

# РОЗДІЛ I

## Актуальні виклики міжнародних відносин

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### North Korea Nuclear Program as the Main Source of Instability in Northeast Asia

North Korea's nuclear program is a major source of instability in Northeast Asia, affecting the interests of all countries in the region and a threat to global security in general. Another equally important aspect of the problem is its impact on the international nuclear non-proliferation. That case of Korea nuklearization showed weaknesses of the Treaty on the Non-caused and the need for its transformation. Since the establishment of the state in 1948 North Korea military policy has focused on maintaining and increasing military power and its position in the region. Neither after the Korean War 1950–1953 years, nor post-Cold War security situation on the Korean Peninsula has not become less anxious and did not happen a substantial reduction of the military threat in Northeast Asia.

North Korea has always considered weapons of mass destruction as a necessary part of their military arsenal. In this regard, investigated the problem is urgent and important. The study is a comprehensive analysis of the nuclear program of North Korea as a factor of tension of international relations today.

**Key words:** North Korea's nuclear program, nuclear weapons, instability, Northeast Asia, foreign policy and nuclear non-proliferation.

**The formulation of scientific problem and its significance.** The nuclear threat to mankind dates back to the mid-twentieth century. During these years, the United States and the Soviet Union launched a nuclear arms race being almost on the verge of war. In modern conditions the danger of military conflict between world leaders declined, but not disappeared completely. Today the foreground questions remain non-proliferation and control.

Most countries seek nuclear weapons; do so to strengthen their security – especially in relation to their likely opponents. Other important factors in making decisions about the development of such weapons is the desire of the state to increase its credibility in the international community, to take a leading position in a particular block of states, or strengthen the legitimacy of their regimes [1, p. 179].

The first approach of the North Korean nuclear project took place in the late 40s of last century, when the leadership of the country, wanting to please Joseph Stalin and strengthen their own position, held an inspection of geological studies results as for the availability of uranium ore in the northern part of the peninsula, which gave positive results. Supplies of uranium ore to the Soviet Union have been the “currency”, which North Korea has paid its debts to the Soviet Union mainly weapons for its army, which was created. Cooperation of North Korea with the Soviet Union and China in the military sphere in the 50–60 years of the twentieth century, perhaps pushed it attempts to create its own nuclear program [2, p. 12–13].

North Koreans activities in the nuclear field has not caused great concern about 80s years of XX century. At first received information that North Korea has mastered the production of weapons plutonium needed for an atomic bomb.

On the other hand, we can not forget about other factors that should be considered in the study of the problem. Thus, North Korea has a uranium deposits, which reserves are estimated 15 ths. tons. In addition, work on the creation of scientific and experimental nuclear infrastructure, training and building capacity in the nuclear industry were also actively using the help of PRC (People's Republic of China), but full of reliable data on such cooperation are missing.

It should also be noted that in recent years in the Western media widely commented information, that to this day refuted by Islamabad, that Pakistan gave North Korea the secrets of nuclear weapons production, possibly, the necessary technology, equipment and even nuclear material in exchange for North Korean tactical missiles [19, p. 44].

According to Western sources, about 22 nuclear facilities for various purposes is located now in 18 districts of North Korea (tab. 1). Among them – the objects of nuclear weapons likely used to implement the program based on highly enriched uranium.

Table 1

Objects of North Korea nuclear infrastructure [6; 8; 9]

