

# DanMUN 2012

Briefing for the Security Council

## Content

Abbreviations .....	2
Introduction .....	3
Scenario Briefing.....	4
Background.....	4
The Korean War (1950-1953) .....	4
Tensions after the Korean War.....	5
Sunshine Policy.....	6
Stakeholders.....	7
Democratic People’s Republic of Korea and nuclear weapons.....	9
The Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty .....	12
Topics for discussion at the United Nations Security Council.....	14
I. The role of the Panel of Experts (POE) .....	14
II. The imposition and implementation of sanctions (“Smart Sanctions”) .....	14
III. The issue of the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons (NPT).....	14
Previous UN Resolutions on the Conflict .....	15
Bibliography .....	17
Reports .....	17
Webpages .....	17
Recommended literature.....	17

## Abbreviations

<b>DMZ</b>	<b>Demilitarized Zone</b>
<b>DPKR</b>	<b>Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea)</b>
<b>IAEA</b>	<b>International Atomic Energy Agency</b>
<b>NPT</b>	<b>Nuclear non-Proliferation Treaty</b>
<b>PoE</b>	<b>Panel of Experts</b>
<b>PRC</b>	<b>People's Republic of China</b>
<b>ROK</b>	<b>Republic of Korea (South Korea)</b>
<b>UN</b>	<b>United Nations</b>
<b>UNSC</b>	<b>United Nations Security Council</b>
<b>US</b>	<b>United States</b>
<b>USSR</b>	<b>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</b>

## Introduction

Almost sixty years have passed since the end of the Korean War by the 1953 Armistice agreement and the creation of the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ), which divided the Korean peninsula into two countries, and still the issue of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's (DPRK) threat to international security remains present. The war has never been ended by a peace treaty and both the Republic of Korea (ROK) and DPRK still guard the most heavily militarized border in the world, thus making it a volatile region with high risk of sudden escalation of conflict.

The key issue of the situation at the Korean peninsula that has international consequences is the threat that DPRK poses to the international community and ROK in particular. This threat has been present ever since the end of the Korean War and it escalated with the end of the Cold War, when DPRK lost its traditional allies and started developing nuclear weapons. There are several reasons why DPRK presents an issue that has been and certainly will be addressed at the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). DPRK represents one of the last true totalitarian regimes in the world, with extremely militarised economy and unpredictable and, at times, aggressive policies and actions. So far, it is the only country in the world that withdrew from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). It has been developing and testing nuclear weapons and missile carriers with little to non international supervision by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) for the last 20 years. That raises concerns not only about the actual size of the DPRK's nuclear arsenal but also about the proliferation risks. From that point of view, DPRK truly presents a potential global threat.

Despite the fact that the People's Republic of China (PRC) still is a formal ally of DPRK, the country is isolated, both economically and politically. Nuclear weapons deterrence is therefore crucial for DPRK to maintain relevance and to survive in the post-Cold War world. Even though DPRK has been subjected to severe economic sanctions ever since its first nuclear tests, the nuclear deterrence remains one of the last options for it manoeuvre between the interests of the two major non-Korean powers in the area – PRC and the United States (US), as well as other local powers such as Japan. It gives relevance to the DPRK military leadership and it has in the past helped DPRK to prevent retaliation after such acts of aggression such as the two incidents in 2010, when DPRK allegedly torpedoed the ROK warship, *Cheonan*, and then shelled the ROK island of *Yeonpyeongdo*. Given the fact that DPRK is to some extent cover by the nuclear deterrent, it is likely, that it will try to continuously intimidate ROK and its US allies. As analysts agree, the next provocation is just a matter of time.

## Scenario Briefing

### Background

The Korean Peninsula is a region located in Eastern Asia and is politically divided into North Korea, officially known as Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and South Korea, officially known as Republic of Korea. DPRK expands from the PRC south to the 38th parallel and the Republic of Korea cover the rest of the peninsula; these have a long story of tensions between each other prior to the Korean War.

The Korean peninsula was governed by the Korean Empire until 1910, when Japan invaded. Towards the end of World War II, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) declared war on Japan and by 1945 the Soviets occupied the northern part of the peninsula. At the end of World War II, the Allies at the Potsdam Conference came to a conclusion that the Korean Peninsula was to be divided at the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel. It was decided that the US was to administrate the southern region, while the USSR took the northern one.

