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**COVER PHOTO** : North Korean leader Kim Jong-un waves during an unveiling ceremony of statues of late leaders Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il held to celebrate the 60th founding anniversary of his alma mater, Kim Il-sung Military University, in Pyongyang on Oct. 29. (KCNA-Yonhap Photo)

# N. Korean Ceremonial Head Kim Yong-nam's Diplomatic Activities



- ❶ Kim Yong-nam (center), president of the SPA Presidium, has a photo session in Pyongyang with a delegation from the Laos-Korea Friendship Association on Nov. 5.
- ❷ Kim Yong-nam meets with a congratulatory group of Koreans from Japan to celebrate the 64th founding anniversary of North Korea on Sept. 14.
- ❸ Kim Yong-nam gives a speech at the 16th Summit of the Non-aligned Movement held in Tehran on Aug. 31.
- ❹ Kim Yong-nam holds talks with Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad (right) at the Presidential Palace in Iran on Sept. 1.

# Recent Mass Rallies of North Koreans in Pyongyang



A meeting of chairpersons of primary organizations of the youth league in the companies of the KPA ⑤ takes place at the April 25 House of Culture on Oct. 31.

A national meeting of medical workers is held at the People's Palace of Culture on Oct. 31. ⑥

A meeting of active forestry workers is held at the People's Palace of Culture on Nov. 7. ⑦

Participants applaud for the 40th anniversary of the national arts performance operation bureau on Nov. 6. ⑧

## REVIEW OF LEE MYUNG-BAK GOVERNMENT'S N. KOREA POLICY

**President Lee has attempted changes in inter-Korean relations through various policies, although there are conflicting assessments of his methods.**

■ By Lee Kwang-ho

**A**head of the South Korean presidential election on Dec. 19, the Seoul government's policy toward North Korea for the past five years is under intense assessments. Since its inauguration in early 2008, the Lee Myung-bak government has stuck to its tough policy that the socialist country must give up its nuclear programs before any large-scale aid and inter-Korean cooperation can resume.

But such "principled and flexible" policy toward Pyongyang has undergone ups and downs, and the frayed relations between the two divided Koreas have plunged to the lowest level in decades. As there appears no breakthrough from the prolonged impasse, Pyongyang has heightened the long-lasting tense situation on the Korean Peninsula, now with an attempt to influence the presidential election in its favor.

### **Policy of Co-existence and Co-prosperity**

During the past years, inter-Korean confrontation showed no sign of any improvement with many conflicts taking place one after another. Among them are the death of a South Korean female tourist at Mount Kumgang resort on the North's eastern coast in July 2008, the sinking of the South Korean warship Cheonan in March 2010 and the shelling of Yeonpyeong Island in the Yellow Sea in November 2010.

President Lee has attempted changes in inter-Korean relations through various policies, although there are conflicting assessments of his methods. As a presidential election campaign, he sought "denuclearization, opening and 3,000," offering massive aid to the North in return for abandoning its nuclear program and opening up its economy

South Korean President Lee Myung-bak (center) visits an artillery unit on the northwestern border island of Yeonpyeong with Defense Minister Kim Kwan-jin on Oct. 18. Lee's visit to the border island was the first by an incumbent president. (Yonhap Photo)



so that per capita income for North Koreans reaches US\$3,000 in a decade. But North Korea has branded the Seoul policy vision as anti-unification, even labeling it as a declaration of war.

As there emerged a critical view on the campaign pledges, the Lee government later in 2008 announced its official North Korea policy of coexistence and co-prosperity. The term of “coexistence and co-prosperity” is comparable to former President Kim Dae-jung’s “sunshine policy” of engaging North Korea through reconciliation and cooperation, and his successor Roh Moo-hyun’s policy for peace and prosperity, also through engagement.

The unification ministry explained the new policy guidelines have the objective of transcending reconciliation and cooperation between the divided Koreas, adding the policy includes “the philosophy of elevating inter-Korean relations to develop after military hostilities to cooperative relations, and then to the stage of coexistence

and co-prosperity.” The ministry said North Korea’s humanitarian issues will be handled with Seoul’s strong determination to resolve them through dialogue.

Still, the government’s new North Korea policy has yet to be accompanied by detailed guidelines on each inter-Korean issue and global tasks related to North Korea. Experts said the new policy, therefore, is not a shift in the government’s basic North Korea policy, which first places emphasis on denuclearization and the improvement of the North’s dismal human rights situation.

Other analysts said the government’s policy is an appeasement gesture toward Pyongyang and also advocates for Korean unification to be achieved under “liberal democracy.” The policy is a major departure from the stance taken by the previous Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun administrations, which focused more on the peaceful coexistence of the two Koreas under their respective political and eco-

conomic systems. The two liberal South Korean presidents held summits with then North Korean leader Kim Jong-il in 2000 and 2007, respectively, bringing about joint declarations for peaceful coexistence and cooperation.

Inter-Korean relations have gone from bad to worse since the first year of the Lee administration. The death of the South Korean tourist at Mount Kumgang resort through a fatal shooting by a North Korean soldier in July 2008 led to Seoul's suspension of the tourism program. The measures also prodded the North to put a lid on the Kaesong Industrial Complex and the Kaesong tour program in December 2008.

### **North Korea's Provocations**

Defying the South proposal for denuclearization, the North launched a long-range missile in April 2009 and conducted its second nuclear test in May 2009. The North invited harsh international condemnation and sanctions. The six-party talks to denuclearize the North remain stalled since their last session in 2008.

At this juncture, President Lee initiated a new peace initiative for the Korean Peninsula in 2009. Guaranteeing North Korea's existence and prosperity, Lee's offer presents detailed steps for cooperation, such as holding high-level talks for the realization of South-North Korean economic ties and implementing new development projects. The president said the Seoul government will continue to implement a "consistent, comprehensive and flexible" policy toward North Korea to persuade the neighbor to scrap its nuclear

program and join the global community.

Lee's comments come as a reaffirmation of his "Vision 3000" policy, which links improvements in the economic relationship between the two Koreas to nuclear disarmament. Pyongyang has rejected Lee's vision 3000 initiative as an insult and has described it as a "criminal" campaign against its regime.

Critics in Seoul said Lee's new peace initiative would only be complete if and when the president provides details of what incentives South Korea can give to its northern neighbor in exchange for denuclearization. Some analysts were skeptical about Lee's proposal, saying it was not timely as arms control talks can only be realized with mutual trust among related countries surrounding the Korean Peninsula. They argued there is no trust and therefore inter-Korean talks to deal with the matter were unlikely to take place.

To make matters worse, inter-Korean relations were severely worsened by the sinking of the Cheonan, which was torpedoed by the North in March 2010. In return, South Korea on May 24 suspended a range of inter-Korean exchanges with the exception of the Kaesong Industrial Complex in retaliation for the sinking. Additionally, inter-Korean economic cooperation has been on the decline since 2010. The sinking of the battleship was followed by the North's deadly shelling of Yeonpyeong Island, a South Korean western border island, on Nov. 23, 2010.

In his Liberation Day address in 2010, President Lee suggested a new proposal for peaceful coexistence and co-prosperity

of the two Koreas. Lee called for the two sides to choose coexistence instead of confrontation and progress instead of stagnation. He proposed a three-stage reunification formula and the introduction of a “unification tax.” He pointed out the two archrivals need a paradigm shift to liquidate the Cold War legacy and take a path to eventual reunification.

His proposal calls for the formation of a “peace community” for coexistence on the peninsula as the first step for reunification. The next step is to build an “economic community” for co-prosperity. And the final stage is to create a “national community” for a unified Korea. Lee’s idea for a step-by-step reunification is not new to Koreans.

## Positive Assessment

North Korea’s longtime leader Kim Jong-il died of heart disease in December last year and his son Jong-un succeeded him. President Lee said on Feb. 22 this year Seoul is ready to talk with North Korea with an “open heart” if Pyongyang is willing to talk in a sincere manner. He made the remarks during a special news conference marking the fourth anniversary of his inauguration. But North Korea has repeatedly said it will not deal with the Lee government, calling him a “traitor.” President Lee said that after Kim Jong-il’s death, there was hope the unexpected event could serve as a chance to repair badly strained inter-Korean relations.

Earlier this year, Seoul’s unification ministry released a report regarding the achievements of North Korea policy driven

by the Lee government. In the report, the ministry said the government accomplished “meaningful achievements.” “Tangible results in line with the public’s expectations were lacking. However, by pushing forward with a consistent policy over the past four years, we accomplished meaningful achievements,” it said.

The ministry said “meaningful achievements” mean the way in which the government has “formed a social consensus among the international community to denuclearize, reform and develop the North,” adding, “The formally one-sided relationship between the North and the South is gradually changing.” It further asserted, “We have prepared ways to normalize North-South relations by correcting the North’s perception of South Korea.”

The ministry also explained that it “has been very prudent in trying to maintain stability on the Korean Peninsula after the sudden death of the North’s longtime leader Kim Jong-il,” saying that while pushing ahead with a consistent policy, it has still remained flexible in dealing with North Korea.

Back in 2011, the two Koreas made some progress in their relations via two rounds of denuclearization talks in July and September in step with the improvement of relations between the North and the United States. Pyongyang and Washington held two rounds of talks in July and October in a bid to discuss the resumption of the six-party talks.

Yet, the enmity and distrust between the two Koreas continued. Earlier last year, North Korea claimed that South Korean officials seemed to offer a cash envelope

for the summit talks between leaders of the two Koreas. The South attempted to hold summit talks with the North two times in 2009 and 2011. But the two Koreas failed to hold their third summit.

North Korea's verbal hostility against South Korea over controversial issues had grown harsher in an apparent bid to create conflicts in the South and to change its "confrontational policy" toward the North. The North's powerful National Defense Commission (NDC) said in a statement on Dec. 30, 2011 that the North will not deal with the South Korean government, which will complete its five-year term in February 2013.

### **North Korea's Demand**

Pyongyang poured out a barrage of rhetoric against Seoul on such issues as the repatriation of North Korean defectors and the South's move to legislate a North Korean human rights bill. The North has been frequently releasing warnings of "merciless retaliation" against any South Korean move to destroy its socialist system. Last year, North Korea's rhetoric strengthened after South Korean Marines, some military units and reserve forces were found to have used portraits of Kim Jong-il, his son Kim Jong-un, and even his father, Kim Il-sung, as targets for shooting drills.