Location of Infrastructure	What's on this facility
Yongbyon	In fact, the main center for the design and manufacture of nuclear weapons. Plant for the production of fuel rods and store them in the Nuclear research center. Research Center of nuclear energy, which includes: Institute of Nuclear Physics, Institute of Nuclear Electronics, Institute of isotopes, Institute of Radiation Chemistry and radiochemical laboratory, a nuclear power reactor of 5 MW capacity, reactor of 8 MW heat output, reactor of 50 megawatts capacity, the company of isotopes processing, plant of nuclear fuel, testing ground for explosives
Caisson	Enterprise for processing of uranium
Nunn	Nuclear Energy Research Center
Pukchhon	Research Center of nuclear energy, uranium mines and enrichment plants. Presumably, the center is developing nuclear weapons
Phenhan	Enterprise of extraction and processing of uranium ore, uranium mine
Phenson	Science University and Research Center of nuclear energy
Pyongyang	Special laboratory in Pyongyang Kim Ir-sung University, where the work in experimental nuclear physics is held, College of Nuclear Physics at the Pyongyang Kim Ir-sung University and College of Nuclear Physics at the Technological Kim Chheka University
Busan	Discovery Center of Atomic Energy has been studying the problems of radiation protection
Suncheon	The active uranium mines
Unhi	The active uranium mines
Hamhung	University of chemicals, preparing specialists in nuclear materials processing
Cinchona	The active uranium mines

It is very important to note that North Korea says it has conducted five successful nuclear tests: in 2006, 2009, 2013 and in January and September 2016.

**The analysis of this issue studies.** Research on international problems of Northeast Asia and the Asia-Pacific region contribute to the definition of DPRK (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) nuclear issue position in a regional context. Among the most significant works on issues of regional evolution of international relations should mention the works of such scientists as O. Arin, E. Bazhanov, B. Lee, A. Rudnytsky, V. Fedotov. International aspects of the Korean issue and inter-Korean dialogue, foreign and domestic policy of the DPRK studied L. Vorontsov, V. Denisov, A. Zhebina, G. Toloray, A. Torkunov. Among recent and significant works of successful collective monograph can be noted authors such as G. D. Toloray [15] and V. Tikhomirova [14].

The most prominent of special studies on the situation of the Korean peninsula is work of W. Mikheiev [10]. This monograph is the most complete in Russian science work on the nuclear issue of the DPRK. We consider the various aspects of political, economic development, international political aspects of the nuclear program of North Korea, which really reveals the complex nature of the study. These problems are studied closely by the international non-proliferation issues, allowing you to make the whole picture.

The problem of North Korea in a large number of different individual studies prepared by the West, South Korea and Japan. One of such works is the monograph edited by Kiel Yong Wang and Peter Hayyes [25]. It remains one of the most fundamental problems of work for settlement of the first nuclear crisis. The paper discusses the various aspects of the crisis related domestic issues in North Korea and the United States presented thorough analysis of the crisis.

**The main material and justification of the study.** Nuclear weapon – is a weapon of explosive action based on the use of nuclear energy, released during a nuclear chain of fission reaction of heavy nuclei or thermonuclear fusion of light nuclei. Refers to weapons of mass destruction, along with biological and chemical [13, p. 17–18].

Nuclear explosions are carried out in the air at different heights in the ground (water) and underground (water). Accordingly, they can be divided into aerial, ground (surface) and underground (underwater). Place where the explosion occurred, called the center and its projection to the surface – the epicenter of a nuclear explosion.

The massive use of nuclear weapons threatens catastrophic consequences for all mankind, so it carried ban. The destructive effect of nuclear weapons based on the energy released in nuclear reactions of explosive type. Power nuclear charge measured in TNT – TNT number you want to blow up the explosion to obtain the same energy. Usually it is expressed in kilotons (kt) and megatons (Mt). TNT is conditional because the energy distribution of a nuclear explosion on various factors essentially depends on the type of weapon and, in any event, very different from the chemical explosion [18, p. 60–61].

The country, which made a political decision to develop nuclear weapons in secret, has many technical problems. Among them is the problem of choosing weapons of fissionable material. We know that building warheads from highly enriched uranium requires the construction of large, expensive processing enterprises to provide privacy which is difficult. Even in the case of a technological processing lines underground presence gives them powerful sources of energy and the allocation of considerable heat [20, p. 475–476].

