolution of the TCOG as a Diplomatic Tool," *IFPA Project Interim Paper* (November 2004).

Although the abduction issue was not directly related to the North Korean nuclear crisis, due to the domestic consideration, the Japanese government tried to discuss it in the framework of the multilateral issue. Although Japan has played a largely circumstantial role in the practical sense, its adamant position on raising the abduction issue created an uncomfortable situation. North Korea announced that it would not allow Tokyo to participate in the six-party talks if Japan brings up the abduction issue. Emma Chanlett-Avery, "North Korea's Abduction of Japanese citizens and the Six-Party Talks," *CRS Report for Congress RS22845*, March 19, 2008; "Japan's Problem with N.Korea Talks," *Time*, December 17, 2007; "DPRK Opposes Japan's Introducing Abduction Issue in 6-Party Talks," *KCNA*, November 28, 2003.

Third, two major issues re-emerged as the central point of the six-party talks: ending the hostile relationship between the US and North Korea and removing obstacles to North Korea's economic survival. More specifically, North Korea's major concerns were eliminating nuclear threat from the US by concluding a non-aggression treaty and by improving bilateral diplomatic relations, and removing obstacles that hindered North Korea's economic cooperation with other states. The issue of the peace treaty was raised by North Korea at the first round of the six-party talks in August 2003, but remained unresolved now. North Korea often mentioned its intention to return to the dead-locked nuclear talks if the US recognizes North Korea as a "sovereign state" and promises "not to invade" North Korea. North Korea renewed calls for a peace treaty with the US as the first step toward the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula on July 27, 2011. Under heavy sanctions, North Korea prioritized resolving issues that constrain North Korea's economic activities first and foremost.

Fourth, negotiation patterns based on action and reaction between the US and North Korea continued. North Korea's uncooperative actions were not separate acts, but counterreactions in a series of interactions. Since 1994, North Korea has argued that the US should compensate it for the slow implementation of the Agreed Framework. Washington faulted Pyongyang for delays in clarifying its prior nuclear weapons activities, while Pyongyang was dissatisfied with US delays in constructing the light water reactors. In a situation where both North Korea and the US deemed their prior obligations null and void, the collapse of the Agreed Framework was foreordained. North Korea expelled the IAEA inspectors after the US declared the nullification of the Geneva Agreed Framework as a counter measure. After the US adopted the so-called "tailored containment" policy against North Korea, Pyongyang declared its withdrawal from the NPT. However, remarks by the US Ambassador to South

 $<sup>^{1102}</sup>$  "Kim Gae Kwan-Christopher Hill Meeting Made a Breakthrough,"  $\it Seakey Ilbo, July 11, 2005.$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1103</sup> "North Korea Says Peace Treaty a First Step for Denuclearization," *Reuters*, July 27, 2011, accessed October 16, 2011, http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/07/27/us-korea-north-idUSTRE76Q41V20110727.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1104</sup> Jonathan Pollack, "The United States, North Korea, and the End of the Agreed Framework," *Naval War College Review* 56, no. 3 (Summer, 2003): 11-49.

Korea that the US policy towards North Korea would be different from those toward Iraq were followed by North Korea's announcement to accept multilateral talks for the resolution of nuclear issues. After the US froze North Korean funds, North Korea announced that it would pursue the construction of larger graphite-moderated reactors. 1105 After the US officially terminated the KEDO project, North Korea test-fired missiles and conducted a nuclear test, stressing that the test was attributable to the US nuclear threat, sanctions and pressure. 1106

Table 6.4 Action-Reaction between North Korea and the US

	US	North Korea
2001	Designates N. Korea as a target of preemptive nuclear attack Lists N. Korea as one of the states sponsoring terrorism	
2002	"Axis of evil" speech during the State of the Union address (1.29) Discusses the use of nuclear weapons against N. Korea (3.15) Kelly's visit to Pyongyang (10.16) Suspension of heavy fuel oil supplies (11.14)	Statement of the resumption of the operation and construction of its nuclear facilities (12.12)
2003	IAEA resolution (1.6) IAEA resolution (2.12) US sanctions on North Korean firm (3.24) Suspension of KEDO project (11.21)	Announcement of withdrawal from the NPT (1.10) Reprocessing spent fuel rods (Jan~Jun)
2004	North Korean Human Rights Act (10.18)	Invites an unofficial US delegation to show its nuclear deterrent (1.8)
2005	Freezing North Korean funds in BDA (9.15)	Announcement of nuclear weapons production (2.10) Shutdown and refueling of Yongbyon reactor (5.11)
2006	Termination of KEDO (5.30) UNSC Resolution 1695 (7.15) UNSC Resolution (10.14)	Missile Test (7.14) Nuclear Test (10.9)

# 2.1. Critical Issues

Before discussing the process of the nuclear talks, it is important to examine the early phase of the crisis, when North Korea was accused of violating the 1994 Agreement, 1107 because it is still debatable whether North Korea's decision was a unilateral action. It is an

<sup>1105</sup> "N.Korea Warned to Resume Construction of Graphite-generated Reactors," *Donga Ilbo*, December 21, 2005, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1106</sup> "Foreign Ministry Statement," KCNA, October 11, 2006. 1107 Chang Hee Kim, "Contention between the US and North Korea over the Nuclear Issues and the Six-Party Talk,"

Hankukdongpukanonchong 12, no. 1 (2007), 123.

intriguing question whether North Korea intentionally broke the Geneva Agreed Framework in order to develop a nuclear weapon or it gradually determined to have a weapon while engaging in the negotiation. On October 3, 2002, James Kelly, US Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and Pacific Affairs, claimed that North Korea pursued a HEU program, and in September 2003 North Korea indicated that it had made an important decision regarding its nuclear program. At the first meeting of the eleventh Supreme People's Assembly, the Foreign Ministry's proposal on the nuclear issue was approved. 1108 It is hard to determine when North Korea decided to develop nuclear weapons, but it is possible to examine North Korea's rhetorical and behavioral change during the negotiations.

First, the assessment of North Korea's nuclear program has always been controversial. During the Kelly-Kang meeting in 2002, the US raised the HEU issue without presenting concrete evidence to support the allegation. Some argued that the Bush administration relied on sketchy data and presented the worst-case scenario, which exaggerated the danger of North Korea's nuclear threat. 1109 Indeed, at the Kelly-Kang meeting, no specific evidence was presented to support Kelly's assertion that North Korea was constructing a plant that could produce weapons-grade uranium. US intelligence suggested that North Korea began assembling centrifuges in a small test cascade in 1999. In September 2002, the US believed that North Korea almost completed a production-scale centrifuge facility. 1110 However, there was no consensus on North Korea's potential for developing a large nuclear arsenal, and people in Washington held divergent views on the assessment of and reaction to North Korea's suspicious HEU program after the US intelligence report came out in summer 2002. 1111 The US intelligence community believed that North Korea confronted daunting obstacles in order to build an enriched-uranium weapon or even to acquire the production capabilities for such an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1108</sup> "N.Korea Prepares Another Nuclear Card/Supreme People's Assembly Approved Foreign Ministry's Proposal," Sekey Ilbo, September 4, 2003, 5.

<sup>1109</sup> Selig S. Harrison, "Did North Korea Cheat?" Foreign Affairs 84, no. 1(January/February 2005): 99-110.

<sup>1110</sup> Chang, Nuclear Showdown, 32-33.

<sup>1111</sup> Condoleezza Rice, No higher honor: A Memoir of My Years in Washington (New York: Random House, 2011); "Reconciliatory Approach to North Korea was Hindered by Rice," Kukmin Ilbo, October 30, 2002, 5.

option. Here in 2007, North Korea's HEU program had not yet been unveiled. Joseph DeTrani, advisor to the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, testified at a congressional hearing on February 27, 2007 that there was only "mid-confidence" that a production-scale uranium program existed. It was June 2009 when North Korea announced that it had begun building uranium enrichment facilities. There is no doubt that North Korea at some point began developing its uranium enrichment capability, which was ultimately realized in the late 2000s. However, the fact that North Korea actually demonstrated its uranium enrichment capability in 2010 does not prove that the early accusation of its pursuit of such capability in 2002 was accurate. Siegfried Hecker, who was invited to the North's Yongbyon atomic complex, testified that the facilities appeared to be primarily for civilian nuclear power, not for North Korea's nuclear arsenal.

Second, with regard to the issue of who first violated the 1994 Agreement, the US and North Korea charged each other with wrongdoing. The 1994 agreement was not North Korea's "solemn pledge" to the US, but rather mutual promises that both sides agreed to implement practical steps to stop nuclear proliferation on the Korean peninsula. As prolonged implementation seemed to continue, North Korea complained that delays in oil delivery caused

<sup>1112</sup> The CIA report to the Congress acknowledged that it did not obtain clear evidence indicating North Korea's construction of a centrifuge-based uranium enrichment program, but it suspected that North Korea has been working on uranium enrichment despite the freeze at Yongbyon. In January 2003, the CIA estimate provided less assertive claim, showing inconsistencies and uncertainties concerning North Korea's nuclear program. The US has not supplied concrete evidence to the other countries participating in the Six-party Talks. China alone has gone public as mentioning, "The US has not presented convincing evidence of the uranium program. We do not know whether it exists." Harrison, "Did North Korea Cheat?," 99-110; Federation of American Scientist, *Unclassified CIA Estimate to the US Congress*, November 19, 2002, www.fas.org/nuke/guide/dprk/nuke/cia111902.html.

<sup>1113</sup> Detrani was a former North Korean Mission Manager at the DNI and responsible for collecting and analyzing North Korea. He mentioned, "While there is high confidence that North Korea acquired materials that could be used in a production-scale uranium program, there is only 'mid-confidence' such a program exists." Gleen Kessler, "New Doubts on Nuclear Efforts by North Korea," *Washington Post*, March 1, 207, A01.

<sup>1114</sup> South Korean intelligence has not discovered concrete evidences to substantiate North Korea's claim that it was enriching uranium although it has long suspected that North Korea has started its uranium enrichment program at least in 1996. North Korea indicated its intention to enrich uranium in April 2009, and announced that the enrichment program is at an experimental stage in June 2009. The UEP entered a completion phase in September 2009. However, until Hecker's visit to Yongbyon, South Korean Foreign Ministry said that "many things remained unclear." "No Evidence Yet of North Korean Uranium Program, South Says," *Global Security Newswire*, July 8, 2009; Sang Hun Choe, "North Korea Started Uranium Program in 1990s, South Says," *The New York Times*, January 6, 2010. 

1115 William C. Triplett, *Rogue State: How a Nuclear North Korea Threatens America* (Washington: Regnery Publishing, 2004), 1.

it great loss.<sup>1116</sup> Procrastination of the KEDO project increased North Korea's suspicion of the US' commitment to observe the agreement. North Korea accused Washington of being responsible for the delay of implementation of the Geneva Agreed Framework and warned that it would take corresponding measures to compensate for the loss.<sup>1117</sup> On the one hand, it is possible that North Korea walked out of an agreement in order to avoid additional responsibilities. However, on the other hand, it is possible that North Korea saw that the agreement would not be observed by the US after all. In a situation where neither North Korea nor the others made substantial progress in implementing the agreement, North Korea argued that there was no reason to abide by the agreement alone.<sup>1118</sup>

Another controversial issue was North Korea's confession of developing a secret nuclear program. In October 2002, North Korea has reportedly admitted having a secret nuclear weapons program during bilateral talks with the US. 1119 Many suspected that North Korea deceived the world by enriching uranium, and most observers have accepted at face value what the US has assessed with regard to North Korea's HEU program. When the issue of a secret uranium program was raised, Kang Suk Joo mentioned that North Korea "has every right" to have it and an "even more powerful one than nuclear weapons." David Straub, who participated in the 2002 meeting between James Kelly and Kang Suk Joo, said that the US

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the graphite reactors would cost North Korea \$100 billion, five times its annual economic output as estimated by South Korea's central bank. The two new reactors are expected to cost about \$4 billion. Steve Glain, "North Korea's position is hardening in talks on reactors, liaison offices," *Wall Street Journal*, Oct 17, 1995, A17; "We Expect Solution to Problems at the US-DPRK Meeting: North Korean Foreign Ministry Statement," *KCNA*, August 13, 1998; "We Demand the US Taking Actions to Implement the Agreed Framework: Foreign Ministry Statement," *KCNA*, March 3, 2001.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1117</sup> "US Will Be Responsible for the Implementation of the Agreed Framework," *Rodong Sinmun*, October 17, 1998; "Request Urgent Measures for Building Light Water Reactors," *Rodong Sinmun*, August 24, 1999.

North Korea stressed that it would go its own way if the agreed framework would not be respected. "Request Urgent Measures for Building Light Water Reactors," *Rodong Sinmun*, August 24, 1999.

<sup>1119 &</sup>quot;The Impact of North Korea's Nuclear Development Plan," *Hankuk Ilbo*, October 18, 2002, 5; "Where is North Korea's Nuclear Facility/The US Had the Information," *Kukmin Ilbo*, October 18, 2002, 4; "North Korea Confessed Nuclear Weapons Program/HEU, Violation of the 1994 Agreed Framework," *Hankuk Ilbo*, October 18, 2002, 1; "Repercussion of the North Korean Nuclear Weapons Program/Timeline From the Pyongyang Meeting to North Korea's Confession," *Donga Ilbo*, October 18, 2002; "Interview with the Senior Official/North Korea's Development of Nuclear Weapons Program since the 1994 Agreement," *Sekey Ilbo*, October 18, 2002.

<sup>1120</sup> Harrison, "Did North Korea Cheat?," 99-110.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1121</sup> "Memoir of David Straub," *Joongang Ilbo*, November 18, 2009, http://article.joinsmsn.com/news/article/article.asp?Total\_ID=3880797.

delegates interpreted Kang's remark as a confession of having an enrichment uranium program. Have Meanwhile, others contested that Kang's comment had a different meaning. Since Kang Suk Joo's controversial comment brought about the second nuclear crisis, his remark that North Korea had "a more powerful one" needs to be carefully examined. US media reported that North Korea delegates admitted to having such a program, but what Kang Suk Joo mentioned cannot be translated as such. What North Korea stressed was "the *right* to self-defense and to produce nuclear weapons in order to defend against external threat," as they continuously argued during the first nuclear crisis. It should be noted that North Koreans have often said that they have "the single-hearted unity of the military and people behind the invincible Commander Kim Jong II" which is "more powerful than a nuclear bomb." Therefore, it is possible that Kang's comment was not a confession, but rather an expression of dauntless spirit because "more powerful than nuclear weapons" is a rhetorical expression of the "unity of people." However, Kang's remarks consolidated the international community's suspicion of North Korea's nuclear ambition.

The confidential minutes of the Geneva Agreed Framework say that North Korea agreed not to continue constructing graphite-moderated reactors and related facilities. Whether or not the enrichment facility shall be subject to these restrictions is debatable, because uranium facilities are not directly related to the 5MWe graphite-moderated reactor in Yongbyon. Developing enrichment technology does not directly violate the NPT as long as enrichment facilities, once constructed, are reported. After the Kelly-Kang meeting, North Koreans argued,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1122</sup> Without sharing notes with South Korea, the US team went back to Washington. It was two weeks later when the US media reported North Korea's "cheating" on its agreement with the Clinton administration. "Repercussion of N.Korea's Nuclear Weapons Plan/South Korean Government Seeks Cooperation with the US and Japan for Denuclearization," *Munhwa Ilbo*, October 17, 2002; "N.Korea Kang Suk Joo, Admitted Nuclear Weapons Development," *Sekey Ilbo*, November 21, 2002.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1123</sup> "Unity of Korean People, More Powerful than Nuclear Bombs," *KCNA*, July 18, 2002; "DPRK Ready to Punish Yankees in Single-hearted Unity More Powerful than A-Bomb," *Korean Central News Agency*, December 25, 2002. 
<sup>1124</sup> North Korea has long stressed that unity among the people is a powerful weapon to defend attack and keep peace, arguing that what is powerful than nuclear weapons is the "unity" of the Korean people. "Self-Defense Is a Guarantee of Peace," *Rodong Sinmun*, November 15, 2001; "Raise the Flag of Songun High and Speed Up Realizing Juche Socialism with All Our Efforts," *Rodong Sinmun*, December 21, 2001.

"We are *entitled* to have an enrichment program for peaceful purposes," which does not exactly denote that North Korea possessed enrichment facilities. <sup>1125</sup> Indeed, the North Korean government insisted that it does not have a uranium program. In this regard, what mattered was not translation, but interpretation. North Korea was suspected of extracting plutonium from spent fuel despite its argument that the original purpose of building nuclear facilities was to produce electricity, which received little attention. Therefore, North Korea's argument that it pursued uranium enrichment capability for the new light water reactors to be provided by KEDO seemed less convincing than the argument that North Korea was developing a nuclear program for building nuclear weapons. Whatever North Korea's intent was, there has never been a moment when North Korea could form a positive identity and experience positive interactions with other states, which is constructive to reaching a mutual agreement.

It should also be noted that North Korea was trying to extend diplomatic relations with the West and initiated economic reform to attract foreign investments when the second nuclear crisis occurred. It was generally predicted that Pyongyang would resist opening itself up and initiating market-based reform, as it viewed such steps as potentially and dangerously loosening political control. However, like it did in the early 1990s, North Korea sought a far more normal security situation which would allow it to move forward with economic development. North Korea sought to broaden its formal diplomatic ties by participating in the ASEAN Regional Forum and establishing relations with European countries including Italy, the Philippines, Australia, Canada, the UK, and Germany in early 2000s. The North Korean media proudly advertised that North Korea was expanding foreign relations with many other states that

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1125</sup> Ri Gun, on August 12, 2004, commented that North Korea is entitled such a right to develop any type of enrichment program for peaceful purpose. "N.Korea Does not Exclude Developing Uranium Enrichment Program," *YTN*, August 14, 2004.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1126</sup> Kim Jong II made a rare visit to China's silicon Valley on the outskirt of Beijing in 2001. A year before, Jo Myong Rok visited Silicon Valley on the route to Washington to meet President Bill Clinton, showing North Korea's interest in building high technology Mecca. Andrew Scobell, *North Korea's Strategic Intentions, Strategic Studies Institute Monograph* (Carlisle: US Army War College, 2005), accessed February 22, 2011,

 $http://books.google.com/books?id=OBCRGQFsHYIC\&printsec=frontcover\&dq=North+Korea\%E2\%80\%99s+Strategic+Intentions\&hl=en\&ei=LAFoTqeGPJLTgQfKkbnSDA\&sa=X\&oi=book\_result\&ct=result\&resnum=1\&ved=0CCoQ6AEwAA#v=onepage\&q\&f=false.$ 

respected its political system. 1127

In addition, North Korea was seeking aid from international financial institutions when the second nuclear crisis broke out. The light-water reactors were not provided to North Korea for free; their cost was to be repaid by North Korea after the completion of the project. 1128 Therefore, avoiding contention with the US was a critical concern for North Korea. 1129 In an effort to address the problem of monetary overhang in July 2002, North Korea pursued a membership in the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund as international aid decreased. 1130 Being a member of the World Bank would require political support especially from the US, which holds about 17 percent of the voting power, 1131 and without a successful resolution of the crisis, North Korea could not restart discussions with international financial institutions, the first step in ending its isolation and rehabilitating its economy. The question is, why would North Korea choose to close its window of opportunity for reform and openness?

