

North Korea Policy Conference 2013

북한정책 컨퍼런스

Tuesday May 21, 2013 10:00AM-4:45PM

Multimedia Lecture Room(6F), 600th Anniversary Hall, Sungkyunkwan University, Seoul

2013년 5월 21일 화요일 오전 10시 - 오후 4시 45분

성균관대학교 인문사회과학캠퍼스 600주년기념관 6층 첨단과학실



North Korea Policy Conference 2013

북한정책 컨퍼런스

Tuesday May 21, 2013 10:00AM-4:45PM

Multimedia Lecture Room(6F), 600th Anniversary Hall, Sungkyunkwan University, Seoul

2013년 5월 21일 화요일 오전 10시 - 오후 4시 45분

성균관대학교 인문사회과학캠퍼스 600주년기념관 6층 첨단강의실

Table of Contents

Program of the Conference

List of Participants

Biographies of Participants

Presentation Materials

Program of the Conference

09:30-10:00 Registration

10:00-10:45 **Opening Session**

Opening Remarks

Brent Byers, Public Affairs Officer of US Embassy Seoul

Welcoming Remarks

Sung Y. Kim, Ambassador of the United States to the Republic of Korea

Young-Sun Ha, Chairman of East Asia Institute

Keynote Speech “North Korean Human Rights Issues”

Leslie A. Bassett, Deputy Chief of Mission of US Embassy Seoul

(on behalf of Amb. Robert King)

11:00-13:00 **Session I “North Korean Human Rights Questions”**

Moderated by Brent Byers

Presentation

Changrok Soh, Professor of Korea University

“Human Rights Policies on North Korea”

Chan-Il An, President of World Institute for North Korea Studies

“First Year of the Kim Jong-un Regime:

Constraints and Urgency of Improving Human Rights in North Korea”

Panel Discussion

Edward K.H.Dong, Minister-Counselor for Political Affairs of US Embassy Seoul

Tae-keung Ha, Member of National Assembly, Saenuri Party

Jeong-Woo Koo, Professor of Sungkyunkwan University

Andrei Lankov, Professor of Kookmin University

Gi-Woong Son, Director of Center for North Korean Human Rights,

Korea Institute for National Unification

Q&A

13:00-14:30 Luncheon

14:30-16:45 Session II “US-Korea Policy Coordination toward North Korea”

Moderated by Yong Sup Han, Professor of Korea National Defense University

Presentation

Andrei Lankov, Professor of Kookmin University

“North Korean Society of the 2000s Seen from the Soviet Experience”

Yong-Hyun Kim of Professor, Dongguk University

“Direction of US-Korea Policies toward North Korea”

Terence Roehrig, Professor of US Naval War College

“South Korea and the US Nuclear Umbrella”

Panel Discussion

Sang-Hun Choe, Journalist of International Herald Tribune

Sungbae Kim, Senior Research Fellow of Institute for National Security Strategy

Patrick McEachern, Acting Unit Chief of Political External Unit, U.S Embassy Seoul

Jae Jeok Park, Research Fellow of Korea Institute for National Unification

Seongji Woo, Professor of Kyung Hee University

Q&A

16:30-16:45 Closing Session

Wrap Up by Brent Byers

*Simultaneous interpretation is provided for all sessions.

List of Participants

Opening Session

Brent Byers	Public Affairs Officer, US Embassy Seoul
Young-Sun Ha	Chairman, East Asia Institute
Sung Y. Kim	Ambassador of the United States to the Republic of Korea
Robert R. King	Special Envoy on North Korean Human Rights Issues

Session I

Chan-Il An	President, World Institute for North Korea Studies
Brent Byers	Minister-Counselor for Public Affairs, US Embassy Seoul
Tae-keung Ha	Member of National Assembly, Saenuri Party
Robert R. King	Special Envoy on North Korean Human Rights Issues
Jeong-Woo Koo	Professor, Sungkyunkwan University
Andrei Lankov	Professor, Kookmin University
Changrok Soh	Professor, Korea University
Gi-Woong Son	Director of Center for North Korean Human Rights, Korea Institute for National Unification

Session II

Sang-Hun Choe	Journalist, International Herald Tribune
Yong Sup Han	Professor, Korea National Defense University
Sungbae Kim	Senior Research Fellow, Institute for National Security Strategy
Yong-Hyun Kim	Professor, Dongguk University
Andrei Lankov	Professor, Kookmin University
Patrick McEachern	Acting Unit Chief of Political External Unit, U.S Embassy Seoul
Jae Jeok Park	Research Fellow, Korea Institute for National Unification
Terence Roehrig	Professor, US Naval War College
Seongji Woo	Professor, Kyung Hee University

Biographies of Participants

(Alphabetical Order)



Chan-II An

President

World Institute for North Korea Studies

Chan-II An is the president of World Institute for North Korea Studies, a visiting professor of Chung-Ang University, and the chairman of the World Federation For North Korea Refugee. An left North Korea in 1979 and was the first North Korean defector to obtain a doctoral degree in South Korea. He received both his B.A and M.A from Korea University and earned his Ph.D in politics from Konkuk University. He worked as a North Korea analyst at the National Intelligence Service for 18 years as well as a defense policy adviser at Korea's Ministry of National Defense. His publications include *The End of the Juche Idea*, *The Conspectus of North Korea*, *Understanding of North Korea*, and *The Future Direction of Kim Jong-un's North Korea*.



Leslie A. Bassett

Deputy Chief of Mission

U.S. Embassy in Seoul

Leslie A. Bassett arrived in Korea on July 27, 2012 to assume the duties of Deputy Chief of Mission for the U.S. Embassy in Seoul. She is a career member of the State Department's Senior Foreign Service. Ms. Bassett served previously as the Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. embassies in Manila, Philippines; in Mexico City, Mexico; and in Gaborone, Botswana. Ms. Bassett's career also includes service in Colombia, Israel, South Africa, El Salvador and Nicaragua. Ms. Bassett is a distinguished graduate of the National War College, holds a master's degree from Johns Hopkins University, and received her undergraduate degree in international relations from the University of California at Davis. Ms. Bassett has one daughter



Brent Byers

Public Affairs Officer
U.S. Embassy Seoul

Brent Byers, a career Foreign Service Officer, has returned to the Republic of Korea to serve as Minister-Counselor for Public Affairs at the U.S. Embassy in Seoul. Mr. Byers first served in Korea from 1998-2001 as the Embassy's Deputy Spokesman. Mr. Byers started his Foreign Service career in 1990. In addition to his time in Korea, he has served overseas as Press Attaché at the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv, Ukraine, as Director of the U.S. Cultural Center in Tel Aviv, Israel, and as Deputy Press Attaché in Islamabad, Pakistan. Most recently he worked in Public Affairs for the Office of the Secretary of Defense at the Pentagon where he coordinated the military components of the U.S. Department of State's International Visitor Leadership Program. His other Washington assignment was in the Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs where he had responsibility for Public Diplomacy efforts in the Andean countries of Colombia, Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru. He received a National Security Strategy M.S. from the National War College at Fort McNair in Washington, D.C. and one in Telecommunications from George Mason University in Fairfax, Va. His undergraduate degree in English literature is from St. Lawrence University in Canton, N.Y. Mr. Byers worked as a broadcast and print journalist in the Washington, D.C., area prior to joining the Foreign Service and has taught public relations as an adjunct professor at George Mason University. He is joined in Korea by his wife, Theresa, and daughter, Catherine Sun Young. His son, John, is studying business at Virginia Commonwealth University in Richmond, VA.



