On the Korean Peninsula, people of the same ethnicity have been divided into two—north and south—for more than half a century. Even today, the Republic of Korea (ROK) and North Korea pit their ground forces of about 1.6 million against each other across the demilitarized zone (DMZ).

Maintaining peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula is vital for the peace and stability of the entire East Asian region, to say nothing of Japan. (See Fig. I-1-2-1)

Fig. I-1-2-1 Military Confrontation on the Korean Peninsula

**Table: Total armed forces**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>North Korea</th>
<th>ROK</th>
<th>U.S. Forces in Korea</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total armed forces</strong></td>
<td>Approx. 1.2 million personnel</td>
<td>Approx. 660,000 personnel</td>
<td>Approx. 29,000 personnel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Army</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ground troops</td>
<td>Approx. 1.02 million personnel</td>
<td>Approx. 520,000 personnel</td>
<td>Approx. 19,000 personnel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanks</td>
<td>T-62, T-54/55, etc., Approx. 3,500</td>
<td>M-48, K-1, T-80 etc., Approx. 2,400</td>
<td>M-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Navy</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naval vessels</td>
<td>Approx. 650; 103,000 tons</td>
<td>Approx. 190; 193,000 tons</td>
<td>Supporting corps only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destroyers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frigates</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Submarines</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Air Force</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combat aircraft</td>
<td>Approx. 600</td>
<td>Approx. 600</td>
<td>Approx. 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd and 4th generation fighter aircraft</td>
<td>Mig-23x36, Mig-29x18, Su-25x34</td>
<td>F-4x70, F-16x164, F-15x60</td>
<td>F-16x40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reference</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>Approx. 24.6 million</td>
<td>Approx. 48.9 million</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term of Service</td>
<td>Army: 5–12 years, Navy: 5–10 years, Air Force: 3–4 years</td>
<td>Army: 21 months, Navy: 23 months, Air Force: 24 months</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: The Military Balance 2013, etc.
General Situation

North Korea has been advocating the construction of a strong socialist state in all areas—ideology, politics, military affairs, and economy—and it adopts “military-first politics” to realize this goal. The “military-first politics” has been defined as a form of leadership that advances the great undertaking of socialism by resolving all problems that arise in the revolution and national construction on the principle of military-first and stressing the importance of the armed forces as the pillar of the revolution. In fact, First Chairman of the National Defense Commission, Kim Jong-un, who is in the position to control the military, mentioned the importance of military power in his New Year Address in January 2013: “The military might of a country represents its national strength; only when it builds up its military might in every way can it develop into a thriving country and defend the security and happiness of its people” and regularly visits military organizations. This indicates that he intends to continue attaching importance to, and relying on, the military forces.

Although North Korea has been facing serious economic difficulties and has depended on the international community for food and other resources, it seems to be maintaining and enhancing its military capabilities and combat readiness by preferentially allocating resources to its military forces. North Korea deploys most of its armed forces along the DMZ. According to the official announcement at the Supreme People’s Assembly in April 2013, the proportion of the defense budget in the FY2013 national budget was 16.0%, but it is believed that this represents only a fraction of real defense expenditures.

Furthermore, North Korea seems to maintain and reinforce its so-called asymmetric military capabilities by continuing to develop weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and ballistic missiles and by maintaining large-scale special operation forces. In addition, North Korea has repeatedly made military provocations on the Korean Peninsula.

North Korea’s military behavior has heightened tension over the Korean Peninsula, and constitutes a serious destabilizing factor for the entire East Asian region, including Japan.

Needless to say, North Korea’s possession of nuclear weapons is not accepted, and it is also necessary to pay sufficient attention to the development and deployment of ballistic missiles, the military confrontation on the Korean Peninsula, and proliferation of WMDs and ballistic missiles by North Korea.

Partly because North Korea maintains its extremely closed regime, it is difficult to accurately capture the details and intentions of its behavior. However, it is necessary for Japan to pay utmost attention to them.

WMD and Ballistic Missiles

Concerning WMDs, issues of North Korea’s nuclear weapons program have been emphasized, as well as its chemical and biological weapons capabilities.

In particular, North Korea’s nuclear issue has serious influence on Japan’s national security and it is also a critical problem for the entire international community in terms of non-proliferation of WMDs. North Korea declared to have produced nuclear weapons in 2005, and it has repeatedly claimed to be a nuclear state through such means as explicitly stating that it is a nuclear state in its constitution revised in 2012, but North Korea’s possession...
of nuclear weapons has never been accepted internationally. However, North Korea carried out a nuclear test in February 2013 without regard to the international community calling for restraint. Nuclear tests by North Korea, when considered in conjunction with North Korea’s reinforcement of its ballistic missile capability including range extension, which could serve as the means of delivery of WMDs, simply cannot be tolerated as they constitute a serious threat to the security of Japan and do considerable harm to the peace and stability of Northeast Asia and the international community.

As for ballistic missiles, North Korea seems to be conducting R&D for deploying existing ballistic missiles, extending the range, and converting to solid fuel propulsion. Also, it is pointed out that North Korea’s proliferation of ballistic missiles continues. The launch of a missile, which it called “Satellite,” in December 2012, showed that North Korea has advanced its technologies to extend the range and improve the accuracy of ballistic missiles. We assess that North Korea’s ballistic missile development is considered to have entered a new phase. North Korea’s ballistic missile issue, coupled with its nuclear issue, in terms of capability improvement and transfer/proliferation, has developed into a more real and imminent problem not only for Northeast Asia but also for the wider international community and such developments are of great concern.

(1) Nuclear Weapons
a. Major developments regarding the Six-Party Talks, etc.

With regard to the issue of North Korea’s development of nuclear weapons, six rounds of the Six-Party Talks have been held since August 2003, aimed to take peaceful measures to achieve the verifiable denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. At the fourth round of the Six-Party Talks in 2005, the Joint Statement was adopted, which focused on the abandonment of “all nuclear weapons and existing nuclear programs” by North Korea. In 2006, the Talks was suspended as North Korea launched seven ballistic missiles and conducted a nuclear test and the U.N. Security Council adopted Resolutions 1695 and 1718 in response. Later, North Korea returned to the fifth round of the Six-Party Talks and the agreement of the sixth round of the Talks in October 2007 included completion of the disablement of nuclear facilities in Yongbyon and “a complete and correct declaration of all its (North Korea’s) nuclear programs by the end of the year.” However, the implementation of the agreement has not been completed and the Six-Party Talks has been suspended since December 2008.

---

5 At around 11:59 on February 12, 2013, the Meteorological Agency of Japan observed a seismic wave with its hypocenter in the vicinity of North Korea; as the waveform differed from that of a normal seismic wave, it was thought that it might not be a natural earthquake. On the same day, North Korea announced via the Korean Central News Agency that it had successfully conducted a nuclear test. Accordingly, the government sought to ascertain the facts, with maintaining contacts with the U.S. and the ROK. Taking all of the aforementioned information into consideration, the Japanese government’s judgment was that North Korea had conducted a nuclear test.