After the division, the two Koreas were officially founded. The USSR established a communist government, DPRK with Kim Il-Sung as its leader, meanwhile in the south; the Republic of Korea was formed as a capitalist state with Syngman Rhee as the elected president. The two leaders, Rhee and Il-Sung worked together in order to reunify Korea, however this turned out to be conflicting since they both wanted to unify the peninsula under their own political rule. Tension started to build and it led to the Korean War.

### The Korean War (1950-1953)

The Korean War started on June 25, 1950, when DPRK sent the North Korean People's army to invade the Republic of Korea. The UNSC convened in regards to this matter and called for DPRK's armed forces to withdraw to the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel, asked all member states to cease assistance to DPRK authorities, and recommended the member states to assist the Republic of Korea in order to drive back



DPRK's armed forces. In addition, the UNSC formed a United Nations Command led by the US in order to assist the Republic of Korea.

Regardless of the United Nations (UN) interference, the war continued and even though peace negotiations began in 1951, the fighting did not come to a halt. Finally on 1953, the peace negotiations ended and the DMZ, situated along the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel, was formed. An Armistice Agreement was signed by the Korean People's Army, the Chinese People's Volunteers and the United Nations Command; however the Republic of Korea did not sign the agreement. A peace treaty between DPRK and the Republic of Korea has never been signed.



### Tensions after the Korean War

Since the Korean War tensions have remained between DPRK and the Republic of Korea. For example, in 1987 DPRK was accused of bombing a civilian airliner from the Republic of Korea. In addition, another incident occurred off the West coast of the peninsula, when DPRK vessels crossed the Northern Limit Line, which separates the Korea of the West Coast of Peninsula. There have been several reports of fighting on both land and sea borders since the end of the Korean War.

In 2010, two other events occurred around the Northern Limit Line, which set tension high. In March 26, 2010, the Cheonan, a Republic of Korea warship was sunk. The Republic of Korea claimed that DPRK sunk the Cheonan, however DPRK denied the accusations. Later that year in November 23, 2010, DPRK launched an artillery attack on Yeonpyeongdo, an island belonging to the Republic of Korea. DPRK claimed that the Republic of Korea was carrying out "war manoeuvres" but in retrospect, the Republic of Korea stated they were conducting maritime military drills. After the attack on the Yeonpyeongdo, the ROK's military was on a state of high alert.



## Sunshine Policy

Regardless of the tension between DPRK and the Republic of Korea, there were some efforts made to relieve such tensions, such as the Sunshine Policy. The Sunshine policy was implemented in 1988 by Republic of Korea's President Kim Dae Jung. The main goal of the policy was to alleviate DPRK's attitudes toward the Republic of Korea by reconciliation, cooperation and mutual exchange.

The policy has three principles; 1) armed provocation by DPRK would not be tolerated, 2) the Republic of Korea would not attempt to reunify the peninsula through absorbing DPRK, and 3) the Republic of Korea would actively seek cooperation with DPRK.

The Sunshine Policy allowed for trade between DPRK and the Republic of Korea to take place,

regardless of the diplomatic situation between the two nations. Moreover, the policy led to the two Korean summit meetings in Pyongyang. The first one took place in 2000 and the product of this meeting was a joint declaration where the nations specified the wish for promoting understanding, humanitarian aspects as well as economic cooperation. The second summit took place in 2007 and it confirmed the 2000 meeting.

Nevertheless, the Sunshine Policy ended with the



administration of President Lee Myung-Bak since it rejected reconciliation with DPRK and insisted on denuclearization of Pyongyang. This change in policy rose tensions one more time and it led to low-intensity military attacks from DPRK, leading the Republic of Korea to be more reliant on the US

## **Stakeholders**

Various nations hold an interest in the Korean peninsula conflict; the main ones would be DPRK, the Republic of Korea, the US, PRC, Japan and the Russian Federation.

