

Forum: *General Assembly 1st Committee (GA1)*

Issue: *Strengthening efforts of denuclearization and establishing a more permanent peace settlement in the Korean peninsula*

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Introduction

After Japan surrendered during the Second World War, the Korean Peninsula, which had been under Japan's control, was divided along the 38th parallel between the Soviet Union in the north and the United States of America in the south. While the new South Korea established a democratic government in the form of the Republic of Korea (ROK), the Soviet Union created a communist government in its occupation zone under the name of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK). Furthermore, the Korean War during the Cold War only served to widen the divide; the two governments refused to accept each other and ended up splitting into different sovereign states. The invasion led by the DPRK resulted in the Korean War, which never officially ended. Instead, the Korean Armistice Agreement of 1953 only established a ceasefire for the three-year conflict. The Korean Armistice Agreement contained details establishing the Korean Demilitarized Zone (DMZ), a 250-kilometer buffer zone that now serves as the border between the two Koreas. While the armistice managed to end direct violence between the two sides, a treaty must be introduced in order to establish a more permanent peace in the peninsula. Political friction between North and South Korea have prevented most peace talks, especially with the ever-present threat of North Korea's nuclear program.

Efforts for denuclearization have proven difficult; past treaties and agreements with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's support have often been undermined or violated, making negotiations difficult. After agreeing to the 1970 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), North Korea subsequently withdrew from the treaty in 2003. The situation was further exacerbated by the DPRK's first successful nuclear test conducted three years later. Faced with this potential threat, the international community moved to convince North Korea to shut down its nuclear program through six-party talks. Although the DPRK publicly announced that it would comply, negotiations declined once again after a North Korean satellite launch and nuclear test took place just two years later. In 2012, the United States moved to provide food aid to North Korea to improve their

relationship. However, the deal broke down yet again following another North Korean missile test. Another nuclear test followed in 2016, as well as an alleged hydrogen bomb test in the same year. Scientists and experts analyzed the data following the “hydrogen bomb test” and concluded that the seismic shocks were unlikely to have been produced by a hydrogen bomb; instead, they suspected that the test had been for an enhanced nuclear bomb. Later that same year, North Korea launched a satellite into orbit under the pretense of conducting scientific research. Much of the international community denounced the launch, as it was suspected to be intended for intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) launches instead of scientific research. One of the ICBMs tested in 2017 reportedly had a range large enough to strike the continent of North America. With that in mind, delegates would need to put forward incentives and monitoring systems in a binding treaty with DPRK that would also seem fair enough to the DPRK to prevent more withdrawals or breaches if there is to be a true effort to denuclearize the Korean Peninsula.

Definition of Key Terms

Korean Armistice Agreement

An armistice is an official agreement to permanently cease fighting. While more official than a truce or ceasefire, an armistice cannot officially end a war without a negotiated peace treaty. The DPRK and ROK agreed to stop fighting in 1953 with the Korean Armistice Agreement, but the overall Korean War did not receive an official end because no true peace treaty was created. The agreement prevents the two sides from engaging in open hostilities.

Complete, verifiable and irreversible dismantlement (CVID)

“Complete, verifiable and irreversible dismantlement” is the phrase used to describe what is expected of the eventual denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. The abbreviation CVID was coined by the United States of America’s State Department to refer to their policy toward North Korea during negotiations and peace talks. In order to achieve “complete” dismantlement of nuclear weapons in the Korean Peninsula, all nuclear facilities, weaponry, and any means to reconstruct said facilities and weaponry have to be disassembled. Making the dismantlement “verifiable” calls for regular inspections similar to those of the NPT. “Irreversible” dismantlement refers to making future nuclearization of the Korean Peninsula impossible to promote long-lasting peace on the peninsula.