In terms of privacy in the creation of nuclear weapons is more important to focus on the use of plutonium because the production is easy to disguise under the guise of civilian power industry. To obtain weapons-grade plutonium as using special reactor as moderator heavy water reactors or industrial gas graphite reactors of dual purpose.

According to the CIA, the new North Korea's nuclear program based on the use of enriched uranium and partly based on imported technology from Russia. In this regard it should be noted that, for nearly three decades of implementation of the nuclear program in North Korea, a network of nuclear industry, including both research and production enterprise (tab. 1).

Many experts believe that North Korea efficiency of maintenance work on creating uranium nuclear weapons is low. We distinguish several reasons: first, to provide highly armed uranium using known North Korea capabilities is virtually impossible for many reasons – among them large quantity of highly enriched uranium. Secondly, any way to enrich uranium to create nuclear weapons – diffusion, centrifuge, laser, ways of electromagnetic isotope separation and radiochemical – requires skilled workers and processing equipment, which requires large space and enormous energy. To track these objects using modern satellite systems is very easily [12].

There are suspicions that underground complex near the village Hahap of Chanhhan Province, located in Mehyan mountain tunnels, can include nuclear reactors and facilities for uranium enrichment. According to others, this complex is not located in Hahap but in underground caves Kumchanhni, 50 kilometers northwest of the nuclear research center in Yongbyon. But after the inspections carried out by experts from the United States in May 1999 and 2000, this information is not confirmed [3, p. 17–18].

According to some sources, secret facilities and processing uranium enrichment are also located in venues carved inside the second highest mountain of North Korea Kwan-bong in North Hamheyon. But all this information is based, in general, on intelligence, and can not be absolutely accurate to date [7, p. 25–26].

3 October 2006 DPRK Foreign Ministry issued a statement stating the intention of North Korea “to conduct a nuclear test under the condition that safety is firmly guaranteed it.” As justification for this decision was announced about the threat of nuclear war with the US and economic sanctions aimed at suppressing North Korea – in these circumstances Pyongyang sees choice but to conduct nuclear tests. However, as noted in a statement, “North Korea is not going to use nuclear weapons first,” but rather “will continue efforts to ensure the non-nuclear status of the Korean peninsula toward nuclear disarmament and the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons” [21, p. 8].

October 9, 2006, at 10:36 AM local time, North Korea conducted its first test of a nuclear weapon. The tests were successful and safe radioactive leak happened. According to the North Korean agency test was conducted in an area near the town Hvaderi Kylchzhu (Hamgyong-do province) in northeastern North Korea, just 130 kilometers from the borders [22, p. 13].

According to the South Korean Institute of Geology and Mineral Resources, Power underground nuclear explosion ranged from 400–500 to 800 tons of TNT. The US Geological Survey recorded at 10:35 on North Korean seismic vibrations sometimes force 4,2 points in an area of North Korea. The earthquake was recorded in South Korea, Japan, USA, Australia and Russia [17, p. 21–22].

April 14, 2009 North Korea announced resumption of its nuclear program and declared that it saw no point in continuing the six-party talks on denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.

May 25, 2009, North Korea conducted a second in its history, nuclear explosion, whose power was 10 to 20 kilotons. Underground explosion in the territory of the DPRK was recorded at 4:54 local time. The test was conducted at 80 kilometers from the city Kylchzhu in the northern part of the country. In the area of the explosion was recorded “artificial” earthquake of magnitude 5,5–6 on the Richter scale, the epicenter of which was located at a depth of ten kilometers. Shortly after Pyongyang test confirmed the successful conduct of a nuclear explosion [4]. The statement explained that an underground nuclear explosion carried out “in the comprehensive measures to strengthen the independent nuclear forces” and a “contribution to the protection of sovereignty.” “The successful nuclear test inspire our army and the people who lead the fight for new developments in the economy and strengthens the atmosphere of a new revolutionary upsurge to build a strong prosperous state.” This time, North Korea conducted a compact blasting charge, which can be mounted on a missile [16].

