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## The Effectiveness of UNSC Sanctions: The Case of North Korea

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**The Effectiveness of UNSC Sanctions: The Case of North Korea**

A Capstone Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements of the Renée Crown University Honors Program at  
Syracuse University

Victoria Soyeon Kim

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and Renée Crown University Honors  
Spring 2017

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## **Abstract**

UN Security Council sanctions have been ineffective in curbing North Korea's nuclear weapons proliferation because North Korea's economy is not open to trade with the rest of the world. Instead, multilateral sanctions provoke threatening nationalist responses from Pyongyang rather than the desired compliance. An alternative approach is needed. Using content analysis of United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) Debate statements (2006-2016) of the member nations of the Six-Party Talks and archival research of UN Security Council resolutions, this case study examines each country's priorities and policies in addressing North Korea's nuclear proliferation. I find that Japan and the Republic of Korea expressed the greatest concern due to their geographical proximity to North Korea and tense relations. I also found that in each year China mentioned North Korea, its delegation advocated for the use of Six-Party Talks (6PT) to achieve denuclearization while the United States never mentioned the 6PT at all. Additionally, the North Korean delegation mentioned peace in its speeches more than any other topic coded for in this research which I argue can be used as a basis to resume diplomatic efforts. Because UN sanctions have been not only ineffective but counter-productive, I recommend establishing a peace treaty between the parties to the Korean conflict and offering economic aid and security assurances to the regime in Pyongyang. This policy of peace and engagement can open the doors for denuclearization talks to resume.

## **Executive Summary**

In 2006, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), also known as North Korea, tested its first nuclear weapon and has continued to develop them ever since. Its continued nuclear weapons program has fostered fear among neighbors in the East Asian region in addition to the international community. Despite widespread opposition and international protest, the DPRK continues to test weapons because the government believes it a sovereign right and a necessary means for the nation's continued existence. Both negotiations with and sanctions against North Korea have failed to produce the desired outcome of a denuclearized North Korea. As administrations and governing styles of the pertinent nations continue to change, little progress has been made in attempts to resolve this conflict.

Although sanctions have been ineffective in denuclearizing North Korea, the tool is pursued time and time again. North Korea still possesses its nuclear weapons program today and continues to advance its capabilities, effectively evading sanctions. Therefore, I question why the same failed strategy is chosen despite its proven ineffectiveness.

To measure sanction effectiveness, I analyzed United Nations General Debate Statements given in General Assembly meetings at the start of each annual session from 2006-2016. I began collecting data starting from 2006 when the North Korean government tested its first nuclear weapon. I focus on the six countries most involved in this issue: the United States, Republic of Korea (ROK), Democratic People's Republic of Korea, People's Republic of China (PRC), Japan, and the Russian Federation.

UNGA debate speeches are significant because each delegate has limited time (20 minutes) to express its nation's most pressing concerns to the international community. Therefore, I reviewed each transcript of the six parties over a span of ten years to track the

frequency of mentions of North Korea, along with other key terms such as “nuclear weapons,” “peace,” and “nonproliferation” as an indicator of the nations’ priorities. All the terms and phrases I coded are listed in my methodology section. I then analyzed the data by including historical context and potential explanations for my findings. In addition, I introduce sanction effectiveness in Iran as a counter example of a situation in which the tool appears to have worked. However, I argue sanctions do not work on denuclearizing North Korea for the following reasons: 1. The North Korean economy is dependent on a few key trade partners, not on open trade with the rest of the world; and 2. The North Korean government has successfully developed its nuclear arsenal further despite multilateral sanctions imposed on the country by the UN Security Council.

Tensions in the region are escalating, as North Korea gets closer to acquiring weapons capable of reaching the United States. South Korea and Japan are in closest proximity to North Korea; therefore, they face the greatest threat. Japan began executing civilian evacuation drills because of missile tests launched towards the Sea of Japan on March 6, 2017 (Kong, 2017). Japan has also been considering developing its own nuclear capabilities. Meanwhile South Korea and the US began official discussions regarding the deployment of a US anti-ballistic missile system, called Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) on March 4th, 2016. Using the potential deployment of THAAD as leverage, Washington tried to pressure Beijing to enforce sanctions more effectively to contain North Korea. Yet, on July 8, 2016, the United States and South Korea announced a joint decision to deploy THAAD. China, viewing the system’s radar interception capabilities as a threat to its national security, protested this decision and has used economic retaliations against South Korea. For example, On March 4, 2017, China suspended

the operations of 87 of the 99 Lotte stores (a major South Korean conglomerate) located in China (Mullen, Hancocks, 2017).

The situation has been escalating amongst major powers in the region with conflicting interests. Before the circumstances worsen to the point of armed conflict, a different strategy must be pursued when approaching the North Korean proliferation issue. I argue for the normalization of relations between North Korea and the international community, starting with the United States. I suggest first establishing a peace treaty, then offering North Korea economic aid and security assurances to ensure the regime in Pyongyang that its national security will be guaranteed. Only then can denuclearization talks resume.

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## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction**

Article 24 of Chapter I of the UN Charter states that the primary purpose of the UN Security Council (UNSC) is to “protect international peace and security” and therefore it “has the authority to act on behalf of all members” of the organization (Mingst, Karns, Lyons, 2016, 34). North Korea is sanctioned on this basis. As a disclaimer, in no way is this project a defense on behalf of North Korea. However, the legality of the UNSC’s sanctions on North Korea are questionable and is unique to the North Korean case. This is because North Korea is neither party to the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) nor the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Therefore, it is not bound by international law to prevent the testing of nuclear weapons. This legal aspect of sanctioning North Korea is analyzed later in this paper.

Under Chapter VII, Article 41 of the UN Charter, sanctions are intended to apply pressure on a state to behave in accordance to the Security Council (“Chapter VII | United Nations”). The UNSC can use sanctions as a tool to compel compliance, as opposed to the use of force. Sanctions are imposed when there is a threat to the international community, and peace is at risk, yet diplomacy has failed (“Search | United Nations Security Council Subsidiary Organs”).

This project measures sanction effectiveness as behavioral change enacted as desired by the UNSC. In the case of North Korea, it would mean the dismantling and/or freezing of the development of nuclear weapons. Iran is used only as a contrasting example and will not be the



focus of this paper. In the case of Iran, it would mean the halt to the development of nuclear weapons. In this paper the rationality of UNSC sanctions being used as a tool for compelling sovereign states to act according to the behavior desired by UNSC member states will be examined.

I argue sanctions are not the right tool to denuclearize or to resolve the threat(s) posed by North Korea. Each case of sanction-effectiveness differs by country—sanctions are not a solution for all. For instance, UN sanctions on Iran were comparatively more effective than those on North Korea because Iran participated in the open market economy to sell oil, while North Korea has relied mostly on China for goods and services. Another example of a successful sanctions regime was Libya. Libya agreed to freeze the development of its nuclear weapons and normalized relations with the United States. The ultimate result was domestic instability within Libya and the death of the Libyan dictator, Muammar Gaddafi (McMahon, 2006). However, the Libya case may also be a reason North Korea may not desire to denuclearize.

North Korea is the only state to conduct a nuclear test in the 21st century. The United States continues to station tens of thousands of troops in and around the Korean peninsula, while also trying diplomacy to pressure China to control North Korea. In response to increased military drills and pursuit of stricter sanctions, North Korea conducted two nuclear tests in 2016 alone, which is the most in a single year. This suggests the regime is hastening its program. As a result, tensions have been escalating in the Northeast Asian region. Japan is considering changing its pacifist constitution in order to address the North Korean threat. South Korea continues to challenge North Korea through military (ROK-US joint military exercises) and economic

measures (the closing of Kaesong Industrial Complex<sup>1</sup>) since it is vulnerable to attack due to proximity and the fact that the Koreas are technically still at war. From the viewpoint of the United States and many in the international community, North Korea continues to disrupt peace and security in the Asia Pacific region. The region remains a powder keg with the potential to explode.

The failure of diplomacy via the Six-Party Talks to contain North Korea has spurred the United States and South Korea to take action. Despite China's strong opposition to the deployment of THAAD, the US anti-ballistic missile defense system in South Korea, the United States and South Korea made the joint decision to do so on July 8, 2016. The purpose of THAAD is to intercept and detonate any potential missiles shot from North Korea inside or outside the atmosphere during the final phase of flight (US Department of Defense). This decision faced strong opposition from residents of Seongju County—the location where THAAD will be deployed. China and Russia have also consistently opposed this, fearing that the system can be used to intercept their intelligence capabilities. According to Lee (2016) South Korea's agreement to deploy the system was a surprise to the international community because China and South Korea have been working towards developing stronger relations even though they were on opposing teams during the Korean War. China is now South Korea's top trading partner as of 2015 (Michigan State University, 2015).