Another controversial issue was North Korea's poor infrastructure of power lines. Many

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<sup>1127 &</sup>quot;Foreign Policy of DPRK," Rodong Sinmun, January 9, 1998.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1128</sup> North Korea agreed to repay the cost for 17 years after three-year grace period. Korea Energy Development Oraganization, Agreement on Supply of a Light-water Reactor Project to the DPRK between the KEDO and the Government of the DPRK, October 21, 1994, accessed November 2, 2011,

http://www.kedo.org/pdfs/SupplyAgreement.pdf; Young W. Kihl and Peter Hayes, *Peace and Security in Northeast Asia: the Nuclear Issue and the Korean Peninsula* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), 210. http://www.kedo.org/pdfs/SupplyAgreement.pdf.

his other former communist countries of Eastern Europe became members of the World Bank, North Korea began discussions with the World Bank about membership. North Korea launched the economic management improvement methods, so-called the July-1 program, and other economic-liberalization measures in order to covert repressed inflation into open inflation. However, the economic situation got more precarious than before the reforms. John Pomfret, "North Korea Faces New Crisis as Economic Reform Falters," *The Washington Post*, January 28, 2003; Moon Soo Yang, "Macroeconomic Policy in the Early Stages of Marketization in North Korea," *East Asian Review* 15, no. 4 (Winter 2003): 75-94.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1130</sup> As long as North Korea remained on the list of states sponsoring terrorism, it would not get membership from the World Bank because the US is required by law to oppose membership in the international financial institutions to terrorist states. Therefore, North Korea was particularly interested in changing its status since the early 2000s. Dianne E. Rennack, "North Korea: Economic Sanctions," *Report for Congress*, January 24, 2003, accessed June 21, 2011, http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/crs/rl31696.pdf.

receiving 85 percent support of the voting power of the shareholder governments depends on Washington's determination either block or support the application. Today, the only countries that have not become members are Cuba and North Korea. Unlike Eastern European countries, North Korea had no advantage in terms of reform history and it has no relevant statics for comparision due to distortions of data and securing inflow of foreign capital and assistance. Besides, North Korea has to move toward openness and transparency about economic matters. Jun Yeo Chun, An Assessment on Economic System Transformation in Eastern Europe and its Implications for the North Korean Economy (Seoul: Korea Institute for International Economic Policy, 2000), 91-109; Daniel Morrow, "Possible World Bank Assistance to North Korea: Issues and Challenges," Asian Perspective, 30, no. 3 (2006): 37-67.

believed that North Korea wanted the light water reactor to eventually develop nuclear weapons because the North Korean power grid was not able to handle much electricity from the new light water reactors. Therefore, North Korea was suspected of not having genuine interest in building light water reactors to produce electricity. However, these people did not pay much attention to the fact that North Korea asked KEDO to build a power grid to send electricity from the new light water reactors. It fact, those requests were not reflected in the project and an investment in upgrading the power grid was left for future discussions. Because the light water reactor project was provided on a turn-key basis, the agreement in September of 1995 in Kuala Lumpur ensured that KEDO would support North Korea in seeking funds from the international financial institution for the construction of electrical facilities. North Korea's search for funds to build such an infrastructure was one of the reasons for its consultations with international financial institutions in the early 2000s. Its 1135

# Changing Values of the Nuclear Weapons Program

Previous studies have been interested in North Korea's notorious brinkmanship or salami strategy, which has initiated a series of negotiations over its nuclear program, <sup>1136</sup> and many studies jump to the conclusion that North Korea merely played a dangerous game to extract further concessions from other concerned countries. North Korea's nuclear program could enable it to escape an antagonistic environment. It could form favorable conditions for realizing *Kangsungdaekuk* (a powerful, prosperous nation) if it succeeded in normalizing diplomatic

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<sup>1132 &</sup>quot;Electricity Supply and Light Water Reactor Construction are Inappropriate," *Hankuk Ilbo*, August 13, 2007.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1133</sup> "N.Korea Requests the US for Additional Fund," *Hankuk Ilbo*, February 9, 1995, 1; "One Billion Dollar Fund for Building Light-reactor Infrastructure/N.Korea Requests to KEDO," *Seoul Shinmun*, October 4, 1995, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1134</sup> Joint US-DPRK Press Statement, Kuala Lumpur, June 13, 1995

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1135</sup> In a letter to North Korean Ambassador Ho Jong, KEDO Executive Director Stephen Bosworth mentioned that KEDO would help North Korea commercially contract for power transmission lines and substation equipment. Therefore, the South Korean government commented that KEDO has no legal or financial commitments in its assistance to North Korea. "Points in Question Regarding the Light Water Reactor Project," *Sekey Ilbo*, December 20, 1995. 7

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1136</sup> Young Whan Kihl, "Confrontation or Compromise on the Korean Peninsula: The North Korean Nuclear Issue," *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis* 6, no. 2 (1994): 100-129.

relations with the US and Japan, revitalizing its economy by lifting sanctions on trades, and obtaining more leverage than South Korea about issues on the Korean peninsula. The 2.14 accord specified steps to form these conditions, but North Korea committed more defiant actions. The irony here is that the nuclear option became more essential for North Korea under intensified economic sanctions and the cut of foreign aid in the midst of diplomatic tension with the US. Overthrowing the 2.13 accord by conducting a nuclear test seemed an absurd attitude, and North Korea appeared to be irrational in the eyes of observers.<sup>1137</sup>

It is possible that North Korea's perception of the significance of its nuclear weapons program changed as the negotiation met obstacles and an agreement at the six-party talks was delayed. A contrast in North Korea's rhetoric between the first nuclear crisis and the early phase of the second crisis is very noticeable: North Korea had consistently denied any intention to develop a nuclear weapons program in the 1990s, but, at the beginning of the second crisis, North Korea mentioned that it had the "right to develop" a nuclear weapons program. Then, North Korea declared its "possession" of nuclear weapons. North Korea reportedly told China in 2005 that it had not assembled a nuclear bomb, although it knew how to build all the components. However, in December 2006, Kim Gye Kwan, North Korean Vice Minister and chief negotiator of the six-party talk, announced at the second session of the fifth round of the six-party talks, "North Korea is just satisfied with the mere possession of the nuclear weapons. Horth Korea is just satisfied with the mere possession of the nuclear weapons state, and crossing the red line of bomb manufacturing requires political determination. Therefore, it is important to examine why North Korea's pursuit of a nuclear weapons program was undeterred and how North Korea rationalized it.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1137</sup> In return, the US expressed its willingness to normalize bilateral relations, replace the armistice with a permanent peace treaty and assist in the meeting of energy and other economic needs of the North Korean people. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, "US-Asia Relations: Indispensable to Our Future," Remarks to the Asia Society, New York, February 13, 2009, accessed February 22, 2011, www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2009a/02/117333.htm.

<sup>1138</sup> Chang, *Nuclear Showdown*, 32.

<sup>&</sup>quot;North and South," *Free North Korea Radio*, accessed March 2, 2007, www.freenk.net/bbs/bview.php?addr=bbs\_ksusn&idn=16.

# 2.2. Dialectical Development of the Nuclear Crisis

The period after the conclusion of the Geneva Agreed Framework shows a dialectical development of the nuclear crisis. Before 2000, positive interactions were short-lived. A second period took place from 2001, when the HEU program issue came out, to 2005, when the six-party talks made an agreement in the form of the 9.19 statement. A third period began with North Korea's first nuclear test in 2006.

# Short-lived Positive Identification (1998~2000)

There was a short period that showed signs of positive identification between the US and North Korea, which continued until the advent of the Bush Administration. The Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO) was established on March 9, 1995 as a result of the Agreed Framework between the US and North Korea, established on October 21, 1994. The European Atomic Energy Community became a member of KEDO in September 1997, and other states participated in this project. US and North Korea began negotiations to resolve the issue of a suspected nuclear site in Kumchangri from 1998 to 1999, and Charles Kartman negotiated North Korea's alowance of inspectors to the site at Kumchangri, an unprecedented on-site US inspection based on the promise of additional US humanitarian aid. Undoubtedly, frequent contacts between the two countries created a momentum: Marshal Jo Myong Rok, North Korea's second-highest ranking military official, visited Washington in October 2000, and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright visited Pyongyang soon after.

William Perry, coordinator of US policy on North Korea, presented his report on North Korea to Congress on September 14, 1999. 1141 The Perry Process that aimed at freezing North

<sup>1140</sup> These countries include Argentina, Australia, Canada, Chile, the Czech Republic, Indonesia, New Zealand, Poland, and Uzbekistan. The Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization, *Annual Report 2001*, accessed July 2, 2011, http://www.kedo.org/pdfs/KEDO\_AR\_2001.pdf.

Perry advises Washington to take steps to normalize relations with North Korea and ease economic sanctions while urging Pyongyang to allay concerns about its nuclear and missile programs. The Perry approach led to North Korea's

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Korea's missile activities and paying the way to normalizing relations with North Korea led North Korea to observe a moratorium on missile exports while the US eased some of its sanctions on North Korea. 1142 North Korea complained that the US lifted minimal sanctions as only a symbolic gesture, but did not take comprehensive measures that could bring about substantial changes to the bilateral relationship. 1143 The Perry Report of October 12, 1999 recommends a US position that rests not simply on military deterrence, but rather on a comprehensive approach including negotiations with North Korea. 1144 It gave an impetus to the implementation of the Agreed Framework, pointing out that the US had not provided the incentives promised in the Agreed Framework. 1145 However, this positive identification between the US and North Korea ended momentarily. Pyongyang's invitation to President Clinton could not be realized, although Washington planned to do so, due to a presidential election dispute on the recounting of Florida presidential ballots. 1146 Direct contact between the US and North Korea suspended in 2001 when a sudden political change took place in Washington.

agreement on giving up its production of long-range and medium-range missiles exceeding MTCR limits and halting of all missile exports. Changsu Kim, "The Perry Process in the DPRK" (paper presented at the 22<sup>nd</sup> NDU Pacific Symposium, March 26-28, 2001).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1142</sup> The Perry Report recommended three approaches to normalizing relations with North Korea: North Korea should forgo its missile launches, and the US should ease some sanctions in the near term. In the medium-term, the US should receive credible assurances that North Korea has ended its nuclear weapons and long-range ballistic missile programs, and in the long term, the US work with North Korea, South Korea, and Japan to end the cold-war structure on the Korean peninsula. Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright and Dr. William Perry, Press Briefing on US Relations with North Korea, Washington D.C., September 17, 1999; Ashton B. Carter and William J. Perry, Preventive Defense: A New Security Strategy for America (Washington D.C.: Brookings, 1999).

<sup>1143 &</sup>quot;It Does not Matter to Break Up the Agreed Framework: Foreign Ministry Statement," KCNA, October 13, 1998. <sup>1144</sup> As part of steps to revise Washington's policy toward North Korea, Armitage report was issued. This republicanbacked report suggests coercive measures including preemptive actions if diplomatic initiatives fail. However, the report acknowledges North Korea as a legitimate actor and proposes engagement through peaceful means. Yongsun Ha, Nuclear Weapons in the Korean Peninsula and the World Order (Nuclear Weapons in the Korean Peninsula and the World Order) (Seoul: Nanam, 1991), 162; William J. Perry, Review of United States Policy Towards North Korea (Washington DC: US Department of State, 1999), accessed April 21, 2011,

http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/ea/easec/nkreview.html; Richard L. Armitage, "A Comprehensive Approach to North Korea," Strategic Forum, no. 159 (March 1999): 4-5, 7-8; Victor D. Cha, "The Second Nuclear Age," Journal of Security Studies 24 (December 2001): 79-122;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1145</sup> Reinhard Drifte, "The Perry Report and US-North Korea Relations," ASIEN 79 (2001), accessed July 22, 2011, http://www.asienkunde.de/content/zeitschrift\_asien/archiv/pdf/Drifte79.pdf.

<sup>1146</sup> Because Florida had a major recount dispute, the 2000 US presidential election was not known for more than a month after balloting. Clinton's national security adviser Sandy Berger advised President Clinton not to leave the country during the presidential election dispute. Therefore, the White House announced that President Clinton's travel to North Korea before the end of his term would not be possible due to insufficient time to complete the work at hand. "Little to Gain by Trip to North Korea," Los Angeles Times, November 22, 2000.

The Agreed Framework was brought to the brink when the US made an announcement that North Korea had developed a program to enrich uranium for nuclear weapons, which sparked North Korea's second nuclear crisis. 1147 Signals of an upcoming conflict emerged throughout 2001. The North Korean Foreign Ministry issued a statement criticizing Washington's hard-line policies on February 21, and a spokesperson called for Washington's sincere implementation of its commitments and compensation for huge losses caused by the delayed implementation on March 3. On October 16, US President Bush warned North Korea not to think that the US was unprepared to take actions. The US Nuclear Posture Review designated North Korea as one of the targets of preemptive nuclear attack on March 13, 1148 and North Korea was again designated as one of the states sponsoring terrorism by the US State Department on May 21, 2002. 1149 In response, North Korea interpreted these measures as attempts to disgrace North Korea's image, and insisted that it could not engage in a dialogue while facing such unfounded accusations. 1150

#### Dissociation and Re-engagement (2001~2005)

The second phase of the crisis began with Washington's claim that it would no longer be bound by its side of the deal. The US and North Korea seemed to collide when the US announced that the Geneva Agreed Framework was nullified on October 20, and ended heavy fuel oil shipments to North Korea on November 13. In response, North Korea expelled IAEA inspectors, disabled monitoring equipment and reopened the Yongbyon nuclear reactor complex

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1147</sup> On November 29, the Board of Governors adopted a resolution, and on December 22 North Korea started to cut IAEA seals and disabled IAEA surveillance cameras. North Korea expelled the IAEA inspectors on December 27, withdrew from the NPT on January 10, 2003. It restarted the 5MWe reactor in February 2003 and June 2005, and reprocessed 8,000 spent fuel rods by June 2003 and September 2005. IAEA, *DPRK Fact Sheet*, accessed April 4, 2007, www.iaea.org/NewsCenter/MediaAdvisory/2002/med-advise\_052.shtml.

Amy F. Woolf, "Nuclear Posture Review: Overview and Emerging Issues," *CRS Report for Congress*, January 21, 2002, accessed March 25, 2011, http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/8039.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1149</sup> US Department of State, *Patterns of Global Terrorism 2001* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2002), 68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1150</sup> "We Will Prepare Countermeasure for the US Nuclear-Armed Missile System," *Rodong Sinmun*, May 7, 2002; "We Will Not Cooperate with the US If We Are Designated as a State Sponsoring Terrorism," *KCNA*, May 27, 2002; "Why Does the US Insist on Preemptive Attack?" *KCNA*, June 15, 2002

in December 2002.<sup>1151</sup> North Korea announced that it would withdraw from the NPT on January 10, 2003, and it began reprocessing some 8,000 spent fuel rods on April 18.<sup>1152</sup> In response, IAEA resolution was adopted on February 12, 2003, the US launched the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) on May 31, 2003, and the US Congress approved prohibition of support to KEDO on July 21, 2003.

These actions illustrated a gap that was increasingly difficult to bridge. The first round of six-party talks was held in Beijing on August 27, 2003, but ended without significant breakthrough, only confirming sharp differences. Efforts to achieve the goal of denuclearizing North Korea were circumscribed by the very means that the US pursued to achieve this purpose—Complete Verifiable Irreversible Dismantlement (CVID) of North Korea's nuclear weapons program. The idea of CVID was too ideal to be implemented due to technical and political obstacles. North Korea proposed a step-by-step solution, but the US rejected North Korea's offer to take simultaneous actions for freezing the nuclear program in exchange for political and economic concessions on December 9, 2003. At the third round of six-party talks in June 2004, a detailed proposal for resolving the crisis was presented and North Korea offered

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1151</sup> KEDO, *Promoting Peace and Stability on the Korean Peninsula and Beyond*, accessed April 2, 2007, http://www.kedo.org/au\_history.asp.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1152</sup> Sharon A. Squassoni, "North Korea's Nuclear Weapons: How Soon an Arsenal?" CRS Report for Congress, Order Code RS21391, February 2, 2004; Steven R. Weisman, "North Korea Said to Offer Small Nuclear Steps at a Price," *New York Times*, April 29, 2003; Curt Weldon, "Congressional Record of Results of Trip to North Korea," June 5, 2003, accessed March 5, 2011,

http://www.nautilus.org/publications/books/dprkbb/uspolicy/WeldonNKreport.html/?searchterm=weldon%20north%20~korea.

<sup>1154</sup> The US retreated from its previous demand of CVID of North Korea's nuclear activities, including its HEU program. This term was dropped during the negotiations, and North Korea regarded the US allegation as a mere provocation. As a matter of fact, the 2.13 document was agreed on "disablement," not "dismantlement". Claire Buchan, Office of the Press Secretary, White House, *Press Gaggle by Claire Buchan*, August 27, 2003; James A. Kelly, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, the US Department of State, *Ensuring a Korean Peninsula Free of Nuclear Weapons*, February 13, 2004; Richard Boucher, Spokesman of the US Department of State, *Daily Press Briefing*, June 15, 2004; John R. Bolton, Under Secretary for Arms Control and International Security, US Department of State, *Lessons from Libya and North Korea's Strategic Choice*, July 21, 2004; R.Nicholas Burns, Under Secretary for Political Affairs, *US Policy Toward North Korea*, Testimony to the house International Relations Committee, November 16, 2006; Frank Ching, "China Shines in North Korea Talk," *Korea Times*, March 4, 2004; Hong Kun Song, "Nuclear Crisis Is passed but HEU Program Is Still in Dispute," *Donga Ilbo*, March 20, 2007, accessed March 24, 2007, http://www.donga.com/docs/magazine/viewer.php?mgz\_part=weekly&n=200703140500032.

1155 The US wanted not only North Korea's plutonium but also its HEU program to be verified. However, detecting HEU program is difficult unless North Korea allows the US to visit the facilities to inspect due to the characteristics of the enrichment process of uranium.

to refrain from producing, testing, or transferring nuclear weapons and to freeze all the facilities related to nuclear weapons and products, depending on how the proposals were implemented. However, North Korea announced that it had weaponized 8,000 spent fuel rods on September 27. The North Korean Foreign Ministry announced that North Korea possessed nuclear weapons for self-defense and would suspend its participation in the six-party talks indefinitely on February 10, 2005. The North Korean Foreign Ministry announced that North Ministry announced that North Ministry announced that North Ministry

The adoption of the Joint Statement of the Fourth Round of the Six-Party Talks on September 19, 2005 provided the principles to guide future negotiation. However, at the same time, the issue of imposition of special measures against Banco Delta Asia broke out, which froze \$25 million in North Korean funds. After the designation of BDA, the US Treasury Advisory warned other financial institutions to guard against North Korea's access to their financial services for the purpose of money laundering concern, and North Korea responded strongly by suspending its participation in the six party talks until these sanctions were lifted. North Korea announced that it would pursue the construction of larger graphite-moderated reactors in December 2005. While the US refused to negotiate over money laundering issues, North Korea refused to resume the six-party talks on February 28, 2006, conducted a missile test on March 18 and fired multiple ballistic missiles on July 4.

Negative interactions continued as the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1695, condemning North Korea's missile launches on July 15, <sup>1160</sup> and the US House of Representatives passed the North Korea Nonproliferation Act of 2006, which was passed by the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1156</sup> Nam Sun Paek, Speech by N.Korean Foreign Minister at United Nations General Assembly, September 27, 2004, accessed August 12, 2011, http://www.c-spanvideo.org/program/183675-5.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Statement of the DPRK's Foreign Ministry," Korean Central News Agency, February 10, 2005.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1158</sup> The Department of the Treasury designated a Macau bank, Banco Delta Asia, as a primary money laundering concern under Section 311 of the USA PATRIOT Act. Special Measures, US Department of the Treasury, accessed June 11, 2011, http://www.fincen.gov/statutes\_regs/patriot/section311.html.

The US Treasury issued Treasury Advisory in December 2005 to encourage other financial institutions to take the similar measures. Testimony of Stuart Levey, Under Secretary Terrorism and Financial Intelligence, US Department of the Treasury, Senate Appropriations Subcommittee, April 6, 2006.

United Nations Security Council, *UNSC Resolution 1695,SC/8778*, 5490<sup>th</sup> Meeting, July 15, 2006, accessed March 24, 2011, http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2006/sc8778.doc.htm.

