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AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ VE ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
SİYASET BİLİMİ VE ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER
ANABİLİM DALI
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NUCLEAR WILL OF OF NORTH KOREA:
AN EXCEPTIONAL CASE OF DETERRENCE STRATEGY

PREPARED BY
GÖRKEM KOÇTAŞ

ANKARA-2018

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ANKARA-2018

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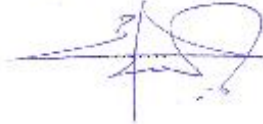
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ÖZET

Dünyanın en fazla ilgi gören devletlerin biri olan Kuzey Kore, uluslararası sistemin tanık olduğu eşsiz ülkelerden biri olmuştur. Benzersiz *Juche* rejimi ve eşsiz liderleri ile, Kuzey Kore nükleer silah geliştirme konusundaki kararlılığını hala devam ettirmektedir. 1950'de Kore Savaşı ve 38. Paralel ile kuruluşundan bu yana, Kuzey Kore askeri alandaki kitle imha silahlarını geliştirmeye çalışmaktadır. SSCB'nin yardımı ile Kuzey Kore, Nükleer silah programını 1980'de barışçıl kullanımlar için olduğunu söyleyerek başlatabilmiş ancak, almış olduğu söz konusu yardım ABD ve Avrupa ülkelerini rahatsız etmiştir. Bu nedenle Kuzey Kore 1993 yılında Nükleer Silahların Yayılmasını Önleme Antlaşması'nı imzalamaya zorlanmış, daha sonra anlaşmadan çekildiğini söylemiştir. Her ne kadar 1991'de SSCB çökmüş olsa da, Kuzey Kore nükleer silahlara olan bağlılığını bırakmamıştır.

2011'de babasının ani ölümü yüzünden liderliği devralan yeni lider, Kim Jong Un, kitle imha silahlarını geliştirmek ve test etmek konusunda babasından ve büyükbabasından daha saldırgan bir politika takip etmiştir. Kuzey Kore, 2009 füze testlerinden bu yana, 2012'de füze denemesini başarıyla tamamlamıştır. Böylece, Kuzey Kore , uluslararası sistemin önünde, nükleer füzeleri ile devletler için büyük tehdit haline gelmiştir. Kuzey Kore'nin baş düşmanlarından biri olarak saydığı ABD de, Kuzey Kore'nin nükleer güce sahip olmamasını isteyen ülkelerdendir. Donald Trump'ın ABD başkan olmasıyla ve Kore yarımadasının Kuzey kısmına “ateş ve öfke sözleriyle, iki devletin ilişkileri daha da kötüleşmiştir.

Ancak, her iki ülkenin ilişkileri gerginleşse de , Kuzey Kore, kitlesel imha silahlarını ABD ve müttefiklerine caydırıcı bir etken olarak kullanmaya devam etmektedir. Kuzey Kore, zamanında SSCB'nin nükleer silahlara sahip olduğunu ve bu füzelerle ABD'ye meydan okuduğunu ve hatta bunları bir caydırıcı etki olarak kullandığını bilmektedir. Nükleer silah

programını caydırıcı bir strateji olarak kullanan Kuzey Kore, kitlesel imha silahlarını geliştirmeye ve ABD ve diğer devletlere de kafa tutmaya devam etmektedir.

Kuzey Kore, nükleer füzelerinin verdiği caydırıcılık avantajı ile diğer ülkeleri özellikle ABD'yi kendi iç ve dış politikasından uzak tutabilmeyi başarmıştır. Kuzey Kore neden Nükleer silahlanmayı geliştirmek ve sahip olmak istiyor soru altında, Vaka çalışması yaklaşımını kullanarak sorumu cevaplamaya çalıştım. Vaka çalışması yaklaşımı, bir problemi farklı açılardan inceler ve bu tez de nitel bir tez olduğu için bu tekniğin uygun olduğu düşünülmüştür. Tezde iki sonuca ulaşılmıştır: İlk sonuç Kuzey Kore için, ikinci sonuç ise diğer devletler içindir. İlk sonuçta, Kuzey Kore'nin, eşsiz ve rakipsiz rejimin farkında olduğu ve herhangi bir müdahaleyi, özellikle ABD ve diğer devleti engelleyebilmek için nükleer silahlarını caydırıcılık aracı olarak kullandığı noktasına ulaşılmıştır. Bu yüzden de Kuzey Kore'nin, rejimi, ekonomisi ve geleceği için nükleer güce ihtiyacı vardır. İkinci sonuç için ise, bütün devletlerin nükleer silahlanma hakkında Kuzey Kore karşı nedenleri olduğu belirtilebilir. Lakin, bütün devletlerin ortak bir görüşü var: Kuzey Kore dünyaya bir tehdit olmamalı ve nükleer gücü yayılmamalı. Çünkü İkinci Dünya Savaşı, nükleer savaşın sadece kaos, milyonlarca ölüm getirmesine örnek teşkil etmiştir. Bu yüzden, devletler Kuzey Kore'nin kitlesel imha silahlarını geliştirme ve sahip olma hırsına karşı çıkmaktadırlar. Birleşmiş Milletler tarafından uygulanan yaptırımlarla Kuzey Kore durdurulmaya çalışılmaktadır, ama Kuzey Kore, nükleer silahlanmayı bırakacak gibi de gözükmemektedir.

ABSTRACT

As being state who gained the most attention from all over the world, North Korea has been one of the unique countries which international system has ever seen. With her sole and unparalleled *Juche* regime which emphasizes on government's self-reliance policy and unpredictable leaders, North Korea has not ceased her dedication to develop nuclear weapons. Since her establishment in 1950 with Korea War and also with 38th Parallel, Democratic People's Republic of Korea have been trying to enhance her military, economy, industry and also mass weapons of destruction programme. With Union of Soviet Socialist Republics assistance, North Korea was able to start her Nuclear Weapon programme by saying that it was for peaceful uses in 1980. However, her abrupt development and receiving aid from the Soviet Union disturbed USA and European countries. Therefore, North Korea signed Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons in 1993 but she said that she withdrew from the agreement which led first North Korea Nuclear crisis to break out. Although USSR(Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) was collapsed in 1991, North Korea has not left her devotion to nuclear weapons. With her new leader, Kim Jong Un who took power from his father's abrupt death in 2011, have been aggressive for developing and testing mass weapons of destruction. Since 2009, North Korea made her first missile test in 2012 which was done successfully. Thus, North Korea has become a serious threat which could cause a major effect with her missiles in the international area. North Korea's possession of nuclear weapons gives concern to her neighbours and also USA who she designated as her archenemy. With President Donald Trump's inauguration and his words of "bring Fire and Fury" to Northern part of Korean peninsula, made two state's relationship to be conflicted. However, relations of USA and North Korea have been strained ever since. DPRK(Democratic People's Republic of Korea) knows that USSR possessed mass weapons of destruction and used them as deterrent strategy.

And she challenged the USA with those weapons. Thus, North Korea, with her nuclear power, she is able to maintain her unique *Juche* regime as well as her politics both inside and outside without any state especially USA to interfere.

Therefore, by using nuclear weapons programme as a deterrence strategy, North Korea have been advancing in her programme and continuing to challenge USA and other states with her mass weapons of destruction. Under the question of why North Korea is willing to develop and possess nuclear weapons and in order to answer and defend thesis question, case study approach is used which approaches a problem with different angles. As the thesis qualitative one, two results were reached. The first result for North Korea's and the second result for other state's. For the first result, it is indicated that North Korea is aware of her unique and unparalleled regime and therefore, in order to avoid USA and also other states to interfere her politics and destroy her regime, she uses nuclear weapons a deterrence tool. Accordingly, North Korea needs mass weapons of destruction in order to support her regime, economy and future of her country. For the second result, all of the states have their reasons for North Korea in terms of mass weapons of destruction. However, they all compromise on one thing: They do not want North Korea to be threat to whole world. In addition, they are against proliferation of nuclear weapons. Because in the past, Second World War set an example of a nuclear war which could only bring chaos, millions of casualties. Therefore, states are against North Korea's ambition to develop mass weapons of destruction. Although they are trying to stop her with sanctions by the United Nations, North Korea does not seem to give up her nuclear weapons yet.

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ABBREVIATIONS

DPRK: DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA

ROK : REPUBLIC OF KOREA

USSR: UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALISTS REPUBLICS

USA: UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

UK: UNITED KINGDOM

NPT: NUCLEAR NON-PROFILERATION TREATY

ICBM: INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTIC MISSILE

THAAD: TERMINAL HIGH ALTITUDE DEFENSE SYSTEM

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INTRODUCTION

World has seen adverse, ruthless many wars which made her to suffer for a long time. The way states' dealing with the wars and also with their interests has changed over time. The development of technologies, especially in the weapons, was used in order to deter the enemy and also dismay. No matter how successful was weapons which used in many wars, gave their place to more effective and more destructive; Nuclear Weapons. "Nuclear Weapons was first made in the United States¹ in order not to Germany, under the Hitler regime, develop any mass weapons of destruction". With the approval of the USA's President, Franklin D Roosevelt, the Manhattan Project was established. Eventually, in 1945, USA attacked Japan with two atomic bombs which no other state had used before. In order to defeat Japan during the Second World War, the mass weapons of destruction made thousands of people to die. Therefore, the usage of mass weapons of destruction made security policies of states' in the international system to change and during the Cold War area, led deterrence theory to be born.

Deterrence theory, with the two super powers; USA and USSR, was emerged during the Cold War. The theory emphasizes that two states who have nuclear weapons, are well aware of the consequences of the nuclear attack as ; if opponent state will attack with mass weapons of destruction to another state, who also has nuclear weapons, the retaliation will be inevitable. Therefore, the consequences of nuclear war will be much worse for both states as well as rest of the world. Thus, deterrence will avoid both states to attack each other with mass weapons of destruction. The example of deterrence theory can be given as Cuban Missile Crisis. USA and USSR was going to attack each other with nuclear weapons because of USSR's deployment of nuclear weapons in Cuba. However, USA and USSR could not take risk to initiate such nuclear war and deterrence theory was emerged and emphasized.

¹ Ozgur,Salih.Gelecege Yönelen Tehdit? Kitle İmha Silahları. IQ Kultur Sanat Press,Istanbul,2006.

After the Cuban Crisis, Korean War broke out with the North Korea's invasion of South Korea's recent capital, Seoul. After the war was ended with Demilitarized Zone which made two Koreas to divide, North Korea has been ruled by *Juche* Regime and South Korea has been ruled by democracy. North Korea, as she is influenced by USSR's ideologies, established a regime and a "military first ideology" which is called *Songun* and still unique in the whole world. According to DPRK's constitution, North Korea is led by the ideologies of *Juche* and *Songun* and these ideologies are meant to put DPRK's people on centre as well as giving independence to them.² *Juche* regime emphasizes self-reliance as DPRK relies on her economy, industry, army without any help of the foreign aid. For *Songun* ideology, DPRK puts their "military first principle" before anything else. With her unique regime, culture, economy and also with the development of nuclear weapons, DPRK made other states to pay attention because of security concerns.

This research will provide reasons why North Korea has to have nuclear weapons in order to guarantee its future. DPRK's ambition to develop and possess mass weapons of destruction was begun since 1950's. During that period, North Korea focused on practical uses of nuclear energy and the completion of a nuclear weapon development system after which it began to operate facilities for uranium fabrication and conversion"³. With the assistance of USSR, DPRK was able to develop nuclear weapons in time. However, the enhancement of mass weapons of destruction disturbed the Western states, especially, USA. Therefore; DPRK signed an agreement which called NPT as Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. However, DPRK did not meet with the conditions as she did not want International Atomic Energy do inspect their nuclear weapons program. Therefore, she declared that she withdrew from the agreement. Since then, North Korea has been advancing in nuclear

² Isozaki, Atsuhito. Understanding the North Korean Regime. Wilson Center. April, 2017.

³ Ibid.

weapons program in order to survive her regime, improve her economy as well as prevent any Western state, especially USA to interfere her policies.

In the first chapter of the research, North Korea's historical and theoretical backgrounds are emphasized through the Classical Deterrence Theory. In the historical background, how North Korea was established and who were the leaders at that time were emphasized. In the theoretical background, starting from Realism to Deterrence Theory, pioneers, examples are indicated as well as how North Korea uses Deterrence theory accordance to her politics are shown. In the second chapter, internal and external reasons are explained as why North Korea needs a nuclear weapons and it is analysed through factors and also in the first place, how mass weapons of destructions are developed, are emphasized. In the third chapter, the international responses of the states and their interests towards North Korea's intention to possess mass weapons of destruction are explained. In addition, other than states, reactions of international organizations towards DPRK are also indicated. Especially in the second chapter, the reasons for internal and external reasons are examined one by one which composes the whole research.

The aim of this research is to analyse why North Korea is desperately need for mass weapons of destruction .By requiring and enhancing nuclear weapons, North Korea is both drawing an attention and giving fear to states who also possess nuclear weapons in order her regime to survive. As Kim Jong-Un says "My entire strategy, all our efforts and the hardships we have borne-is to ensure that my regime and I survive."⁴

⁴ Zakaria,Fareed. Kim Jong Un-Smart and Strategic?. Washington Post. Access Date: 16.05.2018.
https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/kim-jong-un--smart-and-strategic/2017/09/14/0c28a516-9988-11e7-82e4-f1076f6d6152_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.c5e3adee79ae September 14,2017.

CHAPTER 1 : HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

1.1 RESEARCH QUESTION AND METHODOLOGY

In this research, my aim is to examine why North Korea is willing to develop and possess nuclear weapons. As my research is qualitative one, I adopted a case study approach in order to find an answer to my research question. Case study approach examines a particular problem which population come across as well as it is examined through different angles and perspectives. Thus, I have begun to examine DPRK's initiation of development of nuclear weapons. By examining how and why she established nuclear sites as well as nuclear weapons at first place, I have started to collect her reasons for them. DPRK's reasons for developing mass weapons of destruction are various. However, I tried to give main component of her reasons as well as giving the details of military, media, economy and social life of North Korea. Furthermore, after giving North Korea's reasons, I stressed states' reasons beginning from USA to Japan. In addition to why states do not want North Korea to possess nuclear power, I also examined organizations reasons such as United Nations and ASEAN. Therefore, I believe the implications of my argument are relevant for helping to explain why North Korea does need nuclear weapons.

1.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF NORTH KOREA

North Korea, before its division, was under Japanese rule. From 1910 to World War II, it was dominated by Japan and most of Koreans were doing farming for earning a living. With development of mines, steel mills and producing plants in northern Korea, working class of Koreans were increased in number. Subsequently, the Korean went to Manchuria to work in 1930's. One of the military groups were led by Kim Il Sung and he was the young commander in the Soviets. After returning to home, Kim Il Sung established North Korea at the end of the Second World War.⁵

During in World War II, in the conferences of Tehran Conference and Yalta, USSR vowed that it would join the war to its allies in three months. However, after USSR declared war on Japan in 1945, U.S.A was afraid that USSR could dominate entire Korean peninsula. Therefore, U.S.A proposed the 38th parallel to draw a line between USSR in 10th August. The 38th line gave South Korea to under USA control and for USSR, North Korea. When the Korean people heard the news of the end of the war and their freedom from Japanese oppression, they were overjoyed. However, when they heard that their country was divided into two; they were disappointed. The parallel caused sixteen million Koreans to place in South Korea and nine million in North Korea. The division was accepted in 17th August 1945, after the surrender of Japan. At the meantime, Kim Il Sung returned to North Korea from USSR as a Soviet army captain. He was supported by the Soviets which led him to become the head of Korean Communist Party. The party led Workers Party of North Korea to emerge and Kim Il Sung also became party chairman. In 1946, North Korea established a de facto government and in 1947, they also formed their own constitution but DPRK did not engaged in any political issues in south. At the meantime, U.S President Harry S.Truman declared

⁵ Jr,Bechtol,E,Bruce, *North Korea and Support to Terrorism: An Evolving History*. Journal of Strategic Security. Volume 3.201

Truman Doctrine in March 12,1947. The doctrine was formed by U.S.A in order to fight against the spread of the communism.

In August 1948, a nationwide election was held in order to set up the Korean Supreme People's Assembly and later, Assembly elected Kim Il-sung as its President. Kim Il Sung, then, created DPRK's regime which is called *Juche*. It is a state ideology which government has been leading her policy since 1950's. In addition, in order to support state's ideologies, Kim Il Sung's son Kim Jong Il ,his successor, created" *Songun*" ideology. *Songun* which is a state function, exalts the Korean People's army in DPRK. In the government and society, it has an uppermost position which also leads both domestic and foreign affairs.⁶ So far, DPRK has been governed with two ideologies. Kim il Sung's grandson, Kim Jong Un, recent leader of DPRK, adopted *Byungjin* policy which focuses on the parallel development of economy and nuclear weapons, on March 31,2013.⁷ With this policy, North Korean leader ,Kim Jong Un believes that it will boost their economic system as well as it will improve national defence capability; nuclear weapons. With *Byungjin* policy, Kim Jong Un, other than using it as a development of nuclear weapons and economic factors, uses this policy as a deterrence strategy. Furthermore, Kim Il Sung established DPRK on 9th September 1948.⁸ USSR recognized DPRK as an official state immediately. However, after the Soviets withdrew its troops, China officially had a triumph over Chinese Civil War. Korean soldiers and nationalists returned to their country so as to unify two Koreas. Eventually, in 25th June 1950, Korean War was begun.

Trying to make whole Korea as a communist nation, North Korea attacked the South in order to unify Korea under the Communist rule by the help of China and USSR. Therefore,

⁶ Alexander V. Vorontsov, 'North Korean Military-first policy: A curse or a blessing?' Brookings Institution, 26 May 2006, <<http://www.brookings.edu/research/opinions/2006/05/26northkorea-vorontsov>> 26 March 2007.

⁷ Whun,Cheon Seong. *The Kim Jong-Un Regime's "Byungjin" (Parallel Development) Policy of Economy and Nuclear Weapons and the "April 1st Nuclearization Law"*. Center For North Korean Studies,KINU.

⁸Lewick. Young. *The Korea Society*.2000

South Korea asked United Nations for military aid and United Nations sent forces to fight. After the war, the Armistice which was signed on July 27, 1973, was structured to cease all of the military troops' attacking and also to end war with a peaceful reconciliation.⁹ The armistice caused North and South Korea to be divided into two. Between North and South's borders, there is a Korean Demilitarized Zone which partitions the two states.

TABLE 1. NUMBERS OF CASUALTIES IN KOREA WAR¹⁰

	United States	United Nations	North Korea
Dead	54,246	628,833	Between 215,000- 350,000
Wounded	103,824	1.1 Million	303,000
Captured	7,140	92,970	Combined
Missing	8,177	470,267	Combined 120,000

⁹ Reuters Thomson. *Korean War Armistice Agreement*. FindLaw. Canada and United States: 27 July 1953. Archived from the original on 5 March 2014. Retrieved 5 March 2014.

¹⁰ Ibid.

1.3 NORTH KOREA'S FOREIGN POLICY UNDER THE CLASSICAL DETERRENCE THEORY

Throughout the history, wars, especially the Second World War, made theories to be born ; such as Realism or Political Realism and one of the important pioneers was Hans Morgenthau. After decades, Realism theory was turned into Neo-Realism which was first written by Kenneth Waltz in his book “ Theory of International Politics.”¹¹

Classical realism, which was associated with Hans Morgenthau and Reinhold Niebuhr and Carl von Clausewitz, was born in order to response to idealists after the Second World War. Realism as a theory, Hans Morgenthau indicates six principles but he emphasizes the main idea of the theory that states are acting in the international system through interest of power. For Morgenthau, he says that in the realism theory, interests and power have a relationship. However, in order to test the relationship between these two through the actions of statesmen is false.¹²In order to support his idea, he gives an example of Neville Chamberlain who was a former Prime Minister in the United Kingdom. Although Chamberlain was in favour of preserving peace in his policy, he initiated policies which made the Second World War not to be escape from.

Moreover, decades later, as an ideological departure, Neo-realism or Structural Realism was born in Kenneth Waltz's book, “Theory of International Politics.” For Waltz, Neo-Realism focuses the impacts of the structure of the international system if it is trying to clarify the consequences of international politics.¹³ Therefore, he emphasizes two principles of structural theory. First he indicates that anarchy is the principle of international system's

¹¹ According to Sagan 2004, p. 91 n.4, Waltz's book remains "the seminal text of neorealism".