Moreover, Pyongyang was blamed for cyber attacks against South Korea. Despite its denial, North Korea is believed to have carried out cyber attacks against the South Korean government and private companies between 2009 and 2011. Seoul's prosecu-

tors announced in May last year the North's cyber attack crashed the computer network system of South Korea's National Agricultural Cooperative Federation (Nonghyup) in April 2011. Since then, South Korean officials have paid heightened alertness on the North's aggressive moves for the disruption of navigational devices using a global positioning system (GPS) and the launching of distributed-denial-of-service (DDoS) attacks.

For all the North Korean provocations, Seoul's point man on North Korea, Yu Woo-ik, said the Seoul government will pursue a flexible approach toward North Korea through a principled stance. The South's principled stance against the North caused a flurry of severe criticism of the Seoul government by the socialist country. The North's cool reaction shows that the North regards any proposals by the incumbent Seoul government as pointless.

Worse yet, North Korea has regarded Seoul's policy as a heinous scheme to topple its socialist regime by the absorption of the capitalist South. It has claimed the United States and South Korea have been conducting military exercises frequently to invade the North, saying it had no expectation for dialogue with the Lee government.

Since its inauguration, the Lee government's North Korea policy has taken a completely opposite stance compared with the previous two liberal administrations. Under the so-called sunshine policy, the previous governments made a reconciliation and cooperation between the two Koreas a priority in carrying out their policies toward the North. In contrast, the Lee administration has put them on the back



burner, calling on the North to give up its nuclear program and open its door to the outside world as preconditions for dialogue.

In sharp contrast with the North's stance, South Korea sought, at the beginning of 2012, reconciliatory approaches like the resumption of inter-Korean talks. In his New Year's address this year, President Lee urged the North to utilize dialogue to resolve mutual distrust to achieve prosperity. The softened attitude by the North stemmed from increased volatility on the peninsula after the sudden death of Kim Jong-il.

## **New Situations**

The incumbent government's North Korea policy has been under severe attack by South Korean progressives and civilian think tanks. They have lashed out at the government's hard-line policy, saying it has caused inter-Korean relations to plummet back to Cold War era levels. Furthermore, they say, the South Korean government hasn't found a way to thaw the chilly relations, and instead resorts to harshly criticizing the North.

North Korea has persistently demanded the Seoul government implement the two inter-Korean summit declarations – the June 15 Joint Declaration and Oct. 4 declaration – reached in the summits of the two Koreas in 2000 and 2007, respectively. North Korea has also insisted South Korea and the United States stop their “war games” against the North if “they really want peace on the Korean Peninsula.”

But President Lee reaffirmed his long-

standing stance that Seoul will continue to press North Korea to give up its nuclear ambitions under the firm alliance with the United States. In a summit held in Washington on Oct. 13, last year, President Lee and U.S. President Barack Obama agreed to turn their defense and security alliance into a strategic partnership that encompasses the economic field.

Calling the North a direct threat, Obama said Seoul and Washington are entirely united on how to deal with Pyongyang and have succeeded in changing the equation with the North by showing that its provocations will be met not with rewards, but with even stronger sanctions and isolation. The United States has proposed a comprehensive package guaranteeing the existence of the North Korean regime and promising extensive economic assistance on the condition that the North abandons its nuclear weapons program.

Now the situations surrounding the Korean Peninsula are expected to change swiftly with the re-election of liberal-minded U.S. President Barack Obama and the rise of a new leadership in China, led by Xi Jinping. Experts said South Korea should be prepared with the changing situations so that it does not lose any valuable opportunity for inter-Korean rapprochement. The North may temporarily take time out to explore possible policy options acceptable to the second-term Obama administration, which may opt for an engagement stance that can lead to tangible achievements in Washington's North Korean policies, they say. (Yonhap News)

## S. KOREA-U.S. AGREEMENT ON FAR-REACHING CONTINGENCY PLANS

**The allies agreed to develop joint deterrence strategies tailored to specific types of North Korea's threats, from nuclear bombs to cyber attacks.**

■ By Kim Tae-shik

South Korea and the United States reached a set of agreements at their annual security talks in Washington on Oct. 24 to boost the deterrence capabilities of their alliance against diverse military threats from North Korea, and establish systems to cope with such threats. South Korean Defense Minister Kim Kwan-jin and U.S. Defense Secretary Leon Panetta also updated a vision for the future of the alliance at the Security Consultative Meeting (SCM) held at the Pentagon, at a time of continued military threats from the communist North under its new leader Kim Jong-un.

### **Extended Deterrence for South Korea**

Kim and Panetta agreed to identify specific types of nuclear threats by North Korea and map out joint deterrence strategies tailored to each threat type by 2014. "They reaffirmed that any North Korean aggression or military provocation is not to be tolerated and that the U.S. and the Republic of Korea would work shoulder-to-shoulder to demonstrate our combined resolve," a joint communique said, referring to South Korea's official name. "They also urged North Korea to cease all activities related to its nuclear programs immediately, and to abandon all nuclear weapons and existing nuclear programs."

In particular, the allies agreed to develop joint deterrence strategies tailored to specific types of threats posed by North Korea's nuclear, missile and other weapons of destruction by 2014, through the "Extended Deterrence Policy Committee" of the two countries. Panetta reiterated the U.S. commitment to provide and strengthen extended

South Korea's Defense Minister Kim Kwan-jin and his U.S. counterpart, Leon Panetta, hold a joint news conference shortly after the 44th annual Security Consultative Meeting between the two countries held at the Pentagon in Washington on Oct. 24. (Yonhap Photo)



deterrence for the South, using its full range of military capabilities, including “the U.S. nuclear umbrella, conventional strike, and missile defense capabilities.”

About 28,500 American troops are stationed in South Korea and the U.S. guarantees a nuclear “umbrella” in case of an atomic attack, but calls for customized deterrence strategies have grown as Seoul prepares to retake wartime operational command from Washington in December 2015.

The Combined Forces Command (CFC), which has long overseen joint operations of the allies, will be dismantled under the transition plan, so the two sides will form a joint working group to establish an alternative system to “continue to refine the future command structure and maximize its military efficiency.” The latest agreement came as some in the South question whether the allies will be able to carry out joint military actions as effectively as before once the CFC is dissolved and a looser command structure exists between South Korean troops and U.S. Forces Korea.

They also stressed the transition should be “implemented methodically” and that the combined defense posture remains “strong and seamless.” The two defense chiefs reaffirmed the need to continue promoting combined exercises and training events and to enhance combined capabilities in order to be prepared for any North Korean provocations in the vicinity of the Northwest Islands and the Northern Limit Line (NLL). “Moreover, noting that the NLL has been an effective means of separating the ROK (South Korea) and North Korean military forces and preventing military tension for nearly 60 years, the Secretary and the Minister urged North Korea to accept the practical value of and abide by the NLL,” they said in the joint statement.

The ministerial meeting, the first since the announcement of a new missile pact that nearly

tripled Seoul's missile range to 800 kilometers (500 miles), also reached an agreement to closely cooperate in developing South Korea's missile defense system. The range extension puts the whole of North Korea within reach of Seoul's missiles and drew an angry response from Pyongyang. The counterparts shared a common view that the "Revised Missile Guideline (RMG)," which enables South Korea to enhance its missiles and unmanned aerial vehicles, is a key component of a comprehensive approach to an allied counter-missile strategy.

In this context, Minister Kim reaffirmed his country will continue to improve its deterrent and defensive capabilities against North Korean missile threats, including intelligence, surveillance, reconnaissance (ISR) and Korean air and missile defense capabilities, and to enhance the interoperability of the alliance's command and control system. The United States and South Korea are committed to maintaining close consultation to develop comprehensive alliance capabilities to counter North Korean weapons of mass destruction (WMD) threats.

The two nations will, by 2015, establish a "kill chain" of the ballistic missile system to detect, track and target North Korean missiles, and a Korean Air and Missile Defense System, aimed at intercepting incoming missiles. The kill chain will reduce the time needed to counter a North Korean missile to within 30 minutes – from first detection to neutralization.

The Seoul-Washington agreements at this year's SCM are meaningful in that they represent a framework for far-reaching contingency plans against North Korea's diverse threats, from nuclear bombs to cyber attacks. It is also meaningful that the two countries updated the vision for the future of the alliance.

## **List of Scenarios for N. Korean Nuclear Attack**

It is the first time the SCM has agreed to identify North Korea's threats in specific types and agreed to establish concrete countermeasures against the specific type of threats. Yim Kwan-bin, South Korea's deputy minister for policy, said this year's SCM upgraded the level of the South Korea-U.S. alliance for peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula, and laid the ground to develop the alliance to a futuristic one.

The 60-year-old alliance stands at a crucial juncture as the U.S. rebalances towards Asia, and Seoul moves to regain wartime operational control of its troops. Kim and Panetta "reaffirmed the need to advance the military deterrence capabilities of the alliance in a more practical and concrete manner, and also to improve response readiness in the event of a North Korean provocation," according to the joint statement. The allies agreed to beef up "tailored deterrence" against North Korea, dependent on the provocation.

The measure comes as the type of possible North Korean attack becomes increasingly unpredictable. The secretive socialist nation continues to develop nuclear and long-range missile capabilities. In 2010, it launched a torpedo attack on a South Korean warship in the tensely guarded Yellow Sea and also shelled a border island, killing 50 soldiers and civilians.

The two sides plan to draw up a list of scenarios for a North Korean nuclear attack by

2014, and to conduct simulation-based exercises at the Los Alamos National Laboratory, which specializes in U.S. nuclear deterrence, officials said. South Korea and the U.S. also plan to produce joint operational plans by January to cope with North Korea's guerrilla-style provocations.

The allies also decided to begin a joint study of ways to replace the Combined Forces Command (CFC), which has served as a control tower of their military partnership. Many have expressed concern over possible loopholes in the command structure of joint operations. Some raised the possibility that the replacement body created will have virtually the same function but only a different name and size.