Sang-Hun Choe

Journalist
International Herald Tribune

Sang-Hun Choe has been Korea correspondent for The International Herald Tribune/The New York Times since 2005, except for the 10 months until July 2011 when he took a leave of absence to become a Korean Studies fellow at Stanford University. He has won many awards for his reports on Korea and Myanmar, including a 2000 Pulitzer prize for investigative journalism, a special award from The Korea Journalists' Association and Asia Society's Osborn Elliott prize.



Edward K.H. Dong

Minister-Counselor for Political Affairs
U.S. Embassy Seoul

Foreign Service Career:

June 2012 to present: Minister-Counselor for Political Affairs, U.S. Embassy Seoul
August 2011 to Jun 2012: Korean Language Training
July 2008 to July 2011: Consul General, U.S. Consulate General, Osaka-Kobe
August 2007 to Jun 2008: Director, School of Japanese Studies, Yokohama
August 2006 to Jun 2007: Japanese Language Student
July 2003 to July 2006: Consul General, U.S. Consulate General, Guangzhou
August 2002 to June 2003: Member, Senior Seminar, U.S. Department of State
August 2000 to July 2002: Director for Korean Affairs, U.S. Department of State
July 1998 to July 2000: External Political Unit Chief, U.S. Embassy Seoul
October 1997 to July 1998: Political-Military Unit Chief, U.S. Embassy Seoul
July 1996 to October 1997: Member, Policy Planning Staff, U.S. Department of State
July 1995 to July 1996: Pearson Fellow, World Trade Center, San Diego
July 1992 to July 1995: General Affairs (Political) Officer, American Institute in Taiwan
August 1991 to July 1992: Chinese Language Training
July 1988 to July 1991: Political Unit Chief, U.S. Embassy Singapore
June 1985 to June 1988: Political Officer, U.S. Embassy Seoul
August 1983 to June 1985: Korean Language Training
July 1982 to July 1983: Staff Assistant, Bureau of East Asian Affairs, U.S. Department of State
July 1980 to June 1982: Economic/Political Officer, American Institute in Taiwan, Kaohsiung
October 1978 to June 1980: Vice Consul, U.S. Embassy Mexico City
June 1978 to October 1978: Entered Foreign Service, followed by short term training

Education:

June 1977: Juris Doctor, School of Law, University of California, Berkeley
June 1977: Master of Arts, Group in Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley
January 1972: Bachelor of Arts, *magna cum laude*, double major in East Asian Studies and Political Science, University of California, Berkeley

Personal:

Married to Linda Nakamura, with two adult sons and one grandchild



Tae-keung Ha

Member of the 19th National Assembly
Saenuri Party

Tae-keung Ha is a member of the 19th National Assembly. He has served as the President of Open Radio for North Korea since 2005 to 2011 and as a Senior Researcher at the SK Research Institute for SUPLEX Management for 3 years. He is currently an Advisor to the National Unification Advisory Council. Ha received his B.A. in Physics at Seoul National University, M.A. in International Cooperation at Korea University Graduate School of International Studies and finished his Doctorate in Economics at Jilin University Graduate School in China. His recent publications are *Democracy Knows No Borders* and *Cartoon Kim Jong-un*.



Young-Sun Ha

Chairman
East Asian Institute

Young-Sun Ha is Chairman of Board of Trustees, East Asia Institute. Chairman Ha is also Emeritus Professor of Department of Political Science and International Relations at Seoul National University; co-chairman of Korea-Japan Joint Research Project for New Era; and member of foreign affairs and security advisory group to the President of Korea. He served as Director of Center for International Studies, Seoul National University, Director of American Studies Institute, Seoul National University, President of Korea Peace Studies Association, and research fellow at Center for International Studies in Princeton University and Center for International Peace in Stockholm. Ha received both his B.A. and M.A. from Seoul National University, and received his Ph.D. in international politics from University of Washington. He recently published new books entitled *Editorials by Ha Young-Sun* (2012) and *Young Pioneers in Korean History* (2011). He also edited many books including *Toward 2020: Ten Agendas for South Korea's Foreign Policy* (2013), *The History of Social Science Concepts in Modern Korea II* (2012), *Complex World Politics: Strategies, Principles, and a New Order* (2012), *A New Era of Korea-Japan Relations and International Politics of East Asia* (2012), *A New Era of Korea-Japan Relations and Economic Cooperation* (2012), *A New Era of Korea-Japan Relations and Complex Network for Symbiosis* (2012), and *Transformation of World Politics* (2012).



Yong Sup Han

Professor

Korea National Defense University

Yong Sup Han is currently Professor of Korea National Defense University and President of Korea Nuclear Policy Society. He was Vice President of KNDU and President of Korea Peace Research Association. He used to be Director of Research Institute for National Security Affairs from 2005-2008. He was Special Assistant to the Korean Minister of Defense in 1993 and a Senior Staff Member to the South-North Joint Nuclear Control Commission in 1991-92. He has been Visiting Professor at China Foreign Affairs University in 2009, a Research Fellow at RAND Corporation in 1999-2000, a Visiting Fellow in 1999 at the Center for Nonproliferation Studies of Monterey Institute for International Studies, and Senior Visiting Fellow at the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research in 1993. Dr. Han holds a B.A and an MA degree in Political Science from Seoul National University and Masters in Public Policy from Harvard University, and a Ph. D. on Security Policy from RAND Graduate School. His publications include *Peace and Arms Control on the Korean Peninsula* (Kyungnam University Press, 2005), *Sunshine in Korea* (RAND, 2002), “*Time for Conventional Arms Control on the Korean Peninsula*” (Arms Control Today, December 2000), “*North Korean Behavior in Nuclear Negotiations*” (The Nonproliferation Review, Spring 2000), and *Nuclear Disarmament and Nonproliferation in Northeast Asia* (the United Nations, 1995).