¹² Uberbau. Summary of Morgenthau's “A Realist theory of International Relations”. April 25,2012.

<https://uberbau.wordpress.com/2012/04/25/summary-of-morgenthau-a-realist-theory-of-international-relations/> .
Access Date: 16.04.2018

¹³ Jakobsen,Jo. *Neorealism in International Relations* – Kenneth Waltz.2012.

<http://www.popularsocialscience.com/2013/11/06/neorealism-in-international-relations-kenneth-waltz/> Access
Date: 16.04.2018.

ordering.¹⁴ For him, there are no authorities such as world government and therefore, there is only one highest authority in the world; states. Thus, because of states do not need to give account to any higher authority; they can conduct with their “self-help system”¹⁵ in the principle of anarchy of Kenneth Waltz.

For the second principle, Waltz emphasizes “distribution of principles across the units inhabiting the international system”¹⁶. For him, power or capabilities modifies in accordance with the power which they possess between states. Thus, these principles construct a “pool table” in which they inherit goods such as substance which they are made of and form.¹⁷ in the international politics. To illustrate, Cold War can be an example for pool table. After the World War II, two super powers emerged; USA and USSR. The distribution of power system was changed and it caused the bipolar world to emerge. States who has great powers such as UK, France, Germany could no longer act according to their wish. Therefore, the biggest balls or the powerful states have the capability to do more than small “balls” or weak states .Thus, these two theories; Realism which was born after First World War and Neo-Realism which was born after the second World War, because of states’ interests in the international system and issues of security, power were born. Aftermath of these two theories, during Cold war, Deterrence theory was to be born.

The classical deterrence theory was born during Cold War and “states that one actor will deter another by convincing him that the expected value of a certain action is outweighed by the expected punishment.”¹⁸ To illustrate, during the Cold War, in which the tensions were pretty high between USA and USSR, Cuban Crisis was an example of deterrence theory. In the crisis, U.S government found out that USSR deployed nuclear weapons in Cuba and this

¹⁴ Ibid

¹⁵ Ibid

¹⁶ Ibid

¹⁷ Ibid

¹⁸ Zadravec, Michael. *Deterrence Theory and North Korean State*. November 17, 2017.

gave both concern and security dilemma to USA .However, for the deterrence theory, the two states are well aware of the consequences of the possible nuclear weapon attack. If one state attacks with her nuclear weapons, the other state will also retaliate with hers and the nuclear will give a birth to adverse consequences for the two states as well as the rest of the world. Therefore, because of fearing of the consequences of mass weapons of destruction, deterrence theory was emerged as a military strategy. In other words, as USA and USSR done this theory successfully, one nation cannot attack other nation in fear of receiving heavy punishment-possible nuclear attack as John Mearshiemer who is American political scientist says that the Deterrence Theory is best path to protect the peace in the bipolar system.¹⁹ Thus, with the deterrence theory, USA and USSR was able to keep their security concerns in balance as well as peace in the international system. In addition, as being an architect of nuclear deterrence, Bernard Brodie indicates that deterrence theory which was gained importance after the Second World War with the two atomic bombs which made Japan to suffer. Before Deterrence Theory, the main ambition to establish military forces was to reach a triumph in the wars. However, after the Second World War, the main purpose is to avoid them.²⁰. For Bernard Brodie, since the usage of the mass weapons of destruction in the Second World War, strategy of states, utilization of military as well as nuclear weapons has been advanced and evolved. If there is any possibility of nuclear weapon conflict in the international system, the war will be much savage, adverse than the Second World War. Therefore, Brodie states that, if states do not want war of any nuclear weapons as well crisis, they should find a way to avoid them. Otherwise, with the advancing nuclear technology as well as arms race, any conflict involving mass weapons of destruction will give a birth to severe consequences as the world have seen Japan who suffered from nuclear war.

¹⁹ Mearshiemer, John J. *Structural Realism*. 31.July,2006.

²⁰ Chisem, James. Nuclear Strategy and Deterrence: An Attempt to Rationalise the Irrational?. April 18,2011. <http://www.e-ir.info/2011/04/18/nuclear-strategy-and-deterrence-an-attempt-to-rationalise-the-irrational/> Access Date: 18.04.2018

Furthermore, after the Second World War, the relationship between USA and USSR was about to be constrained, the defense and deterrence strategy of U.S was composed by William Kauffmann who was political scientist. During the early Cold War, when U.S did not give enough significance to any potential USSR nuclear attack, Kaufmann said that if USA are forced to retaliate an attack massively, she will be suffering the consequences of the retaliate. Because USSR will be retaliating with a much bigger attack.²¹ In his words, he stated that how deterrence was important and, he showed U.S government to retaliate mass weapons of destruction attack with the deterrence theory as well as averting their nuclear weapons attack which gained importance. Moreover, Herman Kahn ,who was a founder of RAND cooperation and Hudson Institute, was a nuclear theorist and author of On Thermonuclear War. As Kenneth Waltz, Herman Kahn is explaining deterrence theory by giving an example of big balls and small balls on the pool table. He gives an example of USA and USSR confrontation in the Cold War as two big states can knock over small states that also possess nuclear weapons. In addition, he emphasizes the possibility of using mass weapons of destruction as nobody wants to be pioneer for killing more than one hundred people. ²²

Therefore, he indicates that even if USA and USSR had the opportunity to conduct a missile to each other, they were deterred to do so. Thus, as USA, in the future, if there is any possibility to attack a nuclear state, whether it is Russian Federation or not, should also be deterred again as well as the other states.

Moreover, another political scientist, Glenn Snyder, examines deterrence theory with defense by giving an example of the nuclear retaliation possibility between USA and USSR during the Cold War. Snyder says that the theory of deterrence is disheartening an enemy by having a nuclear weapons and also it is also functions on enemy's ambitions. In addition,

²¹ Ibid

²² TW, p. 241

deterrence theory also works on the enemy military moves as it diminishes them.²³ For defense, Thus, by emphasizing the importance of the strategy, Snyder indicates the scenario of USSR and USA nuclear weapons confrontation. If USA and USSR attacked each other with nuclear weapons, for USA, she would attack enough to damage many cities. And later, USSR would retaliate to USA by a nuclear surprise attack which causes bigger damage than USA. By indicating the scenario of Cold War which was not happened, Snyder wants to show possessing powerful mass weapons of destruction can lead state to being deterred to attack another. Furthermore, other than the presumption of the confrontation of USA and USSR with mass weapons of destruction, Thomas Schelling, who was an American economist and professor of foreign policy, examines deterrence theory with “credibility.” Deterrence credibility, as Schelling believes that “to coerce an opponent, the coercer needs to make their threats credible and acting irrationally helps the opponent believe the threats.”²⁴ Therefore, the coercer is deterring enemy with the usage of nuclear weapons by promising them that the opponent state would use them. Therefore, the opponent state needs to give that “precision” or credibility to the other state. By saying irrational behaviour, Schelling gives an example of North Korea. As North Korea is known for acting irrationally, unpredictably, this gives her an advantage. Schelling describes this as “This craziness helps the opponent believe the coercer may follow through on a rash decision. Cultivating irrationality at the highest level of government benefits that state’s bargaining power.”²⁵ By using the irrational acting and harsh responses, North Korea uses those to her advantage as although how many sanctions and condemnation was made to deter North Korea as well as President Donald Trump’s “Fire and Fury” declaration, since then, North Korea has been advancing in nuclear weapon technology and has conducted several missiles tests in the recent years. In addition, The North’s strategy

²³ Snyder, Glenn. *Deterrence and Defense. Toward a Theory of National Security*. Princeton Legacy Library.

²⁴ Schelling, Thomas. 1966.

²⁵ Ibid

has been an almost perfect application of coercion. Therefore, in the international system, USA and other states such as UK, France, Canada, they are much powerful than North Korea. And if any state is much advanced in nuclear weapons than other states, there is a possibility of nuclear war. As North Korea is much smaller, weaker than USA in every aspect, and she has to use deterrence strategy as a tool in order to avoid any nuclear war.

Possessing nuclear weapons and being an unpredictable foreign policy actor, North Korea is using nuclear weapons to threaten both U.S and regional allies. However, no other state has attacked or interfered anything about DPRK except than sanctions. Therefore, today, North Korea uses the deterrence strategy for her advantage in order to avoid USA and other foreign powers to get involved in a possible attack to North Korea and destroy their regime.

CHAPTER 2: WHY NORTH KOREA WANTS TO HAVE NUCLEAR POWER?

2.1 THE DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Undoubtedly, World War II, nobody wants to experience it again, was the most savage and conflicted war in the history of mankind. The war, in which approximately 100 million soldiers fought, gave a birth to invent nuclear weapons and also led countries to have nuclear armaments.

After breaking out of World War II, in 1939, U.S.A. President Franklin D Roosevelt received a letter from Albert Einstein and Leo Szilard. In the letter, they said that they could create powerful nuclear bomb by making use of nuclear fusion which had no one ever seen before. These two scientists, who escaped from Hitler's Nazism and fascism, were afraid of Hitler who was assumed to be working on nuclear fusion. If Germans could create such powerful nuclear bomb, they could rule the whole world and destroy its enemies. Therefore,

Einstein and Szilard insisted on doing the nuke and also motivating USA to join such competition. The approval in which consisted of uranium research, was accepted by Roosevelt because of the risk. Because, Roosevelt thought that USA could not take any risk if Hitler possessed a powerful nuclear bombs which can be threat to whole world as well as USA. Therefore, Roosevelt accepted the uranium research in October 1939 which led to establish Manhattan Project.²⁶ In order to strengthen U.S.A.'s power and also to become a superpower, "the Manhattan project was implemented and improved by more than 130,000 employees"²⁷. Eventually, engineers and scientists succeed for doing nuclear bomb which they called the experiment as " Alamorgordo Experiment" or Project Trinity.

Alamorgordo Experiment or Trinity Project was started to develop in 1942 by U.S.A, United Kingdom and Canada. U.S.A established a community which was called "S-1 Executive Community of National Defence Research Community" after the attack of Pearl Harbour and USA'S declaration of war on Japan and Germany. The Community initiated and arranged infrastructure of Manhattan Project and scientists from USA started to research in uranium. Before S-1 Executive Community, scientists from UK; Otto Frisch, Rudolf Peierls from University of Birmingham was started to work under Military Application of Uranium Detonation Committee. MAUD Committee was established by Winston Churchill in order to research nuclear weapons. In 1940, Roosevelt received a report from MAUD and the report was explaining that mass of ten kilograms uranium would be enough to create immense explosion. However, British scientists ignored the processes of creating nuke as "the gaseous diffusion, centrifuge, and electromagnetic uranium isotope separation methods and the plutonium producing pile"²⁸ The Works of Frisch and Peierls were entirely theoretical.

²⁶Gosling, F.G, *The Manhattan Project*.1999.10.

²⁷ The Manhattan Project: Making the Atomic Bomb Part V: The Atomic Bomb and American Strategy. 2015. Access date: 4 July 2018. <http://www.atomicarchive.com/History/mp/p5s14.shtml>

²⁸ Gosling,F.G. *The Manhattan Project, Making the Atomic Bomb*. United States Department of Energy.2010

Therefore, Roosevelt gave permission to establish “S-1 Executive Community” and began developing nukes and separation of uranium isotope.

Furthermore, Roosevelt decided that the development should include Army such as Corps of Engineers. “Roosevelt had approved Army involvement on October 9, 1941, and Bush had arranged for Army participation at S-1 meetings beginning in March 1942.”²⁹ In addition, Army and Bush appointed James.C. Marshall ,who was a Brigadier General in United States Army Corps, as in charge for building atomic bomb. Although physicists and scientists were working on development of nuclear fusion in which they need to separate uranium isotope, during 1942 summer and fall, they were failing to do so. Colonel Leslie R. Groves and James B.Conant established The Lewis Committee. The committee was to check the final development report of atomic bomb and would say that physicists succeeded. Moreover, the facilities were started to establish in Tennessee in Oak Ridge town, Washington, New Mexico. In July 16 ,1945 when all the facilities and developments were done, The Trinity Test was checked in New Mexico desert. In the end, the bomb released approximately 18.6 kilotons of power³⁰. Eventually, atomic bombs, which world has not forgotten disastrous incident since, were ready to use for Nagasaki and Hiroshima.

When World War II ended, on 2th September 1945 Japan declared that they were surrendered to USA. Japan, once upon a time, which was a powerful colonial country and gave a great importance to its military, had to acknowledge constitutional pacifism after 1946. In addition, Japan had to give up its military security to USA entirely and improved its relations with her. In 1951, U.S.A and Japan had signed an agreement which was called The Treaty of San Francisco. The treaty indicated that Japan would never be offensive country and

²⁹ Ibid

³⁰ US Department of Energy. Trinity Site - World's First Nuclear Explosion.
<https://www.energy.gov/management/trinity-site-worlds-first-nuclear-explosion> Access Date: 3.08.2018

her military would be only established in the framework of security concept. However, Japan witnessed that atomic explosions had a long-term effects on human health and environment. During atomic explosion ,there are five stages of its destructive effect; first one is “ flash and fireball. When atomic bomb is exploded, there will be an extreme flash of light and it is the first effect of nuclear bomb in the air. The fireball causes temporary blindness if anyone who is 80 kilometres from the explosion. Moreover, 10 kilometres from the explosion can burn anything and anyone.”³¹ “Second effect of nuclear bomb is Blast: Rather slower than Fireball but it has more immense effect as it can kill anybody who is in 3 kilometres from the explosion.”³² “The third one is Thermal Radiation. Thermal Radiation can lead skin-burns for large areas and the explosion can cause firestorms which prevent people are running away from it.”³³ “The fourth one is :Initial Radiation. It releases neutron and gamma radiation. “The fifth one is : Fallout. After atomic explosion, radiation mixes with soil and the debris is carried by the wind and falls back to Earth over a period of minutes to hours.”³⁴

The immediate and long term effects of nuclear bombs made world to concern about proliferation of atomic nukes. After the surrender of Japan, especially Japanese people, wanted to ban the proliferation of atomic bombs in order to prevent catastrophic events such as Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In addition, U.S.A and USSR declared that proliferation of atomic bombs must be under international control. Therefore, Atomic Energy Commission was established in 1946. According to United Nations General Assembly Resolution, the commission was founded in order “ to deal with problems raised by the discovery of atomic

³¹ TheNationalAcademicPress,Effects of Nuclear Earth-PenetratorandOtherWeapons (2005).
<https://www.nap.edu/read/11282/chapter/8>Date of Access: 18th August 2017

³²Ibid

³³ Ibid

³⁴Ibid

energy”³⁵. Subsequently, President of U.S.A, Truman proposed Baruch Plan in 1946. The main aim of the plan was proposed as :³⁶

1. “extend between all countries the exchange of basic scientific information for peaceful ends;
2. implement control of nuclear power to the extent necessary to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes;
3. eliminate from national armaments atomic weapons and all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction; and
4. establish effective safeguards by way of inspection and other means to protect complying States against the hazards of violations and evasions”

Nuclear Proliferation from 1945 to 1960 onwards, made world to worry. Nuclear weapons as in Hiroshima and Nagasaki could cause far bigger destruction in the further years. At the beginning of the 1960’s, many politicians and military experts were worried that nuclear proliferation would continue to be spread and more than ten states will have many nuclear weapons in ten years. In order to prevent such thing, USSR and USA pioneered negotiations which would not avoid using nuclear energy for peaceful purposes but to prohibit proliferation of nuclear weapons and complete disarmament. In 1965, negotiations for Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty was began in Geneva, Switzerland. The negotiations were completed in 1968 and the treaty was named as The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons(NPT). There are five permanent countries: USA, USSR, China, France, UK

³⁵[United Nations General Assembly Session 1 Resolution I. Establishment of a Commission to Deal with the Problems Raised by the Discovery of Atomic Energy A/RES/1\(I\)](#) 24 January 1946. Retrieved 2010-06-18.

³⁶ Bulletin of Atomic Scientists. December 1949.

and also there are 43 members in total.³⁷ NPT was based on three pillars; Non-proliferation, Peaceful Uses, Disarmament;³⁸

“Non-proliferation: Under Article I of the NPT, nuclear weapon states pledge not to transfer nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices to any recipient or in any way assist, encourage or induce any non-nuclear-weapon state in the manufacture or acquisition of a nuclear weapon. Under Article II of the NPT, non-nuclear-weapon states pledge not to acquire or exercise control over nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices and not to seek or receive assistance in the manufacture of such devices. Under Article III of the Treaty, non-nuclear-weapon states pledge to accept IAEA safeguards to verify that their nuclear activities serve only peaceful purposes.

Peaceful Uses: NPT Article IV acknowledges the right of all Parties to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and to benefit from international cooperation in this area, in conformity with their non-proliferation obligations. Article IV also encourages such cooperation.

Disarmament: Under Article VI of the NPT, all Parties undertake to pursue good-faith negotiations on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race, to nuclear disarmament, and to general and complete disarmament.”³⁹

The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons was first signed by USSR, USA and then other states. However, the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea DPRK or North Korea was one of the NPT members and joined in 1985. In the aftermath, North Korea signed Safeguards Agreement with IAEA. In the Safeguards Agreement, IAEA has a right to check states’ nuclear material in sites in which safeguards needs to be verified and also to control such materials which cannot be turned into nuclear or explosive devices.⁴⁰ Although North

³⁷ IAEA.Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. 2017

<https://www.iaea.org/publications/documents/treaties/npt> Access Date: 3.08.2018

³⁸U.S Delegation to the 2010 Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty Review Conference. *Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons*. 2010

³⁹ Ibid

⁴⁰*Safeguards Agreements*. International AtomicEnergy Agency.<https://www.iaea.org/topics/safeguards-agreements>Date of Access: 21 August 2017

Korea signed safeguard agreement, she did not meet conditions. Because North Korea refused IAEA to inspect its facilities so as to confirm that she was not developing any nuclear weapons. Thus, North Korea did not let IAEA to investigate her facilities, she was declared as she was not enough to provide any conditions. Therefore, IAEA declared North Korea's non-compliance to United Nations Security Council. In 1993, North Korea declared that she withdrew from NPT.

Moreover, in order to prevent North Korea to proliferate nuclear weapons, under the 1994 Agreed Framework, USA suggested that she would provide two light water reactors but in return for North Korean disarmament. The agreement consisted of cessation and replacement of North Korea's nuclear power plan with two light reactors. However, in October 2002, when USA Assistant Secretary of State James A. Kelly visited Pyongyang, North Korea revealed that DPRK was still producing highly enriched uranium and there was an on-going development of nuclear weapons.⁴¹ Therefore, Agreed Framework could not be implemented and Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO) ceased heavy oil shipments. Subsequently, in 2002, the Agreed Framework was officially relinquished. Also, after the attack of 9/11, George Bush called North Korea as "Axis of Evil". In order to protest the consequences, North Korea declared that she withdrew from the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty in January 2003.

This is not the only agreement that North Korea is not participate in. Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) is also tries to prohibit nuclear explosions for civilian and military purposes in all environments. United Nations General Assembly adopted the treaty in 10 September 1996 but it has not been implemented yet. In October 2016, the treaty was signed by 166 states but North Korea, Pakistan, India have not signed it yet. Since CTBT was signed, North Korea has carried out five tests in 2006,2009, 2013 and 2016 and lately in 2017.

⁴¹Aoyama,Rumi. China's North Korea Policy: *The Dilemma between Security and Economic Engagement*.2017

2.2 NORTH KOREA MISSILE TESTS

Having seen Korea War and 38th parallel, world would get to see the beginning of Cold War era. The early stages of Cold War era were crucial for North Korea. In 1950 Korea War, DPRK fought for the unification of two Koreas and the result was a failure. Unsuccessful attempt caused North Korea to find a support for its nation and power from communist USSR and China.