Korean Demilitarized Zone (DMZ)

The Korean Demilitarized Zone is the current de facto border between North and South Korea. It is about 4 km wide and intersects with the town of Panmunjom, where the Joint Security Area (JSA) is located. The DMZ is one of the most dangerous borders in the world, guarded on both sides by military personnel. While the two sides are forbidden from firing upon each other as per the Korean Armistice Agreement, multiple incidents at Panmunjom have escalated to warning shots. For example, in November of 2017, North Korean soldiers fired upon defector Oh Chong-song as he fled across the DMZ. South Korean soldiers later retrieved Oh, who had sustained multiple bullet wounds. A North Korean search party for another defector on December 20 led South Korean soldiers to fire warning shots when the search party neared the border. In October 22, 2018, the ROK and DPRK agreed to remove guns from the JSA, leaving a small team of unarmed guards on each side instead.

Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs)

The Federation of American Scientists defines intercontinental ballistic missiles as missiles with “ranges of greater than 5,500 km.” ICBMs are used for transporting nuclear warheads, but various chemical or biological weapons could also be delivered on an ICBM. As of the missile tests in 2017, the DPRK currently possesses at least one ICBM capable of striking North America, the Hwasong-15. The Hwasong-15 is a part of the Hwasong series of missiles, though only the Hwasong-13, Hwasong-14, and Hwasong-15 have a large enough range to be considered to be ICBMs. Other nations with ICBMs include China, France, India, Israel, North Korea, Russia, and the United States.

Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs)

The United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs defines weapons of mass destruction as “a class of weaponry with the potential to, in a single moment, kill millions of civilians, jeopardize the natural environment, and fundamentally alter the world and the lives of future generations through their catastrophic effects.” The goal of denuclearizing the Korean Peninsula is closely related to the regulation of such weapons since nuclear warheads are classified as WMDs.

Background Information

South Korea's foreign policy in regards to North Korea

The Sunshine Policy (The Reconciliation and Cooperation Policy vis-à-vis the North)

The Sunshine Policy was first implemented under the Kim Dae-jung administration for the goal of taking a softer approach to handle North Korea in order to improve the two nations' relationship. It was dubbed "the Sunshine Policy" based on one of Aesop's fables with the same philosophy of using warmth and kindness instead of brute force to achieve one's goals. The idea was to avoid direct confrontation with North Korea to prevent antagonizing them and escalating the situation into conflict. By being kind and accepting of the North, South Korea aimed to improve the North's perception of the country and eventually push for peace. While it is difficult to determine the effectiveness of this policy, it has led to more successful peace negotiations between the two nations in recent years, along with more summits and signed declarations.

The Moonshine Policy

Current South Korean president Moon Jae-in has made great strides in improving North and South Korean relations by holding multiple summits. The Inter-Korean Summit was in April of 2018, which was mainly focused on the denuclearization of the peninsula. This summit resulted in the Panmunjom Declaration, named after the town situated near the Joint Security Area. The declaration marked a massive step in the right direction; both Kim Jong-un and Moon Jae-in agreed to work toward a permanent end to the Korean War and toward denuclearization. The two leaders decided to establish a long-lasting era of peace in the Korean Peninsula by working together. The second inter-Korean summit was held in May to discuss US-Korean relations and the upcoming Trump-Kim summit. The last inter-Korean summit was held in September, which focused on both US-Korean relations and denuclearization.

President Moon has also called for the help of the United States and has put a very heavy emphasis on dismantling DPRK's nuclear program. According to *The Diplomat* and *38North*, in his 2017 Berlin speech, Moon "offered the North Koreans a peace treaty to end the Korean War in exchange for denuclearization" and "explicitly mentioned complete, verifiable and irreversible dismantlement (CVID) of the North's nuclear weapons program." People saw Moon Jae-in's unique approach to the Sunshine Policy, with the multiple summits and diplomatic demeanor, and dubbed the Sunshine Policy under his administration, "the Moonshine Policy" after his last name.

Key Issues

North Korean missile and bomb tests

Over the past few decades, North Korea has been developing its nuclear weapons program by running various tests. In recent years, missile tests and powerful nuclear bomb tests have become increasingly frequent and successful. The global community has publicly condemned these tests, but the North Koreans have continued with their program despite various sanctions from other countries.