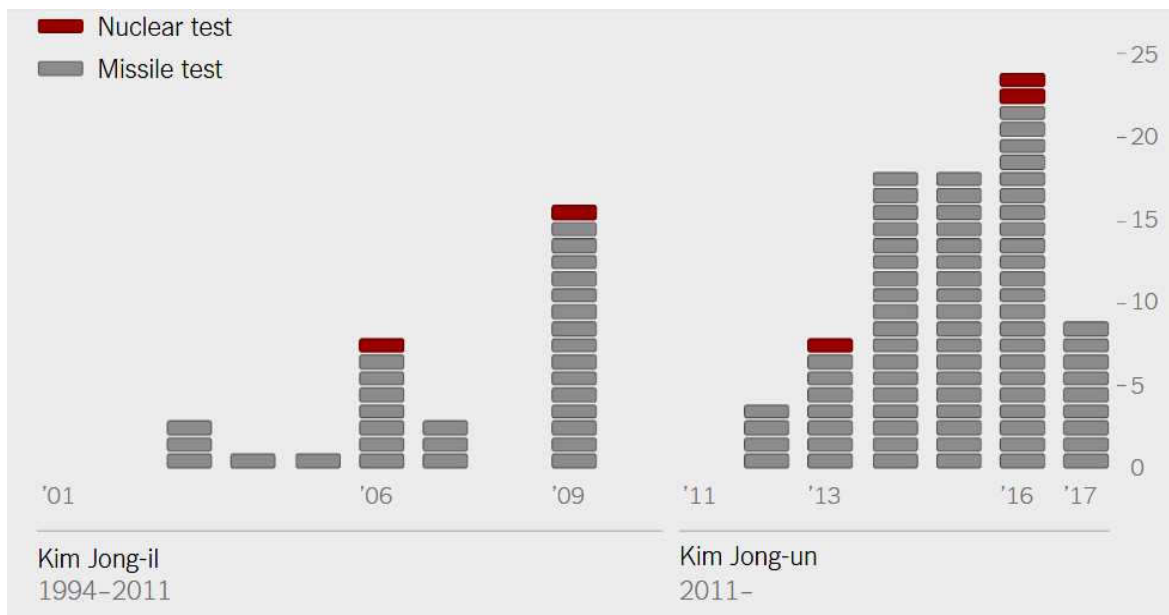
EU action in Korea was called “provocation” and “a flagrant violation” of UN Security Council resolutions. “These irresponsible acts of North Korea requires strong response from the international community – said EU High Representative for common foreign policy and security Javier Solanu. – European Union will be in contact with its partners to discuss appropriate measures” [23].

President Barack Obama called the nuclear tests in North Korea threat to peace not only in Northeast Asia but throughout the world. He said Pyongyang’s attempts “to develop nuclear weapons are a danger to the international community.” “Such provocations will lead only to increased international isolation of North Korea” – promised the head of the White House [11, p. 5].

Russia also accused North Korea of “a serious blow to international efforts to strengthen the NPT nuclear weapons.” “Such actions North Korea can be regarded not only as a violation of resolution 1718 of the Security Council, which among other things requires Pyongyang not to conduct nuclear tests.”

Even China, which traditionally serves as the elder brother of North Korea expressed “strong protest against new nuclear tests North Korea, which ignored the objections of the international community.”

The frequency of missile tests has risen significantly under Kim Jong-un, with a recent increase in nuclear tests as well.



**Picture 1. Includes only major systems. Omits engine firings at ground facilities, ejection tests of submarine missiles, and finings of artillery, short-range rockets and air-defense missiles**

Source: Center for Strategic and International Studies

The United States has been pressing the United Nations to impose more sanctions on North Korea over its nuclear and missile programs. The diplomatic efforts have coincided with military maneuvers by the United States and South Korea in Pocheon, northeast of Seoul, South Korea, where the allies have demonstrated some of their latest weapons. In addition, the Michigan, a submarine armed with Tomahawk

cruise missiles, has arrived in the South Korean port city of Busan. And a Navy strike group led by the aircraft carrier Carl Vinson has been sent to the Sea of Japan, which borders the Korean Peninsula.