Sungbae Kim

Senior Research fellow

Institute for National Security Strategy

Sungbae Kim is Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for National Security Strategy (INSS). In that position, he provides advice to government and contributes to development of policy on North Korea and Korean Peninsula issues. Prior to this position, he served as Senior Policy Advisor to the Minister of National Unification in 2006. Before taking up that position, Dr. Kim served as Senior Director and Director of the Strategic Planning Bureau, National Security Council (NSC) of Korea from 2003 to 2006. Dr. Kim earned his Ph.D. in Political Science from Seoul National University.



Sung Y. Kim

Ambassador of the United States to the Republic of Korea
U.S. Embassy, Seoul

Sung Kim is the Ambassador of the United States to the Republic of Korea. He was nominated by President Barack Obama on June 27, 2011, and confirmed by the United States Senate on October 13, 2011. Prior to his appointment, Ambassador Kim was the Special Envoy for the Six-Party Talks with the rank of Ambassador. Before that, he headed the Office of Korean Affairs at the Department of State from August 2006 to July 2008. Ambassador Kim also served in a variety of positions in the East Asia Pacific region including overseas assignments in Seoul, Tokyo, Kuala Lumpur and Hong Kong. Ambassador Kim's Washington assignments have included stints as a desk officer in the State Department's Office of Chinese Affairs and Staff Assistant in the Bureau of East Asia and Pacific Affairs. Prior to joining the Foreign Service, Ambassador Kim worked as a public prosecutor in the Los Angeles County District Attorney's Office. Ambassador Kim was born in Seoul, Korea, and grew up in Los Angeles where he attended middle school and high school. He earned his undergraduate degree from the University of Pennsylvania and completed a degree in law from Loyola. He also holds a Master of Laws degree from the London School of Economics. He is married to Jae Eun and they have two daughters.



Yong-Hyun Kim

Professor
Dongguk University

Yong-Hyun Kim is a professor of North Korea studies at Dongguk University. His research areas are North Korea research methodology and North East Asia political economy. He received his B.A, M.A and Ph.D in politics at Dongguk University.



Jeong-Woo Koo

Professor
Sungkyunkwan University

Jeong-Woo Koo is an Assistant Professor of Sungkyunkwan University and currently the chair of the Department of Sociology at Sungkyunkwan University. He has instructed at Seoul National University, Yonsei University, and Korea University and was a visiting researcher at Stanford University. He received his PhD and MA in Sociology at Stanford University. He is the coauthor of *Human Rights in East Asia: A Comparison of Human Rights Improvements in Korea and Japan* (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 2010) with Chung, Chin-Sung, and Suk-Ki Kong. He participated in writing book chapters: “The Origins of the Human Rights Commission in Korea: Global and Domestic Causes” of *South Korean Social Movements: From Democracy to Civil Society* (Routledge Press, 2011) edited by Paul Y. Chang and Gi-Wook Shin and “Historical Development of International Development Cooperation” of *Korea’s Role in Global Governance for Development Cooperation* (East Asia Institute, 2012) edited by Sook-Jong Lee. His recent published article is “Measuring National Human Rights: A Reflection on Korean Experiences.” With Sukki Kong and Chinsung Chung (Human Rights Quarterly, 2012).



Andrei Lankov

Professor
Kookmin University

Lankov was born on July 26, 1963, in the Russian SFSR's Leningrad, now Saint Petersburg. He completed his undergraduate and graduate studies at Leningrad State University in 1986 and 1989, respectively; He also attended Pyongyang's Kim Il-sung University in 1985. Following his graduate studies, he taught Korean history and language at his alma mater, and in 1992 went to South Korea for work; he moved to Australia in 1996 to take up a post at the Australian National University, and moved back to Seoul to teach at Kookmin University in 2004. Dr. Lankov has a DPRK-themed Livejournal blog in Russian with occasional English posts, where he documents aspects of life in North (and South) Korea, together with his musings and links to his publications. He also writes columns for the English-language daily *The Korea Times*.



Patrick McEachern

Acting Unit Chief

Political External Unit of U.S Embassy, Seoul

Patrick McEachern is the Acting Unit Chief in Embassy Seoul's Political External Unit, which covers South Korean foreign policy and North Korean issues. Previously, Patrick studied the Korean language (2009-2011) and served as a North Korea analyst in the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research (2005-2006; 2008-2009). He was a Pat Roberts Intelligence Scholar (2006-2008) and published a book on North Korea's internal politics entitled *Inside the Red Box: North Korea's Post-totalitarian Politics* (Columbia University Press, 2010). Prior to working on Korean affairs, Patrick served in Slovakia as a political-military affairs officer and consular officer (2003-2005) and studied the Slovak language (2002-2003). He is accompanied in Seoul by his wife, Jaclyn, and son, Timothy (b. June 2011).



Jae Jeok Park

Research Fellow

Korea Institute for National Unification

Jae Jeok Park is currently Research Fellow at Korea Institute for National Unification (KINU). His research interests include alliance politics, US security policy in the Asia-Pacific, Korean national security, and nuclear strategy. He received his B.A and M.I.S. from Yonsei University, M.A. and M.S. from Northwestern University, and Ph.D. from Australian National University (December 2009). He has published articles in scholarly journals, including *Pacific Review*, *Asian Survey* and *Australian Journal of International Affairs*. Before joining the KINU (in September 2010), he worked for the Institute for Foreign Affairs and National Security (IFANS) as a visiting professor (between Jan. 2010 and August 2010).



Terence Roehrig

Professor
U.S. Naval War College

Dr. Terence Roehrig is a Professor in National Security Affairs and the Director of the Asia-Pacific Studies Group at the U.S. Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island. He is also a Research Fellow at the Kennedy School at Harvard University in the International Security Program and the Project on Managing the Atom. He is the author of two forthcoming books: *Japan, South Korea, and the U.S. Nuclear Umbrella: Extended Deterrence and Nuclear Weapons in the Post-Cold War World* (Columbia University Press) and *South Korea's Rise in World Affairs: Power, Economic Development and Foreign Policy* (Cambridge University Press) and coauthored with Uk Heo. In addition, he is a coauthor of *South Korea since 1980* (Cambridge University Press, 2010) with Uk Heo, the author of two books, *From Deterrence to Engagement: The U.S. Defense Commitment to South Korea* (Lexington, 2006) and *The Prosecution of Former Military Leaders in Newly Democratic Nations: The Cases of Argentina, Greece, and South Korea* (McFarland, 2002) along with a monograph, *Korean Dispute Over the Northern Limit Line: Security, Economics, or International Law?* (University of Maryland Law School, 2008), and is the coeditor of *The Survival of North Korea* (McFarland, 2011) and *Korean Security in a Changing East Asia* (Praeger 2007). He has published articles and book chapters on *North Korea's nuclear weapons program, Korean and East Asian security issues, the U.S.-South Korea alliance, the South Korean Navy, human rights, and transitional justice*. He has published in the journals, *Asian Politics and Policy, Asian Affairs, Human Rights Quarterly, International Journal of Korean Studies, Journal of Asian and African Studies, Korea Observer, North Korean Review, Pacific Focus, and World Affairs*. Dr. Roehrig received his Ph.D. in political science from the University of Wisconsin-Madison, an MA in political science from Marquette University, and is a past President of the Association of Korean Political Studies.