Senate on September 30.<sup>1161</sup> These measures were followed by North Korea testing nuclear devices on October 9,<sup>1162</sup> and, in response, UNSC Resolution 1718 was adopted October 14.<sup>1163</sup>

**Table 6.5 Six-Party Talks** 

Date	Agenda	N.Korea's Concern
1 <sup>st</sup> Talk (Aug. 27~29, 2003)	HEU program	nuclear deterrent
2 <sup>nd</sup> Talk (Feb. 25~28, 2004)	CVID, 7 sub-agenda	abandonment of only nuclear weapons program
3 <sup>rd</sup> Talk (Jun. 23~26, 2004)	provision of 2MKW electricity,	less committed (Ri Gun was sent to the talk)
4 <sup>th</sup> Talk (Jul.26~Aug.7,2005) (Sept. 13~19, 2005)	N.Korea's right to develop peaceful nuclear capability, provision of alternative energy, denuclearization	respect of sovereignty and peaceful co-existance provision of light-water reactor, simultaneous actions
5 <sup>th</sup> Talk (Nov. 9~11, 2005) (Dec. 18~22, 2006 <sup>1164</sup> ) (Feb. 8~13, 2007 <sup>1165</sup> )	Separation of issues, early denuclearization	arms reduction, light-water reactors, UN sanctions, linking BDA and nuclear program

# Establishment of a Nuclear Weapons State (2006~2009)

The third phase began with positive prospects as the six-party talk in February 2007 finally came to agreement on a detailed plan for the implementation of the Joint Statement of September 19, 2005. This plan was possible because of the agreement on the BDA issue reached between the US and North Korea on January 16, 2007. On February 13, the third session of the fifth round of the six-party talks adopted "Initial Actions for the Implementation"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1161</sup> October 13, President Bush signed on North Korea Nonproliferation Act of 2006. North Korea Nonproliferation Act of 2006, September 13, 2006, accessed September 8, 2011, http://www.govtrack.us/congress/billtext.xpd?bill=h109-5805.

Intelligence estimates that North Korea's nuclear weapons test on October 9, 2006 may have been a failure. However, most intelligence estimates that North Korea has enough fissile material for a few nuclear devices. Richard L. Garwin and Frank N. von Hippel, "A Technical Analysis of North Korea's October 9 Nuclear Test," *Arms Control Today*, November 2006, accessed May 22, 2011, http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2006\_11/tech; David E. Sanger, "North Koreans Say They Tested Nuclear Device," *New York Times*, October 9, 2006, accessed March 22, 2007, http://www.nytimes.com/2006/10/09/world/asia/09korea.html?ei=5088&en=05b5994b8a07334a&ex=1318046400&par tner=rssnyt&emc=rss&pagewanted=print.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1163</sup> United Nations Security Council, *UNSC Resolution 1718*(2006), *S/RES/1718*, 5551<sup>st</sup> Meeting, October 14, 2006, accessed March 24, 2011, http://daccess-dds-

ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N06/572/07/PDF/N0657207.pdf?OpenElement.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1164</sup> The US insisted on discussing BDA issue at a separate meeting and North Korea's renunciation of nuclear program as the first step to be implemented.

<sup>1165</sup> North Korea's news agency broadcasted "each side agreed on temporary suspension of the nuclear facilities and provision of energy equivalent to 1 million ton of heavy oil".

provision of energy equivalent to 1 million ton of heavy oil".

1166 Chinese Foreign Ministry, *Text of the Agreement on North Korea's Nuclear Disarmament*, accessed February 15, 2007

http://www.dailynk.com/english/data\_view.php?bbs\_code=ebbs1&bbs\_number=26&page=1&keycode=&keyword=.

of the Joint Statement."<sup>1167</sup> The North Korean Foreign Ministry confirmed that it received 25 million dollars from its BDA account and began implementing the 2.13 agreement. The IAEA began consultations with North Korea on June 26 and confirmed that North Korea had shut down its Yongbyon nuclear facility on July 18. <sup>1168</sup> The second session of the sixth round of sixparty talks adopted the Second-Phase Actions for the Implementation of the September 2005 Joint Statement on October 3. <sup>1169</sup> Because the action plan was followed by showing apparent achievements, including North Korea's declaration of its plutonium program to China on June 26, 2008, blowing up the cooling tower as a symbolic event on June 27, and removing North Korea from the State Department's terrorism list on October 11, not many noticed signs of a Uturn until North Korea launched a long range ballistic missile, a precursor to an upcoming nuclear test. <sup>1170</sup>

Implementation of the second-phase actions faced two major obstacles: 1) verification of disenabled nuclear program required a considerable amount of time while leaving North Korea awaiting a reciprocal response from the US, and 2) nearby US allies—South Korea and Japan—demanded more of the verification mechanism, and the US tried to change the terms of the agreement. Washington requested that North Korea accept a draft verification protocol while it delayed delisting North Korea as a state sponsor of terrorism. As a response, North Korea stopped its disenabling process, and, therefore, the US had to present a less intrusive draft protocol. Making arrangements to verify the declaration was a thorny issue. Because the October 2007 accord had no provision for verification, Tokyo and Seoul's request to verify

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1167</sup> Initial Actions for the Implementation of the Joint Statement, Special Report 07-013A, February 13, 2007, accessed March 14, 2011, http://archive.usun.state.gov/fact\_sheet/ps7.pdf.

Monitoring and Verification in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, GOV/2007/36, July 3, 2007, accessed March 14, 2011, http://www.isis-online.org/publications/dprk/IAEAReportonDPRK.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1169</sup> US Department of State, Office of the Spokesman, Second-Phase Actions for the Implementation of the September 2005 Joint Statement, Special Report 07-075A, Washington D.C., October 4, 2007, accessed March 15, 2011, http://merln.ndu.edu/archivepdf/northkorea/state/93217.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1170</sup> North Korea launched the three-stage Unha-2 rocket, a modified version of its long-range Taepo Dong-2 ballistic missile.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1171</sup> Glenn Kessler, "Far-reaching US plan impaired N.Korea Deal: Demands Began to Undo Nuclear Accord," *Washington Post*, September 26, 2008, A20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1172</sup> Mary Beth Nikitin et al., "North Korea's Second Nuclear Test: Implicatios of UN Security Council Resolution 1874," CRS Report for Congress, July 1, 2009, 17.

the declaration before moving on to dismantlement of North Korea's plutonium-based nuclear facilities was too demanding in the eyes of the North Koreans.<sup>1173</sup>

The second nuclear test on May 25, 2009, in particular, took the world by surprise because it reversed the process of resolving the nuclear crisis. 1174 Because only three weeks before the test the US had announced a new diplomatic effort to restart stalled talks with North Korea, this provocative action was hardly comprehensible. 1175 Indeed, the 2.13 Agreement was not sustainable because it was conditionally disenabling North Korea's nuclear activities. North Korea agreed to "shut down and seal" the Yongbyon nuclear facility, including reprocessing the facility, to "discuss with" other parties a list of nuclear programs, including plutonium extracted from used fuel rods, and to "start bilateral talks" with the US and Japan for moving toward full diplomatic relations. 1176 However, North Korea agreed on the "disablement" of the nuclear program, which is obviously similar to a "tentative freeze," a term that the accord skillfully avoided. 1177 It should be noted that the Agreement did not comment on the uranium program, means to verify the past nuclear activities, information about other suspected nuclear facilities except for the Yongbyon complex, comments on the "steps" to disenable the nuclear facilities, or guidelines for the negotiation of other issues to be discussed in the future. The 9.19 Joint Statement said that North Korea agreed to abandon all nuclear weapons and "existing nuclear programs." Therefore, North Korea could argue that its uranium enrichment program did not exist at that moment and therefore was not subject to the restrictions delineated in the joint

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1173</sup> In bilateral talks, North Korea agreed to establish a six-party verification mechanism and allow visits to declared nuclear facilities, a review of documents, and interviews with technical personnel. However, the US demanded changing the terms of the agreement.

Mary Beth Nikitin et al., "North Korea's Second Nuclear test: Implications of UN Security Council Resolution 1874," *Congressional Research Service* 7-5700, July 1, 2009, accessed July 22, 2011, http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/126838.pdf.

<sup>1175 &</sup>quot;World Outraged by North Korea's Latest Nuke Test," *CNN*, May 25, 2009, accessed Apil 20, 2011, http://edition.cnn.com/2009/WORLD/asiapcf/05/24/nkorea.nuclear/index.html.

Other parties agreed on providing energy and humanitarian assistance to North Korea, including 50,000 tons of heavy fuel oil within 60 days, and to initiate a working group discussion on each issue within 30 days.

<sup>1177</sup> The 1994 Geneva Agreed Framework concluded on the "freeze" of the North Korea's graphite-moderated reactors and related facilities. KEDO, *Agreed Framework Between the United States of America and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea*, October 21, 1994, accessed February 21, 2007, http://www.kedo.org/pdfs/AgreedFramework.pdf.

statement. 1178 North Korea could have a multilateral security guarantee through normalizing diplomatic ties, but that was far from what North Korea has demanded—concluding a formal bilateral nonaggression treaty. 1179

Table 6.6 Geneva Agreed Framework and 9.19 Joint Statement

Geneva Agreed Framework	9.19 Joint Statement
Keep uncertainty of N.Korea's past activities	No mention about HEU
	Keep uncertainty of N.Korea's past activities
	Respect of the right to use peaceful nuclear
	energy

In addition, North Korea and the US had different expectations. The purpose of the 2.13 agreement for other parties was to deny North Korea's nuclear status through denuclearization, and those at the six-party talks were more interested in North Korea's nuclear activities being verifiably dismantled. However, North Korea aimed to negotiate disarmament through inspection not only in the North but also in the South. North Korea explained that it had agreed to "suspend" operation of its nuclear facilities temporarily, while the others expected that North Korea would "disenable" and eventually "dismantle" its nuclear facilities. Besides, North Korea stressed a reciprocal relation in line with the principle of "commitment for commitment" and "action for action," while the US insisted on "realizing denuclearization first, establishing a peace regime later."

**Table 6.7 Dialectical Development of the Crisis** 

		Identification	
		Negative	Positive
Interaction	Negative	2006 2002 1993	
	Positive	2004	1994

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1178</sup> Jong Chul Park, "Cooperation for the Negotiation at the Six-Party Talk: Formation, Operation and Task," *KINU Series* 5, no. 17 (2005),

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1179</sup> Martin Nesirky and Kim Kyoung-wha, "North Korea Says US Security Offer Laughable," *Reuters*, Oct. 21, 2003 <sup>1180</sup> *Chosun Ilbo*, November 29, 2006.

# 3. Negative Identification

The second North Korean nuclear crisis cannot be separated from the first crisis, not only because of the conflict between North Korea's pursuit of nuclear capability and an international demand for preventing such capability from surfacing again, but also because similar patterns in the past re-appeared. First, the nuclear negotiations consumed an enormous amount of time before reaching a tangible outcome. Second, North Korea was committed to bilateral negotiation with the US, although it dropped its demand for one-on-one negotiations with the US. Third, the UN resolution could not contain any military option under charter VII, which gave North Korea more room for diplomatic maneuvering. Fourth, a negative image of North Korea conditioned not only the other parties' understanding of North Korea's attitude, but also the preferred options Fifth, North Korea led the multi-lateral negotiation in its favor by eliminating uncomfortable issues from the agenda while including other issues that concerned North Korea, and it succeeded in urging other parties to accept a "package solution" in which both sides defined actions to be undertaken simultaneously. Lastly, the hard-earned agreement became nullified at the implementation phases.

The longer the six-party talks continued without producing tangible results, the more anxiety built about the malfunctioning of this negotiation mechanism. Therefore, members of the six-party talks were under pressure to continue negotiations for the sake of negotiating. Because producing a tangible outcome became the goal of the nuclear talks without closing a gap in different perception and preference, it is not surprising that problems occurred during the implementation phases. North Korea continuously complained about Washington's hostility toward Pyongyang and its lack of commitment to implement the Agreement, insisting that North Korea would not accept inspection unless the US showed its willingness to change its

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<sup>1181</sup> North Korea's request for the bi-lateral negotiation with the US has been consistent from the 1980s. North Korean government wanted the US, not South Korea, as a counterpart of the Peace Treaty on Korean Peninsula in October 1980 and acknowledged South Korean government as an "observer" in the three-party talk among North, South and the US in January 1983. This attitude has not change until today. Sung Han Kim, "Peace Treaty Negotiation after the Six-Party Talk," *AllinKorea*, February 17, 2007, accessed April 2, 2007, http://www.allinkorea.net/sub\_read.html?uid=4904&section=section5.

hostile policies toward North Korea. 1182 The US and North Korea could not build mutual trust and recognition. During the 1990s, establishment of a liaison office toward an eventual US-DPRK diplomatic normalization was not realized. Similarly, in the absence of mutual trust, the US and North Korea could not conclude a verification agreement. The US, Japan and South Korea called for toughening verification requirements. Instead, the US media reported that North Korea claimed that it possessed nuclear weapons. 1183

#### 3.1. Juche and the Paradox of Denuclearization

# National Division and Complexity of Denuclearization

Kim Jong II justified his power based on the legacy of Kim II Sung's leadership, which has been the foundation of state power since the creation of North Korea. Kim Jong Il had to consistently claim his father's mantle and legitimize the dynastic transition. 1184 Kim II Sung remains a deity universally revered by North Koreans. 1185 Because the second nuclear crisis occurred when North Korea had to deal with internal conflict, its adherence to Juche ideology was emphasized by the North Korean government. 1186 China ameliorated North Korea's widespread famine by providing a large share of food and energy supplies, but not in amounts that satisfied North Korea. 1187 Particularly after the second nuclear crisis broke out, Kim Jong II perpetuated his identification with his father through extensive propaganda, and North Korea's joint editorial on New Year's Day praised Kim Il Sung's instruction even more than before. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1182</sup> Rodong Sinmun, October 13, 2003.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1183</sup> David D. Sanger and Howard W. French, "North Korea Prompts US to Investigate Nuclear Boast," New York Times, May 1, 2003; CIA, "Unclassified Report to Congress, January-June 2003, accessed March 18, 2011, https://www.cia.gov/library/reports/archived-reports-1/jan\_jun2003.htm#5; "Paul Kurr, North Korea, US Meet," Arms Control Today 33 (May 2003), accessed April 2, 2011, http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2003 05/nkoreanews may03; Walter Pincus, "North Korea's Nuclear Plans Were no Secret: US Stayed Quiet as It Build Support on Iraq," Washington Post, February 1, 2003.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1184</sup> Dae Sook Suh, Kim Il Sung: The North Korean Leader 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 115. <sup>1185</sup> Kongdan Oh and Ralph C. Hassig, North Korea Through the Looking Glass (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2000): 35-36, 38.

<sup>1186 &</sup>quot;Immortality of Juche Ideology," KCNA, August 5, 2002; "Bright Future of DPRK Advancing forward with Songun Spirit," Rodong Sinmun, September 9, 2002; "Let's Arm Ourselves with the Ideology and Policy of the Party," Rodong Sinmun, September 23, 2002; "We Will Win Revolutionary Achievement without Failure if We Follow our Great Songun Ideology," Rodong Sinmun, October 5, 2002; "Immortal Juche Ideology," KCNA, October 7, 2002. <sup>1187</sup> Robert G. Sutter, China's Rise in Asia: Promise and Perils (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005), 169.

worse the external environment became, the more heavily Kim Jong II had to rely on his father's legacy. However, establishing his credentials by relying on the past made it less likely that he could take on an initiative for reform and openness through which North Korea could move toward positive identification.

The fact that North Korea is half of a divided nation continued to affect North Korea's attitude to the process of denuclearization. Because North Korea did not oppose the idea of denuclearization, North Korea and the US pursued the same goal. However, North Korea's version of denuclearization of the Korean peninsula offered a different scope and means toward achieving this goal. Because North Korea's proposal of nuclear arms reduction was far more complicated than the issue of disenabling its own nuclear weapons program, it was problematic. 1188 North Korea stressed that the six-party talks should deal with nuclear arms reduction among concerned parties on an equal and impartial basis. 1189 Arms reduction required not only South Korea's military bases, but also USFK bases, to be subject to mutual inspection.

North Korea's Juche-oriented principle, jajusong, was again of great significance during the second nuclear crisis. The announcement by the North Korean Foreign Ministry after conducting its first nuclear test in October 2006 was a manifestation of *Jajusong*. 1190 It showed that North Korea's nuclear test aimed at attracting international attention to consolidate its image as a nuclear weapons state and enhance its status as an equal partner of the nuclear talks. North Korea argued that the nuclear test was conducted to protect its sovereignty and that the test "constitute[d] a positive measure" for the implementation of the 9.19 joint statement, which aimed for denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. This was a paradoxical statement, but it implied several messages: First, North Korea tried to attract international attention to its nuclear

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1188</sup> USJFCOM, "The Joint Operating Environment 2008: Challenges and Implications for the Future Joint Force," November 25, 2008; Robert M. Gates, "A Balanced Strategy: Reprogramming the Pentagon for a New Age," Foreign Affairs (Jan, 2009).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1189</sup> "The Six Party Talks Should Be Denuclearization and Arms Reduction Talks," KCNA, March 31, 2005.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1190</sup> At the 53th UN Assembly on September 28, Choi Soo Hun, North Korean Representative to the UN made an address, emphasizing that building a world of equality and independence should be the goal to be pursued in the 21st century. He also emphasized that the world would see independent, peace-loving, prosperous North Korea in the near future. "Speech by the Chief Delegate of DPRK at the 53rd UN Assembly," KCNA, October 1, 1998.

weapons program as the six-party talks reached a stalemate and the US refused to negotiate over the issue of frozen North Korean funds in Banco Delta Asia. It should be noted that North Korea announced that it would return to the six-party talks and abandon its nuclear program after holding consultations with the US, China and South Korea, but it emphasized that it would not do so "unilaterally." North Korea has always emphasized reciprocal actions, and it intended to draw the others from inaction to action. Second, North Korea established a ground for future talks on arms reduction. As North Korea raised the issue of arms reduction on both sides—the North and the South—after its announcement of having nuclear weapons in 2005, it intended to realize denuclearization through "mutual arms reduction", not through "unilateral verification" because it was now a nuclear weapons state. Third, North Korea created an awakening moment to arouse international awareness of the meaning of "de-nuclearization". North Korea intended to enhance its status to be recognized as a "nuclearized" state in order to be "de-nuclearized" by demonstrating its nuclear weapons capability. Since there had been only speculation about North Korea's nuclear weapons program, the international community would not recognize North Korea's status as a nuclear weapons state despite North Korea's repetitive assertion of its nuclear weapons capability. Therefore, North Korea, by demonstrating its nuclear weapons capability, tried to consolidate its status as an equal counterpart of the talk and take the initiative in the negotiation.

### Externalization of Domestic Ideology

### **Juche and HEU Program**

North Korea rationalized that its development of uranium enrichment facilities aimed at realizing *jajusong* because securing fuel enabled it to avoid permanent reliance on external supply for the two light water reactors. Many argued that the construction of a facility to enrich

uranium in 2009 was indeed a violation of the 9.19 joint statement. However, North Korea stressed "the right to peaceful uses of nuclear energy," as mentioned in the 9.19 statement, and argued that its pursuit of that right was not a violation of the NPT. It was no secret that North Korea had long been investigating the development of uranium-based technology. It had mentioned to the IAEA that it had studied technology related to uranium enrichment in the early 1990s. Against this backdrop, North Korea pursued developing an indigenous capability, as it did for the construction of graphite-moderated nuclear reactors, in order to avoid dependency on an external supply to fuel the light water reactors in Shinpo. After the KEDO project was terminated, North Korea's Foreign Ministry announced that it would begin developing technology to produce nuclear fuel for the light-water reactors under construction on April 29, 2009.

The Bush Administration took a more holistic approach to North Korea, but this broad approach sometimes meant an infringement on North Korea's domestic affairs. While a nuclear weapons program was North Korea's most vital issue for national security, it was only one of many major foreign policy issues for the US. By virtue of being the only superpower in the post-Cold War era, the US had to consider its relationship with major states in East Asia, the nuclear nonproliferation regime, the IAEA and others. The US said North Korea's determination to make the same "strategic decision" to give up its nuclear weapons as Libya did would save the North Korean regime, but Pyongyang called this suggestion ridiculous. 1194

North Korea understood the nuclear crisis as a conflict between its rightful pursuit of self-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1191</sup> North Korea announced that the construction began in April 2009 and finished in November 2009. Yet, under the 9.19 joint statement, North Korea pledged to give up its nuclear programs. Joint Statement of the Fourth Round of the Six-Party Talks, September 19, 2005, accessed March 19, 2011, http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/zxxx/t212707.htm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1192</sup> CIA, "Unclassified Report to Congress on the Acquisition of Technology Relating to Weapons of Mass Destruction and Advanced Conventional Munitions," January 7, 2003, accessed March 17, 2011,

http://www.fas.org/irp/threat/bian\_apr\_2003.htm; US Department suspected that North Korea violated GAF as it has pursued secret HEU program. Larry A. Niksch, "North Korea's Nuclear Weapons Program," *Congressional Research Service*, March 17, 2003; US Department of States, Press Statement, "north Korean Nuclear Program," October 16, 2002; DoD New Briefing, Secretary Rumsfeld and Gen. Myers, accessed October 19, 2010,

http://www.defense.gov/news/Oct2002/; President Discusses Foreign Policy Matters with NATO Secretary, accessed October 19, 2010, http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021021-8.html.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1193</sup> "Foreign Ministry Statement," KCNA, April 29, 2009.