### Democratic People's Republic of Korea

DPRK faces various challenges today, one of them being their dependence on foreign aid. Furthermore since the end of the Cold War (1991), DPRK has been forced to move into a position of isolation since it can no longer count on help from the Russian Federation or the PRC in case of an attack. Moreover DPRK is presumed to have nuclear weapons, making them unpopular within the international community. In addition due to sanctions imposed on DPRK it is resulting increasingly difficult to take part in arms trade. DPRK seeks to unify the Korean peninsula, however, since Kim Jong-un rose to power, many question his political capabilities and this scenario seems unlikely to occur anytime soon.

### Republic of Korea

The Republic of Korea feels threatened by DPRK and wants a peaceful solution to the nuclear issue. The Republic of Korea has a strong ally, the US and therefore its foreign policy is heavily influenced by the US. They are looking for a balance between cooperation with the US and attempts of reconciliation with DPRK. Just as DPRK, the Republic of Korea is also interested in unifying the Korean Peninsula; however they would be in a difficult position given that it would have to deal with the potential economic burden if the reunification occurred.

### United States of America

After the Korean War, US-DPRK relations were practically non-existent, since they are strong supporters of the Republic of Korea and provide them with generous aid, especially military one. In addition, the US seeks to prevent DPRK from developing nuclear weaponry and they have a long stance against communism.

After the 2001 terrorist attacks on the twin towers, the then President, George W. Bush declared DPRK to be a part of the axis of evil, accusing them of possessing nuclear weapons and being a threat to security. The axis of evil are nations, considered by the Bush administration, to be involved in terrorism against the US or are destabilizing regions that hold an importance to the US. Due to DPRK's arms trade with Pakistan and Iran, they are perceived by the US as a threat to their security. The US welcomes diplomatic solutions but they do not rule out other options (i.e. sanctions).



Another pressing issue between the US and DPRK is the nuclear one. After the nuclear test done by DPRK in 2006, the US sees DPRK as a threat to international security and is frightened that they might sell their nuclear technology to other nations.

### People's Republic of China

An alliance between the PRC and DPRK was forged in 1961 with a Sino-DPRK Mutual Aid and Cooperation Friendship treaty which was renewed in 1981 and in 2001. Furthermore, DPRK is PRC's only formal military ally and the PRC is one of DPRK's major trading partners. Nevertheless, the PRC has established diplomatic relation with the Republic of Korea; however they are mainly influenced by economic interests.

The PRC is an advocate of non-proliferation since its major cities would be within reach of DPRK's missiles, furthermore this scenario would create an arms race among the PRC, Japan and other East Asian countries. Moreover it is in the interest of the PRC for DPRK not to collapse; since they are already have a large number of DPRK refugees.

The PRC supports a unification of the Korean Peninsula and they believe the Koreans should grow together instead of one swallowing the other.

### Japan

Japan is afraid of the nuclear threat DPRK poses since they are within reach of their missiles, especially after the 1998 DPRK Kwangmyongsong-1 satellite was launched, which some regarded as a missile test. Officially, Japan does not possess military power, only a self defence force but the US does have a high military presence in the nation and thus Japan relies on the US for defence.

In the Japan-ROK normalisation treaty from 1965, Japan recognises the Republic of Korea as the only legal government. Japan tends to side with the US when it comes to the policy towards the Korean Peninsula.

### The Russian Federation

In 2001, the Russian Federation and DPRK signed the Treaty on Friendship, Good-Neighbourly Relations and Cooperation. The treaty commits the Russian Federation to consultation with DPRK in the event of a crisis but it does not oblige military involvement. Furthermore the treaty outlines the basis for peaceful relations, economic cooperation, and diplomatic and geopolitical reliance. It also states the sharing of military, technological knowledge and research. The Russian Federation supports a

unification of the Korean Peninsula and believes the Koreans should resolve the problem in their own terms.

## **Democratic People's Republic of Korea and nuclear weapons**

DPRK's nuclear ambitions began as a reaction to the placement of US nuclear armed missiles and atomic cannons in the late 1950's and they were further strengthened after the Cuban Missile crisis. DPRK leaders were distrustful of the USSR obligations to help DPRK in case of escalated tensions and they wanted the protection gained from nuclear deterrence. Possible nuclear weapon development had been suspected since 1980s, when DPRK constructed a plutonium-producing research reactor at Yongbyon. The construction of the reactor has been spotted by the US intelligence and DPRK has been through diplomatic means pressured to sign the NPT in 1985. Since DPRK did not allow the IAEA inspections of its facilities, the suspicion of possible nuclear weapons development grew.