Changrok Soh

Professor
Korea University.

Dr. Soh, Changrok is Professor at Graduate School of International Studies (GSIS), Korea University. After graduated from the Department of International Relations at Seoul National University, he received his Ph.D. as well as MALD from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University. He had served as Dean of Graduate School of International Studies and Division of International Studies at Korea University in 2006- 2008. Before he joined GSIS, Korea University in March 1996, Dr. Soh had worked as a Research Associate at BRIE (Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy), University of California, Berkeley; a Research Fellow at Pacific Basic Research Center, J.F.Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. He has a special interest in the field of Human Rights and Human Security, especially in East Asia. He has been Director of Citizens' Alliance for North Korean Human Rights since March 2005, and he is now President of Human Asia (formally, the Asia Center for Human Rights). He has written many articles which are related to this field, including 'Multilateral Cooperation to Advocate Human Security in East Asia,' 'The Characteristics of Korean Human Rights Governance and its Possibility to Spread over Asian Region,' 'NGO Representation of Human Rights Violations,' and 'Enhancing Human Security in North Korea: A Multilateral Approach'. Also, as a specialist in International Politics, Dr. Soh has authored and co-authored books in the related field and contributed articles to scholarly journals. *International Organization: Politics of Global Governance* is a book which gives explanations of basic concepts related to world politics and global governance.



Gi-Woong Son

Director of Center for North Korean Human Rights
Korea Institute for National Unification

Dr. Son, Gi-Woong is Director of Center for North Korean Human Rights at the Korea Institute for National Unification and also serving as President of the Korean Association of DMZ Studies, Co-Chairman of the Korea DMZ Council and Adjunct Professor of the Hankuk University of Foreign Studies. He was also Vice-President of the Korean Association of International Studies and Associate Fellow, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, England. He earned his Ph.D. in Political Science from the Free University of Berlin, Germany. His current research areas include Unification Policy of Divided Nations, North Korean Human Rights, Environmental and Energy Cooperation in Northeast Asia. He is author of "Peaceful Use of the DMZ as a National Strategy" (2011, 2012), "Unification of Germany: Issues and Tasks I, II"(2009), Freikauf and its Implication to Korea" (2008).



Seongji Woo

Professor
Kyung Hee University

Seongji Woo is currently Associate Professor at the College of International Studies, Kyung Hee University. Before joining Kyung Hee, he worked as Assistant Professor at the Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security (IFANS), Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. Dr. Woo received his Ph.D. from Indiana University, Bloomington. His English articles include “Pyongyang and the World: North Korean Perspectives on International Relations under Kim Jong-il” (August 2011, *Pacific Focus*), “The Park Chung-hee Administration amid Inter-Korean Reconciliation in the Détente Period” (Summer 2009, *Korea Journal*), “Triangle Research and Understanding North-east Asian Politics” (Summer 2003, *Asian Perspective*), “South Korea’s Search for a Unification Strategy” (Summer 2003, *Orbis*), and “Adversarial Engagement and Alliance Relations: Triangular Politics on the Korean Peninsula, 1988-94” (March 2001, *Issues & Studies*). His research interests are North Korean Politics, Inter-Korean Relations and International Relations Theory.

Presentation Materials

Session I

North Korean Human Rights Questions

“Human Rights Policies on North Korea”

Changrok Soh Professor of Korea University

“First Year of the Kim Jong-un Regime:

Constraints and Urgency of Improving Human Rights in North Korea”

Chan-Il An President of World Institute for North Korea Studies

Professor of Chung-Ang University

Human Rights Policies on North Korea

Changrok Soh, Professor of Korea University

Many criticize the validity of human rights in the international relations where the concept of human rights is politicized and influenced by domestic interests. In amidst of the condition, “principled politics”, a concept claimed by Gready, which asserts the significance of politics to be shaped and implemented around the principle of human rights, not domestic interests of states, gains more significance. Human rights policies could work more effectively when the policies maintain neutral positions among various interest groups. When human rights are politicized, the direction of policy comes to emphasize certain part of human rights and makes full implementation of human rights impossible.

Meanwhile, regardless of various attempts to promote North Korean human rights, current human rights policies on North Korea tend to take certain direction. While the characteristics of human rights itself is indivisible and inseparable, the history of human rights differentiate civil and political rights and economic, social and cultural rights according to international milieu that shaped the discourse on human rights. Conventionally, civil and political rights tend to trump over economic, social and cultural rights in human rights area along with its deep relationship with conservative political perspectives. And this also has been the case for human rights policies on North Korea.

States are the parties that mostly focus on civil and political rights. One of a good example is the case of United States of America. The US has placed the most value on civil and political rights, also known as liberal basic rights. In the same vein, it hesitates to ratify human rights conventions of the UN. This is well reflected on its human rights policy on North Korea. Synthesizing the speech of the special envoy appointed by the North Korean Human Rights Act of 2004 (Human Rights Act), J. Lefkowitz, one could easily know that his activity was mainly focused on criticizing the North Korean government.

South Korea, especially the administrations since 2008 are on the similar line of the U.S.A. From 2008 to 2012, it was in the position of enhancing civil and political rights by co-sponsoring the General Assembly resolution on the situation of human rights in North Korea without paying deep concerns on economic and social conditions of the North Korean people. This is a contrasting position from the administrations from 1998 to 2007 which believed that a peaceful solution to the North Korean human rights issue could be achieved by providing economic assistance and dialogue. During the time, the South Korean government had maintained an obscure position on the North Korean human rights issue by abstaining to vote for the UN resolution and arguing that the resolution would harm the consistency of government’s appeasement policy towards North Korea.

