

## **CHAPTER II**

### **THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF DPRK NUCLEAR WEAPON PROGRAM**

DPRK nuclear weapon program has been a continual problem for the past decades and primary focus on the development of DPRK nuclear weapon program. This nuclear program has become the main focus to seek for resolutions since the nuclear power of DPRK threatened not only in Korean Peninsula but also the international community. The dangerous of the nuclear itself comes from the power of nuclear explosion and DPRK presidents doctrine on the procedure of how to maintain it. This chapter talks about the historical records of DPRK nuclear program simultaneously with the doctrines of DPRK presidents, and also power and range of the nuclear missile.

#### **A. DPRK Nuclear Weapon Program History Record**

As a state that has to rebuild its nation after the war, DPRK had to gain its power back as a restoration from the damage of Cold War. DPRK as one of the states which have nuclear facilities used it as the main tool to redevelop its power. To bargained its interest, DPRK claimed that nuclear would be beneficial in order to establish the nation as main supply of electricity and could be the catalyst for restoration. This statement brought many objections from international society because the power of nuclear will be dangerous for the security of international society. Therefore, in order to control nuclear capacity of DPRK, United States conducted several treaties related to the user of nuclear. However, as the treaties failed, DPRK turned to use nuclear as a weapon to increase military power, not for the importance of rebuild nation.

## **1. Initiation of DPRK's Nuclear Weapon Program**

DPRK started its nuclear program in the mid-1950s. In December 1952, the government set up the Nuclear Vitality Exploration Foundation and the Institute of Sciences, however, the nuclear work just started to advance when North Korea set up helpful concurrences with the Soviet Association. DPRK marked the establishing contract of the Soviet Association's Joint Foundation for Nuclear Exploration in February 1956 and started to send researchers and experts to the USSR for preparing presently. In 1959, North Korea and the Soviet Association consented to an arrangement on the serene utilization of atomic vitality that incorporated an arrangement for Soviet help to build up an atomic research complex in Yongbyon, North Pyongan Territory.

In the mid-1960s, the Soviet Association gave broad specialized help to North Korea in developing the Yongbyon Atomic Exploration Center, which incorporated the establishment of a Soviet IRT-2000 atomic research reactor and related offices. North Korea utilized this little research reactor to create radioisotopes and to prepare the workforce. Despite the fact that the bureau and the Foundation of Sciences were given operational and managerial oversight of the atomic offices, at that point North Korean pioneer Kim Il Sung held extreme control of the atomic program and all choices related with weapons improvement.

In the late 1960s, North Korea extended its instructive and research foundations to help an atomic program for both regular citizen and military applications. By the mid-1970s, North Korean specialists were utilizing indigenous innovation to grow the IRT-2000 research reactor, and Pyongyang had started to secure plutonium reprocessing innovation from the Soviet Association. In July 1977, North Korea consented to a trilateral shields arrangement with the IAEA and the USSR that brought the IRT-2000 research reactor and a basic get together in Yongbyon under IAEA shields. The Soviets were

incorporated into the understanding since they provided the reactor's fuel.

The mid-1980s was a time of the critical indigenous extension when North Korea built uranium processing offices, a fuel pole creation complex, and a 5MW(e) atomic reactor, and in addition innovative work establishments. All the while, North Korea started exploring different avenues regarding the high explosives tests required for building the activating system of an atomic bomb. By the mid-1980s, the nation had started building a 50MW(e) atomic reactor in Yongbyon, while additionally extending its uranium handling offices.

During the period of 1980-2006, DPRK nuclear weapon program became the main attention from international communities. The DPRK nuclear program created international security crisis and feared to be a terror in East Asia. Indeed that the desire of DPRK to the established nuclear program could not be detained as a whole. However, during the period of 1980 until 2006, the development of nuclear program temporarily froze because of intervention from international regimes. DPRK forced to signed treaties related to the user of atomic nuclear material in order to maintain the stability of security for nuclear states user. Nevertheless, the nuclear weapon of DPRK had its rapid development started from the end of 2006 until the current time.

