

CHAPTER 3

THE NORTH KOREAN VIEW OF THE DEVELOPMENT AND PRODUCTION OF STRATEGIC WEAPONS SYSTEMS

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Authors' Note: All too frequently students and analysts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) view its actions and intentions from their own individual or nationalistic perspectives rather than that of the DPRK leadership itself. This chapter is an imaginary report delivered by an intimate of the Kim family regime, expressed in the tone, texture, and rhetorical stance one could realistically expect of such a perspective. While some of what is written cannot be proven by hard data, it all lies within the realm of reasonable possibility. It is our sincerest hope that this chapter will stimulate discussion and provide the reader with a modest understanding of our view of the way the DPRK leadership thinks.

Report to the National Defense Commission: Development of Strategic Weapon Systems at the Dawn of a New Century

Introduction.

As the new millennium dawns, we are on the threshold of a great new era in our 5,000-year history. The death of our Great Leader, Comrade Kim Il Sung, was a tremendous blow not only to the DPRK, but also to all peace-loving citizens of the world. Comrade Kim Jong Il has most ably

carried on, and, indeed, built upon the works of his and the nation's father. We are moving from a restrained position to a more prominent and rightful place in the world. The leader in the South, Kim Dae Jung, has asked to visit the DPRK to discuss matters of a wide-ranging interest and we have complied with his request. Many issues remain between us and those in the South, but we will proceed with the meeting. We shall be cautious in our discussions considering reconciliation and the unification of our glorious Fatherland and we shall accomplish this without outside interference.

Chuch'e has given our people the strength to build a powerful state by our own efforts¹. Our diplomatic initiatives are bearing fruit and will provide us with increasing connections with other nations. New ties will bring new opportunities, yet we must be aware of the dangers of falling into economic servitude and dependence on economic trade with others. We must ensure that we trade using the principle of equality. We will trade only for what we need in order to maintain a self-supporting economy and not become economically subservient to another country. According to the teachings of our Dear Leader, Comrade Kim Jong Il:

In order to thwart the dominationist machinations of the imperialists and reactionaries and give a strong impetus to the people's cause of independence, the cause of socialism, we must maintain the *chuch'e* character of the revolutionary struggle and construction and sustain their national character. Preserving these qualities is imperative for the independent development of the country and nation and for success in realizing independence for the popular masses. Past experience and lessons have proved that adherence to the *chuch'e* character and national character is the key to success in the revolution and construction and vital to national prosperity.

Under the wise leadership of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, our Party and our people have resolutely maintained the *chuch'e* character and national character in opposition to imperialism and dominationism throughout the entire period of

the revolutionary struggle. As a result, they have achieved an independent development of the country and nation without any deviation and have won brilliant victory in the revolution and construction.

National Security Policy, Strategy and Doctrine.

Long ago our Great Leader Kim Il Sung established the two eminent underlying principles of our national security—the survival of the Fatherland, and the liberation of the entire Fatherland (One Choson). We are resolute and determined to fight to the death to achieve these two principles. We openly declare that we will mercilessly fight against the United States imperialists and all the class enemies to the last drop of our blood. We will fight to the end, and even if we lose and half our people die, they will not win the hearts and minds of our people.

Our Great Leader Kim Il Sung has likewise given form to these principles in the national military policies of the “Four Military Lines” and “Three Revolutionary Forces.” Reflecting these principles and policies, and with the guidance of our Dear Leader, Comrade Kim Jong Il, the Korean People’s Army (KPA) has developed a strategy based upon two principles—the defense of the Fatherland through total resistance by the KPA and the people to any enemy, and the complete reunification of the Fatherland within 30 days of the onset of hostilities.

Our KPA will achieve its goal of reunification of the Fatherland by combining “two front war” and “combined operations” utilizing overwhelming firepower and violence under the banner of “One Blow Non-stop Attack.” As directed by our Dear Leader, Comrade Kim Jong Il, it will “Occupy South Korea, All the Way to Pusan, in Three Days.”

The KPA will achieve these noble missions through the revolutionary strength of its troops fighting with the spirit of the people. Each KPA soldier is a match for 100 enemy soldiers as they are filled with the spirit of human bombs, warriors of guns and bombs, and heroes of self-destruction

dedicated to the defense of our respected and beloved Comrade Kim Jong Il and filled with a do-or-die spirit.

It is with the highest sense of duty and honor that the Second Economic Committee provides the Korean People's Army with the tools it requires to fulfill its glorious and victorious destiny.²

To defend our Fatherland, as well as reunite with our oppressed kindred in the South, we have been engaged in the development and production of strategic weapons systems in four broad areas—missiles, chemical, biological, and nuclear. We have been successful in our efforts based upon the brilliant directions and revolutionary spirit of our Great Leader Kim Il Sung who has taught us that,

We must strongly fortify the KPA with modern weapons and combat material. We must employ all means to modernize the weapons and make them more powerful based on the successes of ultra-modern science and technology. . . . In modernizing the KPA and developing military science and technology, we must fully consider the reality of our country with its numerous mountains and lengthy coastline. . . . We must develop and introduce military science and technology in accordance with the reality of our country and correctly incorporate old style weapons along with modern weapons.

During the past 10 years, our progress has been meritorious. It has not only provided the KPA with the tools it needs to deter the imperialist aggressors, but has furnished the Fatherland with significant diplomatic leverage. Under the direction of our Dear Leader Kim Jong Il, we have utilized this leverage to force the international community to recognize our rightful place. We are now at the point where the United States, Russia, China, and Japan dare not formulate any policies for East Asia without considering our demands. We have also utilized this newly achieved leverage to manipulate our enemies, especially the United States, into loosening trade sanctions, providing economic assistance, and contributing emergency fuel and food assistance.