Kim said his government is considering establishing a joint body under the Joint Chiefs of Staff as South Korean forces will play the leading role and U.S. troops will be in support after the CFC is dissolved. "There have been discussions about how to utilize the expertise accumulated under the CFC structure even after the transition of wartime OPCON," Kim said in a meeting with reporters. "The issue is how to form a decision-making body within the structure of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of South Korea." Kim said the two sides plan to form a working-group later this year to draft a new model for an alternative joint operation body by the first half of next year.

## **North Korea's Reaction to Agreements**

To strengthen its total missile system, Kim stressed South Korea would establish its own "kill chain" to detect, target and destroy North Korean ballistic missiles, which are capable of hitting South Korea, Japan and Guam. "It is unnecessary to join (the U.S.) missile defense system. I hope there will be no misunderstanding," Kim said. "We need to first beef up defense capabilities low-range. Still, (the two sides) should cooperate when conducting joint operations using the satellite surveillance systems, which rely mostly on intelligence provided by the U.S."

North Korea harshly criticized the Seoul-Washington agreements at the SCM. The (North) Korean Central News Agency (KCNA) reported on Nov. 1 that the U.S. and South Korea "plotted to intensify joint military exercises for defending the "northern limit line (NLL)." "This sordid conspiracy between the master and the stooge is aimed to intensify provocation in the West Sea of Korea, an area fraught with the potential danger of military conflict, and ignite a nuclear war at any cost," the KCNA said.

The KCNA said that U.S. and South Korean authorities were crying out to maintaining the NLL, while talking about its practical value. "This is sophism to justify their encroachment on the sovereignty of the DPRK (North Korea), intrusion into its territorial waters and provocation against it." "The U.S. imperialists and the South Korean puppet forces' anti-DPRK war moves have become common occurrences in the West Sea of Korea and are of an increasingly assuming provocative nature," the report continued. (Yonhap News)

# NORTH KOREA POLICY OF THE SECOND OBAMA ADMINISTRATION

**The second term administration is not expected to take a drastic departure from a dual policy of sanctions and conditional engagement.**

■ By Tong Kim *Research Professor at Korea University in Seoul,  
Former Adjunct Professor with the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS)*

Since Barack Obama's re-election, many nations around the world have been wondering how different Obama's foreign policy will be from his first term to affect the issues of their region. The two Koreas anxiously hope that the second Obama administration will work more seriously with them to settle the issue of war and peace on the Korean Peninsula, by resolving the North Korean nuclear weapons program, building a peace regime and helping improve inter-Korean relations toward eventual unification. In theory, a second-term president can be emboldened to aggressively resolve foreign policy issues and to leave them as a legacy of his presidency.

To the first Obama administration, the Korean Peninsula was an important issue but not a high priority. This was well reflected by the so-called "strategic patience," an approach that meant that the United States would not take an initiative before North Korea takes positive steps first as required by U.S. preconditions to meet its international obligations. While the low priority on Korea will not change

unless an eruption of a major provocation occurs, Washington knows the North Korean issue is complicated and will not be easily resolved. The second term American administration is expected to continue supporting a strong alliance with South Korea to maintain the security status quo on the peninsula and in the region, and it will work closely together with a new South Korean government regarding the North Korean issue, regardless of who wins the presidential election on Dec. 19.

## Important Issues

Radio Free Asia on Nov. 13 quoted a U.S. State Department official as saying, "The United States will continue close, constructive cooperation with the Republic of Korea no matter which presidential candidate wins" in Korea. On the same day, former deputy secretary of state James Steinberg also told an audience in Seoul that the second term Obama administration would fully cooperate with the next president of South Korea. Steinberg added Obama would support improved inter-

Korean relations, as they are the key to the resolution of the Korean issue.

The second term administration is not expected to take a drastic departure from a dual policy of sanctions and conditional engagement, unless North Korea shows seriousness in carrying out its commitments to denuclearization. Obama's second term faces the same old nuclear weapons issue with North Korea but in a changed strategic environment on the Korean Peninsula with a stable transition of North Korean leadership from Kim Jong-il to his son Kim Jong-un, while South Korea will elect a new president in December.

Since its last rocket launch in April this year, which effectively killed the Feb. 29 agreement, the North has not conducted another missile test or a third nuclear test, contrary to many analysts' predictions. In North East Asia, the strategic balance is shifting with China's military expansion amid changing dynamics of regional powers. These changes offer a sufficient rationale for the re-elected U.S. president to re-examine his North Korea policy toward the ultimate dismantlement of the North Korean weapons of mass destruction, to maintain a stable security environment in Asia and to advance his goal of a world without nuclear weapons.

For the past four years, the Obama administration's "strategic patience" of waiting for North Korea to change failed to make any progress on the denuclearization of North Korea. That ill-conceived strategy witnessed a spectacular retreat from the Sept. 19, 2005 joint statement of the six-party talks. Whereas the six-party talks were widely viewed as the most appropri-

ate venue to discuss the North Korean nuclear program, not a single session was convened during the first term of the Obama administration.

The U.N. sanctions imposed on the North to punish Pyongyang's rocket launch on April 5, 2009 and a second nuclear test on May 25 of the same year may have somewhat hurt the North Korean economy, but they did not reign in the North Korean weapons program. On the contrary, the sanctions pushed the North to deeper depend on China in economic and political terms. Since the suspension of the six-party process, North Korea has developed an impressive uranium enrichment capability, which can be used to produce a nuclear weapon. Sporadic talks between Washington and Pyongyang were not enough to stop the North's uranium enrichment program.

## **Nuclear Weapons**

The second Obama administration will likely pursue the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, as agreed by all parties in the Sept. 19 Joint Statement, as a policy goal. It will not accept the notion of a nuclear North Korea, as Pyongyang claims it is. Washington will not accept the models of India and Pakistan to accommodate North Korea as a de facto nuclear weapons state, despite the fact that North Korea has a limited number of nuclear weapons. The United States will not sit down together with the North Koreans in a bilateral arms reduction talk recognizing the North as a nuclear power. Maintaining these basic policy tenets, the second term administra-

tion will most likely stick to the goal of denuclearization and nonproliferation in the region, even if it may believe it is impossible to achieve such a goal.

Many American specialists and policymakers of the past and the present believe a permanent solution to the North Korean problem will be possible only through Korean unification. However, the U.S. under Obama's second term will not seek regime change in the North or unification, peaceful or violent. It will not deliberately attempt to undermine the stability of the North Korean system or stir up the North Korean people against their regime.

It is quite possible that Obama's second term will work harder to explore ways to achieve the denuclearization of North Korea, bilaterally and multilaterally, and through its allies and partners in the region. For one thing, Washington can be more flexible in approaching the issue and offering a mixture of carrots for good North Korean behavior. Perhaps, the best place to start would be to resuscitate the Feb. 29 agreement, in which the North agreed to suspend its nuclear and missile programs as long as talks were in progress. Despite Pyongyang's political propaganda that sounds like they would never give up their nuclear weapons, Washington is also aware that North Koreans say they would respond to U.S. concerns once U.S. hostility is removed.

One sticking point, the North Koreans always insist that the U.S. must end its hostile policy against them, without specifying what constitutes elements of hostility in U.S. policy. The U.S. has reiterated that it has no hostile policy, and it stated the

same point in the Feb. 29 agreement. What the North wants is U.S. assurance of its survival, which the U.S. and its allies would provide as progress is made toward the implementation of denuclearization and the establishment of a peace arrangement.

During the course of North Korea's last missile launch and the subsequent abrogation of the Feb. 29 agreement, enough bad feelings were created on both sides between Washington and Pyongyang. What it would take to resume direct dialogue depends on which side moves first. Pyongyang would have the first chance to signal its interest in engagement, when it publishes its New Year's joint editorial before the inauguration of Obama's second presidency in January. Obama could respond to a constructive North Korean proposal in his second inaugural speech, in broad general terms in the context of nonproliferation and a world without nuclear weapons.

## Direct Dialogue

President Obama's second term does not need to go through a transition of government, but there will likely be a new cabinet with new secretaries for several departments, including State, Defense, Treasury and Justice. In Washington, it is no secret that Secretary of State Hillary Clinton wants to leave as soon as possible, and Secretary of Defense Leon E. Panetta has not made clear whether or when he wants to leave. However, The *Washington Post* reported on Nov. 12 that Senator John F. Kerry (D-Mass), chairman of the senate foreign relations committee, who was known to be



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***It is quite possible that Obama's second term will work harder to explore ways to achieve the denuclearization of North Korea through its allies and partners in the region. For one thing, Washington can be more flexible in approaching the issue and offering a mixture of carrots for good North Korean behavior.***

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interested in the job of secretary of state and who holds a progressive perspective on North Korea, was being considered by President Obama as the next defense secretary. The WP story also reported that UN Ambassador Susan Davis is likely to succeed Secretary Clinton.

For the secretary of the defense's post, Deputy Secretary of Defense Ashton Carter is also being mentioned as a potential nominee. Carter is familiar with the North Korean issue as he worked with former secretary of defense William Perry on a North Korea policy review, visiting Pyongyang in May 1999. He has written an op-ed in *The Washington Post*, suggesting that the U.S. should strike a missile launch site. According to *The Washington Post*, the White House national security team, including National Security Adviser Thomas Dillon and his principal deputy Denis McDonough, will remain in place. A new CIA director will have to be nominated to fill the vacancy created after the embarrassing departure of General David Petraeus as the Agency's director upon an FBI investigation of his ex-marital affair.

Even if there would be an extensive change of players at different levels at State and Defense, the second Obama administration will not go through a North

Korea policy review that takes three to six months as a common practice upon a transition of the administration. Obama's second term Korea policy can move quickly if the two Koreas are ready. Washington is unlikely to bypass Seoul to talk directly to the North. It is more likely to wait and watch how the next South Korean president's policies play out.