To protect against a North Korean attack, the United States is on the verge of making a new antimissile system operational in South Korea. Mr. Trump said that he would seek to have South Korea pay for the system, known as the Terminal High Altitude Area Defense system, or Thaad, putting its cost around \$1 billion [27]. Under its arrangement with Washington, South Korea was to provide land and build a base for the Thaad system, while the United States would pay for it and cover its operational costs.

In New York convened a special meeting of the UN Security Council. But even among its five permanent members was no unity. US, France and Britain argued for a sharp increase sanctions against North Korea. China and Russia believe that a whip North Koreans do not fix relatively Pyongyang must carry “more balanced policy”. June 12, 2009 the UN Security Council unanimously voted for the introduction of additional sanctions in the security, economic sanctions and embargo and supply weapons to North Korea in connection with the country [5, p. 8].

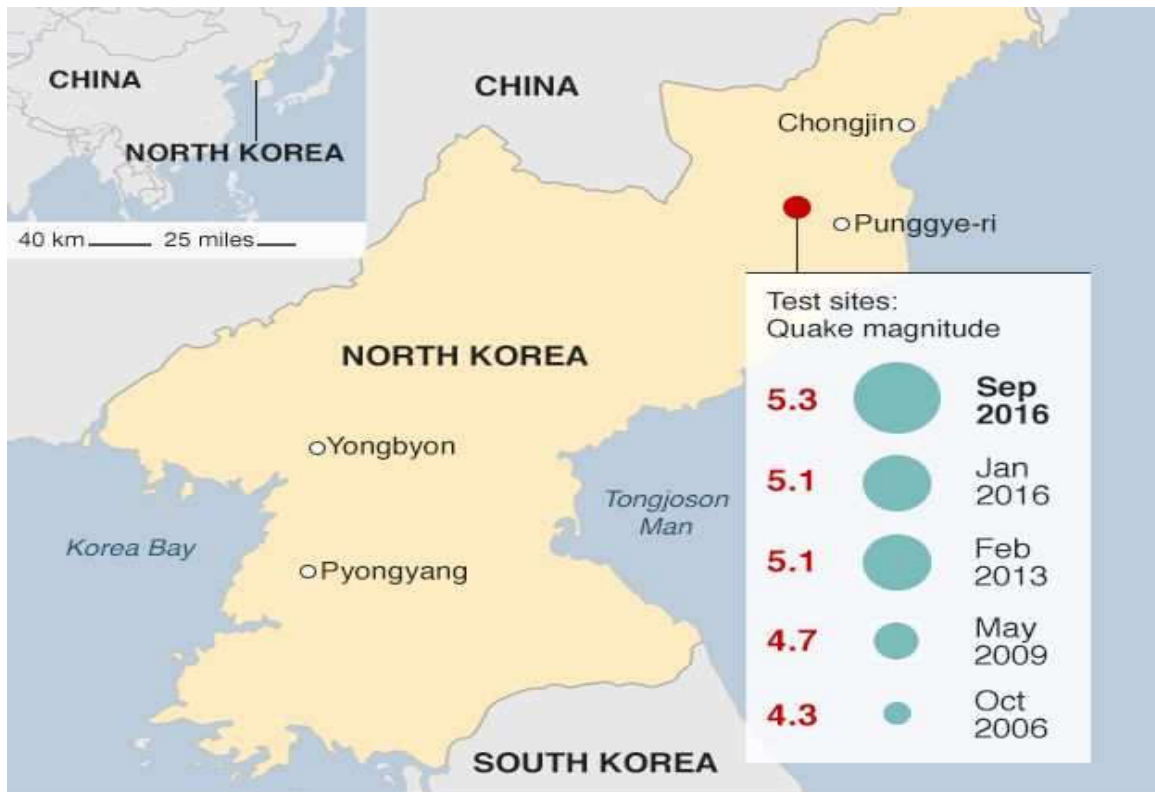
North Korea’s nuclear programme remains a source of deep concern for the international community. Despite multiple efforts to curtail it, Pyongyang says it has conducted five nuclear tests. Technically yes – North Korea has conducted several tests with nuclear bombs. However, in order to launch a nuclear attack on its neighbours, it needs to be able to make a nuclear warhead small enough to fit on to a missile.