In achieving these objectives we have made several minor concessions regarding our weapons development and production programs. Included among these have been the freezing of the nuclear program at Yongbyon, suspension of ballistic missile testing, and providing the United States access to the strategic complex at Kumch'ang-ni. Under the brilliant direction of our Dear Leader Kim Jong Il we have, however, utilized these concessions to our great advantage, while at the same time encouraging the ignorance and arrogance of our enemies.

As the members of the National Defense Commission are aware, this last aspect of "encouraging the ignorance and arrogance of our enemies" was first outlined by our Great Leader Kim Il Sung in his great treatise on the "Four Military Lines" 40 years ago. Since that time, it has remained an underlying principle in our production of strategic weapons. We allow our enemies to know only what we want them to know—a very small amount—about our capabilities, practicing deception, misdirection, and misinformation in all phases. At the same time we continue to develop and expand our true capabilities in secret. In doing so, we foster within their political, military, and intelligence circles an erroneous picture of our spiritual and physical strength. This ignorance and presumptuousness of our enemies can be ranked as one of the greatest successes of the Second Economic Committee.

As our great nation stands on the threshold of a new millennium, we are poised to make prodigious leaps forward in the development and production of strategic weapons systems. These developments will ensure the security of our Fatherland and propel our Dear Leader and Chu'che thought to the forefront of the international community.

Ballistic Missiles.

In accordance with our primary objectives to reunify the Fatherland while defending it from outside interference and aggression, our ballistic missile program has become a

cornerstone. It provides us with the capability to deter our enemies, deter others who might support our enemies in attacking us, inflict punishing damage upon anyone who would dare attack, and dramatically increases the KPA's ability to reunite the Fatherland in a "One Blow Non-stop Attack" when directed to do so by our Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il. The ballistic missile program has also increased our international prestige and provided valuable foreign currency as other nations have sought out our assistance and missiles as they develop their own deterrence against imperialist aggression. Most notable have been our like-minded associates in Egypt, Iran, Pakistan, and Syria.

During the past 15 years, ballistic missile development has progressed steadily. Utilizing the spirit of *Chu'che*, we have continually increased the range and enlarged the payload capabilities of our systems. First, we progressed from the production of simple copies of the Scud to more capable short-range ballistic missiles such as the *Hwasong 5* and *Hwasong 6*. Next, we developed a medium range ballistic missile known to the world as the *No-dong 1*. Guided by the spirit of *chuch'e*, we then combined our existing systems to create an even longer-ranged medium range ballistic missile known to the world as *the Taep'o-dong 1*. This was achieved in record time and far exceeded the expectations of the world.

At the brilliant direction of our Dear Leader Comrade Kim Jong Il, we then utilized this system to create the space launch vehicle to launch our first satellite —the *Kwangmyongsong 1*. This same launch vehicle, when configured as a weapon system, becomes an intermediate range ballistic missile possessing a range in excess of 4,000 km, thereby providing us, for the first time in the glorious history of the Korean people, the capability to directly strike at Alaska, the territory of the U.S. imperialists. Our most advanced system, known to the world as the *Taep'o-dong 2*, has even greater capabilities. Depending upon the size of the payload this system becomes an intercontinental

ballistic missile capable of striking at the very heartland of the United States. This is a glorious testimony to the strength of *chuch'e* and the glorious and penetrating leadership of our Great Leader Kim Il Sung and Dear Leader Comrade Kim Jong Il.

In pursuing our ballistic missile program, we have developed a production infrastructure that is second only to that of the United States, China, and Russia. In line with our Great Leader's teachings on the "Four Great Military Lines," we have dispersed the research, production, and basing facilities throughout the Fatherland to minimize the impact of any imperialist U.S. attack. This has also enhanced our abilities with regard to strategic deception, misdirection, and misinformation. It is clear that, because of this most excellent strategy, our enemies do not have a clear understanding of our capabilities. In fact, their obsession with the Musudan-ri Launch and Sanum-dong Research Facilities has blinded them. We will continue to encourage this.

If pressed, and if critical components are available, we are capable of producing 5 to 15 ballistic missiles per month, depending upon the version selected. If required, and with the financial support of our foreign friends, this capacity could be doubled within a year's time to fulfill their legitimate defensive needs and increase our foreign sales.

During the past 10 years, we have been utilizing a significant portion of our production capability to remanufacture and upgrade our older systems to more modern standards. As a result, our ballistic missile

Type	Number
Short range (old and remanufactured)	500
Medium range	80
Intermediate range and space launch vehicles	15
Intercontinental range	5

inventory has remained at a relatively constant level of 600 systems. These can be broken down as shown in above table.

This inventory meets or exceeds the KPA's requirements for operations against the Southern lackeys. It does not, however, meet the projected requirements for operations against the mainland of either Japan or the United States. Within 2 years, the current program of remanufacturing and upgrading older systems will be able to address the requirement for Japan. The U.S. requirement will, however, require an estimated 10 years. If, however, our Libyan or Iranian friends continue to purchase our longer-range missile systems, they may be induced to flight test them. This would provide us with data to refine them at an accelerated pace.

We have faced numerous technical obstacles in the production of our ballistic missile systems. These have centered around six critical areas:

- (1) general and specialized ballistic missile design expertise,
- (2) guidance systems,
- (3) engine development,
- (4) warhead and nosecone design,
- (5) acquisition of specialized materials and components, and
- (6) financial support.

