



Prof. Dr. Hans Köchler

Professor of Philosophy, University of Innsbruck, Austria
President, International Progress Organization
Member of the HWPL Peace Advisory Council

**DENUCLEARIZATION OF THE KOREAN PENINSULA
AND THE PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF KOREA**

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Mr. Chairman,
Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

The non-implementation of the United Nations' ban on the unilateral use of force (according to Art. 2 of the UN Charter) has been a major cause of international instability and tension ever since the organization's foundation in 1945. The *Declaration of Peace and Cessation of War* (DPCW) of March 14, 2016, expressing the concerns of international civil society, has for the first time addressed the issue of implementation in a *comprehensive* manner. This has particular relevance for the solution of all problems that are related to the war potential of states, including arms of mass destruction. All those who support the Declaration should make efforts vis-à-vis the governments of their countries so that heads of state will bring the Declaration before the United Nations for adoption by the General Assembly.

The *human right to peace* and the *right to self-determination* are among the core principles of international law and a just world order. Those rights are also the guiding principles for the solution of the problems faced by the people in Korea. Since over half a century, division and conflict – in fact, in the absence of a peace treaty, a technical state of war – have been a source not only of regional, but also worldwide tension, carrying the risk of a wider nuclear confrontation.

In this regard, the provisions of the DPCW, in particular Article 2, paragraphs 2 and 3, should be implemented by all member states of the United Nations. Nuclear disarmament must be addressed in a *comprehensive* and *global* (not only regional) context. In today's international community, there must be no policy of double standards concerning disarmament obligations of states.

Under present circumstances, the main concern of the international media is the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. However, the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Arms (NPT), in force since 1970, while stressing each nation's right to the peaceful use of nuclear energy, implies a *general* commitment to non-proliferation and to the gradual reduction of nuclear arms by the existing nuclear-weapons states. In the five decades since the adoption of the NPT, no tangible overall progress has been made in that regard. To the contrary, more countries have acquired nuclear arms – including India, Pakistan, Israel, the DPRK – and other countries are suspected to develop nuclear capacity with a view of military use. Thus, the nuclear threat is not only a problem of the two Koreas, but of the

wider international community. To stress it yet again: *there must be no policy of double standards.*

Apart from the non-efficient nuclear disarmament régime of the NPT, another core legal instrument, namely the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT), adopted in 1996, has not even entered into force because of the non-ratification by some existing nuclear powers. The non-ratification has been a major obstacle to curtailing the development of nuclear arms or to curb the efforts by nuclear states to produce more powerful bombs. In this way, the United Nations policy of nuclear disarmament has gradually been eroded instead of being strengthened.

As has been demonstrated by the inability, so far, of NPT treaty states to agree on the Middle East as a nuclear-weapons-free zone (another commitment contained in that Treaty) and to prevent the nuclear crisis in Korea (where nuclear missiles were first deployed in 1958/1959, during the Cold War period), the most realistic chance for nuclear disarmament consists in a credible removal of threats to the national security and very survival of states in whichever region of the globe. In a decades-long conflict situation such as that on the Korean Peninsula this means that steps towards disarmament must be linked to credible international security guarantees.

To make the demands on North Korea for dismantling its nuclear weapons credible, confidence-building measures on the basis of mutuality – or reciprocity – are indispensable. Whether on the Korean peninsula or in other regions, nuclear disarmament cannot be undertaken on a unilateral basis. It must be comprehensive, including the dismantling of the North Korean capabilities as well as the elimination of the U.S. nuclear umbrella for South Korea. The “North-South Summit” on 27 April 2018 between the leaders of both countries in the Peace House in Panmunjom was an important step on that direction. This initiative may eventually lead to a joint commitment of both, North and South Korea, to a foreign policy of neutrality (similar to that practiced by Austria, which helped restore and preserve the country’s independence after World War II).

Because of the structural relation between *disarmament* and *security*, the issues of denuclearization and reunification of Korea are interconnected. They are indeed mutually reinforcing. The prospect of a reunified Korea will be the best security guarantee to both, North and South – and it will make the threat of superpower interference disappear. This, in turn, will make reliance on nuclear arms obsolete, even counterproductive. At the same

time, denuclearization, independently verified under the auspices of the United Nations, will provide the mutual trust that is needed to embark upon reunification.

In conclusion: Giving up nuclear arms (by the North) and relinquishing nuclear security guarantees of a foreign power (by the South) must be linked to the credible removal of threats to national security and survival of each of the two states. This can best be ensured through *peaceful reunification of Korea by way of confederation*. This implies that neither side imposes its will upon the other and that no interference of foreign forces will be allowed in Korea. The principles of independence, peace and comprehensive national unity will guide this process as a result of which security and stability can be strengthened in the entire region of East Asia. In view of the involvement of today's superpowers, all with nuclear arms, in the conflict situation in Korea since the 1950s, the denuclearization and reunification of Korea will also be a major and lasting contribution to global peace and security – and it will provide a strong impetus to spreading a *culture of peace* as envisaged in Article 10 of the DCPW. This may eventually bring the world one step closer to the enforcement of the fundamental norm of international relations – the non-use of force between states – as advocated for by the Declaration of Peace and Cessation of War.