North Korea claims it has successfully “miniaturised” nuclear warheads – but this has never been independently verified, and some experts have cast doubt on the claims.

North Korea says it has conducted five successful nuclear tests: in 2006, 2009, 2013 and in January and September 2016. September 2016’s test has indicated a device with an explosive yield of between 10 and 30 kilotonnes – which, if confirmed, would make it the North’s strongest nuclear test ever [28].

The other big question is whether the devices being tested are atomic bombs, or hydrogen bombs, which are more powerful. H-bombs use fusion – the merging of atoms – to unleash massive amounts of energy, whereas atomic bombs use nuclear fission, or the splitting of atoms. The 2006, 2009 and 2013 tests were all atomic bomb tests.

North Korea claimed that its January 2016 test was of a hydrogen bomb, but experts cast doubt on the claim given the size of the explosion registered.



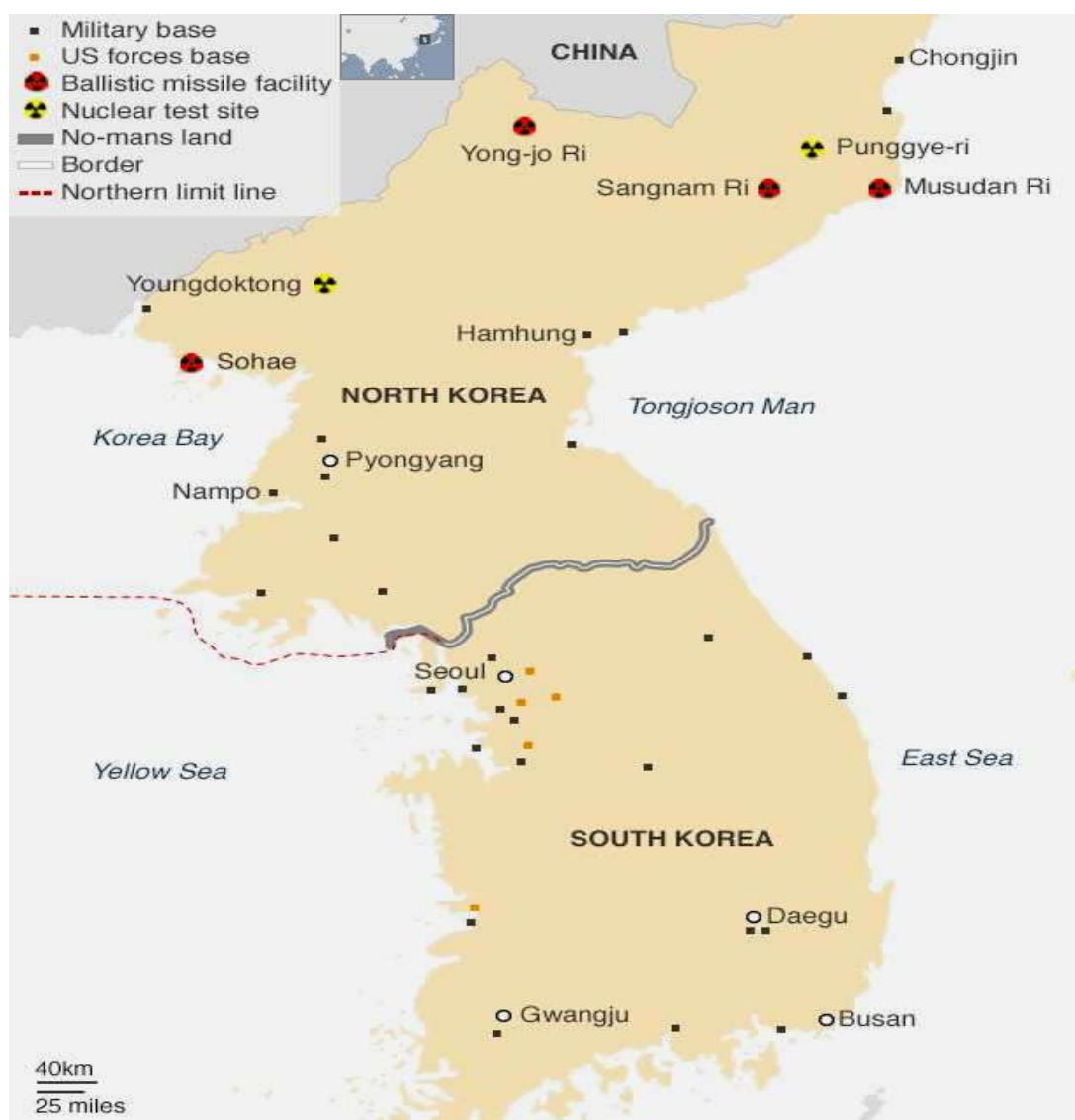
Picture 2. Details of the fifth test have not yet been released