To date, we have been able to meet our basic needs in these areas; however, the continued growth of the ballistic missile program is dependent upon more comprehensive and long-term solutions. Fortunately, thanks to the strength of *chuch'e* thought and the guidance of our Dear Leader Comrade Kim Jong Il, we have been making significant progress. Under the guidance of Chinese, Russian, and Ukrainian missile experts, our designers and technicians continue to develop their own skills. Our

Chinese neighbors continue their covert assistance to our missile program, providing education for our people and critical components and materials. This is especially true within the areas of guidance systems, satellites, and advanced warhead design, including decoys and countermeasures. Our friends in the Middle East and South Asia also have proven to be invaluable to our ballistic missile program. They continue to provide us with valuable foreign currency as they purchase our missile technology and components, access to western technologies and components denied us by trade sanctions, and a means to test our missile systems with low political risks and little interference from the United States and the international community. Our cooperation with Iran also extends to their interests in satellites. Our covert acquisition programs within Russia and Eastern Europe have produced important results within the areas of propulsion systems and acquisition of specialized components.

Looking forward over the next 10 to 15 years, we will focus upon improving the range to weight capabilities of our existing systems, improving guidance systems, developing new warheads with advanced decoy and countermeasure systems, launching both research (the *Kwangmyongsong 2*) and reconnaissance satellites, increasing the survivability of our missile force by the expansion of hardened storage facilities, continuing the development of unique launch platforms (especially those mounted upon rail cars and cargo ships), and the accelerated development of a short-range solid-fuel ballistic missile.

Our successes and future plans within the missile program are tempered by the huge financial burden they have placed upon us. They have forced us, at times, to make critical decisions on which paths to pursue. Through continued foreign sales of missile systems and technologies, we plan to address this situation and enhance our access to missile related technologies and components.

At the political level, under the guidance of our Dear Leader Comrade Kim Jong Il, we will continue to utilize our ballistic missile program to confound our enemies, encourage their arrogance, influence the ongoing international negotiations, and increase the glory of *chuch'e* thought and our Fatherland.

An excellent example of how the missile program has achieved many of these goals in the past was the launching of our first satellite—the *Kwangmyongsong 1*—in 1998. This launch caused great panic and confusion for the U.S. imperialists, their Southern puppets, their Japanese toadies, and others in the international community. The United States had previously believed we would not be able to achieve such a capability until sometime around 2005. The possibility that we might follow this with a test launch of our intermediate range ballistic missile spurred the United States to diplomatic and political action. They quickly agreed to lift some trade sanctions if we agreed to a suspension of further missile testing. This was accompanied by complete consternation in that country which has caused it to resolutely consider a national missile defense system.

Our missiles have caused the “mighty superpower” to consider deployment of a national missile defense that will be enormously expensive, and, in the end, will fail. This failure will come on both technical and political levels. Within the technical realm, there are numerous rudimentary methods with which to counter the imperialists’ missile defense system. With assistance from our Chinese friends, we are at the stage where we can now introduce these countermeasures into our current inventory with little or no effect on performance or degradation of our capabilities. With the implementation of any of these countermeasures, the imperialists must expend tremendous financial and political resources to counter them. If we are careful, we can reveal these new countermeasures in a phased manner, thereby keeping the imperialists’ missile defense effort in a state of “catch up” for many years. More significantly, the U.S. imperialists, once

again, fail to understand the political nature of our struggle. While there is little doubt that for the next 15-20 years the United States has the capability to eventually deploy the technical means to counter most of our missiles, we will be victorious if only one out of a hundred of our missiles lands within their homeland!

Furthermore, the U.S. imperialists' efforts to deploy a national missile defense system have angered our Russian and Chinese friends and their own allies. For Russia, a U.S. national missile defense system means that it must amend or abrogate their mutual antiballistic missile (ABM) treaty. For the Chinese, it means that they would have to greatly expand their strategic missile forces. In both instances, it has resulted in the increased willingness of both Russia and China to share ballistic missile, satellite, and space-related technologies with us, and has decreased their willingness to bring political pressure upon us to curtail or suspend our ballistic missile program. We must expend great effort politically to both utilize this situation to our advantage and to increase the friction between the U.S. imperialists and our Russian and Chinese friends. With regard to its allies, the United States has stated it will share its new missile defense technology with them. Those same allies, members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the United Nations (UN) are, however, looking at the United States with suspicion and distrust regarding the issue, and rightfully so. As with the friction between the U.S. imperialists and our Russian and Chinese friends, we should do everything within our power on the political front to encourage dissension between the United States and its allies. If we are successful, this entire issue is likely to result in the decoupling of the imperialists and their allies with the end result of a much weaker foe.

All of this consternation comes in response to our launching a single satellite! Surely, by any means of measurement, it was a tremendous success as demonstrated by the great commotion experienced by our adversaries. It wondrously demonstrates the greatness of

our national power and the brilliance of our Dear Leader Comrade Kim Jong Il. As Sun Tzu has taught,

What is of supreme importance is to attack the enemy's strategy;
Next best is to disrupt his alliances . . .
Thus, those skilled in battle subdue the enemy's army without battle.

Chemical and Biological Weapons.

Immediately following the Fatherland Liberation War, at the direction of our Great Leader Kim Il Sung, we embarked upon the development of biological and chemical weapons. Although we are a peace-loving people, we were forced into this unfortunate situation by the barbaric use of these weapons against us during the war by the imperialist United States. Since that time, the wisdom of this decision has been repeatedly reinforced as the United States and its Southern lackeys have continued to threaten us with the use of these cruel and inhumane weapons.