<sup>1194 &</sup>quot;US Official Bolton on N.Korea Says Regime Can Stay," Yonhap News, July 21, 2004.

reliance and Washington's practice of power politics, and it considered US demands to be an extraordinary infringement of its sovereign right. Warning that the US would be responsible for all the measures taken by North Korea, it rationalized a "struggle" against any attempt to threaten its *jajusong*, which was valued as the "life" of the North Koreans and a "guarantee" of national development. North Korea's Socialist Constitution 1197 states that *Juche* ideology is North Korea's world outlook and guides the people's life.

The introduction of *Songun* policy by the North Korean government during the second nuclear crisis caused many in the US to be concerned about North Korea's aggressive behavior. *Songun*, which is often cited as the basic mode of Kim Jong II's statesmanship, is a *Juche*-oriented policy. *Songun* is basically a "military-first priority system," and therefore many believe that North Korea gives military affairs precedence at the cost of degrading the position of the working class and other political forces. Indeed, the National Defense Commission was given an enhanced status as a top organ of the state with ultimate executive power in management and direction of all military affairs and defense projects. Because *Songun* policy was formulated as a response to external threats to the maintenance of *Juche*-oriented socialism, the more the crisis intensified, the more North Korea sought solutions in pursuing the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1195</sup> "We Will Respond by Force against Force," KCNA, August 4, 1998; "Legitimacy of Independent Foreign Policy of the Korean Worker's Party," Rodong Sinmun, August 28, 2002.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1196</sup> Kim Jong II, "Let's Achieve Independent, Peaceful Unification through Unity of the Entire Korean People," *Joongangyeongutoronhae*, April 18, 1998; "Realizing Autonomy of Our Nation is the Basis of Being the Master of Our Destiny," *Rodong Sinmun*, July 2, 1998; "Our Party's Songun Policy Guarantees Ultimate Victory and No Failure," *Rodong Sinmun*, June 16, 1999.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1197</sup> DPRK's Socialist Constitution was amended and adopted on September 5, 1998 by the first session of the 1<sup>st</sup> Supreme People's Assembly. The preface begins with "the DPRK is a socialist fatherland of Juche which embodies the idea of and guidance by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung." The Art.3 of the constitution states, "the DPRK is guided in its activities by the Juche idea, a world outlook centered on people, a revolutionary ideology for achieving the independence of the masses of people." DPRK Socialist Constitution, accessed October 22, 2011, http://www.novexcn.com/dprk\_constitution\_98.html.

<sup>1198</sup> Some argue that *songun* policy equated state survival with the continued primacy of the military, and mistakenly link *songun* and North Korea's brinkmanship as if Songun policy makes the North Korean regime dependent on international aid for survival. Patrick DeRochie, "The Driving Factor: Songun's Impact on North Korean Foreign Policy," *International Affairs Review* XX, no. 2 (summer 2011); Ken E. Gause, *North Korean Civil-Military Trends: Military-First Politics to a Point* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, 2006).
1199 Myong Hyun Yoon, *Our Socialism Q & A* (Pyongyang: Pyongyang Press, 2004), 212-214.

*Songun* policy. <sup>1200</sup> The North Korean Foreign Ministry stressed that increasing unilateral demands for North Korea to abandon its nuclear program would only reinforce North Korea's firm belief in the validity of *Songun* policy. <sup>1201</sup> North Korea's news agency give prominent coverage to *Songun* policy and rallied around leadership as tension rose starting in 2001. <sup>1202</sup>

However, it is not accurate to say that *Songun* policy dictates developing nuclear weapons. Understanding the purpose of its emphasis on the role of military will help us understand the significance of nuclear weapons for North Koreans. The new state structure under the amended Constitution is not militarized, but it gives weight to military affairs, since the military should work for the socialist cause of the struggle against capitalism. <sup>1203</sup> In fact, the basic idea of *Songun* policy is to prevent domination of the army, which should serve for the realization of the true character of socialism in the North, where the Party, the Army and the people are united. <sup>1204</sup> The North Korean army is central to spreading revolutionary spirit, indoctrinating discipline, and managing aspects of the economy, culture and social life. <sup>1205</sup> For North Koreans in Kim Jong II's era, *Songun* policy is a tenet to solve all questions—to establish morale among the people and to unite the military and the masses. <sup>1206</sup> North Korea's army, which is very disciplined, takes the leading role spiritually and practically. <sup>1207</sup> By holding up the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1200</sup> During his visit to a unit of the Korean People's Army on New Year's Day in 1995, Kim Jong II mentioned that the socialism in the Eastern Europe collapsed without acknowledging the importance of a correct solution to the military questions in advancing the socialist cause, and North Korea was fighting alone for the protection of socialism. Therefore, he emphasized giving weight to the military for the political causes. Because Kim Jong II's Songun politics is given legal and institutional guarantee by the political system, it is durable and effective in practice. Chol U Kim, *Sungun Politics of Kim Il Sung* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 2002), 11-12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1201</sup> "Spokesperson for N.Korean Foreign Ministry Dismisses Any Change from North Korea as Ridiculous," *Korean Central News Agency*, January 9, 2004.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1202</sup> "Our Nation Saved by Our Great Leader Kim II Sung Will Prosper Forever under the Flag of Songun," *Rodong Sinmun*, August 15, 2002.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1203</sup> Amended Socialist Constitution of the DPRK, September 5, 1998.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1204</sup> It should be noted that North Korea stresses "the Party" before the Army. North Korea believes that *Songun* policy protects the nation and revolutionary socialism. "Three pillars of Association and Safeguard of the Leader," *KCNA*, January 12, 1998.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1205</sup> "Revolutionary Policy Line of Songun," *KCNA*, February 26, 2001; "Let's Learn Revolutionary Spirit and Combat Power of the People's Army," *Rodong Sinmun*, June 10, 2002; "Let's Glorify Songun Era by Holding on to Revolutionary Military Spirit," *Rodong Sinmun*, August 19, 2002.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1206</sup> Seong II Hong, "Arming All the Members of the Society with Songun Ideology is the Priority for Establishing *Songun* Leadership," *Policy and Legal Study*, no. 3 (2009): 21; Chung Sung Jeong, "Establishing Social Spirit to Give Importance to the Military is a Guarantee of National Defense," *Policy and Legal Study*, no. 2 (2009): 15.

<sup>1207</sup> Kim Jong II had to demonstrate his capability to cope with the crisis in the struggle to safeguard North Korea's

armed forces as the most disciplined organ, the leaders craft the armed forces as a role model around which civilians unite and as a conveyer of revolutionary spirit. 1208 They are also viewed as a facilitator of social development, as they are involved in farming, construction of infrastructure, and social rebuilding. At the 56<sup>th</sup> session of the UN General Assembly, North Korea explained that *Songun* policy is a unique policy not only to keep national security, but also to develop North Korea's economy. 1209 Therefore, the significance of Songun should be understood in a grand scheme—to safeguard *Juche* socialism. <sup>1210</sup> In this regard, North Koreans conceive nuclear weapons as the means to protect the dignity and sovereignty of North Korea from external imperialist aggression.

Overcoming the crisis by preserving *jajusong* and without allowing intervention on its domestic affairs serves North Korea's interest in consolidating internal unity. North Korea was busy controlling potential sources of internal instability that might lead to its implosion. <sup>1211</sup> As many note, Pyongyang expected the second nuclear test to inspire the army and people and "intensify the drive for effecting a new revolutionary surge to open the gate to a thriving nation." In summary, North Korea faced challenges to demonstrating its ability to cope with the conflict with the US and its allies, who explicitly expressed their expectations of a significant change in North Korea. Therefore, in political isolation and economic blockade, North Korea showed adherence more to *Juche*-oriented socialism than to changes for positive identification.

sovereignty and his ability tot command the armed forces through this new mode of policy to inspire unity between the military and the mass, which Kang Suk Joo mentioned as a weapon greater than a nuclear weapon. "Songun Policy is the Most Powerful Weapon of Today's Anti-Imperial Struggle," Rodong Sinmun, April 1, 2002.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1208</sup> "Let's Glorify The Korea People's Party's 55<sup>th</sup> Anniversary as a Year of Victory with the Glaring Spirit of Chunrima," Rodong Sinmun, January 1, 2000.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1209</sup> "Speech by Delegate of DPRK at the 56<sup>th</sup> UN Assembly," KCNA, October 24, 2001.

<sup>1210</sup> North Korea's 1999 New Year joint editorials emphasized that the new millennium should be a "turning point in building a powerful nation." North Korea stresses ideology, songun, and scientific technology as three pillars of Kangsungdaekuk (great, prosperous nation). "Let's Glorify This Year as the Turning Point of the Establishment of Kangsungdaekuk," Rodong Sinmun, January 1, 1999.

<sup>1211</sup> It was reported that North Korean Worker's Party has organized conference on military issues through which it mobilized people for the regime cohesion. "Why North Korea holds conferences on military revolution?" Chosun Daily, February 2, 2005, accessed March 2, 2007, http://nk.chosun.com/news/NewsPrint.html?res\_id=58565.

<sup>1212 &</sup>quot;Text of the North Korean Announcement of Nuclear Test," The New York Times, May 24, 2009, accessed October 18, 2011, http://www.nytimes.com/2009/05/25/world/asia/25nuke-text.html.

# 3.2. Structure of an Antagonistic Relationship

# Deep-seated Suspicion and the Problem of Verification

Concluding the Geneva Agreed Framework did not mean eliminating suspicion between two countries. The 1994 Agreement acknowledged North Korea's right to peaceful uses of nuclear energy as the framework provided Pyongyang with light water reactors, but critics of the Geneva Agreed Framework proposed replacing the light water reactors with thermoelectric power plants even though light water reactors were less likely to be proliferation-prone. 1213 Those who advocated replacing nuclear power plants under construction with thermoelectric power plants showed suspicion about the transparency of North Korea's operating nuclear plants. While North Korea's nuclear program was frozen, many still suspected that it would not give up its nuclear program. 1214 Indeed, it had long been argued that the Geneva Agreed Framework would shield North Korea from the NPT's inspection requirements, and, as the time to deliver significant portions of the light water nuclear plants approached, such a view seemed to be gaining support. 1215 The fact that dismantlement of the graphite-moderated reactors would not begin until the light water reactor project was completed frustrated those who were already skeptical about North Korea's determination to abandon its nuclear program. Washington's demand for North Korea to accept an international inspection before the delivery of critical components, even though full safeguard inspections were not required by the agreement, showed a lingering mistrust and unresolved suspicions.

Distrust between the US and North Korea had been deepening since the beginning of the Bush administration. Although North Korea's nuclear program was frozen between 1994 and

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1213</sup> Henry Hyde, a Republican member of the US House of Representatives, who chaired the House International Relations Committee and Jesse Helms, a Republican Senator, who served as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee argued that Geneva Agreed Framework could not guarantee transparency of North Korea's nuclear program and called for renegotiation with North Korea. Robert Einhorn, US Assistant Secretary of State for nonproliferation proposed replacement of the light-water reactors. Un Ji Kang, "What Lies Beyond the Idea of Providing Thermoelectric Power: Light Water Reactors Cannot Guarantee Nuclear Transparency?" *Minjok* 21, no. 3 (2001): 44-48.

<sup>1214</sup> Leon V. Sigal, "Punishing North Korea Won't Work," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, May 28, 2009.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1215</sup> Henry Sokolski and Victor Gilinsky, "Locking Down the NPT," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, June 17, 2009.

2001, the Bush administration shifted the US' focus from the amount of plutonium in North Korea to the number of nuclear weapons. The Central Intelligence Agency first concluded that North Korea had produced "enough plutonium for at least one, and possibly two, nuclear weapons," and other intelligence reports during the 1990s held the same view. However, the intelligence community's assessment changed in December 2001, reporting on North Korea's nuclear program differently. The National Intelligence Estimate asserted that North Korea had produced "one, possibly two, nuclear weapons." Then, the CIA reported to Congress in November 2002 that the US had assessed that North Korea "has one or possibly two weapons since the early 1990s." Although the rhetoric does not show much difference, such a change could affect the US' perception of North Korea's nuclear capability.

The underlying causes of the significant discord between the US and North Korea that arose during the period between the 2.13 agreement and North Korea's second nuclear test were augmented by a lack of mutual trust revealed during the negotiation on establishing a verification mechanism. Indeed, the same problem that had occurred during the first nuclear crisis re-emerged: complete verification required discovering North Korea's past nuclear activities, which the US and the IAEA failed to achieve in the 1990s. 1217 The effort to establish the North-South inspection regime ended in vain and hindered nuclear negotiation during the first crisis. 1218 Similarly, the US demanded a tougher verification mechanism on which North Korea disagreed, which set the two countries on a collision course again. On the one hand, the US and its allies demanded the establishment of a tougher inspection mechanism, but on the other hand, North Korea suspected that the mechanism would allow the US to obtain military

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1216</sup> CIA Report to the US Congress on North Korea's Nuclear Weapons Potential, November 19, 2002, accessed May 2, 2011, http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/dprk/nuke/cia111902.html.

Larry A. Niksch, "North Korea's Nuclear Weapons Program," *Congressional Research Service*, March 17, 2003; Joseph Bermudez, *The Armed Forces of North Korea* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2001): 219-220.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1218</sup> The two Koreas could not agree on a challenge inspection, accusing each other of sabotaging the effort of denuclearization, and North Korea began defueling campaign when IAEA's insisted on taking samples. ROK Ministry of National Defense, *WMD Encyclopedia* (Seoul: Ministry of National Defense, 2001), 112.

secrets from North Korea. 1219 The issue of verification was not clearly stated in the 1994 Geneva Agreed Framework, and the starting point of inspection remained obscure, which inevitably increased suspicion about North Korea's intention not to reveal its past and current nuclear activities. Similarly, the 9.19 statement did not specify the scope and method of verification, and North Korea and the US had to negotiate strenuously to reach an agreement on verification. They each insisted on their own version of verification protocol, which led the six-party negotiations to a stalemate. North Korea argued that demanding intrusive verification measures was a matter of domestic intervention, while the US suspected that North Korea would intentionally avoid verifying "correctness" and "completeness" of its nuclear program. When North Korea handed China a written declaration of its plutonium program, other parties suspected that the declaration was incomplete and incorrect. 1221 The US said that it would "continue to assess the level of North Korean cooperation in helping to verify the accuracy and completeness of its declaration". Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice said that if the US determined North Korea's cooperation to be insufficient, it would respond accordingly.

Indeed, there was not much difference in the way that both the Clinton administration and the Bush administration conceived of North Korea – both considered it a regime to be transformed or near collapse, although their approaches were slightly different. However,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1219</sup> Progress stalled on negotiating a protocol to verify North Korea's past plutonium production because Pyongyang opposed Washington's request of sampling of the reactor's graphite core, the reprocessing facility, and waste sites. Therefore, the issue of CVID was set aside under stress to get the nuclear talks to move forward at the third round of talks in June 2004. North Korea agreed to allow access, based on mutual consent, to undeclared sites, but denied that it verbally agreed on sampling that could discover North Korea's past nuclear activities.

<sup>1220</sup> Since July 2008, the two states worked on drafting verification protocol. The US tabled a draft protocol to verify North Korea's nuclear activities, but North Korea indicated some problems with the draft. North Korea proposed a draft protocol, which the US considered insufficient and useful as the basis for further verification negotiations. The six-party discussions on verification in December ended in stalemate. North Korea insisted that it can allow visit to declared facilities and interview with North Koreans but argued that other measures have to be discussed at the six-party talk. Japan and South Korea, however, were not satisfied with North Korea's proposal. Without reaching an agreement, removing North Korea from the list of state sponsoring terrorism was delayed, which caused North Korea's announcement to stop disenabling process.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1221</sup> Second-Phase Actions for the Implementation of the Joint statement, Adopted by the Second Phase of the Sixth Session of the Six Party Talks, October 3, 2007.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1222</sup> Clinton administration took a combination of carrot and stick approaches, and Bush administration engaged North Korea with threat of preemptive action. Hyun Joon Cheon, Kun Shik Kim, and Yong Min Ahn, "Repercussion of the North Korean Nuclear Crisis, Battle for Establishing New Order in the North East Asia," *Minjok* 21, no. 23 (2003): 36-

North Korea was unprepared for the resulting change of US policy regarding North Korea. Because North Korea had made some progress in its diplomatic relationship with the US in the late 1990s by inviting US delegates to Kumchangri, negotiating North Korea's missile-test moratorium and exchanging high-level envoys, Pyongyang intended to keep this positive momentum with the Bush administration. 1223 It should be noted that North Korea showed some restraint in criticizing the US when it faced harsh rhetoric from Washington in the early 2000s. David Straub, who joined the Kang-Kelly meeting in 2002, mentioned that North Korea did not seem to understand what was occurring in the US. 1224 In the early 1990s, studies predicted that North Korea would face systemic pressures leading to a regime collapse. Similarly, many predicted that North Korea would face a regime transformation in the 2000s. 1225 This discourse on the regime change in North Korea sparked speculation on the possibility that Washington would seek to resolve its problem with North Korea the same way it did with Iraq. 1226 The US policy to separate the North Korean regime from its people, based on the lessons it learned during its war on Iraq, posed a significant threat to North Korea's internal unity, although the US was not carrying out any visible strategy designed to change the regime. 1227 The fact that the US approached North Korea with broad issues including narcotic trafficking, counterfeit money and human right violations made it hard for Washington to recognize Pyongyang as a respected

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When releasing of an October 12 joint communiqué, North Korea noted that resolution of the missile issue would "make an essential contribution to fundamentally improved relations". The statement also said that Secretary Albright's visit to Pyongyang was to prepare for a possible visit by Clinton. During the three-day meeting between Kang Suk Joo and William Perry, North Korea emphasized US recognition of North Korea's autonomy and political system and extermination of US hostile policy toward Pyongyang." "Dialogue between First Foreign Ministry Minister of DPRK," *KCNA*, May 28, 1999.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1224</sup> "Memoir of David Straub," *Jong Ang Ilbo*, November 18, 2009, http://article.joinsmsn.com/news/article/article.asp?Total\_ID=3880797.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1225</sup> Sung Chul Kim, et. Al., *North Korea in Crisis: An Assessment of Regime Stability* (Seoul: Korea Institute of National Unification, 1997).

Richard N. Haass, "Regime Change and Its Limits" *Foreign Affairs*, (July/August 2005), accessed November 2, 2011, http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/60823/richard-n-haass/regime-change-and-its-limits; Hyun Min Park, "Bush Will Pursue Regime Change in North Korea for the Rest of His Term," *Daily NK*, June 15, 2006.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1227</sup> "Does the US have the Right to Discuss Terrorism?" *KCNA*, May 3, 2001; "President Bush's Absurd Remarks on our System Is a Denial of Talk," *KCNA*, February 22, 2002; "Anti-Terrorism Slogan Cannot Be Used for Anti-DPRK Campaign," *KCNA*, March 18, 2002; "President Bush's State of the Union Address Is an Announcement of an Invasion: North Korean Foreign Ministry Statement," *KCNA*, January 31, 2003.

negotiation partner. In addition, international concerns about changing the government in the repressive and secretive dictatorship, affected by the changes in Egypt and Libya, increased Pyongyang's guard against external threat to its regime and to North Korea's adherence to its *Songun* policy. North Korea reasoned that Washington's hostile policy toward it reinforced the logic of *Songun* and that *Songun* politics are a powerful weapon in the struggle against imperialism. 1229

Identifying North Korea as a tyrant regime brought huge repercussions. On January 29, 2002, President Bush, during his State of the Union Address, called North Korea "part of an axis of evil," 1230 and Secretary Condoleezza Rice referred to North Korea as one of the world's "outposts of tyranny" in her January 18 Senate confirmation hearings. In response, North Koreans believed that conflict with the US was inevitable. 1231 North Korean media began to mention that North Korea considered Washington's suggestion of holding talks a disguised platform to find ways to coerce North Korea. 1232 The North Korean government blamed the US for fabricating North Korea's nuclear program, hiking tension over North-South dialogue and ultimately terminating the implementation of a nuclear-free agreement. 1233 The North Korean Foreign Ministry spokesperson responded that such remarks disgracing North Korea were little short of declarations of war. 1234 Since the 1990s, North Korea had requested that the US remove

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1228</sup> North Korean Foreign Ministry criticized the international community's involvement in Libya, stressing that "the crisis is teaching the international community a grave lesson." North Korean state media commented that "Only death awaits traitors to the revolution," and the National Defense Commission reportedly went into emergency mode, while all universities in Pyongyang were closed following the uprising in Libya. "North Korean Regime Rattled by Libyan Regime Change," *Chosun Ilbo*, October 26, 2011; Mark McDonald, "North Korea Suggests Libya Should Have Kept Nuclear Program," *The New York Times*, March 24, 2011.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1229</sup> "We Will Protect Our Right of Autonomy by Pursuing Songun Policy," *KCNA*, March 31, 2002; "Songun Policy is a Powerful Weapon in the Era of Anti-Imperialism Struggle," *Rodong Sinmun*, April 1, 2002; "Strong Military Can Keep Victory and Advance Revolution," *Rodong Sinmun*, August 13, 2002.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1230</sup> George W. Bush, "The President's State of the Union Address," January 29, 2002, Online by Office of the Press Secretary, *Text of the Speech*, accessed March 24, 2011, http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020129-11.html.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1231</sup> "Washington's Deceitful Proposal for Talks," KCNA, March 5, 2002.