In the early 1960's, North Korea established "Four Great Military Lines" doctrine. "The doctrine includes; arming of the entire people, fortification of the entire country, and the creation of cadres throughout the People's Armed Forces and modernization of weaponry systems."⁴² . The Doctrine which was implemented by DPRK was because of restlessness of South Korean people. Thus, North Korea also started to develop infrastructure of Nuclear Research programme. The development process of infrastructure of Nuclear Research program continued with establishment of *Yongbyon* Nuclear Scientific Research Centre. DPRK established this research centre by saying it was just for peaceful use of nuclear energy in 1959. The Soviets assisted North Korea to set up *Yongbyon* Nuclear Scientific Research Centre. During the Korean War, North Korea witnessed how USA and her allies, which assisted UN forces, could be powerful. And without the help of USSR and China, she would not survive. Additionally, if there was an attack from USA or other states, North Korea would not have any powerful weapons to retaliate. Especially for USA, which North Korea obviously stated that it was her archenemy, DPRK could not stay still. The possibility of USA could use her nuclear weapons against North Korea has shaped government's behaviour and strategic thought. For this reason, although USSR was not willing to help DPRK, it was one of the wisest ideas that DPRK sought USSR's assistance for creating a nuclear program. In 1965, North Korea was able to create its small light water reactor. Though USSR did not

⁴² Jr,Bermudez Joseph S. *Overview of North Korea's NBC Infrastructure*.June 2017.

provide uranium and plutonium technology, DPRK was able to begin its nuclear weapon programme in 1980. Thus, USA started to monitor actions of nuclear weapons of DPRK and forced USSR to apply pressure on DPRK in order to accept NPT agreement. However, the USSR failed to live up to its obligations in this agreement, and North Korea never performed its duty to accept inspections by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in accordance with NPT requirement.⁴³ After withdrawal of North Korea from NPT agreement and creating the first Korean nuclear crisis, in 1993, President of USA, Bill Clinton came into office. By witnessing IAEA's "special inspection" attempt and U.S and South Korea's joint military exercises, North Korea was claiming that it had various reasons to build nuclear weapons which would also affect regional strategies.

DPRK knows that being a nuclear state in itself is terrifying and unpredictable actions and keeping nuclear weapons in secret could make other nations deter from destroying her regime as well as attacking her. Therefore, North Korea, as USSR did in the past, could challenge USA and other nations with its nuclear weapons. As USSR and USA experienced in 20th century, two super powers could confront each other: but this time North Korea wants to be the super power. In the past, as USSR also did, North Korea want to emerge as a powerful communist, nuclear state in Asia. It is widely known that North Korea was established in accordance with Soviet model such as its economy and regime as Kim Il Sung said "Lenin Lived, Lenin lives, Lenin will live".⁴⁴ As the Bolshevik Revolution caused USSR to emerge and contributed to its regime, economy, military, DPRK wants to be as powerful as USSR . Therefore, since Kim Il Sung Il's times, people of North Korea were taught to hate USA imperialism and anything related to "West". His grandson, " Kim Jong Un(김정은), current leader of DPRK is still insisting the idea of challenging USA as he said in his

⁴³Ibid

⁴⁴Quotes of Kim Il Sung https://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/authors/k/kim_ilsung.html. Access Date: 29 August 2017.

speech ;Wipe America off the face of the Earth and to turn Seoul into “sea of fire”.⁴⁵The reason why Kim Jong Un wants to convert Seoul into “sea of fire” is execration. Since Korea War, North Korea despises South Korea as it is receiving support from USA and it is not a communist or dictatorship nation. Also by being influenced by Lenin and the other dictator leaders such as Mao, DPRK holds the first nation to keep this regime alive in the world. North Korea is not in favour of South Korea and if DPRK is able to challenge or destroy USA, the other victim nation will be South Korea, apparently.

Moreover, after withdrawing from NPT agreement in 1993, despite Agreed Framework Agreement, North Korea did not cease to continue its nuclear weapon program and especially the development of ballistic missiles. It is known that in the early 1990’s, Prime Minister of Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto, visited North Korea. The relationship between North Korea and Pakistan made DPRK to improve its uranium enrichment program. In addition, while developing its nuclear weapon program and ballistic missiles, North Korea improved the way of thinking about nuclear strategy. The Gulf War made DPRK to understand that USA would not be timid about using nuclear weapons on Korean Peninsula nor attacking it. In addition, it also contributed the DPRK’s way of thinking that chemical weapons have become one of the vital weapons when attacking an enemy even if he is from Kim Jong Un’s own blood. The similar example can be seen in February 13, 2017. Kim Jong Un’s half-brother was killed by two women spies in Kuala Lumpur International Airport in Malaysia with VX Nerve Agent. “VX Nerve Agent which is also known as Venomous agent X, is considered as a weapon of mass destruction and it is banned by Chemical Weapons Convention of 1993”⁴⁶. However, DPRK is one of the several countries that did not sign the convention. It verifies that North Korea is still using the poison for cases such as

⁴⁵*Briefing North Korea’s Missiles*. The Economist. August 5th 2017.

⁴⁶ United Nations Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons. *Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on their Destruction*. Annex on Chemicals. 2016

assassinations. The assassination, according to South Korean Spy Service, “was done deliberately in order to “horrify the rest of the world and intimidate his adversaries”⁴⁷. Also, DPRK leader, Kim Jong Un wanted the whole world to see the murder happened in the airport by releasing a chemical weapon. Because, in order not to lose his power and authority in the international system, he needs to give fear to the world with his weapons. Therefore, Kim Jong Un’s half-brother murder was perfect case to show the foreign media how cruel he was and how could give fear to the world. The horrible assassination proves that Kim Jong Un shows himself to the whole world as an dictator and ruthless leader, makes his actions unpredictable and dreadful.

As mentioned above, The Gulf War affected–DPRK’s way of thinking of Nuclear Weapons. As well as chemical weapons have become vital instruments to terrify enemies, for DPRK, nuclear weapons are seen as a “deterrence” agent in order to eliminate US threat. The deterrence strategy continues to have an impact on DPRK’s nuclear policy. North Korea’s development of a nuclear force and strategy to deter USA and to ensure regime survival continued during the years leading up to Kim Jong Il’s death and afterwards.⁴⁸ In addition, dedication to maintain the regime is still valid in Kim Jong Un’s regime. In a speech to a meeting of the powerful Central Committee of the ruling Workers’ Party, Kim said his nuclear weapons were a “powerful deterrent” which guarantee North Korea’s sovereignty.⁴⁹ By saying “powerful deterrent”, Kim Jong Un has not broken ties with his “deterrence strategy” and he firmly believes that US will not attack DPRK and be deterrent. However, in his last speech, the president of USA, Donald Trump said that “the only one will work” in order to deal with North Korea. Whether he has mentioned military action or not, tensions are

⁴⁷Zilber,Aries. DailyMail. 26 September 2017.<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4919718/Kim-Jong-wanted-half-brother-s-killing-gruesome.html>

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹TheGuardian, 8 October 2017. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/oct/08/kim-jong-un-promotes-sister-kim-jo-jong-to-north-koreas-centre-of-power>Date of Access: 8 October 2017

running high between DPRK and USA due to DPRK has been testing its ballistic missiles since February 2017. Kim Jong Un, in his speech in Powerful Central Committee of the Ruling Workers Party, insisting that North Korea's nuclear weapons were a "powerful deterrent firmly safeguarding the peace and security in the Korean peninsula and Northeast Asia."⁵⁰ For the future, DPRK is going to insist on the deterrence strategy program and Kim Jong Un believes that the deterrence strategy will keep US away from DPRK's borders.

2.3 THE REASONS FOR NORTH KOREA'S NUCLEAR POWER REQUIREMENT

2.4 FACTORS

2.5 SURVIVAL OF THE REGIME

Although the Korean War was ended with the truce, it made two Koreas to unify almost impossible. North Korea wants to have nuclear weapons in order to maintain their regime in case any foreign powers or America to destroy it.

DPRK's regime is different than most of the countries in the world and from South Korea's. While South Korea is ruled by democratic state, DPRK, is ruled by the state ideology which is "*Juche*"(주체). This ideology emphasizes on "self-reliance". For *Juche*, Kim Il-Jung(김일성) stated that it was "original, brilliant and revolutionary contribution to national and international thought"⁵¹. Former President and his son Kim Jong-Un(DPRK's current leader)'s grandfather, Kim Il Sung, himself, formed *Juche* and it was developed in accordance to Marxism-Leninism. *Juche* shapes the way North Korean leaders' decision-making process. The state ideology is based on "self-reliance" as well as hatred on foreign powers which they call it as "*sadaejui*". They embraced "*Juche*" so much that they made it as a daily life tool such as they made it as a calendar. Other than making it as a "daily-life tool"

⁵⁰TheGuardian, 8 October 2017. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/oct/08/kim-jong-un-promotes-sister-kim-ye-jong-to-north-koreas-centre-of-power>Date of Access: 8 October 2017

⁵¹Paul French (2014). *North Korea: State of Paranoia*. ZedBooks. [ISBN 978-1-78032-947-5](https://www.zedbooks.com/9781780329475/).¹

and used it in politics, they are using “*Juche*” in order to lead North Korean people to think as everything in North Korea such as politics, industry, education are perfect and fits the standards of the world, but except from it, it is something to be opposed and disliked. Therefore, when North Korean leaders make a speech such as Kim Il Sung, he is doing “anti-speech” in order to make North Korean people to stand against anything with “Western” especially if it is American. By doing so, the only way which can protect their regime, is not to let any foreign powers to break it and also DPRK cannot be “Westernized”. This can be seen in Kim Il Sung’s speech “If nation falls into *sadaejui*, this nation will go to ruin”⁵²

Moreover, in this way, North Korean Leaders, such as the current one, can keep its power for a long time as his father and his grandfather did. Since *Juche* ideology was made in 1950’s and since then, they have been trying to solidify it however they are afraid of collapse of their regime. The regime is afraid of two kinds of threats; a coup d’état, which can be initiated by North Korean people who are experiencing such a hard and brutal authoritarian regime and interference of Western powers such as United States who is always saying that they will bring “democracy”, “freedom” to people who are under authoritarian regime. According to Rinehart and Nikitin, the leader has to have a steady, powerful authority in order to lead people “not to be deceived by Western powers and to protect their “*Juche*” regime”⁵³. Therefore, people of North Korea see their leaders, especially, Kim Il Sung, the founder as “immortal” and “God”. Although his death, leadership convinced people as if Kim Il Sung is still ruling country from the other world. So, North Korean people esteem that their leadership has a strong, powerful and unshakeable authority. By making people believe Kim Sung II as God, in order to keep their current leader or the future leader’s authority, they have “rules” and punishments for North Korean people. A traveller, whose name is Drew Binsky, visited North Korea in 2017 and tells the rules of not to “disrespect” leaders as tourists cannot

⁵² Cumings, Bruce. *Korea’s place in the Sun: Modern History* (New York: W.W.Norton 1997), p.404

⁵³ Ibid.

damage any newspapers, painting on which leaders picture on it. In addition, they cannot take any pictures with peace signs in front of their statues or cut photos only with their faces.⁵⁴ Being suppressed, pressured and terrified and also “brainwashed” North Korean people have no choice but to obey the rules and also be submissive for their leader. There is a huge similarity between the situation in DPRK and the leadership in the novel 1984 of George Orwell’s. “ The Party seeks power entirely for its own sake. We are not interested in the good of others; we are interested solely in power, pure power. What pure power means you will understand presently. We are different from the oligarchies of the past in that we know what we are doing”.⁵⁵ As George Orwell states, “The Party “ resembles the Worker’s Party of Korea and in search of “ pure power” for its advantage is entirely suitable for North Korea’s regime system. Because, leadership is leading people to believe that Western is their “archenemy” and also they set the harsh rules so as to support their regime survival.

Though Kim Il Sung developed this political system in his reign in 1950’s, with the globalisation, the developments of human rights, the ideology of *Juche* or the powerful dictatorship cannot be sustained. Although Kim Jong Un can keep *Juche* in the purpose of having nuclear weapons, sooner or later, North Korea people can start a uprising with the help of foreign powers. So as to keep the order, authority in the domestic politics as well as in the foreign politics, North Korea needs to have nuclear weapons because if she does not support herself with them, she may not prevent her regime to collapse.

2.6 THE RELATIONSHIP OF ECONOMY AND NUCLEAR POWER

In order for a state to stand on her feet, she has to have a firm economy. When Korean War ended, North Korea has been receiving economic aid from China. For North Korea,

⁵⁴ Binsky, Drew. North Korea Was Not What I Expected. Here’s Why. <https://drewbinsky.com/North-korea-not-expected-heres/> Access Date: 16.01.2018

⁵⁵ Orwell, George. 1984. London: Secker and Warburg. 1949

economy is significant for having nuclear weapons for two reasons; in order to survive his regime and also for the inflow of foreign currency.

First, she has an unstable economy since the establishment of state. So as to maintain their *Juche* ideology, authority, North Korea is using economy to preserve them. Because of DPRK's *Juche* regime which emphasizes self-reliance on everything and not being influenced by "Western" ideologies, gives a burden to DPRK. For instance, in 1973, there was an outbreak of oil crisis. This crisis led North Korea's economy to decline and caused DPRK to be unable to pay for its debts. After the oil crisis in 1973, DPRK's ally, the Soviet leader, Gorbachev began to establish reforms and diplomatic initiatives which he called "*Perestroika*" (*перестройка*)⁵⁶. Eventually, reforms did not do enough to restore USSR's power and it collapsed in 1991. These two occurrences made North Korea to isolate its economic system and political position. Therefore, after the collapse of USSR, the only political and economic ally was China which North Korea could count on. However, being isolated and deprived of economic aid, DPRK experienced famine which was between 1994 and 1998.⁵⁷ Additionally, due to the ideology of *Juche*, DPRK rejected other nations' help and organizations for so long and this also caused North Korean people to starve and there was no inflow of foreign currency. Therefore, due to the ideology of *Juche*, North Korea could not buy any food from abroad nor did it accept assistance from the West and that made the famine more exacerbated. The famine affected the North Korean people's health. "From 2 years old to 12 years old, 16% of children suffered from malnutrition and 60% had chronic malnutrition"⁵⁸. Not only children but also women suffered from stillbirths and miscarriages.

⁵⁶ It was the reconstruction of the Soviet's economic and political system.

⁵⁷ Stephan., Haggard, (2007). *Famine in North Korea : markets, aid, and reform*. Noland, Marcus. 1959-. New York: Columbia

⁵⁸ Lee, Donna. *The North Korean Famine and Food Shortage: The Problem, the Politics, and the Policy*. LEDA at Harvard Law School

In the end, the famine led many people to die. “North Korea estimated that about 220,000 people had died from 1995 to 1998⁵⁹”.

Furthermore, in today’s conditions, North Korea is still struggling with food shortage and poverty. According to Bank of Korea, “GDP for per capita is 1,300 dollars”.⁶⁰ Although in 2016, “DPRK’s economic growth has expanded to 3.9 percent”⁶¹, she has not been able to provide food, clean water to her people and receives food aid from West, especially from United States. Although DPRK has been receiving economic aids from China and Russia, she needs to have a firm economy because if DPRK depends on West for economy, she will not be able to prevent foreign powers to destroy his regime. And the sturdy economy will be a path to possess nuclear weapons and mass weapons of destruction will lead USA and her allies to be deterred and be feared of DPRK. Thus, as his father and grandfather, Kim Jong Un do not want his oppressive *Juche* regime to be interfered. Therefore, he is trying to improve economy by their own with *Byungjin* policy which is described as new strategic policy. This policy is aiming to strengthen and develop economic construction as well as nuclear weapons at the same time. In addition, this new strategic line is intended to re-establish DPRK’s rundown economy and improve North Korean people’s living standards while enhancing nuclear weapons programme.⁶²

Kim Jong Un knows that if DPRK were entirely depended on West, she would face the West’s threats. Such as USA and her allies such as South Korea, Japan, UK will force DPRK to give up her all nuclear weapons as “eliminate chemical and biological weapons, stop

⁵⁹ A.g.e

⁶⁰ North Korea’s Economy Is Growing at Its Fastest Pace Since 1999. July 21,2017.

<https://www.bloomberg.com/view/articles/2017-09-14/north-korea-s-secret-weapon-economic-growth> Access Date:16.01.2018

⁶¹ Kim,Christine.North Korea 2016 Economic Growth at 17-year high despite sanctions: South Korea. Bussiness News. July 21,2017. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-northkorea-economy-gdp/north-korea-2016-economic-growth-at-17-year-high-despite-sanctions-south-korea-idUSKBN1A607Z> Access Date: 19.02.2017

⁶² French,Paul.North Korea Needs Nukes Because of Religion. July 7,2017. Access Date: 19.04.2018 <http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/07/07/north-korea-needs-nukes-because-of-its-religion/>

producing and selling missiles, let all Japanese kidnapping victims and their families leave North Korea for good, stop counterfeiting and drug-running, and begin a human rights dialogue”⁶³. The U.S and her allies will urge DPRK to change the oppressive administration and shape DPRK to a “Western” “democratic” state. Eventually, DPRK’s fate will be the same with Muammar Gadhafi or Saddam Hussein who also was accused of having nuclear weapons. In order to possess nuclear weapons, DPRK needs to have self-reliance economy and not to be depended on West in order to avoid his regime to collapse.

For the second reason, for DPRK, inflow of foreign currency is playing an important role so as to support its nuclear weapon program. DPRK, so far, has been receiving “foreign currency through; coal, selling forced labour⁶⁴, drugs, weapons and fake cash”⁶⁵. For North Korea, coal is the biggest source which provides foreign currency and DPRK sells millions tons of coals to China every year. Although China implemented a sanction to cease all the coal import which was coming from DPRK because of DPRK’s missile tests, China is not willing to cut all the economic support to North Korea due to fear of regime change. In addition, DPRK, by selling coal to China, she is keeping emergency money in China in case of government wants to buy anything for her nuclear weapons programme.⁶⁶ Moreover, for forced labour, thousands of North Korean workers are working under harsh conditions such as in China, Russia and Middle East.⁶⁷ It is predicted that North Korean workers are working in the fields such as constructions, mining etc.⁶⁸ DPRK’s illegal and brutal treatment to her

⁶³ O’Halon Michael and Mochizuki, Mike. What Korea Wants: Rescue Its Economy. August 6, 2003. Access Date: 19.04.2018 <https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/what-north-korea-wants-rescue-its-economy/>

⁶⁴ Mullen, Jethro. How North Korea Makes Its Money: Coal, Forced Labor and Hacking. April 5, 2017. <http://money.cnn.com/2017/04/05/news/economy/north-korea-economy-china-trump-xi/index.html> Access Date: 22.04.2018.

⁶⁵ Carney, Matthew. Defector Reveals Secrets of North Korea’s Office of 39, Raising Cash for Kim Jong Un. 6 January 2018. Access Date: 22.04.2018. <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-01-06/north-korea-defector-reveals-secrets-of-office-39/9302308>

⁶⁶ Mullen, Jethro. How North Korea Makes Its Money: Coal, Forced Labor and Hacking. April 5, 2017. <http://money.cnn.com/2017/04/05/news/economy/north-korea-economy-china-trump-xi/index.html> Access Date: 22.04.2018.

⁶⁷ Ibid

⁶⁸ Ibid

people is known was they are forced to work in China with harsh conditions as well as they have to face with rape. It seems that North Korea does anything in order to support its nuclear weapon program even if means to kill, forced labour or drug trafficking.

Moreover, in DPRK, there is an organisation which is called Office 39. Office 39, is established in order to get foreign currency through drugs, weapons and fake cash. “The office, which North Korea calls it as “Revolutionary Fund”, it is predicted that it brings “\$US500 million (\$639 million) to \$US2 billion (\$2.5 billion) a year into North Korea.”⁶⁹ For drug trafficking, the Office 39 is said to be trained people who can make “amphetamines and opioids”⁷⁰ which is sold to countries in the Asia. For fake cash, North Korea is known for doing world’s best fake \$100 banknotes.⁷¹ However, with world’s awareness of North Korea’s illegal, brutal trading and treatment to her people, Office 39 is said to be having a hard time to receive foreign currency in order to support its nuclear weapon program. Therefore, North Korea is trying to get foreign currency in inside with mining and textile industries in order to support Kim Jong Un’s family who lives in a luxurious style.⁷² North Korea needs to have a strong economy for survival of her regime so as to support nuclear weapons as well as inflow of foreign currency.