6 Generally, solid fuel propellant missiles are considered to be militarily superior to liquid fuel propellant missiles because they are capable of immediate launches with their propellant stored in airframes, making signs of their launches unlikely to be detected in advance, and they are easy to store and handle.

7 Concerning the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles by North Korea, the Worldwide Threat Assessment of the United States Director of National Intelligence in March 2013 pointed out that “North Korea’s export of ballistic missiles and associated materials to several countries, including Iran and Syria, and its assistance to Syria in the construction of a nuclear reactor (destroyed in 2007), illustrate the reach of the North’s proliferation activities.” Moreover, in the report entitled Military and Security Developments Involving the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea 2012, which was published by the U.S. Department of Defense in May 2013, it was pointed out that North Korea uses various techniques to circumvent measures taken by each country on the basis of United Nations Security Council Resolutions, including sending cargo through multiple front companies and intermediaries.

8 On October 27, 2006, as a result of the independently collected information and its analysis as well as our own careful examination of the U.S. and the ROK analyses, the Japanese government judged that there was an extremely high probability that North Korea had conducted a nuclear test.

9 In June 2008, North Korea submitted a declaration of its nuclear program. However, as of May 2013 no agreement has been made concerning a specific framework for verification.
In 2009, North Korea again conducted a missile launch and a nuclear test\(^\text{10}\). In response, the U.N. Security Council adopted Resolution 1874 in June 2009, imposing additional sanctions on North Korea. Later, meetings of head negotiators of the Six-Party Talks from North and South and U.S.-North Korea high-level talks have been held\(^\text{11}\), but the Six-Party Talks has not yet resumed. In response to North Korea’s launch of a missile, which it called “Satellite,” in December 2012, the U.N. Security Council adopted Resolution 2087 in January 2013 to expand and strengthen the sanctions of the past resolutions. Since then, North Korea put out statements to the effect that the Six-Party Talks and the Joint Statement of the Six-Party Talks in 2005 would no longer exist and there will be no talks concerning denuclearization in the future.

In response to a nuclear test conducted by North Korea in February 2013, the U.N. Security Council adopted Resolution 2094 that includes the additional and strengthened sanctions against North Korea. Around the same time, in response to the adoption of the resolution and implementation of the U.S.-South Korea combined exercise, North Korea frequently repeated strong statements to nullify the joint declaration on denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula issued in 1992, and to suggest a pre-emptive nuclear attack on the United States and others, for example. North Korea justifies its possession of nuclear weapons claiming that it is necessary for self-defense. In March 2013, it decided a policy to carry out economic construction and building nuclear armed forces simultaneously because with solid nuclear deterrence they will be able to concentrate on economic construction and improvement of people’s living. In April of the same year, North Korea adopted a law “On Consolidating the Position of Nuclear Weapons State for Self-Defense.” This way, it is showing no sign of changing or softening its stance to advance the development of nuclear weapons.

Especially since the nuclear test in February 2013, North Korea has been repeating its insistence on possessing and strengthening nuclear deterrence. On the other hand, some argue that while North Korea assumes that its position as a nuclear power must be approved internationally, its policy regarding its nuclear development is so-called a brinkmanship policy which intentionally heightens tension in order to have an advantage in negotiations with the United States and others, and to receive some sort of reward. Given that the ultimate goal of North Korea is pointed out to be the maintenance of its existing regime, these two goals are not necessarily incompatible.

While it is crucially important for Japan, the United States and the ROK to closely cooperate to resolve the North Korean nuclear problem, roles played by other countries including China and Russia (the other participants in the Six-Party Talks), as well as such international institutions as the United Nations and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) are also important.

### b. The Current Status of the Nuclear Weapons Program

Details of North Korea’s nuclear weapons program are largely unclear, partly because North Korea remains an extremely closed regime. In light of the unclear status of past nuclear developments and implementation of nuclear tests conducted in October 2006, May 2009, and February 2013, the possibility cannot be dismissed that North Korea has already made considerable progress in its nuclear weapons program\(^\text{12}\).

With regard to plutonium, a fissile material that can also be used for nuclear weapons\(^\text{13}\), North Korea has suggested its production and extraction several times\(^\text{14}\). Moreover, in June 2009, North Korea announced that the whole amount of the newly extracted plutonium would be weaponized\(^\text{15}\). In April 2013, North Korea announced its policy to readjust and restart all the nuclear facilities in Yongbyon including the nuclear reactor the disablement of which was agreed upon in the sixth round of the Six-Party Talks in October 2007. Because resumption of the operation of the reactor and others may lead to the production and extraction of plutonium by North Korea, such developments are of great concern.

As for highly enriched uranium that can also be used for nu-

\(\text{10}\) Given that North Korea announced on May 25, 2009, via the Korean Central News Agency, that it had successfully conducted an underground nuclear test, and in light of the fact that the Meteorological Agency of Japan had detected a seismic wave with a waveform that differed from usual, which could possibly have resulted from a North Korean nuclear test, the government believes that North Korea conducted a nuclear test on that day.

\(\text{11}\) In February 2012, North Korea announced suspension of the uranium enrichment program at Yongbyon and a moratorium on nuclear tests and long-range missile launches based on the agreement with the United States. However, in response to the North Korea’s missile launch, which it called a “Satellite” in April of the same year, the United States announced the suspension of nutritional support that had been stated to be carried out, and the U.N. Security Council issued a presidential statement strongly condemning the launch; then North Korea declared that they were no longer bound to the agreement.

\(\text{12}\) The Worldwide Threat Assessment of the United States Director of National Intelligence in January 2012 pointed out that “these tests (in 2006 and 2009) strengthen our assessment that North Korea has produced nuclear weapons.”

\(\text{13}\) Plutonium is synthetically produced in a nuclear reactor by irradiating uranium with neutrons, and then extracting it from used nuclear fuel at a reprocessing facility. Plutonium is then used as a basic material for the production of nuclear weapons. Meanwhile, in order to use uranium for nuclear weapons, it is necessary to extract uranium 235 (U235), a highly fissile material, from natural uranium. This process is called enrichment. Generally, a large-scale enrichment facility that combines thousands of centrifuges is used to boost the U235 concentration to nuclear weapon levels (over 90%).

\(\text{14}\) In October 2003, North Korea announced that it had completed the reprocessing of 8,000 used fuel rods that contains plutonium and then in May 2005 that it had completed extraction of an additional 8,000 used fuel rods.

