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Conférence internationale

From West Berlin... to North Korea: Challenges to Extended Nuclear Deterrence

Mercredi 30 mai 2018

9h- 18h30, salle des Actes

Organisation : Centre interdisciplinaire d'études sur le nucléaire et la stratégie (CIENS)
Département Géographie et Territoires
avec le soutien du Nuclear Proliferation International History Group (Wilson Center)

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Programme détaillé : www.ens.fr (rubrique agenda)

École normale supérieure, 45 rue d'Ulm, 75005 Paris





INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

ECOLE NORMALE SUPERIEURE (ENS)
45, RUE D'ULM, PARIS

CENTRE FOR NUCLEAR AND STRATEGIC STUDIES /
CENTRE INTERDISCIPLINAIRE D'ETUDES SUR LE NUCLEAIRE
ET LA STRATEGIE (CIENS)

30 MAY 2018

***From West Berlin to North Korea:
Challenges to Extended Nuclear Deterrence***

*Conference organised by the Centre for Nuclear and Strategic Studies (CIENS),
with the support of the Nuclear Proliferation International History Project (NPIHP) Wilson Center*

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Argument

By leading a sixth nuclear test in September 2017, presumably with a thermonuclear device, and multiplying ballistic missile tests of increasing ranges (intermediate and intercontinental), the North Korean regime has shown its determination to operationalize a credible nuclear deterrence capability. Thus, far from receding since Donald Trump's election, the North Korean nuclear crisis has become more acute, the verbal escalation between the American President and Kim Jong-Un reaching an unprecedented intensity. The swiftness of communication through social networks such as Twitter has only aggravated the tension.

This international conference aims at analysing the North Korean nuclear crisis by developing an in-depth comparison with one of the most dangerous nuclear crises of the Cold War era: the Second Berlin Crisis (1958-1963), during which leaders of the powers involved worked under the permanent threat of a general nuclear war in the heart of Europe.

Our approach aims at gathering scholars and experts across disciplinary boundaries (historians, political scientists, strategists, as well as diplomats, etc.) and will be comparative, both through time and space: the idea is not only to compare two geopolitical areas, Europe and North-East Asia, but also two ages of the nuclear era. Indeed, the two crises of Berlin and North Korea seem to be typical of the period of time in which they occur. On the one hand, the Second Berlin Crisis illustrates the "First Nuclear Age" that was structured by the bipolar, ideological and geopolitical, contest between two nuclear superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, the core of which was the European theatre. The divided city of Berlin constituted a microcosm of the Cold War bipolar order. On the other hand, the North Korean Crisis exemplifies crucial features of "the Second Nuclear Age": the multipolar structure, the asymmetric contests between actors of different categories (here, a superpower is challenged by a pariah state), the high saliency of proliferation issues, and last but not least, the marginal role left to Europe, both as an actor and as a stake of strategic rivalries.

What is at stake is also a methodological question: how and to what extent can the nuclear history of the Cold War in Europe be used in order to foster a deeper understanding of the current strategic challenges in Asia? The comparison will be used, as a heuristic tool, to highlight both similarities and differences, and thus, build a new interpretative framework to analyse the current crisis in the Korean peninsula.

The following topics will be covered in three panels:

1. How and why were the crises unleashed? Immediate and remote causes, obvious and underlying factors.
2. Two crises of US extended nuclear deterrence. How to interpret and respond to the adversary's nuclear behaviour, strategy and objectives?
3. What kind of policy and diplomatic instruments would be relevant for the US and its allies to overcome the crisis? What kind of policy mix between military and diplomatic measures? Which canals of negotiation? Which exit strategy?

Program

8:30 – 9:00 Arrival at the Ecole Normale Supérieure – Welcome Coffee

9:00 – 9:45 **OPENING SESSION**

Welcome address by **Nicolas Roche** (Director of the CIENS / Ministry of European and Foreign Affairs)

Introduction by the organiser **Frédéric Gloriant** (CIENS – ENS-Ulm)

9:45 – 11:45 **PANEL 1: HOW AND WHY WERE THE TWO CRISES UNLEASHED? IMMEDIATE AND REMOTE CAUSES, OBVIOUS AND UNDERLYING FACTORS**

Chair & Discussant: **Céline Jurgensen** (CIENS – ENS-Ulm / CEA)

- **Matthias Uhl** (German Historical Institute Moscow): *Nuclear Weapons and Missiles – Nikita Khrushchev and the Second Berlin Crisis*
- **Antoine Bondaz** (Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique / Sciences-Po-CERI, Paris): *DPRK's Strategy on Nuclear Weapons: Legitimacy and Brinkmanship*
- **Valérie Gelézeau** (EHESS - Centre de Recherches sur la Corée, Paris): *A Geographic Contextualization of the Korean Nuclear Crisis: Borders and the Logics of the "Korean question"*
- **Jaechun Kim** (Sogang University, Seoul): *Immediate and Remote Causes of the North Korean Nuclear Crisis*

11:45 – 13:45 Lunch – Restaurant *Terra Nera* – 18, rue des Fossés Saint-Jacques, 5^e arr.