2.7 EDUCATION PLAYS AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN NUCLEAR POWER REQUIREMENT

In North Korea, the education system was first created according to the Soviet system and it was based on “*Juche*” ideology and system is being maintained still in this way. People

⁶⁹ Carney,Matthew.Defector Reveals Secrets of North Korea’s Office of 39,Raising Cash for Kim Jong Un. 6 January 2018. Access Date: 22.04.2018. <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-01-06/north-korea-defector-reveals-secrets-of-office-39/9302308>

⁷⁰ Ibid

⁷¹ Ibid

⁷² Carney,Matthew.Defector Reveals Secrets of North Korea’s Office of 39,Raising Cash for Kim Jong Un. 6 January 2018. Access Date: 22.04.2018. <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-01-06/north-korea-defector-reveals-secrets-of-office-39/9302308>

in North Korea are being educated according to government's strategies. DPRK wants to organize its people and also impose them to hate USA or anything with "West" in order to maintain developments of nuclear weapons so as to keep her regime safe. Accordingly, if people are educated and then sided with the government, they will assist government to support their claim on the development of nuclear weapons. Therefore, North Korean people are educated to believe by their government that nuclear weapons are essential for their country's future, *Juche* ideology because someday USA will attack them. Thus, people are made to believe that mass weapons of destruction are playing a significant role so as to retaliate any attack.

Teaching or brainwashing North Korean people starts with the young age ; in the kindergarten. First, they are taught how to call their founder leader, Kim Il Sung's as " The Great Leader" and his son and heir as "The Dear Leader" and the recent leader, Kim Jong Un as " The Great Successor".⁷³ North Korean students learn that their country had two main enemies: the first one is USA which made them their country to suffer and caused their country to divide into two. The Second one is Japan which colonized Korea for four decades.To illustrate, in the one of the classrooms in DPRK, there are boards which delivers messages such as "The American imperialists and Japanese militarism are the sworn enemies of the North Korean people"⁷⁴. By putting those boards on the classrooms, North Korea government is raising children with Anti-American thoughts so as to impose their minds that they need nuclear weapons.

Furthermore, the history of North Korea is taught incorrectly for government strategies. All North Koreans are taught that the at the beginning of the war, rather than North Korean government who attacked Seoul at first, American "Imperialists" is shown to be starter of the

⁷³ Coder,Catherine. The Truth About North Korean Media. Florida State University Libraries. 2015.

⁷⁴ Ibid

war and that the “ Great Leader Marshal Kim Il Sung repulsed the American invasion during the” Victorious Fatherland Liberation War”.⁷⁵. Thus, American “Imperialists“ are also shown as the main reason to cause North Korea to divide into two and because of USA, North Korea needs to defend herself with nuclear weapons. Moreover, so as to put “requirement of nuclear power” in children’s minds, North Korea government uses slogans, pictures, drawing and igniting them to “hate” USA. To illustrate, the propaganda slogan which they use “We must be ready for revenge”⁷⁶. In addition, in the pictures, American soldiers are portrayed with nuclear symbols on their helmets and uniforms, a” reference to the North Korean insistence that the U.S. poses an atomic threat to the region.”⁷⁷ Therefore, by showing USA as their archenemy, they are provoked and brainwashed from the young age in order to be used for the government purposes. Because if they are organized and then sided with leadership, DPRK can maintain development of nuclear weapons for her future.

2.8 MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA ARE USED IN ACCORDANCE WITH NUCLEAR POWER AND ANTI- AMERICANISM

In DPRK, media and press organs are always censored and controlled by it. By tightening media, tv,newspapers and even statues do propaganda on the streets, DPRK wants to avoid people to learn what is really happening in the world. Therefore, they will lead them in accordance with their strategies as DPRK “needs” nuclear weapons because of Western enemies. By doing all of those, they make people believe that they need nuclear weapons for the sake of their country and protecting it from any hostile countries.

⁷⁵ Pinkston A, Daniel. Domestic Politics and Stakeholders in the North Korean Missile Development Program.Summer 2003.

⁷⁶ Daily Mail Reporter. How North Korean children are taught to hate the 'American b*****' at kindergarten. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2163817/How-North-Korean-children-taught-hate-American-b----kindergarten.html> Access Date: 23.01.2018

⁷⁷ Ibid

North Korea government as they are not technologically advanced, the government uses pictures, billboards in the streets in order to convey message to people or delude them “In the posters, it's always a person who is communicating the message to the public and they are all hand-painted.”⁷⁸ “ For instance, the posters shows two genders; men and women who are representing the power of working together for their country. By doing that,the government imbues people with the thoughts of “nationalism” as they need to work hard for their country so as to not needing any “Western” support.

Moreover, in one of the posters says “the entire mainland United States is within our range!”⁷⁹. The posters have been playing a significant role in order to convey message to North Korean people. As they are not technologically advanced and they have no access to internet and the other media organs, they only see posters. Therefore, the government uses those posters to impose people with their requirement of nuclear weapons for their archenemy, USA. In addition, in one of the posters, there is a missile which is getting closer the image of Washington D.C and then it destroys it completely.Also in the other poster, it says, “We must be ready for revenge!”⁸⁰. The government ignites people to act according to their national instincts .Therefore, their mind is always filled with their countries requirement of nuclear weapons because of Anti-American Imperialism. In addition, because of the tensions between USA and North Korea recently, as Donald Trump said “he would totally destroy North Korea and depicted the leader of North Korea as a “rocket man on a suicide mission”.⁸¹ DPRK released another poster by which shows American soldiers who tortures children, women and North Korean soldiers. North Korea uses media as an advantage to their policy as they are

⁷⁸ What North Korean propaganda posters reveal. CNN Style.January 2,2018.

<http://edition.cnn.com/style/article/north-korea-propaganda-posters-design/index.html> Access Date: 23.01.2018

⁷⁹ Osborne, Simon. Is this how North Korea sees Americans? Gruesome propaganda pictures resurface.September 28,2017. <https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/859857/north-korea-latest-news-gruesome-anti-US-propaganda-pictures-emerge> Access Date: 23.01.2018

⁸⁰ Ibid

⁸¹ Donald Trump, in first UN speech, warns US will 'totally destroy' North Korea if threatened. September 20,2017 <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-09-20/donald-trump-warns-us-may-have-to-destroy-north-korea/8962100> Access Date:23.01.2018

supporting their requirement for nuclear weapons so as to keep their regime safe by controlling posters, drawings.

2.9 TOURISM IS USED AS PROPAGANDA AND NUCLEAR POWER REQUIREMENT

Although North Korea is not allowing their people to visit abroad and they are being constantly controlled, DPRK allow tourists to visit their country. If foreign people who want to visit North Korea, cannot fly to Pyongyang directly but to Beijing. Tourists who fly from Beijing to Pyongyang, the first they see in the city are the strict rules and propaganda. There will be two North Korean people who will be guarding over them and they called “Mindors”⁸². For the strict rules, there are top three rules that everybody needs to obey; “Never Disrespect the Leaders”⁸³, No photos of military sites or soldiers, If you have any printed materials depicting the Dear Leaders (e.g., newspapers, magazine), you can’t erase their images⁸⁴. Rules are taught to foreign tourists so as to show that how DPRK keeps their regime tight as well as her people. DPRK creates a utopian scenario to tourists as the way things work in the country are perfect because of their regime and rules. The way DPRK allows foreign people to visit their country can be explained through their regime survival. DPRK is trying to show the world that they need “nuclear weapons” because one day USA might attack to them but in reality, they need mass weapons of destruction so as to keep their regime safe. North Korean people are always surrounded and reminded the propaganda all the time. Eric Tseng who travelled to North Korea as a tourist, he witnessed one of the main propaganda. When he was in the outside with “ Mindors” , and looked at the window that there was a war plane which dropped a rockets on a field which was one mile far from him. As he says” Our entire group was in shock. I turned to our mindors, to see if they had

⁸² Tseng, 8 Days in North Korea.

⁸³ Binsky. North Korea Was Not What I Expected. Here’s Why.

⁸⁴ Tseng, 8 Days in North Korea. May 11,2015.

anything to say about what just happened. They didn't. They just stared straight ahead at the road as if nothing had happened.”⁸⁵ As Eric Tseng saw, propaganda and governments' requirement for nuclear weapons were shown to tourists because of “they should not forget to take ” Revenge” from USA for their endless agony⁸⁶”. In North Korea, even if you go there as a tourist, you cannot escape from dominant propaganda and the government structured its policy and this regime and oppression draws people to come to North Korea.

Moreover, another traveller Mark Hill says that he went to Victorious Fatherland Liberation War Museum. In the Museum, the main theme is how North Korea retaliated against USA's invasion. Mark Hill emphasizes how their guiders told the Korean War as USA started to Korean War first and Kim Il Sung saved their country with his cleverness. In addition, USA attacked civilians without discriminating them and caused war crimes.⁸⁷ By creating a museum which shows DPRK's propaganda for Anti-American Imperialism and requirement for nuclear weapons program, tourists as Mark Hill, realizes how DPRK's dedication to create such canvassing. The Museum which North Korea created in order to show foreign tourists as DPRK reached triumph in the Korean War. Although they won the war, USA could back at any moment so that they could take revenge from them and bomb their country.⁸⁸

Furthermore, tourists cannot go outside by own and they have stay in a hotel in Pyongyang. Tim Urban, who also travelled to North Korea, says North Korean government is afraid of tourists who can go out without anybody's notice and take photos of anything which they are forbidden to see. Therefore, Tim Urban says that the hotel which they are staying in, is brilliant as many soldiers guarding it and they never tourists go out even if it is

⁸⁵ Ibid

⁸⁶ Tseng, 8 Days in North Korea. May 11,2015

⁸⁷ Hill.Mark.I Went To North Korea:What You've Heard Vs.What I Saw.August 19,2017. Access Date: 12.02.2018 <http://www.cracked.com/blog/i-heard-lot-crazy-things-about-north-korea-so-i-went/>

⁸⁸ Ibid

emergency.⁸⁹ Those who do not obey the rules can be confronted with punishment and even worse scenarios. The example can be given Otto Warmbier who was an American student in University of Virginia and travelled to North Korea. The hotel which they were staying as a group, he stole one of the propaganda posters from the hotel. When he was in airport and he was going to fly to USA, two military soldiers captured him and took him to a place which nobody know still. When Otto Warmbier was delivered to USA”he was unable to speak, unable to see and unable to react to verbal commands”⁹⁰. Although North Korea denied any torture accusations and declared that he became ill after they took him. However, after six days passed, Otto Warmbier passed away in USA. His death symbolizes that North Korea made him a victim of propaganda and Anti-American Imperialism. His father , Mr.Warmbier says about his son’s death as “We see North Korea claiming to be a victim and the world is picking on them and we’re here to tell you North Korea is not a victim. They are terrorists. They kidnapped Otto, they tortured him, and they intentionally injured him”.⁹¹ Accordingly, by setting up rules, creating insubstantial plane bombing, propaganda museums, places, statues, DPRK is trying to show the world that they need “nuclear weapons” because one day USA might attack to them. However, they need mass weapons of destruction because of her regime survival.

2.10 THE U.S POLICY IN KOREAN PENINSULA

As other communist states, DPRK invested excessively on heavy industry, military strength. The development of DPRK’s military was realized with the assistances of China and USSR. DPRK chose to strengthen its military capacity since she was established. However, in

⁸⁹ Urban,Tim. 20 Things I Learned While I Was in North Korea.September27,2013. <https://waitbutwhy.com/2013/09/20-things-i-learned-while-i-was-in.html> Access Date: 24.01.2018

⁹⁰ Ibid

⁹¹ Harriet,Alexander. US student Otto Warmbier was 'blind, deaf and howling' after return from North Korea, say parents. September 26,2017. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/09/26/us-student-otto-warmbier-returned-north-korea-blind-deaf-howling/> Access Date: 24.01.2018

further years, with her instable economy and *Juche* regime, she created nuclear weapons so as to deter USA to attack and also the survival of its regime.

In order to create military defense, Kim Jong Un's grandfather, Kim Jong Il established National Defence Commission (NDC) in 1972 and he became the chairman of it. After North Korean famine and the establishment of NDC, Kim Jong Il stated that the government had a new policy which is called "Songun(송은) or "Military First". With this policy and as being a ruled by a *Juche* regime, DPRK have become "the fifth largest population percentage under arms of all countries in the world."⁹². Although North Korea supported and strengthened its military, she needed to have a much stronger tool: Nuclear Weapons. The reason why North Korea wanted to have mass weapons of destruction it was because of Cold War .Because she lost its powerful ally, USSR and DPRK felt that she would be threaten by Western power: USA. Nuclear weapons would be a perfect deterrence tool for eliminating her enemies especially USA .Thus, so as to avoid Western enemy to attack with nuclear weapons, DPRK has been creating and testing its weapons of mass destruction effectively since she received help from USSR before she collapsed.

Furthermore, North Korea, as USSR did in the past, she wants to deter her enemies by possessing mass weapons of destruction. Nuclear weapons would give her to be acknowledged in the international system as well as being feared. In addition, having nuclear weapons would give her to stand her feet as DPRK had experience which taught her not to trust any state. Before Soviet Union was collapsed, DPRK sought assistance from USSR and China during the Korea War. However, DPRK witnessed that China did not help her with sources such as food, blankets. Also, during Cuban Missile crisis, DPRK also could not get enough aid from the Soviets which she expected. Thus, nuclear weapons gives her to support her own security which will give her opportunity to not to be depended on any allies. In

⁹²Fearon,James. Laitin,David. The Two Koreas. Stanford University.July 5,2006

addition, by possessing mass weapons of destruction DPRK found her way to deter her Western enemy to attack her and also she can keep her *Juche* regime safe.

Moreover, Kim Jong- Un has one reason to develop mass weapons of destruction and not to give up on them: the death. Before Kim Jong Un became a leader, the well-known Iraq leader; Saddam Hussein possessed nuclear weapons. However, so as to not lose his power on his government and in return for economic aid, he gave up on his nuclear weapons which lead him to be executed. Also, Muammar Qaddafi who was a Libyan leader also had nuclear powers and was captured and lynched by his own people and soldiers. After their execution, subsequently Iraq War and Battle of Sirte broke out. Iraq and Libya's regimes were destroyed and many innocent people were martyred and suffered in adverse conditions. Since then, these countries haven't had any serendipity due to their ambition of having nuclear. Therefore, Kim Jong Un, because of his government's and his ambition to develop nuclear weapons, his fate can be similar to Saddam Hussein and Muammar Qaddafi. Therefore, DPRK has been holding tight her ambitions for nuclear weapons and they are not giving any compromise. To illustrate, on September 7, 2017, it was declared that there would be summit to talk about North Korea's denuclearization and it would be led by USA and the talks would be in Switzerland, Geneva. However, North Korean officials refused to even to talk about the subject of denuclearization by excusing the United State's possible attack to them. Their representative said that "Pyongyang considers nuclear weapons a legitimate and rational "strategic option" to counter what it deems threatening military action from the United States. And its leaders have said repeatedly that the regime is willing to deploy them if provoked."⁹³

⁹³ Vitkovskaya, Julie. What does North Korea Want? The Washington Post. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2017/09/28/what-does-north-korea-want/?utm_term=.cf53d142c958 Access Date: 18.01.2018

CHAPTER 3: INTERNATIONAL REACTIONS TOWARDS NORTH KOREA'S NUCLEAR CRISIS

3.1 THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

After 9/11 attack, George Bush on his state-of-the union speech, he said “ Axis of Evil to Iraq, North Korea ,Iran which he accused of arming themselves with weapons of mass destruction”⁹⁴ . With this speech, USA declared her enemies, including North Korea. Subsequently, DPRK Ministry of Foreign Affairs made a statement that 9/11 attack were a “very regretful and tragic incident” and stressing that as a UN member state, North Korea is opposed to all forms of terrorism. And this stance will remain unchanged”⁹⁵ However, USA believed North Korea that she is representing itself to whole world that they are against to all kind of terrorism and they are victim who is accused by USA .However, USA shocked with the news that North Korea was secretly continuing nuclear program and in addition, also “exposed evidence of North Korea’s secret nuclear transaction with Pakistan”.⁹⁶ Thus, USA, as being one of the powerful states, does not want North Korea to own nuclear weapons because of security, non-proliferation and the possibility of losing power over Asia.

“Nuclear weapons and missiles could be the most dangerous of the numerous ways North Korea can threaten the United States, its allies, and the rest of the global community.”⁹⁷ USA does not want North Korea to own mass weapons of destruction due to national security. She does not want nuclear weapons to threat its borders as she experienced such anxiousness and conflict with Cuba Crisis. Therefore, North Korea’s determination to develop nuclear

⁹⁴ George Bush and the axis of evil.January 31,2002. The Economist . Access Date: 28.02.2018
<https://www.economist.com/node/965664>

⁹⁵ Ibid

⁹⁶ David Sanger and James Dao “ A Nuclear North Korea: Intelligence; U.S says Pakistan gave Technology to North Korea”. The New York Times,October 18,2002. <http://nytimes.com/2002/10/18/World/nuclear-north-korea-intelligence-us-says;Pakistan-gave-technology-north-korea.html>.

⁹⁷ Vyas,Utpal, Chen,Ching-Chang, Roy,Denny.The North Korea Crisis and Regional Responses.East-West Center.2015

weapons in 1990's shows USA that DPRK could be a serious threat for her security because North Korea is known for her unpredictable moves and unique structure .North Korea's nuclear weapons program was improving when President Clinton came into office in 1993 in USA. When IAEA wanted to inspect North Korea due to NPT agreement, she rejected and withdrew from the program. Thus, being confronted with North Korea's ambition to develop such powerful weapons which poses a direct security threat , USA led President Clinton to put North Korea as a primary concern for Asian politics. Rather than doing military action to North Korea, USA and North Korea decided to have high-level talks in New York and Geneva which resulted in signing Agreed Framework in 1994. "Its main contents included North Korea's agreement to give up its two graphite-moderated nuclear reactors that were under construction."⁹⁸ "In return, the United States would give light water reactors and compensation for energy foregone and heavy oil annually."⁹⁹

The second reason for USA is non-proliferation. The US Department of Defense said one of its "gravest concerns" about North Korea is "its demonstrated willingness to proliferate nuclear technology."¹⁰⁰ USA do not want North Korea to tempt other states to develop nuclear weapons and even she does not want any country to contemplate it .However, other than Pakistan, North Korea was cooperating with state which was Iran. For Iran cooperation, DPRK and Iran exchanged nuclear scientists as well as transferred mass weapons of destruction. Accordingly, by being afraid of DPRK's ambition to maintain her nuclear weapon programme, in 2003, USA, China and DPRK started Three-Party Talks, so as to North Korea to dissuade nuclear weapons. However, during the Three Party Talks," North Korean negotiator Ri Gun approached to the United States representative and said that North

⁹⁸ Ying. The Korean Nuclear Issue.

⁹⁹Ibid

¹⁰⁰ Vyas,Utpal, Chen,Ching-Chang, Roy,Denny.The North Korea Crisis and Regional Responses.East-West Center.2015

Korea had already conducted reprocessing of spent fuel rods.”¹⁰¹ This event turned all the processing down as USA stated that she would not negotiate with North Korea without China and DPRK refused this declaration. USA came into conclusion that DPRK would not ever give up their nuclear weapons programme even if she declares that she would to do so. DPRK did not want to give up nuclear proliferation which USA feared of. During talks, DPRK was helping and Iran and Syria to develop its nuclear weapons program and she would continue to collaborate with other states: Pakistan and Burma. For Pakistan cooperation, North Korea is collaborated with Abdul Qadeer Khan who was famous scientist in Pakistan.” Khan sold North Korea much of the material needed to build a bomb, including high-speed centrifuges used to enrich uranium and the equipment required to manufacture more of them.”¹⁰². North Korea and Pakistan was allies in terms of economy, mass weapons of destruction which would give them a powerful deterrence and attack tool against USA. Therefore, USA had to be hold tight about nuclear proliferation.

For Burma collaboration, DPRK had collaboration with Burma and Syria. In 2016, “Bashar al-Assad's government had three technicians by North Korea for the purpose of “transfer of special resistance valves and thermometers known for use in chemical weapons programmes”¹⁰³. Chemical weapons which Syrian technicians enhanced, was used against civilians in Eastern Ghouta.¹⁰⁴ On the other hand, North Korea assisted Myanmar (Burma) to have mass weapons of destruction. Myanmar had received "ballistic missile systems from (North Korea) in addition to a range of conventional weapons, including multiple rocket launches and surface-to-air missiles"¹⁰⁵. The states that had cooperation with North Korea

¹⁰¹ Ying. The Korean Nuclear Issue: Past, Present, and Future A Chinese Perspective.