\(\text{15}\) Then U.S. Forces Korea Commander Walter Sharp testified before the House Armed Services Committee in April 2011 that “we assess North Korea currently holds enough plutonium to make several nuclear weapons.” The ROK Defense White Paper 2012 estimates that North Korea has approximately 40kg of plutonium.
clear weapons, in 2002 the United States announced that North Korea acknowledged the existence of a uranium enrichment program for nuclear weapons. Later in June 2009, North Korea declared the commencement of uranium enrichment. Furthermore, in November 2010, North Korea disclosed its uranium enrichment facility to American nuclear specialists and later announced that it was operating a uranium enrichment plant equipped with thousands of centrifuges. North Korea insists that the enriched uranium is used as fuel for light water reactors, therefore the uranium enrichment program is a peaceful use of nuclear energy. However, a series of North Korean behaviors concerning uranium enrichment indicate that there is the possibility that it is developing nuclear weapons using highly enriched uranium in addition to plutonium.

After the adoption of Resolution 2087 by the U.N. Security Council in January 2013, North Korea announced statements suggesting implementation of a nuclear test. In response, the international community including Japan urged North Korea not to conduct a nuclear test, but North Korea carried out a test in February 2013. It is likely that North Korea has further developed its nuclear weapons program by gathering necessary data through the test.

It is believed that North Korea is making efforts to load a nuclear weapon onto a ballistic missile as part of its nuclear weapons program. In general, miniaturizing a nuclear weapon enough to be loaded on a ballistic missile requires a considerably high degree of technological capacity. However, considering the fact that the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France and China succeeded in acquiring such technology by as early as the 1960s, it is difficult to eliminate the possibility that North Korea, in a relatively short time, achieves miniaturization of nuclear weapons and acquires nuclear warheads. It is necessary to remain watchful of all related developments.

(2) Biological and Chemical Weapons

Because North Korea is an extremely closed regime and because most materials, equipment and technology used for manufacturing biological and chemical weapons are for both military and civilian use, facilitating camouflage, details of North Korea’s biological and chemical weapons development and arsenals are not clear. However, it is believed that North Korea has a certain level of production base for biological weapons although it ratified the Biological Weapons Convention in 1987. As for chemical weapons, North Korea has not acceded to the Chemical Weapons Convention, and it is estimated that North Korea has several facilities capable of producing chemical agents and has a substantial amount of stock of such agents.

(3) Ballistic Missiles

North Korea is an extremely closed regime, and details of its ballistic missiles are unknown as is the case with WMDs. It appears, however, that North Korea gives high priority to the development of ballistic missiles out of political and diplomatic considerations and from the viewpoint of earning foreign currency, in addition to enhancing its military capabilities.

a. Scud

It is believed that, since the middle of the 1980s, North Korea has manufactured and deployed Scud B and Scud C, a variant of Scud B with extended range, and has exported these ballistic missiles to the Middle East and other countries.

b. Nodong

North Korea is also thought to have started its development of longer-range ballistic missiles by the 1990s, including

---

16 The Worldwide Threat Assessment of the United States Director of National Intelligence in January 2012 pointed out that “the North’s disclosure (of a uranium enrichment facility) supports the United States’ longstanding assessment that North Korea has pursued uranium-enrichment capability.” Also, the ROK Defense White Paper 2012 notes that, “considering the mention of uranium enrichment by a North Korean Foreign Ministry spokesman in April 2009 and the disclosure of a uranium enrichment facility in November 2010, it is assessed that the North is pursuing a highly enriched uranium (HEU) program.”

17 For example, on January 24, 2013, North Korea’s National Defense Commission issued a statement that “we do not hide that the various satellites and long-range rockets which will be launched by the DPRK one after another and a nuclear test of higher level which will be carried out by it will target the U.S., the sworn enemy of the Korean people.”

18 North Korea announced that it had “succeeded in the third underground nuclear test,” “the test was conducted in a safe and perfect way on a high level with the use of a smaller and light A-bomb, unlike the previous ones, yet with great explosive power,” and “physically demonstrating the good performance of the DPRK’s nuclear deterrence that has become diversified.”

19 The Ballistic Missile Defense Review (BMDR) Report released by the U.S. Department of Defense in February 2010 pointed out that “we must assume if there are no major changes in its (North Korea’s) national security strategy in the next decade, it will be able to mate a nuclear warhead to a proven delivery system.”

20 For example, the ROK Defense White Paper 2012 pointed out that North Korea "started to produce chemical weapons in the 1980s and approximately 2,500 to 5,000 tons of various chemical weapons are estimated to remain stored in facilities scattered across the country; the North is also suspected of being able to independently cultivate and produce such biological weapons as anthrax, smallpox, pest, cholera and hemorrhagic fever." Moreover, the U.S. Department of Defense report Military and Security Developments Involving the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea 2012, which was published in May 2013, pointed out that "North Korea could employ CW (chemical weapons) agents by modifying a variety of conventional munitions, including artillery and ballistic missiles."

21 North Korea admitted that it is exporting ballistic missiles to earn foreign currency. (Comment by the Korean Central News Agency (KCNA) on June 16, 1998, and statement made by a North Korean Foreign Ministry spokesman on December 13, 2002).

22 The ranges of Scud B and Scud C missiles are estimated to be about 300 km and 500 km, respectively.
Nodong. It appears that Nodong, which is believed to be already deployed, is a liquid fuel propellant single-stage ballistic missile. It is assessed to have a range of about 1,300 km, and may reach almost throughout Japan.

It is highly probable that Nodong was used in the launch into the Sea of Japan in 1993. A total of six ballistic missiles fired from the Kittaeryong district in the southeastern part of North Korea in July 2006 are believed to be Scud and Nodong. In July 2009, North Korea is believed to have launched a total of seven ballistic missiles from the same district, and it is possible that each of them was either Scud or Nodong.

Though details about Nodong’s capability have not been confirmed, as the ballistic missile is believed to be based on the Scud technology, it seems that it does not have the accuracy to carry out strikes on specific target installations.

c. Taepodong-1

Taepodong-1 is assumed to be a two-stage, liquid fuel propellant ballistic missile with a Nodong used as its first stage and a Scud as its second stage. It is estimated to have a range of at least approximately 1,500 km. The ballistic missile launched in 1998 is assessed to be based on Taepodong-1. North Korea is believed to have shifted its focus to the development of a longer range missile, and Taepodong-1 may have been a transitory product for the development of Taepodong-2.

d. Musudan

It is believed that North Korea is currently developing a new type of intermediate-range ballistic missile (IRBM) “Musudan.” It has been pointed out that Musudan is a revamped version of the Russian Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missile (SLBM) SS-N-6 that it acquired in the early 1990s. It will likely be loaded onto a transporter-erector-launcher (TEL), just like its Scud and Nodong counterparts, and then transported. Furthermore, it has been pointed out that the new missile boasts a range of between 2,500 and 4,000 km, meaning that Guam in addition to all parts of Japan could fall within its firing range.

It is very difficult to verify the intention of North Korea’s military activities because of its closed regime. In addition, it is believed that North Korea has constructed underground military facilities across the country, and the ballistic missiles such as Musudan have been developed to be able to strike Guam and other nearby countries.