For better or worse, all three presidential candidates are campaigning on a strikingly similar North Korea policy platform, moving away from the hardliner policy of conditional dialogue of the incumbent administration. Park Geun-hye, Moon Jae-in and Ahn Cheol-soo all want to maintain a sound military alliance with the United States, improve relations with the North, resolve the denuclearization issue, keep the Northern Limit Line, increase economic cooperation, expand the operation of the Kaesong Industrial Complex, resume Mt. Kumgang tourism, hold an inter-Korean summit, build a peace regime and go through a phased process of peaceful unification.

It appears that the fate of the Korean Peninsula depends on what Koreans want to do rather than what the United States might do for them. (Yonhap News)

## IMPLICATIONS OF N.K.'S EDUCATION SYSTEM REFORM

**The reform on the education system is being watched with attention in some respects, including the North's political intentions.**

■ By Jeong Eun-chan *Professor of the Institute for Unification Education in Seoul, Korea*

North Korea's rubber-stamp parliament approved legislation to extend its compulsory education to 12 years from the current 11 years at the sixth session of the 12th Supreme People's Assembly on Sept. 25.

Although it sparked confusion among some watchers, as highly-anticipated announcements on economic reform were not put forward, for the author who was educated in the North, this is not a matter to be just passed over.

Previously, students in North Korea were given 11 years of compulsory education - one year of kindergarten, four years of elementary school and six years of middle school.

After its implementation, North Koreans will be required to complete one year of kindergarten, five years of elementary school, three years of middle school (junior middle school) and three years of high school (senior middle school).

The reform on the education system is being watched with attention in some respects, including the North's political intentions.

The move, first of all, appears to be aimed at indirectly patching up its troubled economy by showing that it has the potential to expand state investment in education for the future generations.

North Korea had set a target of making the socialist country into a Kongsong Taeguk, a great country that is powerful ideologically, militarily and economically, and had vowed to usher in a prosperous country by 2012.

The education reform is also seen as an effort to strengthen solidarity within the regime. Currently, a majority of North Koreans are full of distrust and dissatisfaction due to problems such as the breakdown of the distribution system, and public disorder has even become prevalent in the nation.

Just as Kim Il-sung strengthened unity during the 1950-53 Korean War through "free healthcare," young leader Kim Jong-un is also trying to resolve pending difficulties through this reform by inspiration on socialism.

The year-long expansion, furthermore, is intended to reinforce three perspectives for

those who were born after the North's faltering economy.

North Korean children could not build on the basics of these perspectives as they were not educated ordinarily from family, school and social organizations due to chronic economic difficulties since the mid-1990s.

The three perspectives consist of the revolutionary concept of the Suryong (leader), view on organizations and one's view of life. Particularly important is revolutionary concept of the Suryong.

This is a core theory backing the monolithic ideological system of North Korea. The theory maintains that the masses are the masters of the revolution, but they cannot play the role of the masters unless they are led by the Suryong, and therefore, the masses are required to obey the instructions of the Suryong unconditionally.

Accordingly, North Korea seems to devote itself to encouraging the royalty of the Suryong by preparing the ground for three perspectives to students on the occasion of the education system reform.

The move also is designed to meet the trends of globalization and the information age. The North's plan to strengthen education on computers, science and foreign languages, are seen as preparations gradually for economic reform.

North Korean leader Kim Jong-un openly acknowledged the country's economic hardship and pledged to raise the standard of living, saying North Koreans should never have to tighten their belts again.

Finally, the North's education reform is aimed at putting the country on par with educational systems in South Korea, China

and other countries in the region.

In order for the socialist regime to pursue free education and healthcare, it must make ends meet with the state budget or it will just remain as a mere visionary project.

First and foremost, it should get rid of its nuclear weapons that are barricading it from reform and opening and adopt the international financial system to achieve free education.

However, we must not neglect the political and ideological intention that underlies North Korea's education reform. As the younger generation will play the leading role in unification, they should realize the superiority of democratic freedom and boost confidence through strengthened education.

The North Korean government began requiring compulsory primary education in 1956, compulsory secondary education in 1958 and Korean-style unique universal nine-year compulsory technical education, which closely combined secondary general education with basic technical education and education with production in 1967.

In 1972, the government introduced the universal 11-year compulsory education, the first of its kind in the world. The enforcement of the universal 11-year education was a just measure for raising the level of free compulsory education, improving the contents of education and bringing up the new generations to be able revolutionaries and competent socialist builders. (Yonhap News)

## DENUCLEARIZING NORTH KOREA 'PERHAPS IMPOSSIBLE'

*North Korea remains reluctant to join long-stalled negotiations to solve its nuclear problem, even though a year has passed since the inauguration of the Kim Jong-un regime. Since the last six-party talks held in late 2008, the North's nuclear issue has in fact been in the shadows. James Kelly, a former assistant secretary of state of East Asia under the Bush Administration, sat down with Yonhap News Agency on October 25 for an interview on his views. Kelly was in South Korea to attend the "2012 IFANS Conference on International Affairs," hosted by the Korea National Diplomatic Academy in Seoul. – Ed.*

■ By Kim Deok-hyun

North Korea's young leader is unlikely to give up his nuclear weapons capability because it is the only achievement by his late father, Kim Jong-il, James Kelly said on Oct. 25, stressing the goal of denuclearizing the North is "perhaps impossible."

Kelly, a former U.S. assistant secretary of state who led the American delegation at the six-nation talks aimed at ending the North's nuclear weapons program, also expressed skepticism about talks with Pyongyang, even if the six-party talks resume.

"Since the only achievement during the entire period of Kim Jong-il's rule, prior to his death, was the achievement of nuclear weapons," Kelly told Yonhap News Agency in an interview in Seoul.

"Since North Korea has nothing else to be proud of, they are proud of having nuclear weapons, so it can be very difficult to get them to give these up and perhaps impossible," said Kelly, who served as America's top diplomat for East Asia between 2001 and 2005.

In 2002, Kelly visited North Korea and said he had evidence of a then-secret uranium-enriching program that could provide the communist regime with new material to make atomic weapons, in addition to its plutonium-based weapons program.

Eight years later, North Korea revealed an industrial-scale uranium enrichment facility, creating new hurdles to efforts by South Korea and the U.S. and other regional powers to reopen the six-party talks which also involve North Korea, China, Russia and Japan.

North Korea has conducted two nuclear tests in 2006 and 2009, with concerns persisting that the North might carry out a third underground nuclear test following a failed rocket launch in April this year.

Efforts to reopen the six-party talks, which were last held in late 2008, have been frozen since the April rocket launch, but analysts expect regional powers to resume diplomacy with North Korea sometime next year, after South Korea and China face leadership changes in coming months, along with the November elections in the U.S.

Kelly agreed, saying, "I think it is quite possible that there could be another session of the six-party talks."

Asked whether the six-party talks would still be an appropriate response to resolve the North's nuclear standoff, Kelly replied, "Will they be successful? Not unless judgments in North Korea change."

Some experts have said that South Korea and the U.S. should set a realistic goal of denuclearizing North Korea because Washington's target for "complete, verifiable and irreversible denuclearization (CVID)" is unachievable due to the North's uranium enrichment program, which makes it impossible for experts to verify the North's words on compliance.

"There is a difference between the realistic goal and the eventual goal which may turn out to be realistic even if conditions make that difficult now," Kelly said.

"I think the American policy remains that nuclear weapons in North Korea are profoundly unstable," he said.

"And so that remains a goal, we want to get there. That's a tough proposition," said Kelly. "Maybe North Korea might sell it, but right now we don't know what the price is, but the return will be very, very high."

Meanwhile, diplomacy with North Korea to persuade it to abandon its nuclear drive has never been straightforward, but dialogue is the best way to lead Pyongyang out of isolation and resolve its nuclear program, North Korea experts said at the forum in Seoul hosted by the National Unification Advisory Council. (Yonhap News)



James Kelly, former U.S. assistant secretary of state who led the American delegation at the six party talks, makes a speech at the opening of the multilateral gathering in Beijing in June 23, 2004. (Yonhap Photo)

## FORMS OF N. KOREA'S INTERVENTION IN S. KOREA'S ELECTION

**North Korea's propaganda outlets have recently stepped up their rhetoric against South Korea's ruling camp and its presidential contender.**

■ By Lee Kwang-ho

**W**ith inter-Korean relations deadlocked, North Korea is employing various forms of anti-South Korean campaigns in an attempt to intervene in the South's presidential election slated for Dec. 19, but focus is mostly on the incumbent Seoul government and the ruling party candidate.

North Korea's propaganda outlets have recently stepped up their rhetoric against South Korea's ruling camp and its presidential contender, Park Geun-hye. It is also expected to concentrate on intervention in the election through social network services and to try to instigate social confusion by mobilizing pro-North Korean forces in South Korea and abroad.

### **Direct Criticism of Ruling Party Candidate**

The anti-Seoul campaign ranges from direct criticism of the ruling party candidate's "anti-Pyongyang policy" to military threats in retaliation to a South Korean civic group's distribution of anti-Pyongyang leaflets. North Korea has also taken issue with the maritime border of the Northern Limit Line (NLL) in the Yellow Sea, warning it will retaliate if the South continues to try to keep its "illegal" borderline.

More recently, the North has publicized the homecomings of North Korean defectors who returned home after years of life in the South. As part of its ideological campaign against the capitalist South, the North said life in the South is bitter and uncomfortable.

North Korea's smear campaign mostly criticizes ruling party candidate, Park, and it has not commented on the opposition party and



A North Korean defector couple, who fled to South Korea and lived in the South for about four years, hold a press conference in Pyongyang on Nov. 8 after they returned to their homeland. (Yonhap Photo)

independent hopefuls. Experts explain that the North's intervention in the presidential election is to send a defeating blow to the incumbent Lee Myung-bak government.

The 60-year-old Park, who aspires to become South Korea's first female president, has been in a tight race with Moon Jae-in of the main opposition Democratic United Party and software mogul-turned-independent politician Ahn Cheol-soo. The two male contenders may form an alliance before the election to boost their chances against Park.

North Korea is strengthening its efforts to denounce South Korea by mobilizing its anti-South propaganda organizations, including the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of Korea. The powerful North Korean committee blasted Park's confrontational policy toward North Korea, calling her election pledges worse than Lee's.