Progress within the chemical weapons field advanced slowly due to the need to rebuild the nation and care for our people. Through the selfless sacrifice of our people and the strength of *chuch'e* thought, we produced our first experimental chemical weapons during the late 1950s and early 1960s. By the late 1960s, pilot production of several chemical agents had commenced. Since that time our chemical weapons program has unceasingly improved, and our chemical weapons production capability has now matured. We currently possess the capability to produce a wide range of chemical weapons, including the feared binary weapons. Chemical weapons are a vital weapon in the KPA's great inventory for both victoriously triumphing over any interfering aggressors and ensuring the reunification of the Fatherland under the banner of "One Blow Non-stop Attack."

In his treatise on the "Three Revolutionary Forces" our Great Leader Kim Il Sung declared,

The Korean Workers' Party and the Korean people will make every effort to strengthen their solidarity with the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America in the future as in the past and will positively support their struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

In line with this direction, during the 1980s we began exchanging chemical weapons technology and weapons first with Iran and then Syria and Libya. Most recently we have expanded these exchanges to include Pakistan. These activities have provided us with valuable foreign currency and access to technologies denied us by the onerous sanctions unfairly imposed upon us by the imperialist United States and their flunkies in the international community. Our efforts to covertly obtain chemical warfare research and technologies within the former Soviet Union have proven to be unorganized but moderately successful, but they have also proven to be very expensive. Future efforts will have to weigh the value of what we can covertly obtain against the limited financial resources we are able to dedicate to this mission.

In pursuing our chemical weapons program, we have the directions of our Great Leader's treatise on the "Four Great Military Lines." We have dispersed the research, production, and basing facilities throughout the Fatherland to minimize the impact of any imperialist U.S. attack. They are thus hardened and redundant. As with the missile and nuclear programs, dispersion has also enhanced our abilities with regard to strategic deception, misdirection, and misinformation. An unfortunate aspect of this is that we must continue to work on our chemical weapons program in secret and publicly deny any such capabilities. The wisdom and validity of this strategy of deception is apparent by the wide range of estimates of our chemical capabilities by the United States. We will continue to encourage this.

We are currently capable of producing a wide variety of chemical agents including: adamsite (DM), chloroacetophenone (CN), chlorobenzylidene malononitrile

(CS), hydrogen cyanide (AC), mustard-family (H or HD), phosgene (CG and CX), sarin (GB), soman (GD), tabun (GA), and V-agents (VM and VX). For a variety of operational and technical reasons, we have concentrated upon mustard, phosgene, sarin, and the V-agents. Since the production of soman (GD) requires the use of pinacolyl alcohol, which is currently produced by only a few companies around the world in extremely small amounts and has no commercial uses, we would find it inconvenient to import this chemical without arousing suspicion. During the past 10 years, we have begun production of binary agents and, with the assistance of technologies gathered in Russia and China, have begun working on third generation chemical agents. These agents, due to their greater safety of handling in transit and longer period of stability in storage, greatly enhance the KPA's capability to distribute them utilizing highly-trained and dedicated reconnaissance and sniper troops and intelligence operatives.

Our annual production level for chemical weapons has varied considerably during the past 10 years due to the natural disasters and economic hardships we have suffered. These hardships have likewise affected our production of other chemicals and especially fertilizers for agriculture. On average, we have produced 8,000 tons per year. Unfortunately, due to a high level of impurities within the agent stock produced (itself due to the crippling sanctions imposed upon us by the international community), we have dedicated approximately 50 percent of this to replacement of deteriorating stockpiles. Of the remaining 50 percent, 30 percent goes towards building the KPA's stockpiles, 10 percent for training, 5 percent for research, and 5 percent is wastage. Under emergency conditions, and if non-Second Economic Committee resources were made available, we are capable of producing up to 20,000 tons of chemical agents a year. If required, and with the financial support of our foreign allies, this capacity could, in a year's time, be raised to 30,000 tons.³

The KPA's present inventory is approximately 10,000 tons of chemical munitions, the vast majority of which consists of 122 mm and 240 mm artillery rockets. There are also significant numbers of 152 mm artillery shells and air-dropped munitions for the Korean People's Air Force. In addition we maintain an inventory of ballistic missile warheads to arm 20-25 percent of the total missile inventory. The KPA currently has approximately 150 chemical warheads for ballistic missiles. This inventory meets, or exceeds, the KPA's current requirements for operations against the Southern lackeys and projected requirements for operations against the mainlands of both Japan and the United States.

The vast majority of the chemical weapons stockpiles are stored within our forward deployed corps and are under the control of the General Rear Services Bureau and Nuclear-Chemical Defense Bureau. Ballistic missile warheads are under the control of the Security Command and the State Security Department.

In addition to chemical agents, we produce a wide range of chemical defense and decontamination equipment and have organized defensive measures to safeguard the KPA and civilian populations by training in the use of protective masks, clothing, detectors, and decontamination systems. We have positioned Nuclear-Chemical Defense Bureau units throughout the KPA force structure. Approximately 1 percent of our military forces is composed of chemical warfare personnel. We also require periodic chemical warfare drills in addition to training for our population. In contrast, the U.S. imperialists show little concern for the Korean people, North or South. They have demonstrated a lack of concern by distributing approximately 14,000 gas masks to Americans in the South. This distribution clearly is an insufficient countermeasure to our skill and ability aimed toward carrying forward the revolutionary ideas of our leader. This careless response is a testament to the effectiveness of our strategy of strategic deception,

misdirection, and misinformation. We will continue to encourage this attitude amongst our enemies.