Intercontinental ballistic missile tests

Back in 2016, Shinzō Abe, Japan's Prime Minister, warned North Korea that any missile tests that entered Japanese territory would be shot down; however, the DPRK proceeded with the tests. The Unha-3 flew over the Japanese prefecture of Okinawa, earning much disapproval from the international community. In 2017, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea approved of its first two intercontinental ballistic missile tests. Two missiles were launched, landing off the coast of Japan. The second missile, labeled KN-22, had a range reportedly large enough to strike the entire United States. Multiple world leaders denounced the tests and many more grew anxious at the implications of the United States being within striking range of North Korea. According to CNBC, the government released that the missile was entirely capable to carrying nuclear warheads. Nations such as the ROK, the United States, Japan, and even Russia have warned North Korea against the development of nuclear weapons, leading to multiple UN resolutions imposing sanctions to disincentivize further tests such as Resolution 1718, which put restrictions on the trade of luxury goods. The DPRK's continued efforts in developing its nuclear program have served as major setbacks in the international goal of denuclearization as well as peace in the Korean Peninsula. As the ROK does not own any nuclear weapons, it relies on protection from its ally, the United States. Likewise, Japan is concerned as it does not have an offensive military and only has a self-defense force. Even DPRK's close ally the People's Republic of China has signed onto the Non-proliferation Treaty to make an effort toward denuclearization.

Hydrogen and nuclear bomb tests

In addition to the intercontinental ballistic missile tests, the DPRK has also organized several bomb tests over the past few years. In 2016, seismic readings allowed experts to determine that North Korea had tested a "hydrogen bomb." While the government denied that this was a fourth nuclear warhead test, the readings were more consistent with a nuclear explosion,

not that of a hydrogen bomb. The United Nations passed Resolution 2270 in response to the bomb tests, which imposed bans on exporting rare metals as well as primary exports like coal and iron. This sanction was intended to deter North Korea from continuing development of its nuclear weapons program by severing its trade with other nations. However, another nuclear test soon followed. This bomb was much stronger than its predecessors; while sources disagree on its exact power, estimates range from 10 kilotons to 30 kilotons. Based on what is known, this is the most powerful nuclear weapon North Korea owns so far. The hydrogen bomb test prompted the international community to pass yet another resolution imposing a sanction, Resolution 2270. This particular sanction put a ban on iron, coal, and other exports from North Korea.

Major Parties Involved and Their Views

Democratic People's Republic of Korea

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is a communist nation led by its Supreme Marshall Kim Jong-un and the Workers' Party of Korea.

Unification

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is very supportive of the idea of unification, as it views itself as the legitimate government of the Korean Peninsula. Citizens are taught that the two nations will one day unite once more in order to help free the South Koreans from the starvation and poverty caused by capitalism. The DPRK has been active in trying to establish peace in the peninsula. Kim Jong-un attended three inter-Korean summits to instigate peace between the two Koreas and had the North Korean Olympic team march with the South Koreans in the Pyeongchang Winter Olympics opening ceremony under a united Korean flag.

Denuclearization

The DPRK has signed several treaties on denuclearization, though it has withdrawn from one before. The DPRK appears to be committed to denuclearizing the peninsula, but still continues to violate the Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-Aggression, and Exchanges and Cooperation between South and North Korea through bomb and missile tests. More recently, the DPRK has signed multiple statements to demonstrate a renewed effort toward denuclearization of the peninsula. The Panmunjom Declaration between South Korea and North Korea affirms that the two nations will work toward a more permanent peace regime by finalizing the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. The joint statement in the 2018 United States-North

Korea Summit also highlighted the DPRK's continued commitment to work toward denuclearization. These statements, along with continued international disapproval of the DPRK's nuclear program, will hopefully serve as incentives for the DPRK to move toward denuclearization.

Republic of Korea

Unification

Much like North Korea, South Korea also strongly approves of unification of the two Koreas one day. The incumbent President Moon Jae-in's Moonshine Policy's purpose is to improve the relationship between the two Koreas. Moon has put in a great amount of effort into organizing summits and negotiating agreements in order to avoid antagonizing the DPRK. South Koreans wish to unify Korea and free the North Korean citizens from the starvation and poverty resulting from the communist dictatorship. South Korea has signed the Panmunjom Declaration to show a commitment toward establishing a permanent peace and denuclearizing the Korean Peninsula.