Referring to Park's election campaign pledges on diplomacy, security and unification policies, the North's organization of the ruling Workers' Party said their content is little different from the confrontation policy of the "traitor Lee Myung-bak, and go beyond Lee's in some aspects." A spokesman for the committee, in an interview with the North's official Korean Central News Agency (KCNA), denounced Park's unification policy as confrontational toward the North.

Park declared she would carry forward a "unification proposal for national community based on the order of liberal democracy" which former dictators advocated only to be vehemently rebuffed by the public, the spokesman said, adding that she thus brought to light her intent for confrontation of the Koreas' social systems and her wild dream of achieving "unification through absorption."

The same committee on Nov. 3 openly called for an opposition victory in South Korea's presidential election, accusing Lee's conservative government of "ruining inter-Korean relations." The North's committee denounced South Korea's ruling Saenuri Party as a "disaster" that brews "all sources of misfortune" for Koreans.

"If Saenuri Party, a group of obsolete conservatives, takes office, it will make the South

Korean society and inter-Korean relations the same as under the Lee Myung-bak administration,” the committee said in a statement. “It is apparent that (its election win) would bring fascist suppression and war.”

Park’s late father and former President Park Chung-hee is a rallying point for South Korean conservatives ahead of the Dec. 19 election.

As the North’s smear campaign against the South intensifies, South Korean officials are also concerned about possible provocations by the North during or after the election period. South Korea’s foreign minister on Nov. 13 warned that North Korea may soon launch provocative acts on the South as Pyongyang has a track record of testing each new government in Seoul after a presidential election.

Analysts and officials here have kept a wary eye on North Korea’s unpredictable behavior during a period of political transition in Northeast Asia. South Koreans go to the polls on Dec. 19 to pick their new leader with China also undergoing a once-in-a-decade leadership change in November.

“We have unpleasant experiences that North Korea has always tested our new government (with provocations),” Foreign Minister Kim Sung-hwan told a meeting of senior policy advisers earlier in the day. Kim did not elaborate further, but hinted his concern could be tied to a “situation where leadership changes are taking place in our country and our neighboring countries.”

## **Continued Psychological and Ideological Campaign**

Recently, Defense Minister Kim Kwan-jin said North Korea has finished preparations for another nuclear test, and would also launch another long-range missile test sometime in the future. The foreign minister reiterated that South Korea’s election as a non-permanent member of the U.N. Security Council for 2013-14 could help deter provocations from North Korea. “I believe that the Security Council membership itself has given us deterrence over North Korea to a certain extent,” Kim said.

Nevertheless, South Korea is paying keen attention on the North’s continued psychological and ideological campaign against South Korea. One example is Pyongyang’s propaganda about a North Korean couple’s return to their homeland after earlier fleeing to South Korea where they lived for years.

The North’s state media reported on Nov. 8 that the couple, Kim Kwang-hyok and his wife Ko Jong-nam, returned to North Korea on Sept. 12, after being lured to defect to South Korea in 2008. They “were taken away to South Korea by dint of gimmicks, appeasement and manipulation of brokers and agents of the South Korean intelligence agency, where they suffered a miserable life,” the KCNA said in the report.

It was the third time this year North Korea has reported about a story of defectors who fled to South Korea, then returned home. The country has publicized the homecomings, using them as examples to say that life in the South is difficult and uncomfortable.



Recently, the South Korean government has urged North Korea to immediately stop its schemes to meddle in the South's forthcoming presidential election. The Seoul government believes recent developments involving North Korea, including the intrusion into South Korean waters by several North Korean fishing boats in the Yellow Sea, are premeditated attempts to influence the presidential election. The Seoul government has reaffirmed its principle to thoroughly prepare for North Korea's premeditated provocations and to take strong countermeasures to any such provocations.

The maritime border in the Yellow Sea has been the scene of several bloody naval skirmishes between the two Koreas. Most recently in March, 2010, North Korea torpedoed a South Korean warship in the area, killing 46 sailors. It was the first time in two years South Korea has used military power to repel intruding North Korean fishing boats. The area is rich in crabs and other valuable seafood.

On Sept. 29, North Korea accused South Korea of creating a "touch-and-go" situation along the tense Yellow Sea border, warning that it would retaliate if the South continues to try to keep its "illegal" borderline there. North Korea has never recognized the NLL, which was drawn unilaterally by the U.S.-led United Nations Command when the 1950-53 Korean War ended, and demands the line be drawn further south. The two sides fought naval gunbattles in the area in 1999, 2002 and 2009. In 2010, the North torpedoed the South Korean warship and shelled Yeonpyeong Island.

## **Meddling Remarks on Presidential Election**

Meanwhile, a ruling party lawmaker said North Korea is desperate in attempting to intervene in the South Korean presidential election. Rep. Yoon Sang-hyun of the Saenuri Party said on Oct. 1 that North Korea has stepped up efforts to intervene in the presidential election and the frequencies of the attempts increased by threefold this year from the period prior to the last presidential election five years ago.

Citing data from the Unification Ministry, Yoon said the number of incidents in which North Korea made meddling remarks on the presidential election increased from 40 times in April, to 140 times in May, 171 times in July and 133 times during the first 23 days of September. Yoon said North Korea is strengthening its malignant propaganda to denounce South Korea by mobilizing its anti-South propaganda organizations. It is also exploiting on-line media networks such as YouTube, Twitter and Flickr to appeal to the young generation in the South.

Yoon further said North Korea recently increased its condemnation of internal affairs in South Korea, including the move to conclude an information sharing agreement with Japan, a slush fund scandal and government's state projects. He said North Korea is expected to concentrate on intervention in the election through social network services and try to instigate social confusion by mobilizing pro-North Korean forces in South Korea and abroad. (Yonhap News)

# NORTH KOREA'S CONCEPT OF HUMAN RIGHTS

**North Korea's concept of human rights, which draws heavily on feudalistic Confucian logic, cannot stand alongside the concept of universal human rights.**

## **Principle of Collectivism and Sovereignty-centric Perception of Human Rights**

The North Korean regime is founded on Marxism-Leninism and approaches human rights from a collectivist and class-based point of view. Article 12 of the North Korean Constitution stipulates, "The state shall abide by the confines of social class, strengthen the dictatorship of the people's democracy, and firmly defend the people's power and socialist system against all subversive acts by hostile elements at home and abroad." Article 63 also stipulates, "In the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) the rights and responsibilities of citizens are based on the collectivist principle of <One for all and all for one>." The Charter of the Workers' Party of (North) Korea (WPK) stipulates, "The (WPK) will be the main Party responsible for the destiny of the masses by thoroughly maintaining the confines of social class and the mass line, by solidifying the revolution, and by serving the people and protecting their interests." Since the issues of dictatorship and social class are openly declared in the Constitution, the right to liberty, in the sense of an individual's freedom of expression, assembly and association, is denied from the very beginning.

The North Korean regime prioritizes social rights by guaranteeing a job for their workers and the right to life by providing basic conditions for survival. North Korea insists that the most basic and essential human right is the right to life. The Socialist Constitution, which emphasizes the principle of collectivism, stipulates, "The State shall effectively guarantee the material and cultural well-being of all its citizens." However, North Korea has been unable to solve its grain short-

age problem, and people have been dying from starvation. According to North Korea, the right to life is not the individual's right to life but the right to life as a collective part of North Korea in the international community. North Korea emphasizes the importance of the right to life but understands it only in the context of the nation's sovereignty.

Even after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European bloc, North Korea used Lenin's theory of imperialism to view international relations. In short, North Korea believes that, "Aggression and war are the fundamental nature of imperialism and its method of survival." North Korea criticizes the human rights diplomacy of the United States and other Western nations as nothing but a policy of imperialistic intervention, arguing, "Human rights are inconceivable apart from the sovereignty of the nation and people." It further argues, "Human rights can never be guaranteed to people under the yoke of foreign rule." North Korea insists that "Human rights are directly related to national sovereignty, and national sovereignty is the life of the people." It seems that North Korea regards human rights in the context of the modern principle of sovereign equality. Article 17 of the Socialist Constitution states that "[The State shall] establish diplomatic relations with all countries on the principles of complete equality and independence." However, North Korea's perception of human rights does not agree with the socialist principle of equality. It is simply a work of feudalistic logic, in which people are subservient to the absolute power of one ruler, whose rule is justified in terms of "socialism in our own style."

### **Concept of Human Rights under Juche Ideology and Socialism in Our Own Style**

The ideological doctrine of the North Korean regime is based on the ideology of Juche (Self-reliance). The Juche ideology emphasizes a human-centered world view and defines man as not only a physical being, but also social being with "self-reliance, creativity and consciousness." The class theory of Juche and Marxism is very similar. However, Juche insists that the materialist interpretations of man are limited. In other words, though dialectical materialism can reveal the general nature of the material world, it cannot provide a definite explanation of man's status and role in the universe. Juche argues, therefore, that its ideology has a complete scientific understanding of man, as it has overcome the limits of dialectical materialism, which failed to prove that "man, the most progressed material being, is the master of the world and plays a definitive role in the development of the world."

Juche emphasizes that all people are masters of their own destiny and world, and that they are self-reliant beings who do not wish to be bound by anyone else. But the "self-reliance" emphasized by the juche ideology does not imply individual creativity amid independence, because according to juche, an "individual's creativity and self-reliance should be realized within the bounds of the collective, unified society." That is to say, the life of the socio-political collective is more important than the life of the individual. In addition, it insists that "The suryong (leader) is the mastermind and center of the socio-political collective." In this manner, juche establishes that individual independence is subordinate to the

collective headed by the suryong. The *juche* ideology is thought to be the scientific road to human liberation, but the “man-centered world outlook” in *juche* is actually a collectivist world-view and a ruling theory centered on “the revolutionary viewpoint of the suryong.” Under this view, the suryong alone is defined as the subject, or master, of historical development, making absolute adherence to the suryong’s instructions, or ‘teachings’ mandatory.