Of all our strategic weapons programs, the research, development, and production of biological agents has progressed the slowest and is the smallest in size. The reasons for this are both varied and simple. Foremost is that we do not possess the biomedical research facilities or capabilities available to the superpowers or many nations of the industrialized world. Given the limited capabilities of our medical system, the use of biological weapons, at best a precarious endeavor, has the potential to be more dangerous to us than to the Americans and their Southern lackeys unless used on their soil. Finally, there is no need for vast biological agent production facilities. The nature of biological agent production is such that the few fermentation/brewery facilities that we have earmarked for conversion to biological agent production, if needed, will easily exceed all possible KPA requirements. Our current laboratory level production facilities are sufficient for our current research and weapons inventory requirements. Our inventory includes: anthrax (*Bacillus anthracis*); botulism (*Clostridium botulinum*); cholera (*Vibrio cholera* 01), hemorrhagic fever plague (*Yersinia pestis*); smallpox (*Variola*); typhoid (*Salmonella typhi*); and yellow fever. At this point, our research with genetic engineering and some other bacterial and viral strains is less well developed than ideal.

At present, our most potent and effective biological agent is the smallpox virus. We can, to some degree, control the ill effects by vaccinating our population, while the balance of the world basks in the false security that this disease has been eliminated worldwide and remains unvaccinated. The disease kills one-third to one-half those infected and debilitates others during the infectious phase. While a person is contagious, he may infect 10 to 50 people. The effectiveness of smallpox, as well as our other biological weapons, lies within our ability to employ them outside the Korean Peninsula utilizing the KPA's highly trained and

dedicated reconnaissance and sniper troops, as well as intelligence operatives, to covertly distribute them into our enemies' homeland. This method of delivery is by far the most effective since the agents will be removed from the Korean Peninsula.

Although the majority of our biological warfare program's research and development is located within our universities and medical research facilities, key testing facilities and production components are located on islands within the West Sea and in hardened underground facilities throughout the Fatherland, respectively. This has been done deliberately and in line with the directions of our Great Leader's treatise on the "Four Great Military Lines." The wisdom of this strategy is apparent in the almost complete lack of knowledge concerning our biological warfare capabilities by the United States. On occasion, imperialist propaganda has alleged that we use those accused of transgressions against the state as subjects in our biological warfare research. These are lies; all test subjects have been volunteers, willingly giving of themselves for the glory of our Dear Leader Kim Jong Il, *chuch'e* thought, and the Fatherland.

Since the 1980s, in line with our Great Leader's treatise on the "Three Revolutionary Forces," we have been exchanging biological weapons research and technology with Iran, Libya, and Syria. These activities have provided us with access to technologies denied us by imperialist United States and the international community. Our attempts to covertly obtain useful biological warfare research and technology within the former Soviet Union have so far proven unsuccessful.

Looking forward over the next 10 to 15 years, our chemical weapons program will focus upon improving the quality of chemical agents produced, conversion of stockpiles into binary agents, and increasing the quality and quantity of chemical defensive equipment available to the KPA and civilian population. We will expand our

research into third and fourth generation chemical weapons, building upon our own research, and combining it with technology gathered in Russia and China. Within the biological weapons field, our focus will be on the general upgrading of KPA and civilian biomedical research capabilities, research into the development of more effective agents and vaccines, and research into weaponization of biological agents (included within this plan is the development of an effective ballistic missile warhead). We will continue to expand both our overt and covert efforts to acquire advanced biological warfare technology from Russia and China. With regard to both programs, we will continue our efforts to recruit a small number of critical foreign nationals to assist our scientists and researchers. These plans, however, will have to be tempered by the realities of our ongoing financial situation.

It is the sincerest desire of our Dear Leader Kim Jong Il and the Korean people that the Korean Peninsula become a chemical and biological weapons-free zone. Unfortunately, this is dependent upon the actions of the imperialist United States and its Southern lackeys. Despite public statements and the signing of international agreements to the contrary, they have continued to develop and stockpile chemical and biological weapons for use against us. Until our enemies cease and desist from threatening the peaceloving Korean people, the Second Economic Committee is dedicated to providing the KPA with the most modern and effective chemical and biological weapons.

Nuclear.

No other nation in the world has lived under the threat of a nuclear war longer than has the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. This threat has presented itself both directly against us from the imperialist warmongering United States, and indirectly through its threats against the peaceloving people of China and the Soviet Union during the Cold War. Although the nature of these threats

has changed with the end of the so-called Cold War, it still remains and may worsen in the future as both the DPRK and China assume their just and long-denied positions within the world community. For these reasons, we have followed the wise and brilliant direction of our leaders Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il, who, in the most pure spirit of *chuch'e* thought, have directed that the research, development, and possession of our own nuclear weapons are of paramount importance to the Korean people.

During the late 1950s, and under the greatest secrecy, we began to take the preliminary steps towards our goal of producing nuclear weapons. While our friends within the Soviet Union and China helped us with basic nuclear research capabilities, they would not provide us with the knowledge we required to produce nuclear weapons. Therefore we were totally dependent upon the guidance of our Great Leader Kim Il Sung and *chuch'e* thought. Gradually, as the years passed we developed a basic nuclear research capability during the 1960s. We expanded this slowly during the early 1970s. During the late 1970s, even though we did not possess fissile material or sophisticated weapons designs, we established a nuclear weapons program and initiated the design for a nuclear weapon. During the early 1980s, we concurrently initiated a wide range of nuclear programs designed to provide us with the technical expertise and fissile material we required to build an arsenal of weapons.

