

## **Reducing Reliance on Extended Nuclear Deterrence**

LEE Mikyung  
(Co-President of PNND, Member of the National Assembly, ROK)

It is indeed my great pleasure to address you today. I am LEE Mi Kyung, Member of the Korean National Assembly.

I find it very meaningful to be here with many other parliamentarians from various countries on the occasion of the first day of the PNND council meeting. Above all, let me express my deepest appreciation to PNND staff members for doing their utmost to organize this conference. It is a very encouraging sign that PNND's continued efforts aimed at nuclear disarmament are recently showing progress.

As you know, President Obama was just awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his push for, among other things, nuclear disarmament. In choosing him, the award committee perhaps forgot that we, the PNND, have been working for nuclear disarmament harder and longer. I as co-President of the PNND will see to it that the committee is made aware of this fact and gives us a due consideration next year. So stay tuned. Get your tuxedos ready and be prepared to fly to Oslo next year.

### **Challenges of Achieving a World Free of Nuclear Weapons**

In recent years, the international community has made positive progress towards 'a World Free of Nuclear Weapons.' In particular, U.N. Secretary General Ban Ki-moon expressed his strong commitment to actively working toward the goal, and President Obama of the United States called for a nuclear-weapons free world. These, and other positive developments, provide us with a rare opportunity to turn our long-held dream of nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation into reality.

This is not to suggest that we have a smooth sail ahead of us. Indeed we have many rocks to avoid and storms to weather before we can reach the 'world free of nuclear weapons.' While many countries have expressed their shared interest in reaching the destiny, some are prevented from rowing our common ship together by their parochial security concerns. It is in fact their short-sighted security concerns that push them away from the nuclear-weapons free world and toward a region of 'extended

nuclear deterrence.’ Nuclear umbrellas in many regions, in other words, remain as one of the most serious impediments.

To reach the ‘World Free of Nuclear Weapons,’ therefore, we must find an effective way to fold the nuclear umbrellas in all regions. Here we have a triple challenge. First, we need to convince the nuclear weapon states not only to reduce and eliminate their nuclear weapons but also to while doing so withdraw their nuclear umbrella. Second, non-nuclear weapon states that are covered by an extended nuclear deterrence need to be persuaded that they may come out of the nuclear shelter without fearing for survival. Finally, we are faced with the difficult task of telling the countries outside the nuclear umbrellas that they need not seek nuclear capability of their own. I humbly submit that the extended nuclear deterrence must and can be replaced with what I call an “integrated regional peace architecture” and the integrated peace will be an effective stepping stone toward the world free of nuclear weapons.

In this regard, I would like to share with you our denuclearization efforts on the Korean Peninsula where nuclear issues are the most pressing and contentious problem. And then, let me offer you a few suggestions for how to respond to ‘extended nuclear deterrence,’ or reaffirmation of the extended nuclear umbrella.

### **Denuclearization efforts on the Korean Peninsula and ‘Extended Nuclear Deterrence’**

Northeast Asia currently constitutes nuclear weapon states including the U.S., Russia and China, non-nuclear weapon states under the nuclear umbrella including Korea and Japan, and countries that used to be non-nuclear weapon states but are now seeking to develop nuclear weapons such as North Korea.

Countries concerned in the Northeast Asian region have been making every effort to resolve the North Korean nuclear issues, and establish a lasting peace regime in the region since the North withdrew from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1993 and suspicions of North Korea’s possible nuclear development surfaced.

However, North Korea and the countries involved failed to build mutual trust and repeated a series of compromise and confrontation. After all, North Korea conducted a second nuclear test in last May, followed by the adoption of the UN Security Council Resolution 1874 imposing tougher sanctions on the North for its provocative activities. Against this backdrop, we are entering a new phase of our disarmament negotiations on the Korean Peninsula.

Although all the countries including even North Korea agree to ‘denuclearization on the Korean Peninsula,’ the parties concerned do not trust each other in the negotiation

process, and are even making moves to strengthen a nuclear regime, citing unstable security conditions.

North Korea is claiming legitimacy for its armament in response to military threats from the U.S. as the country is inferior in military strength on the Korean Peninsula. And other nuclear powers are cautious about a possible infringement of their right to possess nuclear weapons because of the North's provocative acts.

Above all, Korea and Japan, which have been under the influence of the U.S. extended nuclear deterrence, are reinforcing the continued commitment of nuclear umbrella from the United States, and got to the point where some in the Korean and Japanese Parliament called for nuclear armament. Such responses make it a lot harder to engage in mutual negotiations, leading to further aggravate security concerns in the region.

### **To Transform 'Extended Nuclear Deterrence' to 'Integrated Regional Peace'**

Looking back on denuclearization efforts in progress on the Korea Peninsula, I would like to suggest that we make the following three endeavours in order to resolve the 'Extended Nuclear Deterrence' issues at the regional level.

First, 'a nuclear weapon-free world' can be achieved only when accompanied by nuclear disarmament for nuclear weapon states, non-proliferation commitment by non-nuclear weapon states, and stable changes in nuclear umbrella policy. Demands for any party to implement the said measures ahead of the others will make the negotiations even more difficult.

Second, as we learned from denuclearization efforts on the Korean Peninsula, these efforts can bear fruits only on the basis of 'mutual trust' amongst countries in the region. When mutual trust is not assured, discussions on denuclearization in the region may lead to more intensified security competition, which is why the denuclearization on the Korean Peninsula should go hand in hand with normalization of ties between the U.S. and North Korea, and between Japan and the North.

Lastly, the countries involved should exert intensive efforts to make a transition from 'Extended Nuclear Deterrence' to a stable 'Regional Security System.' In the region consisting of countries with different nuclear identities, disarmament without a clear vision for the security system can be a cause of endless security instability. If we work on dispelling security concerns of the countries under the nuclear umbrella through the regional security system, denuclearization can become a reality in this region.

When it comes to denuclearization on the Korean Peninsula, these alternative efforts to introduce a regional security system are now paying off. Six-party disarmament talks are aiming to replace the armistice agreement with a peace agreement. And the Working Group on ‘**the Northeast Asia Peace and Security Network**’ has been set up under the February 13 agreement at the six-party talks, seeking the regional security architecture in Northeast Asia in the long-term.

### **Global Efforts to Realize a Nuclear Weapon-Free World**

As part of the efforts to make ‘a world free of nuclear weapons,’ the U.N. Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1887 in its fifth-ever Summit on September 24, 2009. We should build on the progress to devise more concrete plans for nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation.

Most of all, we are very much interested in President Obama’s recent stance on the U.S. ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). It is my sincere hope that the U.S., China, India and North Korea, which have yet to ratify the CTBT, can win the ratification at the earliest possible time.

In addition, nuclear weapon states are required to actively join forces in ‘conclusion of effective international arrangements to assure non-nuclear weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons’ and ‘Convention on the Prohibition of the Use of Nuclear Weapons.’ The said agreements will have some effect on undermining the claims that the nuclear umbrella should be extended for security concerns.

‘A nuclear weapon-free world’ can not be achieved only by the U.N., the U.S., non-nuclear weapon states, or world peace organizations on their own. Each country should prove its endeavour to actively participate in the move to make ‘a nuclear-weapon-free world’ by expressing their strong support for resolutions on nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation submitted to the U.N. every year.

In this respect, the role of PNND is more important than ever. We strongly demand all the countries around the world to raise a common understanding of and join forces in nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation. And we should also endeavour to make Global Nuclear Summit in March 2010 and NPT Review Conference in May of the same year serve as a forum for materializing ‘a nuclear-weapons-free world.’

Thank you.