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<sup>1</sup> The Kaesong Industrial Complex (KIC) is a manufacturing facility that was created between South and North Korea as an economic initiative to demonstrate peaceful cooperation and symbolize potential reconciliation between the two nations (Manyin, Nanto, 2011, 1). It is located in North Korea, just across from the demilitarized zone from South Korea. Over 120 medium-sized South Korean companies employed over 47,000 North Korean workers in KIC to produce goods such as textiles, kitchen utensils, auto parts, et cetera (Manyin, Nanto, 2011, 1).

North Korea's nuclear weapons program is an urgent matter because little is known about North Korea's leadership and its strategic plans for the use of its nuclear weapons. In the worst-case scenario, this fundamental misunderstanding could lead to the destruction of international peace and security through a nuclear war. At the very least, North Korea challenges the economic and political stability of the region. Therefore, policymakers of the United States, China, Russia, Japan, and South Korea, as well as the United Nations must attempt to understand Kim Jong Un's motivation. Only then will they be able to counter North Korea's strategy and formulate the best method to deter North Korea from further developing nuclear weapons.

Many hope for the denuclearization of North Korea, yet the North Korean government believes its arsenal of nuclear weapons is vital to its government's defense (Ri Yong-ho, 2016). Therefore, there is little room for compromise. North Korea's nuclear and missile tests are perceived by the American public and international community as threatening and controlled by a "belligerent" leader (Schaul, 2016; Sherwell, 2013). For instance, Americans may view him as belligerent and threatening due to his reaction to Sony's release of *The Interview*<sup>2</sup>, shooting ballistic missiles in retaliation. However, as unpredictable as Supreme Leader Kim Jong Un may seem, North Korean experts consider him a rational actor in his own best interest.

A North Korean government official stated recently in North Korea's central newspaper that the freezing or dismantlement of North Korea's nuclear weapons program is nonnegotiable, unless the United States ends its hostile policies. Some of these policies include the joint US-ROK decision to deploy THAAD in South Korea, the continued joint ROK-US military exercises along the demilitarized zone (DMZ), and targeted US sanctions against North Korea.

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<sup>2</sup> A 2014 American satire spy-comedy film that depicted two, American comedians' recruitment into the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to act as undercover journalists to assassinate Kim Jong Un (*The Interview*, 2014)

Therefore, I argue a different tactic other than sanctions should be pursued if the UNSC desires a different behavior. History shows North Korea launches a nuclear missile or continues provocations (or shows of military strength) when the UNSC imposes fresh sanctions. No wars broke out, which could be accredited to the enforcement of sanctions, but the UNSC sanctions which cause provocative actions do not contribute to peace in the region. In fact, the more North Korea advances in its nuclear capabilities, the more Japan feels threatened and may feel the need to develop nuclear weapons as well, an action the US government opposes.

The thesis of this research is that UN sanctions have proven ineffective because UN resolutions depend on the political will of member states to implement the promised actions. I argue that continuing to pursue a failed tactic is irrational.

The main concepts of this research are sanction-effectiveness (in the case of North Korea), sovereignty, peace, and security. History has shown the repeated use of sanctions have not curbed North Korea's behavior, yet the strategy is continued. Regarding engagement with North Korea, John Delury, an expert on North Korean affairs stated in 2008 that 20 years of history has shown "belligerent quarantine and ambivalent engagement have failed to achieve positive outcomes for the United States, East Asia, and the North Korean people" (Delury, 2008). Yet the Security Council continues sanctions in an effort to alter North Korea's behavior.

The methodology used for this research is content analysis of UNGA General Debate statements to identify the six-party states' policy prioritizations regarding the North Korean nuclear crisis in East Asia on the UNSC. Archival research and a case study on North Korea show sanctions are not effective against all countries, sanctions could provoke states to develop stronger nuclear weapons (the reverse of the desired result), and sanctions could prohibit progress from being made between the sanctioned country and the countries imposing the policy.

Iran is briefly mentioned as a comparative point of analysis as a relatively successful case of UNSC sanction implementation. Libya serves as a negative reinforcement of normalizing relations with the US in pursuit of denuclearization. Meanwhile, North Korea is a unique situation because it is the only state in the 21st century to test nuclear weapons, and is sanctioned on the premise of threatening international security and peace when North Korea is not bound to abide by the laws of the NPT or the Test Ban Treaty. Therefore, comparison with other UNSC sanctions is not possible. Finally, the paper calls for the use of a different strategy in the place of sanctions.

Some of the research questions explored in this paper are as follows: Why are the UNSC sanctions imposed on North Korea ineffective? Do China, Japan, South Korea, the United States, and Russia respect or participate in enforcing sanctions against nuclear North Korea? Since sanctions have proven ineffective over time, rather than pursuing a failed strategy, what other tools does the UNSC have to compel states such as North Korea to make peace in the region?

The theoretical perspective adopted in this paper is liberalism. As scholars Mingst, Karns, and Lyons state, “liberal theorists characterize the international system as an interdependent one in which there is both cooperation and conflict and where actors’ mutual interests tend to increase over time. State power matters but it is exercised within a framework of international rules and institutions that help to make cooperation possible” (2016, 10). This paper demonstrates liberalism because it suggests policy solutions to denuclearize North Korea by the United States spearheading the negotiations to offer economic incentive and security assurance through the framework of the United Nations.

## Chapter 2

### Historical Background

At the end of World War II, on August 10, 1945, Japan surrendered its control of the Korean peninsula (Barry, 2016). Thus, Korea was a product of the conclusion of World War II and the Cold War, in which the Japanese empire was defeated. In 1945, the Korean peninsula was temporarily divided at the 38th parallel. The United States occupied the South, while the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) occupied the North. On September 7, 1945, General MacArthur announced to the South Korean people that he would temporarily be the Commander in Chief and the United States would occupy the peninsula until the surrender terms were upheld by Japan, and the personal and religious rights of the South Korean people could be assured. In September 1948, the Soviet Union installed a communist government in North Korea supporting Kim Il Sung as the leader of the North Korean People's Army. Equipped with Russian arms and tanks, Kim attempted to gain control of the entire Korean peninsula on June 20, 1950, when the North Korea People's Army crossed the 38th parallel into South Korea (United States Army, 2001).

On June 25, 1950, President Truman ordered General Douglas MacArthur to join the Korean War in support of the South. On June 27, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) adopted *S/RES/83: Complaint of Aggression upon the Republic of Korea*. Besides the United

States, 21 countries contributed towards the UN peacekeeping force<sup>3</sup>. South Korea was fighting a losing war, having lost the majority of its territory until they received reinforcement. Led by MacArthur, UN peacekeeping troops (comprised of personnel from 16 nations, 88% from the US) landed in Incheon and fought a victorious battle against the North in Pusan. This allowed the South to regain control of its lost territory and gain more territory past the 38th parallel, encroaching towards the Chinese border. This is when Chinese troops volunteered to assist the North, pushing the South and UN troops back below latitude 38° N. China sent a total of two million soldiers to join the war to fight with the North ("Australia's Involvement in the Korean War").

The Korean War Armistice Agreement was signed on July 27, 1953, by US Army Lieutenant General William Harrison, Jr. (representing the United Nations Command), North Korean General Nam Il (representing the Korean People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteer Army) ("Agreement Concerning a Military Armistice in Korea | UN Peacemaker"). The armistice was established as a temporary means before a peace settlement could be decided; however, a peace treaty has never been signed to date. Therefore, the two countries are technically still at war. The treaty suspended the hostilities, required the return of prisoners of war (POW), required the removal of military forces and equipment from a four-kilometer wide zone known as the demilitarized zone (DMZ), and established the Military Armistice Commission (MAC) to discuss violations to this truce ("The Korean War Armistice Agreement", 1953). In 1991, the United Nations officially recognized both North and South Korea as UN

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<sup>3</sup> United States, Australia, Great Britain, Canada, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Colombia, Ethiopia, South Africa, New Zealand, Turkey, Greece, Thailand, Philippines and Luxembourg sent fighting units while Norway, Sweden, Denmark, India, Italy contributed military hospitals and field ambulances ("Australia's Involvement in the Korean War").

member states, a result of the passage of UN Resolution 702 ("Admission of New Members to the United Nations").

Since then, the two Koreas have progressed into two completely separate countries. Politically, South Korea has become a democratic country while North Korea remains a communist dictatorship. Economically, South Korea was able to develop rapidly from being one of the poorest countries in the world after war, into an advanced economic power as the 11th largest economy ("GDP Ranking", 2017). On the other hand, reliable data on North Korea's GDP is not available however, it is known to be a very poor state and is considered a developing nation. Militarily, South Korea established a bilateral alliance with the US to protect its national security. North Korea developed a nuclear weapons program and continues to develop them today despite breaching numerous international laws, including UNSC sanctions and human rights violations.