Meanwhile, Japanese government also condemns North Korean regime as its main issues regarding the North Korean human rights problem are Japanese abductions and North Korean defectors. These issues are usually served as grounds to pressure North Korea. For example, Japan finalized its North Korean Human Rights Act in February 2006, stipulating

that it would apply economic sanctions to North Korea if the human rights violation of North Korea, including Japanese abduction cases, does not improve.

In contrast to aforementioned states, EU and Chinese government show different positions. The EU tends to care more about right of economic development. It had a talk about a mutual equality, rule of sovereign authority, human rights principles and the cooperation with international human rights organizations at the first human rights conference between Troika delegation and the representative of the Foreign Affairs committee of North Korea in July 2001.

Regarding the North Korean human rights issue, the position of China is unique from any other country. Regardless of the international community's criticism for its forced repatriation of North Korean refugees, it sticks to its position that human rights should be considered as an issue within domestic affairs, and thus intervention is not appropriate. This causes from its ambiguous position on its human rights. However, the Chinese government is consistently paying attention to the economic, social, and cultural rights both for people in China and North Korea by offering humanitarian support. It can be difficult to deny the fact that Chinese economic assistance alleviates the threat of North Korean people's right to live.

NGOs are also essential players in the human rights areas on North Korea. As the governments can hardly adopt human rights principles due to the concerns of domestic politics, the role of NGOs should be emphasized in order to improve North Korean human rights in the long run. There are many NGOs that focus on the improvement of civil and political rights that are related to the political prisoner camps and freedom of religion and information, democracy education, etc. Free the NK Gulag, Free North Korea Radio, Network for North Korean Democracy and Human Rights, and Young Defectors' Alliance for North Korean Human Rights are good examples of the NGOs that give more emphasis on civil and political rights over economic, social and cultural rights.

Meanwhile, Citizens' Alliance for North Korean Human Rights (NKHR) endeavors to improve the situation of human rights and works with consideration both on civil and political rights and economic, social and cultural rights. Such attempts could be found from NKHR's joint partake with the Korean Bar Association in the UN Universal Periodic Review Sixth session of the UPR Working Group of the Human Rights Council. In the UPR they mentioned institutionalized inequalities, right to food, political prison camps, arbitrary detention, torture, slavery labor, and infanticide, which covered all the civil and socio-economic rights.

United Nations is also a significant party that works for North Korea's human rights issues. Recently, the U.N. Human Rights Council unanimously passed a resolution calling for the establishment of a three-member Commission of Inquiry on North Korean Human Rights for a one-year mission on March, 2013. It will investigate severe human rights violations in North Korea and determine whether these violations amount to crimes against humanity. After the investigation, full report is scheduled to be presented in the Human Rights

Council in March, 2014. Though the mission of the COI would be similar to that of Special Rapporteur on North Korean human rights, the symbolic value of COI is considerable.

It is the result of accumulated works on North Korean human rights by the United Nations. The UN Human Rights Council adopted a resolution against North Korea for abysmal, systemic human rights violations from 2003 to 2005 and from 2008 to 2012, and the General Assembly adopted a resolution against North Korea for the seventh straight year from 2005 to 2011. However, most of the contents of the resolutions on civil and political rights, and the adopting processes, are highly affected by each member states' political interest.

On the other hand, UN Treaty bodies are considered less political, more practical and functional. The four committees, Committee on the Rights of the Child, Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and Committee on Civil and Political Rights, consider the periodic report of North Korea on the implementation of the Covenant. These committees invite the delegation of the State party to have a dialogue with the Committee members on the issues of consideration, and offer suggestions and recommendations as well.

While there are organizations that strive to work for improvement of human rights in North Korea, as it was seen, many of the human rights policies in various parties are shaped around the discourse on civil and political rights. In the same vein, many various groups in human rights area promote the concept of democratization. However, this relatively recent movement to embrace economic, social and cultural rights throws a question whether the concept of human rights is more fundamental than democracy.

In order to improve the human rights situation fundamentally, works among various parties – state, international organizations and NGOs – should be accompanied. This collaborative work requires close and complex network between many groups including the ones that are dealt in this paper. In South Korean context, this also implies the cooperative work of conservative and liberal parties that goes beyond the interest of each political party.

김정은 체제 1년: 북한 인권개선의 제약성과 절박성

중앙대학교 교양학부
안찬일

I. 김정은 체제 등장과 인권개선 기대

o 2012년 4월 노동당 제4차 당 대표자회를 계기로 북한에 김정은 체제가 공식 등장하자 북한 주민들과 외부세계는 이제 북한에도 뭔가 변화가 있을 것 이란 막연한 기대를 가지게 되었다. 특히 북한의 인권개선과 관련한 기대는 그 어느 때보다 컸던 것이 현실

o 원인은 김정은이 해외 유학파이고 이제 북한도 어느 정도 국제사회에 다가 서기 위해 문을 열 것이란 생각이 그런 기대감을 높여주었던 것이 사실이다. 북한이 변하지 않고 더 이상 체제재생산이 어렵다는 외부적 판단은 보기 좋게 빛나갔다.

o 그런데 지금 어떤가? 김정은 시대 1년이 지나고 강경일변도의 ‘선군정치’ 는 ‘선당정치’ 로 복귀하고 있지만 북한의 인권상황은 개선의 여지를 나타 내지 않고 있다. 김정일 시대 37년 동안 줄곧 내리막길을 걸어온 경제적 파탄 이야 그렇다치고 사회통제와 탈북자 문제 등에서 김정은 체제는 조금도 독 재수단을 완화하지 않고 있다.



2012년 11월 19일 기마중대 현지지도에 나타난 김정은과 장성택

2. 북한 인권개선의 중요 장애물

○ 왜 그럴까? 대답은 간단하자. 김정은 체제는 새로운 권력의 등장이 아니라 김일성 시대 때부터 계속 이어지는 세습정권이다. 김정은 주변에는 김일성 시대 때부터 독재자를 호가호위하던 김영남과 최태복, 김기남 등 구시대 인물들이 즐비

○ 공식적인 김정은 시대 등장으로 볼 수 있는 지난해 4월 최고인민회의에서 20여년 만에 국가안전보위부장(김원홍)을 임명하고 사회통제의 총수인 인민보안부장에 올해 최부일을 앉히는 등 김정은은 친정체제 강화에 조금도 양보가 없었다.

○ 생전 김정일이 직접 맡았던 국가안전보위부장을 비교적 온건한 성품인 김원홍 대장(전 인민군 총정치국 조직부국장)에게 맡길 때만 해도 주민들은 정치적 탄압과 종교의 자유 등에서 어느 정도 완화가 있을 것으로 기대했지만 김정은은 “바늘 하나 떨어지는 소리도 놓치지 말라”며 정보기관을 단단질하고 있다.