The US, Russia, China, Japan and South Korea engaged the North in multiple rounds of negotiations known as six-party talks. There were various attempts to agree disarmament deals with North Korea, but none of this has ultimately deterred Pyongyang.

In 2005, North Korea agreed to a landmark deal to give up its nuclear ambitions in return for economic aid and political concessions. In 2008, it even destroyed the cooling tower at Yongbyon as part of the disarmament-for-aid deal. But implementing the deal proved difficult and talks stalled in 2009. 2012, North Korea suddenly announced it would suspend nuclear activities and place a moratorium on missile tests in exchange for US food aid. But this came to nothing when Pyongyang tried to launch a rocket in April that year [26].

In March 2013, after a war of words with the US and with new UN sanctions over the North's third nuclear test, Pyongyang vowed to restart all facilities at Yongbyon. By 2015, normal operations there appeared to have resumed.

The 2016 tests brought international condemnation, including from China, and increased sanctions. However, Beijing has generally been anxious not to do anything to destabilise its volatile neighbour.



**Picture 3. Key test and modern launch facilities**

Source: globalsecurity.org, Council on Foreign Relations

In an April 2016 analysis, the International Institute for Strategic Studies said the missiles were a “proven system which can hit all of South Korea and much of Japan”. More capable missiles followed with

the development of the Musudan range, which was most recently tested in 2016. Estimates differ dramatically on its how far it can fly, with Israeli intelligence putting it at 2,500 km and the US Missile Defense Agency estimating about 3,200 km. Other sources suggest a possible 4,000 km.

Another development came in August 2016 when North Korea announced it had tested a submarine based “surface-to-surface, medium-to-long-range ballistic missile”, called the Pukguksong. A second was launched from land in February 2017.

**Conclusions.** Unauthorized development of North Korea’s nuclear weapons leading to tense situation in the region not only Northeast Asia but also in the world. The international community must intervene in this situation and to help peacefully resolve the conflict. If America does not make any steps, over time the arsenal of North Korea certainly expand, as well as increase its stocks of nuclear fuel. This will lead to destabilization and possibly disastrous. The presence of a significant DPRK nuclear capabilities could encourage work on similar programs in Japan and South Korea, which in turn undermine stability in Northeast Asia. If Pyongyang decides to sell new weapons or nuclear fuel for hard currency, as has happened with his drugs and missile technology, the consequences could go beyond Northeast Asia.

