

acceptance of DPRK's legitimate nuclear status. Refusing to engage undermines the security of ROK, the U.S., and the international community.

— **CHUN Yung-woo** Potential benefits of wider adoption of no first use principle are strategic stability between nuclear-armed States; reduction in the risk of miscalculation and unintended use of nuclear weapons; reduction in the role and significance of nuclear weapons in national security policies; creation of a more stable and peaceful international environment conducive to nuclear disarmament and eventually to the realization of a nuclear free world.

And there are barriers to the adoption of no first use. Mutual distrust between nuclear-armed States and lack of confidence in the commitment of the rival nuclear-armed State(s); Mistrust is exacerbated by the return of great power politics involving competition for power and influence and attendant rise of tensions; Lack of transparency in the number and types of nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles, their deployments, modernization programs, alert status and doctrines; Dependence of the ROK and Japan upon U.S. extended nuclear deterrence which does not rule out a first nuclear use: It is driven by the myth that keeping the option of first use is helpful in deterring unpredictable North Korea and that the abandonment of no first use would weaken deterrence; Practical need to keep the option of using nuclear weapons under extreme circumstances of overwhelming conventional attacks; need for maintaining as much strategic ambiguity as possible and not to restrict the scope of circumstances under which nuclear weapons can be used.

Where can we look for leadership? China stands out by setting an example in adopting a no first use policy. Despite the lack of its nuclear transparency, its nuclear posture adds credibility to the policy. U.S. leadership in adopting the no first use is vital to turning it into an established international norm. Russia and other nuclear armed states will lose excuses to avoid the adoption. The ROK and Japan should change their national security policies toward excluding the first use in U.S. extended nuclear deterrence.

They must rely upon conventional means for first use. Is the no first use principle applicable to North Korea? There are two fundamental problems: credibility and implications on North Korea's nuclear status. North Korea's no first use commitment is only as good as its credibility. Given North Korea's track record of defiance of and noncompliance with civilized international norms of behavior, its pledge cannot have any credibility. Accepting North Korea's no first use pledge has the implication of recognizing and legitimizing North Korea as a de facto nuclear weapon state. North Korea's ultimate goal is to be treated as such like India and Pakistan. Unlike other nuclear armed states, there exists a sui generis international law legislated by the UN Security Council which categorically bans North Korea's possession of nuclear weapons and related programs as well as launch of any devices using ballistic missile technologies. Despite all these problems of North Korea adopting a no first use commitment, a U.S. unilateral no first use assurance to North Korea could help in mitigating North Korean leadership's temptation for a first use.

#### Keywords

No First Use, North Korea, nuclear weapon, missile, doctrine



#### Policy Implications

- China and India can play a leading role by formalizing their NFU through a bilateral treaty while the U.S. can start a dialogue on NFU with its allies under nuclear umbrella.
- It is desirable to encourage rather than challenge the others' NFU policy.
- It is also necessary to encourage North Korea to clarify and substantiate its NFU commitment.
- The U.S. leadership in adopting the no first use principle is vital to turning it into an established international norm.
- Despite all the problems of North Korea adopting a no first use commitment, a U.S. unilateral no first use assurance to North Korea could help in mitigating North Korean leadership's temptation for a first use.

## The Strategy for Peaceful Use of Han River Estuary Neutral Zone under New South Korean Government



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— **YOO Young-Rok** I expect a big change in inter-Korean relations with the inauguration of the new South Korean government after the two Koreas closed the doors to each other for nine years. As the Han River estuary was the only neutral zone in 1953 when the armistice treaty was concluded, civilian ships have been free to enter the estuary under the permission of the authorities of the two Koreas. Gimpo City sought to conduct a survey on the ecology and water flows in the estuary in 2016, but it was suspended due to the nuclear test by North Korea on Jan. 6, 2016. I expect the city might resume the survey, if inter-Korean relations improve during the new government.

— **Glen SEGELL** How to establish a marine peace park is a crucial matter for both Korea and Israel. The establishment of a neutral zone across the borders could not only solidify the ties between the parties locked in confrontation against each other and improve their ties, but also serve as a potential solution to the conflicts, and as a concrete measure to bring peace. Until 1994, Israel had diplomatic ties

with only Egypt among the Arab countries. Israel and Jordan, which have fought against each other for years, agreed on the special treaty on the Aqabi-Eilat region in tripartite peace talks, including the U.S., in 1994 to create a marine park in the Red Sea.