---

23 Of a total of seven ballistic missiles North Korea launched in July 2006, the third one is believed to be a Taepodong-2 fired from the Taepodong district in the northeastern coastal area. Other launches of Scud and Nodong missiles had more practical characteristics, based on the indication that the missiles were launched before dawn, a number of different types of ballistic missiles were launched in succession over a short period of time, launches were carried out using Transporter-Elector-Launchers (TELLs), and ballistic missiles with different ranges were landed within a certain area. This leads to the assumption that North Korea has improved the operational capability of ballistic missiles.

24 All seven ballistic missiles launched were assumed to have landed in the military target practice area, for which a navigation warning was issued by the Japan Coast Guard upon notification by North Korea on June 22, 2009.

25 In the statement for the House Armed Services Committee in March 2009, General Sharp, then Commander of the U.S. Forces Korea, stated that preparations are currently under way in North Korea to field a new intermediate range ballistic missile capable of striking Okinawa, Guam, and Alaska. Furthermore, the ROK’s Defense White Paper 2012 notes that, “with the operational deployment of Musudan missiles with a range beyond 3,000 km in 2007 North Korea became capable of direct strikes on neighboring countries, including South Korea, Japan and Guam.”
Fig. I-1-2-2 Launch of the Missile, which North Korea Called “Satellite” on December 12, 2012

Approx. 0949i
Missile launch

Possible 1st Stage Propelling Device
Distance from Tongch’ang-ri district

Approx. 0958i
Possible Fairing
Approx. 460km
Approx. 0959i
Possible 2nd Stage Propelling Device
Approx. 430km

Object including Possible 3rd Stage Propelling Device
Approx. 500km

(Jumped) North Korea put an object(s) into orbit (inclination of approx. 97 degrees)

Danger Area

It is assessed that the object does not function as a satellite

Possible Fairing

(Object including Possible 3rd Stage Propelling Device)

Approx. 1003i
Approx. 690km

Approx. 1009i
Possible Fairing

Danger Area

It is assessed that the object does not function as a satellite

North Korea

Approx. 0958i
Approx. 1003i

Danger Area

Japanese Territory

Approx. 2,600km

Tongch’ang-ri district

Approx. 0959i – 1001i

Possible 2nd Stage Propelling Device

Estimated North Korea put an object(s) into orbit inclination of approx. 97 degrees

Danger Area

The United States Geological Survey: GTOPO30; and the United States National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration: ETOPO1
as Scud, Nodong and Musudan, would be loaded onto TELs. These make it difficult to detect in advance individual and specific signs of the launch of missiles with TELs, such as the detailed launch sites and timings.

e. Taepodong-2

Taepodong-2 is believed to be a missile with four engines, each of which is developed based on technologies of Nodong, in a cluster in its first stage and the same type of engine in its second stage. Its range is estimated to be approximately 6,000km for the two-stage type while the range of its three-stage variant can be more than approximately 10,000km assuming that the weight of the warhead is not over approximately one ton. A Taepodong-2 is believed to have been launched from the Taepodong district located in the northeastern coastal area in July 2006, and was damaged during flight at an altitude of several kilometers, several tens of seconds after the launch without separating the first stage, and fell near the launch site. In the launch of a missile in April 2009, which it called a “Satellite,” it is thought that North Korea used a Taepodong-2 or a variant of it from the same district again. It is estimated that the missile crossed over Japan, and flew more than 3,000 km before falling in the Pacific Ocean. In April 2012, North Korea conducted a launch believed to be using a Taepodong-2 or its variant from the Tongch’ang-ri district on the northwestern coast of North Korea, which it called a “Satellite.” The missile flew over a minute and then fell into the Yellow Sea broken to several pieces. The launch is believed to be a failure.

In December of the same year, North Korea again conducted a launch using a Taepodong-2 variant, which it called a “Satellite” launch, from the Tongch’ang-ri district. In this launch, all falling objects are estimated to have impacted in the danger areas set beforehand by North Korea, while an object including the possible third stage propelling device is estimated to have continued flight while changing its trajectory and put an object into orbit around the earth. The launch showed that North Korea has developed technologies to extend the range such as those to separate multi-stage propulsion devices and technologies to improve the accuracy of ballistic missiles such as those to control posture and guidance. As for the technology to extend the range, in particular, it is believed to have advanced significantly because North Korea could develop long-range ballistic missiles that could reach the midland and the west of the U.S. homeland based on the technologies verified through the launches this time and in the past, though it has not yet been clear about some of the related technologies.

As North Korea is insisting on continuing to “launch satellites” while developing and launching more capable space launch vehicles, it is likely to further advance the development of long-range ballistic missiles by repeating similar launches, which it calls “satellite launches,” for further technical testing toward practical use of long-range ballistic missiles.

At present, North Korea appears to be developing not only the ballistic missiles mentioned above but also a solid fuel propellant short-range ballistic missile Toksa, with its range estimated to be approximately 120 km. In addition, there is a possibility that a new missile that appeared in the military parade in April 2012 is a long-range ballistic missile. Close attention is required in regard to North Korea’s potential efforts to improve existing ballistic missiles, including an attempt to extend their ranges.

As the background of North Korea’s rapid strides in the development of its ballistic missiles with only a few test launches, it is assumed that North Korea imported various materials and technologies from outside. It is also pointed out that North Korea transfers and proliferates ballistic missile airframes or related technologies, and that it promotes the further development of missiles using funds procured by such transfer and proliferation. It is also pointed out that North Korea is conducting tests at transfer destinations and using the results. Moreover, because a test launch of a long-range ballistic missile would contribute to extending the range of other shorter-range missiles, increasing the war-

---

26 After the launch, North Korea announced that “the earth observation satellite failed to enter its preset orbit,” admitting the failure of the launch.

27 It is not confirmed that the object put into orbit around the earth is performing communication or transmitting/receiving any signal to/from the ground. Therefore, it is not assessed that the object actually functions as an artificial satellite.

28 In order to bring its long-range missile to the stage of practical use, North Korea would seek such technologies as those for protecting a payload from high temperature when it reenters the atmosphere from higher altitude with high velocity, those for precision guidance, and those for building underground launch sites and silos, which enhance the survivability of missiles.

29 In March 2007, then U.S. Forces Korea Commander Burwell B. Bell testified before the House Armed Services Committee that, “North Korea is developing a new solid propellant short-range ballistic missile. Recently, in March 2006, North Korea successfully test-fired the missile. Once operational, the missile can be deployed more flexibly and rapidly than the existing system and North Korea will be able to launch the missile in a much shorter preparation period.”

30 The United States Director of National Intelligence James Clapper testified before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence in March 2013 that “last April it (North Korea) displayed what appears to be a rogue mobile intercontinental ballistic missile. We believe North Korea has already taken initial steps towards fielding this system, although it remains untested.”