The “10 Principles for Safeguarding the Unitary Ideology System” explicitly states the following: (1) We must do our best to unify the entire society with the ideology of the Great Leader Comrade Kim Il-sung. (2) We must honor the Great Leader Comrade Kim Il-sung with all our loyalty. (3) The authority of the Great Leader Comrade Kim Il-sung is absolute. (4) We must make the Great Leader Comrade Kim Il-sung’s revolutionary ideology our faith and make his instructions our creed. (5) We must unconditionally obey the instructions of the Great Leader Kim Il-sung. The text also justifies the hereditary power succession by stating that, (10) The great revolution pioneered by the Great Leader Kim Il-sung must be passed down and perfected via hereditary succession until the end of time.”

From the late 1980s, North Korea began to advertise “socialism in our own way,” which was supposed to reflect *juche* ideology, and popularized the slogan, “Let’s live according to our own way.” In its Preamble, North Korea’s Socialist Constitution enunciates, “Comrade Kim Il-sung, whose motto was ‘believing in the people as in heaven,’ was always with the people, completely devoted to the people, took care of and led the people with his politics of benevolence, and thus turned the whole society into one great, single-hearted and united family.” North Korea argues that since the Kim Il-sung/Kim Jong-il regime “turned the whole society into one great, single-hearted and united family” through “the noble politics of benevolence” based on care and trust, the human rights problem itself does not exist in their society. North Korea’s concept of human rights, which draws heavily on feudalistic Confucian logic, cannot stand alongside the concept of universal human rights encoded in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which declares, “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.”

## **International Human Rights Regime and North Korean Human Rights**

Since the year 2000, sections of the international community organized around the UN human rights regime began to demand that North Korea improve its human rights situation. Every year for the past seven years, the United Nations General Assembly has adopted resolutions on North Korean human rights. On November 21, 2011, the UN’s Third Committee adopted a resolution that exposed the reality of and expressed deep concern over North Korean human rights violations.

The resolution expressed deep concern over a number of important issues, including torture and inhumane detentions, the lack of an independent judiciary, the implementation of capital punishment for religious reasons, the operation of political concentration camps, the harsh punishment of deported defectors, the repression of freedom of speech, relocation, beliefs, and religion, human trafficking, prostitution, forced abortions, persecution of the disabled, and

lack of labor rights. The UN resolution also condemned North Korea for not permitting visits by the UN special rapporteur on North Korean human rights, for not carrying out various recommendations made, and for showing an unclear stance on the abductions of foreign citizens. The UN recommendation expressed deep concern over the deteriorating humanitarian situation brought on by the North Korean authorities who failed to properly distribute grain to the victims of natural disasters and prohibited the personal cultivation or transaction of grain. Finally, it firmly called on the North Korean authorities to take measures to improve the human rights situation and respect all human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The UN, EU, US and various international human rights groups have developed a network for the improvement of human rights worldwide and have made efforts to improve the human rights situation in North Korea. In June 2001 the EU was able to formally tackle the issue of human rights with North Korea. Since 2003, the EU has taken the lead in adopting human rights resolutions against the DPRK. When the UN General Assembly adopted a North Korean human rights resolution in November 2005, North Korea cut off dialogue with the EU. However, from early 2007, North Korea began to reestablish its diplomatic contact with the EU in order to solicit economic assistance. However, after North Korea conducted its second nuclear test in May of 2009 the relationship between the two deteriorated again. The EU stands firm on the issues of human rights and nuclear development but remains committed to engaging North Korea through humanitarian assistance in an attempt to open the closed society. From the 6th to the 15th of June, 2011, the EU sent a team of humanitarian aid experts to North Korea to assess the food situation in the country. The food assessment team evaluated the overall food situation after inspecting hospitals, kindergartens, markets and collective farms. On July 4, the European Commission announced that it would provide food aid worth 10 million Euros to the 650,000 people living in the northeast region of North Korea.

Since the enactment of the North Korean Human Rights Act in 2004, the United States has led various efforts to improve the human rights situation in North Korea. It has provided grants to private, nonprofit organizations to support programs that promote human rights in North Korea. In September 2008, the US Congress extended the North Korean Human Rights Act for four more years. After the inauguration of President Barack Obama in January 2009, the US promised to help the world's weakest states reduce poverty. However, from the onset the Obama administration had to deal with provocative actions from North Korea such as the test-firing of long-range missiles and a second nuclear test, which hampered President Obama's efforts to initiate a new human rights policy toward North Korea. The 2010 Human Rights Report released by the U.S. Department of State assessed that the overall human rights situation in North Korea remains grim, as executions without the due process of law, disappearances, arbitrary detention and brutal torture were still prevalent.

(This is an excerpt from White Paper on Human Rights in North Korea 2012 published by the Korea Institute for National Unification in Seoul, Korea.)

## N. Korean Leader Shows Special Care for His Alma Mater University

**N. Korea watchers say Kim Jong-un's special consideration for the university stems from his intention to boost the downgraded morale of the military.**

North Korean leader Kim Jong-un has been showing special care and consideration for his alma mater, the Kim Il-sung Military University, in what seems to be an attempt to soothe the military.

The status and role of the North's military, once the backbone of the socialist country's power hierarchy, has been somewhat downgraded in the past several months due to the rise of the Workers' Party of (North) Korea (WPK) and the Cabinet since the young leader took over the country last December.

Specifically, the young leader is trying to raise the morale of the military since former army chief Ri Yong-ho, who graduated from the same university, was removed from all his official posts last July.

Kim visited the university on its 60th anniversary on Oct. 29 and he and North Korean authorities presented it with various gifts. The North's rubber-stamp Supreme People's Assembly's Presidium announced a decree on Oct. 22 to award the university a Kim Jong-il Order. Three

days later, on Oct. 25, a ceremony awarding the order was held at the university.

The North's Korean Central Broadcasting Station and Radio Pyongyang reported that Kim also attended an unveiling ceremony of statues of late leaders Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il held to celebrate the university's anniversary.

The KCNA reported on Oct. 29 that the erection of the statues of the illustrious commanders at the university marked a great event reflecting the "steadfast will of all the service personnel of the Korean People's Army (KPA) to glorify the immortal Songun (military-first) revolutionary exploits performed by the generalissimos for all ages."

Kim Jong-un said in a speech that the Kim Il-sung Military University was built and developed under the energetic leadership and warm care of Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il for six decades.

"The university has grown to be the nation's highest seat for military education and a prestigious, world-level university which has a long history and opened the

heyday of its development,” he said.

He also had a photo session with other participants, teachers and employees of the university. Kim Jong-un waved back to the enthusiastically cheering teachers and employees of the university.

The statues of Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il were erected at the university in Mangyongdae, regarded by the North as a holy place of the revolution.

Kim Jong-un said the university developed into the highest seat of military education and the most effective and reliable military officer training center under the wise guidance of the “generalissimos.”

For the six decades since its foundation, the university has educated competent commanding officers who are intensely loyal to the leadership of the party and capable of fulfilling their role in the great war for national reunification, he added.

He encouraged such officers, saying graduates from the university who constitute the backbone of the army and the core of the revolutionary armed forces are discharging their heavy yet honorable missions and duties of defending the socialist homeland.

The day Kim visited the university was his first public appearance in 15 days, since Oct. 14 when he participated in a ceremony to mark the 65th anniversary of two revolutionary schools – the Mangyongdae Revolutionary School and the Kang Pan-sok Revolutionary School.

The reports came amid speculation linking Kim’s disappearance with possible problems in the new regime. The young leader took over the socialist country in December following the death of his father

Kim Jong-il.

Ri Myong-su, the people’s security minister, also attended the unveiling ceremony of the statues of Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il. Ri had been absent from public appearances for more than one month, raising speculation he may have political problems, such as internal strife among powerful members of the country.

On Oct. 28, a banquet was given at the People’s Palace of Culture in Pyongyang to celebrate the university’s anniversary.

A speech was made by KPA Vice Marshal Kim Jong-gak, the people’s armed forces minister, who said Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il built a general center for training cadres of the revolutionary armed forces and developed it into the highest seat for a military education oriented on *juche*, or self-reliance, and a world-class university.

North Korea watchers in Seoul say Kim Jong-un’s special consideration for the university stems from his intention to boost the downgraded morale of the military since the purge of Ri Yong-ho in July. Kim Jong-un attended a special class of the university from 2002 to 2007 after he returned from study overseas.

Other watchers said the junior Kim is trying to check emerging power players who are graduates of the North’s most prestigious Kim Il-sung University. Kim Jong-un also seems to be attempting to widen his rule over the country by instigating a “loyalty competition” between key officials from the Kim Il-sung University and the Kim Il-sung Military University. Most of the WPK or military key officials are graduates of the universities. (Yonhap News)

## N. Korea's Workers' Party Politburo Sets Up Powerful Sports Commission

**The WPK decision said that the state sports commission would be inaugurated to control all sports activities in a unified manner.**

North Korea's ruling Workers' Party held its expanded meeting of the political bureau on Nov. 4 and decided to establish a new powerful organization overseeing all sports activities of the socialist country.

The North's official Korean Central News Agency (KCNA) reported the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of (North) Korea (WPK) adopted its decision to set up the new commission composed of power elite of the party, cabinet, military and even the social and labor organizations.

Jang Song-thaek, the uncle of North Korean leader Kim Jong-un, was named the chairman of the State Physical Culture and Sports Guidance Commission composed of the 37 members of the power elite from the country's various state organizations.

The WPK decision said that the state sports commission would be inaugurated to control all sports activities in a unified manner.

"Present there were members of the Presidium of the Political Bureau and members and alternate members of the Political Bureau of the WPK Central Committee," the KCNA reported. "Present there as observers were leading officials of party and armed forces organs, Cabinet, ministries and national institutions related to sports."

The WPK decision said, "To put the DPRK (North Korea) on the level of a sports power is an important work to boost the national capabilities in every way, demonstrate the indomitable spirit and dignity of Songun (military-first) Korea to the whole world and make all service personnel and people push ahead with the building of a thriving socialist nation full of great national pride and self-esteem."

The WPK unveiled a far-reaching plan to turn North Korea, a socialist political and military power, into an economic and sports power, indicated the concrete direction and ways of carrying out the plan, and saw to it that measures were taken to bring about a radical change in the physical cul-



ture and sports of the country by making the sports fever rage across the country, according to the decision.