The treaty stipulates that the two countries have agreed to cooperate in research on coral reefs and marine life and on the ecological protection of the coral reef. For discussions on tourism, the environment, water resources and border security, the Jordanian delegation made a visa-free visit to Eilat in Israel and an Israeli delegation to Aqaba in Jordan for one week. While the peace talks were underway, the resource managers, scientists, research institutes and Non-Governmental Organizations(NGO) discussed research and monitoring activities required to maintain and improve the ecological conditions for the coral reef in the Aqaba Gulf. The peace process was meaningful in that it succeeded in bringing multilateral, tripartite and bilateral negotiations.

The objectives of the peace park are as follows: preservation of the seaside ecology and biodiver-

sity; sustainable economic growth and utilization of the park for tourism and leisure activities; prevention of deterioration of the existing ecology; restoration of marine natural resources from damage; and implementation of a program to enhance environmental awareness. The Red Sea Marine Peace Park(RSMPP) in the neutral zone has similar conditions to the Han River estuary. Therefore, the RSMPP case might be a precedent for peaceful use and preservation of the Han River estuary. As it is hard to gain access to the area due to the ceasefire condition, the key objective of the envisioned park in the Han River estuary should be nature preservation, instead of tourism.

— **SUH Choo Suk** The Han River estuary is an outlet of the Han River and Imjin River into the Yellow Sea. It occupies a geographically, economically and environmentally significant position. Neighboring the capital area of Seoul, it used to be a hub of marine transportation, logistics and fisheries. As civilian access was prohibited after the Korean War, it came to have huge soil deposition, thus becoming home to various plants and animals. The neutral zone in the northern part of Gimpo City was designated under Article 5, Clause 1 of the Korean Armistice Agreement, concluded in July, 1953. Article 5 stipulates, “The area whose one river coast is under the jurisdiction of one party, and the other coast under that of the other party, is open to passage of civilian vessels of both parties. There is no restriction on the civilian vessels in reaching the piers under the military control of their own sides.” Therefore, civilian vessels are free to use the estuary. However, the regulations drafted by the Military Armistice Commission(MAC) at Panmunjom in October, 1953 on the passage of the civilian vessels in the estuary prohibited the entry of civilians into the neutral area, allowing their passage only under the permission of the police. Registered ships only were allowed to enter the estuary, but the zone virtually remained as off-limits area, as the MAC refused to register any vessel for entry. Right after the ceasefire, the U.S. forces used to control the zone, limiting the entry of

civilian and military vessels. The zone is now under the control of South Korean forces, but still remains an off-limits area for civilian vessels, thus precluding the peaceful use of the estuary.

The vision of President Moon Jae-in’s North Korea policy is characterized by “peaceful coexistence on the Korean Peninsula,” a “new economic map of the Korean Peninsula” and activation of social, cultural and sports exchanges with the North. I expect that civilian vessels might be allowed to enter the zone when the two Koreas agree to ease military tension.

The new government has the evident will to introduce a peaceful order in the West Sea, develop the border areas and utilize the Han River estuary. When inter-Korean exchanges resumed, the two Koreas are expected to renegotiate on and implement the Oct. 4 Declaration in 2007, and the agreement on the Special Peace and Cooperation Zone in the West Sea. But, it is hard to push for what was agreed at that time, due to the current North Korea nuclear crisis. The South should make continued efforts to improve inter-Korean relations through the Six-Party Talks for denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula as well as securing optimal conditions for inter-Korean exchanges. Gimpo occupies the most significant position on the Han River estuary. As it has a vast wetland and mudflats, joint use of the area after dredging with the North for fisheries and free passage may produce direct economic and peacekeeping effects. It also has much potential for eco-tourism thanks to the wetlands at Siam-ri and Yudo Island. Gimpo is so close to the North that the southern area of Gaeseong in the North is visible from Aegibong Peak. Gimpo, dubbed as a city of peace and culture, is likely to make further progress as the hub of South-North transportation and exchange when the Ganghwa-Haeju highway and bridge open.

— **KO Gyoung-bin** A peace project is not a venture that can be pursued only under rare conditions where peace is permanently established. The peaceful use of the estuary should be regarded as a peace project to build peace on the Korean Peninsula. If it is only

possible after the resolution of the nuclear issue and the settlement of peace on the peninsula, we do not have to consider it. When there was a crisis with the nuclear test by the North, the peace project was not suspended. Even when UN sanctions were imposed on the North, they were also recognized as lawful projects. The suspension of inter-Korean trade in 2010 and closure of the Gaeseong Industrial Complex in 2016 ended up just abandoning the means for peace, given the fact that the North continued provocations afterwards. There will be more ups and downs in efforts to resolve the nuclear issue. If the peace project starts on the Han River estuary after progress on the issue, it should be sustained, separately from changes in South-North relations and security conditions.