31 For example, because Nodong has a similarity in shape to Shahab-3 of Iran and Gauri of Pakistan, it is pointed out that Nodong airframes or related technologies may be transferred.
head weight and improving the circular error probability (CEP), the launch of long-range ballistic missiles such as Taepodong-2 may lead to the improvement of the performance of Nodong and other ballistic missiles possessed by North Korea.

In light of this, it is necessary to remain alert to North Korea’s ballistic missiles, particularly in terms of transfer and proliferation, in addition to their development and deployment.

(See Figs. I-1-2-2, I-1-2-3)

3 Military Posture

(1) General Situation

North Korea has been building up its military capabilities in accordance with the Four Military Guidelines (extensive training for all the soldiers, modernizing all the armed forces,arming the entire population, and fortifying the entire country)32.

North Korea’s armed forces are comprised mainly of ground forces, with a total troop strength of roughly 1.2 million. North Korea’s military forces are believed to have been maintaining and enhancing their capabilities and operational readiness, but most of its equipment is outdated.

Meanwhile, North Korea has large-scale special operations forces that can conduct various operations ranging from intelligence gathering and sabotage to guerrilla warfare. These forces are believed to reach approximately 100,000 personnel33.

Moreover, North Korea seems to have many underground military-related installations across its territory.

---

32 Four Military Guidelines were adopted at the fifth plenary meeting of the fourth Korean Workers’ Party’s Central Committee in 1962.

33 It had been said that North Korea possessed two types of special operations forces: one under the military forces and the other under the Korean Workers’ Party. However, it has been reported that these organizations were consolidated in 2009 and the Reconnaissance General Bureau was established under the auspices of the armed forces. The existence of the bureau was officially confirmed when Korean Central Broadcasting Station reported General Kim Yong-chol as the Director of the Reconnaissance General Bureau. Moreover, James Thurman, the Commander of the U.S. Forces Korea, stated “North Korea possesses the world’s largest special operations force of over 60,000” in his speech at the Association of U.S. Army in October 2012. Also, the ROK Defense White Paper 2012 points out “The number of North Korea special force troops is estimated to reach approximately 200,000.”
(2) Military Capabilities
The North Korean Army comprises about one million personnel, and roughly two-thirds of them are believed to be deployed along the DMZ. The main body of the army is infantry, but the army also maintains armored forces including at least 3,500 tanks and artillery. North Korea is believed to regularly deploy long-range artillery along the DMZ, such as 240 mm multiple launch rockets and 170 mm self-propelled guns, which can reach cities and bases in the northern part of the ROK including the capital city of Seoul. The Navy has about 650 ships with a total displacement of approximately 103,000 tons and is chiefly comprised of small naval vessels such as high-speed missile craft. Also, it has about 20 Romeo class submarines, about 70 midget submarines, and about 140 air cushioned landing craft, the latter two of which are believed to be used for infiltration and transportation of the special operation forces.

The Air Force has approximately 600 combat aircraft, most of which are out-of-date models made in China or the former Soviet Union, but some fourth-generation aircraft such as MiG-29 fighters and Su-25 attack aircraft are also included. North Korea has a large number of outdated An-2 transport aircraft as well, which are believed to be used for transportation of special operation forces.

North Korea’s military forces are vigorously conducting various types of training to maintain and enhance their operational readiness. Meanwhile, given the serious food situation, the military forces appear to be engaged in agricultural activities as well.

4 Domestic Affairs
(1) Movement of the Kim Jong-un regime
After the death of Kim Jong-il, Chairman of the National Defense Commission, in 2011, Kim Jong-un has become the de-facto head of the military, party, and the “state” by assuming the position of Supreme Commander of the Korean People’s Army, First Secretary of the Korea Workers’ Party and First Chairman of the National Defense Commission by April 2012. The framework of the Kim Jong-un regime was laid out in a short period of time. Since the transition to the new regime, there have been a number of announcements of party-related meetings and decisions, which some point out indicates “running the state” under the initiative of the party. On the other hand, his emphasis on the importance of military strength and frequent visits to military organizations may suggest that Kim Jong-un, First Chairman of the National Defense Commission, will continue to place great importance on military strength.

After the transition, there have been many changes in personnel, especially at high levels of the military and the cabinet, which is reported to be aimed at strengthening of the power base of First Chairman Kim Jong-un. Because there is no apparent disruption due to the changes in personnel, and various “national” events and Field Guidance by First Chairman Kim Jong-un are carried out in an orderly manner, it is believed that the new regime is on a track to a certain degree. However, some point to the concern over social control such as the increasing inequality between the rich and the poor, and the inflow of information from abroad and other factors, which attract attention in terms of stability of the regime.

(2) Economic Conditions
In terms of their economy, North Korea has been facing chronic stagnation and energy and food shortages in recent years due to the vulnerability of its socialist planned economy and shrunken economic cooperation with the former Soviet Union and East European countries following the end of the Cold War. In particular, it seems that North Korea still has to rely on food assistance from foreign countries. In response to a host of economic difficulties, North Korea has attempted some limited reform measures and changes in its economic management systems and seems to be implementing economic cooperation projects with other countries. First Chairman Kim Jong-un’s frequent emphasis on the need to improve economic situations suggests that North Korea is still placing importance on the improvement of the economy. Nonetheless, there is believed to be little possibility for North Korea to undergo any structural reforms that would impact its current leadership system, and thus it faces various challenges before it can fundamentally improve its current economic situation.

34 For example, it was reported in February 2013 that an enlarged meeting of the Central Military Commission of the Korean Worker’s Party had been held and First Chairman of the National Defense Commission Kim Jong-un had made an important conclusion speech which served as guidelines for defending the security and sovereignty of North Korea. This was the first time that a meeting of the commission was reported.

35 In November 2012, the United Nations World Food Programme (WFP) and Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) forecasted North Korea’s production of principal foods to be 5.80 million tons between November 2012 and October 2013, and estimated the necessary imported amount of grains to be approximately 0.507 million tons.

36 For example, North Korea conducted a so-called redenomination (decreasing the denomination of its currency) at the end of 2009. It is pointed out that the redenomination led to economic disorder such as price escalation due to shortfall of supply, etc., increasing social unrest. Regarding relations with other countries, in June 2011, ground-breaking ceremonies were held for China-North Korea joint development projects at the Rason Economic and Trade Zone in the northeastern part of North Korea and the Hwanggumpyong and Wihwado Economic Zones in the northwestern part of North Korea.

37 Since 2012 it has been reported that North Korea has been implementing new economic measures on a trial basis, including independent management of some of its factories and cooperative farms, but the details including the implementation status are unclear.

Defense of Japan 23
5 Relations with Other Countries

(1) Relations with the United States

The United States made it clear that it would make efforts to convince North Korea to abandon its nuclear program in close cooperation with other countries, aiming to resolve the issue through the Six-Party Talks. The United States has consistently clarified its position that it is necessary for North Korea to comply with the Joint Statement of the Six-Party Talks in 2005 and take specific measures to improve North-South relations before resuming the Six-Party Talks.