3. 북한 인권의 참혹한 현실

○ 유엔 산하 국제아동기금 유니세프(UNICEF)와 북한 중앙통계국이 지난해 9월 북한 내 어린이와 여성의 영양상태를 조사해 최근 발표한 보고서 결과에 따르면, (조사 대상자는 5세 미만 어린이와 친모(親母) 조사 지역에서 이들 어린이의 나이, 키, 몸무게, 팔뚝 둘레 등을 측정해 발육과 건강 상태를 파악했으며 그 결과 전체의 28%(47만6천여 명)가 발육저하 상태

○ 보고서에 따르면 같은 연령대 평균에 비해 현저히 체중이 떨어지는 저체중 어린이는 16%, 급성 영양실조 어린이는 4%(6만 8천여 명), 빈혈에 시달리는 어린이는 29%를 차지했다. 특히 발육저하에서는 평양 20%, 함경북도 30%로 평양과 지방의 차이가 큰 것으로 드러났다. 성인의 경우도 마찬가지인 것으로 나타났다. 친모들은 4명 중 1명이 영양실조를 겪고 있으며 이 중 5%는 매우 심각한 수준

○ 보고서는 “어머니가 제대로 먹지 못하는 것이 어린이 영양실조의 가장 큰 요인 가운데 하나”라며 “임산부의 영양 상태가 자녀에게 미치는 영향이 크다”고 분석했다. 또 “생후 2년 내 충분한 영양을 공급받지 못하면 발육저하와 영양실조로 이어져 신체성장과 지능 발달에 돌이킬 수 없는 결과를 낳는다”고 지적



사진-연합뉴스 제공
수해 피해를 당한 북한의 한 지역 병원에
영양실조에 걸린 북한 어린이들이 나란히 누워있다



4. 북한 인권개선의 중요 과제

o 북한 문제를 해결하고 통일로 가는 길에서 인권의 강은 반드시 건너야 할 속명의 과정이며 북한인권법은 그 도강의 다리가 되어줄 것이다. 북한인권법을 제정하여 북한에 선물할 때 북한 인민들은 진정한 광복시대를 맞이하게 될 것이다. 대한민국 국회가 그 역사적 사명을 외면하면 북한의 진정한 제2의 광복은 요원하다.

o 북한 인권침해의 가장 큰 이슈는 세계의 진화와 격리된 채 북한 주민 모두가 무지의 세계에 포박되어 있다는 것이다. 누군가 "무지는 자비로운 신이 하층민의 비참함을 덜어주기 내려주신 은총의 아편"이라고 했다지만 북한 주민들이 감내해야 하는 무지의 고통은 너무 무겁고 가혹하다.

o 이제 우리는 북한 인권개선의 초점을 상승시켜야 할 시점에 와 있다. 흔히 북한 인권하면 정치범수용소와 교화소 등을 집중 거론하지만 북한 지역 모두가 수용소이고 감옥이라는데 누가 이의를 제기할 수 있단 말인가. 북한 주민들을 저렇게 방치해 두면 남북한의 문명차이는 더욱 극대화 될 것이고 우리는 통일 시대에 그 간격을 줄이기 위해 너무 많은 투자가 필요하다는 사실에 주목해야 한다.

<표 1> 전 세계에 체류하고 있는 탈북민 현황(2001~2011)

구분	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
영국				17	33	64	281	570	574	581	603
독일		225	258	276	193	239	204	180	156	146	193
나일란드	7	9	14	15	18	20	27	29	31	32	36
오스트레일리아	4	4	3	3	6	8	15	14	15	25	29
미국			7	9	9	30	22	23	25	25	25
캐나다			3	4	4	4	4	4	4	23	64
벨기에							7	9	13	22	31
노르웨이	3	3	3	3	4	5	9	13	14	14	14
러시아						0		6	10	14	18
덴마크	2	7	7	7	7	7	8	8	9	9	14
스웨덴		2	2	2	6	7	7	7	8	8	9
아일랜드	1	5	5	5	5	5	6	6	6	6	5
스위스	1	2	1	1	1	6	6	6	4	4	4
키르기스탄						2	5	6	7	3	2
이스라엘							2	2	2	2	1
멕시코					1	1	1	1	1	1	1
뉴질랜드	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
스페인											1
폴란드											1
에센								1	1	1	1
우즈베키스탄		1									
총 계	19	259	304	343	288	398	606	886	881	917	1053

자료: UNHCR Online Population Database

<표 2> 유엔의 북한인권 결의 일지

제약기구	문서번호	제약일	찬반	한국
인권위원회	E/CN.4/RES/2003/10	2003. 4. 16	찬성:28 반대: 8 기권:14	회의불참
	E/CN.4/RES/2004/13	2004. 4. 15	찬성:29 반대: 8 기권:16	기권
	E/CN.4/RES/2005/11	2005. 4. 14	찬성:13 반대: 9 기권:14	기권
총회	A/RES/60/173	2005. 12. 16	찬성:88 반대:21 기권:60	기권
	A/RES/61/174	2006. 12. 19	찬성:99 반대:21 기권:56	찬성
	A/RES/62/167	2007. 12. 18	찬성:101 반대:22 기권:59	기권
	A/RES/63/190	2008. 12. 18	찬성:94 반대:22 기권:63	공동제안
	A/RES/64/175	2009. 12. 18	찬성:99 반대:20 기권:63	공동제안
	A/RES/65/225	2010. 12. 21	찬성:106 반대:20 기권:57	공동제안
	A/RES/66/174	2011. 12. 19	찬성:123 반대:16 기권:51	공동제안
인권이사회	A/HRC/RES/7/15	2008. 3. 27	찬성:22 반대:7 기권:18	찬성
	A/HRC/RES/10/16	2009. 3. 26	찬성:26 반대:6 기권:15	공동제안
	A/HRC/RES/13/14	2010. 3. 25	찬성:28 반대:5 기권:13	공동제안
	A/HRC/RES/16/8	2011. 3. 24	찬성:30 반대:3 기권:11	공동제안
	A/HRC/RES/19/13	2012. 3. 22	부투표 통과	공동제안

자료: UN인권위원회 자료 분석

<표 3> 제19대 국회 북한인권법(안) 주요 내용

구분	윤상현(안)	황진하(안)	이인제(안)	조명철(안)
국군포로·남북자·이산가족	×	×	○	×
북한인권자문위원회	○	○	○	○
북한인권 기본계획 및 집행계획	○	○	○	○
북한인권대사	○	○	○	○
인도적 지원	○	○	○	×
북한인권재단	○	○	○	○
북한인권기록보존소	북한인권재단산하에 설치	법무부 산하에 설치	국가인권위 산하에 설치	국가인권위 산하에 설치
민간단체 지원	○	○	○	○
북한주민의 정보접근	○	○	○	×
북한민간인권단체	×	×	×	○
제3국 체류 북한주민 보호	×	×	×	○
국제형사재판소 기소	×	×	×	○

참고: 국회 제출 북한인권법(안) 종합 분석

5. 북한 인권법 제정의 정당성

○ 북한인권법 제정의 당위 또는 근거는 국제법과 우리 헌법, 미국과 일본의 입법례 등에서 찾을 수 있는 바 첫째, 앞에서 언급한 바와 같이 국제법상 문화적 상대성 내지 특수성도 인정되지만 인권의 보편성이 더 강조된다는 사실에 기인한다.