The collapse of the USSR finally meant lost of the security guarantees and economic support for DPRK and the possession of nuclear weapons gained even more importance to the regime. However, DPRK realised that a normalisation of relationships with the only remaining superpower – the US – is needed as well and DPRK therefore allowed the IAEA inspections for the first time in 1992. The inspections were controversial, as the inspectors never had full access to all facilities at the Yongbyon research reactor, particularly the Yongbyon's nuclear waste sites. IAEA suspected that DPRK deliberately did not reveal its plutonium production possibilities to the full extent and it publicly announced that they cannot provide any meaningful assurances that DPRK is not producing nuclear weapons.

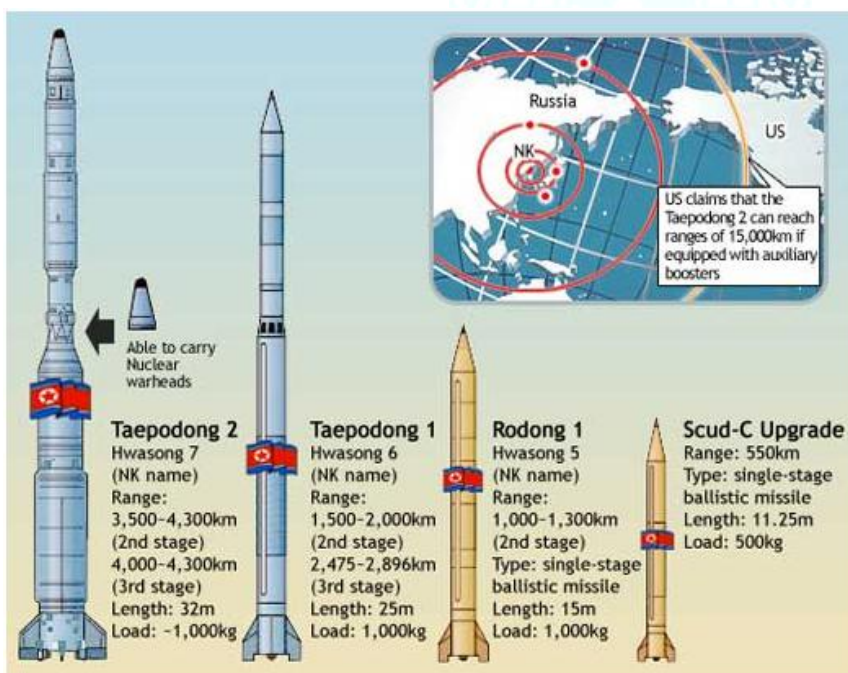
In 1993 DPRK announced withdrawal from the NPT for the first time. The US diplomacy reacted with intense negotiations that resulted in suspension of the withdrawal and signature of the "Agreed Framework" between the US and DPRK. In this framework DPRK agreed to freeze its plutonium production in exchange for technology necessary for building light water reactors (which cannot be



used to produce plutonium), oil shipments and economic cooperation with the US. The Yongbyon reactor was to be dismantled under the supervision of IAEA and the fission material was to be contained and removed from the country, which happened in 1997.

In 1998, DPRK launched the Kwangmyongsong-1 satellite, however many believed it was the Taepodong 1 missile. The missile flew over Japan, which halted all Japanese support to the light water reactors. The Japanese withdrawal meant further delays in the already delayed implementation of the “Agreed Framework.”

The tensions between DPRK and the US were one of the centrepieces of the well-known George W. Bush’s State of the Union Address in 2002, where he named DPRK as a part of the axis of evil and as a state arming to threaten the world peace. The US declared that they will stop the oil shipments to DPRK unless they stop their nuclear weapons ambitions. Suspicion and distrust on both sides raised to a point when DPRK expelled IAEA inspectors and announced a unilateral withdrawal from the NPT, which became effective on April 10, 2003. To this date, DPRK is the only country that withdrew from the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty. Raising tensions, incidents and worrying public notes marked the



months coming after the DPRK announcement of NPT withdrawal. Need for a diplomatic solution was imminent and the six-party talks including DPRK, ROK, the US, the Russian Federation, Japan and People’s Republic of China began in August 2003.