¹⁰² Devjyot, Ghoshal. Did Pakistan help North Korea develop nuclear weapons? India-US-Japan want to know. September 19, 2017. Access Date: 28.02.2018 <https://qz.com/1080927/did-pakistan-help-north-korea-develop-nuclear-weapons-india-us-japan-want-to-know/>

¹⁰³ UN. North Korea arming Syria, Myanmar: UN report. February 3, 2018. Access Date: 28.02.2018 <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/02/north-korea-arming-syria-myanmar-report-180203064444145.html>

¹⁰⁴ Ibid

¹⁰⁵ Ag.e

were exposed by USA and the U.S revealed the U.N reports. Therefore, USA has a right to concern over North Korea for playing an incentive role for other states to own their nuclear weapons.

Third reason for USA is to loss of its dominance over Asia in case of war. USA wants to remain as sole power in the Korean Peninsula. If there is any type of war, in order not to lose her control over Asia, the U.S would collaborate with South Korea as the U.S have been deploying her military since Korea War in 1950. The war means a military expenditure and if war continues for a long time, it will have a huge impact on USA 's economy "This will lead the world economy to be affected as a prolonged war in Korea would significantly push up US federal debt."¹⁰⁶ As USA knows that Korean War in 1950 showed the world that how war could have an adverse effect over economy and innocent people. "The most devastating military conflict since World War Two, however, has been the Korean War (1950-53), which led to 1.2m South Korean deaths."¹⁰⁷

Furthermore, the possible war collaboration would also affect the USA's power over Asia. China, who is an old ally with North Korea, will collaborate with North Korea, in case of war. They are sharing the same ideas, ideologies over politics and they are both influenced by the Soviets ideological regime and system. Therefore, any possibility of war would cause China to approach North Korea as USA sees China as her rivalry due to its huge economy and military. One of the North Korean expert stresses the possibility of collaboration as ,” Beijing signalled that if the United States struck North Korea first then it would come in on North Korea's side.”¹⁰⁸.In addition, USA fear that Russia would join this collaboration as Russia has

¹⁰⁶ Martin,Will. Here's what a war between North Korea and the US could do to the global economy.August 9,2017. Access Date: 01.03.2018. <http://uk.businessinsider.com/war-between-north-korea-and-usa-global-economy-impact-2017-8>

¹⁰⁷ Ibid

¹⁰⁸ Bosotti,Aurora. North Korea warning: US must prepare for World War 3 with Kim's allies in China AND Russia.December 30,2017. Access Date:01.03.2018 <https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/898075/North-Korea-news-latest-World-War-3-US-China-Russia-Donald-Trump-Kim-Jong-un-Beijing-video>

the Soviet past and their ideology nearly same with North Korea and China. “The US should prepare to fight off both Kim Jong-un and its allies China and Russia.”¹⁰⁹ All those states share a common idea and enemy: USA. The three states have been known for their hostility to the West and they want to topple over USA from her hegemony over the world and also from Asia. For Trump administration, President Trump is in favour of military action. “For the United States, the response will be “punch in the nose;” preventive war; and pre-emptive strike on North Korea’s nuclear and missile program.”¹¹⁰ In his book, “ America We Deserve” which he wrote in 2000, he shared his plans dealing with North Korea as “ As President I would be prepared to order a strike—using conventional weapons—against North Korean targets if it prevented nuclear blackmail or the nuclear destruction of the U.S population. A surgical strike would not only put the fire in the North Korea but it would also send a message around the world that the United States is going to eliminate any serious threat to its security.”¹¹¹ For Donald Trump, even if the U.S prevents North Korea to have mass weapons of destruction, she will definitely do a military attack in order to show the U.S power and eliminate North Korea from the international system. In addition, Secretary of Defense Jim Mattis and U.S. Forces Korea said that if there is a possible strike to DPRK, they will “identify all targets related to North Korea’s nuclear and missile programs, and ends with our ability to put an end to North Korea’s nuclear and missile arsenal without suffering a North Korean retaliatory response against South Korea, Japan, or the United States itself”¹¹². Therefore, the U.S government will not hold back and if there is a provocation escalates. They will possibly strike DPRK because of “Kim’s perceived irrationality – that a

¹⁰⁹ Ibid

¹¹⁰ Przystup, James J. US North Korea Policy After the Olympics. February 10,2018. Access Date: 01.03.2018 <https://thediplomat.com/2018/02/us-north-korea-policy-after-the-olympics/>

¹¹¹ Trump,Donald. America We Deserve. January 15,2000. Renaissance Books.

¹¹² Przystup, James J. US North Korea Policy After the Olympics. February 10,2018. Access Date: 01.03.2018 <https://thediplomat.com/2018/02/us-north-korea-policy-after-the-olympics/>

nuclear-armed Kim cannot be trusted to be deterred".¹¹³ Therefore, USA has her reasons to be concern over North Korea but at the same time, DPRK continues to improve its nuclear weapons. The more DPRK's nuclear weapons become more capable, the more it is difficult for USA to prevent DPRK to pose a threat to security, nuclear proliferation and lose her power over Asia.

Moreover, by having reasons in terms of nuclear weapons towards DPRK, recent developments between North Korea and USA shows USA's serious intention to cease North Korea's ambition. On June 12, 2018, Trump and Kim Jong Un met in Singapore. For the first time in USA history, no other President have met North Korean leader before. The purpose of the meeting is to discuss the permanent denuclearization of the North Korea and normalizing ties as well as opening a diplomacy which USA and North Korea have not had before. USA and North Korea leaders discussed the denuclearization, and Trump said that he was certain that two states would be successful regarding to nuclear-free Korean Peninsula. The meeting contributed to USA's efforts to stop DPRK to be threat to her national security as well as nuclear proliferation. In addition, it contributed to South Korea President Moon Jae In's efforts to prevent any escalation of war and peace and stability in Korean Peninsula which could be implemented. Although Trump and Kim Jong Un's meeting provided two state's relationship to be closer, whether DPRK is sincerely willing to give up her nuclear weapons or not, is not known. Because, in the previous years, North Korea, made false commitments such as NPT or Six Party talks in which she said that she would be willing to giving up mass weapons of destruction and signed an agreement. Yet, later, DPRK withdrew from the agreement and also the party talks by saying that she would not want to give up them. Another example can be given through the meeting in June 2018. Although Trump said that the meeting were successful, North Korean media accused USA by saying that they were

¹¹³ Ibid

requesting many things from DPRK.¹¹⁴ In return, USA intelligence agency declared that North Korea does not seem willing to give up mass weapons of destruction as they are developing enriched uranium which can be proof of creating another ballistic missile. Therefore, USA's not willing to believe and trust to North Korea and seeing her as a threat to herself seems to be verified by the recent developments.

3.2 UNITED KINGDOM

United Kingdom was the third country to develop and test nuclear weapons after USA and USSR. In addition, "UK is the permanent member of UN Security Council as well as the one of the five nuclear states in the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons."¹¹⁵ . Although United Kingdom collaborated with USA in Manhattan Project and in 1952, with the beginning of the Cold War, she has a stance against nuclear proliferation. Thus, for DPRK, UK does not want any arm conflict in the Korean Peninsula as well as in Asia.

Although UK had been side of USA in the wars such as in Korean War, in order to improve its diplomatic relations with DPRK, "she opened embassies in London and Pyongyang in 12 December 2000."¹¹⁶ However, when DPRK conducted a one of the missile tests in 12 February 2013, UK was both concerned and reacted to the missile test. Because United Kingdom has been advocating "avoidance of great power conflict"¹¹⁷ in the international system. Accordingly, and also for her, the developments of nuclear missiles and

¹¹⁴ Shugerman, Emily. Donald Trump cancels Mike Pompeo's North Korea visit citing lack of progress on denuclearisation. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/us-politics/donald-trump-north-korea-kim-jong-un-mike-pompeo-trip-cancelled-denuclearisation-progress-a8507086.html> Access Date: 18.09.2018.

¹¹⁵ Ibid

¹¹⁶ Hoare, JE (2004). "A Brush with History: Opening the British Embassy Pyongyang, 2001-2002". Papers of the British Association for Korean Studies. 9. Archived from the original on 4 November 2006. Retrieved 6 April 2013.

¹¹⁷ Bew John and Jones David Martin. UK Strategy in Asia: Some Starting Principles. A Britain In the World Project Policy Bite. September 2017

also the tests are a threat to international and regional security. Therefore, UK is afraid of the provocations which will lead DPRK to attack against the U.S, South Korea as well as Europe. UK's recent Foreign Secretary, Boris Johnson, reacted North Korea's recent missile test in 4 July 2017 as "Kim Jong-Un is responsible for the crisis over North Korea's nuclear programme and must now "fix it".¹¹⁸ Since 2011, when Kim Jong Un became leader, North Korea's development of nuclear weapon program has been improving and this makes states especially who is an ally with the U.S, to be concerned. Therefore, "UK is afraid of any arm conflict in the Korean Peninsula or Asia as the diplomatic relations between the United States and North Korea has been escalating."¹¹⁹ To illustrate, the U.S President Donald Trump declared that the U.S Military forces were locked and loaded and warning Kim he will regret it fast if he takes any action against US territories and allies."¹²⁰ Thus, the U.S believes that both U.S and DPRK have failed to reach an consensus for the issue of nuclear weapons and "only thing will work"¹²¹, as President Trump says, is attack. Accordingly, UK's Prime Minister, Theresa May declared that for any possibility of the arm conflict, UK is preparing for it. She said that "UK's recently launched aircraft carrier, HMS Queen Elizabeth, in 2021, will be in Pacific waters."¹²² Therefore, because of the escalation of the diplomatic relations between the U.S and North Korea, UK is afraid to be dragged into any war with the regime and she will have no other option but to join the U.S as she is one of the most powerful states in the collaboration. As Jeremy Corbyn, British politician and leader of the Labour Party said

¹¹⁸ Corvon, Gavin. Boris Johnson Says Blame For North Korea- US Nuclear Weapons Crisis Lies With Kim Jong-Un. 13 August 2017. Access Date: 17.03.2018 <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/boris-johnson-uk-government-north-korea-kim-jong-un-responsible-nuclear-weapons-crisis-us-donald-a7890616.html>

¹¹⁹ Ibid

¹²⁰ Lemire,Jonathan. North Korea 'will regret it fast' if it acts against U.S. territories, allies: Trump. August 11,2017.Access Date: 17.03.2018 <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/north-korea-will-regret-it-fast-if-it-acts-against-us-territories-allies-trump/article35959541/>

¹²¹ Guardian Staff and Agencies. Trump says 'only one thing will work' with nuclear-armed North Korea. October 7,2017. Access Date: 17.03.2018 <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/oct/07/donald-trump-nuclear-north-korea>

¹²² Michael Auslin, "Britain Flies into the Danger Zone: But the risks of getting involved in Asia are worth it", Policy Exchange, 12 January 2017. Access Date:17.03.2018 <https://policyexchange.org.uk/britainflies-into-the-danger-zone-but-the-risks-of-getting-involved-in-asia-are-worth-it/>

about Donald Trump that “ He would never use nuclear weapons but Manchester and London are closer to Pyongyang than Los Angeles”.¹²³

3.3 TURKEY

Turkey’s history with Korean peninsula dates back to 1950 to the Korean War. In 1950, in order to be with the U.S allies and also to oppose to spread of communism, Turkey sent her troops both politically and military to Korean War. In addition, “Turkey decided to send a brigade of 5,000 troops and Turkey was the second country to answer the UN call, after the United States.”¹²⁴ The Korean War , which was one of the most important wars in the history in Asia especially in the aspect of Anti-communism, caused North Korea to improve nuclear weapons and different regime than South Korea’s. Therefore, Turkey do not want DPRK to possess nuclear weapons because she does not want any arm conflict. Also, she is against nuclear proliferation and “she is in favour of a denuclearized Korean Peninsula and fully supports and strictly complies with the UNSC Resolutions and supports international sanctions against the DPRK”¹²⁵.

After Korean War in 1950, Turkey and the U.S supported South Korea’s both Western and democratic stance. Therefore, the diplomatic relations between North Korea and Turkey was not reached until 1970. Although North Korea made various attempts to establish relations especially with European countries and also with Turkey, she could not succeed until Turkey’s intervention in Cyprus in 1974. In 1974, Turkey’s relations with the West, especially with USA were deteriorated. This degradation led Turkey to improve relations with third world countries and especially with North Korea. “In such an environment, a foreign

¹²³ Corvon, Gavin. Boris Johnson Says Blame For North Korea- US Nuclear Weapons Crisis Lies With Kim Jong-Un.

¹²⁴ Department of Defense. "[Allied Forces in the Korean War](#)". Retrieved 2008-09-29.

¹²⁵ Republic Of Turkey, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Relations between Turkey and the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea. Access Date: 18.03.2018 <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-the-democratic-peoples-republic-of-korea.en.mfa>

trade protocol was signed between Turkey and North Korea in August 1977”¹²⁶. However, the foreign trade protocol became invalid when North Korean agents tried to assassinate South Korean President Chun Doo Hwan. Accordingly, diplomatic ties with DPRK were not bind again until the collapse of USSR. DPRK tried to improve relations with states, especially with Turkey in 1993. In 1993, DPRK made their first visit to Turkey, Ankara. “The delegation of the ruling Workers’ Party of Korea had official contacts in Turkey in December 1993 and proposed to develop bilateral relations in all areas, including the establishment of diplomatic relations”.¹²⁷ Thus, Turkey and DPRK normalized their diplomatic relations with opening embassies. “The Turkish Embassy in Seoul is accredited to North Korea, while the North Korean Embassy in Sofia is accredited to Turkey”¹²⁸. Although normalization talks and embassies were established, Turkey’s stance against nuclear proliferation and denuclearization is still valid. To illustrate, DPRK’s missile test on July 28,2017 made Turkey to react North Korea firmly. Turkish Foreign Minister, Mevlüd Çavuşoğlu said “Having conducted its second ballistic missile test within one month, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) continues to flagrantly violate UN Security Council Resolutions and to disregard its international obligation”¹²⁹. Thus, Turkey fears that any escalation will lead to war if DPRK maintains its nuclear weapon program. For Turkey, nuclear weapons are not something to be used in order to show off as well as it is not reasonable for any country to use it, either. On August 2017, the diplomatic relations between the U.S and North Korea was escalated due to the last missile test. Therefore, Turkish Foreign Minister reacted to conflict between the U.S and DPRK as “A showdown over nuclear weapons is not a children's game.

¹²⁶ Colakoglu,Selcuk. Turkey’s East Asian Policy: From Security Concerns to Trade Partnerships. Winter 2012, Volume XVII, Number 4, pp. 129-158.

¹²⁷ Kuzey Kore Turkiye ile Iliski Istiyor”, Milliyet, 22 December 1993.

¹²⁸ Republic Of Turkey, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Relations between Turkey and the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea. Access Date: 18.03.2018 <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-the-democratic-peoples-republic-of-korea.en.mfa>

¹²⁹ Daily News. Turkey condemns North Korea Ballistic Missile Test. 29 July 2017. Access Date: 18 March 2018. <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-condemns-north-korea-ballistic-missile-test-116095>

The countries should start acting reasonably as soon as possible”¹³⁰ Accordingly, Turkey does not want any arm conflict as she has experienced a war in the Korean Peninsula, she does not want to experience war again, but this time, the war will be much bigger; including nuclear weapons. Therefore, the diplomatic relations between Turkey and North Korea may improve if DPRK gives up its nuclear weapon programme entirely. And DPRK will have a chance to improve its relation with South Korea which will affect her relations with the U.S. As Turkish President, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan says “We do not want the crisis between the United States and North Korea to result in a military conflict as it will have an impact not only on these two countries. We call for the political settlement of this crisis”¹³¹

3.4 USSR AND RUSSIAN FEDERATION

The Democratic People’s Republic of Korea came into existence thanks to Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. “Kim Il Sung, North Korea’s founder was a guerrilla leader who became a major in the Soviet Red Army and served it until the end of World War II.”¹³² After 26 years in USSR, he returned to Korea and the Soviets made him as the head of the Korean Communist Party. After the establishment of the Communist Party, the party gained its strength owing to USSR’s assistance of army and air force and eventually, he declared the Democratic People’s Republic Korea in 1948. His declaration caused Korean War to be happened in 1950 and 38th parallel. DPRK, after Kim Il Sung founded the state, began to develop nuclear research and later nuclear missiles with the help of USSR. “Pyongyang signed the founding charter of the Soviet Union's Joint Institute for Nuclear Research in February 1956, and began to send scientists and technicians to the USSR for training shortly

¹³⁰ Ibid

¹³¹ Sputnik News. Turkey Calls For Political Settlement of US-North Korea Crisis. 11 August 2017. Access Date: 18.03.2018 <https://sputniknews.com/politics/201708111056382303-us-north-korea-crisis-settlement/>

¹³² Tarabay, Jamie. Russia’s Power Play In North Korea Aimed At Both China And US. CNN . Access Date: 10.03.2018 <https://edition.cnn.com/2017/09/01/asia/russia-north-korea-analysis/index.html>

thereafter”¹³³ “Three years later, DPRK and USSR had an agreement for the peaceful usage of nuclear energy and also for the establishment of Yongbyon Nuclear Research Centre.”¹³⁴ Thus, in the following years, DPRK improved its educational and nuclear research program with the assistance of USSR. In the 1964, Kim Il Sung, having seeing China’s first nuclear test, wanted Mao Zedong to share nuclear missile technology with North Korea but Zedong refused to do so. Therefore, this event led North Korea-China relationships to deteriorate and caused DPRK to rely on USSR more for nuclear weapons. Thus, In 1970’s, Although North Korean scientists were using domestic technology to improve their research reactors however DPRK received “plutonium reprocessing technology from the Soviet Union.”¹³⁵ .After receiving the technology from USSR, DPRK had an agreement of “Trilateral Safeguards with the Soviets”¹³⁶ . However, North Korea wanted to be seen as a state that researching for nuclear program for peaceful usage but after the 1994 Agreed Frame Work Agreement, it was understood that DPRK was developing reprocessed plutonium for the nuclear weapons and also had nuclear waste sites. Therefore, USSR and also for Russian Federation, have their reasons for DPRK not to possess any nuclear weapons.

The first reason for both USSR and Russian Federation is she fears for military conflict between South Korea and North Korea. Therefore, she wants to solve this issue through diplomacy not with harsh sanctions as the U.S and UN imposes. Because “the sanctions may provoke DPRK to conduct ICBM to the U.S, South Korea as well as Russia. Russia expects to maintain peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula, as well as avoiding involvement in military conflicts”¹³⁷ . Russian Federation’s diplomatic solution for DPRK

¹³³ Nuclear Threat Initiative. North Korea. December,2017. Access Date: 10.03.2018

<http://www.nti.org/learn/countries/north-korea/nuclear/>

¹³⁴ Ibid

¹³⁵ Nuclear Threat Initiative. North Korea. December,2017. Access Date: 10.03.2018

<http://www.nti.org/learn/countries/north-korea/nuclear/>

¹³⁶ Ibid

¹³⁷ Motohide Saito. Roshia No Ajia Seisaku To Buki Yushutsu, Kaku Kakusan Mondai. Ryukichi Imai,Tadae Takubo,Shiego Hiramatsu,eds, Posuto Reisen To Kaku(Keiso Shobo,19959,pp.86-87.

can be told through past. When USSR collapsed in 1991 and The New Russian Federation President, Boris Yeltsin came into administration, he did not give importance to DPRK relations as former presidents did. He underestimated DPRK and did not want to improve relations with DPRK but to focus on South Korea instead. This occasion triggered North Korea to have cooler relations with Russian Federation and especially focused on developing nuclear weapons. In addition, having cold relationship was so extent that USSR did not want to renew “1961 Soviet-DPRK Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance”¹³⁸. Although DPRK requested to resign the agreement in order to have Russian Federation’s military and nuclear umbrella, “President Yelstin rejected it in line with his foreign policy oriented strongly towards South Korea.”¹³⁹ These events made North Korea to be successful over nuclear weapons program and when she withdrew from the Agreed Frame Work Agreement in 1994 , she gained nuclear weapons technology with Pakistan.