Denuclearization

The ROK does not own any intercontinental ballistic missiles, but owns many short range ballistic missiles (SRBMs) and moderate range ballistic missiles (MRBMs). As a party of the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, South Korea has kept its word and refrained from building any nuclear weapons despite having the technology and resources to do so. President Moon Jae-in seeks to de-escalate tensions between South and North Korea, and building nuclear weapons would be counterintuitive to his intentions. However, news of the recent nuclear weapons tests in North Korea have changed public opinion on the issue. According to *The New York Times*, public polls of South Korean citizens show that 60% are now in favor of having an arsenal of nuclear weapons.

The United States of America

Relationship with the Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Korea

In a poll conducted by BBC, South Korean citizens were reported to have a mostly positive view of the United States and its relations with the ROK. American influence in South Korea began after the Korean Peninsula was divided at the 38th parallel, where the United States promoted the establishment of a democratic government in the area. The United States has since provided military assistance for the ROK, including stationing thousands of troops in the nation.

The United States has also provided economic assistance for South Korea in addition to serving as South Korea's primary trading partner. As one of the nations with the most developed nuclear programs in the world, the United States has also played a major role in the talks between North and South Korea on the issue of denuclearization. The United States has an antagonistic relationship with North Korea, with the latter regarding the United States as its sworn enemy. Tensions between the two countries have made the development of DPRK's nuclear program very relevant to the United States, especially with the creation of the Hwasong-15. A North Korean missile capable of delivering a nuclear warhead to the United States is a major threat and a powerful incentive for the United States to get involved in the denuclearization talks. The United States and North Korea held a historic summit in Singapore where President Donald Trump and Supreme Leader Kim Jong-un met and discussed the issue of denuclearization. The two signed a joint statement, which reiterated the goal of denuclearization established by the Panmunjom Declaration between President Moon Jae-in and Marshal Kim Jong-un. The statement also affirmed that the two nations would work toward repatriation of prisoners of war and establishing peace in the Korean Peninsula.

Japan

Relations with the Democratic Republic of Korea

As a neighboring nation to North Korea, many of the DPRK's missile tests have flown over regions of Japan or landed in the Sea of Japan. While the Japanese government has publicly denounced the missile tests and resolved to shoot down any missiles that infringe upon Japanese territory, the DPRK has continued development of its nuclear weapons. Peace between North and South Korea is relevant to Japan as it is not only a neighboring country but is also prohibited from having an offensive military force. With only self-defense forces, violence between the two Koreas would be very problematic for Japan as it would be in close proximity to the conflict but unable to act outside of its borders. BBC's World Service poll reported that Japan's opinion of North Korea was the most negative in the world, with over 90 percent of citizens viewing the DPRK as a negative influence. Japan also participated in the six-party talks in 2003-2007, siding with the United States when pushing for a full dismantlement of North Korea's nuclear program before providing aid in contrast with the more gradual plan proposed by the other three parties. Japan has also had a history of its citizens being abducted by North Koreans. The issue was brought up in the six-party talks and has been a recurring issue between the two nations for several decades, but still remains unresolved.

People's Republic of China

Relationship with the Democratic Republic of Korea

The People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea signed the Sino-North Korean Mutual Aid and Cooperation Friendship Treaty in 1961. Effective until 2021, the treaty states that in the event of enemy attack, China will send troops to support North Korea. North Korea and China are also close trading partners, with most of North Korea's exports going to China and imports coming from China. While North Korea gets much military and economic assistance from China, China receives a buffer between the very pro-America South Korea as well as avoiding a massive refugee crisis should North Korea fall. However, the relationship between North Korea and China has soured somewhat in recent years as North Korea has continued developing its nuclear weapons program in spite of China's heavy disapproval. Even though China has previously used its veto powers to protect North Korea, it has since refrained from using them on resolutions imposing sanctions on the DPRK for developing nuclear weapons.