## **2. Contemporary Nuclear Development**

In 2005 DPRK declared that it had manufactured a nuclear weapon and the following year 2006, DPRK launched its first nuclear test which has power less than 1 kilotons. This nuclear missile test launched did not similar to what DPRK expected before which was 4 kilotons. In 2009, another nuclear missile launched by DPRK and fell into the Sea of Japan and the loaded fell into the Pacific Ocean. The similar action also happened in the same year, on May 25, DPRK conducted underground nuclear test around 70 kilometers

located in the northwest of Kimchaek, similar location with the first nuclear test in 2006.

Following years after 2011, DPRK started focusing on the significant development of nuclear weapon program, several launched of nuclear tests were threatened security stability not only for Korean Peninsula but also the international community. DPRK attempted to focus on military development and nuclear weapon as a defense mechanism and action to not only better but also compelling. Based on DPRK Nuclear desire, denuclearization is never again a theme for dialog with the United States, particularly since DPRK now views itself as a true weapon mass destruction (WMD) state. 8 Nuclear weapons have turned into the key instrument by which the DPRK administration intends to accomplish its objectives versus the United States and ROK. So it is nothing unexpected that DPRK's talk today contains no specify of its past denuclearization commitment.

On February 2013, DPRK initiated the third and largest nuclear test so far and attracting United Nations Security Council condemned and sanctions towards DPRK. In 2016, North Korea also accelerated its nuclear testing program with two additional nuclear tests (the first was purportedly the initial test of a hydrogen weapon and the latter was purportedly the test of a nuclear warhead design) (Pollack, 2018). The data below is the range and power of DPRK nuclear weapon which could threaten the international community.

Figure 2.1

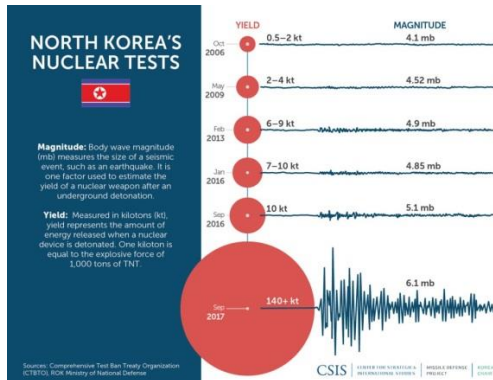
## DPRK Nuclear Missile Range



Source: CSIS.(2017).*North Korea's Ballistic Missile*.Retrieved April 2018 from missile threat: <https://missilethreat.csis.org/country/dprk/>

Figure 2.2

## DPRK Nuclear Missile Power



Source: CSIS.(2017).*North Korea's Ballistic Missile*.Retrieved April 2018 from missile threat: <https://missilethreat.csis.org/country/dprk/>

As the data above shows that the dangerous of DPRK nuclear create the possibility to threat the international community since periodically DPRK develop the nuclear. The range and power of nuclear weapon drastically increase since Hwasong 15 which developed by Kim Jong-Un. It becomes the proves that Kim Jong Un commitment to use nuclear capability as the tool of diplomacy for DPRK, also to threat United States as the primary enemy of DPRK.

In early of 2017, Kim Jong Un sent messages to the United States by claimed DPRK had "...entered the final stage of preparation for the test launch of (an) intercontinental ballistic missile..." Kim reminded the world that his regime had "...achieved the status of a nuclear power...", and he went on to affirm that 3 the North would continue to build up its capabilities, "...the pivot of which is the nuclear forces, and the capability for preemptive strikes..." (Revere, 2017)

In 7 years of ruling administration of DPRK, Kim Jong Unpointed some arrangements related to nuclear weapon instruments of diplomacy. Military capabilities which Kim Jong Un pursue focusing to increase United States discouragement on controlling DPRK weapon of mass destruction and also delivering threat into the United States to act insecure. The Weapon of Mass Destruction itself undirectly made Kim Jong Un thirst for power and the development become uncontrollable. DPRK became states which already hard to negotiate regarding nuclear control.

## **B. International Response Towards DPRK Nuclear Weapon**

The crisis of nuclear by DPRK has brought multiple responses from the International community. Despite the DPRK already warned to keep the user of nuclear only for the matters of civilization, DPRK disobeyed the intervention of international community and continue the development of nuclear as a weapon of mass destruction. Responses from international community came in several forms not only as

concerned from states but also international regimes. Variety responses of condemned and sanctions addressed to stop DPRK to develop its nuclear.