Would there be a way for the peace project in the estuary not to repeat the fate of the Gaeseong Industrial Complex? If the North ultimately abandons its nuclear weapons and the South agrees to a peace treaty, we might consider a measure to hold a plebiscite in both South and North Korea on the peace project so that it can be maintained no matter what occurs afterwards. There is a negative view about a peace treaty with the North, because some people regard it as a way to perpetuate national division or anticipate a sudden collapse of the North Korean regime. Without sustainability, the peace project, no matter how good ideas support it, would fail to be feasible. We should keep making efforts to figure out what is necessary to keep up the peace project. The peace project on the Han River estuary is important in this context.

— **PARK Kyung-man** South and North Korea agreed to establish the Special Peace and Cooperation Zone in the West Sea, including joint use of the Han River estuary, in the inter-Korean summit meeting in October, 2006. But, nine years have passed since the inter-Korean talks on the peace zone were suspended under the Lee Myung-bak government. The projects envisioned at that time to use the estuary for economic cooperation and to ease military tension included joint fishery and peace zones, and a special

economic zone, as well as opening of Haeju harbor and joint collection of sand and pebbles. These projects are still valid and might be resumed.

It is more advantageous to take a first step with the establishment of the Special Peace and Cooperation Zone in the West Sea in the estuary in Gimpo and Ganghwa, already designated as a neutral zone, than on the Northern Limit Line or Demilitarized Zone where military confrontation still remains tense. The neutral zone stretches about 67 kilometers from Manu-ri, Tanhyeon-myeon, Paju City in the estuary of the Imjin River through Gimpo to Boreumdo(Maldo), Seodo-myeon, Ganghwa County. Under Article 5, Clause 1 of the Korean Armistice Agreement, both South and North Korean civilian vessels can freely enter this area. This zone is different from the demilitarized zone on land whose use by civilians is prohibited. In the recent conference on “how to build a city of peace and culture” with city officials, Gimpo Mayor Yu Yeong-rok said, “Gimpo is the place where the new government can start the first inter-Korean exchanges,” vowing that he would take the initiative of inter-Korean reconciliation and cooperation by suggesting to the government the restoration of the Han River waterway and designation of a special peace and culture zone on the Han River estuary.

The estuary in Gimpo, called Jogang, is an ecologically, culturally and historically as well as geopolitically significant and symbolic place. Gimpo City is pushing for the designation of a “Special Zone of Peace” in Jogang-ri on the Han River estuary, which has such peace-symbolizing spots as Aegibong Peak and Jogang Harbor. If the waterway opens for both South and North Korean vessels, and an ecological survey is conducted on the neutral marine zone, it is expected to be a breakthrough to improve the stalemated inter-Korean relations.

Among the borderline cities, Gimpo City remains the only local government that implements practical unification projects amid the shrinkage of inter-Korean exchanges since the May 24 sanctions against North Korea following the sinking of the Cheonan in

2010. Gimpo has little advantage as an administrative unit, but thanks to its location midway between Seoul and Gaeseong and the Jogang River, it was a focal point of traffic from the South and North before the Korean War. Therefore, if the area around Jogang is designated as a special zone of peace, like the Red Sea Marine Peace Park, it would be an epoch-making breakthrough to improve inter-Korean ties.

— **KIM Jin-Han** I would like to take an ecological approach toward the use of the Han River estuary. I think it is encouraging that Gimpo, a border city, has a keen interest in this topic. The estuary is known for its natural biodiversity, as it has remained off-limits area where development was banned after the Korean War, thus preserving many plants and animals without human intervention. The scenery beyond the barbed wire is nature's wonder, itself. The estuary with the circulation of ebb and flow is known for its ecological value as a habitat and spawning ground for wildlife, for its function to prevent natural disasters and for its beautiful scenery as well as for its socio-economic values. Most of the big rivers in South Korea such as Nakdong River, Geum River and Yeongsan River are blocked by estuary banks. As the estuaries of the Mangyeong and Dongjin Rivers are also blocked by the Saemangeum Reclamation Project, the Han River remains the only one that was not blocked by estuary banks among the rivers flowing into the West Sea, thus having outstanding ecological value. However, little is known about its ecology, except for large mammals and birds spotted by telescopes, because access and entry to the area is strictly limited.