In 1985, North Korea acceded to the nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT). Article III of the NPT required the DPRK to complete a safeguards agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to which North Korea demanded the US's withdrawal of nuclear weapons from South Korea along with other preconditions. On September 27, 1991, President George Bush announced US withdrawal of all nuclear weapons deployed abroad and Russia followed suit. On November 8, 1991, South Korean president, Roh Tae Woo announced the Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula which declares its pledge not to "produce, possess, store, deploy, or use nuclear weapons" (Davenport, 2016). Assuming South Korea upheld all promises pledged in its declaration, all of North Korea's preconditions were met at this point. On December 31st of that year, both Koreas signed the South-North Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula which assured mutual agreement



not to “test, manufacture, produce, receive, possess, store, deploy or use nuclear weapons” or to “possess nuclear reprocessing and uranium enrichment facilities” (Davenport, 2016). On January 30, 1992, after over six years since North Korea signed the NPT, they completed a safeguards agreement with the IAEA.

On March of 1992, the United States imposed its first sanctions on North Korean entities for missile proliferation activities in June of that year (Davenport, 2016). On April 9, 1992, North Korea ratified the safeguards agreement with the IAEA and submitted declarations of its nuclear material to which on September, IAEA inspectors discovered discrepancies in the report and requested clarifications. North Korea refused the request on February 9, 1993 and announced its intention to withdraw from the NPT in the following month; they cited Article X of the NPT, which allowed “withdrawal for supreme national security considerations” (Davenport, 2016). Since then, a variety of efforts were continued to be made by the international community to prevent North Korea’s development and/or acquisition of nuclear weapons.

Faced with North Korea’s withdrawal from the NPT in 1994, North Korea signed the Agreed Framework with the US, which assured Pyongyang would commit “to freezing its illicit plutonium weapons program in exchange for aid”. This agreement collapsed in 2002 when the US confronted North Korea with evidence of its secret uranium program and North Korea declared its withdrawal from the NPT again on January 2003. As a result, a multilateral negotiation series of six rounds began between the US, ROK, DPRK, PRC, Japan, and Russia, also known as the “Six-Party Talks” and continued until 2007. These talks were intended to dismantle North Korea’s nuclear program. North Korea desired a bilateral negotiation with the United States, as the Clinton Administration had used when they established the Agreed Framework. However, the Bush Administration denied this request, preferring the multilateral

approach. In addition, North Korea agreed to participate upon reading the US's proposal. Ultimately, the Six-Party Talks failed when North Korea declared its nuclear activities. In 2006, North Korea tested its first nuclear weapon and has continued to develop them ever since. North Korea's continued nuclear weapons program has fostered fear within its neighbors in the East Asian region in addition to the international community. Despite widespread opposition and protest from nations around the world, North Korea continues to test its weapons. The North Korean government believes it a sovereign right and a necessary means for its nation's continued existence. Negotiations with North Korea failed and sanctions have failed to produce the desired outcome of a denuclearized North Korea. To add to this already difficult situation, as administrations and governing styles of the pertinent nations continue to change, so does the progress made in attempts to resolve this conflict. Since the end of the Cold War, China has supported North Korea economically because the collapse of the North Korean regime could be a socioeconomic burden, and North Korea plays a strategic role as the buffer between US military forces and China. Therefore, China has a vested interest in maintaining the survival of the Kim regime.

Since Kim Jong Un (Kim Il Sung's grandson, and the son of Kim Jong Il) came to power in 2011, North Korea's provocations have escalated. The international community thinks China holds leverage over Pyongyang and has urged China to pressure North Korea more than ever to cooperate in multilateral efforts in the form of sanctions to curb North Korea's behavior. Therefore, this past February, China led the drafting of Resolution 2270, the strictest sanctions imposed on North Korea thus far.

## Chapter 3

### Literature Review

Many scholars have written on the topic of the effectiveness of sanctions imposed on North Korea. However, most approached this research through the analysis of actions pledged to be enforced by member nations and the assessment of whether the nations successfully fulfilled their commitments. Yet, I took a different approach with the goal to assess: 1) the intentions and priorities of nations through the content analysis of UNGA General Debate statements incorporating qualitative facts to understand the data findings, 2) the progress of nuclear weapons North Korea was able to develop despite being sanctioned, 3) the intended purposes of UNSC Resolution 1718 and 2270 imposed on North Korea, and 4) the analysis of the domestic politics of the member nations of the Six-Party Talks.

In “Stopping North Korea, Inc.: Sanctions Effectiveness and Unintended Consequences”, Park and Walsh (2016) ask, “Do sanctions intended to reduce or halt [weapons of mass destruction] WMD procurement work, and if not, why not?” They also ask, “What, if any, unintended consequences—positive or negative—do sanctions against North Korea generate?” and, “What can be done to improve the effectiveness of these and other sanctions?” (Park, Walsh 2016). Their thesis was that the North Korean regime was able to evade international sanctions through the establishment of regime operated, state trading companies (STCs), which were created to procure both licit and illicit goods. Their method was to conduct interviews over a

three-year period with North Korean defectors who worked in the STCs. Their primary objective was to document “North Korea. Inc.’s” practices, partners, and pathways, to identify the methods North Korea utilized to evade international sanctions (Park, Walsh 2016). I interpreted their theoretical perspective as realism because their study focuses on state actions and capabilities. The analysis begins by stating more targeted international sanctions are being implemented today for the purpose of nonproliferation despite academic research that has proven its ineffectiveness. The analysis offers the perspective of an STC manager tasked with the evasion of sanctions and the analysis also describes the benefits and consequences of imposing sanctions on North Korea. The study found an increase in the hiring of more Chinese middlemen in the late 2000s to implement the logistics of trade. They also found that North Korean embassies were used as a tool for procurement of arms (Park, Walsh 2016).

In Gordon Friedrichs’ “Smart Security Council? Analyzing the Effectiveness of Targeted Sanctions,” the main concepts discussed are sanction-effectiveness, sanction-implementation, and legitimacy. Friedrichs uses legitimacy as a key variable in the assessment of the actions countries promised to implement (to enforce sanctions) through the case studies of North Korea and Iran (Friedrichs, 2013). Friedrichs explicitly states that he used the Wendt holistic, constructivist theoretical approach. Norms such as collective identity and legitimacy are discussed through this theoretical lens. Friedrichs classified his information by splitting it into an input dimension, meaning the internal workings within the UNSC, and output dimension, how the norms within the UNSC are practically implemented (Friedrichs, 2013). His research questions were, “How do member states contribute to the ratification (intrinsic legitimacy) and enforcement (extrinsic legitimacy) of smart sanctions?” and “Has the use of smart sanctions increased the effectiveness of the UNSC as a sanctioning body?” His findings recognized a

disconnect between the ratification and enforcement of sanctions, but the reasoning for each case study of Iran and North Korea differed because Iran participates in the open market economy and its economic success heavily depends on the export of oil, while North Korea has a self-reliant economy and does not trade with nearly as many countries as Iran does (Friedrichs, 2013).

Although I agree with the findings, I think Friedrichs is asking the wrong questions. Even as states upheld their promised actions, North Korea was still able to advance its nuclear weapons technology. To this critics could say North Korea could have developed its nuclear weapons at a faster rate without the sanctions; however, sanctions intended to denuclearize North Korea did not lead to the goal sought. Therefore, instead of assessing whether the countries followed up on sanctions commitments, I researched the intentions and prioritization of member nations of the Six-Party Talks by analyzing UNGA General Debate statements, the intended purpose of specific UNSC sanctions imposed on North Korea, and the nuclear weapons technology North Korea was able (or unable) to produce in spite of sanctions to assess effectiveness.

In “The Effectiveness of Economic Sanctions Against a Nuclear North Korea,” Suk Hi Kim and Mario Martin-Hermosillo (2013) discuss the effectiveness of sanctions imposed on North Korea as well. The main concepts being explored in this paper are sanction effectiveness and a nuclear North Korea. According to Kim and Martin- Hermosillo, the theoretical perspective adopted is realism because both authors state the best method to dismantle North Korea’s nuclear weapons program is for the United States to offer economic aid and security assistance which would serve North Korea’s interests. They focused their research by using a qualitative and expository approach incorporating “area studies, social science, and journalism” (Kim, Martin-Hermosillo, 2013). They find that sanctions imposed on North Korea are

ineffective because all countries do not enforce the measures as strictly as the United States does.

I agree with the findings of Kim and Martin-Hermosillo's research. However, I felt the research lacked the context of domestic politics within the nations of the Six-Party Talks.

## Chapter 4

### Methodology

General Assembly Debate Speeches are given on the world stage in the fall at the beginning of each session. The heads of state and/or delegates for each UN member nation give a speech regarding its respective country's agenda for the year (Mingst, Karns, Lyons, 2016, 31). Each country has a limited amount of time; therefore, the topics mentioned in these speeches indicate its priorities through the topics addressed. The frequency of the topic(s) mentioned were recorded in tables and displayed in Sections C and E of the appendices. The frequency of mentions was the focus of this research over time.