### **1. International Regimes**

In early 1980's, United States tried to negotiate with DPRK to involve with Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) in order to have good political involvement with international society and as a proof that DPRK has cooperative policies to create peace among states. Inside of negotiation United States offered to withdraw nuclear warheads in Korea Peninsula. However, DPRK has its own interest inside of the NPT related to a nuclear weapon.

#### **i. Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) 1985-1992**

DPRK signed this treaty convince international society to shows cooperative and safe control nuclear weapon. Even though DPRK agreed on the vision and targets of NPT to control nuclear energy, DPRK nuclear program did not observe well because it's rejection to sign the safeguard agreement. As the result, International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) could not observed and controlled the nuclear facilities of DPRK. Until in 1992, DPRK was urged by NPT member states to sign the safeguard agreement. As a following signatory fo safeguards agreements, the IAEA sent their inspector in order to maintain DPRK nuclear energy.

#### **ii. IAEA Inspections 1992-1994**

IAEA urgencies were to control the nuclear energy of DPRK as a part of the effort to guarantee that nuclear energy would not use as a weapon, therefore IAEA requested to observe seven sites of nuclear reactors which DPRK has and the inspection began at May 1992. During the times of inspections for 2 years between 1992-1994, IAEA analyzed and the result was revealed that DPRK has an

inconsistency on the safeguards agreement with NPT. The inspections resulted there was differences number of use and waste amount of plutonium inside of the nuclear reactor Which DPRK had and the verification of the report from DPRK had differences numbers with the Agency found inside the site. Therefore, The Agency could not determine the correctness and originalities of DPRK Report to IAEA.

On February 1993, regarding the inconsistency result, The Director General of IAEA requested for special inspections into two DPRK nuclear reactors site which the Agency believed that there was still a nuclear waste of safeguards which could be found. In response to that request, DPRK agreed to have further discussion about inconsistency of the report, but rejected the permission of the agency to have special inspections inside of two sites which requested because DPRK government claimed that the sites which the Agency requested to be non-nuclear sites nor military area, so the agency has not permission to access both sites.

Urged this rejection, on February 25, 1993, The Agency Board of Governor pushed DPRK to permit and have additional special information about DPRK waste nuclear site.

“On 25 February 1993, the Board of Governors adopted resolution GOV/2636 in which inter alia, it decided that access to the additional information and locations was essential and urgent in order to resolve differences and to ensure verification and compliance with INFCI/403, and called upon the DPRK urgently to extend full cooperation to the Agency to enable it to fully discharge its responsibilities under the Safeguards Agreement.” (IAEA, 2011)



After the rejection on special inspection from the Agency, on March 12, 1993, DPRK notified the president of United Nations Security Council with the intention to withdraw from NPT and following 15 June in 1994, DPRK officially pulled out its membership from IAEA. However, as the director of Agency, USA stated that the withdrawal of DPRK from the agency was not affected by safeguards agreement and it remained a force.

**iii. Agreed Framework 1994-2003**

During September 23 until October 21, 1994, negotiation about the emergence of a Nuclear weapon of DPRK between Delegations of United States of America and delegations of DPRK in Geneva happened and the resolution came up as an agreement which called Agreed Framework. The contents of Agreed Framework was an exchange of DPRK nuclear energy with alternative energy with non-nuclear. The United States assumed that the DPRK nuclear energy had to be a freeze in order to maintain the stability of political situation in Korean Peninsula.

Regarding this agreement, United States exchanged with heavy oil as a replacement of nuclear energy, United States sent 500,000 tons of heavy oil annually to DPRK according to the agreement, and In exchange, the safeguards agreement of NPT kept remain and supervised by IAEA, United States also pushed DPRK to cooperate fully in this agreement in form of annual report and inspections.