Our scientists had narrowed the production of fissile material to two methods—uranium enrichment through electro-magnetic isotope separation (EMIS) and plutonium extraction through chemical reprocessing. We initially pursued both; however, this proved to be beyond our limited financial and technical capabilities, so we concentrated on the production of plutonium. The EMIS effort proceeded, but at a much reduced level and as a fallback position. By the end of the 1980s, in a demonstration of iron will and *chuch'e* strength, we had achieved a working nuclear weapons design. The production of fissile material,

however, had lagged behind due to technical limitations, financial considerations, and natural disasters. During the early 1990s, overcoming all obstacles and in a glorious testimony to the insightful wisdom of our Great Leader Kim Il Sung and Dear Leader Kim Jong Il, our scientists collected sufficient plutonium from our pilot reprocessing facility and assembled the Korean people's first nuclear weapon. It was a glorious moment in the history of the world and a testimony to the majesty of *chuch'e* strength.

Regrettably, as a result of the traitorous acts of a few weak-spirited, impure individuals, we were unable to hide all our efforts from the snooping American imperialists and their stable boys in the United Nations. During the early 1990s, tensions between our nations rose dangerously, and we headed toward war. Through the completely penetrating perspicacity of our Great Leader Kim Il Sung and Dear Leader Kim Jong Il, and the preeminence of our negotiators, we avoided a cruel and costly war for the Korean people and forced the most powerful nation in the world to sign the Agreed Framework with us on October 21, 1994.

The sheer brilliance of this negotiating effort is apparent only to those faithful to *chuch'e* thought. On the surface this agreement is humiliating to the Korean people and decimates our ability to produce nuclear weapons—the imperialist Americans' greatest fear. In exchange for the construction of two light-water reactors (LWRs), we agreed within the framework to suspend operations of the 5 megawatt (MWe) reactors and the Radiochemistry Laboratory at Yongbyon; halt construction of the 50 MWe and 200 MWe reactors at Yongbyon and T'aech'on; dismantle these and several other facilities by the time the LWR project is completed; come into full compliance with the safeguards agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA); and permit the safe disposal of the fuel rods from the 5 MWe reactor. The United States oversaw the creation of a new organization—the Korean Energy Development Organization (KEDO)—to construct the two 1,000 MWe light-water nuclear reactors by 2003. In

compensation for the loss of electrical production from the 50 MWe and 200 MWe reactors, it agreed to provide us with heavy oil (at a rate of 500,000 tons annually) until the first LWR was completed. Additionally, the United States agreed to upgrade its relations with us. The half-witted insipid Americans were euphoric and boasting to the world of their victory over us. This ignorance and presumptuousness can be ranked as one of the superlative achievements of *chuch'e* thought.

The reality of the situation is, however, quite different, attesting to the illustriousness and genius of our Great Leader Kim Il Sung's treatise on the "Four Military Lines" 40 years ago. Therein he directed that we practice deception, misdirection, and misinformation in all phases of our production of strategic weapons. Yes, we agreed to abandon—at great financial cost—our reactors at Yongbyon and T'aech'on and the Radio Chemistry Laboratory at Yongbyon. This, however, has by no means halted our production of fissile material and nuclear weapons.

When we realized during our negotiations what we would have to "surrender" to the ignorant Americans, we took appropriate steps to continue the production of fissile material and nuclear weapons. The EMIS program, which had been proceeding in complete secrecy at a slow—but successful—pace, was assigned the highest priority and resources were quickly transferred to it. The pilot chemical reprocessing plant—which had been placed in caretaker status with the opening of the Radio Chemistry Laboratory at Yongbyon—was reactivated, and we initiated a program to expand the capacities of the few small research reactors located throughout the Fatherland—which the snooping American imperialists and their washwomen know nothing about.

We also tripled security and secrecy at all our nuclear weapons related facilities; redoubled our efforts to covertly acquire nuclear materials and technologies from our friends within the former Soviet Union and China; and expanded

our nuclear weapons design team so they could accelerate their design of an enriched uranium weapon without sacrificing their ongoing work on refining plutonium weapons.

In pursuing our nuclear weapons program, we have covertly developed a research and production infrastructure that is second only to that of the superpowers. In accordance with the "Four Great Military Lines," we have dispersed our nuclear research and production facilities throughout the Fatherland. As indicated above, concerning the American perceptions of the 1994 Agreed Framework, this dispersion program has enabled the Korean people to achieve a grand level of strategic deception, misdirection, and misinformation with regard to our nuclear weapons capabilities. In fact, their obsession with the facilities at Yongbyon, Kumch'ang-ni, and the LWR continues to blind them. We will undertake every effort to encourage and reinforce this.

During the past 10 years, we have produced and acquired enough fissile material to make some 5 to 12 nuclear weapons. The actual number of weapons has constantly fluctuated as we add to our stockpile of fissile material and as bomb designers continue to refine the efficiency of their designs. In addition to these factors, changing KPA and National Defense Commission directives have, at times, called for the development of larger yield weapons, which naturally require greater amounts of fissile material and result in an overall lower number of weapons. At present, our nuclear weapons inventory consists of the following.