This research conducts content analyses of United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) Debates from 2006-2016 given by the nations involved in the Six-Party Talks – a series of multilateral negotiations attended by China, South Korea, North Korea, United States, Japan, and Russia (Liang, 2012). The analysis was conducted by recording the number of times respective topics were addressed. In the first content analysis, I coded for mentions of North Korea that indicate the states' levels of prioritization on the issue of a nuclear North Korea: China, Russia, United States, South Korea, and Japan. Table A in the appendices section shows the coding that categorizes how I tallied each key term. The words in bold are the words I coded for. The words with double quotation marks are the exact words I searched for, while the words without quotation marks are the general ideas I searched for in each transcript.

Each data finding is context-sensitive (Berg & Lune, 177). For instance, in the years that North Korea tested a nuclear weapon, the amount of times North Korea was mentioned in a UNGA General Debate statement could be highest.

Limitations of my method could be that the decision to include or exclude certain keywords was based on my personal judgment as I saw fit given my research inquiry. For instance, when coding for mentions of sanctions in Russia's General Assembly General Debate transcripts, I included mentions of sanctions that directly regarded North Korea or Russia's general opinion of sanctions (which tended to be negative) because this opinion could be used to assess how Russia feels about implementing sanctions in the case of North Korea. However, I excluded when sanctions on Iran or other states were mentioned. Therefore, if this research was duplicated, there could be discrepancies in the numbers.

In addition, in the case that there were multiple speeches given for the General Debate of the United Nations General Assembly in a given year by the same country, only the first link was used for the sake of consistency and fair representation of topics mentioned. The data could be skewed if multiple transcripts were available for some states in a given year as opposed to others.

Another limitation could be that key terms were used for tallies but in some instances a tally was counted when other words were used to describe the key term even without explicit mention of the key terms sought. For an example, when Japan's representative mentioned the need to address the dismantlement of North Korea's nuclear weapons programs, I included this as an indication that Japan perceived North Korea as a threat which was explicitly stated in previous years. Therefore, some mentions of indirect acknowledgements of a key term throughout my data collection could have been missed.



Similar to the procedures taken to perform the content analysis of the UNGA General Debate statements of the five nations, the same strategy was used to perform the content analysis on North Korean delegates' statements. Table B in the appendices shows the coding that was used to identify the mentions in each transcript from 2006-2016. For the content analysis of North Korea's UNGA General Debate statements, mentions of the five other nations, mentions of nuclear weapons and facilities, denuclearization, sanctions and resolutions, Six-Party Talks, the Korean Peninsula, peace, and the United Nations were recorded.

## **Chapter 5**

### **Findings**

Aside from 2010, South Korea and Japan consistently mentioned North Korea most frequently of the five states examined. North Korea has also threatened to attack both countries. This is understandable because both countries are North Korea's neighbors and US allies with US military bases located on their territories. On August 3, 2016, North Korea fired three Rodong medium-range missiles ("Address by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe", 2016) that are capable of carrying nuclear warheads to the east, towards Japan (Blair, 2016). This is the longest range test the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) has ever conducted. Doing this, it breached Resolutions 1718 (2006), 1874 (2009), 2087 (2013), 2094 (2013) and 2270 (2016) (Blair, 2016; "Security Council Press Statement, 2016). It is also the closest missile fired in Japan's direction, landing within 200 nautical miles of Japan's coastline or within 1,000 kilometers of Japan's exclusive economic zone ("Address by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe", 2016). In response to this provocation, Gary Ross, a spokesman for the Pentagon, claimed this act would only motivate a stronger resolve by the international community to implement stricter UNSC sanctions (Blair, 2016).

Between 2006-2016, the United States was the only nation that never raised the use of the Six-Party Talks. On the contrary, other than 2016, each year in which China addressed North Korea in the UNGA opening debate speeches, China advocated for the use of the Six-Party Talks

as the best approach to achieving the denuclearization of North Korea. While Russia did not explicitly advocate for the use of the Six-Party Talks, they did hint towards the need for multilateral negotiations. They consistently addressed the ineffectiveness of unilateral sanctions imposed on states for the purpose of isolating the target from the international community. Russia claimed these types of sanctions are often imposed to advance the strategic, political agendas of the countries imposing them, such as pushing competitors out of the market. This provokes the question of whether or not Russia is directing this message towards the United States, which has imposed unilateral sanctions on North Korea beyond the UNSC sanctions.

Russia's representative also stated unilateral sanctions escalate conflicts rather than effectively curbing the target countries' reprimanded behavior ("United Nations General Assembly Seventieth Session", 2015). While states such as China, South Korea, and Japan were mentioning the need for the use of Six-Party Talks in their UNGA opening statements in earlier years, the only year Russia explicitly mentioned the need for Six-Party Talks was in 2016; Russia was the only country in this year to mention the need (amongst the five countries analyzed). Some speculate Russia may have specified the need to resume the Six-Party Talks because of the strategic decision made by the ROK-US alliance to deploy THAAD ("Security Council Imposes Fresh Sanctions on Democratic People's Republic of Korea", 2016).

Between 2006-2010, China did not mention sanctions as a recommended approach towards denuclearizing North Korea. In addition, aside from 2008-2010, 2012, and 2015, China consistently advocated the use of Six Party Talks as the best strategy. China also endorses targeted sanctions, but not the measure requiring mandatory inspection of all cargo into and out of North Korea. China reaffirmed its posture against the use of force ("Security Council Condemns", 2006).

September 21, 2016 marked a turning point when China mentioned the need to denuclearize without mention of the negotiations. This aligns with the fact that on February 22, 2016, China led the drafting of UNSC Sanction 2270, which is noted as the strictest set of sanctions imposed on North Korea thus far ("Security Council Imposes Fresh Sanctions on Democratic People's Republic of Korea", 2016; Snyder, 2016). This hardening of position to implement stricter financial sanctions on North Korea could have been driven by China's firm opposition of the THAAD deployment (Keqiang, 2016). Yet, according to a statement given by Admiral Harry B. Harris Jr., commander of the US Pacific Command, in the Pentagon Briefing Room on February 25, 2016, THAAD is intended for the sole purpose of protecting South Korean citizens and Americans who are based there. Therefore, it will not be a threat to China's national security interests and should not cause China any concern. However, Harris also noted if China wanted to prevent the THAAD deployment and desired a method to do so, China should exert its influence on North Korea (Harris, 2016). However, despite opposition from both Russia and China, on July 8th, 2016, the joint decision to deploy THAAD in Seoul was announced. Although no public mentions rescinding support of sanction enforcement was announced, Beijing feels its goodwill to cooperate on the North Korean issues was undermined (Lankov, 2016).

Table C in the Appendices section shows the content analysis of North Korea's UNGA General Debate statements. It shows that North Korea consistently advocates for the respect of its sovereignty, a founding principle of the United Nations emphasized in the Charter. North Korea claims the United States does not desire peaceful relations, claiming it chooses to sanction North Korea directly after measures were agreed upon to move towards cooperation. Stephen Costello, policy analyst with 20 years of experience in Korea and Northeast Asia, notes that

North Korea believes the immediate denuclearization of the Korean peninsula may not be the main goal but rather a justification for keeping US armed forces in northeast Asia as a broader geopolitical strategy of containing states such as China and Russia (Costello 2016). This same argument was delivered by North Korean delegates at the UNGA General Debate Meetings.

Another important finding was that the North Korean delegate never mentioned either China or Russia. In addition, the Six Party Talks were mentioned only occasionally by North Korea in 2006, 2008, and 2010-2011. Kim Jong Un came to power on December 2011, which overlaps with the fact that the Six-Party Talks were never once mentioned since his leadership. The talks were intended for denuclearization, but Kim Jong Un made it clear that this was non-negotiable and that he sees nuclear weapons as necessary for the defense of the nation (KCNA, 2016). Ri Yong-ho, North Korea's Minister for Foreign Affairs, claimed it was unfair to be sanctioned for conducting nuclear tests to improve North Korea's military defense when South Korea and the United States are allowed to exercise their rights to improve their defense through joint military drills (Ri Yong-ho, 2016).