“.....the DPRK will come into full compliance with its safeguards agreement with the IAEA (INFCIRC/403), including taking all steps that may be deemed necessary by the IAEA, following consultations with the Agency with regard to verifying the accuracy and completeness of the DPRK's initial

report on all nuclear material in the DPRK.”  
(Framework, 1994)

Besides of annual heavy oil which became United States obligations as written in Agreed Framework, United States also has obligations to make sure DPRK got a supply of electricity by built two light water reactor which could create 1000 megawatts. In this obligations, United States delivered this mission to Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO) which consists of 12 member states and delivered to Japan and Republic Of Korea as states in charge towards this project. The dismantled of DPRK nuclear program was signed by a delegation of United States Robert L Gallucci and delegation from DPRK Kang Sok Ju.

During 1994 until 2002 the inspections and annual report kept mentioned by both parties regularly. Unfortunately, the Agreed Framework breakdown when DPRK committed to building a nuclear weapon and ready for the established explosive nuclear weapon. In 2003 DPRK announced that DPRK officially withdrawn from NPT and no longer has obligations to keep the safeguards agreement. On January 31, 2003, Pyongyang expelled IAEA inspectors from DPRK and Agreed Frameworks was ended and turn into larger negotiations called Six-Party Talk.

## **2. Multilateral-Bilateral Response**

Besides international regimes, States to states approach as a response to DPRK policy to keep developing nuclear weapon program came in a form of political and military approaches. Multilateral states found a dead end to search resolution for this program. “US ambassador Nikki Haley says DPRK is “begging for war” and urges the UN security council to impose

the toughest sanctions possible on the regime. Russian president Vladimir Putin says the idea of further sanctions is “useless.” (Collins, 2018).

### **i. Six-Party Talk 2003-2006**

Six-Party Talk goal was to identify the action to bring stability and security inside of Korean Peninsula which consists of six member states includes United States, DPRK, China, Russia Federation, Republic of Korea, and Japan. The main issue was to discussed address DPRK nuclear weapon program. The talk begins in 2003, right after DPRK announced of its withdrawal decision from Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and after DPRK declared the reactivated of Yongbyon nuclear reactor after temporarily frozen under Agreed Framework. The Six-Party Talk located in Beijing China.

The process of the talks run dynamic and fluctuated because the result was not actually implemented. On September 19, 2004, DPRK signed “Statement of Principle” whereby DPRK agreed to shut down all nuclear facility and return to NPT and safeguards agreement in an exchange with United State light nuclear reactor but the implementation was delayed. On February 13, 2007, DPRK signed a treaty called “Action Plan” which based on 2005 Statement of Principle. Inside of the agreement, DPRK committed to shutting down Yongbyon nuclear facilities within 60 days, in exchange for 500.000 heavy fuel oil aid. Furthermore, based on the action plan, United States would send another 950.000 in form of heavy oil energy including for purposes of aids for the economy, humanitarian, and energy aid for DPRK.

This missile test got hugely condemned by United Nations and international community because violating the resolution of United Nations 1696 and 1718. This action cause demanded based on United Nations resolution 1718 in which to stop another missile test and probability further sanctions.

Reacted by this action, all permanent members of United Nations Security Council strongly condemned DPRK nuclear test and gave sanctions about it. United Nations Security Council by adopted resolution 1874, imposed economic commercial sanctions towards DPRK and give authority to all member states of United Nations to prohibit and search DPRK vessel cargo.

On January 11, 2011, DPRK foreign minister Paek Nam Sun pointed that the formation of the peace treaty with the United States as the precondition of his country to return to Six-Party Talks. A direct response from the United States by Kurt Campbell the assistant Security of States for East Asian and Pacific Affairs stated that the precondition with DPRK would pint to the discussion of a peace treaty or pull out the sanctions to DPRK by United Nations.

Instead of affirming this preconditions of with the United States, no longer from the announcement of precondition, Russian Federation Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov urged to reassemble Six-Party talks right after DPRK announcement about commitment to enhance nuclear weapon and cooperate with another nuclear-armed state. This urged also responded by China with the similar idea.

After a dynamic progress of DPRK nuclear weapon activity which showed unwillingness of taking commitment, on February 28, 2011, the United States and Republic Of Korea joint military exercise but in the point for preparedness conflict with DPRK which described as “nature of defensive”. However, on DPRK perspective it was a show of aggression from both parties.