Type	Number
Plutonium implosion	3
Enriched uranium	4
Experimental devices	2

This inventory does not meet the KPA's requirements for operations against the Southern lackeys, which call for 10-20 nuclear weapons in the 30–60 kiloton range. Neither does it meet the projected requirements for an additional 10-20 nuclear weapons in the 30–60 kiloton range for operations against the mainland of both Japan and the United States. If pressed, and if critical components are made available, we are capable of re-engineering this inventory into approximately 20 smaller nuclear weapons. This, however, still does not meet our overall requirements. With our growing ballistic missile capabilities we possess the ability to employ this limited arsenal of nuclear weapons throughout the Korean Peninsula and most of Japan with our crude nuclear warhead. We do not currently possess a workable nuclear warhead for our systems that can reach Alaska, Hawaii, and the United States mainland.⁴

We have faced numerous operational and technical obstacles in the development and production of our nuclear weapons. The most significant has been the production and acquisition of fissile material. This obstacle almost attained critical nature with the signing of the 1994 Agreed Framework. Through the ingeniousness of our Great Leader Kim Il Sung and Dear Leader Kim Jong Il, we, however, avoided the crisis and developed new covert sources for fissile material production. These sources have slowly expanded during the past 6 years. If our current nuclear relationships with Pakistan and others continue to develop favorably, we could possibly double our inventory of fissile material in the next 10 years.

Additional operational and technical obstacles have centered around seven critical areas:

- (1) general and specialized nuclear weapons design expertise;
- (2) nuclear warhead design for our long-range ballistic missiles;
- (3) acquisition of specialized materials and components;

- (4) financial support;
- (5) the need for an extremely high level of secrecy;
- (6) safety; and
- (7) the political inability to field test our core weapons designs.

To date, we have been able to address most of our basic requirements; however, the continued development of the nuclear weapons program is dependent on more comprehensive and long-term solutions. The safety record within the nuclear program has proven to be difficult to stabilize as is evident by the significant number of workers who have experienced serious radiation illnesses and the small number who have died due to quality control issues and human error. While this is regrettable, our workers continue to be highly motivated and willing to make strong sacrifices to persevere with this important work and the development of the decisive weapon. In the end, we will continue to prevail. We must, however, improve safety. Our most critical requirement—the testing of our core weapons designs—remains unfulfilled. Our developing relations with Pakistan have, however, provided us with extremely valuable technical information with which to evaluate our designs. It is conceivable—and we are working toward this goal—that in the future, with favorable political conditions, the Pakistanis will test a weapon designed to our specifications.

To address other critical areas, we have attempted to hire Chinese, Russian, and Ukrainian experts. These, however, present a serious threat to the secrecy of our nuclear weapons program. To date, the few that we have hired have shown no desire to return to their home nations. Our Chinese neighbors continue their low-level, covert assistance to our nuclear program by providing education for our people and some critical components and materials. This assistance must be closely monitored, because it, too, may compromise our secrecy. Our friends in the Middle East

and South Asia also have proven to be invaluable to our nuclear weapons program as they provide us with access to Western technologies and components denied us by trade sanctions. Beside Pakistan, our cooperation with Iran also extends to their interests in nuclear weapons. This, however, remains at a low level.

Our covert acquisition programs within Russia and Eastern Europe have proven to be moderately successful although extremely expensive due to the inexperience of the personnel we dispatched, the sophistication of the criminals in Russia, and joint United States, Russian, and European Community efforts to prevent the sale of nuclear related technologies or specialized equipment and fissile material. Despite the extreme expense, we will carry on these efforts. Probably the single greatest obstacle to the continued growth of our nuclear weapons program is the immense financial burden it has placed upon the Fatherland and the Korean people during these past 10 years of natural disasters and economic hardships. With the resolute and fatherly guidance of our Dear Leader Kim Jong Il and faith in *chuch'e* thought we have, and will continue to, overcome this onerous obstacle as well.

During the next 10 to 15 years we will focus on improving the sophistication, reliability, and yield of our nuclear inventory and increasing our stockpiles of fissile materials and nuclear weapons. Our goal is to have 30 nuclear weapons in the 30-60 kiloton range by 2015. We intend to develop more reliable nuclear warheads for our ballistic missiles, develop a nuclear warhead with advanced decoy and countermeasure systems for our long-range ballistic missiles, increase the security and survivability of our nuclear weapons production infrastructure, and continue development of active and passive nuclear defenses for the KPA and Korean people.

With regard to increasing our stockpiles of fissile materials, we are reevaluating our previous efforts, particularly within the area of gaseous diffusion. Using our

own naturally occurring resources and a gas centrifuge, it is possible to produce highly enriched uranium suitable for weapons. The U.S. imperialists waste far too much energy to produce 90 percent highly-enriched uranium for weapons when a satisfactory device can be made with a smaller percentage of enriched material. From 5,000 kilograms (kg) of natural uranium, we could produce about 250 kg of enriched material if we were to use the standard of the imperialists, but this would require 1.5 million kilowatt-hours of energy. Using the concentration technique and our own resources, in accordance with the principles of *chuch'e*, we have the capability to produce a suitable quantity of nuclear weapons.

For the future, the AVLIS method that requires laser technology shows great promise since its advantage is a much lower energy requirement. However, obtaining the equipment is the more difficult aspect. We may be able to secure what is necessary through technology exchanges. The production facilities can be secreted underground to prevent spying from the heavens.

Under the dazzling guidance of our Dear Leader Comrade Kim Jong Il and a resolute belief in *chuch'e* thought, we have achieved what the Americans, their Southern lackeys and stooges in the United Nations, and even the world, had thought impossible—the production of sophisticated nuclear weapons. We now, for the first time in the history of the Korean people, possess the ability to inflict torturous and untold damage upon the homelands of our enemies. Absolutely the most glorious aspect of this crowning achievement is the fact that our intractable enemies have no idea of our magnificent victory.