One of the noteworthy species in the estuary is black-faced spoonbill. As one of the endangered species of the world, it is designated as a natural monument and protected as a first-degree endangered species in Korea. Most of the spoonbills breed on deserted islands off the west coast, live off the wetlands and winter on Jeju Island, Kyushu in Japan, southern China, Hong Kong and Taiwan. Known as the breeding grounds of the species are Ganghwa Island, deserted islands in Ongjin County, Yudo and Gyodong

islands north of Bogugot-ri, Wolgot-myeon, Gimpo City, and Yodo Island in the northwestern area of Jiseok-ri. It was found by satellite tracking of signals from radio transmitters attached to the spoonbills that some live on the wetlands in the estuaries of the Han River and Yeseong River, with some born in South Korea migrating to Yeonan, Nampo, and Gwansan and Mundeok counties in North Korea. Spoonbills freely moving between South and North Korea might be called a peace-symbolizing bird.

— **NAM Jungho** I think the presentation here in the Jeju Forum is meaningful, because there has been no opportunity since 2008 to give a presentation about the research of the Special Peace and Cooperation Zone in the West Sea project, initiated from 2004. The Red Sea Marine Peace Park shared by Israel and Jordan to preserve the marine ecosystem in the Red Sea and seek economic development of the region offers significant indications for inter-Korean cooperation in the border areas in East and West Seas. The presentation by Dr. Glen SEGELL indicates that the changes in the political and military structure of the two Koreas might create the momentum for socio-economic and cultural exchanges, including the peaceful use of the Han River estuary.

The special treaty on the Aqaba-Eilat regions is focused on preservation of the ecosystem of a coral reef, but the increases in the harbor volume and international tourists in the region clearly highlights what they gained from the bilateral cooperation. Mr. Suh gave a concrete analysis of the policies and projects that the new government is set to implement. Based on his experience of drafting the Oct. 4 Declaration as a senior presidential secretary on national security affairs, Mr. Suh suggested proper ways of utilizing the Han River estuary to build peace and pursue economic development in the border area.

Meanwhile, the new government should carefully review existing inter-Korean exchanges mainly oriented to land projects and economic development, which might reduce the scope of marine cooperation, and explore ways to minimize the damage to the repository of the primitive biodiversity. Therefore,

inter-Korean cooperation in border areas should be designed to preserve ecological diversity, ease the political and military tensions and lay the foundation for economic development. The following are the principles for the utilization of the neutral zone in the Han River estuary.

First, the principle of integration and interconnection. As the neutral zone of the estuary is linked to the sea, inter-Korean cooperative measures should be organically interconnected on the sea. There should be a measure to spatially integrate the border waters, the cities neighboring the waters (Gimpo City, Ganghwa County, Haeju City, Gaeseong City, Seoul, etc.) and the islands as well as the estuary.

Second, the principle of mutual trust and respect. The two Koreas lack trust in each other due to the nuclear tests, missile launches, closure of the Gaeseong Industrial Complex and the suspension of Mt. Geumgang tours for the last nine years. Mutual trust and respect should be pursued all the time in the process of inter-Korean cooperation as well as during the normalization of ties.

Third, the practicality and feasibility first principle. Before the normalization of inter-Korean cooperation and completion of an economic cooperation system coupled with a peace regime, it is necessary to start with smaller and more feasible projects, instead of bigger scale investment with less feasibility.

Fourth, the principle of gradual and repetitive approach. There might be various kinds of difficulties and limitations in the course of the neutral use of the estuary. It should be recognized that any project of inter-Korean cooperation has limitations in producing an early outcome.

Fifth, the principle of non-political approach by experts. If political issues are involved in the inter-Korean cooperation project to utilize the estuary, it is likely to bump into difficulties in the initial stage. Therefore, environmental experts should seek cooperation on non-political issues.

#### Keywords

Red Sea Marine Peace Park, Aqaba, Eilat, Israel-Jordan Neutral Zone, Han River estuary, Jogang, DMZ, peace project, Special Peace and Cooperation Zone in the West Sea, Gimpo, Neutral zone, West Sea, Marine ecology, Inter-Korean relations, South-North Korean exchange, Inter-Korean cooperation, Black-faced spoonbill, North Korean nuclear weapons.



#### Policy Implications

- The joint scientific activities for ecological surveys can be maintained even amid military tensions or conflicts, and it may serve as a tool to ease tension in the border area.
- The strategy to peacefully utilize the estuary can win the support from international society, including the U.S. and UN, as there is the precedent such as the Red Sea Marine Peace Park established in the world's flashpoint, the Middle East.
- By using the neutral area like Gimpo, a non-political area, as a means to reactivate inter-Korean exchanges, the Moon Jae-in government can designate a "special zone of peace" as a basis of the improvement of inter-Korean relations.
- The establishment of a peace and ecology park in the neutral area of the Han River estuary where the passage of civilian vessels is allowed under the Korean Armistice Agreement may benefit both South and North Korea, and it may become a starting point to build peace on the Korean Peninsula.