The commission's work includes increasing social concern over physical culture and sports, making it mainstream and part of daily life, putting the sports science and technology on a world level and training reserve sports persons on a long-term basis, strengthening the training of sports players and national teams training for international games, vitalizing domestic sports games and ensuring proper materials are supplied to sports programs, according to the decision.

The decision specified that physical culture and sports guidance commissions be organized in provinces, cities, counties and armed forces institutions.

Under Jang Song-thaek's chairmanship, the sports guidance commission will now have three vice chairmen – Ro Tu-chol, Choe Pu-il and Ri Yong-su. Jang Song-thaek was named the commission's secretary general. Also named as members of the commission were key officials of the country such as Kim Ki-nam, Choe Thae-bok, Kim Yang-gon, Kim Yong-il, Kwak Pom-gi, Mun Kyong-dok and others.

The meeting of the Political Bureau expressed belief that the party, the army and the people would embrace the pursuit of sports "with enthusiasm to strengthen the might of Songun (military-first) Korea in every way, display dignity and indomitable merit of the nation to the world and push forward the building of a thriving socialist nation."

The expanded meeting of the Political Bureau was convened on the occasion of

the 43rd anniversary of Kim Il-sung's "historic speech" at the National Meeting of Athletes on Nov. 4, 1969 on developing the physical culture and sports into a movement that included all people, the KCNA reported.

North Korea experts in Seoul evaluated the WPK central committee's decision as very extraordinary in that the socialist country is determined to emerge as a sports power that is almost on par with its political, military and economic might.

Cheong Seong-chang, a senior research fellow of the Sejong Institute, a private think tank near Seoul, explained that the commission's chairman Jang Song-thaek will have now secured a more powerful position than the Supreme People's Assembly's Presidium led by Kim Yong-nam, and the Cabinet steered by Premier Choe Yong-rim.

In this sense, Jang has now secured the No. 2 power man in the North after his nephew and North Korean leader Kim Jong-un.

But other experts say that given the status of the WPK's political bureau, there might have been very important issues discussed at the meeting such as the economic and other political affairs. Despite the speculation, the North only revealed the nonpolitical sectors related to the sports work this time.

But other critics say the impoverished North Korea has no room to put energy and money into the sports sector. The North's economy is beset by serious shortages of electricity and raw materials, and it grapples with persistent serious food shortages. (Yonhap News)

## <Internal Affairs>

### N. Korea Cautions Against Decadent Western Capitalistic Culture

North Korea's main newspaper *Rodong Sinmun* has emphasized the need to preserve the country's "superior" socialist values and culture, saying the Western capitalistic cultures should not be allowed to influence young North Koreans.

In an article on Oct. 18, the newspaper of the ruling Workers' Party called for waging a dynamic campaign to establish sublime moral traits among younger generations so that the "decadent bourgeois lifestyle" of the imperialists would not permeate the North Korean society.

Insisting the imperialistic wind is like a narcotic for the young people, the paper pointed out that the new generation will become depraved morally and spiritually if they are soaked with the decadent mood of the bourgeois.

The paper said the "lustful, perverted bourgeois lifestyle will paralyze the sound consciousness of young people," eventually causing them to "become vulgar persons," who only seek money and personal gain and will eventually "commit crimes betraying the country and the people."

North Korea's state newspapers have often carried commentaries urging young people to further uplift the nation's "superior" way of life. They also stress the need to continue so-called educational projects to defend against the "decadent ideas and unusual lifestyles of imperialists."

In another article from the same day, the paper said that the socialist country will never permit any poisonous lifestyle of foreign countries such as the U.S. that would deprive the people of their souls and bodies while fostering disorder and confusion in the North Korean society.

If a nation harbors illusions about the U.S. imperialists, taken in by honeyed words of "peace" and "cooperation," and trembles in fear of their horror strategy, it will be bound to become enslaved and meet death, not achieve independent development, the newspaper said.

If a country accepts the American-style "view of value" under the pressure of the U.S. imperialists, it will suffer disasters in return for meeting the requirements of the U.S. imperialists, the article said. "They brought these countries nothing but humiliation, disgrace, internal disorder and disputes."

North Korea's current emphasis on blocking unusual ideas and cultures is an indirect response to the fear that the widely spreading Western cultures and movies will become a serious threat to the North Korean regime.

Also, it can be interpreted as a form of vigilance against the ideological relaxation of youth, who are sensitive to outside trends, according to North Korea watchers in Seoul. (Yonhap News)

## North Korea Holds Cabinet Meeting to Discuss Economy

North Korea has held a cabinet meeting to discuss the country's economic issues, a Chinese state media said on Oct. 22, as the socialist regime reportedly makes efforts to reform its sickly economy.

The *People's Daily* reported on its Chinese-language Web site that North Korea's cabinet members recently gathered to review the country's third-quarter economic performance and discuss targets to be achieved in the fourth quarter.

The meeting was presided over by North Korean Premier Choe Yong-rim, the report said, citing *Minju Joson*, the organ of the Cabinet. However, the daily did not disclose when the meeting was held.

In the third quarter, North Korea saw a substantial increase on-year in its output of electricity and coal, the report said.

It also boosted production of air compressors, transformers, mining machines, wire, cement and other industrial products in the July-September.

Accordingly, the local industry has achieved an output level 7 percent higher than its original plan, while local budget revenues were 13.4 percent higher than original estimates, the Chinese newspaper said.

The North Korean cabinet members shared the view that the fourth quarter will be an important period for the regime to achieve its annual economic target for this year.

In a bid to achieve this year's target, the country will continue to focus on producing electricity and coal, the report said.

The cabinet also agreed to fully implement universal 12-year compulsory education, promulgated at the Supreme People's Assembly in September. (Yonhap News)

## North Korean Social Organizations Hold 'Loyalty' Rallies This Year

North Korea's so-called social organizations, including military and youth organizations, have held a series of national meetings this year following the inauguration of North Korean leader Kim Jong-un who succeeded his father Kim Jong-il after the senior Kim's sudden death in December last year.

A meeting of chairpersons of primary organizations of the youth league of the companies of the (North) Korean People's Army (KPA) was held on Oct. 31 for the first time in 10 years, which North Korea watchers in Seoul say is aimed at boosting loyalty to Kim Jong-un among young North Korean military leaders.

The KCNA said the meeting reviewed achievements and experiences made in the youth league affairs of the army "in hearty response to the historic letter Generalissimo Kim Jong-il sent to the participants in the meeting of the exemplary secretaries of the youth league primary organizations in the KPA companies." Kim Jong-il sent the letter on Oct. 30, 2012.

Participants also discussed ways to carry out the tasks set by Kim Jong-un in the congratulatory message to the participants in the meeting for celebrating Youth Day and other youth across the country this year.

Earlier on Oct. 25, the KCNA said participants in the meeting who arrived in Pyongyang on Oct. 24 and 25 were “full of gratitude to KPA Supreme Commander Kim Jong-un, who saw to it that Youth Day in the first year of the new century of the *juche* era was glorified as a grand political festival to shine long in the country’s history and the meeting was organized.” *Juche* is the North’s guiding principle of self-reliance.

The Youth League is the most powerful political organization and second only to the Workers’ Party of (North) Korea (WPK) in terms of its size and influence. There is a chairperson of primary organization of the youth league in each KPA company, who is directed by the KPA committee of the Youth League.

North Korea held a massive rally in Pyongyang on Aug. 27 to celebrate Youth Day, which was televised live by the North’s state-run Korean Central TV Broadcasting Station. Kim Jong-un sent a congratulatory message that was read out during the celebration. About 10,000 youth representatives from across North Korea gathered in Pyongyang at the end of August to participate in the event.

Similar rallies were held in July for representatives of vocational leagues, farmers’ organization and female leagues who vowed their loyalty to the young North Korean leader. A massive rally attended by some 20,000 scouts was held in Pyongyang in June and Kim Jong-un delivered a speech in person and had photo sessions with participating youths. (Yonhap News)

## **North Korea Starts Work on Rason Economic Zone Office**

**N**orth Korea said on Oct. 26 it has started to build a management office for a special economic and trade zone to be jointly developed and operated by the North and its strongest ally, China.

According to the KCNA, dozens of high-ranking officials from both countries attended a groundbreaking ceremony for the office building of the Rason Economic and Trade Zone Management Committee.

The North has been ramping up efforts to develop special economic zones in Rason, the North’s northern tip, and on Hwanggumphyong and Wihwa islands, bordering China.

South Korea’s relations with the North have been frozen since President Lee Myung-bak took office in 2008, virtually cutting inter-Korean economic cooperation.

In response, the North has deepened its ties with China in an effort to help revive its moribund economy alongside stricter international sanctions following its nuclear and rocket tests. In 2011, Pyongyang’s trade with China accounted for about 89 percent of its total, according to the Bank of Korea in Seoul.

The report said the potential success of developing such economic zones is likely to serve as a catalyst for the North's opening over the long haul, but will also make it more economically reliant on China.

Meanwhile, the KCNA said a ceremony also took place for the opening of the Rajin-Wonjong road in the Rason Economic and Trade Zone. (Yonhap News)

## **North Korea Designates November 16 as 'Day of Mother'**

**N**orth Korea has designated Nov. 16 as the "Day of Mother," Pyongyang's state media said, as the country moves to promote Kim Jong-un as the leader of the people among women and to consolidate unity among residents.

"North Korea's State Stamp Bureau issued a new postage stamp to commemorate the establishment of the Day of Mother," the North's official KCNA said on Oct. 27, adding the date for the mother's day event was set by the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly back in May.

The fixed date falls on the same day as when founding leader Kim Il-sung gave a speech under the title "The duties of mothers in educating their children" during a national rally for mothers in 1961.

Reports of the newly established mother's day were first introduced by the North's media on Sept. 22 through a remark made by Kim Jong-un during his inspection of Pyongyang Floriculture Institute.

"As the Day of Mother was instituted in the country, it would be nice to buy flowers and present them to mothers and housewives on that day," he said.

At the time, North Korea watchers presumed mother's day would fall near Sept. 22, a day when the North's media normally give eulogies to Kim Jong-suk, the wife of Kim Il-sung, while commemorating the anniversary of her death.