On the other hand, North Korea has been criticizing the United States claiming that its “hostile policy” toward North Korea and lack of trust between them get in the way of the peace and denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, and that the conclusion of a U.S.-NK peace agreement is necessary to build relationships of trust. Thus, there has been a significant gap between the two parties’ stances. Since the U.N. Security Council’s adoption of Resolution 2087 in January 2013, North Korea, claiming that the “hostile policy” of the United States has entered a dangerous state, argues that denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula is impossible before demilitarization of the world and that there will be no more talks for denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula while leaving room for talks for peace and security of the region. It reacted sharply to the implementation of the U.S.-ROK combined exercise carried out from March to April of the same year and insisted on the change of the U.S. policy with regard to North Korea while repeating hard-line assertions including nullification of the Korean War Armistice Agreement and suggestion of pre-emptive nuclear attack on the United States.

(2) Relations with the Republic of Korea

Relations between the Republic of Korea (ROK) and North Korea have worsened under the administration of President Lee Myung-bak, as incidents that heightened North-South military tensions occurred, including the sinking of a South Korean patrol vessel in March 2010 and the shelling incident of Yeonpyeong Island in November of the same year. After the election of Park Geun-hye as ROK president in December 2012, North Korea showed a stance that may be interpreted as positive about North-South talks, including a call for resolving the North-South confrontational state in the “New Year Address” made by First Chairman Kim Jong-un in January 2013. After the U.N. Security Council adopted Resolution 2087 in the same month, however, North Korea has repeated arguments strongly warning against the ROK. Against the U.S.-South Korea combined exercise carried out from March to April of the same year, North Korea has been making even more hard-line arguments including nullification of all agreements concerning North-South non-aggression, and stated that it would take no part in North-South dialogues or improving North-South relations, as long as the ROK engages in acts of hostility against North Korea.

(3) Relations with China

With regard to the relationship between North Korea and China, the China-North Korea Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance concluded in 1961 is still in force. Currently, China is North Korea’s biggest trade partner and the trade hit a record high in 2012. The percentage of the trade with China in the total trade of North Korea is over 70%. It is pointed out that North Korea’s dependence on China has been increasing year by year. In addition, First Chairman Kim Jong-un had talks with Chinese officials visiting North Korea in August and November 2012. These events among others indicate close rela-

---

38 According to Rodong Sinmun on November 12, 2012, for example, North Korea argued that “The Korean Armistice Agreement should be replaced with a peace treaty, to begin with, in order to terminate the hostile relations between the DPRK and the U.S., solve the nuclear issue and, furthermore, achieve peace and stability in the peninsula and Northeast Asia.”

39 There were North Korean assertions in which it listed U.S. military bases in Japan and Japanese cities and insisted that it was capable of blowing up these locations. According to Rodong Sinmun on March 31, 2013, for example, North Korea argued that “It is a matter of course that Yokosuka, Misawa and Okinawa are located within the range of our attacks along with Guam.” “The U.S. mainland is also within that range.” On April 10, 2013, Rodong Sinmun also argued that the entire territory of Japan could not escape from North Korea’s retaliatory attacks (after the argument, it listed Japanese cities of Tokyo, Osaka, Yokohama, Nagoya, and Kyoto.)

40 On March 26, 2010, the ROK’s naval patrol ship “Cheonan” sank near the Northern Limit Line in the Yellow Sea. In May 2010, a joint military-civilian survey group comprising experts from the United States, Australia, the United Kingdom and Sweden released survey results indicating that the ROK naval ship had split and sank as a result of a shock wave and bubble effect created by the underwater blast of a torpedo fired by a small North Korean submarine.

41 On November 23, 2010, North Korea bombarded Yeonpyeong Island as the South Korean military engaged in firing exercises off the coast of the island facing the Yellow Sea, causing deaths and injuries on the South Korean side including some civilians.

42 In January 2013, North Korea’s Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of Korea issued a statement that if the South “takes direct part in the U.N. ‘sanctions,’ the DPRK will take strong physical counter-measures against it.” Furthermore, in February of the same year, the Rodong Sinmun published an article “(if ROK tightens sanctions as a countermeasure against the nuclear test, it) will not be able to avoid deadly retaliation.”

43 In April 2013, North Korea prohibited South Korean nationals from entering the Kaesong Industrial Complex (established in the city of Kaesong, in the southwest of North Korea, close to the military demarcation line with the ROK. Many companies from the ROK operate there, employing North Korean workers), which had begun operating in 2004 as a North-South economic cooperation project; subsequently, it withdrew all North Korean workers and announced that it was temporarily suspending the project. In May 2013, all personnel from the ROK also withdrew from the Complex, and, as of May 2013, there was no prospect of operations there resuming.

44 It includes a provision that if either of the signatories (China and North Korea) is attacked and enters into a state of war, the other would immediately provide military and other assistance with all its strength.
tions between China and North Korea in various areas, especially in politics and economy.45 Concerning North Korea’s nuclear problem, China has repeatedly expressed its support for the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and early resumption of the Six-Party Talks. After the nuclear test by North Korea in February 2013, China issued a statement severely condemning the nuclear test, but at the same time China is continuing to call for calm response by relevant countries and suggested to the U.N. Security Council to make a discreet and proper reaction. China has maintained a similar stance to a series of hard-line insistences by North Korea since March of the same year. Director of the Korean People’s Army General Political Bureau Choe Ryong-hae visited China as a special envoy to First Chairman of the National Defense Commission Kim Jong-un in May of the same year and held a conference with General Secretary of the Communist Party of China Xi Jinping. It is necessary to continue monitoring the relationship between North Korea and China.

(4) Relations with Russia

While relations between North Korea and Russia have become less close since the end of the Cold War, they signed the Russia-North Korea Treaty on Neighborly Friendship and Cooperation in 2000.46 In August 2011, Kim Jong-il, then Chairman of the National Defense Commission, visited Russia and a Russia-North Korea summit was held for the first time in nine years and they agreed on promoting cooperation in a gas-pipeline project. In September 2012 after the transition to the Kim Jong-un regime, they signed an agreement to write off 90% of the debt owed to Russia by North Korea, which indicates friendly relations between them. However, Russia condemned North Korea for a series of hard-line arguments since March 2013, in particular.

Concerning North Korea’s nuclear problem, Russia, along with China, has expressed its support for the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and early resumption of the Six-Party Talks. After the nuclear test implemented by North Korea in February 2013, Russia issued a statement condemning the test but at the same time indicated that it is against sanctions that could influence normal trade and economic relations with North Korea.

(5) Relations with the Other Countries

Since 1999, North Korea has made an effort to establish relations with West European countries and others, including the establishment of diplomatic relations with them and participation in the ARF (ASEAN Regional Forum) ministerial meetings. Meanwhile, it has been reported that North Korea has cooperative relationships with countries such as Iran and Syria in military affairs including arms export and military technology transfer.