However, after Yelstin gave the administration to Vladimir Putin in 2000 and the Soviets and Russia’s goal for avoiding possible military conflict in Korean Peninsula and solution through diplomacy was to be implemented. Unlike Yelstin,” Putin had talks both North Korea and South Korea. Putin chose North Korea as the destination for his official visit abroad as president, and sought to develop an equi-distant foreign policy for both North and South Korea.”¹⁴⁰ Russia, as DPRK, wants to take advantage of being powerful state over two divided Koreas in order to control Asia through diplomacy rather than the U.S controlling over them. Therefore, the agreement which Yelstin did not renew; the Treaty on Friendship, Good Neighbourly Relation and Cooperation was signed in Pyongyang in order to restore Russia influence over Korean Peninsula as well as Asia. Unlike the old treaty, the new treaty

¹³⁸ Union of Soviet Republics and Democratic People’s Republic of Korea.Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance. Signed in 6 July, 1961. Access Date: 12.06.2018
<https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/3005971-1961-Treaty-of-Friendship-Cooperation-and-Mutual.html>

¹³⁹ Motohide, Saito.Russian North Korea Policy: Current Status and Future Outlook.2016.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid

did not include any military assistance from Russian Federation due to “ Russia is deeply concerned about being drawn into a war amidst the intensification of conflict between North and South Korea. A scenario of the revival of Russia’s military alliance with North Korea seems unlikely.”¹⁴¹ Russia does not want to have any military agreement with DPRK in case of any second Korea War because she will not have any other option but to find her assisting DPRK for military troops or nuclear weapons. In addition, the possibility of war will bring influx of asylum seekers who is fleeing from both South and North Korea. Therefore, “with the intention of preventing an influx of refugees and maintaining friendly nations with North Korea, Russia concluded an agreement with North Korea in February 2016 to return North Korean defectors to North Korea”¹⁴². Putin administration sees the crisis of North Korea as an increasing tension and this tension may lead outbreak of armed conflict between North and South Korea which cannot be avoided. In addition, “Russia considers North Korea to be last Stalinist country in the world, and views it as an “uneasy neighbour who has embarked on the development of nuclear arms and ballistic missiles.”¹⁴³ Russia was right to describe North Korea as an uneasy neighbour because DPRK’s development of nuclear weapons and tests, especially in 2016 and 2017 remarked in the international system as well as made her neighbours into concern. Such as on January 6,2016, DPRK made a hydrogen bomb test which was successful. UN was gathered in order to discuss the missile test, the representative of Russia said that it was a violation of international law and national security threat. However, Russia, unlike other nations, did not give any support to impose harsh sanctions on North Korea as she did on September 15,2017 ballistic missile tests. Deputy Minister, Ryabkov said “We are still convinced that the problem of denuclearization of the Korean peninsula can be solved only through dialog. It’s "premature" to talk about imposing new

¹⁴¹ Motohide, Saito. Russian North Korea Policy: Current Status and Future Outlook.2016.

¹⁴² The Moscow Times, February 4,2016.

¹⁴³ Lankov, Andrei. The Resurgence of a Market Economy in North Korea. Carnegie Moscow Center. February 3,2016.

sanctions against North Korea”¹⁴⁴. Russia, when DPRK does missile tests, every time, she is taking approaches towards UN or other states due to she is still afraid of escalation of war.

In addition, the way Russia deals with North Korea nuclear weapon crisis with diplomatic solution is visa-vis to China and USA. For China, she is genuine and one of the oldest ally of the DPRK and when USA declared that she would deploy THAAD(Terminal High Altitude Area Defense) system in South Korea, China said that she was against it. “China’s foreign ministry strongly opposed the THAAD deployment plan, declaring that it would have a direct impact on China’s strategic and security interests beyond the Korean Peninsula”.¹⁴⁵ For nuclear crisis and the deployment of THAAD, China is always in favour of imposing sanctions against DPRK and she does not want THADD system due to it can be used as a check against her. For USA, she is not ally with DPRK but at the same time, by imposing its power over North Korea, she wants to stay dominant in the Korean Peninsula with sanctions as well as firm reactions to DPRK’s missile tests. On the other hand, Russia is always in favour of diplomacy solutions but she is also against THAAD system because “ Russia concerns lie more with the eastward expansion movements of NATO”¹⁴⁶. NATO expansion means for Russia is the expansion of USA over Korean Peninsula which will cause an obstacle to Russia’s DPRK policy. Therefore, Russia is constantly following its interests and nuclear weapon crisis through diplomacy. Such as on February 2018, Russia Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Morgulov and South Korea Nuclear Envoy Lee Do-Hoon met but at the same time, DPRK sent delegation to Moscow for negotiations and they declared that they have a plan to celebrate 70 years of Moscow-Pyongyang diplomatic relations. Therefore, in

¹⁴⁴ Arkhipov, Ilya and Medestky, Anatoly. Russia Condemns North Korea’s Nuclear Test, Urges Composure. Access Date: 10.03.2018 <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-09-03/russia-condemns-north-korea-s-nuclear-test-urges-composure>

¹⁴⁵ Synder, Scott and Byun, See-won. China-Korea Relations: New Sanctions, Old Dilemmas, Comperative Connections. May, 2016. p.94

¹⁴⁶ Motohide. Russian North Korea Policy: Current Status and Future Outlook.

order not to provoke DPRK to conduct missile test and not to find herself in the military conflict between ROK and DPRK, Russia is still trying to solve the crisis through diplomacy.

Furthermore, the second reason for Russia is she does not want to lose economic partner due to any nuclear crisis and therefore she is trying to prevent North Korea's regime to collapse as well as escalation of war. During the Cold War, the Soviet Union was an important economic partner for North Korea. "In the 1970 and 1980s, USSR's share in the DPRK's foreign trade increased from 25% to 50%"¹⁴⁷. But in "in 1990, it reached 53.3% or \$2.2 billion."¹⁴⁸ In addition, USSR was one of the biggest providers of industrial enterprises in North Korea at that time. However, the collapse of USSR made the bilateral relations to freeze, especially in economic relationships. Yet, with Putin Administration, and Treaty on Friendship, Good Neighbourly Relations and Cooperation was the first step the normalization of relations in the financial issues and for the future cooperation. In Putin's article in 2012, he said that "Russia was interested in working to establish a stable and predictable political dialogue with Pyongyang and has sought to identify opportunities to increase bilateral economic exchanges with North Korea."¹⁴⁹ In order to do that, Russia is helping North Korea with "permanent transport and telecommunication via rail, air, sea and the internet-connecting the isolated nation to the outside world"¹⁵⁰. Moreover, Russia wants North Korea to be appearing in market economy. North Korea's transition to market economy will give a birth to opportunities to Russia. As well as improving economic exchange, Russia will receive expanded economic dominance over Northeast Asia and Korean Peninsula. In addition, Russia would improve its relationship with accordingly, any conflict or threat to North-South Korea will cause political instability for Russian economic cooperation on the Korean

¹⁴⁷ Zakharova, Liudmila. Economic Cooperation Between Russia and North Korea: New Goals and New Approaches. 4 May 2016.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid

¹⁴⁹ Feodorovskiy, Alexander. Russia's Policy Toward North Korea. Russia Analytical Digest No:132, 11 July 2013.

¹⁵⁰ Lukin, Artyom. Nuclear Weapons And Russian-North Korean Relations. Foreign Policy Research Institute. November 29, 2017. Access Date: 13.03.2018 <https://www.fpri.org/article/2017/11/nuclear-weapons-russian-north-korean-relations/>

peninsula and in Asia. In addition, in 2012, “Russia wiped off North Korea’s %90 debt of \$11bn which she owed to USSR in order to improve bilateral cooperation”¹⁵¹. Russia is aware of DPRK’s economy and their self-reliance on their domestic industry and therefore, if there is an any conflict in the Korean Peninsula, it will be an obstacle for Russia to maintain its relationship with DPRK in the aspect of economic as well as politics. In addition, for Russia, DPRK is an important economic partner due to its significant harbour: Rajin. “Through Rajin port, Russia exports energy, coal and petroleum for aircrafts to North Korea.”¹⁵². And also with Rajin harbour, Russia also receives DPRK labourers who are known for human trafficking. North Korean workers abroad today range from” 20,000 to over 150,000, with Russia and China believed to host the largest number.”¹⁵³ Labourers, who are working in the Russia and China, believed to be working in harsh and exploitative conditions. “The workers typically work for three years without having a chance to return home and labour between 12 and 16 hours every day under dangerous sub-standard conditions.”¹⁵⁴. Therefore, Russia’s wants to solve DPRK’s ambition for nuclear weapons through diplomacy and also with economic partnership so that she would not want to find herself in any arms race in Korean peninsula.

3. 5 CHINA

China is an historical ally of North Korea which she shares an 870-mile border.” It support dates back to the Korean War (1950-1953)”¹⁵⁵. In 1950, for the Korean War, North Korea’s Prime Minister Kim Il- Sung visited the Chinese leader, Mao Zedong, for his plans for the war. With the encouragement and military assistance of the Soviet Union, “Chinese

¹⁵¹ Fedorovskiy, Alexander. Russia’s Policy Toward North Korea. Russian Analytical Digest. No,132, 11 July 2013.

¹⁵² N. Korea opens int’l trade fair at economic zone”. Bloomberg Business week. August 22, 2011. Retrieved August 24, 2011.

¹⁵³ 150,000 N. Korean Sent to Slave Labor Abroad” Chosun Ilbo, November 13, 2014.

¹⁵⁴ Shin and Go, Beyond the UN COI Report on Human Rights in North Korea. November 2014.

¹⁵⁵ Directorate-General For External Policies, Policy Department. European Parliament. Nuclear Proliferation in North East Asia. 23 March 2017.

troops under the name of the Chinese People's Volunteer Army (CPV) crossed the Yalu River to assist North Korean armies, and engaged in the Korean War in an offensive manner after the U.S. troops crossed the 38th parallel."¹⁵⁶. Mao Zedong's army were fighting against USA as well as United Nations command. The military assistance from the Soviets and China led Korean War to be concluded with the division of two Koreas. Since then, China has her reasons why she does not want DPRK to develop of nuclear weapons and missile tests but at the same time, she is still ally and economic partner of DPRK.

For China, the first reason, she does not want DPRK to possess nuclear weapons because it poses a threat to her national security. Accordingly, China as other countries would feel, she does not want her neighbour to have nuclear weapons. She shares same borders with DPRK as well as old economic ally of DPRK. China has been a witness to North Korea's establishment, economic and politic crisis as well as her ambition for mass weapons of destruction, DPRK can pose a threat to her someday. Possibly in the future, with nuclear weapons, DPRK's friendly behaviour can be turned into vice versa. In case of any opposition or inconsistency, DPRK could threat China with her nuclear weapons. Therefore, China, as her previous experience taught her not to trust her ally entirely because someday she could be turned your enemy. To illustrate, In 1956 August Faction Incident, China with the assistance of the Soviets, tried to topple over Kim Il Sung from the power as they are afraid of his expansion of power. Because, if his power increased enough to control over Asia, he would want to rule it solely. Therefore in order not to give merely power to Kim Il Sung, China and USSR want to avoid their "ally "Kim Il Sung's rise. Consequently, Kim Il Sung, arrested and executed the criminals. Therefore, China is afraid of its national security because some day, if North Korea sees her regime or national security is threatened; she could make China as her enemy and she will not hesitate to attack China with her mass weapons of destruction.

¹⁵⁶ Zhou, Bangning. Expaining China's Intervention in the Korean War in 1950. Interstate-Journal of International Affairs. 2015

The second reason for China for not advocating DPRK to possess mass weapons of destruction is the influx of defectors. If there is any attack from USA with her allies or coup d'état in North Korea, DPRK will try to stop it with her armed forces. And also the attack will possibly harm China's national security as well as it will cause North Korean people to flee from their country. As China is both disturbed and anxious over DPRK's development of mass weapons of destruction and missile tests, she has the largest population in the world. And with the influx of immigrants, from medical to accommodation, China would have to deal with North Korean defectors who would cause a huge problem in the aspect of security, socially and also in the international standing. Therefore, "Although China has not officially commented on the possibility of regime change and the future that lies beyond it, it has voiced strong criticism of the defectors, refusing to grant them refugee status and instead of calling them "illegal immigrants".¹⁵⁷ Therefore, the possibility of the second Korean War would cause immigrants to flee from North Korea and thus, China is concerning over the influx of defectors as in the future, if there is a coup d'état or the second Korean war, it will threaten to its borders and security.

The third reason for China is if there is a Second Korean war, she will have to have a war with two states: Japan and USA. Japan, before World War II broke out, was a major and colonial power over Asia. With her powerful military and ambition to rise as the most powerful state in the world, Japan challenged USA. However, the war was ended with Japan's the passive constitution and military. Although Japan have a new constitution that it seems to be decreases her "power" it is not the case. "Japan has its Japan Self-Defense Forces which is the 9th powerful armed forces in the world."¹⁵⁸ Therefore, if there is second Korean War, Japan can take this opportunity to revise its constitution so as to gain the right to modernize

¹⁵⁷ Isozaki, Atsuhito. Understanding the North Korean Regime. Asia Program, Wilson Center. April 2017.

¹⁵⁸ 2017 Japan Military Strength Current military capabilities and available firepower for the nation of Japan. Access Date: 27.02.2018 https://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country_id=japan

her military. As China knows that Japan was one of the powerful states in the history and today she has one of the biggest economy and pioneer in the technology, Japan could be a rival and pose a threat to China in the Korean Peninsula.

Furthermore, for USA, China is also afraid of conflict with the United States. USA 's invasion of both Iraq and Afghanistan showed to China that if USA's interests is the subject, she will turn any opportunity into her advantage undoubtedly.. Thus, China has become a main rival for USA because of her economic and politic ally of DPRK as well as her expanding economy. China knows that if she is come across with USA in the possible second Korean War, the triumph could be USA's. As the Soviets and Japan controlled and set their dominance over Asia, China, in the future, with its expanding economy and the powerful military with a nuclear weapons and being ally with DPRK, it can be powerful enemy who can challenge USA in the possible second Korean War. However, the consequences of the war, economic hardships, influx of the defectors make China to be hesitant to get in any conflict with USA.

3.6 SOUTH KOREA

One of the North Korea's archenemy, and having experienced the Korean War, Republic of Korea (ROK) or South Korea, since then, has been advancing in the every aspect of technology, health, tourism, economy. Since 1950, South Korea has a long history of acquiring nuclear weapons as in between 1971 and 1975. She tried to develop and possess nuclear weapons so as to use them in national security. However, eventually, "she was dissuaded from this option by U.S threats to cease security and economic guarantees altogether"¹⁵⁹ and she had to give up them. Possessing an advancing technology, education and economy since Korean War 1950, South Korea has only reason why she does not want

¹⁵⁹ Hughes, Christopher W. North Korea's Nuclear Weapons: Implications for the Nuclear Ambitions of Japan, South Korea and Taiwan. January 2007.

DPRK to develop any nuclear weapons; she wants to prevent escalation of war and she wants to keep stability and peace in the Korean peninsula.

As being one of the powerful states in the Asia, ROK is not in favour of DPRK to develop nuclear weapons. As new South Korean President, Moon Jae In said that his “chief task as South Korean president is to make sure “there is never again a war on the Korean Peninsula”¹⁶⁰. As for ROK, “having experienced in a Korean War and lost 217,000 military, 1,000,000 civilian”¹⁶¹. Therefore, any escalation of war especially if it is nuclear escalation, South Korea will fear of any attack from North Korea. For South Korea, in the nuclear escalation, she will receive a both military and nuclear weapons aid by USA. Accordingly, USA allies, especially United Kingdom, France and NATO forces will join the war in order to eliminate North Korea to attack. In the possible second Korean War, if DPRK is afraid of the coalition of the West, might decide to use nuclear weapons in order to prevent her regime to collapse. In the Korean War in 1950, North Korea lost as” 406,000 military, 600,000 civilian”¹⁶², the consequence of the second Korean War will be much worse than the first one and the escalation of war will be an end to Kim Jong Un regime. As for South Korea, with her military capability is much bigger than North Korea’s. USA deployed their nuclear weapons in order to deter North Korea from attacking also with U.S ‘nuclear weapons as more than 1481 warheads¹⁶³. In addition, in 2016, “the United States also deployed THAAD (Terminal High Altitude Area Defense) system due to increased security threat posed by North

¹⁶⁰ Ko,Se Woong. Trump Wants War, Moon Wants Peace. January 11,2018. Access Date: 23.03.2018 <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/renewed-talks-prevent-war-korean-peninsula-180111080802535.html>

¹⁶¹ CNN Library. Korean War Fast Facts. June 10,2017. Access Date: 23.03.2018 <https://edition.cnn.com/2013/06/28/world/asia/korean-war-fast-facts/index.html>

¹⁶² CNN Library. Korean War Fast Facts. June 10,2017. Access Date: 23.03.2018 <https://edition.cnn.com/2013/06/28/world/asia/korean-war-fast-facts/index.html>

¹⁶³ Kristensen Hans M and Norris Robert S. A History of US Nuclear Weapons in South Korea.October 26,2017 Access Date: 23.03.2018 <https://www.globalresearch.ca/a-history-of-us-nuclear-weapons-in-south-korea/5623878>

Korea.”¹⁶⁴ If reunification happens and if South Korea wins the war, the consequences will give difficult situations to both states. South Korean and North Korean people maintain lives differently as the South is living in a democratic state, aware of the human rights, democracy. And also they have” freedom” to mostly every aspect but for the North Koreans, they are oppressed by their government and they have no freedom to talk. Therefore, if North Korean people immigrate to South Korea, they will have a hardship so as to adapt life there. On the other hand, if triumph happens to be on DPRK , she will be much powerful in the Korean Peninsula. South Korean civilians will try to escape to neighbourhood countries such as China, Japan even USA. The dominance of USA will be lost .Thus, in order to prevent the escalation of war and high tensions and as well as the possible scenarios of reunification, South Korean President, Moon Jae In, when he met with the U.S President Donald Trump. President Moon Jae In said “South Korea is in favour of peace and sanctions are not for the sake of sanctions but a means to bring North Korea to join peaceful negotiation”¹⁶⁵. Accordingly, for peace dialogue and in order not to be provoked by nuclear weapons, South Korea invited North Korea to Pyeongchang Olympics which held between February 9 and February 25,2018. For the first time since 2007 Asian Winter games, the two Koreas were united in the event. “The teams representing North Korea and South Korea entered the Opening Ceremony marching under the Korean Unification Flag, while in women's ice hockey there was a single united Korean team”¹⁶⁶. For South Korea, the unification of the two Koreas in the Olympics could contribute political solution after the strained relations as well as DPRK’s several missile tests. For North Korea, whether it is not known why DPRK suddenly interested in participating in the Pyeongchang Olympics, but it can be said that whenever South Korea invited North Korea

¹⁶⁴ Fitfield,Anna. South Korea, U.S Start Talks on Anti-Missile System. Washington Post. February 7,2016

¹⁶⁵ Ko,Se Woong. Trump Wants War, Moon Wants Peace. January 11,2018. Access Date: 23.03.2018
<https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/renewed-talks-prevent-war-korean-peninsula-180111080802535.html>

¹⁶⁶ Sang-hun, Choe (17 January 2018). "North and South Korean Teams to March as One at Olympics". The New York Times. Retrieved 17 January 2018.

to participate in the events such as 2010 Winter Games in Vancouver, 2007 Asian Games, DPRK did receive financial concession from South Korea. “For this time, Pyongyang might just get the same this time around, too.”¹⁶⁷ North Korea might be seem pacifist and open to negotiation by participating the Olympics. However DPRK does not want to give up her nuclear weapons because of her survival of regime Therefore, South Korea, especially its President Moon Jae In, offered an olive branch in order to prevent any escalation of war.

