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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

ÉCOLE NORMALE SUPÉRIEURE (ENS)
45, RUE D'ULM, PARIS

CENTRE FOR NUCLEAR AND STRATEGIC STUDIES /
CENTRE INTERDISCIPLINAIRE D'ÉTUDES 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

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)
- **Antoine Bondaz** (Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique / Sciences-Po-CERI, Paris)
- **Valérie Gelézeau** (EHESS - Centre de Recherches sur la Corée, Paris)
- **Jaechun Kim** (Sogang University, Seoul)

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)
- **Seyoung Jang** (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Nuclear Policy Program, Washington)
- **William Burr** (National Security Archive, George Washington University)
- **Nicolas Roche** (CIENS – ENS-Ulm/ Ministry of European and Foreign Affairs)

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)
- **Young Ho Kim** (Research Institute on National Security Affairs; Korea National Defense University)
- **Tomonori Yoshizaki** (National Institute for Defense Studies - NIDS, Tokyo)
- **Jeffrey H. Michaels** (Defence Studies Department, King's College London)
- **Kang Choi** (Asan Institute for Policy Studies, Seoul)

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