In addition, the content analysis shows North Korea mentioned the topic of peace frequently (if not most frequently) in the UNGA General Debate speeches as seen in the following years: 2006, 2013, and 2015. In 2006, while Kim Jong Il was the Supreme Leader of North Korea, Choe Su-hon, the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs claimed North Korea desired to negotiate peace and denuclearization through diplomatic measures (Choe Su-hon, 2006). In 2013, while Kim Jong Un was the Supreme Leader of North Korea, Pak Ui-Chun, the Minister for Foreign Affairs claimed its security must be guaranteed in the form of a peace treaty (Pak Ui-Chun, 2013). In 2015, Ri Yong-ho, the new Minister for Foreign Affairs called for a peace treaty again (Ri Yong-ho, 2015). He stated that the United States should replace the

Armistice Agreement with a peace treaty with the Korean peninsula. This finding is significant because the media often depicts North Korea as a disruptor of peace by focusing on its missile launches and nuclear tests. However, during the UNGA General Debate speeches, the North Korean delegates have consistently asked for diplomatic means of attaining a peace treaty on the Korean peninsula to de-escalate tensions. I recognize the statements given in these speeches may not represent the whole truth; however, I think they can be used as a basis to re-start negotiations with North Korea.

## Chapter 6

### Sanctions

The purpose of UNSC Resolution 1718 was to end the development of nuclear weapons in North Korea and to change the policies of the North Korean regime in a way in which the North Korean people would not suffer<sup>4</sup> ("United Nations Security Council Resolution 1718", 2006). The purpose of UNSC Resolution 2270 was to apply pressure to the North Korean leadership ostensibly to bring them back to the negotiation table on denuclearization, while reducing the suffering of the North Korean people ("United Nations Security Council Resolution 2270", 2016). These sanctions were more targeted. The states drafting the resolution understood the outcome of these sanctions would not be denuclearization because Kim Jong Un refuses to negotiate denuclearization unless US policies that Pyongyang perceives as provocative, such as the joint US-ROK military exercises, are terminated (KCNA, 2016).

The sanctions imposed in 2006 under Resolution 1718 include restrictions regarding: arms and related material, nonproliferation, proliferation networks, interdiction and transportation, provision of bunkering services, assets freeze, travel, financial measures, specialized teaching and training, coal and minerals, fuel, and luxury goods ("United Nations

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<sup>4</sup> In the past, economic sanctions were imposed on North Korea without consideration of the detrimental impacts on the North Korean citizenry; therefore, recent sanctions have been drafted with consideration to how it could affect the people to minimize damage on innocent North Koreans while directing the desired effect onto North Korean government leaders.

Security Council Resolution 1718", 2006). In 2016, under Resolution 2270, the following sanctions were included and/or expanded upon: arms embargo, financial measures, assets freeze, specialized teaching and training, coal and minerals ban, and luxury goods ban ("United Nations Security Council Resolution 2270", 2016). Furthermore, new cargo inspection measures were added.

In 1994, North Korea announced its intent to withdraw from the NPT. To prevent this, Washington and Pyongyang signed the Agreed Framework (Davenport, 2016). However, the agreement collapsed in 2002 (because Washington became aware of North Korea's uranium plant), so North Korea re-announced its withdrawal from the NPT in January 2003. Therefore, in August of 2003, the Six Party Talks were initiated. Then, on 2005 North Korea pledged to take steps towards denuclearization and return to the NPT after (according to Korea Central News Agency, North Korean state media) the U.S. clarified its stance and declared that it recognizes North Korea as a sovereign state and will pursue bilateral talks rather than the framework of Six-Party Talks (Davenport, 2016). In 2007, measures to enforce the agreements made in 2005 were decided. However, in 2009, the agreements were dismantled over disagreements on verification measures (of nuclear activity, inspection standards and criterion) and North Korea's internationally condemned rocket launch. Since then, North Korea refused to return to negotiations and to recommit to the pledges made in 2005 (Davenport, 2016).

Sanction effectiveness is defined as the denuclearization of nuclear weapons in the case of North Korea (Resolution 1718). Therefore, according to this definition, Resolution 1718 failed. North Korea was able to evade sanctions successfully, to continue to use international financial services, and trade with long-trusted partners (foreign nationals) abroad for the goods needed ("UN Report of the Panel of Experts", 2016).



On September 9, 2016, North Korea conducted its 5th nuclear test, the third under Kim Jong Un's leadership. This fifth test is significant because it proved that North Korea can arm a missile with a nuclear warhead. North Korea has been testing diverse types of weapons including rockets, short-range, medium-range, and intercontinental ballistic missiles, launches from fixed sites, road-mobile launchers, and submarines (Jackson, 2016). According to the US Geologic Survey, this 5th test had a seismic magnitude of 5.3, which is the strongest test conducted to date ("M 5.3 Nuclear", 2016).

Figure D in the Appendices section shows a table produced by the Center for Strategic International Studies portrays the progress in nuclear weapons development within a decade.

Various intervening variables beyond North Korea's recalcitrance may have contributed to the failure of UNSC sanctions. For instance, the 2008 financial crisis which hurt both the United States and Russian economies could have affected the ability to enforce the sanctions against North Korea. Other reasons for failure include China's strategic interests to maintain the survival of North Korea since it serves as a strategic buffer separating China from the US military forces. Furthermore, a collapse of the North Korean government could lead to economic and social instability with a mass migration of North Koreans flooding into China. In order to avoid this, China sustains North Korea.

### **Iran:**

Figure 1 below shows the types of sanctions imposed on Iran and North Korea were similar. Yet, the sanctions imposed on Iran were considered to be effective because the state participated in the open market to export and depended on the international financial system to sell its oil (Luce, 2016). Meanwhile, North Korea trades with other countries through illicit channels with an estimated 70% of exports happening inside China's economy (Luce, 2016).

Therefore, Iran’s economy was hard hit by the economic sanctions. This ultimately drove Iran back to the negotiating table.

Figure 1:

<b>Comparative Types of UNSC Sanctions Imposed (2006-Present)</b>		
<b>Type of Sanction</b>	<b>Iran</b>	<b>North Korea</b>
Denial of Visas (travel ban)	x	x
Arms Embargo	x	x
Export or Import Limits	x	x (luxury goods, 2016)
Asset Freeze	x	x

Source: Data from Mingst, Karns, Lyon’s *The United Nations in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*

Sanctions imposed on Iran resulted in domestic disapproval from the poor citizens who opposed their isolation and poverty and elites who opposed the detrimental impact on their businesses (Fisher, 2017). Meanwhile, North Korea has proved it can withstand economic deprivation and consequences of poverty. For instance in 1990, 10% of North Korea’s population died of starvation from the nation’s worst famine epidemic, however the state did not succumb to the internal unrest nor uphold agreements of denuclearization in exchange of sanctions relief (Fisher, 2017). Therefore, analysts question whether even the strictest of sanctions enforced by China could effectively persuade North Korea to take steps towards denuclearization.

## Chapter 7

### Analysis of Domestic Politics

#### United States

On January 20, 2017, Donald Trump, the forty-fifth President of the United States, was inaugurated. In light of North Korea's recent missile tests towards the East Sea (Sea of Japan), President Trump claimed the US would ramp up its policies against the country. In addition, on March 17, 2017, newly appointed Secretary of State Rex Tillerson claimed military action is "not off the table" in any case in which the North Korean government takes action to threaten South Korean and US troops (U.S. Department of State, 2017).

Despite such big talk, and seemingly more hardline policy ideas, the United States appears to be following the diplomatic strategy of previous administrations by pressuring China to enforce sanctions more effectively. On April 6, 2017, China's President, Xi Jinping, visited the United States for his first official meeting with President Trump (Bradner, Jiang, 2017). Trump claimed he could offer better trade conditions to Xi Jinping in the case that China continues to pressure North Korea. Trump also commended China's enforcement of its latest ban against coal imports from North Korea as a step in the right direction.

Both the US Congress and Administration support stricter nuclear sanctions. With bipartisan support in the U.S. Congress, legislation entitled *H.R. 1644: Korean Interdiction and Modernization of Sanctions Act* was unanimously approved by the House Foreign Affairs

Committee and will be reviewed by other House of Representatives' committees before going to the House floor for a vote (H.R. 1644, 2017). This bill would expand upon the US sanctions regime against North Korea as described in the *North Korea Sanctions and Policy Enhancement Act* (NKSPEA), which was signed into law on February 2016. Thus, the trajectory of US policy on North Korea appears to favor the continued enforcement of sanctions measures, mirroring the previous administrations' policy actions. Having taken steps to sanction North Korea through US legislation, the United States will most likely continue to enforce UNSC sanctions on North Korea as well.

### **South Korea**

The future of South Korea's stance on North Korea is uncertain following the impeachment of South Korea's former conservative president, President Park Geun Hye on December 9, 2016<sup>5</sup>. The current acting president of the ROK is Hwang Kyo-ahn, a member of the Independent Party. He is also the ROK's Prime Minister, former Minister of Justice, and a lawyer by trade. However, it seems likely that South Korea will elect a liberal president in the upcoming election on May 9<sup>th</sup> after having had two conservative leaders— Park Geun Hye and Lee Myung Bak. Furthermore, the negative perceptions of the ruling party from the sinking of the ferry Sewol contributed to the president's impeachment<sup>6</sup>. Public distrust of the ruling party is

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<sup>5</sup> The former president had a nefarious relationship with Choi Soon-sil who acted as the president's aide despite her lack of an official government position (Griffiths, 2017). She influenced and interfered with South Korean governmental policies. The revelation of this relationship resulted in domestic uproar and massive protests from South Korea's citizenry and culminated in Park Geun Hye's impeachment through South Korea's Constitutional Court Order on March 10, 2017 (Griffiths, 2017).