For President Moon Jae In, ROK’s policy of Sunshine is a significant element for DPRK’s nuclear crisis because it emphasizes the peace and stability in the Korean Peninsula. Sunshine Policy which was established by former South Korean President Kim Dae Jung in 1998, was aiming to prevent North Korea to take military action to South Korea. In order to prevent the military action, South Korea assisted North Korea with economic development such as tourism and cultural exchange. President Kim Dae Jung’s Sunshine Policy was successful as the high tensions and escalation of fear was reduced. Also in North Korea’s “Kaesong Industrial Complex, North Korean workers who were 54,000 , worked with South Koreans who supervised them”¹⁶⁸. In addition, “nearly 2 million South Korean tourists visited Mount Kumgang in North Korea.”¹⁶⁹ In addition, families which separated during the Korean War, met again in a twice year.¹⁷⁰ Therefore, with those successful events, South Korea’s new President, Moon Jae In is aiming to restore those successful events and the first step was Pyeongchang Olympics. In addition to Pyeongchang Olympics, on 26th April 2018, Moon Jae-In and Kim Jong met for the first time. The meeting was playing a significant role because after many years, a South and North Korean leaders came together. Also, they met in order to discuss North Korea’s denuclearization and peace and stability in Korean Peninsula. The

¹⁶⁷ Ko,Se Woong. Trump Wants War, Moon Wants Peace. January 11,2018. Access Date: 23.03.2018
<https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/renewed-talks-prevent-war-korean-peninsula-180111080802535.html>

¹⁶⁸ Park, S.Nathan. Moons’ Secret Weapon Is Sunshine.May 19,2017. Access Date: 23.03.2018.
<http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/05/19/moons-secret-weapon-is-sunshine-south-korea-kim-jong-un/>

¹⁶⁹ Ibid

¹⁷⁰ Ibid

meeting were ended with two leaders signing an agreement and also taken photos by shaking hands together in the DMZ Zone. Since 2000 and 2007 which was the first and the second time meeting, North and South Korea have begun to normalization of talks as well as denuclearization in the third talk, April, 2018. On May 2018, Kim Jong Un and Moon Jae In met for the fourth time yet it was not announced publicly and details were not known. After the fourth meeting, South and North Korean leaders announced that there would be a meeting on 18th September 2018. On 18th September, Moon Jae In had become the first South Korean leader to travel Pyongyang after many decades. Kim Jong Un, regarding to meeting, he said that he is committed to cease development of range missiles and he wants Korean peninsula to nuclear-free.¹⁷¹ Although Moon Jae In wants to keep peace and nuclear-free Korean peninsula and using Trump as a mediator, according to USA, Kim Jong Un haven't done any measures or actions towards denuclearization. As North Korea is disturbed by USA troops in South Korea, she wants military troops to be removed. However, according to USA, by not seeing any actions towards denuclearization such as declaring number of missiles which have been destroyed and allowing inspection towards nuclear sites, USA are not going to withdraw her military troops.¹⁷² As USA is at ease about DPRK's unwilling to do any actions towards denuclearization, before Moon Jae In visited Pyongyang on September 18, 2018, North Korean media made a declaration. The declaration said that DPRK was willing to accelerate intimate and peace relationship with South Korea yet not mentioning nuclear-free Korean Peninsula. DPRK's recent declaration about South Korea seems to be verifying USA's concerns. Whether South Korea or USA are persuading North Korea to denuclearization or not, DPRK doesn't seem to want to leave nuclear power. The way North Korea treats South Korea friendly and possible ally is just a foreign policy. By declaring

¹⁷¹ Withall,Adam. Korean leaders agree to new historic Pyongyang summit as Kim insists he still has 'faith' in Trump.6 September 2018. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/north-korea-south-summit-kim-jong-un-donald-trump-moon-jae-in-pyongyang-nuclear-talks-a8524976.html> Access Date: 18.09.2018

¹⁷² Ibid.

international community and media to their “close” and possible “reunification” with South, North Korea is still trying to avoid USA’s and also Western states interference over Korean Peninsula.

3.7 JAPAN

Being only the state to experience nuclear weapon attack, Japan has been one of the countries that suffered from the adverse effects of the war . Due to World War II and her atrocious experience in the mass weapons of destruction, Japan is also one of the countries that do not want any nuclear weapons to trigger any war or cause regional instability. As on 9th August 1945, U.S.A. bombed first Hiroshima and then Nagasaki with plutonium implosion type bomb which they called “ Fat Man”. The power of the explosion was much bigger than Hiroshima’s explosion. It is known that the death toll in Hiroshima was “135,000 and in Nagasaki it is 64,000”¹⁷³ people. With the two explosions, it is estimated that %50 of the Japanese people were died. Therefore, Japan does not want to experience any type of war which has consequences of sufferings of nuclear weapons. Thus, she has reasons why she does not want North Korea to develop nuclear weapons.

“We will strengthen Japanese defence power, including missile defence capabilities, in order to protect the people's lives and peace.”¹⁷⁴ These words were said by Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe. Japan is opposed to North Korea’s nuclear weapons because she is afraid of North Korea’s direct threat which gives Japan a security concern. Japan, as she colonized Korea before World War II and was being one of the most powerful colony states in the world, can be a second target after South Korea. After Korea War in 1950, “Japan was

¹⁷³ The Atomic Bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Atomic Archive. Date of Access: 12.08.2017 http://www.atomicarchive.com/Docs/MED/med_chp10.shtml

¹⁷⁴ Silva,Christina. Japan Wants to Stop North Korea’s Kim Jong Un. But Dialogue Won’t Help. New Poll Shows. Access Date: 6.03.2018 <http://www.newsweek.com/japanese-want-war-north-korea-not-dialogue-new-poll-shows-715960>

to support to the Republic of Korea (South Korea) on the divided Korean Peninsula”.¹⁷⁵. As South Korea is an ally with USA which is seen as a “saviour” for South Koreans, Japan’s Asia Policy towards South Korea is “being close” and “balancing” . It is because South Korea is an ally with the U.S. Japan needs to be sided with them in order not to be exposed to an attack from North Korea. Therefore, in order to secure herself and avoid attack from North Korea, Japan is collaborating with the U.S for any threat as she did in the past. When Korea War broke in 1950, Japan due to its passive constitution and military, could not be able to participate directly but assisted USA. “The U.S military bases throughout Japan quickly became the launching pads of the US war operations.”¹⁷⁶ Thus, after North Korea’s development of nuclear weapons especially in Kim Jong Un’s regime and their multiple missile tests, Prime Minister Shinzō Abe tries to be USA’s one of her closest allies. Thus, so as to be seen an ally with the U.S, Japan Times had a poll for North Korea which is called “ Jiji Poll”. It questioned “2,000”¹⁷⁷ adults across Japan. “Roughly 54 percent of people said they want Japan and USA to take steps toward reining in North Korea, compared to 39.4 percent who said dialogue was the best path forward.”¹⁷⁸ “Half of the Japanese people are in favour of pressuring North Korea rather than doing dialogue as the United States, President Trump favours maximum pressure.”¹⁷⁹ Japanese people who voted for “Jiji” poll feel that they need to put some serious pressure on North Korea due to the repeated missile tests and also abductee’s issue. Although North Korea did missile tests on 12th February,14 and 21th May and on July 4,2017, those missile tests had never reached Japan’s borders. However, North Korea conducted missile tests July 28, August 29 and September 15, 2017 over Japan. The repeated missile tests made Japanese government, its citizens and also for whole world in a

¹⁷⁵ Vyas,Utpal, Chen,Ching-Chang, Roy,Denny.The North Korea Crisis and Regional Responses.East-West Center.2015

¹⁷⁶ Ibid

¹⁷⁷ Ibid

¹⁷⁸ Silva,Christina. Japan Wants to Stop North Korea’s Kim Jong Un. But Dialogue Won’t Help. New Poll Shows. Access Date: 6.03.2018 <http://www.newsweek.com/japanese-want-war-north-korea-not-dialogue-new-poll-shows-715960>

¹⁷⁹ A.g.e

shock and anger. North Korea's accession to conduct such powerful missile tests over Japan increased concerns about security all over the world. Japan with ordinary citizens are insisting that "the regime of Kim Jong-Un has shown once again that it cannot be trusted to behave reasonably and that more drastic measures are now called for"¹⁸⁰. For the missile test on July 28,2017," DPRK used Hwasong-14 ICBM which travelled 998 kilometres before it landed in the ocean."¹⁸¹ The ballistic missile which DPRK launched was the first one she conducted over Japan after many years. Japanese people who do not want any nuclear weapon war to be happen again, saw the ballistic missile on the sky which made them scared and concerned at the same time. According to Makoto Watanabe, an associate professor at Hokkaido Bunkyo University, he said "And now that they have done this once, what is to stop them doing it again? In my mind, Japan and the rest of the international community have to be much firmer from now on"¹⁸² Makoto Watanabe's concerns and words were right because North Korea conducted two other intercontinental ballistic missiles tests with one month interval. On 29 August 2017, DPRK conducted the second ballistic missile which is Hwasong- 12 ICBM ,over northern Japan. "This time, the missile travelled 2,700 kilometres"¹⁸³. In addition, on September 15,2017, DPRK conducted the last ballistic missile over Japan. "The latest one travelled the highest travel of missile which belonged to North Korea as it travelled 3,700 kilometres"¹⁸⁴. Thus, DPRK cannot be underestimated as she is firmly tightening the goals which she declared. And in the future, she will not stop until reach her ultimate goal; to be able to conduct her intercontinental ballistic missile to USA at the same time destroying Japan

¹⁸⁰ Ryall,Julian. Japanese react furiously to North Korean missile launch. Die Welt Journal. 30 August 2017. Access Date: 6.03.2018 <http://www.dw.com/en/japanese-react-furiously-to-north-korean-missile-launch/a-40279925>

¹⁸¹ Choe Sang-Hun and David E. Sanger.North Korea fires Missile Over Japan.August 28,2017. Access Date: 30 August 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/28/world/asia/north-korea-missile.html>

¹⁸² Ryall,Julian. Japanese react furiously to North Korean missile launch. Die Welt Journal. 30 August 2017. Access Date: 6.03.2018 <http://www.dw.com/en/japanese-react-furiously-to-north-korean-missile-launch/a-40279925>

¹⁸³ A Look at This Year's North Korean Nuclear and Missile Tests.Time Journal. 29 November 2017. Access Date: 6.03.2018 <http://time.com/5040375/north-korea-nuclear-missile-tests-2017/>

¹⁸⁴ Ibid

and South Korea. After the last test, Japanese government as well as the U.S government revealed their concerns. Japanese Prime Minister said “The international community needs to unite and send clear message after North Korea's dangerous provocation. We must let North Korea understand there is no bright future for North Korea if it continues in this way.”¹⁸⁵ On the other hand, US Secretary of State Rex Tillerson said the missile test was the second time the people of Japan "have been directly threatened in recent weeks.”¹⁸⁶ Therefore, both the U.S and Japan requested UN to a meeting and sanctions to be implemented. Putting pressure is important due to it can prevent the escalation of the possible the second Korea War. Thus, if Japan gets an attack from North Korea or in case of attack, she needs to be sided with USA for security and also because of her constitution.

Moreover, for abductees issue, in 1970's and 1980's, North Korean spies abducted many Japanese people from Japan. DPRK denied it for many years and called the abductees as missing persons. The abduction issue triggered Japanese government to be concern over security especially towards North Korea. Therefore, in 2002, Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi travelled to North Korea. In addition, before Koizumi made a visit to DPRK, Japan and USA worked together to solve the abduction issue. “Secretary of State Madeleine Albright made a visit to Pyongyang and also President Bush pledged to continue pressing for a resolution of the abduction issue in the multilateral talks.”¹⁸⁷ Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi, when he travelled to Pyongyang, he met with Kim Jong Il. “Kim apologized to Koizumi for the kidnappings, which he attributed to overzealous individuals in North Korea's security services, and pledged verbally and in the two leaders' joint declaration

¹⁸⁵ Griffiths , James, Cohen, Zachary and Berlinger,Joshua. North Korea launches missile over Japan. September 15,2017. Acces Date: 6.03.2018 <https://edition.cnn.com/2017/09/14/asia/north-korea-missile-launch/index.html>

¹⁸⁶ Griffiths , James, Cohen, Zachary and Berlinger,Joshua. North Korea launches missile over Japan. September 15,2017. Acces Date: 6.03.2018 <https://edition.cnn.com/2017/09/14/asia/north-korea-missile-launch/index.html>

¹⁸⁷ Okays,Kelly. Tokyo's Plan to Bring Up Abduction Issue at Six-Way Talks. Japan Digest.November 18,2003.

that they would not occur again.”¹⁸⁸The abductees were thirteen people and were in their 20’s when they kidnapped. It is known that some of them were used in the espionage agent due to they have a fluency in Japanese. On October 2002, five children were sent to Japan but their family could not come. They were released in condition for returning to North Korea but Japan did not send them again and DPRK refused to continue to talks. Since then, although there was an another negotiation about abductees in 2004, North Korea have not sent other eight kidnapped people to Japan and Japan government said “Pyongyang has yet to provide any acceptable explanations, despite North Korea’s explicit commitment at the Japan-DPRK Summit Meeting in May 2004 to immediately resume thorough investigations to obtain a full account.”¹⁸⁹ Therefore, it is assumed that eight people who were kidnapped by North Korea are dead. By kidnapping innocent thirteen people, DPRK tried to eliminate one of her archenemies. If she keeps hostages, Japan would have to give compromise to her. Japan, so far. she has not gotten any eight kidnapped people. By setting its primary goal as non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and following peaceful politics, after abduction issue and North Korea’s missile tests, Japan feels insecure and concerns over its safety and she has to work with USA and possibly with South Korea.

The second reason for Japan is another any possibility of nuclear weapon war. Unfortunately, she is the only state to experienced mass weapons of destruction and suffered adversely, any attack from North Korea would be the third world war. According to “Article 82-3of the Self-Defense Forces Act, Japan cannot intercept a ballistic missile unless it is aimed at Japan while North Korea would conduct ballistic missile attacks on US troops or territory in such a situation.”¹⁹⁰ The troops and the U.S territory were deployed since World

¹⁸⁸ Manyin, Mark E. Japan-North Korea Relations: Selected Issues. November 26,2003.

¹⁸⁹ Abductions of Japanese People by North Korea.Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. Access Date: 6.03.2018 http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/n_korea/abduction/index.html

¹⁹⁰ Tosaki,Hirofumi. The North Korean Nuclear Issue and Japan’s Deterrence Posture. The Japan Institute of International Affairs.March 2017.

War II. If North Korea attacks such troops, Japan will not be able to stop it. Therefore, such situation will be ended with Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings in which thousand people were dead. Therefore, with new President Trump administration, the policy towards North Korea with Japan has changed. Instead of having dialogues with North Korea, USA, with the collaboration of Japan, reminds North Korea that USA has nuclear weapons to use. As Trump said that “Will someone from his depleted and food starved regime please inform him that I too have a Nuclear Button, but it is a much bigger & more powerful one than his, and my Button works!”¹⁹¹ By mocking and being determined to use nuclear weapons in case of attack, USA does not fear from North Korea and this braveness and determination gives Japan a hope for securing its borders and preventing such an attack. As Japan has a colonial past and shares relationships with other states in Asia, although she is collaborating with USA for North Korea nuclear weapon crisis, she wants to defend itself by not depending on the U.S or another country. After 9/11 attack and George Bush’s declaration of Axis of Evil on North Korea, “ Japan had an agreement with the U.S for ballistic missile defence system.”¹⁹². Because of DPRK’s nuclear weapons as well as hostile policy of abductee’s issue, Japan shaped her security policy over the past decade.

Therefore, if any type of nuclear war is to be happen, Japan will have to come across the bitter consequences again. Not long ago, on September 2017, Japanese Prime Minister, Shinzo Abe made a speech in UN. In his speech, he was calling “member states to block North Korea’s access to goods, funds people and technology if it continued to test nuclear weapons.”¹⁹³. As North Korea conducted three missile tests over Japan in summer 2017, Japan was concerned about North Korea’s possible attack and possible nuclear war. After a short

¹⁹¹ Austin,Ramzy. Social Media Shudders After Trump Mocks North Korea’s ‘Button’. January 3,2018. Access Date:6.03.2018 <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/03/world/asia/trump-tweet-button-north-korea.html>

¹⁹² Ibid

¹⁹³ Rogers,Jon. North Korea sends chilling threat to Japan amid World War 3 fears: 'You can NEVER BE SAFE. 10 October 2017. Access Date: 7.03.2018 <https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/864313/World-War-3-North-Korea-crisis-Japan-Kim-Jong-un-Donald-Trump-Abe>

time, North Korea responded Shinzo Abe's words harshly as Kim Jong-Un said that "he would bring nuclear clouds to Japan if it did not back down on sanctions against North Korea"¹⁹⁴. Japan was threatened for the fourth time with the nuclear missile tests; they felt that they needed to improve their military which led Japan to find herself in security dilemma. Because of this, "Japan revealed its plan to convert a helicopter warship into a stealth fighter aircraft carrier for the first time since the devastation of the Second World War."¹⁹⁵ Japan's abrupt move made her neighbours into concern; especially China. Being a close ally and sharing the same ideology with North Korea, Japan's enhancement of its military since World War II, made China think that Japan was preparing for an attack or a possible war and "warned that this move violates their constitutional "no-war" clause."¹⁹⁶ In addition, Japan and China have had a claim argument over Senkaku island for a long time. By excusing North Korea's possible attack to her, Japan may claim her sovereignty over Senkaku Island as she and China has been in dispute for many years. Also, other than violating constitution and islands, China is thinking that Japan would take this possible attack as an advantage in order to re-activate its constitution in the aspect of military. Therefore, Japan had no other option but to improve its military which gives concerns to her neighbours except the U.S. As President Trump said that "the only one thing will work " and also US Army Chief of Staff General Mark Milley warned North Korea would face 'horrific consequences' if war were to break out,"A full-blown war on the Korean Peninsula will be horrific by any stretch of the imagination."¹⁹⁷ Thus, Japan does not want North Korea or any other country to trigger any nuclear war. Therefore, if any nuclear war is to happen on Asia, the consequences will be much worse than it was in World War II.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid

¹⁹⁵ Smith,Oli. North Korea Threat: Japan Sparks World War 3 PANIC With First Jet Fighter Ship WW2. 29 December 2017. Access Date: 7.03.2018 <https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/897831/Japan-fears-World-War-3-North-Korea-aircraft-carrier-WW2-China>

¹⁹⁶ Ibid

¹⁹⁷ Ibid

4. RESPONSES OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

4.1 THE UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations which was established in 24 October 1945, is aiming to prevent another arm conflict as it was happened in Second World War. United Nations is one of the most powerful and intergovernmental organization that put resolutions and sanction if there is any threat to world peace. As former USA President, Harry S Truman says “The United Nations is designed to make possible lasting freedom and independence for all its members.”¹⁹⁸ Therefore, today, North Korea is seen a threat to United Nations because of her development of nuclear weapons. Thus, UN is trying to prevent any escalation of war in Korean Peninsula by imposing sanctions on DPRK.

Until 2006, UN had not imposed any sanctions on DPRK. However, when DPRK detonated her first missile test, it led states to be in concern. DPRK, in her defense, said that they conducted missile test because of “regular military to strengthen self-defense”¹⁹⁹. The first reaction came from Japan as she proposed an immediate UN Charter of Chapter VII action. Chapter VII gives an opportunity UN to use possible force if there is an international threat. Japan reacted harshly to the missile test but on the other hand, China opposed the action as it would trigger the escalation. Therefore, UN made a declaration about the resolution which was called “Resolution 1718”. The resolution was calling for states to prevent “arms embargo, asset freeze and travel ban on individuals connected to nuclear activities”²⁰⁰. “Combat related goods, any goods that could contribute to nuclear-related, ballistic missile related or other WMD related programmes”²⁰¹ were also banned. In addition,

¹⁹⁸ United Nations Quotes. Access Date:19.03.2018

https://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/harry_s_truman_165643?src=t_united_nations

¹⁹⁹ New York Times. North Korea Threatens More Missile Tests-Asia-Pacific-International Herald Tribune. July 6,2006.

²⁰⁰ UNSC Resolution 1718.(2006).UN Documents.

²⁰¹ Ibid

it required states to stop supporting North Korea with financial resources for their nuclear weapons. UN and the other states stated that DPRK should return to Six-Party Talks which she withdrew in also 2006. However, for Russia and China, who are the allies of the DPRK, opposed Charter VII to be implemented. They did not want it to be implemented because they did not want U.S to be sole policy maker and they supported multipolarization of power. DPRK's first conduct missile test revealed that there is a shift in North Korea's policy and identity. She needs nuclear weapons so that her regime would survive as well as preventing any U.S attack or any organization such as UN. All other states as well as UN, did not want DPRK to maintain the missile tests, yet, since then, DPRK has been maintaining its nuclear programme.

On April 5, 2009, after three years from the first missile test, DPRK conducted the second missile test. This time, the ballistic missile was launched over Japan. Japan, who had an adverse history with Korea, was in concern for the second time. Japan states that the ballistic missile test was “unacceptable and a violation of the UN Security Council Resolutions”.²⁰² After Japan, China was the second state to react as she said “ The DPRK ignored universal opposition of the international community and once more conducted the nuclear test. “The Chinese government is resolutely opposed to it.”²⁰³ Therefore, UN passed a Resolution called “ Resolution 1874” that it “tightens restrictions on arms exports and related material”²⁰⁴. And also “ urges Member States to avert financial services or transfer of financial resources that could contribute to nuclear activities.”²⁰⁵Not being threatened or disturbed, DPRK stated that as it happened in the Korean War in 1950, the possibility of arm conflict could appear soon. Thus, sanctions were increased with the support of the European

²⁰² Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. Joint Press Statement V4+Japan Foreign Ministers' Meeting. Press Release, May 25,2006.