45 Wang Jiarui, director of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and Li Jianguo, a member of the Communist Party’s Political Bureau of the Central Committee, visited North Korea in August and November 2012, respectively, and talked with First Chairman of the National Defense Commission Kim Jong-un. In August of the same year, Jang Song-thaek, Vice Chairman of North Korea’s National Defense Commission, visited China, attended a meeting of the China-North Korea Joint Guidance Committee for the China-North Korea joint development projects at the Rason Economic Trade Zone and the Hwanggumyong and Wihwado Economic Zones in the western part of North Korea, and talked with then President Hu Jintao.

46 The previous treaty (Soviet-North Korea Friendship and Mutual Assistance Treaty) had contained the provision that if either of the signatories (Russia and North Korea) is attacked, the other would immediately provide military and other assistance by any means available. This provision, however, was dropped from the new treaty.

47 For example, the United Kingdom and Germany established diplomatic relations with North Korea in 2000 and 2001, respectively.
Characteristics of Developments in the Kim Jong-un Regime and its Stability

In North Korea, following the death of Chairman of the National Defense Commission Kim Jong-il, who had been the supreme leader for many years, in December 2011, a regime centered on First Chairman of the National Defense Commission Kim Jong-un, believed to be his third son, was put in place. As the transition of power took place within a short period of time, via the younger Kim's appointment to major posts, considerable attention focused on how he would build up his power base.

Over the 18 months or so since then, North Korea has continued to attach importance to military power; it appears to be moving forward with efforts to build up and establish its domestic power base of Kim Jong-un, while increasing tensions on the Korean Peninsula by taking advantage of provocation acts including the launch of a missile, which it called “Satellite,” and a nuclear test in particular. The characteristics of developments relating to domestic affairs in this process can be summarized as follows.

1. Building an appealing image as the leader while maintaining and strengthening social control

Since the transition, many speeches by Kim Jong-un’s own voice have been broadcast and many photographs of him interacting with the people have been published. It has been pointed out that he is trying to create an image of himself as an accessible leader by modeling himself on President Kim Il-sung, who is believed to be respected by the people even now.

At the same time, social control continues to be implemented via bodies including security organs, and it has also been pointed out that such control has been tightened recently.

2. Frequent personnel changes in the military and other bodies

Since the transition, there have been many personnel changes in the military and other bodies, such as the July 2012 dismissal from all posts of Ri Yong-ho, former Chief of the General Staff of the Korean People’s Army, on the grounds of illness. In addition, those in the core military posts of Director of the General Political Bureau, Chief of the General Staff, and Minister of People’s Armed Forces were all replaced during the same year. Moreover, it has also been ascertained that about a quarter of Cabinet chiefs were replaced in 2012.

Furthermore, many changes in the ranks of senior military officials are being seen. For example, Choe Ryong-hae, who was appointed as Director of the General Political Bureau in April 2012, was demoted from Vice Marshal to General in December that year, but was subsequently promoted back to Vice Marshal in February 2013.

3. Emphasis on issues such as economy

North Korea’s emphasis on improvements in the economic situation can be seen: for example, North Korea declared as the slogan for the year in the New Year’s address by Kim Jong-un in January 2013 that it would bring about a radical turn in the building of an economically thriving socialist country. Moreover, it has been reported that there is growing use of IT (Information Technology), with mobile phones becoming more prevalent, and the First Chairman himself has referred to the necessity of promoting such things as computer education.

At the same time, North Korea currently faces severe economic difficulties and people continue to defect from North Korea. In addition, the advance of IT brings with it the possibility that it could facilitate communication among citizens and the influx of information from the outside world, which has a risk of undermining social control by the authorities in North Korea that, it has been pointed out, has maintained a comparatively stable social order through the operation of social controls and regulations.

Thus, various phenomena that have the potential to influence regime stability are occurring in North Korea, so it will be necessary to continue to pay close attention to their effects.
In the ROK, the administration of Park Geun-hye inaugurated in February 2013 has shown its stance that building mutual trust through talks is most important to improve the North-South relations. In respect of the nuclear issue, the administration states that it will never accept the nuclear development of North Korea and will handle the issue in concert with the international community, while at the same time aiming to execute “the trust-building process on the Korean Peninsula,” namely, to promote economic cooperation if there is an advance in de-nuclearization of North Korea. The ROK states that it would make a decisive response to military provocations by North Korea and emphasizes the importance to build a solid posture to deter and address the threat of North Korea.

The United States and the ROK have been operating the U.S.–ROK Combined Forces Command since 1978 in order to run the U.S.–ROK combined defense system to deter wars on the Korean Peninsula and to perform effective combined operations in case of emergency. Under the U.S.–ROK combined defense system, the operational control authority over the ROK forces is to be exercised by Chairman of the Korea Joint Chiefs of Staff in peacetime and by Commander of the U.S. Forces Korea, who also serves as Commander of the Combined Forces Command, in wartime.

The ROK Defense White Paper 2012 described North Korea as follows: “The North has posed serious threats to the South’s security with its large-scale conventional military forces, development and enhancement of WMDs, including nuclear weapons and missiles, and constant armed provocations as shown by the attack on the ROK ship Cheonan and the artillery firing at Yeonpyeong Island. As long as such threats continue, the main agents of the provocative acts, which are the North Korean regime and its military, will remain enemies of the South.”

An act on national defense passed in 2006 obligates revision and supplementation of the National Defense Reform Basic Plan based on the analysis and assessment of the changes in conditions and the performance of national defense reform.

In order to change the ROK armed forces to the structure tailored to the operational environment of the Korean Peninsula, the ROK Ministry of National Defense intends to greatly enhance its operational capability in the northwestern offshore island region, reorganize the upper command structure in preparation for the transition of the wartime OPCON, gradually promote troop reduction and reorganization, and greatly expand capabilities to handle missile and cyber warfare. Moreover, in order to build a highly efficient and advanced defense structure, it will promote streamlining, reorganize the human resource management system, and improve the military’s welfare and service environment.
22 army divisions and two marine divisions, totaling 550,000 personnel; the naval forces consist of about 190 vessels with a total displacement of approximately 193,000 tons; and the air forces (Air Force and Navy combined) consist of approximately 620 combat aircraft.

In recent years, the ROK has been focused on modernizing its Navy and Air Force in particular in order to establish a system of omnidirectional military posture to deal with all types of threats, not least threats from North Korea. The Navy has been introducing submarines, large transport ships and domestically built destroyers. In February 2010, the first mobile force in the ROK was created. In April 2012, the Air Force completed the introduction of F-15K fighters which had been implemented since 2002, and plans to promote a next-generation fighter program that includes stealth capabilities.