<sup>6</sup> The sinking of the ferry Sewol led to the death of over 300 school children and was ruled to be a result of human error ranging from "illegal redesign" of the ship, "overloaded cargo bay, inexperienced crew, and a questionable relationship between the ship operators and state regulators" ("South Korean Ferry", 2017). Former President Park's negligent handling of this crisis was one of the reasons for her impeachment ("South Korean Ferry", 2017).

very high. The two leading candidates are Ahn Cheol-soo and Moon Jae-In. Ahn is a software entrepreneur, member of the National Assembly, and member of the centrist People's Party. Moon is the former Chief of Staff to the late President Roh Moo Hyun and the current leader of the Minjoo Party (a democratic party) (Rogin, 2017).

Traditionally, conservative leaders in South Korea have been tougher on North Korea and more cooperative with the US, while liberal leaders have been less harsh against the North Korean government and have favored offering assistance. The possible and likely election of a liberal president will be significant and may decrease the strength of the US-ROK alliance. For instance, while former President Park agreed to the deployment of THAAD, presidential candidate Moon believes this decision could delay the prospects of negotiations with North Korea and seeks a different approach.

It is fair to speculate that the election of Ahn or Moon will lead to clashes in interests with President Trump. Both Ahn and Moon seem to have similar policy ideas regarding sanctions alone being ineffective in stopping North Korea's development of nuclear weapons; however, while both opposed THAAD initially, Ahn has changed his stance and believes it is "irresponsible" for a future president to reverse a decision already made between two governments (Choe, 2017). Thus Ahn has gained support from conservatives and South Korean citizens believe there will be less friction between the United States and South Korea under Ahn's leadership.

On April 18, 2017, ROK's acting president, Hwang and U.S. Vice President Mike Pence discussed concrete measures "to increase sanctions and pressure on North Korea, expand cooperation with China, ensure the swift deployment of THAAD, and jointly respond to China's retaliatory measures against the ROK" (Republic of Korea, 2017). For instance, in economic

retaliation, the official Chinese news media urged its consumers to boycott South Korean products and government officials closed 87 of 99 Lotte stores (a major South Korean conglomerate) located in China (Mullany, Buckley, 2017; Denyer, 2017). While the current acting president is in favor of imposing stricter sanctions on North Korea, it seems unlikely that the leading presidential candidates will support this conservative policy.

## **China**

China continues to deal with North Korea as a reliable economic partner and an unpredictable neighbor. This seeming contradiction exploded in the media following the death of Kim Jong Nam, North Korean leader Kim Jong Un's half-brother. Beijing had granted immunity to Kim Jong Nam and Kim lived many decades in Chinese cities<sup>7</sup>. However, after the poisoning of Kim in the Malaysian airport by North Korean agents, Beijing reacted strongly by banning coal imports from Pyongyang until the end of 2017 (which is a significant financial blow to the regime), among other responses (Sharman, 2017). Tensions have been escalating between these long allies. This is significant because Beijing accounts for over 70% of North Korea's trade and provides food and energy assistance to North Korea to ensure the country remains stable. However, in light of recent events, even China has increased pressure against North Korea (Jiang, 2017).

As stated by Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Lu Kang at a press conference in April 19, 2017, Chinese government officials are gravely concerned by North Korea's recent nuclear and

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<sup>7</sup> The reason for Kim Jong Nam's murder remains uncertain; Former CIA Analyst Sue Mi Terry speculates that although slim, there was a chance Jong Nam had a power base within North Korea and could have assumed power of the North Korean government, replacing Jong Un at the behest of China or the United States (Fifield, 2017). In addition, in 2010 on the day before Jong Un appeared on television for the first time, Jong Nam publicly opposed the "third-generation succession" of power, referring to his younger brother's accession into power.

missile tests, which continue to threaten peace. The Chinese officials firmly oppose all relevant party's words or actions that may further escalate the tension in this volatile region (The People's Republic of China, 2017). According to William Perry, a former US Secretary of Defense, China has been supporting the survival of North Korea's government to prevent a potential mass migration outflow of North Koreans into Chinese borders, and maintain the existence of North Korea as a strategic buffer between China and US military forces on the Korean Peninsula. However, China's core interests are being challenged as North Korea continues weapons testing despite US Secretary of Defense Rex Tillerson's threat of US military intervention and threats of Japan and ROK developing nuclear weapons (Perry, 2017). Therefore, Chinese government officials have more incentives now than ever before to enforce sanctions more strictly.

According to an article published in the *People's Daily*, the official newspaper of the Chinese Communist Party, Chinese government officials remain firm in their encouragement of a cessation of hostilities and affirmation of needed negotiations between the US and North Korea (Zhou, 2017). This urge for dialogue between the relevant states aligns with the content analysis of UNGA opening debate speeches when China consistently advocated for the use of Six-Party Talks. Due to the Trump Administration's demonstration of military might in the firing of 59 Tomahawk missiles on Syria on April 6, 2017, Chinese government officials feel threatened by potential US military action against North Korea. Zhou Bo, the author of the article and honorary fellow with the Center of China-American Defense Relations at the Academy of Military Science, warns there is no guarantee that the United States can successfully eradicate every nuclear facility through military force before North Korea launches its nuclear missiles, rockets, and artillery shells in retaliation. In this scenario, no defense system, including THAAD, will be capable of preventing North Korea's counterstrike. Furthermore, Zhou states continued testing is

a result of Pyongyang's perceived threat of pre-emptive attack by the United States to "effect regime change". Moreover, Zhou asserts North Korea's provocations will subside if the US-ROK military drills (in addition to other threatening words and actions) are halted. It is clear diplomatic negotiations with North Korea must be pursued now more than ever (Zhou, 2017).

In addition, China is vehemently opposed to the deployment of THAAD because they fear this may be the first step towards "a broader American network of antimissile systems" in places such as Japan or the Philippines to counter China's growing military threat (Mullany, Buckley, 2017). In the Chinese perspective, THAAD is a strategic move for the United States to expand its own national security interests rather than assisting the South in securing its interests. The Chinese government officials believe the United States may be covertly planning to destroy China's nuclear weapons capabilities.

## **Japan**

On March 6, 2017, Japan was at its highest alert after North Korea fired four missiles towards the East Sea (Sea of Japan). Three landed in Japan's Exclusive Economic Zone, while one landed about 350 kilometers west of its Akita prefecture. As a result, Japan began to conduct civilian evacuation drills and Japan restarted considerations of developing its own nuclear capabilities, which has been controversially debated between government officials within Japan. For about 70 years Japan has abided by Article 9 of its constitution that limits the government's defense expenditures to 1% of its GDP as stipulated in the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security Between Japan and the United States of America. However due to the continued and growing threat of North Korea's weapons of mass destruction (WMD), the leaders within Japan's ruling party, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), are ready to support Prime Minister Shinzo Abe if he chooses to take actions towards the amendment of the nation's constitution.



The Japanese citizens have been against a larger military. Also, because Japan was once a colonial power and historical angst remains, as a result tensions may rise within the country, the region, and the world.

Within Japan, there is a divide in political opinion between the liberal and centrist (leading opposition party, Democratic Party of Japan) and right (Liberal Democratic Party) camps on approaching the North Korean nuclear issue. The left views Japan as a peace facilitator and advocates for the use of dialogue and the continued use of its pacifist approach on North Korea. They are also skeptical of remilitarization and believe the United States should not provoke North Korea. Meanwhile, the right views North Korea as a grave security threat and Prime Minister Abe, a member of the LDP, has unsuccessfully proposed legislation in the National Diet to increase the Japanese government's defense budget. While the parties disagree on increasing the defense budget, both the DPJ and LDP advocate for stronger UNSC sanctions in light of recent North Korean provocations ("Statement Strongly Condemning", 2016). Therefore, it appears there is bipartisan support of international sanctions enforcement within Japan despite the disagreements in measures taken on the national front to appease the growing nuclear threat.

## **Russia**

Russian policymakers have supported sanctions against North Korea and criticized the regime for its continued nuclear weapons program. However, since the past three years, Russia has become North Korea's "greatest ally," as claimed in North Korean state media. Russian delegates visited Pyongyang in January 2017 to discuss the repair of a railway system connecting the two nations (Ramani, 2017). In addition, as tensions between Beijing and Pyongyang escalate and deescalate, China's oil supplies are "periodically disrupted", thus North Korea's reliance on

Russia for fuel increased. These supplies are critical sources of hard currency for Pyongyang as they process the oil in its chemical plants and resell it to the Chinese consumers (Ramani, 2017). Therefore, in expression of its gratitude, North Korea has sent 10,000 workers to Siberia, which is a beneficial, cheap source of labor for Russia.