<sup>1232 &</sup>quot;The US Should Engage in the Six-party Talk in Earnest," KCNA, February 23, 2004.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1233</sup> Senate Foreign Relations Committee, *The Nomination of Dr. Condoleezza Rice to Be Secretary of State on S.HRG* 109-151, 109<sup>th</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> sess., January 18, 2005, accessed March 2, 2007, http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/CHRG-109shrg22847/pdf/CHRG-109shrg22847.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1234</sup> "The US IS an Evil Empire," *Rodong Sinmun*, February 14, 2002.

North Korea from the list until June 2008. <sup>1236</sup> North Korea argued that US actions in Afghanistan and Iraq were themselves acts of international terrorism and that the US also had an intention to exterminate North Korea, warning that Washington's argument of regime change could only escalate instability on the Korean peninsula. <sup>1237</sup> North Korea declared that it would prepare against any external attack by strengthening its defense capability, showing anxiety that it could be the next target. <sup>1238</sup> It should also be noted that North Korea made conciliatory remarks after the US toned down its designation of North Korea's leader from "tyrant" to "Mr. Kim" and after its regime change policy no longer appeared in official remarks. <sup>1239</sup>

However, the antagonistic relationship between the US and North Korea remained. As the US National Security Strategy indicates, the US engaged in the nuclear talks because North Korea was a serious nuclear proliferation challenge. However, North Korea regarded the major issue in resolving the nuclear crisis to be Washington's written guarantee that the US would not attack North Korea. North Korea intentionally linked Washington's commitment in resolving the nuclear crisis with Washington's position in concluding a peace treaty with Pyongyang. North Korea considered its hostile relationship with the US in the state of armistice a hindrance toward making progress in the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula,

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<sup>1235 &</sup>quot;We Cannot Sacrifice our Nuclear Energy: Foreign Ministry Statement," KCNA, September 10, 1998.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1236</sup> North Korea was added to the list of states sponsoring terrorism since 1988 after the bombing of Korean Air Flight 858. The US continued to keep North Korea on the list because Pyongyang was suspected of providing asylum to four Japanese Red Army members who participated in a jet hijacking in 1970. US Department of State, Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, "State Sponsors of Terrorism Overview," in *Country Reports on Terrorism* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2007).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1237</sup> "An Attempt of Disguising International Terrorism by Raising an Issue of Rogue State Sponsoring Terrorism to Repress DPRK," *Rodong Sinmun*, January 10, 2002; "President Bush's Axis of Evil Rhetoric is a Declaration of War against DPRK," *Rodong Sinmun*, February 11, 2002.

<sup>1238 &</sup>quot;We Should Be Aware of the US Strategy of Imperialist Expansion," *Rodong Sinmun*, December 22, 2002.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1239</sup> The 2006 edition of the US National Security Strategy does not talk about regime change of North Korea. "Bush Praised for Addressing Kim Jong II as "Mr.," *Fox News*, June 3, 2005, accessed March 29, 2007,

http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,158531,00.html; Graham Allison, "North Korean Nuclear Challenge: Bush Administration Failure, China's Opportunity," *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis* 18, no.2 (2006): 7-34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1240</sup> The National Security Strategy, March 2006, accessed September 17, 2011, http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/nsc/nss/2006/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1241</sup> "Foreign Ministry Statement," *KCNA*, September 8, 2003; "Worldwide Campaign for Concluding Nonaggression Pact and Peaceful Solution of the Nuclear Issue," *KCNA*, September 4, 2003; "The US Should Come up to Sign a Mutual Nonaggression Pact: Foreign Ministry Statement," *KCNA*, September 29, 2003; "Remarks on the Resumption of the Six-party Talk: Foreign Ministry Statement," *KCNA*, December 10, 2003.

stressing that the nuclear talks would go nowhere without concluding a peace treaty. <sup>1242</sup> However, the US maintained its position that it could discuss a peace treaty only after North Korea got rid of its nuclear capabilities. <sup>1243</sup> On October 25, 2002, a North Korean Foreign Ministry spokesperson said that Pyongyang was willing to resolve the nuclear issue if the US stopped its nuclear threats and signed a non-aggression pact with Pyongyang. <sup>1244</sup> At the first round of the six-party talks in August 2003, North Korea called for the US to conclude a nonaggression treaty and normalize bilateral diplomatic relations. However, the US responded that a formal nonaggression pact was off the table. The issue of a peace treaty between the US and North Korea came up again in January 2010.

# Triangular Relationship and Negative Rhetoric

When the US decided to pull back and relocate its forces in Korea, South Korea planned reinforcement of military capabilities to fill the security gap and to achieve self-reliance within the US-South Korea alliance structure. The paradoxical term "cooperative self-reliant" defense structure, <sup>1245</sup> South Korea's new defense initiative to promote a robust US-South Korea alliance during the Roh Moo Hyun administration, indicates that South Korea's defense posture cannot escape the antagonistic structure in which South Korea relies on the US military for national defense and, at the same time, develops its own military capability in order to reduce any impact caused by shifting US interests. Ironically, the more South Korea develops a self-reliant military capability in order to rely less on US influence, the more it antagonizes a North Korea

<sup>1242 &</sup>quot;The US Should Be Responsible for The Deadlock of the Second Four-Party Talk," KCNA, March 30, 1998; "North Korean Foreign Ministry Statement," KCNA, October 12, 1998; "The US Is Responsible for the Increasing Tension on the Korean Peninsula," Rodong Sinmun, January 6, 1999; "Persistent US Military Ambition," Rodong Sinmun, February 27, 1999; "North Korean Foreign Ministry Statement," KCNA, April 29, 1999; "Urgent Request for the Peace and Security of the Korean Peninsula," Rodong Sinmun, August 22, 1999; "Change of US Attitude is the Key Solution," Rodong Sinmun, March 8, 2004; "Dangerous Activities to Prepare Preemptive Attack," Rodong Sinmun, April 18, 2005; "North Korean Foreign Ministry Statement," KCNA, June 1, 2006.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1243</sup> Peter Walker, "North Korea Calls for Peace Treaty with US," *The Guardian*, January 11, 2010.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1244</sup> "Foreign Ministry Statement," KCNA, October 25, 2002.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1245</sup> Hoon Noh, "Cooperative Self-Reliant Defense and Military Reform," *JCS* no. 25 (July, 2005); The Presidential Commission on Policy Planning, *Defense Reform* 2020, Policy Report 2-46, February 2008.

sensitive to any change of military balance on the Korean peninsula. In order to reduce North Korea's perceived threat, reshaping the US-South Korea alliance structure was necessary, but such a change necessarily brings about South Korea's efforts to keep the national defense posture as strong as possible, which is another source of threat to North Korea. Pyongyang was critical even about South Korea's "sunshine policy," Kim Dae Jung administration's reconciliatory policy towards North Korea, as it argued that South Korea intended to trick the North into accepting South Korea's value and pursued "a vain hope to extend an anti-revolutionary colonialist system to the North". A mechanism of trust-building between two Koreas is a necessary condition for reaching an agreement to resolve the nuclear crisis, but such measure could most easily come as a result of resolving the crisis.

The adversarial relationship between the two Koreas continued, not only because South Korean society was polarized over the issue of keeping strong alliance and reconciling with the North, but also because the two goals could not be pursued simultaneously under the current structure. Because the military alliance between the US and South Korea originated from the existential threat from North Korea, reducing South Korea's security concern inevitably caused changes in the military alliance. While North Korea argued that the nuclear crisis was caused by a hostile environment on the Korean peninsula, resolving the nuclear crisis could bring about reconciliation between the two Koreas and normalization of relationship between the US and North Korea. This would eventually call for a "renovation" of the current US-South Korean military alliance structure, a change not only in mission but also in structure. In other words, South Korea would need to find a feasible alternative that could replace the conventional "Peninsular Defense Alliance" and carry out missions outside the Korean

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 <sup>1246 &</sup>quot;We Don't Have Reform and Opening," KCNA, October 14, 1998; "The Current of Jaju Cannot Be Stopped," Rodong Sinmun, March 29, 1999; "We Analyze South Korea's Engagement Policy," Rodong Shinumn, June 4, 1999; "Arch-Enemy Designation is a Betrayal of the Spirit of the 6.15 Joint Declaration," KCNA, December 11, 2000.
 1247 North Korea conceives close cooperation between the US and South Korea as a preparation of war against the North. "President Clinton's Visit to the South Is an Act of War," Rodong Sinmun, November 26, 1998.
 1248 Du-Hyeogn Cha, "The Future of the ROK-US Alliance: Toward the Evolution of a Strategic Cooperation Alliance," KIDA Papers no. 7 (December 2004).

peninsula.<sup>1249</sup> When South Korea's perception of the North Korean threat decreased as the six-party talks were moving toward reaching an agreement, and there was a spread of national sentiment in South Korean society, conservatives in South Korean viewed a change from a military alliance to a comprehensive security alliance as a weakening of the alliance.

The two Koreas' ambivalent attitude toward each other became obvious after the historic summit talk in 2000. When the two Koreas confirmed a mutual interest in establishing a new framework for peace and prosperity on the Korean peninsula, the US took a more conservative turn. North Korea put more emphasis on nationalism in contrast to imperialism, arguing that people in both the North and the South should fight against external intervention as one nation. <sup>1250</sup> When South Korea moved toward a long-term investment in North Korea's economic development, North Korea made it clear that it welcomed foreign investment and large-scale economic development. As a part of its efforts to extend national sentiment to the South, North Korea made a gesture of reconciliation toward South Korea through its long-time propaganda of *uriminjokkiri* (our nation alone). <sup>1251</sup> This combination of nationalism and anti-US sentiment dominated North Korea's propaganda, which called for the abandonment of pro-Americanism for the sake of North-South relations. <sup>1252</sup> Indeed, popular resentment in South Korea against the Bush administration's hard line against North Korea seemed to be against the US interest.

Rivalry between the two Koreas and the US became more prominent after South Korea's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1249</sup> Du-Hyeogn Cha, "The Future of the ROK-US Alliance: Toward the Evolution of a Strategic Cooperation Alliance," *KIDA Papers* no. 7 (December 2004).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1250</sup> "Great Leadership to Maintain and Realize National Characteristics" *Rodong Sinmun*, June 20, 2002.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1251</sup> Jina Kim, "An Endless Game: North Korea's Psychological Warfare," *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis 16* no. 2 (2005):153-181.

<sup>1252</sup> South Korea wanted to continue the momentum of the possible near-term reconciliation after the June 2000 North-South summit talk and other reconciliatory projects including family reunion, a ministerial talk for the confidence-building between two Koreas. South Korea pursued the policy for Peace and Prosperity that aimed to lay the foundation for a peaceful unification of Korea through the promotion of peace on the Korean peninsula and to achieve mutual prosperity for both the South and the North. As a matter of fact, the liberal party, which was committed to engagement with the North, supported President Roh Moo Hyun's pledge of a "comprehensive and specific" aid program for the North if it begins to dismantle its nuclear programs. Ministry of Unification, *Unification Policy: The Policy for Peace and Prosperity*, accessed April 7, 2007, http://www.unikorea.go.kr/english/EUP/EUP0101011.jsp; Ji-soo Kim, "Roh promises the North bountiful aid," *JoongAng Daily*, June 15, 2004.

conservative-leaning president Lee Myung Bak took office in 2008. From the early- to mid-2000s, South Korea pursued an engagement policy toward North Korea and took a facilitating role, including offering energy assistance to North Korea in return for a freeze of North Korea's nuclear program. However, the Lee administration reversed the engagement policy toward North Korea, which had been a signature policy of the two previous administrations. South Korea refrained from launching any major new initiative related to North Korea, particularly after the sinking of the Navy frigate Cheonan. South Korea's adamant demands of apologies for the naval accident as a precondition for resuming a nuclear talk left little room for reconciliation. <sup>1253</sup> In a situation where North Korea denied any involvement in the naval accident and criticized the South Korean government for false accusations, it was unlikely that North Korea would apologize.

South Korea was in a position to consolidate its military alliance with the US as the tension on the Korean peninsula increased, but Seoul's reaching out to Washington, not to Pyongyang, was viewed as an "act of betrayal" by North Koreans. South Korea continued to designate North Korea as an "arch-enemy" until 2004, and issued "Four Points of the National Security Strategy" which North Korea criticized as a declaration of a "competition against the North" through military build-up. South Korea was key to national security, had enormous influence in driving South Korea's political debates, while progressives who supported rapprochement with North Korea were still pragmatic in their approach to engagement with the North. Pyongyang reacted to the polarization of South Korean society

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1253</sup> James J. Przystup, "North Korea: Challenges, Interests, and Policy," *Strategic Forum* 250, November 2009.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1254</sup> "Ulji Focus Lens Is a Preparation of Invasion to the North," KCNA, August 14, 1998; "The US and South Korean Puppet Should Stop Ulji Focus Lens," KCNA, August 24, 1998; "US Pirate Ship Arrived at Busan Port," *KCNA*, August 24, 1998.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1255</sup> North Korea has shown sensitive reaction to any increase of South Korea's defense budget. "South Korean Military Budget Increase for War against the North," *KCNA*, November 22, 1998; "South Korea Attempts to Augment Military Capability," *Rodong Sinmun*, May 12, 2001; National Security Council, *Peace, Prosperity and National Security* (Seoul: National Security Council, 2004).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1256</sup> Haesook Chae and Steven Kim, "Conservatives and Progressives in South Korea," The Washington Quarterly 31,

by criticizing these dual attitudes as deceitful. 1257

# Rogue identity

New developments in the security environment of the second nuclear crisis worsened North Korea's negative identification. First, terrorism associated with the spread of nuclear materials at the hands of non-state actors became a serious concern after 9/11. President Bush announced that curbing the proliferation of nuclear material and nuclear weapons would be tackled by international action including UNSC sanctions. 1258 As the US placed the highest priority on countering the nexus between rogue regimes and terrorism, naming North Korea as a rogue state caused a fear of regime change among North Koreans. Some argued that Washington's inflexible attitude toward North Korea's proposal of simultaneous actions originated from its reluctance to act alongside the troublesome rogue state. 1259 Although North Korea declared that it would not export nuclear material to another state, the sale of bombgrade nuclear material was the very concern that North Korea's nuclear program created. Branding North Korea as a "rogue" meant "denial of recognition" of the North Korean regime as a negotiating partner. Therefore, Pyongyang warned that it would not engage in a dialogue unless the US showed it due respect. 1260 In addition, North Korea argued that branding North Korea as a "terrorism-sponsored state" was a growing attempt to disgrace it. North Koreans believed that such a branding was a prelude to war and said, "the more obvious a US invasion scheme becomes, the more we will try all possible means to strengthen our revolutionary power and military posture. 1261

no. 4 (Autumn, 2008): 77-95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1257</sup> "We Should Be Faithful to the Ideology of Uriminjokkiri," *Rodong Sinmun*, September 29, 2005; "Cooperation with the External Power Is a Bad Habit of Pro-US Conservatives," *Rodong Sinmun*, December 7, 2005.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1258</sup> US, Hinted UN Sanctions on North Korea/President Bush Statement," Seoul Shinmun, July 15, 1992, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1259</sup> Bon Hak Koo, "A Critical Assessment and Implications for South Korea's Policy Toward North Korea," *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis* 18, no.1 (2006): 85-110.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1260</sup> "Request for the US to Take Practical Actions to Implement the Agreed Framework, Foreign Ministry Spokes Person" *KCNA*, March 3, 2000.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1261</sup> "Missile Threat and Kidnapping Allegation is Groundless" *Rodong Sinmun*, May 18, 1999; "We Will Intensify Our

Second, the "freedom agenda" endorsed by the Neoconservatives who had significant influence on the US policy antagonized North Korea, because the policy to spread democracy in countries under authoritarian regimes was viewed as a grave threat to the North Korean regime. 1262 The US believed that advancing human rights and the democratic system in North Korea would result in a long-term improvement of US-North Korea relations, 1263 but such measures were feared as an unjust interference and a threat of "contamination" by North Koreans. 1264 Pyongyang has long been critical about the human rights situation in the US, addressing such issues as the gap between the rich and the poor, racial discrimination, and high crime rate, and continuously opposed imposing human rights standards on North Korea, which they argued had "the most supreme social system on earth". 1265 Indeed, North Koreans have often made public statements that North Koreans value autonomy above human rights, humanitarianism and disarmament issues. 1266 Therefore, US engagement on human rights issues through publicizing an annual human rights report and implementing the North Korean Human Rights Act was viewed as a politicization of human rights issues by North Koreans. 1267

Third, Washington's "either with us or against us" attitude 1268 antagonized North Koreans, who were already living in a state of anxiety. North Korea officially denounced international

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Revolutionary Power If the US Holds on to its Scheme to Invade DPRK," Rodong Sinmun, February 23, 2002.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Imperialist's scheme of Spoilage under the Name of Assistance," *Rodong Sinmun*, October 26, 2002; "We Do Not Know Any Other Way," *Rodong Sinmun*, November 12, 2002.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1263</sup> Robert King, "Implementation of the North Korean Human Rights Act," Statement Before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, June 2, 2011.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1264</sup> "We Should Repel Ideological and Cultural Infiltration of Imperialism" *Rodong Sinmun*, June 1, 1999, joint editorial.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1265</sup> "We Denounce US Annual Human Rights Report: Foreign Ministry Statement," *KCNA*, February 9, 1998; "Absurd US Standard of Human Rights," *KCNA*, January 23, 1999;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1266</sup> Baek Nam Sun, North Korean Minister of foreign Affairs, in his address at the UN General Assembly and North Korea representatives to the UN Commission on Human Rights stressed the value of North Korean style human rights. "Baek Nam Sun Foreign Affairs Minister Speech to the 54<sup>th</sup> UN Assembly," *KCNA*, September 27, 1999; Baek Nam Sun, "We Cannot Imagine Human Rights Without the Right of National Autonomy," (speech, Speech by a North Korean Delegate at the UN Human Rights Commission, April 6, 2000); "North Korean Delegate Speech at the 56<sup>th</sup> UN Assembly," *KCNA*, October 2, 2001; "North Korean Delegate Opposed Selectiveness and Dual Standard at the Human Rights Commission," *KCNA*, August 5, 2002; "Preservation and Respect to National Autonomy is a Guarantee of Human Rights Protection and Improvement," *KCNA*, November 15, 2002.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1267</sup> "Human Rights Solution Should be Objective and Impartial," (speech, Speech by a North Korean Delegate at the Human Right Commission, April 14, 1999).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1268</sup> George W. Bush, Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People, September 20, 2001.

terrorism right after the 9/11 attack<sup>1269</sup> and signed two additional UN antiterrorism conventions on November 29, 2001. However, such gestures did not catch the attention of the US, which continued to categorize North Korea as a terrorism-sponsored state. In response, North Korea, on the list of rogue states along with Iraq, Iran, Belarus and Zimbabwe, argued that a rogue is whoever the United States designates. North Korea contended that these states had nothing in common in terms of ideology and political systems, stressing that such a characterization was groundless. Along with a continuing negative image of North Korea, such a perception that North Korea was intractable hardened arguments that the most desirable strategy would be a military campaign to coerce or to terminate the regime in Pyongyang. Because North Korea believed that the US engaged in the Korean War under the name of the UN in June 1950, it feared that the US would again use the UN to unjustly legitimize its action toward North Korea, and the US campaign in Iraq deepened this suspicion. Under these circumstances, North Korea decided that a state with a potential nuclear arsenal was unlikely to be attacked.