13:45 – 15:45 **PANEL 2: TWO CRISES OF US EXTENDED NUCLEAR DETERRENCE**

Discussant: **Hyun-wook Kim** (Korea National Diplomatic Academy)

- **Andreas Lutsch** (University of Würzburg): *The Role of Compellence in Western Strategy at the Height of the Berlin Crisis (1961/1962) – Thoughts about American and West German Thinking*
- **Seyoung Jang** (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Nuclear Policy Program, Washington): *History of US Extended Nuclear Deterrence on the Korean Peninsula and Its Implications on the Current Nuclear Crisis*
- **William Burr** (National Security Archive, George Washington University): *U.S. Policy during the Second Berlin Crisis: Deterrence, Negotiations, and Conflict Management*
- **Nicolas Roche** (CIENS – ENS-Ulm/ Ministry of European and Foreign Affairs).

15:45 – 16:00 Coffee Break

16:00 – 18:30 **PANEL 3: WHICH EXIT STRATEGY? WHICH CANALS OF NEGOTIATION? WHAT KIND OF POLICY MIX BETWEEN MILITARY AND DIPLOMATIC MEASURES?**

Chair & Discussant: **Gordon Barrass** (LSE / former British diplomat)

- **Frédéric Gloriant** (CIENS, ENS-Ulm): *To adapt to the Cold War bipolar order? Or to challenge it? Macmillan and de Gaulle's rift in the face of the Second Berlin Crisis*
- **Young Ho Kim** (Research Institute on National Security Affairs; Korea National Defense University).
- **Tomonori Yoshizaki** (National Institute for Defense Studies - NIDS, Tokyo): *Challenges to Japan-U.S. Extended Deterrence: The Case of North Korea*
- **Jeffrey H. Michaels** (Defence Studies Department, King's College London): *Consultation Obligations and Self-Deterrence: The Unspoken Albatross for US Policy towards North Korea*
- **Kang Choi** (Asan Institute for Policy Studies, Seoul): *A Thought on North Korea's Nuclear Strategy*

18:30 CONCLUDING REMARKS by **Nicolas Roche** (Director of the CIENS)

20:00 Dinner – Restaurant *Au Port du Salut* – 163 bis, rue Saint Jacques, 5^e arr.

LE CENTRE INTERDISCIPLINAIRE D'ÉTUDES SUR LE NUCLÉAIRE ET LA STRATÉGIE (CIENS)

**Des enseignements et des séminaires de recherche
consacrés au nucléaire de défense et aux questions
stratégiques**



The **Centre for Nuclear and Strategic Studies** (*CIENS* in French) is a platform of research and courses, dedicated to nuclear and strategic issues, in the broader sense of the word. In a partnership with the French Ministry of Armed Forces, it fosters an interdisciplinary approach, and to that end, offers a coherent set of introduction courses and research activities (seminars, conferences, publications...), at the *Ecole Normale Supérieure*, in Paris. Our assumption is that nuclear and strategic issues have not been sufficiently studied in French and European academia in recent times, while inter-state power relationships remain, almost 30 years after the end of the Cold War, at the heart of the international system and have kept a strong nuclear dimension. In order to renew our understanding of these issues, diverse disciplinary approaches need to be developed and to cross-fertilize each other, involving both sciences and human and social sciences (history, geography, philosophy, law, economics etc.).

THE ENS TODAY

At the same time a French *grande école* and a university, the *Ecole normale supérieure* provides in Paris, at the heart of the *Quartier latin*, **excellent training through research**, leading to various teaching and research professions, and contributes to train through research the senior executives of public administrations as well as of French and European companies. The ENS also defines and applies scientific and technological research policies, from a multidisciplinary and international perspective.

Intellectual freedom, multidisciplinary in humanities and sciences, individual attention to students, bountiful campus life, gathering students and professors from all disciplines, form the heart of the specificities of the *Ecole normale supérieure*. Since more than two centuries, the ENS prepares its students to the most various openings and the highest responsibilities, while being fully invested in the intellectual, scientific and cultural debates of its time – in particular through the multiplicity of the *normaliens*' engagement.

Generally speaking, the ENS's position is between the 1st and 3rd French institution according to the international rankings. The *École normale supérieure* is also a member of *Université PSL*. This institution has been founded by 25 prestigious institutions established in Paris which have gathered together. All these institutions have in common to train their students through research and are all willing to create disciplinary convergences, make innovation and creativity more dynamic, attract and train the best students and make of research a real growth driver.