Even though the six-party talks produced very little progress at first, they managed to provide

at least basic agreements on denuclearisation of the Korean Peninsula, such as the acknowledgement of DPRK’s right to use nuclear energy and the normalisation of relations of the participating parties.

However, the events outside of the six-party talks reversed any substantial progress. On 5-6 July 2006 DPRK tested seven Taepodong 2 missiles, declared as carriers for satellites. The UNSC strongly

condemned the missile launches in the resolution **S/RES/1695**. After disputes about DPRK's financial assets, which were frozen by the US, the DPRK announced on October 3, 2006, that they were not only developing nuclear weapons, but furthermore that they were ready to test them. The first DPRK nuclear test was successfully conducted on October 9, 2006 and later verified by the US. The UNSC adopted the resolution **S/RES/1718**, which expressed grave concern over DPRK's nuclear test, urged DPRK to halt all its nuclear and ballistic missiles tests and imposed sanctions, such as freezing assets.

On April 5, 2009 DRPK unsuccessfully launched its Kwangmyongsong-2 satellite that was believed to be a test of the Taepodong 2 missile. The launch took place despite a strong international pressure and it was unanimously condemned by the UNSC Presidential Statement. It was this statement that effectively stopped the six-party talks. Angered by the Presidential Statement, DRPK publicly announced that it would never again take parts in any such negotiations and that it will not respect any bounding agreement reached by those negotiations. All IAEA inspectors were, yet again, expelled from the country and DRPK announced that it would resume its nuclear weapons programme. This announcement was then confirmed by another successful nuclear test that took place on 25 May 2009. The UNSC strongly reacted to the nuclear test and passed the resolution **S/RES/1874** that expressed grave concern over DPRK's test and expanded the sanctions imposed on DPRK to include all arms and related material, as well as financial transactions, technical training, advice, services or assistance related to the provision, manufacture, maintenance or use of such arms or material.

## The Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty

A final agreement on preventing any further proliferation of nuclear weapons was reached through the NPT which went into effect in 1970.

Through this treaty, it was also agreed to 'enable co-operation for the peaceful use of nuclear energy' of which the benefits from this form of energy should be available to all states.

A total of 190 parties joined the treaty including five nuclear weapon states (US, The Russian Federation, France, the United Kingdom and PRC).

The treaty represents an agreement between nuclear and non-nuclear powers:

- The **nuclear states** will not transfer their weapons to non-nuclear states and they will make efforts to reduce and, eventually, eliminate their own stockpiles, and assist the non-nuclear states in developing peaceful nuclear energy programs.
- The **non-nuclear states** will not try to develop nuclear weapons, and they will always submit their nuclear energy programs to inspection by the IAEA.

When the IAEA discovers non-compliance with the NPT, the IAEA has no authority to impose sanctions on these states. The IAEA must submit the charges of non-compliance to the UNSC, which has the ability to authorize economic or military sanctions if consensus is reached.

There are three states that never signed the treaty and therefore are not submitted to it by any means. India and Pakistan are confirmed nuclear powers, which openly detonated nuclear devices. Israel on the other hand has a 'policy of deliberate nuclear ambiguity', when it neither confirms, nor denies existence of its nuclear programme. Finally, South Africa is the only country that developed nuclear weapons by itself and later dismantled them before it signed the NPT, based on international pressure.

### IAEA – International Atomic Energy Agency

The IAEA is the world's centre of cooperation in the nuclear field. It was set up as the world's 'Atoms for Peace' organisation in 1957 within the UN family. The IAEA works with its member states and multiple partners worldwide to promote safe, secure and peaceful nuclear technologies.

As an independent international organization related to the UN system, the IAEA's relationship with the UN is regulated by special agreements. In terms of its Statute, the IAEA reports annually to the United Nations General Assembly and, when appropriate, to the UNSC regarding non-compliance by states with their safeguards obligations as well as on matters relating to international peace and security.

IAEA has been the key institution reviewing the DPRK's compliance with the NPT treaty until the North Koreans unilaterally withdrew from the NPT in 2003. IAEA has however never gained full and free access to all DPRK's nuclear facilities. This is why IAEA reported to the UNSC about the North Korean non-compliance on several occasions during the recent history.