While this current state is fraught with tremendous danger, it also presents immense opportunities. Seeing our difficulties, the United States and its lackeys believe that we are in an inferior position. They see what they want to see rather than what is really there. Guided by our Dear Leader Comrade Kim Jong Il and armed with *chuch'e* spirit,

we have achieved a level of strategic deception, misdirection, and misinformation with regard to our nuclear weapons capabilities that is unparalleled since the days of Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor. We must, at all levels, encourage this ignorance and arrogance of the United States.

Recommendations.

Recommendations to secure our future and continued sovereignty, as well as to strengthen our position in the world and ensure the continued development of our strategic weapons systems, consist of initiatives in a number of diverse, yet related areas.

- We must above all remain true to *chuch'e* thought and the guidance of our Great Leader Kim Il Sung and Dear Leader Kim Jong Il.

- We must continue "encouraging the ignorance and arrogance of our enemies" as outlined by our Great Leader Kim Il Sung in his treatise on the "Four Military Lines" 40 years ago. We must allow our enemies to know only what we want them to know by practicing deception, misdirection, and misinformation at all levels and in all phases of our dealings with them. In doing so, we maximize both our spiritual and physical strength and foster their ignorance, presumptuousness, and arrogance.

- We should vigorously continue research, development, and production of ballistic missiles. These will provide us with the capability to strike deep into the heartlands of our enemies with impunity, shattering their will to retaliate. The mere existence of our ballistic missile program serves to cause division amongst our enemies and forces them to spend billions of dollars over the next 20 years on research and development of missile defense systems that possess only the poorest of chances in partially neutralizing an attack.

- We must continue research, development, and production of chemical and biological weapons at their present levels. This will enable us either to respond in kind to a U.S. attack or to achieve a devastating surprise in a “One Blow Non-stop Attack” to reunify the Fatherland.

- Our nuclear weapons program must continue in the utmost secrecy. These decisive weapons provide the Korean people with ultimate means of ensuring the survival of the Fatherland and the dissemination of *chuch’e* thought.

- We must expand our foreign military sales of equipment and arms—especially strategic weapons, which provide the greatest profit. If we must temporarily refrain from the sale of entire systems because of some tactical diplomatic maneuvering we should aggressively pursue the sale of technologies underlying our strategic weapons systems.

- We must continue to expand and diversify our diplomatic initiatives by pursuing our own policy of “engagement.” This will reduce the focus on the United States and its influence, and demonstrate that we will not be controlled by outside imperialists—including the United Nations.

- We have proceeded with the meeting with the Southern puppet leader, Kim Dae Jung. This permits dialogue and allows us to gain understanding of those who may seek to control our actions. It will likely continue to provide significant financial rewards.

- We must continue to seek our nation’s removal from the U.S. list of “states that sponsor terrorism.” This will provide us with a superior diplomatic position within the world community which we can exploit to increase our economic stability.

- We must press for the complete removal of all the onerous and unjustifiable sanctions imposed upon us by the imperialist United States and its lackeys within the United Nations. This will enable us to engage in trade relationships

that are advantageous to us without sacrificing our commitment to the revolution.

Pursuit of these recommendations will lead us toward reunification of the Fatherland under the framework of *chuch'e* thought without sacrificing our precious integrity.

I sincerely hope these recommendations meet with the approval of the National Defense Commission and especially Comrade Kim Jong Il, under whose resplendent guidance and benevolent teachings it may be accepted and implemented.

All hail Kim Il Sung, all hail Kim Jong Il, may the brilliance of *chuch'e* thought shine throughout the world.

Your humble servant,

Chon Pyong-ho
National Defense Commission
Defense Industry Policy and Inspection Department

ENDNOTES-CHAPTER 3

1. For an explanation of "chuch'e," see chap. 2, endnote 16.
2. The Second Economic Committee is the organization with overall responsibility for weapons procurement, development, and sales within the DPRK.
3. The United States and ROK currently estimate that the DPRK is capable of producing 4,500 tons of chemical agents in peacetime and 12,000 tons in wartime.
4. The United States estimates the DPRK possesses 11–13 kg of weapons grade plutonium attained from the discharge and reprocessing campaign during 1989–90. ROK, Japanese, and Russian estimates differ—being 7–12kg, 16–24kg, and 22 kg, respectively. The differences reflect different assessments of the multiple reprocessing campaigns during 1989-91. Estimates of the DPRK nuclear weapons inventory are based upon the level of weapons design technology and quantity of

weapons-grade plutonium it possesses. The U.S. Department of Energy, in January 1994, reported that, depending upon technology used, as little as 4 kg of plutonium would be sufficient to produce a nuclear weapon. With the 11–13 kg of weapons-grade plutonium that the DPRK is estimated to have extracted prior to signing the 1994 Agreed Framework, it could have 1–3 nuclear weapons. If the fuel from the May-June 1994 refueling of the 5 MWe reactor were to be reprocessed, it would provide enough plutonium to manufacture 4–5 additional nuclear weapons. If the Japanese and Russian estimates of plutonium inventory are more accurate—being 16–24kg, and 22 kg respectively—the DPRK could possess an additional 1–3 nuclear weapons. If the DPRK's level of technology is higher than currently estimated, it could produce nuclear weapons with quantities of plutonium as little as 1.5–3 kg. If it achieves this level of technology, its nuclear weapons could be double current estimates. The possible acquisition of fissile material from Russia, Pakistan, or elsewhere would significantly increase the DPRK's nuclear weapons inventory.