In October 2012, the ROK announced a revision of its missile guidelines stipulating the range of ballistic missiles it possesses; the revision includes the extension of their maximum range from 300km to 800km to enhance the deterrence against military provocation by North Korea. In addition, the ROK intends to work on expansion of its missile capabilities, construction of systems to execute its missile capabilities, promotion of the construction of a missile-defense system, etc.

In recent years, the ROK is actively promoting equipment export, which reached 2.35 billion dollars in 2012. It is reported that export items have become diverse to include communication electronics and naval vessels.

The FY2012 defense budget (main budget) amounts to approximately 34,345 trillion won, an increase of approximately 4.2% over the previous fiscal year, marking the 14th consecutive rise since FY2000.

(See Fig. I-1-2-4)

4 U.S.-ROK Alliance/U.S. Forces in the ROK

The United States and the ROK have implemented various efforts to deepen the U.S.-ROK alliance in recent years. At the U.S.-ROK Summit Meeting in June 2009, an agreement was reached on the “Joint Vision for the Alliance of the United States of America and the Republic of Korea” that includes an evolution into “a comprehensive strategic alliance” to expand the scope of the alliance globally beyond the Korean Peninsula and widen the partnership of the two countries to non-military areas. Furthermore, the 42nd Security Consultative Meeting (SCM) in October 2010 announced a joint communique incorporating the Guidelines for U.S.-ROK Defense Cooperation to embody the future vision of the U.S.-ROK Alliance, which shows a further strengthening of the bilateral relationship. At the U.S.-ROK summit in May 2013, a joint declaration was released to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the conclusion of the United States-Republic of Korea Mutual Defense Treaty, in which the two countries affirmed that they would continue to strengthen their alliance, in order to deal with 21st century security challenges.

In addition, the two countries have been working to solve issues

---

5 The primary missions of the Seventh Mobile Corps, which is the first mobile force established in the ROK, are described as the protection of sea lanes, deterrence against North Korea and support for the government’s external policies.

6 In April 2012, the ROK Ministry of National Defense announced that the country has developed and already fielded missiles that include cruise missiles able to strike throughout North Korea. In February 2013, the ministry indicated that it would accelerate the development of 800km-range ballistic missiles, possession of which was made possible by the revision of the missile guidelines in October 2012, and announced that it has fielded cruise missiles to be launched from vessels or submarines and capable of attacking the entire area of North Korea.

7 The ROK Ministry of National Defense calls the system “Kill Chain” and explains that it is a system capable of detecting and identifying signs of missile launch, determining attack, and actual attacking in a moment.

8 In December 2006, the ROK indicated promotion of its own missile defense system (Korea Air Missile Defense: KAMD). It is reported that the ROK is advancing the construction of the system to be completed by around 2015. Meanwhile, the ROK Ministry of National Defense denies the participation in the U.S. missile defense system and stresses that it would build its own system, reportedly because the United States and the ROK understand threats differently.

9 In addition to these, the U.S.-ROK Foreign and Defense Ministers’ (“2+2”) Meetings were held in July 2010 and June 2012, respectively. At the meeting in June 2012, the two countries agreed to pursue measures for strengthening the defense posture against the missile threat by North Korea and to establish a dialogue mechanism on cyber issues.
such as realignment of the U.S. forces stationed in the ROK and transition of wartime OPCON to the ROK. As for the realignment of the U.S. forces in the ROK, the relocation of U.S. forces Camp Yongsan located in the center of Seoul to the Pyongtek area, south of Seoul, and the relocation of U.S. forces stationed in the northern side of Han Gang to the southern side of the river were agreed upon in 2003. However, it seems that the relocation to the Pyongtek area is delayed. For the transition of the wartime OPCON to the ROK scheduled on December 1, 2015, the U.S.-ROK Strategic Alliance 2015, which provides the framework for the transition of the wartime OPCON, was signed in October 2010. After the completion of the realignment of the U.S. forces in the ROK and the transition of the wartime OPCON, defense of the ROK will change from “the U.S.-ROK joint defense system” to the new joint defense system of “the ROK forces leading and the U.S. forces supporting,” which could have a significant impact on the nature of the U.S. forces in the ROK.

(3) Overseas Activities
Since its dispatch of an engineering unit to Somalia in 1993, the ROK has participated in a number of U.N. peacekeeping operations (PKO). In December 2009, the ROK unveiled plans to substantially expand the number of personnel sent overseas on PKO missions from the current level. In July 2010, the ROK created the “International Peace Support Force,” a special unit for overseas dispatch.

The ROK has sent troops to Afghanistan for the purpose of protecting Korean members of the Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT). Further, the ROK has dispatched naval vessels to off the coast of Somalia and in the Gulf of Aden where they have been engaged in the protection of ROK-registered ships and maritime security operations (MSO) of the Combined Maritime Forces (CMF). Since January 2011, the ROK has dispatched a ROK special forces unit for the purpose of supporting the training of the United Arab Emirates (UAE) special forces units, joint exercises, and protecting South Korean citizens in emergency situations. Further, in September 2012, the ROK decided on the dispatch of troops to the United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS) with the approval of the Diet and has dispatched its troops mainly consisting of engineering units to South Sudan since March 2013.

(2) Relations with Russia
Military exchanges have been under way between the ROK and Russia in recent years, including exchanges among high-ranking military officials. The two countries have also agreed on cooperation in the areas of military technology, defense industry and military supplies. At the ROK-Russia Summit in September 2008, they agreed to upgrade the bilateral relations to a “strategic cooperative partnership.” In March 2012, the two countries held the first ROK-Russia defense strategic dialogue and agreed to regularize the dialogue.

---

10 The United States is advancing the realignment of its forces stationed in the ROK in line with the June 2003 agreement to relocate its forces to the southern side of Han Gang in two stages and the October 2004 agreement to cut the number of its forces stationed in the ROK by 12,500 from approximately 37,500. However, the two countries agreed at the summit meeting in April 2008 to maintain the current strength of 28,500 as the appropriate level.

11 In 2007, the U.S. and the ROK agreed to dismantle the U.S.-ROK Combined Forces Command and complete the transition of the wartime OPCON in April 2012. Later in June 2010, however, agreement was made to postpone the transition to December 1, 2015. As reasons for the postponement of the transfer, the Republic of Korea’s Ministry of National Defense mentioned several factors, such as: 1) the change of the security environment on the Korean Peninsula, including an increase in military threats from North Korea; 2) a time of leadership change in and around the Korean Peninsula, including the presidential election of the Republic of Korea; and 3) public demand, noting the necessity to adjust the period of the transfer, and the reflection of financial conditions necessary to fulfill future military capabilities.

12 The ROK intends to further improve the legal and institutional foundations for the ROK armed forces to expand their participation in PKO activities. In December 2009, an act concerning the participation in U.N. peacekeeping operations was enacted.

13 The ROK obtained a contract for construction of a nuclear power plant from the UAE in December 2009 and a groundbreaking ceremony for the nuclear plant was held in the UAE in the presence of then President Lee Myung-bak in March 2011.