At the year of 2011, DPRK keep conducted violations of United Nations Security Council resolution 1718 and 1874 which cost the rejection from the Republic Of Korea for DPRK to rejoin Six-Party Talks. The Six-Party Talks ended in 2011 by the last forum in Bali Indonesia which was Bali Democracy Forum, when inside the forum for the first time since 2008 both states in Korean Peninsula talked bilaterally and directly discussed restarting Six-Party Talks.

Since the resolution of DPRK nuclear program urgencies which started from the establishment of Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) on the 1980s until the end of Six-Party Talks on 2011, DPRK has shown the unwillingness to seek for resolution and resulting security stability in Korean Peninsula. This ambiguity behavior of DPRK was not contributed enough in peace resolutions between the Korean States, in fact, that the sanctions and embargo from United Nations did not effectively dismantle of DPRK nuclear weapon.

Several times DPRK proposed peace resolutions into the end with rejection and bias from International Community. “U.S. Secretary of State Hilary Clinton, who attended the ASEAN Regional Forum, declared that the United States was encouraged by the dialogue between the North and South, but that the DPRK must

undergo a “change in behavior” before talks can be resumed” (Regimes, 2011).

The similar statement also came from delegations of the Republic Of Korea which stated by Kim Sung-hwan, Foreign Minister of the Republic Of Korea. “The Republic Of Korean Foreign Minister Kim Sung-hwan said that the DPRK must show its commitment to disarmament not just in words but also in action, demanding disarmament steps taken by the DPRK before resuming negotiations.” (Regimes, 2011)

## ii. **ROK and Russia**

Despite the DPRK nuclear weapon program in a dangerous parameter for states which surrounding Korean Peninsula, states which seriously took this crisis into dangerous parameter still the United States and ROK. For sure DPRK always makes the United States and allies as the main target, as stated by Ri Son Gwon, DPRK delegations for inter-Korean Talk. "North Korea's weapons are only aimed at the United States, not our brethren, China or Russia," (CNBC, 2018).

As a state which has direct geographical with DPRK, ROK realized the fragile situation of in Korea Peninsula could be in catastrophic if it takes a wrong policy. As a result, even though, ROK already established joint military with the United States, ROK keeps seek for a chance in political approach and the inter-Korea talks as the first step of ROK to has a diplomatic approach with DPRK.

This policy considered as a first step to reach stability in Korea Peninsula. “On Tuesday, China's foreign ministry said it was happy to see talks between North and South Korea and welcomed all positive

steps. Russia echoed the sentiment, with a Kremlin spokesman saying, "This is exactly the kind of dialogue that we said was necessary." (CNBC, 2018)

As a preventive action, ROK also took an anticipation move to have military armaments in order to prevent worst case scenario with DPRK.

“Currently, Seoul remains dependent on U.S. early warning satellites, but allegedly plans to lease one from Israel or another country until it can place its own surveillance satellites into orbit sometime in the 2020s. The KMPR plan, on the other hand, is designed to annihilate Pyongyang and the source of any provocation with a barrage of missiles following a North Korean attack. While Seoul’s response demonstrates it may be capable of swift retribution, it does not indicate the capacity to preempt a strike.” (Work, 2017)

Besides ROK which located direct landmass with DPRK, Russia also has a crucial role in influencing DPRK policy of nuclear. The Russians stated that the core of the Korean crisis is the United States arrangement towards the administration of Kim Jong Un. In light of DPRK, United States need the complex THAAD rocket resistance (MD) framework set up in South Korea. Russia, thusly, supports China, which isn't put any intention of having this framework on the land or a comparative one in Japan.

Russian President Vladimir Putin contends the need to look for elective arrangements and exchange with North Korea. “Russia’s strategy towards North Korea consists of opening contacts with that country and, at the same time, refusing to recognize North Korea as nuclear weapons state.” (Legucka, 2017)

DPRK nuclear weapon program brought many responses from the international community. This problem brought many multilateral-bilateral and international regimes approach to solve this problem and the United States as a primary actor who has observed and directly involved in the development has a critical role in it. United States foreign policy has a control of determiner on DPRK nuclear policy. And on United States doctrines from the presidents have big contributions on United States approach on DPRK to resolve this problem.