○ 둘째, 북한의 인권상황을 거론하여 이를 비판하거나 개선을 촉구하는 것은 일반 국제법상의 국내문제 불간섭 의무의 위반에 해당되지 않는 것이다.

○ 셋째, 북한 주민들은 남한 주민과 같은 민족이며 더구나 헌법 제3조 영토 조항의 해석상 대한민국 국민으로 간주되며 따라서 정부는 대한민국 국민으로 간주되고 있는 북한 주민들을 보호해야 할 책무가 있다

○ 넷째, 미국과 일본도 북한인권법을 제정하여 시행하고 있는 바 2004년 제정된 미국의 북한인권법은 2008년에 2012년까지 연장되었으며, 2012년 동법들을 2017년까지 연장하는 것을 골자로 하는 ‘북한인권법 재승인법안’이 미 의회를 통과하였다. 참고로 일본의 북한인권법 정식명칭은 ‘납치문제 및 기타 북한 당국에 의한 인권침해 문제의 대처에 관한 법률’로 2006년 6월 23일 제정되었다.

Session II

US-Korea Policy Coordination toward North Korea

“North Korean Society of the 2000s Seen from the Soviet Experience”

Andrei Lankov Professor of Kookmin University

“Direction of US-Korea Policies toward North Korea”

Yong-Hyun Kim Professor of Dongguk University

“South Korea and the U.S. Nuclear Umbrella”

Terence Roehrig Professor of US Naval War College

바람직한 한미 대북정책 공조 방향

김용현 동국대학교 북한학과 교수

Direction of US-Korea Policies toward North Korea

Yong-Hyun Kim, Professor of Dongguk University

1. 한반도 정세 평가

■ 북한의 장거리 로켓 발사 이후, 북미 간, 남북 간 강대강의 대결구도가 5개월 동안 펼쳐졌음.

- 북한은 김정은 국방위원회 제1위원장이 직접 나서 미사일부대에 '1호 전투근무 태세'와 사격대기 지시까지 하며 군사적 긴장을 바짝 끌어올렸으나, 4월 10~15일 쯤으로 예상됐던 무수단 중거리미사일을 발사하지 않았음.

- 북한이 끌고 가고 있는 이 구도는 미국을 비롯한 동북아 각국 새 정권과의 관계를 북한이 주도하고, 핵보유국 지위를 내용상 인정받고, 내외적으로 김정은체제의 안정성을 조기에 확보하려는 의도에서 비롯되었음.

- 중국은 북미, 남북관계가 개선되지 않는 상황에서 적극적인 움직임을 유보한 채 분위기를 보고 있음.

■ 가파르게 상승곡선을 그리던 한반도 위기 지수가 점차 떨어지고 있음.

- 존 케리 미국 국무장관의 한중일 순방(4월 12일-15일)과 한미정상회담(5월 7일) 이후 큰 방향은 대화로의 전환이 모색되는 것으로 보임.

- 키리졸브 훈련, 독수리연습, 동해 한미해상훈련의 종결로 북한의 대외 강경 행보 명분은 약화되고 있음. 북한도 한미중의 대화로의 전환 분위기에 정세를 관망하고 있는 것으로 보임.

- 개성공단 가동을 잠정 중단한 북한이 김일성 주석의 101회 생일을 맞아 중거리 미사일 발사 등으로 무력시위를 할 것이라는 일부 전망이 있었지만 실제 행동을 하지는 않았음. 일단 북한이 최근 들어 강경한 행동을 멈춘 채 한미 양쪽의 움직임을 주시하고 있는 것으로 보임.

- 남한 통일부의 개성공단 실무회담 대북 제의, 일본 이지마 이사오 내각관방 참여의 방북 등은 한반도 문제의 출구를 마련하는데 의미가 있는 조치임.

2. 한미 대북정책 공조 방향

■ 북한의 3차 핵실험은 역설적으로 한·미·중 3국의 협력 구도 가능성을 키우고 있음.

- 북한의 핵능력 진전은 중국의 우려를 심각하게 키우고 있고, 그것은 과거와는 다른 미중 협력구도의 토대로 작용할 것임.

- 미국의 동북아 MD시스템 축소 가능성과 중국의 적극적 대북 개입이 이뤄진다면, 미중 간 협조체제의 시너지 효과가 배가될 것임.

- 그 과정에서 한미, 한중, 한미중 협력의 공간이 보다 활발하게 진전될 것임.

■ 남한과 미국, 중국 등 3개국이 협력과 공조를 통해 북한을 설득하고 압박하는 ‘투트랙 전략’ 을 적극 펼쳐야 함. 특히 중국이 좀 더 적극적으로 움직일 수 있도록 국제사회가 노력을 기울여야 함.

- 미국 역시 유엔 채널 등을 통해 북한과 직·간접적인 대화의 틀을 빨리 만들어야 함. 미국 정부 당국자들이 핵개발을 좌시하지 않겠다는 강경 입장을 보이면서도 북한이 의미 있는 조치만 취한다면 ‘진정한 협상’ 에 응할 것임을 시사하는 발언들을 하는 것을 주목함.

- 북미 간 대화는 핵문제에 국한하지 않고 평화체제, 북한 문제 전반을 포괄할 필요가 있음.

- 북미 뉴욕 유엔 채널 가동과 미국의 대북 식량지원을 검토할 수 있을 것임. 상황이 좀 더 진전된다면 미국의 대북특사 파견도 고려할 수 있을 것임. 힐러리 클린턴 전 국무장관이 특사로 갈 수도 있을 것임.

- 북중 간 책임 있는 수준의 대화가 시급함. 중국이 고위급 특사를 북한에 파견해 김정은 국방위원회 제1위원장에게 국제사회의 입장과 우려를 정확히 전달하고 설득할 필요가 있음.