Timeline of Relevant Resolutions, Treaties and Events

Date	Description of event
July 27, 1953	<p>Korean Armistice Agreement</p> <p>Representatives for the United Nations Command, Korean People's Army, and Chinese People's Volunteer Army met and signed the Korean Armistice Agreement. The document was an official ceasefire that established the Korean Demilitarized Zone but technically did not end the Korean War.</p>
April 22, 1970	<p>Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons</p> <p>North Korea agrees to the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, a document meant to halt the development of nuclear weapons technology and work toward denuclearization.</p>
January 20, 1992	<p>Joint Declaration of the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula</p> <p>In 1992, North and South Korea agreed on the terms of the Joint Declaration of the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. The declaration stated that "The</p>

South and the North shall not test, manufacture, produce, receive, possess, store, deploy or use nuclear weapons” and that nuclear energy could only be utilized in peaceful ways.

Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-Aggression, and Exchanges and Cooperation between South and North Korea

March 25, 1992

The Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-Aggression, and Exchanges and Cooperation between South and North Korea was agreed upon around the same time as the Joint Declaration of the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. This agreement focused on reconciling the two countries and promoting cooperation between them. It stated that “The South and the North shall recognize and respect each other’s system” and that “the two sides shall endeavor together to transform the current state of armistice into a solid state of peace between the South and the North and shall abide by the present Military Armistice Agreement (of July 27, 1953) until such a state of peace has been realized.”

The Democratic People’s Republic of Korea withdraws from the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons

January, 2003

In 2003, North Korea announced its withdrawal from the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons following various breaches of the obligations set down by the agreement.

“Hydrogen bomb” test

January 6, 2016

Seismic readings indicated a powerful bomb had been tested in North Korea, but the DPRK insisted that the bomb had been a simple hydrogen bomb.

Resolution 2270 adopted by United Nations Security Council

March 2, 2016

In response to the bomb test in January, the United Nations decided to impose a sanction on North Korea, banning it from exporting materials such as gold, iron, and coal.

April 2018 Inter-Korean Summit

April 27, 2018

Kim Jong-un and Moon Jae-in meet in an inter-Korean summit to focus on the issue of denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. This summit resulted in the Panmunjom Declaration, an agreement between the two leaders to work toward the goal of complete denuclearization of the peninsula. The declaration also contained clauses to promote peace and unification of the two countries. The

most important point of the Panmunjom Declaration was that Kim and Moon agreed to create a permanent peace treaty to formally end the war between the two nations.

Relevant UN Treaties and Events

- Panmunjom Declaration, April 27 2018
- Resolution 2270, March 2 2016 (**S/RES/2270**)
- Resolution 1718, 14 October 2006 (**S/RES/1718**)
- Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-Aggression, and Exchanges and Cooperation between South and North Korea, 25 March 1992 (**CD/1147**)
- Joint Declaration of the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, 20 January 1992 (**CD/1147**)
- Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, 22 April 1970 (**INFCIRC/140**)
- Agreement Concerning a Military Armistice in Korea, 27 July 1953 (**S/3079**)
- Unconditional Surrender of Japan, 17 August 1945 (**SWNCC 21/8**)

Evaluation of Previous Attempts to Resolve the Issue

There have been multiple attempts at achieving the two goals of this issue, the first being the establishment of a more permanent peace. The first attempt was the Korean Armistice Agreement. While it was never meant to be a direct solution to the issue and only meant to be a ceasefire, it is a major cause of the current political climate of the Korean Peninsula. The Korean Armistice Agreement did not end the Korean War and no peace treaty has yet been established, meaning that the two nations of North and South Korea are still technically at war—they have only agreed to stop violence. The Korean Armistice Agreement does not address the issue of denuclearization at all, so it cannot resolve the issue alone. It has established a cessation of hostilities but not worked toward any kind of permanent peace yet. Thus, the Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-Aggression, and Exchanges and Cooperation between South and North Korea was established. An attempt at establishing peace within the Korean Peninsula, it proved to be too slow. Sixteen years after its creation, the peace that the agreement sought to establish back in 1992 still has not been implemented.

The Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons attempted to reach the second goal, the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. The treaty itself encouraged many countries to denuclearize, like the Republic of Korea. South Korea has refrained from building a nuclear arsenal despite the constant threat of the DPRK's nuclear weapons. The treaty, however, was not as effective in convincing

the Democratic People's Republic of Korea; in fact, the country withdrew from the treaty in 2003 after many violations of the treaty. The treaty was not powerful enough to convince North Korea to denuclearize. Instead, the DPRK ignored it and went ahead with its nuclear weapons program.

The most significant attempt to establish peace between the two Koreas was the six party talks that lasted from 2003 to 2007. The talks consisted of multiple rounds between the nations of the United States, North Korea, South Korea, Japan, Russia, and China. These talks were conducted in response to the DPRK's withdrawal from the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. One of the main goals of the talks was the dismantlement of the DPRK's nuclear program. As mentioned before, Japan and the United States wanted to take a more extreme approach toward coercing North Korea through only providing aid once the program was irreversibly dismantled. The other three countries, Russia, China, and South Korea opted to provide aid each time North Korea reached a certain level of disarmament. While these talks were extensive and lasted multiple years, there were too many points of contention for the parties to agree on a working model. One such problem was the wording of the original Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The treaty allowed for nuclear resources employed peacefully, such as for energy, but it was difficult to determine whether North Korea would use it as a cover for nuclear weapons development. Another difficulty in negotiations was that North Korea suspected that the United States sought to overthrow North Korea's government given the nation's previous hostile behavior toward communist governments and vocal disdain for North Korea. While the DPRK eventually agreed to shut down its nuclear program, negotiations fell apart once the United Nations condemned North Korea's failed Kwangmyŏngsŏng-2 launch. The parties could not agree on the speed and amount of dismantlement that would warrant aid and the North Korean government was mistrustful of the other parties' intentions. In the end, the six party talks did not achieve much in terms of its goals because of fundamental differences in opinion between the countries and a lack of trust moving forward. However, the talks made each nation's opinions and methodologies clear, paving the way for more effective peace talks down the line.

Possible Solutions

One possible solution was posed by one of President Moon Jae-in's Special Advisors, Chung In Moon. In an interview with *The Atlantic*, Dr. Moon proposed the idea of a multilateral treaty and the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone. He pointed out that North Korea has long made the distinction that it is pushing for "the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula," not "the denuclearization of North Korea." Dr. Moon stated that what the Democratic People's Republic of Korea could want is for South Korea to no longer be under the United States of America's nuclear protection in exchange for

denuclearization in North Korea. Dr. Moon suggested that North Korea's goal may also be to end hostilities with the United States of America and actually collaborate with the nation. However, criticisms of this plan point out that this could all be a ruse to get South Korea to end its protective relationship with the United States so the DPRK can claim the ROK by force. Experts are split on whether this will actually work; some believe that North Korea has been seeking to work with the United States for years while others believe that North Korea wishes for a hostile takeover of its southern neighbor.

Another possible solution is the resumption of the six-party talks. The People's Republic of China, in particular, has expressed much interest in resuming the talks, as China is strongly against the development of nuclear weapons in North Korea. During talks in Beijing between Xi Jinping and Kim Jong-un in April of 2018, Kim told Xi that he was open to resuming the talks. With new leaders of the six parties, new foreign policies such as the Moonshine Policy, and more successful peace summits, the resumption of the six-party talks could be a feasible solution if it does not repeat the previous talk's past mistakes. The new talks will have to take each party's goals and priorities into account. The United States must present itself as less of a threat to the North Korean regime and more cooperative in giving aid to North Korea in increments. North Korea, in return, has to make measurable efforts toward dismantling its nuclear program. All parties must figure out a method for distinguishing peaceful use of nuclear technology on the Korean Peninsula from weaponizing nuclear materials. The parties must review current economic and commercial sanctions on North Korea regarding the issue of denuclearization as well as when to provide aid to North Korea in exchange for its efforts.

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