²⁰³ Chinese Government Resolutely Opposes' DPRK Nuclear Test. Xinhua. May 25,2009

²⁰⁴ UNSC Resolution 1874.(2009).UN Documents.

²⁰⁵ Ibid

countries such as France and UK. France and UK which are one of the permanent representative of UN, declared “ We are imposing sanctions against the people, entities and goods which are related to nuclear activities.”²⁰⁶ France was in favour of DPRK to stop nuclear activities and also return to Six Party Talks as it will improve the Western and European states relations. In addition, it will maintain the peace and stability in the international system. Nevertheless, sanctions against DPRK were implemented but North Korea has been insisting to conduct missile tests.

After the second missile test, DPRK agreed to cease their nuclear activities partially and missile tests in return for US food aid due to famine which caused “30 people out of every 1,000”²⁰⁷ to die. Since 2009 to 2012, USA did not provide any aid to DPRK but with the famine, North Korea had to receive it. However, DPRK turned into this as an advantage, on April 13,2012, DPRK launched an earth observation satellite called “Kwangmyongsong-3.”²⁰⁸ The launch, due to weather, was not successful. However, for the international system and for the media, the launched were reported as a ballistic missile and “ capable of delivering a nuclear warhead into any number of reign cities.”²⁰⁹ In addition, for Japan, it was their third time to be concern over any nuclear threat. Therefore, The Japanese Chief Cabinet Secretary stated that “ the flying object which North Korea referred to as a satellite was a missile”²¹⁰ and Japan would seek for an immediate UN Security Council Resolution. For UN Security Council, they condemned the earth satellite launch although it was a failure and demanded

²⁰⁶ North Korea: Adoption of Resolution 1874—Remarks to the Press by Mr.Jean-Maurice Ripert, Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations. June 12,2009. Access Date: 19.03.2018. www.franceonu.org

²⁰⁷ Famine Hit North Korea’s Rice Basket In 2012,Report Says. February 8,2013. Access Date: 19.03.2018 <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-korea-north-famine/famine-hit-north-koreas-rice-basket-in-2012-report-says-idUSBRE91616820130207>

²⁰⁸ Albrecht,Eduardo Zachary. North Korea& the UN Security Council: Action, Reaction, Trust , and Mistrust. March 2013.

²⁰⁹ Ibid

²¹⁰ Japan to Seek UN Security Council Resolution Against North Korea Over Missile Launch. The Asahi Shimbun, April 13,2012.

that North Korea should not maintain any tests or launches with their nuclear weapon technology and to cease their entire ballistic missile program.

Furthermore, in 2013, DPRK conducted two tests as the first one was the Earth Observation Spacecraft and the second one was Underground Nuclear test. For 2013 tests, sanctions which UN imposed became more comprehensive. Sanctions for 2013 tests were included such as ; “sanctions on money transfers, Export bans on textiles, seafood, coal, iron, iron ore, gold and also sectoral sanctions on minerals and refined petroleum products.”²¹¹ For UN, sanctions was implemented so that DPRK’s aggressive behaviour to be ceased. However, for North Korea, especially with Kim Jong-Un’s regime, they do not concern about their own people but to overlook them. “Despite increasingly strict sanctions the Kim Regime seems unwilling to make any concessions and is continuing its missile and nuclear program against all warnings.”²¹² Accordingly, DPRK, on January 6,2016 declared that they tested Hydrogen Bomb successfully. “North Korean government claimed it was a hydrogen bomb for other purposes such as domestic political support, deterrence impact on its neighbours, or possibly an exaggerated claim by scientists to the leadership”²¹³. In addition, North Korea stated that they would continue to develop nuclear weapons and missile tests until the U.S give up their “hostile” policy towards DPRK. For January 6 2016 Test, UN revealed a Resolution 2270 which “obliges all Member states to release all North Korean diplomats that are suspected to be involved in illegal activities of their service”²¹⁴. For sanctions, it includes such as ; “ bans the export of coal, iron, gold and rare earth metals.”²¹⁵ However, after seven months, DPRK conducted her fifth nuclear test on September 6,2016. The North said the latest test had been of a "nuclear warhead that has been standardised to be able to be mounted on strategic

²¹¹ Albrecht,Eduardo Zachary. North Korea& the UN Security Council: Action, Reaction, Trust , and Mistrust. March 2013.

²¹² Ibid

²¹³ Nikitin,Mary Beth D. North Korea’s January 6,2016 Test. CRS INSIGHT. January 7,2016.

²¹⁴ UNSC Resolution 2270.(2016) UN Documents.

²¹⁵ Ibid

ballistic rockets".²¹⁶It was estimated that the missile is the biggest missile test which DPRK have tested so far. Therefore, South Korea, the U.S and China responded the missile tests harshly such as Former South Korean President Park Geun Hye said that it was "self-destruction showing the "maniacal recklessness" of leader Kim Jong-un."²¹⁷ Thus, UN once again, imposed a sanction against North Korea, such as banning "fuel, exports and imports of statues, nickel, silver".²¹⁸ The more DPRK conducts missile test, the UN imposes severe sanctions as UN did in DPRK's 2017 two missile tests. On July 4,2017, North Korea conducted ballistic missile test which happened to be the U.S Independence Day. The U.S President Donald Trump were first to react to the test as "United States would use "the full range of capabilities at our disposal against the growing threat"²¹⁹. Once again, DPRK stated that they would not give up their determination to develop nuclear weapon and maintain their missile test if the U.S maintains their hostile policy towards them. UN's sanctions reached top on July 4,2017 ICBM test as UN imposed a sanction on full banning on "coal, iron ,iron ore, lead and lead ore and prohibition on the export of seafood."²²⁰ Sanction also "expands financial sanctions and restrictions on North Korea's Foreign Trade Bank"²²¹ In addition, because of the ICBM test was happened to be in the U.S Independence Day, Kim Jong stated that it is a "gift" to the Trump administration as well as The Korean Central Agency stated that their own people were happy to " hit the arrogant Americans in the nose"²²². The way DPRK challenges the U.S as well as the UN caused the international system into concern. Until today, no other state has predicted that DPRK would be successful developing nuclear weapons as well as successfully testing them. As the U.S and UN had not get over the ICBM

²¹⁶ BBC NEWS. North Korea Claims Success In Fifth Nuclear Test. September 9,2016.

²¹⁷ Ibid

²¹⁸ Albrecht. North Korea& the UN Security Council: Action, Reaction, Trust , and Mistrust.

²¹⁹ Choe Sang Hun. U.S. Confirms North Korea Fired Intercontinental Ballistic Missile. July 4,2017. Access Date: 20.03.2018 <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/04/world/asia/north-korea-missile-test-icbm.html>

²²⁰ UNSC Resolution 2270.(2016) UN Documents.

²²¹ Ibid

²²² Choe Sang Hun. U.S. Confirms North Korea Fired Intercontinental Ballistic Missile. July 4,2017. Access Date: 20.03.2018 <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/04/world/asia/north-korea-missile-test-icbm.html>

test in July 4,2017, after two months, DPRK tested another ICBM over Japan on August 29,2017 .And also after one month, conducted Hydrogen Bomb on September 3,2017. For the two ICBM tests, UN imposed sanctions such as banning all North Korean “textiles, banning also gasoline,diesel, heavy fuel and also the denial of any renewals of the North Korean labourer’s authorizaitons.”²²³ . Although UN imposed sanctions on DPRK with several products, when UN General Assembly gathered on 23 September 2017, DPRK’s Minister for Foreign Affairs; Ri Yong Ho both accused the U.S and UN for unfair sanctions. For the U.S, the Foreign Minister stated that President Donald Trump is “ a mentally deranged person full of megalomania” as well as saying that he is a “ gambler who grew old using threats, frauds and all other schemes to acquire a patch of land, hold the nuclear button”²²⁴ .For DPRK Foreign Minister, the U.S President Donald is maintaining hostile policy in order to claim a land especially North Korea and triggering other states and her allies to do so. For UN, he said that UN Security Council is using “undemocratic old practices as well as it is only implementing UN Charter for the “will and the interest of its permanent member states.”²²⁵ Therefore, for DPRK, not just accusing the both U.S and U.N but for other states, saying that the states are willing to continue their monopolistic nuclear status because of their interest, but at the same time, they are reacting firmly against DPRK’s nuclear weapons program. Foreign Minister emphasizes their possession of the nuclear weapons as “ DPRK’s possession of nuclear weapons is a righteous self-defensive measure.”²²⁶ Therefore, for DPRK policy, she will continue to maintain its nuclear weapon program and pre-emptive action if there is any attack from the U.S or her allies. DPRK wants to maintain her regime with her development

²²³ Fact Sheet: Resolution 2375.(2017). Strengthening Sanctions on North Korea(2017). United States Mission to the United Nations.

²²⁴ UNITED NATIONS. Democratic People’s Republic of Korea. Statement by H.E.Mr.Ri Yong Ho, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea. General Debate of the 72th Session of the United Nations General Assembly. New York,23rd September 2017.

²²⁵ Ibid

²²⁶ Ibid

of nuclear weapons as well as having an intention to protect itself with from the the U.S as well as from her allies who have only tendency to pursue their “interest” towards DPRK.

Moreover, UN is not just imposing sanctions to DPRK due their nuclear weapons of but also helping people with humanitarian assistance. “North Korea is ranked among the lowest %25 (ranked 98th) out of the 118 countries assessed in the Global Hunger Index.”²²⁷ DPRK, so far, have experienced famine, floods, droughts, disease outbreaks. Therefore, because of those experiences as well as economic hardships, “United Nations has been providing assistance to the DPRK even before it became a Member State in 1991”²²⁸. In addition to poverty, famine and all other natural disasters, North Korean people are known for to be abused, violated and living in a harsh conditions. Therefore, because of the suspicion, UN Human Rights Council passed a resolution which is called “A/HRC/RES/22/13”²²⁹. Resolution states as “widespread and systematic human rights abuses in the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, in particular the use of torture and labour camps against political prisoners and repatriated citizens of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, and urging the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea to immediately end those practices and to release all political prisoners unconditionally and without delay”²³⁰. So far, UN has passed 16 Resolution about human rights in DPRK and established the Commission of Inquiry on Human Rights in there. In addition, for European Parliament, they describe the conditions in DPRK as “ Disloyal citizens are sent with their families, without trial, to political prison camps(called gwalliso),where they face work conditions approaching slavery. Kept on the verge of starvation, prisoners are often tortured and executed”²³¹.

²²⁷ Global Hunger Index.(2016)

²²⁸ Albrecht. North Korea& the UN Security Council: Action, Reaction, Trust , and Mistrust.

²²⁹ Ibid

²³⁰ UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY. A/HRC/RES/22/13. Situation of human rights in the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea

²³¹ European Parliament.Democratic People’s Republic of Korea(North Korea): Kim Jong-Un Softens His Punch. 2014.

Although UN has been active to deal with suffering, tortured and malnourished people in North Korea, their oppression and impassive attitude still continues. To illustrate, Park Yeon-Mi who was a working refugee in China and citizen of North Korea, escaped from North Korea by crossing Gobi Dessert in Mongolia. When they tried to pass Chinese border, she saw her mother to be raped in order her mother to protect her. During her speech in One Young World, she told her the conditions of North Korean people as well as her story on escaping as when she was nine years old, her friends' mother was executed publicly for watching Hollywood movie. She continues as "North Korea is the only country in the world that executed people for making unauthorised international phone calls"²³². Furthermore, the things which she told about how her father died when they escaped to China first was made whole world to be shocked. In China, her father became ill and he passed away. She says "as I had to bury him, at 3am in secret. I was 14 years old, I couldn't even cry, I was afraid to be sent back to North Korea"²³³. Although UN has been imposing sanctions on both nuclear weapons crisis as well as human rights DPRK does not seem to care about it. They continue to do oppressive and abusive treatment to their people. As Yeon mi Park and also Otto Warmbier, who was tortured in DPRK and sent back to the U.S with oxygen starved brain, reveals that DPRK wants to keep her nuclear weapon programme even if UN imposes sanctions in order her regime to survive.

4.2 ASEAN

ASEAN or Association of Southeast Asian Nations has been "the main crystallization point of security regionalism not only in Southeast Asia but also in East Asia more widely."²³⁴

ASEAN have ten members as; Indonesia, Thailand, Vietnam, Singapore, Malaysia,

²³² Habib, Rashell. Yeonmi Park's two-year-old Speech Goes Viral. March 16, 2017. Access Date: 20.03.2018 <http://www.news.com.au/lifestyle/real-life/true-stories/yeonmi-parks-twoyearold-speech-goes-viral/news-story/9ac826909c55e75f128c8bf21eaa9e9d>

²³³ Ibid

²³⁴ Freidrichs, Jörg. East Asian Regional Security. What the ASEAN Family Can (Not) Do.

Philippines, Cambodia, Myanmar, Laos and Brunei. It aims for regional stability, acceleration of economy as well as development of cultural and social progress. Thus, the missile test and enhancement of nuclear weapons of DPRK made ASEAN to pay attention to that crisis.

When DPRK started missile tests on 2009, ASEAN members with ROK, held a meeting on 1 June, in order to discuss the nuclear crisis issue as well as celebration of 20th Anniversary of ASEAN and ROK relations. Their statement was “clear violations of the Six-Party agreements and the relevant UNSC resolutions and decisions,” and called for “an early resumption of the Six-Party talks”²³⁵. The developments and the missile tests made ASEAN to concern over North Korea. For ASEAN, peace and prosperity should be protected in order to prevent any conflict or war to break out. Therefore, ASEAN, until 2017, was in favour of dialogues with DPRK in order to solve the nuclear crisis problem. As in 2013, ASEAN, after DPRK’s missile tests, said that DPRK has to obey the UN Security Council’s obligations and “emphasized the importance of dialogue in resolving the tension in the Korean Peninsula”²³⁶. However, in 2017, when DPRK both accelerated and advanced in nuclear technology. Japan, who is one of the leaders in ASEAN Plus Three declared that dialogues is not enough to solve the crisis and ASEAN needs to give up the idea of return to talks. On 8th November 2017, Japanese Prime Minister, Shinzo Abe said that “approaching Pyongyang for talks now would result in nothing meaningful, and that pressure must be instead be applied until the North Korea seeks dialogue on the basis that it will change its policies.”²³⁷ On the other hand, China, who is one of leaders in ASEAN Plus Three and known for her strong influence on ASEAN, stated that there has to be direct dialogue to solve the nuclear crisis. Because, in China’s perspective, DPRK, with UN’s sanctions and isolations,

²³⁵ NTI.Association of Southeast Nations(ASEAN).November 20,2017. Access Date: 22.03.2018

<http://www.nti.org/learn/treaties-and-regimes/association-southeast-asian-nations-asean/>

²³⁶ Ibid

²³⁷ The Strait Times. Leader of ASEAN, China,Japan and South Korea Call For Closer Economic Integration. Access Date: 22.03.2018 <http://www.straitstimes.com/asia/leaders-of-asean-china-japan-and-south-korea-call-for-closer-economic-integration>

will collapse and therefore it will cause another crisis to break out. For Moon Jae In, South Korea President, ASEAN and ROK should combat together to prevent any war to escalate as well as keeping the stability on the region. Therefore, ASEAN and with Japan, China and South Korea, wants DPRK to obey the obligations which UN declared. Although Japan does not want it to be started, DPRK's ambitions for nuclear weapons can be solved with dialogues.

CONCLUSION

North Korea, with her unique regime, different leaders have shown world to her dedication to develop mass weapons of destruction and her missiles. In this research, by emphasizing deterrence theory with North Korea, it is indicated that North Korea does need nuclear weapons in order her regime to survive. She uses mass weapons of destruction as a deterrent tool as other states who wants to protect her interests, power and ruler ship. In the first chapter of the research, North Korea's historical and theoretical background is emphasized and this emphasis demonstrated the origins of the deterrence theory as well as how North Korea used it according to her interests. For the historical background, it is examined that how and why North Korea was established. When literature review is done, it is seen that every author like who studied on North Korea's security and deterrence reached a same conclusion: nuclear weapons are important for DPRK.

In the second chapter of the research, in the past, how mass weapons of destruction were created at the first place was emphasized. In addition, North Korea's internal and external reasons for requiring of nuclear weapons as well as her missile tests were indicated. For North Korea, the survival of their regime is the main reason why she needs mass weapons of destruction. As North Korea is the first country to maintain the communist and dictator regime in the world, she wants to keep their regime in order to be used as a deterrent tool. As

Kim Jong Un says “Nuclear weapons were a “powerful deterrent that guaranteed North Korea’s sovereignty.”²³⁸ Because of this, any threat which is coming from the West can jeopardize their power as well as their stance in the international system. Accordingly, since 2009, North Korea has been testing ICBM tests in order to deter any state to interfere with their regime and also destroy everything they built. In addition, missile tests, as “DPRK has conducted so far, have given DPRK bargaining power vis-à-vis the United States”.²³⁹ Possessing nuclear weapons and being an unpredictable foreign policy and missile tests, North Korea is using nuclear weapons to threat both U.S and other states and so far, no other foreign state has attacked or interfered anything about DPRK except than sanctions. Therefore, today, North Korea uses the deterrence strategy for her advantage: in order to avoid USA and other foreign powers to destroy her regime as well as prevent a possible attack. In the third and the last chapter of the research, it is examined that how states and organizations reacted to North Korea’s enhancement of mass weapons of destruction as well as their interest in Korean Peninsula.

In the research, two types of result were reached; North Korea’s and other states’. For North Korea, she is aware of her unique and unparalleled regime and dictatorship in the international system. Accordingly, she wants to keep her power in this oppressive policy. As communist states and leaders in the past such as Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini is a role model for DPRK. Structured her regime with dictatorship as well as giving fear to Western states her ambition to develop nuclear power, she can avoid any interference which is coming from them. Therefore, North Korea can maintain her *Juche* regime by developing mass weapons of destruction.

²³⁸ Brown, Larisa. Britain Makes Battle Plans For War With North Korea: Top Brass Could Send New Aircraft Carrier Before Its Had Flight Trials as Trump says” Only one Thing Will Work” After 25 Years of Failed Talks. 8 October 2017. Access Date: 13.03.2018 <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4960972/Britain-draws-battle-plan-case-North-Korea-war.html>

²³⁹ Yeol, Seung Lee. North Korea’s Third Hereditary Succession: Determining Factors & Hidden Meaning. October 2011.

Although North Korea and USA held a meeting in Singapore on 12th July 2018 in order for her to give up nuclear weapons, in my opinion, it is a foreign policy of North Korea. DPRK and China tries to ease USA's dominance over Korean Peninsula as well as in Asia. Therefore, by seeming pacifist and "possible" ally to USA as well as South Korea, North Korea is trying to implement her foreign policy which is only based on her interests as well as China's.

For the second result, every state has her foreign policy towards Korean Peninsula as well as Asia. However, the common interest and idea which states compromise: they do not want North Korea to be threat to peace as well as they are against to nuclear proliferation. As the Second World War showed the world that how war could bring such chaos, millions of casualties and suffering. Since 1993, in which DPRK withdrew from NPT agreement because of IAEA decided to have an inspection, she has been pressured by USA, UN and other states struggling to stop North Korea to develop any nuclear weapons. Therefore, the U.S government has been implementing pressure and hard stand for DPRK ever since. Yet, if any military action ,which is coming from West, were happened, it would trigger North Korea to attack to USA and then South Korea.. Thus, as President Clinton gave up military action to North Korea so that the second World War not to break out, states and organizations are trying to solve nuclear crisis with diplomacy, dialogues and also with sanctions. Although USA and organizations such as United Nations implemented several sanctions, such as they implemented total ban on petroleum products and crude oil, it did not enough to cease DPRK's development of mass weapons of destruction.

Therefore, establishing peace and denuclearizing the "Northern" part of Korean peninsula will not come easy after many years of hostilities, sanctions. Despite her recent meeting with USA and South Korea, DPRK hold tight on her ambition to develop and test nuclear weapons. She does not willing to give up her mass weapons of destruction so that her regime to survive

as well as using them as a deterrence tool.As Putin puts “North Koreans will eat grass but will not give up nuclear programme” .²⁴⁰

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²⁴⁰ Osborne,Samuel. Putin: North Koreans 'will eat grass but will not give up nuclear programme.

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