### 4. Negative Interaction

North Korea's Foreign Ministry stated that its "nuclear test was entirely attributable to the US nuclear threat, sanctions and pressure" on October 11, 2006. Earlier than that, Kim Gae Kwan said that the US drove North Korea "into a corner" on April 9, 2005. North

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1269</sup> Jae Hyun Roh, "North Korean Senior Official Admits Bombing of KAL Several Years ago," *Yonhap News*, October 3, 2010.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1270</sup> UN representative Ri Hyong Chol signed two more anti-terror treaties—the 1999 International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism and the 1979 International Convention against the Taking of Hostages. North Korea has already been a party to five out of twelve international conventions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1271</sup> William Blum, *Rogue State: A Guide to the World's Only Superpower* 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (Monroe, ME.: Common Courage Press, 2005).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1272</sup> "The US Is an Evil Empire/Analysis of Bush's Axis of Evil Rhetoric," *Rodong Sinmun*, February 14, 2002.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1273</sup> "The US Provoked Korean War: Unlawful Use of UN Authority," *KCNA*, June 16, 2000; "Anti-Terrorism Campaign Should Be Pursued under the Leadership of the UN," *KCNA*, October 8, 2002.

<sup>1274</sup> This view has been suggested by nuclear optimists who argue that nuclear weapons have stabilizing effect because small disparities of arsenals which may produce war in the case of conventional military strength are not applicable to MAD

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1275</sup> "We Will Consider Pressure from the UN as a Declaration of War: Foreign Ministry Statement," KCNA, October 11, 2006.

<sup>1276 &</sup>quot;After Normalizing Diplomatic Relationship with the US, North Korea Can Abandon its Nuclear Weapons,"

Korea invited an unofficial US delegation to demonstrate its potential to build a nuclear deterrent on January 8, 2004, and it carried out its previous announcement of "making a switchover in the use of the spent fuel" on October 2, 2003. On June 11, 2003, North Korea argued, "We had no other options but to develop nuclear deterrence." Because of the prevalence of this rhetorical thematic, it is important to understand why North Korea argued that it was "driven" to nuclear weapons. 1278

#### 4.1. Contradiction and Contention

#### **Inattention and Inaction**

Because continuing the six-party talks became the main concern of the participating states, which worried about losing the momentum to resolve the nuclear issue, anxiety and mistrust accumulated while exhaustive negotiations continued without producing tangible results. On the one hand, North Korea's defiant actions as a response to inaction by the US cleared the way for the international community to impose new punitive measures, but, on the other hand, the beneficiary of Washington's inaction was arguably North Korea. The deadlocked situation caused by the unrelenting position of the US gave Pyongyang ample time to develop nuclear weapons capability, which was ultimately necessary for upping the ante.

A lack of high-level US attention and an inflexible attitude toward the issue were evident from the beginning of the six-party talks. <sup>1279</sup> It was Washington's initial decision to avoid bilateral talks with the North in favor of forging consensus among five countries against North Korea. <sup>1280</sup> US involvement in regime-change and post-war governance in Iraq limited the US'

Kookmin Ilbo, April 11, 2005, 2.

<sup>1277</sup> Don Kirk, "North Korea Says Publicly It Needs a 'nuclear Deterrence'", *The New York Times*, June 11, 2003, accessed October 19, 2011, http://www.nytimes.com/2003/06/11/news/11iht-nkor\_ed1\_.html.

<sup>1278 &</sup>quot;North Korean Foreign Ministry Statement," KCNA, January 10, 2003.

<sup>1279 &</sup>quot;Perry Urges Joint stance on North Korea," Korea Herald, June 3, 2004.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1280</sup> Funabashi Yoichi, *The Peninsula Question: The Second Korean Nuclear Crisis* (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 2006), 238.

commitment to resolving the North Korean nuclear crisis in 2003. <sup>1281</sup> Washington's earlier position toward Pyongyang was "no respect and no reward to induce better behavior on Pyongyang's part." <sup>1282</sup> On the one hand, hawks in the US believed engagement to be necessary only to the extent that skepticism was prevalent enough to convince people that all non-confrontational manners had been exhausted and that putting effective pressure on North Korea should be the next step. <sup>1283</sup> They did not like the "appeasement" of "paying" a so-called rogue state not to acquire a nuclear weapons program. <sup>1284</sup> On the other hand, North Korea excused itself from the multilateral negotiations by taking advantage of the criticism of the Bush administration's inflexible attitude toward North Korea. <sup>1285</sup>

It should be noted that the US and North Korea began to work on detailed agendas at the six-party talks when the US suspected that North Korea was on the threshold of unlimited bomb production in 2004. The political debates on the North Korean nuclear crisis increased the sense of urgency, but without substantial actions until July 2005, when Christopher Hill met Kim Gae Kwan to discuss resuming the six-party talks. Since the beginning of the second nuclear crisis, North Korea had again sought a bilateral resolution of its crisis with the US. North Korea expressed its intention to draw attention from Washington, suggesting that the nuclear issue could be resolved at a summit meeting. However, the initial option that Washington considered was to contain the Pyongyang regime by rallying Seoul, Tokyo, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1281</sup> White House press secretary Scott McClellan mentioned that "North Korea is a regional issue" on February 11, 2005. Glenn Kessler and Philip P. Pan, *Washington Post*, February 12, 2005, A 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1282</sup> Graham Allison, "Misplaced 'misunderestimation," *The Boston Globe*, July 16, 2006, accessed March 3, 2007, http://www.boston.com/news/globe/editorial\_opinion/oped/articles/2006/07/16/misplaced\_misunderestimation/. <sup>1283</sup> Sung Han Kim, "Coping with the North Korean Nuclear Problem: A South Korean Perspective" (paper presented at a conference "America in Question: Korean Democracy and the Challenge of Nonproliferation on the Peninsula," University of British Columbia, May 10, 2005). For the Washington's hawkish policy and its influence on North Korea's behavior, see Robert Gallucci, "America Deals with North Korea: A Realist's Approach," in *Perspectives on Structural Realism*, ed. Andrew K. Hanami (New York: Palgrave McMillan, 2003), 155-62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1284</sup> Donald G. Gross, "Weapons of Mass Destruction and North Korea," (paper presented at the Conferences on Science and World Affairs, March 2002), accessed June 22, 2011, http://www.pugwash.org/reports/rc/essay-gross.htm. <sup>1285</sup> "Six-Party Talk at stalemate," *Voice of America*, April 7, 2005, accessed April 2, 2007,

http://www.voanews.com/Korean/archive/2005-08/2005-08-07-voa2.cfm.

<sup>1286</sup> Chang, Nuclear Showdown, 32-33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1287</sup> Department of the Parliamentary Library, Commonwealth of Australia, "North Korea Nuclear Crisis: Issues and Implications," *Current Issues Brief* No. 18, (2002-3).

other regional powers to further pressure Pyongyang to comply with international demands for denuclearization. 1288 In addition, Washington's observation that North Korea was plagued by famine and flood, and that an outflow of refugees and social instability would bring the North Korean regime to collapse, led to a "wait and see" attitude toward Pyongyang. Therefore, the US showed little flexibility in its position at the request of Chinese officials to yield some ground on guaranteeing the North's security.

Pyongyang also lost attention to its signals leading up to its first nuclear test. North Korea renewed its 1993 notice of withdrawal from the NPT on January 10, 2003. North Korea asserted that the announcement left the UN Security Council with only one day, but many observers mark April 10, 2003 as the date of North Korea's withdrawal. However, the UN Security Council could not take corresponding measures before North Korea would become the first country to withdraw from the NPT. During the period leading up to North Korea's withdrawal announcement, Pyongyang complained about the delay of light-water reactor construction and the US' hostile policy against North Korea, stressing that both the US and North Korea were bound by the Geneva Agreed Framework. For North Koreans, a failure to fulfill responsibility on one side would be followed by a nullification of the responsibility of the other side. 1290 However, the focus of discussion was not on who violated first, but on how to react to North Korea's violation. Ironically, other states were focused on the fact that North Korea's defiant behavior would cause isolation, but North Korea stressed an occasion for direct contact with the US by sending warning messages.

Inattention and inaction were problems not only during the six-party talks, but also after

<sup>1288</sup> Victor D. Cha and David C. Kang, "The Korean Crisis," Foreign Policy, no. 137 (2003).

<sup>1289</sup> The difference between the 1993 announcement of North Korea's withdrawal from the NPT and the 2003 announcement was that its withdrawal comes into force automatically and immediately. North Korea argued that because it gave notice of intent to withdraw from the NPT in 1993, it had complied with the three month notice period. Since the 1993 withdrawal from the treaty was suspended on the last day of the 90-day notice period, North Korea did not need to give further notice of its intention to withdraw. Unlike the 1993 event, North Korea seemed to consider itself no longer bound to the treaty. Devon Chaffee, "North Korea's Withdrawal from Nonproliferation Treaty Official," Waging Peace, April 10, 2003; George Bunn and John B. Rhinelander, "NPT Withdrawal: Time for the Security Council to Step In," Arms Control Today, May 1, 2005.

<sup>1290 &</sup>quot;Our Position to Participate in the Six-Party Talk: Foreign Ministry Statement," KCNA, August 13, 2003.

their concluding agreement. One of the benefits that North Korea obtained from the 2.13 Agreement in 2007 was the opening of a window to negotiate normalization of diplomatic relations with the US. North Korea's state-run media announced that the country would tentatively stop operating its Yongbyon nuclear facilities in exchange for one million ton of heavy fuel, and would begin to negotiate with the US to normalize its diplomatic relationship. 1291 However, concluding the 2.13 agreement gave a sense of relief to the US that allowed it to turn its attention to other pressing issues. The progress of the six-party talks slowed during the US presidential election in 2008. Differences in the orders of implementation on which the US and North Korea insisted caused another deadlock. The US insisted that North Korea first freeze and then dismantle its nuclear programs in order to receive fuel oil from other parties. 1292 In contrast, North Korea rejected the US-backed proposal for ending the nuclear issue because it failed to mention North Korea's proposed "simultaneous package solution." <sup>1293</sup> The simultaneous actions proposed in the 2.13 document demonstrate that North Korea managed to carry out its demand for an implementation method based on fairness and equality. Therefore, North Korea insisted that the US fulfill its commitment, since it took actions by handing China a written declaration of its plutonium program as part of the second-phase actions.

Because North Korea sent mixed signals, positive messages tended to be overlooked. However, North Korea was consistent in demanding normalization of its relations with the US and ending hostile US policies toward North Korea. Therefore, the North Korean Foreign Ministry emphasized that its "principled stand is to realize the denuclearization *through* the normalization of relations," but at the same time it made it clear that it would not give up its

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1291</sup> "North Korea declared tentative stop rather than disablement," *Associated Press*, February 13, 2007, accessed February 14, 2007, http://www.donga.com/fbin/output?f=total&n=200702130521.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1292</sup> Paul Kerr, "US Unveils Offer at North Korea Talks," *Arms Control Today* 34, no. 1 (2004), accessed April 1, 2007, http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2004\_01-02/default.asp.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1293</sup> "The US Intention to Abandon Hostile Policy toward North Korea Will Be Verified," *Rodong Sinmun*, August 27, 2003.

nuclear weapons until these conditions were met. <sup>1294</sup> North Korea's rhetoric showed contradictory messages—warning to go nuclear and drawing attention in order to resolve the crisis in a peaceful manner. After the "axis of evil" rhetoric, North Korea criticized Washington for escalating tension, but announced that it would resolve Washington's security concerns if the nonaggression treaty were concluded. <sup>1295</sup> In its withdrawal announcement on January 10, 2003, North Korea stressed that it would prove its intention not to build nuclear weapons through a separate verification mechanism if the US abandoned its hostile policy and nuclear threat toward North Korea. <sup>1296</sup>

The fact that North Korea continuously leaked information regarding the developmental stages of its nuclear weapons program to the public rather than keeping it secret indicates that North Korea's nuclear weapons were a "means" to press the US into taking action rather than an "end" in and of themselves. Before officially announcing its possession of nuclear weapons, North Korea revealed through various channels that it did not have any other choice but to develop nuclear weapons. It consistently mentioned that it would take measures to develop nuclear weapons: a North Korea spokesman hinted that North Korea was undertaking the last phase of reprocessing the 8,000 spent fuel rods in April 2003; Choi Su Hun, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, declared that North Korea had weaponized fissile materials extracted from the spent fuel rods in September 2004; and Kim Gae Kwan argued that North Korea had developed nuclear weapons for its self-defense in January 2005. Inviting US experts to Yongbyon was another method of communication. North Korea signaled that it might not adhere to the moratorium on testing long-range missiles in March 2003, but proposed a step-by-step solution

<sup>1294</sup> Przystup, "North Korea," 1-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1295</sup> "Concluding Non-aggression Treaty between the US and DPRK is the Realistic and Rational Way to Solve Nuclear Issue," *KCNA*, October 25, 2000; "President Bush's Remarks of Axis of Evil is a Grave Insult to the DPRK," *Rodong Sinmun*, April 6, 2002.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1296</sup> North Korea asserted that the withdrawal decision was made because of a dangerous situation where the nation's sovereignty and its security are being seriously violated is prevailing on the Korean peninsula due to the US hostile policy towards the DPRK: North Korean Foreign Ministry Statement," *KCNA*, January 10, 2003.

<sup>1297</sup> North Korea has deliberately announced it as a nuclear state in 2005. Anthony Faiola, "N.Korea Declares Itself a

North Korea has deliberately announced it as a nuclear state in 2005. Anthony Faiola, "N.Korea Declares Itself a Nuclear Power," *Washington Post*, February 10, 2005, accessed March 22, 2007, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A12836-2005Feb10.html.

in August 2003.<sup>1298</sup> In the absence of a response from the US, North Korea warned that it had completed the reprocessing of its 8,000 spent fuel rods and was ready to develop its nuclear deterrent. North Korea claimed that it has built the uranium enrichment program in 2009, and it demonstrated the modern, sophisticated technology of its uranium facilities by inviting Siegfried S. Hecker in November 2010.<sup>1299</sup> The US team, led by Dr. Hecker, verified that North Korea had uranium centrifuges, dramatically demonstrating that it had a second route to bomb fuel, the ability to produce HEU.

Table 6.8 Change of North Korea's rhetoric on its nuclear weapons program

May 2003	North Korea accused the US of "violating the spirit of the Joint N-S Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean peninsula" as a response to US-South Korean military exercises—RSOI (Reception, Staging, Onward Movement and Integration) and Foal Eagle <sup>1300</sup> —and the US decision to send B-52 and B-1 bombers to Guam after President Bush said that he might be forced to turn to military options if diplomacy failed. <sup>1301</sup>	
October 2003	North Korea first announced that it could make a switch in the use of the spent fuel to increase its nuclear deterrent, and then said that it would refrain from producing, testing, or transferring nuclear weapons and would free all the nuclear facilities on June 28, 2004.	
June 2004	North Korea declared in a detailed proposal that it would refrain from nuclear activities and freeze all the related facilities if a reward was offered	
January 2005	Foreign Minister Baek Nam Sun announced, "North Korea is a Nuclear Weapons State now. Its purpose is for defense. We have no intention to possess it forever." 1302	
July 2005	Kim Jong II stressed that the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula was Kim II Sung's dying wish.	
July 2006	Amid contention over the freezing of North Korea's funds in Banco Delta Asia, North Korea test fired missiles on July 4.	
October 2006	After its first nuclear test, North Korea stressed that it would refrain from the first-use of nuclear weapons and would prohibit any nuclear transfer, confirming its wish to realize the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. 1303	

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1298</sup> These steps include concluding a non-aggression treaty, normalizing bilateral diplomatic relations, lifting obstacles for economic cooperation, completing reactor project, resuming suspended fuel oil shipment and providing food aid. <sup>1299</sup> David E. Sanger, "North Koreans Unveil New Plant for Nuclear Use," *New York Times*, November 20, 2010.

<sup>1300 &</sup>quot;US: Joint Military Exercises in South Korea No Related to Nuclear Dispute," *Associated Press*, February 17, 2003.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1301</sup> Hidaka Yoshiki, *America Wa Kita-Chosen O Kaku Bakugeki Suru*(America Decides Nuclear Attack on North Korea), Trans. Yongmi Eun (Seoul: Narawon Publishing Co., 2003); David E. Sanger and Thom Shanker, "Threats and Responses: Nuclear standoff: US Sending 2 Dozen Bombers in Easy Range of North Koreans," *The New York Times*, March 5, 2003; Barbara Starr, "US Orders 24 Long-range Bombers to Guam," *CNN*, March 5, 2003.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1302</sup> North Korea has deliberately announced it as a nuclear state in 2005. Anthony Faiola, "N.Korea Declares Itself a Nuclear Power," *Washington Post*, February 10, 2005, accessed March 22, 2007, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A12836-2005Feb10.html.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1303</sup> "Foreign Ministry Statement," KCNA, October 3, 2006.

# Fear of Contagion and Discrimination

The international community worried about both the external influence on North Korea's nuclear weapons program and the influence of the North Korean nuclear crisis on neighboring states. India's and Pakistan's nuclear tests in 1998 increased suspicion about a secret nuclear program among potential proliferators. Tensions arose related to the US wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, which exacerbated rhetorical sparring between the US and North Korea. Because of, not in spite of, uncertainty about the developmental stage of North Korea's uranium program, suspicion was nearly accepted as fact. 1304 As a result of North Korea's nuclear crisis, both the Japanese public and government began discussing nuclear weapons more openly. 1305 North Korea had long been aware of changes in Japan's defense policy, including the revision of the old US-Japan Mutual Security Treaty regarding the provisions on joint military operations, 1306 enactment of Law concerning Measures to Ensure the Peace and Security in Areas surrounding Japan (Surrounding Areas Law) in 1999, <sup>1307</sup> guidelines of military cooperation in the event of an emergency in areas surrounding Japan that allow automatic involvement in armed conflict or war with full mobilization of its military power, and a US-Japan missile defense system. North Korea argued that although Japan rhetorically denied any intention to go nuclear, it secretly sought steps to actualize its nuclear ambition. 1308 In this way, Japan's anxiety about North Korea's nuclear development and North Korea's anxiety about Japan's nuclear capability were mutually affected. Eventually, the outbreak of the second nuclear crisis increased Japan's sense of urgency to lift limits on its self-defense and to revise its defense-oriented policy. This again strengthened North Korea's perception of the nuclear weapons capability as a necessity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1304</sup> "Members of the Six-Party Talks Acknowledge North Korea's HEU Program," *Munhwa Ilbo*, March 5, 2005.

<sup>1305</sup> Elizabeth D. Bakanic, "The End of Japan's Nuclear Taboo," The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, June 9, 2008.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1306</sup> The 1997 Guidelines for the US-Japan Defense Cooperation allows joint military operations between the two forces to be held even though there is no direct military attack on Japan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1307</sup> The Surrounding Areas Law allows the Japanese Self-Defense Force to provide rear area support to the US Forces deployed in Japan. Change Wee Lee, "A Study on the constitutionality of the US-Japan Mutual Security Treaty and Some Legal Issues on the Surrounding Areas Law," *The Korean Journal of International and Comparative Law* 53, no. 2 (2008): 11-264.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1308</sup> "Disclosure of Japan's Nuclear Program," KCNA, May 8, 2004.

Because the export of one nuclear bomb from North Korea to any terrorist group would be more dangerous than a breakout of nuclear war on the Korean peninsula, the US tried to carefully handle North Korea's nuclear program. The combination of two factors—that North Korea was a hostile country to the US and that it had developed functioning nuclear weapons—made North Korea a threat to America's vital security interests. Therefore, many asserted that the US should not tolerate North Korea becoming the global supermarket, as Pyongyang had been willing to sell anything to raise revenue for the financially hard-pressed regime. Indeed, the US took the lead in moving toward international sanctions at the UN, which North Korea criticized as the equivalent of a declaration of war. North Koreans considered the threat of sanctions an "insult", demonstrating its resolve to choose war rather than yield to international condemnation.