Despite experts' assessments that Russia has little influence on the Korean peninsula, with the projected shift in South Korea's administration to a liberal leader, relations between Russia and the South will likely improve. As the only other nation with direct influence over North Korea (besides China), improved relations with the South and the North could position Russia as a mediator on the Korean Peninsula and eventually a greater influencer in the region.

According to a statement released by Russia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs on April 11, 2017, Russian government officials are concerned with the Trump Administration proclamation to use military force (Russian Federation, 2017). Like Chinese government officials, Russian representatives support the de-escalation of tensions through cooperative means such as dialogue and oppose any action or words that may provoke relevant states. This aligns with the content analysis from Russia's UNGA General Debate speeches which show Russia has indirectly advocated for negotiations to achieve denuclearization. Russian representatives consistently opposed unilateral sanctions for isolating a target from the international community, stating it has proven ineffective in curbing the target country's reprimanded behavior. Additionally, on April 20, the UNSC (including member states: China, United States, and Russia) unanimously released a statement condemning North Korea's ballistic-missile launch on April 15, 2017. The statement also emphasized the importance of deescalating tensions on the Korean peninsula and urged member states to accelerate their enforcement of sanctions measures specifically resolutions 2321 (2016) and 2270 (2016) (United Nations, 2017). According to an article published in the

Guardian, the Russian representative opposed the original statement drafted by US representative Nikki Haley, while the Chinese representative supported it. The Russian delegation advocated for the inclusion of language stressing the need for a peaceful solution through dialogue and approved the latter draft that contained this mention (“UN Security Council Warns”, 2017).

In conclusion, it is clear domestic support for sanctions exist amongst the nations, yet it is not the entire solution nor the only proposed method towards denuclearization on the Korean peninsula. Russia and China have pushed for diplomatic engagement with North Korea through dialogue and with the projected outcome of South Korea’s presidential election, the likely liberal leader of the nation will also support negotiations. Sanctions have not curbed North Korea’s proliferation and the North Korean government has proved its ability to evade and withstand the economic pressure.

## **Chapter 8**

### **Conclusion**

Imposing UNSC sanctions on North Korea is a better strategy than not sanctioning the DPRK because sanctions are a collective statement made by the international community. Despite this, the question of how to denuclearize the DPRK remains. I argue diplomatic talks between the United States and North Korea must be restarted. For fifteen years, Track I Diplomacy between the two states has been nonexistent. Track I Diplomacy is the official diplomatic channel through the government ("What Is Multi-Track Diplomacy?"). Track I is specified, because the two countries do use Track II Diplomacy to allow university students and staff to visit the country and learn more about each respective nation. Track II diplomacy is the channel of communication between non-governmental organizations to identify and analyze international conflicts by non-state actors ("What Is Multi-Track Diplomacy?"). This could be symbolized as the potential relationship the two nations could share through a Track I Diplomacy relationship if the United States treats the DPRK as an equal and acknowledges that the DPRK's self-interest is to maintain and continue to develop its nuclear weapons. Pyongyang feels its ensured security comes through its possession of these weapons. The prevention of a third world war and nuclear war is the reason the UN System was developed after World War II in the first place.

Are UN Security Council Sanctions the best tool to curb North Korea's behavior?

Through the systematic collection of data, a look at the patterns of state behaviors and mentions of topics identified, different historical contexts were incorporated into the analyses to make sense of the data findings. This assessment indicated key patterns that aligned with the liberalism theoretical perspective but also different hypotheses of scholars regarding the rationale behind the continued pursuit of the failed strategy of sanctions. The answer could be that it was intended to unify South Korea and Japan to serve the US interest of forming an Asian 'NATO' in the Asia Pacific to contain Chinese expansion (Costello, 2016). This may be connected to the US strategy of pivoting to Asia. Has the United Nations been used as a tool to advance this type of strategic interest forward?

All in all, according to the data uncovered, and analysis conducted, the UNSC sanctions failed. Therefore, another policy must be implemented. I urge the delegates of UN member states to support the normalization of their respective relations with North Korea and as an international community. The analysis of UNGA General Debate statements given by the North Korean delegates indicates they have requested diplomacy and negotiations with the United States one-on-one to settle disputes rather than operating under the Six Party Talks framework. Therefore, a UN policy acknowledging the DPRK's terms and conditions could incite successful negotiations. The recommended course of action is to start negotiation of a peace treaty between South and North Korea. Then, North Korea should be guaranteed security assurances and offered economic aid in exchange for denuclearization. As requested by the North Korean delegation, negotiations should be pursued through bilateral talks with the United States. An effort to de-escalate tensions in the region and a harder push to return to a diplomatic solution is recommended. These policies should be implemented in place of sanctions.

Next steps for this research include analyzing additional variables for the assessment of sanction effectiveness such as the connection between UNSC sanctions imposed on the DPRK and the date of provocations. Analyzing this could indicate if a cause and effect relationship exists.

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## Appendices

### A. Coding for Content Analysis of UN General Debate Statements 2006-2016 for the following countries: China, South Korea, North Korea, United States, Japan, and Russia

<b>CODING FOR MENTION OF NORTH KOREA</b>					
<b>North Korea</b>	<b>Nuclear</b>	<b>Threat</b>	<b>Non-proliferation</b>	<b>Six Party Talks</b>	<b>Sanction</b>
Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula	"nuclear"	threat to the Korean Peninsula	"non-proliferation"	Six Party Talks	resolution as pertinent to North Korea
North Korea Democratic People's Republic of Korea	"nuclear weapons"	threat to the world threat of nuclear war	"Proliferation"		sanction as pertinent to North Korea

**B. Coding for Content Analysis of UN General Debate Statements 2006-2016 for the North Korean delegation**

Content Analysis of North Korea's UNGA General Debate Statements										
PRC	Russia	US	ROK	Japan	Nuclear Weapon	Sanctions	Denuclearization	Six Party Talks	Korean peninsula	Peace
	Russia, Soviet Union, USSR	United States, US	ROK, Republic of Korea, South Korea	Japan	Nuclear, Nuclear Weapon	Sanction, Resolution	Denuclearization	Six-Party talks	Korean Peninsula	Peace

### C. Content Analysis of UN General Debate Statements 2006-2016 for the North Korean delegation

*Comment: To fit the information into one chart, words such as China was shortened to its acronym PRC, the Republic of Korea (South) was shortened to ROK, the Six-Party Talks was shortened to 6PT and the United Nations was shortened to the UN.*

DPRK AT GENERAL DEBATE OF UNGA													
Year	Speaker	PRC	Russia	US	ROK	Japan	Nuclear Weapon	Sanctions	Denuclearization	6PT	Korean peninsula	Peace UN	
2006	Choe Su Hon			18	5	2	8	3	2	2	15	21	4
2007	Choe Su Hon			7	6	7	8	4			14	12	3
2008	Pak Kil Yon			13	8	4	7	3	6	3	20	13	1
2009	Pak Kil Yon			8	2		25	4	6		13	13	18
2010	Pak Kil Yon			3	10		12	3	4	1	23	21	17
2011	Pak Kil Yon			8	3		7	2	6	1	27	19	16
2012	Pak Kil Yon			12	3		3	2			16	12	15
2013	Tong Il Ri			9	7		6	4			14	21	18
2014	Su Yong Ri			7	2		6	4			9	11	14
2015	Ri Su Yong			22	10	1	6	6			20	27	41
2016	Ri Yong Ho			24	5		25	2	1		11	18	4

Source: UNGA General Debates 2006-2016  
<https://gadebate.un.org/en/sessions-archive>

## D. CSIS Figure Portraying the Development of North Korea's Nuclear Weapons

Date	Time Significance of Date (UTC)	Location	Magnitude			Yield Estimates (in kilotons)			Recorded Radioactive Effluents		International Reaction		
			Coordinates (USGS)	Test Site	CTBTO	USGS	KMA	DPRK	ROK	U.S.		China*	Russia
Under 18 years of Kim Jong-il	1 <sup>st</sup> 10/9/2006 01:35:28	41.294°N, 129.094°E	4.1 Mb	4.3 Mb	3.9 Mb	4 (announced)	<1	<1	0.48	5-15	Yes Xenon-133	UNSCR 1718	5 (10/14/2006)
	2 <sup>nd</sup> 5/25/2009 00:54:43	41.303°N, 129.037°E	4.52 Mb	4.7 Mb	4.5 Mb		2-6	Few kilotons	7.0±1.9	10-20	No	UNSCR 1874	18 (6/12/2009)
Under 4 years of Kim Jong-un	3 <sup>rd</sup> 2/13/2013 02:57:51	41.308°N, 129.076°E	4.9 Mb	5.1 Mb	4.9 Mb	DPRK did not announce the yield for subsequent tests	6-9	Few kilotons	12.2±3.8	>9	Yes Xenon-133 & Xenon-131m	UNSCR 2094	23 (3/7/2013)
	4 <sup>th</sup> 1/6/2016 01:30:01	41.305°N, 129.039°E	4.85 Mb	5.1 Mb	4.8 Mb		6-9	N/A	11.3±4.2	N/A	No	UNSCR 2270	56 (3/2/2016)
5 <sup>th</sup> 9/9/2016 00:30:01	National Foundation Day	41.298°N, 129.015°E	5.1 Mb	5.3 Mb	5.04 Mb		10	N/A	17.8±5.9	N/A	Pending	?	38 & counting

\*China's numbers are from the University of Science and Technology of China, other numbers are from official government agencies

Sources: United States Geological Survey (USGS), Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization (CTBTO), Korea Meteorological Administration (KMA), ROK Ministry of National Defense, U.S. Office of the Director of National Intelligence (ODNI), Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation, Korean Central News Agency (KCNA), United Nations Security Council.