- 김정은 제1위원장과 진지한 대화가 가능한 중국의 고위급 인물, 장더장 전인대 상무위원장, 양제츠 외교 담당 국무위원 정도의 방북이 빨리 이루어질 필요가 있음. 현 사태에 대한 한미의 입장이 가감 없이 설명되고, 김정은 제1위원장의 입장이 국제사회에 정확히 전달될 수 있어야 할 것임.

■ 사태 해결을 위해 보다 중요한 것은 북핵문제 해결을 위한 한미중의 협력구도가 얼마나 잘 작동하는가임.

- 한미간, 한중간, 미중간 대화가 충분히 이뤄져 북핵문제 전반에 대한 한미중의 공통의 입장이 정리될 필요가 있음.

- 3국이 합의할 수 있는 내용을 뽑아내 북한에 대한 카드로 활용해야 함. 이를 통해 한미중이 북한과의 대화와 협상에 체계적으로 나서야 할 것임.

■ 5월 7일 한미정상회담에서 대화를 통한 북핵문제 해결을 강조한 것은 의미가 큼.

- 다만, 한반도 신뢰 프로세스를 작동시키겠다는 박근혜 정부가 한미정상회담 공동선언에서 자유민주주의로의 통일을 언급한 것은 정책적 모순을 보였다는 점에서 아쉬움이 큼. 박근혜 정부가 이명박 정부의 비핵·개방 3000과 한반도 신뢰 프로세스의 차이점을 부각시킬 필요가 있음.

■ 한반도 위기 상황이 일단 한반도 위기가 숨 고르기에 들어간 것으로 보이지만, 상황 관리가 제대로 이뤄지지 않으면 위기는 언제든지 재발할 수 있음. 우발적, 돌발적 사건이 발생한다면 사태는 걷잡을 수 없는 상황으로 나아갈 수도 있을 것임.

- 이를 관리하면서 한미중의 협조체제가 구축된다면, 대화 국면으로의 전환과 북핵문제 해결의 실마리가 풀릴 수 있을 것임.

South Korea and the U.S. Nuclear Umbrella

Terence Roehrig, Professor of US Naval War College

The views expressed here are the author's alone and do not represent the views of the U.S. Government or the Department of Defense or the Department of the Navy

1. Every time North Korea has conducted a nuclear weapons test, the United States has been quick to reassert that the U.S. commitment to defend South Korea, including the nuclear umbrella, remains firm. Indeed, Washington has provided the nuclear guarantee since the alliance began and has formally declared this intent every fall since 1978 in the Joint Communiqué of the Security Consultative Meeting. The Joint Vision Statement from the 2009 Lee-Obama Summit contains a similar reference. Seoul lobbied hard to have this included since it was an important gesture because this time, it was made at the presidential level. During President Park's recent visit to Washington, President Obama again reaffirmed the inclusion of South Korea under the nuclear umbrella. From 1958 to 1991, the United States also supported South Korea's defense with the deployment of tactical nuclear weapons on the peninsula.

2. It is clear that South Korea places great value on its inclusion under the U.S. nuclear umbrella, and U.S. officials have gone to significant lengths to reaffirm that commitment. The ROK-US alliance is strong, and the United States will be there to defend South Korea if attacked. There is no doubt Washington will respond so that the credibility of the alliance commitment is solid.

3. But the number of scenarios where the United States might use nuclear weapons for that commitment is very small. Again, the U.S. defense commitment is highly credible but the U.S. response is far more likely to be conventional than nuclear.

4. The use of nuclear weapons is unlikely for 5 reasons.

First – the military utility of using nuclear weapons on the Korean Peninsula is very limited -- there are some possible exceptions but if the security situation is to the extent of considering nuclear weapons, it is likely that the North Korean regime is coming down and "nuking" the North will only make that more difficult. Creating a radiological environment in the DPRK would greatly complicate the movement of ROK and U.S. forces moving north.

Second, Washington does not need to use nuclear weapons to accomplish any military goals given the conventional combat power it has at its disposal. There are very few tactical problems that require nuclear weapons and could not be solved with U.S. and ROK conventional forces.

Third - the United States may be likely to hesitate in using nuclear weapons because of setting a precedent for nuclear use, even if responding to a first use. Washington does not want to encourage others to go nuclear by doing so itself.

Fourth – given the proximity of others in the region [South Korea, China, Japan, etc.] using nuclear weapons have very serious consequences for allies and population centers. Blast effects and nuclear debris could easily be carried across borders, contaminate large areas, including cities, and greatly complicate the regional response to the ongoing crisis.

Finally - there would likely be hesitation by U.S. leaders based on moral grounds to use nuclear weapons. Some scholars have talked about a “nuclear taboo” where U.S. leaders would be very reluctant to cross a nuclear firebreak that has stood for decades.

5. Analysis of these types of situations is hypothetical and would largely depend on how these events might unfold. However, an argument can be made that when putting all of these factors together, there are very few scenarios that would trigger a US nuclear response.

Again, there would be a large scale U.S. conventional response should South Korea be attacked but it would likely not be nuclear.

6. These arguments also apply to South Korea and do not make a case for Seoul to acquire its own nuclear capability. Moreover, there are significant costs to South Korea should it pursue nuclear weapons. These include damage to South Korea as an NPT, non-nuclear member going nuclear, restrictions that would likely be placed on South Korea’s civilian nuclear industry, and Seoul’s loss of the moral high ground in the effort denuclearize the peninsula. Thus, there would be serious costs for South Korea should it chose to acquire its own nuclear weapons with little added benefit to its security.

7. The nuclear umbrella is only one part of the U.S. defense commitment to defend South Korea. The overall defense commitment is strong and credible but the range of scenarios that would generate a U.S. nuclear response is very small. However, a certain conventional response and even a small likelihood of a nuclear response is more than adequate to deter North Korea.



Co-host 공동주최

East Asia Institute

100-786 909 Sampoong B/D, Eulji-ro 158, Jung-gu, Seoul
www.eai.or.kr

동아시아연구원

100-786 서울특별시 중구 을지로 158, 909호 (을지로4가, 삼풍빌딩)
www.eai.or.kr

US Embassy in Seoul

110-710 188 Sejong-daero 32, Jongno-gu, Seoul
seoul.usembassy.gov

주한미국대사관

110-710 188 서울시 종로구 세종로 32 주한미국대사관
seoul.usembassy.gov

Department of Public Affairs, Sungkyunkwan University

110-745 25-2, #20208 Law School B/D, Sungkyunkwan-ro, Jongno-gu, Seoul
gld.skku.edu

성균관대학교 글로벌리더학부

110-745 서울특별시 종로구 성균관로 25-2 법학관 2층 20208호
gld.skku.e