The most effective of all possible ways today – together with all the powerful countries continue working on a package of agreements that provide Pyongyang security guarantees, assistance in the energy sector and specific political and economic benefits in exchange for its abandonment of nuclear programs (such as fuel and military) and consent to full international inspections. It is important sequence of actions: senseless would expect that North Korea will meet demands in the nuclear field before you receive any benefits. Washington and its partners should jointly determine the economic and political sanctions imposed on North Korea in case it does not take these agreements by a certain date or step over a critical threshold by testing, for example, a nuclear device.

In any of these diplomatic initiatives China should play a central role. Although its influence on Pyongyang is limited, it is still higher than in other countries. Beijing North Korea supplies a significant portion of energy and is its main trading partner.

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**Возник Євгенія. Ядерна програма Північної Кореї як основне джерело нестабільності в Північно-Східній Азії.** Ядерна програма Північної Кореї – це основне джерело нестабільності в Північно-Східній Азії, яке зачіпає інтереси всіх держав регіону й загрожує світовій безпеці загалом. Інший, не менш важливий аспект цієї проблеми – її вплив на розвиток міжнародного режиму ядерного нерозповсюдження. Саме випадок нуклеаризації КНДР показав недоліки режиму Договору про нерозповсюдження ядерної зброї й зумовив потребу його трансформації. З моменту створення держави 1948 р. військова політика Північної Кореї спрямована на підтримку й збільшення військової потужності та її позиції в регіоні. Ні після Корейської війни 1950–1953 рр., ні після закінчення холодної війни ситуація у сфері безпеки на Корейському півострові не стала менш тривожною і не відбулося істотного зниження військової загрози в Північно-Східній Азії, а якраз навпаки. Північна Корея завжди вважала зброю масового знищення необхідною частиною свого військового арсеналу, і підтвердженням цьому слугують заяви держави про п'ять успішних ядерних випробувань: у 2006, 2009, 2013 рр. та січні й вересні 2016 р. У зв'язку з цим досліджується проблема актуальна й важлива. Мета дослідження – комплексний аналіз ядерної програми Північної Кореї як фактору напруженості міжнародних відносин на сучасному етапі, а також дипломатичні шляхи залагодження й розв'язання конфлікту.

**Ключові слова:** Північна Корея, ядерна програма, ядерна зброя, нестабільність, Північно-Східна Азія, зовнішня політика, ядерне нерозповсюдження.

**Возник Евгения. Ядерная программа Северной Кореи как основной источник нестабильности в Северо-Восточной Азии.** Ядерная программа Северной Кореи является основным источником нестабильности в Северо-Восточной Азии, затрагивает интересы всех государств региона и представляет угрозу мировой безопасности в целом. Другим, не менее важным аспектом этой проблемы является ее влияние на развитие международного режима ядерного нераспространения. Именно случай нуклеаризации КНДР показал недостатки режима Договора о нераспространении ядерного оружия и обусловил необходимость его трансформации. С момента создания государства в 1948 г. военная политика Северной Кореи направлена на поддержание и увеличение военной мощи и ее позиции в регионе. Ни после Корейской войны 1950–1953 гг., ни после окончания холодной войны ситуация в области безопасности на Корейском полуострове не стала менее тревожной и не произошло существенного снижения военной угрозы в Северо-Восточной Азии, а совсем наоборот. Северная Корея всегда считала оружие массового уничтожения необходимой частью своего военного арсенала, и подтверждением этому служат заявления государства о том, что оно провело пять успешных ядерных испытаний: в 2006, 2009, 2013 гг. и в январе и сентябре 2016 г. В связи с этим исследуемая проблема является актуальной и важной. Цель исследования – комплексный анализ ядерной программы Северной Кореи как фактора напряженности международных отношений на современном этапе, а также дипломатические пути улаживания и разрешения конфликта.

**Ключевые слова:** Северная Корея, ядерная программа, ядерное оружие, нестабильность, Северо-Восточная Азия, внешняя политика, ядерное нераспространение.

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