Source: CSIS Office of the Korea Chair

### E. Content Analysis of UN General Debate Statements 2006-2016

Comment:

Blank cells indicate there was no information found. The administration of each country of each year the UNGA General Debate address was given was included rather than the speaker who gave the address. This is because I think the leaders within each respective administration set the agenda for their respective nations thus their agendas are determined by them.

UNGA General Debate Speech 2006										
Administration	State	DPRK	Nuclear	Threat	Non-proliferation	6PT	Sanctions	No Mention of DPRK		
Hu Jintao	China	5	4			x				
Vladimir Putin	Russia	1	7		1		x			
George W. Bush	US								x	
Roh Moo-hyun	ROK	5	6	x	3	2				
Shinzo Abe	Japan	6	2		1		x			

Source: UN General Assembly Debates 2006  
<https://gadebate.un.org/en/sessions-archive>

UNGA General Debate Speech 2007									
Administration	State	DPRK	Nuclear	Threat	Non-proliferation	6PT Sanctions	No Mention of DPRK		
Hu Jintao	China	2	2			x			
Vladimir Putin	Russia		1	x	2		x		
George W. Bush	US	1							
Roh Moo-hyun	ROK	11	17	x	4	3	x		
Yasuo Fukuda	Japan	13	1				x		

Source: UN General Assembly Debates 2007  
<https://gadebate.un.org/en/sessions-archive>



UNGA General Debate Speech 2008									
Administration	State	DPRK	Nuclear	Threat	Non-proliferation	6PT	Sanctions	No Mention of DPRK	
Hu Jintao	China							x	
Dmitry Medvedev	Russia		1	x	1			x	
George W. Bush	US	1		x			x		
Roh Moo-hyun	ROK	4	4	x	2	2			
Taro Aso	Japan	7	4			1	x		

Source: UN General Assembly Debates 2008  
<https://gadebate.un.org/en/sessions-archive>

UNGA General Debate Speech 2009									
Administration	State	DPRK	Nuclear	Threat	Non-proliferation	6PT	Sanctions	No Mention of DPRK	
Hu Jintao	China		5					x	
Dmitry Medvedev	Russia	1	14		4	1			
Barack Obama	US	2	x	x					
Lee Myung-bak	ROK	10	9	x	3	2			
Yukio Hatoyama	Japan	8	21	x	2	1	x		

Source: UN General Assembly Debates 2009  
<https://gadebate.un.org/en/sessions-archive>

UNGA General Debate Speech 2010									
Administration	State	DPRK	Nuclear	Threat	Non-proliferation	6PT	Sanctions	No Mention of DPRK	
Hu Jintao	China							x	
Dmitry Medvedev	Russia		6		4		x	x	
Barack Obama	US	2							
Lee Myung-bak	ROK							x	
Naoto Kan	Japan	6	16	x	6	1	x		

Source: UN General Assembly Debates 2010  
<https://gadebate.un.org/en/sessions-archive>

UNGA General Debate Speech 2011									
Administration	State	DPRK	Nuclear	Threat	Non-proliferation	6PT	Sanctions	No Mention of DPRK	
Hu Jintao	China	5				2			
Dmitry Medvedev	Russia	1	6		3		x		
Barack Obama	US	1	x	x			x		
Lee Myung-bak	ROK	3	4	x	1		x		
Yoshihiko Noda	Japan	5	2	x	1				

Source: UN General Assembly Debates 2011  
<https://gadebate.un.org/en/sessions-archive>

**UNGA General Debate Speech 2012**

<b>Administration</b>	<b>State</b>	<b>DPRK</b>	<b>Nuclear</b>	<b>Threat</b>	<b>Non-proliferation</b>	<b>6PT</b>	<b>Sanctions</b>	<b>No Mention of DPRK</b>
Hu Jintao	China		3		1			x
Vladimir Putin	Russia	1					x	
Barack Obama	US							x
Lee Myung-bak	ROK	5	11	x	2		x	
Yoshihiko Noda	Japan	5	3	x	2		x	

Source: UN General Assembly Debates 2012  
<https://gadebate.un.org/en/sessions-archive>

UNGA General Debate Speech 2013									
Administration	State	DPRK	Nuclear	Threat	Non-proliferation	6PT	Sanctions	No Mention of DPRK	
Xi Jinping	China	3	5		1	2			
Vladimir Putin	Russia	1	1		1				
Barack Obama	US							x	
Park Geun-hye	ROK	7	4	x			x		
Shinzo Abe	Japan	5	3	x	1				

Source: UN General Assembly Debates 2013  
<https://gadebate.un.org/en/sessions-archive>

UNGA General Debate Speech 2014									
Administration	State	DPRK	Nuclear	Threat	Non-proliferation	6PT	Sanctions	No Mention of DPRK	
Xi Jinping	China	2				1			
Vladimir Putin	Russia						x	x	
Barack Obama	US							x	
Park Geun -hye	ROK	10	13	x	2				
Shinzo Abe	Japan	1	2	x					

Source: UN General Assembly Debates 2014  
<https://gadebate.un.org/en/sessions-archive>

UNGA General Debate Speech 2015									
Administration	State	DPRK	Nuclear	Threat	Non-proliferation	6PT	Sanctions	No Mention of DPRK	
Xi Jinping	China							x	
Vladimir Putin	Russia						x	x	
Barack Obama	US							x	
Park Geun -hye	ROK	10	13	x	2				
Shinzo Abe	Japan	1	7	x	2				

Source: UN General Assembly Debates 2015  
<https://gadebate.un.org/en/sessions-archive>



UNGA General Debate Speech 2016									
Administration	State	DPRK	Nuclear	Threat	Non-proliferation	6PT	Sanctions	No Mention of DPRK	
Xi Jinping	China	1	1		1				
Vladimir Putin	Russia	3	9	x	3	1	x		
Barack Obama	US	2	5	x					
Park Geun-hye	ROK	25	20	x			x		
Shinzo Abe	Japan	13	8	x					

Source: UN General Assembly Debates 2016  
<https://gadebate.un.org/en/sessions-archive>

**F. Context Tables Used in Analysis Above:**

**Table 1**

<b>US Executive Orders Imposed on North Korea</b>		
6/26/2008	13466	Continuing Certain Restrictions <u>With Respect to North Korea and North Korean Nationals</u>
8/30/2010	13551	Blocking Property of Certain Persons <u>With Respect to North Korea</u>
4/18/2011	13570	Prohibiting Certain Transactions <u>With Respect To North Korea</u>
1/2/2015	13687	Imposing Additional Sanctions with Respect to North Korea
3/16/2016	13722	Blocking Property of the Government of North Korea and the Workers' Party of Korea, and Prohibiting Certain Transactions <u>With Respect to North Korea</u>

Source: Department of US Treasury, North Korea Sanctions

**Table 2**

<b>UNSC Sanctions Imposed on North Korea</b>		
10/14/2006	Resolution 1718	Security Council Sanctions Committee established, arms embargo, assets freeze, travel ban, ban on imports and exports
6/12/2009	Resolution 1874	
1/22/2013	Resolution 2087	arms embargo, luxury goods ban, imports/exports <a href="http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/un/resolution1718.pdf">http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/un/resolution1718.pdf</a>
3/7/2013	Resolution 2094	
3/2/2016	Resolution 2270	Non-proliferation/Democratic People's Republic of Korea

Source: Department of US Treasury, North Korea Sanctions

**Table 3**

<b>North Korea Nuclear Tests</b>	
10/6/2006	1st
5/25/2009	2nd
2/12/2013	3rd
1/6/2016	4th
9/6/2016	5th

Source: CNN News "North Korea's Nuclear Tests are Getting More Powerful"