Because the US military shifted its focus from "threat-based" to "capability-based" assessment, North Korea's potential military capability was no longer a regional issue. With the advent of the Bush administration, the US reviewed its North Korean policy and concluded that it would pursue an improved implementation of the Agreed Framework and address comprehensive security concerns. <sup>1313</sup> This meant that not only nuclear issues, but also constraint on missile development and conventional capability, became Washington's concerns. <sup>1314</sup> In response, Pyongyang argued that the attempt to review the 1994 Agreed Framework and demand additional measures showed the US' intention to completely disarm North Korea, criticizing US for asserting military pressure. <sup>1315</sup> North Korea demanded instead

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1309</sup> David Frum and Richard Perle, *An End to Evil: How to Win the War on Terror* (New York: Random House, 2003), 99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1310</sup> David Boaz ed, *CATO Handbook on Policy 6<sup>th</sup> edition* (Washington D.C.: CATO Institute, 2005), 546-47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1311</sup> "North Korean Foreign Ministry, We Will Regard US Pressure as a Declaration of War," *KCNA*, October 11, 2006. <sup>1312</sup> Jimmy Carter, *Report on Our Trip to Korea*, June 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1313</sup> Alex Wagner, "Bush Outlines Resuming Talks with North Korea," Arms Control Today (July/August 2001): 23.

<sup>1314 &</sup>quot;Statement by the President," June 6, 2001, accessed March 24, 2011,

www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/06/20010611-4.html.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1315</sup> "Our Position to the Agreed Framework is Obvious," *Rodong Sinmun*, May 31, 1999.

that the US withdraw its forces in the South. <sup>1316</sup> The effect of North Korean relations with Iran, Syria, and Libya caused anxiety about these regimes obtaining weapons of mass destruction and their potential ability to threaten the world's oil resources or disrupt petroleum transport routes. US concerns included the further weakening of moderate regimes or US allies and the transfer of weapons to terrorist groups in the Middle East. <sup>1317</sup> The combination of missiles and WMD could increase the coercive potential of these regimes and could cancel out any US leverage. <sup>1318</sup>

However, there were many reasons for the US not to discard its suspicion of North Korea's secret development of nuclear weapons capability. Questions about how much plutonium North Korea produced covertly still have not been resolved, <sup>1319</sup> and it is relatively easy to enrich it further to weapons-grade levels once the enrichment capability is mastered. Therefore, many suspected that North Korea could add uranium-based weapons to increase its stockpile of nuclear weapons. North Korea's high-explosive tests at the Yongbyon nuclear complex in 1997 and 2002 showed that North Korea did not give up developing an implosion system essential for a nuclear device. <sup>1320</sup> North Korea reportedly tested a 14 kilotons plutonium device in collaboration with Pakistan on May 30, 1998, and this speculation was rekindled by the revelations about the nuclear smuggling network of Dr. Khan, of which North Korea was one of the major clients. <sup>1321</sup> North Korea was suspected of importing uranium from the Congo

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1316</sup> "Be Aware of Secretary Powell's Argument of Arms Reduction of Conventional Military Capability," *KCNA*, March 24, 2001; "We Are Not Interested in Talks with Preconditions," *Rodong Sinmun*, April 10, 2001; "Withdrawal of US Forces from the South Should be Discussed First," *Rodong Sinmun*, April 16, 2001.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1317</sup> Barry Rubin, "North Korea's Threat to the Middle East and the Middle East's Threat to Asia," *Middle East Review of International Affairs Asia Book* (1997), accessed May 9, 2011, http://meria.idc.ac.il/books/brkorea.html.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1318</sup> US Senate Subcommittee on Military Procurement and Research and Development, "The US Response to the Emerging Proliferation Threat," March 15, 1995.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1319</sup> It is not known how the 5MWe reactor has been operated. Siegfried Hecker, Testimony before Senate Foreign Relations Committee, January 21, 2004.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1320</sup> IISS, North Korea's Weapons Programmes: A Net Assessment (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2004), 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1321</sup> It was reported that North Korean plutonium device was tested in the Baluchistan desert. President Musharraf said that Dr. Khan aided North Korea, and might have sent uranium hexafluoride to North Korea. Dr. Khan admitted that he provided Pyongyang with prototypes and design information on the centrifuge machine. In addition, Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf confirmed that this claim was true. Mitchell Reiss, and Robert Gallucci, "Red-handed: the truth about North Korea's weapons programs," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April, 2005): 142–48; Salman Masood and David

to manufacture nuclear weapons <sup>1322</sup> and supplying missile technology to Iran, which has been suspected of having an interest in obtaining nuclear warheads. <sup>1323</sup> Under these circumstances, before any six-party discussions started, the Bush administration insisted that North Korea confirm whether it had the alleged uranium-enrichment facilities. <sup>1324</sup> In response, North Korea refused the US preconditions, and new talks were postponed, which again worsened suspicions of North Korea's nuclear ambition. In addition, many suspected that North Korea, with a stockpile of plutonium weapons, would ultimately sell HEU long before it had accumulated enough uranium to create a deterrent based on HEU. <sup>1325</sup> It was believed that the possibility of the loss or transfer of nuclear materials existed and would presumably increase. Besides, reports on North Korea's involvement in illicit behavior, including the production and distribution of narcotics <sup>1326</sup> and the counterfeiting of foreign currencies, cigarettes and pharmaceuticals gave Pyongyang a bad image. <sup>1327</sup> North Korea was famine-stricken, and one of the most repressive regimes in the world. <sup>1328</sup>

Rohde, "Pakistan Now Says Scientist Did Send Koreans Nuclear Gear," *New York Times*, Aug. 25, 2005; "North

Korea's Nuclear Tests in Pakistan," *Kimsoft*, March 19, 2004, accessed March 29, 2007, http://www.kimsoft.com/2004/nk-pk-test.htm; David Sanger and William Broad, "Pakistan May Have Aided North Korea test," *New York Times*, Feb. 27, 2004.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1322</sup> US intelligence agencies believe hundreds of North Korean military advisers were helping the government of Congo in its civil war. A US congressional report said that there was significant evidence that undeclared nuclear weapons development activities including efforts to acquire uranium enrichment technologies continues in North Korea. "NK Denies Importing Uranium to Manufacture Nuclear Weapons," *Korea Times*, March 31, 2000, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1323</sup> The North Korean version of Russian design R-27 can carry a nuclear warhead, and Iran is believed to be near at developing intercontinental ballistic missiles. There has been persistent speculation on the North Korea-Iran connection since 2006. American diplomatic cable dated February 24, 2010, suggests that the US and Russia worry that nuclear cooperation between North Korea and Iran can be deeper than was previously known. William J. Broad, "Iran Fortifies Its Arsenal with the Aid of North Korea," *New York Times*, November 28, 2010.

<sup>1324</sup> Harrison, "Did North Korea Cheat?" 99-110.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1325</sup> Robert L. Gallucci, "Averting Nuclear Catastrophe: Contemplating Extreme Response to US Vulnerability," *Annuals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 607 (2006): 51-58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1326</sup> US State Department claimed that the North Korean government was involved in narcotic business. US Department of State, Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, *International Narcotics Control Strategy Report 2004* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2004).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1327</sup> Paul Rexton Kan, Bruce E. Bechtol, Jr. and Robert M. Collins, *Criminal Sovereignty: Understanding North Korea's Illicit International Activities* (Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, 2010); Raphael F. Perl, *Drug Trafficking and North Korea: Issues for US Policy* (Washington D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2003); Bill Gertz, "US Accuses North Korea of \$100 Bill Counterfeiting," *Washington Times*, October 12, 2005; David L. Asher, "The North Korean Criminal state, Its Ties to Organized Crime, and the Possibility of WMD Proliferation," The Nautilus Institute, Policy Forum Online 05-92A, November 15, 2005, accessed June 10, 2011, http://www.nautilus.org/publications/essays/napsnet/forum/security/0592Asher.html.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1328</sup> Sebastian Harnisch, "US-North Korean Relations under the Bush Administration," *Asian Survey* 42, no. 6 (2002): 856-882.

North Korea's public statement shows that it was critical about the discriminatory practices of the international community, and the issues it raised include high-handedness, arbitrariness, unilateral actions, threat to the sovereign rights of weak states, unfair international relations, rejection of the North Korean system and so on. In particular, enduring suspicion of North Korea's possible diversion of a civilian nuclear program sparked off a dispute between the US and North Korea over the right to nuclear energy. This meant a denial of North Korea's right to have nuclear capability for a peaceful purpose and was viewed as discrimination against North Koreans. North Korea argued that Washington maintained a hostile policy toward Pyongyang because it would not recognize Pyongyang's heterogeneous system. North Korea protested against a "double standard" regarding its missile and nuclear program by arguing that the US tolerated immense military capability for its allies but repressed others that refused to endorse American values. 1329

North Korea was critical about not only the US nuclear hegemony and upgrading of nuclear warheads, but also the US policy toward the nuclear programs of its allies. <sup>1330</sup> In particular, the controversy over the revelation of South Korea's uranium enrichment experiment gave North Korea reason to argue that the US had led the nonproliferation regime discriminately. The incident of South Korea's experiment in 2000 was voluntarily reported to the IAEA in accordance with newly ratified additional safeguard protocols, and Seoul was cooperative with the IAEA, which decided not to refer this issue to the Security Council. <sup>1331</sup> However, North Korea recalled that the second nuclear crisis broke out because of the US claim

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1329</sup> "Management without Legitimate Cause," *Rodong Sinmun*, September 22, 1998; "Head of CIA's Absurd Remarks about WMD," *KCNA*, February 11, 2002.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1330</sup> "The US Should Learn from the NPT Review Conference and Change Its Attitudes," *Rodong Sinmun*, June 3, 2005; "Nuclear Disarmament is the First and Foremost Issue," *Rodong Sinmun*, November 15, 2005; "Double Standard Should Not Be Allowed in Dealing with Nuclear Issues," *Rodong Sinmun*, March 30, 2006.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1331</sup> The experiment of testing a new technology resulted in no more than 0.2 grams of enriched uranium. South Korea had conducted laboratory-scale experiments using the atomic vapor laser isotope separation method. The IAEA Board of Governors expressed serious concern about South Korea's nuclear research but did not report it to the UN Security Council although the IAEA is required to report findings of a country's noncompliance with its safeguards agreement to the council. Paul Kerr, "IAEA Probes Seoul's Nuclear Program," *Arms Control Today* 34, October 2004; Paul Kerr, "IAEA: Seoul's Nuclear Sins in Past," Arms Control Today 34, December 2004.

that North Korea was secretly using uranium enrichment technology in an attempt to manufacture nuclear weapons in October 2002. Because the US commented that South Korea's experiment was no longer cause for concern, North Korea argued that Washington would bring North Korea but not its ally before the UN Security Council, and it therefore skipped another round of six-party talks.

# 4.2. Perceptual Gap and Uncoordinated Approaches

The dynamics of an intricate relationship among five states affected the progress of the six-party talks. The US and North Korea pursued the same goal: long-term peace and stability on the Korean peninsula. However, the means each pursued was quite different. The US aimed at transforming the North Korean regime as a condition for transforming the overall security situation, but North Korea aimed at exterminating threats to regime maintenance. China and Russia agreed on a milder, step-by-step solution which involved giving a reward to the North, and each supported North Korea's assertion to resume the six-party talks without preconditions. In contrast, South Korea called on North Korea to show its sincerity by taking pre-steps including a monitored shutdown of its uranium enrichment program, and the US wanted a clear commitment to disarm first from North Korea.

Besides, transforming nuclear-armed North Korea into a non-nuclear state was a process more protracted, arduous and difficult than the previous process to reverse North Korea's withdrawal from the NPT. The US concern was limited to curving North Korea's proliferation of nuclear weapons and long-range missiles. However, the US focus extended to other areas of

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1332</sup> State Department Spokesperson Richard Boucher said there was nothing particularly problematic, stressing that the amount of enriched uranium was less than that enriched by North Korea. Barbara Demick, "South Korea Experimented with Highly Enriched Uranium," *Los Angeles Times*, September 3, 2004;

<sup>1333</sup> Kim Jong II on his Russian tour, emphasized that North Korea was ready to resume the six-party talks without preconditions. He also made an official remark, emphasizing that North Korea was ready to fully implement the 9.19 statement during his visit to China in August 2011. "DPRK Top Leader: DPRK Ready to Resume Six-party Talks without Preconditions," *Xihua News*, August 26, 2011; Maxim Tkachenko, "Russia: North Korea Ready to Return to Nuclear Talks," *CNN News*, August 24, 2011.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1334</sup> "Six-party Talks only Possible if N.Korea Accepts Preconditions," *Yonhap News*, October 7, 2011; "No Agreement but US Has 'Positive' Talks with N.Korea," *BBC News*, October 25, 2011.

concern and complicated issues were added on the agenda. The US brought a whole package of issues besides North Korea's nuclear activities, overshadowing the prospect of finding a compromise. Talks often reached a deadlock because non-nuclear issues were added to US concerns, which included money laundering, 1335 kidnapping, 1336 human rights violations, 1337 and drug trafficking.

Tabale 6.9 Major Agenda of the Six Party Talks

	North Korea	Others
Concerns	right to develop peaceful nuclear energy hostile policy toward Pyongyang delisted from the terrorism blacklist release of funds from the BDA	secret nuclear program restrict on missile export scale-down of conventional capability abduction of Japanese nationals other illicit activities

In addition, since the implementation of 2.13 Agreement was halted, North Korea continued to develop its nuclear energy program while the issue of dismantling the existing nuclear program remained unresolved. Because the KEDO project was suspended due to the outbreak of the second nuclear crisis, North Korea requested again the provision of light-water reactors at the six-party talks in September 2005. By concluding the 9.19 joint statement, the other parties expressed their respect and agreed to discuss the subject of the provision of a light-water nuclear power reactor to Pyongyang "at an appropriate time," which meant that there was no guaranteed timeline for discussing it. North Korea insisted that the statement recognize the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1335</sup> US crackdown on eight North Korean companies an dBanco Delta Asia in Macau in September 2005 has become a big blow to North Korea. The US government viewed this measure as the perfect sanction because it is targeting North Korea's elite group, not the general public. Although the US State Department argued that US regulations to protect its financial system were not subject to negotiation, North Kroea could finally succeed in establishing a working group to deal with that issue within the nuclear talk. Glenn Kessler, "N.Korea Agrees to Return to Talks," *Washington Post*, November 1, 2006, A01; Anna Fifield, "N Korea hunting for ways to beat financial sanctions," *Financial Times*, Mar 13, 2006, 8; Anna Fifield, "North Korea is looking to beat US financial sanctions," *Financial Times*, March 12, 2006, accessed March 24, 2007, http://www.ft.com/cms/s/449d94d8-b213-11da-96ad-0000779e2340.html.

<sup>1336</sup> North Korea Japan clashed over a kidnapping issue. For the Japanese government, this issue has become highly politicized, and Prime Mnister Shinzo Ae has staked his reputation on resolving this issue. However, North Korea was stubborn on Japan's request for clarifying the status of the abductees that might still be alive. Because tension between North Korea and Japan over non-nuclear issue has been viewed by others as an obstacle in the progress of nuclear talks, and thus Japan failed to put this issue on the top of the agenda. Jung A Yang, "Japan Isolated on the Abductees Issue Claim over the Top," *Daily NK*, March 13, 2007; "Japan to Put Abductees on North Korea Talks Agenda," *Epoch Times*, March 6, 2007, accessed March 24, 2007, http://en.epochtimes.com/news/7-3-6/52469.html; "N. Korea boycotts talks session," *BBC News*, March 20, 2007, accessed March 25, 2007, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/6469421.stm.

1337 House Committee on Foreign Affairs, United States House of Representatives, *North Korean Human Rights Act of* 2004, October 18, 2004, accessed September 2, 2011, http://www.northkoreanrefugees.com/hr4011.pdf.

commitment of other participants to provide it with light-water reactors and argued that it was essential for the US to provide light-water reactors as early as possible. In June 2006, the KEDO Executive Board announced that it had formally terminated its project to build two light-water nuclear reactors, and North Korea turned to building an experimental light-water reactor at its Yongbyon nuclear facility. North Korea claimed that such a project would be for peaceful energy purposes.

#### **US-South Korea**

The Trilateral Coordination and Oversight Group (TCOG) meeting between the US, South Korea and Japan on North Korean issues ended due to difficulties in coordinating different interests among members of the six-party talks, although its primary purpose was to forge a unilateral front in pressuring North Korea.<sup>1340</sup> The Ukraine solution endorsed by many in South Korea as a model to denuclearize North Korea contrasted with the US position not to reward bad behaviors and was opposed by North Koreans, who argued that they would not follow other nations' footsteps.<sup>1341</sup> Further, South Korea's vision to play a role as a "balancer" not only on the Korean peninsula but throughout Northeast Asia was met with a negative response in the US and Japan. Their underlying fear was that South Korea was distancing itself from the US security umbrella. <sup>1342</sup> This idea was not welcomed by North Koreans, who opposed the idea of South Korea taking leadership in resolving conflicts among states around the Korean peninsula. <sup>1343</sup> Third, the White House did not support the "sunshine" policy of South Korea's president, Kim Dae Jung, and expressed skepticism about North Korea's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1338</sup> Speech from North Korean Vice Foreign Minister Choi Su Hon, September 20, 2005.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1339</sup> During his visit to North Korea's uranium enrichment facilities, Hecker witnessed that the construction has begun. "North Korea is Building Light-Water Reactor: Report," Reuters, November 13, 2010.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1340</sup> South Korea complained that it was isolated from the meeting, Japan complained that South Korea was leaning toward China and North Korea, the US intended to replace TCOG with a new trilateral meeting among the US, Japan and China. "Song Min Soon, Democratic Party Representative, MB Should Conclude the Issue of TCOG," *CBS*, June 15, 2009

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1341</sup> "US Proposal is Needless to Say/Foreign Ministry Statement," KCNA July 24, 2004.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1342</sup> "Nuclear Umbrella, a Contentious Issue," *Hankuk Ilbo*, October 31, 2006.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1343</sup> "The Idea of Northeast Asia Balancer Causes Confusion," Seoul Shinmun, June 2, 2005.

supposedly peaceful intentions. <sup>1344</sup> North Korea ridiculed the fact that South Korea was concerned with Washington's dissatisfaction about the "sunshine" policy and therefore renamed it an "engagement" policy, arguing that South Korea did not commit to reconciling with the North. <sup>1345</sup> Because North Korea thought that South Korea's policy toward North Korea was affected by the US stance, it argued that South Korea behaved hypocritically. Lastly, when the US signaled that it was considering engagement with North Korea by resuming some form of contact with North Korea, including Bill Clinton's visit to North Korea in August 2009 and Jimmy Carter's visit in August 2010 and April 2011, South Korea repeated its demand for North Korea's apology for the sinking of its naval ship and the bombardment of Yeonpyeong island, <sup>1346</sup> and conservative media reports on Carter's visit to Pyongyang were focused on a general skepticism about the outcome of his visit. <sup>1347</sup>

### Other Six-party Members

The abduction issue complicated Japan's diplomacy toward the six-party talks. While South Korea, China, and Russia got North Korea to shut down its nuclear reactor at Yongbyon, the fate of a Japanese abductee became a hot-button issue among the Japanese, who were calling the abduction an act of terrorism. Even after the relationship between the US and North Korea thawed as a result of Washington's unfreezing of North Korean funds at BDA, Japan insisted that the abduction issue be discussed and opposed removing North Korea from the list of states sponsoring terrorism, as Washington was pursuing. South Korea worried

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1344</sup> Victor D. Cha, "Korea's Place in the Axis," Foreign Affairs 81, no. 3 (2002): 79-92.

<sup>1345 &</sup>quot;Sunshine Policy Is another Name of the US Peace Engagement Policy," KCNA, August 17, 1999.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1346</sup> "South Korean Government Briefed Former President Carter and His Team," *Yonhap News*, April 21, 2011.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1347</sup> "Response to Carter's Visit to Pyongyang," *Seoul Shinmun*, April 30, 2011; "Carter's Visit Was a Wrong Idea," *Donga Ilbo*, April 28, 2011.