## **Topics for discussion at the United Nations Security Council**

As mentioned in the introduction, it is likely that DPRK will eventually provoke ROK into another low-intensity conflict, similar to those observed in 2010. Since DPRK possesses the capabilities to detonate nuclear devices, albeit it has not yet been able to weaponise them, any sort of such provocation puts ROK and other interested parties into a delicate and dangerous situation. It is therefore crucial that the UNSC should be able to address issues regarding regulation, control and assessment of the DPRKS' nuclear capabilities. DanMUN strongly suggest that the respective delegations preparing for the conference familiarise themselves with recent UNSC resolutions on DPRK, so that they are able to address these issues touching upon the regulation of DPRK's nuclear weapon programme:

### **I. The role of the Panel of Experts (POE)**

The previous UNSC Resolution (S/RES/2050) extends the mandate of the Panel of Experts until the 12 July 2013. However, apart from the extended time period and submission date of the report, the role and the responsibility of the Panel of Experts remains at a similar level as stated in Article 26 of S/RES/1874 (2009). There have also been signs that the Panel of Experts does not function properly. Therefore, it seems timely adequate to revise the role of the Panel of Experts.

### **II. The imposition and implementation of sanctions (“Smart Sanctions”)**

S/RES/1874 (2009) contains substantial operational clauses on economic/trade/financial sanctions. The assessment of the essence of sanctions and the implementation plans should take place in light of the current situation. Are the sanctions really effective? Is their implementation in order and if not, what can be done?

### **III. The issue of the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons (NPT)**

The unilateral denunciation of the NPT by Democratic People's Republic of Korea has been posing threat to the Korean peninsula and the international community ever since 2003. DPRK's re-enter into NPT should alleviate the tensions in Korean peninsula. Is it possible to restart the six-party talks and to achieve rapprochement with the DPRK? Does the new Korean leadership give an opportunity for negotiations?

## Previous UN Resolutions on the Conflict

Date	Security Council Resolutions	Content
12 June 2012	S/RES/2050	This resolution extended the mandate of the PoE until 12 July 2013.
10 June 2011	S/RES/1985	This resolution extended the mandate of the PoE that supports the DPRK Sanctions Committee until 12 June 2012, and asked the PoE to provide its midterm and final reports to the committee a month before they are submitted to the UNSC, in order to allow for a discussion.
7 June 2010	S/RES/1928	This resolution extended the mandate of the PoE that assists the DPRK Sanctions Committee until 12 June 2011.
24 September 2009	S/RES/1887	This resolution was on nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament stressed the value and necessity of fully implementing resolution 1540.
12 June 2009	S/RES/1874	This resolution expressed grave concern over DPRK's 25 May nuclear test and expanded the sanctions imposed on DPRK to include all arms and related material, as well as financial transactions, technical training, advice, services or assistance related to the provision, manufacture, maintenance or use of such arms or material.
14 October 2006	S/RES/1718	This resolution expressed grave



		concern over DPRK's nuclear test, imposed sanctions and set up a sanctions committee.
15 July 2006	S/RES/1695	This resolution condemned DPRK's launch of ballistic missiles and imposed sanctions.
28 April 2004	S/RES/1540	This resolution established the 1540 Committee and its mandate, affirmed that proliferation of nuclear weapons as well as the means of delivery constitutes a threat to international peace and security.
11 May 1993	S/RES/825	This resolution urged the DPRK to reconsider its announcement to withdraw from the NPT and abide by its international obligations.
8 August 1991	S/RES/702	This resolution recommended the DPRK and the ROK for UN membership.

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### Recommended literature

- Basic Facts about the United Nations: <http://issuu.com/unpublications/docs/basicfacts>
- Do nuclear weapons still have a role in international relations in the post-Cold War era?: <http://www.e-ir.info/2008/05/10/do-nuclear-weapons-still-have-a-role-in-international-relations-in-the-post-cold-war-era-2/>
- The Last Living Fossil of the Cold War: [http://www.diis.dk/graphics/Publications/Reports2012/RP2012-10-Last-living-fossil\\_web.jpg.pdf](http://www.diis.dk/graphics/Publications/Reports2012/RP2012-10-Last-living-fossil_web.jpg.pdf)