Among 17 Jaapnese civilians abducted by North Korea only five Japanese returned. North Korea explained that the rest were dead. Prime Minister Shinzo Abe set up a special task force on the issue in 2006. "Japan's Problem with N.Korea Talks," *Times*, December 17, 2007.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1349</sup> When Japan's Prime Minister Yasuo Fukuda raised the abduction issue during President Bush's visit to Japan, President Bush did not promise to negotiate this issue with North Korea. "Japan is Focused only on Abduction Issue," *Hankuk Ilbo*, November 20, 2007.

that such a political issue, unrelated to the nuclear issue, could be an obstacle in the six-party talks.<sup>1350</sup> Not only the abduction issue, but also Japan's cooperation with the US, antagonized North Korea as Pyongyang insisted that Japan's demands of resolving non-nuclear issues be removed from the agenda and furthermore blamed Japan's participation in the US missile system. After North Korea launched a three-stage, solid fuel, intermediate-range missile in August 1998, Japan's security outlook changed, and North Korea's advanced missile program complicated issues related to its nuclear weapons program. <sup>1351</sup>

China's role was minimal because China did not play a significant role in influencing North Korea, and therefore was less discussed in this study. The US expected that China would exert its leverage to pressure North Korea, which was one of the reasons that the US asked Chinas to become a host country of the six-party talks. Chinese frustration with North Korea's nuclear weapons program was serious, because the nuclear crisis could threaten China's interest in preserving stability in Northeast Asia. However, China's official position has been not to destabilize North Korea although China's tolerance of North Korea's defiant actions is being challenged after two nuclear tests and several missile tests. <sup>1352</sup> Indeed, China made clear that force should not be used to enforce UNSC resolution 1874 even after North Korea's second nuclear test on May 25, 2009, and these attempts have discouraged other parties from adopting a more restrictive, hard-line stance against North Korea. <sup>1353</sup> China intended to keep the status quo as long as North Korea did not disturb China's domestic situation and put it in a difficult situation by causing international concerns such as attempting to sell nuclear materials to other states or non-state actors.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1350</sup> The relationship between Japan and South Korea worsened as many South Koreans were upset about former Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi's repeated visit to Yasukuni Shrine to memorialize Japan's war dead. "Japan's Intention to Justify War against Korea Needs to Be Exterminated," *Hankuk Ilbo*, March 24, 2005.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1351</sup> For the impact of North Korea's missile program, see Bhubindar Singh, "The 1998 North Korean Missile Launch and the 'Normalization' of Japanese Statehood," *Issues and Studies* 37, no. 3 (Autumn, 2001): 142-62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1352</sup> Zhu Rongji, former Premier of the China, commented at the ninth National People's Congress that it is not China's right to intervene with North Korea's missile and nuclear weapons development in March 1999. "China, Welcoming Mood without Official Comment" *Hankuk Ilbo*, March 18, 1999.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1353</sup> "Adoption of the UN Resolution, Still Unclear," *Yonhap News*, October 12, 2006, accessed April 2, 2007, http://article.joins.com/article/article.asp?ctg=1005&Total\_ID=2472683.

At the risk of antagonizing China, a host state of the six-party talks, <sup>1354</sup> Pyongyang insisted on a year-long boycott of the talk while demanding that the US negotiate an end to its crackdown on North Korea's counterfeiting of US currency at a separate meeting. <sup>1355</sup> North Korea conducted a nuclear test after giving a short notice to Beijing, <sup>1356</sup> and China's loss of tolerance was also expressed by its state-run media, which revealed discontent about North Korea's refusal to return to the six-party talks and gave coverage to international condemnation of North Korea. <sup>1357</sup> However, the irony is that, although Hu Jintao's China re-evaluated its traditional relations with North Korea, North Korea's strategic value to China depended on how much trouble it caused China. Therefore, North Korea managed to handle the counterblow following its first nuclear test without jeopardizing its relationship with China, which opposed resolving the crisis by non-diplomatic means.

Besides, China during the 2000s was mostly pre-occupied with social progress and economic growth. <sup>1358</sup> China's trade with North Korea increased by 18 percent in 2010, indicating that Beijing did not intend to use its economic leverage on North Korea. <sup>1359</sup> While the US showed an inclination to see the rise of China as the most pressing concern for US foreign policy, China was very much concerned about increasing US influence on its allies, although it continued to adopt a low profile as long as North Korea or Taiwan were not involved. <sup>1360</sup> Besides, South Korean claims that China's handling of the six-party talks belittled

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1354</sup> Gregory J. Moore, "How North Korea Threatenes China's Interests: Understanding Chinese 'duplicity' on the North Korean Nuclear Issue," *Internatioal Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 8, no. 1 (2008): 8; Heungkyu Kim, "From a Buffer Zone to Strategic Burden," in Sino-US Relations and Korean Peninsula," *The Korean Journal of Defense Analysis* 22, no. 1 (March 2010): 57-74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1355</sup> Even China commented that North Korea "disregarded the opposition of the international community". "Obama: North Korean Nuclear Test "a Grave Threat", *CNN*, May 25, 2009, accessed October 21, 2011, http://articles.cnn.com/2009-05-25/politics/us.north.korea.react\_1\_north-korea-stability-in-northeast-asia-communist-state?\_s=PM:POLITICS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1356</sup> Glenn Kessler, "N.Korea Agrees to Return to Talks," Washington Post, November 1, 2006, A01.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1357</sup> Keith Bradsher and James Brooke, "Chinese News Media Critical of North Korea," *New York Times*, Feb. 13, 2005, A4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1358</sup> Promoting economic development and enhancing people's standard of living have been the principle tasks of Chinese government. Xiong Yonggen, "Rethinking Education, National Security and Social Stability in China" (paper prepared for the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies Conference, April 17-19, 2001). <sup>1359</sup> "Increase of 18% in China-DPRK Trade This Year," *Yonhap News*, July 6, 2010.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1360</sup> Robert G. Sutter, China's Rise in Asia: Promise and Perils (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005), 168.

the South Korean role could increase tensions. <sup>1361</sup> The issue of Chinese-Korean differences over the historical range of China and Korean states emerged. Territorial claims become prominent disputes among Chinese and Korean historians. <sup>1362</sup> The Chinese position on North Korea was seen as at odds with South Korea, since Beijing seemed to preserve North Korea as a buffer for keeping its status quo. In this sense, China sustained the nuclear crisis.

The prolonged campaign in Iraq and liberal internationalism had a negative influence on cooperation among the US and its two strategic partners. China and Russia held their joint military exercise "Peace Mission" in 2005, 2007, 2009 and 2010, showing their political motive strengthen their relationship with the US. 1363 The Shanghai Cooperation Organization with six members—Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan—issued the declaration of its creation, showing a strong attention to regional security issues. The message to the US was a new balance of power in the North East Asian region, against a strengthened US-Japan alliance posture. China was also critical about the US-backed Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI). 1364

<sup>1361</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1362</sup> South Korean media made it a volatile issue, reporting that territorial issue is the most important dispute in China-South Korea relations in 2004.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1363</sup> Sergey Balmsasov, "Russia and china Hold Peace Mission Drills to Show USA its Place," PRAVDA, July 20, 2009; Richard Weitz, "China's Growing Clout in the SCO: Peace Mission 2010," China Brief 10, no. 20 (2010).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1364</sup> The US sought UN endorsement of the PSI, and the Security Council Resolution 1540 did not provide any explicit support to the PSI, but it called on states to participate in international cooperation to monitor and enforce domestic controls to curve proliferation. Seong Ho Shin, "Preempting Proliferation of WMD: Proliferation Security Initiative and its Challenges," *Korean Journal of Defense Analyses* 16, no. 2 (2004): 109-129.

#### Conclusion

The North Korean nuclear crisis lasted almost twenty years. At the beginning of the crisis in the early 1990s, North Korea's nuclear capability was extremely primitive and thus far from ready to produce the quantity of plutonium needed for a stockpile of atomic weapons. However, North Korea conducted two nuclear tests in the 2000s, and it is currently developing uranium enrichment capability and constructiing an indigenously designed experimental light water reactor. If North Korea had been a state with persistent nuclear ambitions from the beginning, the odds of realizing the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula might be small. However, it should be noted that North Korea reacted to actual threats in order to escape from escalating tension by making a series of reactions and counter-reactions. North Korea did not only show defiant attitude and surprise the international community by making provocative actions that defied international expectations; it also expressed its willingness to seek a resolution to the crisis by improving its bilateral relationship with the US and showing cooperation with the IAEA when positive interactions intermittently occurred.

We should pay attention to North Korea's remarks when it conducted its first nuclear test: it argued that the test constituted a positive measure for the implementation of the agreement reached at the six-party talks and that it conducted its nuclear test in order to denuclearize the Korean peninsula. To understand what these paradoxical remarks mean requires a study of North Korea's perspective. It is not easy to look into the mindset of this reclusive regime. However, examining North Korea's rhetoric and reaction to external stimuli, we can at least infer what North Korea intended to signal, expect, and achieve for the realization of what it claims is the legacy of Kim Il Sung—the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. Therefore, this study examines the way North Korea's interests were constructed by an intersubjectively held understanding of the antagonistic structure and how its actions were caused as a response to the attitudes of others with whom North Korea had adversarial relationships.

This dissertation has explored one of the most serious issues in nuclear nonproliferation:

Why does North Korea resist international calls for its denuclearization, and how has North Korea rationalized its pursuit of nuclear weapons programs? The world has seen that North Korea boycotted negotiations, initiated a set of provocations, and increased tension while continuing clandestine nuclear activities. However, this was not a single event but a series of escalating negative interactions. For the purpose of conducting theoretically rigorous research, this study applied two theoretical frameworks—negative identification and negative interaction—developed from the existing constructivist literatures to explore how North Korea's failure to form a positive identity and experience positive interactions within an antagonistic structure underlies Pyongyang's valuation of its nuclear weapons program. Noticing that North Korea argued that it was compelled to substantially prove its possession of nuclear weapons to protect its sovereignty, this study did not treat North Korea's noncompliance merely as a nonsensical anomaly but examined the international, regional, and domestic variables pertinent to the negative identification and negative interaction which Pyongyang used to rationalize its pursuit of the nuclear weapons program. It explored not only the influence of North Korea's domestic ideology on North Korea's nuclear policy, but also North Korea's relationship with others, its geopolitical setting, the characterization of North Korea's negative image, and the perceptual gap in understanding the significant issues between North Korea and other major actors, which all negatively affected Pyongyang's perception of Washington's commitment and the prospect of resolving the nuclear crisis.

This study examined how the first North Korean nuclear crisis proceeded, identified the causes that made it impossible to reach a synthesis of North Korea's interests and international demands, and sought to understand its implications for the second nuclear crisis. The first chapter presented the theoretical framework of this study. The second chapter provided a further explanation of how a constructivist approach can be applied to an analysis of how North Korea's noncompliant attitude toward the external demand for denuclearization was shaped. It explored the construction and development of the nuclear taboo and an application of these

concepts to the case study of North Korea's decision to develop nuclear weapons. The third chapter discussed the context of the first nuclear crisis, focusing on the dialectical development of the crisis and changes in North Korea's attitude. It examined three developmental phases of the crisis, until North Korea and the international community agreed on a temporary settlement. The fourth chapter explored various factors that caused North Korea's negative identification by showing how North Korea shaped its nuclear policy based on the prism of its unique political doctrine; how the competitive environment guided North Korea's noncooperative behavior throughout the negotiation process; how a complicated triangular relationship among the US, South Korea, and North Korea shaped an antagonistic structure that increased North Korea's provocative actions; and how a fixed negative image led to the isolation of North Korea from the international community. The fifth chapter examined the factors that contributed to North Korea's negative interaction and decreased the likelihood of it embracing cooperative nuclear arrangements. It examined how a gap between codified principles and actual practices stimulated North Korea's questioning of the legitimacy of existing beliefs and its reaction to perceived discrimination, how the absence of timely actions caused by inattention and inaction of the international community led to North Korea's provocative actions in an attempt to make a breakthrough, how the discord between the priorities of the US and North Korea resulted in a prolonged deadlock, and how conflicting interests among the key actors caused them to take divergent approaches that led to a stalemate of the nuclear talks. The sixth chapter examined what caused a recurrence of similar patterns during the second nuclear crisis and a repeat of North Korea's negative identification and negative interaction.

This study is significant because North Korea's nuclear crisis poses grave concerns for nuclear proliferation, and therefore for understanding why and how North Korea was driven to develop its nuclear weapons program. This analysis helps us better understand the obstacles generated by complex internal Korean dynamics, conflicting interests among the major players concerned, and find better approaches to resolve the crisis. Previous studies describe how

certain attitudes to nuclear nonproliferation emerged and how these constrained a state's nuclear aspiration, but not much attention has been paid to why such attitudes are not universally held. Previous studies explored the question of why North Korea made the decision to go nuclear, but presented their views mainly through the lens of realism. In fact, most noticeable in most discussions of North Korea is the glaring absence of North Korea. In other words, the way North Korea viewed and reacted to the external stimuli is not well presented or analyzed. Furthermore, only a few of these studies have explored the issue of the nuclear crisis on the Korean peninsula before the outbreak of the second nuclear crisis in 2002, even though the current situation cannot be separated from the crisis in the 1990s. By contrast, this study applied the constructivist approach to the proliferation puzzle. While other studies have focused on security rationales rather than a comprehensive analysis of both the contextual and ideational variables that shaped North Korea's nuclear policy decision-making process, this study carefully examined the antagonistic structure arguably drove North Korea into a corner where it perceived itself to be running out of options.

The findings of this study challenge the existing belief that North Korea's actions were unpredictable and that Pyongyang has continued to act defiantly in order to increase its gains from negotiations. This study argued that the nuclear crisis has taken a dialectical course, beginning with lingering suspicion and worsening until positive interactions took place. This study showed that, although North Korea's cooperative attitude changed when Pyongyang perceived itself to be alone and pressured to take actions without its own demands being considered, there was a great deal of consistency in Pyongyang's demands and reactions to outside pressures. This includes its denial that it is developing a nuclear weapons program, reacting to unfulfilled promises, fear of violating taboo, and direct engagement in talks with the US. The analysis of the antagonistic structure where the difficulty to coordinate positions of all the players almost paralyzed the overall negotiation process and the pre-existing suspicion that a violation of taboo would be sought by North Korea in a way that was dangerous to the

international community hindered positive interactions draws our attention to the assertion that the continued crisis was not simply sustained by North Korea's isolated act of irrationality. This study also showed that the second nuclear crisis broke out in a situation where the causes of contention between North Korea and the others could only be displaced, not eliminated, which signifies the need to extend the scope of analysis to the structure that produced and reproduced negative outcomes, not limited to North Korea.

The findings of this study confirm several key arguments of social constructivism. The importance of reciprocity in North Korea's identity formation addressed in this study supports the constructivist argument that the construction of self and interest tends to mirror the practices of significant others. In explaining North Korea's negative identification, this study showed that North Korea's externalization of its domestic principles, its unsuccessful struggle for recognition, and its predetermined image of a "rogue" state intent on acquiring nuclear weapons—all these led North Korea to perceive hostility toward its regime. In particular, the analysis of the triangular relationship among North Korea, South Korea, and the US explains how the nuclear rivalry and a competitive relationship between the two Koreas shaped North Korea's perception of a hostile environment. The troubled relationship between North Korea and the US also caused North Korea to lack trust in its counterpart, resulting in difficulties in carrying out agreed actions. This finding confirmed Zehfuss's argument that how actors construe their identity in relation to others affects the way that they understand the environment. 1365 This study showed that North Korea shaped its nuclear policy based on its unique political doctrine based on *Juche*, and exercised the right of self-determination, which intensified the antagonistic environment that again worsened North Korea's perception that the hostility toward its regime was overwhelming. This finding also supports Hopf's argument that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1365</sup> Zehfuss, Maja. *Constructivism in International Relations: The Politics of Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

identity supplies information about a state's likely behavior in a particular situation. 1366

In explaining North Korea's negative interaction, this study showes that its resistance to the politicization of the IAEA and toughening inspections only increased the Agency's doubts about any suspicious events in the North. The negative discourse through discursive narrations consolidated a negative image of North Korea, whose counter-reactions to this belief, in turn, solidified the international community's pre-existing suspicion into belief. This finding supports Wendt's argument that social threats are constructed through a process of signaling and interpreting. <sup>1367</sup> In addition, this study examines the argument that the discord between the priorities among major actors resulted in a prolonged deadlock not only in agreeing on agendas to be discussed, but also in implementing measures to be taken by each side. All of this worsened North Korea's perception of a hostile environment and caused it to reevaluate its nuclear weapons program. This finding confirms Chafetz's assertion that negative interactions cause states to see themselves as adversaries. <sup>1368</sup>

Like other international relations scholars who have integrated hypotheses from other disciplines and expanded the range of research programs, social constructivism has expanded the theoretical discourse by explaining the inter-disciplinary foundations in sociology. This study takes social constructivism as a research methodology with the view toward demonstrating the socio-psychological aspect of the nuclear crisis. By arguing that North Korea's negative interaction and negative identification caused North Korea to be less affected by social interactions, this study also contributes to the existing literature on constructivism that discusses when the "dog does not bark"—a case where state interests, in the presence of a norm, are not shaped. This study seeks to elucidate the meaning and characteristics of taboo in order to draw an explicit distinction between a norm and a taboo as the basis of developing a sound

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1366</sup> Ted Hopf, "The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory," *International Security* 23, no.1(1998): 171-200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1367</sup> Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 328-35. <sup>1368</sup> Glenn Chafetz, "The Struggle for a National Identity in Post-Soviet Russia," *Political Science Quarterly* 111, no. 4 (Winter 1996-1997): 661-688.

basis for future research not only on states' restraint in pursuing nuclear weapons, but also on states' challenges to the nuclear nonproliferation regime. This study extends the discussion of nuclear taboo to the "non pursuit" of nuclear weapons, not just to the policy declaration of non-use of nuclear weapons, which helps us to better understand the phenomenon of nuclear proliferation in the contemporary world.

Several policy implications flow from the findings of this study. This study examined issues that were temporarily resolved or unresolved to show why North Korea and the others could not agree on developing a mutually agreeable settlement, which suggests that a reemergence of contention may be inevitable under the current antagonistic structure. The conflict between North Korea's domestically held beliefs and imposed rules help us understand North Korea's perspective and foresee patterns of behavior. By showing that Pyongyang hinted its willingness to eliminate nuclear programs if certain demands were met, this study suggests that it is worthwhile to engage North Korea in future negotiations based on an understanding of it's key concerns. This study also argues that a lack of coordination of the different interests among actors, such as South Korea's insistence of making advances in inter-Korean relations as a precondition for resuming nuclear talks with North Korea, the IAEA's additional request of conducting special inspections, and South Korea and Japan's interest in imposing toughened verification mechanism, all hindered progress. The recognition of these dilemmas in prioritization and coordination will be of some help in developing future strategies. In addition, this study points out that slow implementation fostered suspicion on both sides, while the marginalization of North Korean issues during the period of tentative settlement prompted North Korea to take whatever measures it deemed necessary. This finding highlights the importance of reciprocity and mutual respect in negotiation with North Korea, and suggests that short-term stability on the Korean peninsula is unlikely to dissuade North Korea from taking provocative actions in the long run.

Although the findings of this study contributed to the existing literature, the materials

available to the public are not sufficient for understanding the root causes of the North Korean nuclear crisis or in predicting North Korea's behavior. Therefore, future study is required to examine North Korea's domestic impulse, including perception of decision-makers, to accurately identify and predict changes in North Korea's behavior. In particular, caution should be exercised in making generalizations because this is a single-case study that cannot provide generalized predictions about a state's behavior. In the end, the decision by North Korea to pursue a nuclear weapons program offers insights on how negative interactions can cause a state to "go nuclear," while it should be noted that its decision was made in a unique environment. There are unanswered questions to be addressed in future research: What will lead to changes in North Korea's nuclear policy during the transition of leadership? Will the North Korea's closer relationship with China and Russia affect North Korea's negative identification? How does the North Korea-Iran connection change North Korea's influence on US security and affect the US proliferation policy toward North Korea? This study serves as a potential basis for examining these and other interesting research projects.

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