The recent move comes as the socialist regime is pushing to build up the young Kim's image among women as a leader representing the people, and to promote solidarity among North Korean citizens.

The new postage stamp shows an image of a mother and a child together with the words "Day of Mother" written at the top, according to the KCNA. (Yonhap News)

## **N. Korea Publicizes Scientific Achievements in Light Industrial Field**

**N**orth Korea has stepped up publicizing its achievements in the scientific development in the light industrial field and held a series of presentations to show off its "achievements."

The KCNA said on Oct. 29 that big achievements have been made in the light industrial

field of the North Korea through a dynamic mass technological innovation movement.

The Pyongyang Children's Foodstuff Factory established a combined automation system of universal production processes, the KCNA said.

The infant dry milk workshop of the factory computerized the spraying process and improved the packing process while the bean milk workshop invented a bean milk jet boiler, increasing its production capacity twofold.

The factory also developed various kinds of foodstuffs, including rice-protein peptide powder and tangle soup makings, which are considered beneficial for children's health.

The Pyongyang Hosiery Factory invented a new method of producing patterned hosiery, a method that does not need some former processes but makes it possible to produce quality and stylish patterned hosiery at less cost.

The Ryuwon Footwear Factory recently introduced a multi-color printing technology into production of various kinds of sports shoes and developed a screen printing process and a new footwear design program. The factory has steadily increased its capacity of developing new products by dint of science and technology, and its products are now very popular among local residents.

North Korea also held a series of presentations featuring its sci-tech achievements in October.

The events included the 23rd national software contest and exhibition opened at the Three-Revolution Exhibition on Oct. 18; a national presentation of sci-tech achievements in the coal industry at the Suncheon Area Youth Coal Mining Complex on Oct. 23 and 24; and national exhibitions of sci-tech achievements in casting, printing and machine-building industries at the Pyongyang Thermal Power Complex, Taean Heavy Machine Complex and Pyongyang General Printing Plant from October 23 to 26. The KCNA says such events will be helpful in spurring its rise as an economic power. (Yonhap News)

## <External Affairs>

### North Korea Thanks ABU for Rights to Air London Olympic Games

North Korea's state committee has sent a formal letter of thanks to the Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union (ABU) for offering rights to broadcast the 2012 London Olympic Games, South Korea's national broadcaster KBS said on Oct. 17.

The arrival of the letter from the North's radio and television broadcasting committee was revealed by Javad Mottaghi, secretary-general of the ABU, according to KBS, which hosted the ABU conference in Seoul.

North Korea offered a live broadcast of major events of its interest via television channels

for five hours a day during the Summer Olympics under an agreement signed with the ABU, a non-profit organization for promoting cooperation and friendship among broadcasting firms in the region.

The union was tasked with transferring broadcasting rights to North Korea from South Korea's private broadcaster SBS, which retains the rights to air the Olympic Games for the entire Korean Peninsula, including North Korea, through the Olympics of 2024.

The ABU also invited six North Korean television production workers to London to have them cover Olympic events for the first time in the country's broadcasting history. Established in 1964, the ABU currently has a membership of 223 broadcasters in 60 countries, and about 500 officials from the member companies attended the Oct. 11-17 conference.

The North has dispatched 56 athletes in 11 events to the international competition, including men's and women's soccer, marathon, table tennis, wrestling, judo and weightlifting. (Yonhap News)

## **North Korea Will Retain Nukes until U.S. Ends Hostile Policy**

**N**orth Korea will continue to hold nuclear arms as a means to defend itself from the U.S. hostile policy, the North's state media said on Oct. 18, referring to a recent speech by the country's delegate to the United Nations.

"The DPRK (North Korea) is compelled to keep its nukes for a quite long period unless the U.S. rolls back its hostile policy toward the DPRK," the KCNA quoted the North Korean delegate as saying in the speech to a U.N. General Assembly meeting on Oct. 15.

Its nuclear power "serves as a powerful means for defending the sovereignty of the country and deterring a war on the Korean Peninsula," the KCNA also quoted the delegate as saying.

"The use of atomic energy and space development for peaceful purposes are the right of sovereign states," the media reported, referring to its April missile test, which the North insisted was an attempt to launch a satellite.

The missile test was strongly condemned by the U.N., resulting in tighter economic sanctions on the already isolated country.

"They frequently launch satellites, insisting that only the DPRK is not allowed to do so. This is an unpardonable violation of its sovereignty," the KCNA said. (Yonhap News)

## **North Korea Receives Medical Supplies from WHO**

**N**orth Korea on Oct. 23 received medicine and medical supplies donated by the World Health Organization (WHO) as part of its aid projects for the socialist country, state

media said.

A ceremony welcoming the donation was held in Pyongyang with Vice Minister of Public Health Kim Hyong-hun attending as well as Yonas Tegegn, the WHO representative to North Korea, and other officials from the World Food Program and the United Nations Children's Fund, according to the North's official KCNA.

But the news agency did not mention the exact details, including the type of medical supplies and the amount.

The world health body has been involved in aid projects for the North since 1997, having sent vaccines and medicines for diseases such as tuberculosis as well as nutritional supplements for children.

Last summer, the WHO also donated US\$310,000 to North Korea for construction projects to restore damage caused by a flood that devastated the country and established a disease center in Hwanghae Province to treat flood victims.

The South Korean government has also made contributions for the medical supplies donated to the North via providing funds to the WHO. (Yonhap News)

## **N. Korea's Leader Sends Sympathy to Cuba over Hurricane Sandy**

**N**orth Korea's young leader Kim Jong-un has sent a message of sympathy to Cuban President Raul Castro following storm-related casualties and damages caused by Hurricane Sandy, the North's state media reported on Oct. 30.

In the message, Kim extends "deep sympathy and consolation to you and, through you, to the Cuban government and people and the inhabitants in the afflicted areas," according to the KCNA.

Kim said he was "convinced that under your leadership the Cuban party, government and people would eradicate the aftermath of the natural disasters and bring the life of the inhabitants in the afflicted areas to normal as soon as possible."

Superstorm Sandy reportedly claimed 11 lives and affected about 35,000 homes in eastern Cuba and was marching inland along the U.S. East Coast on Oct. 30. (Yonhap News)

## **N.K. Denounces South-U.S. Security Agreement as War Provocation**

**N**orth Korea denounced on Nov. 1 Seoul's recent military agreement with Washington as a war provocation, slamming the allies for stepping up joint military exercises near the maritime sea border separating the two Koreas.

South Korea held its 44th round of Security Consultative Meeting with the U.S. on Oct. 24 and agreed to increase combined surveillance activities against the North and to continue promoting combined military exercises and trading events in the maritime border in the



Yellow Sea, known as the northern limit line, or NLL.

Calling the agreement an “evil plot,” the North said through its news media KCNA that the South’s decision to strengthen joint military activities with a foreign country near the tense sea border area virtually constitutes “an explicit declaration of war” aimed at an invasion of the North.

“Severe repercussion the military collusion would result in should be kept in mind,” the KCNA said in a Korean-language dispatch.

Referring to the NLL, the de facto demarcation line drawn by the United Nations Command following the armistice ending the 1950-53 Korean War, the North said the line is “a ghost line unilaterally drawn by U.S. invader forces in a way that runs counter to the truce agreement.”

The NLL recently became the hottest point of political strife between the ruling and opposition parties after a ruling party lawmaker revealed an allegation that late liberal-side president Roh Moo-hyun attempted to compromise the de facto border line during the landmark South-North summit in 2007 as part of his reconciliation efforts toward the North.

In October, several North Korean fishing boats crossed the sea line into the South in a series of border violations, apparently designed to display the country’s defiance of the demarcation line.

The sea border areas, rich in fishery resources, have often been a point of skirmishes, including the North’s deadly shelling of the South Korean border island of Yeonpyeong in 2010. (Yonhap News)

## **North Korea Signs Air Service Deal with UAE**

**N**orth Korea has signed an air service deal with the United Arab Emirates in an apparent attempt to provide cheaper transportation means for its overseas workers, an informed source said on Nov. 2, though the prospect of launching regular flights between the two nations remains unclear.

The UAE’s national aviation authority and its North Korean counterpart signed a provisional air service agreement on Oct. 15, an airline company official based in Dubai told Yonhap News, asking for anonymity.

The deal must be ratified to enter into force.

Saif Al Suwaidi, the director general of the UAE General Civil Aviation Authority, confirmed the signing over the phone, but declined to comment further.

Although the agreement does not limit the number of flights, it is unlikely that major airlines of the two countries will operate regular flights as soon as the deal goes into effect, considering that few North Koreans are allowed to travel outside their communist homeland, the airline company official said.

North Korea has concluded aviation agreements with 30 nations in the Middle East, Asia

and Africa since the 1970s.

The North's state-owned airline, Air Koryo, has 13 offices in seven nations, including China, Japan, Taiwan, Russia, Canada, Germany and Malaysia, according to Wikipedia. Access to Air Koryo's Web site was not available for an unspecified reason.

The official said the North may have signed the deal aiming for providing cheaper transportation means for its overseas workers in Middle East by signing the deal with the UAE, the transportation and business hub in the Middle East.

Tens of thousands of North Koreans are believed to be working overseas under tight monitoring by North Korean officials, in a bid to earn much needed hard currency for the state that has been heavily sanctioned for its nuclear program. (Yonhap News)

## **N. Korea, Syria Strike Economic Cooperation Agreement**

**N**orth Korea has forged an agreement with Syria to increase cooperation on trading and the exchange of technologies, the North's state media said on Nov. 5.

The Joint Economic Committee between the North and Syria held its eighth meeting since Oct. 30 till Nov. 5 in Pyongyang, the KCNA monitored in Seoul said.

In the meeting, both countries assessed the state of implementation of the protocol forged in the previous meeting while signing another protocol on economic trading and cooperation over technologies and science, the KCNA said without elaborating further.

The North's Foreign Trade Minister Ri Ryong-nam headed the North side while Syria's Minister of Culture Loubana Mouchaweh led its delegation to Pyongyang, the state media said. (Yonhap News)

## **N. Korea Threatens War on Korean Peninsula at the U.N. Session**

**A** North Korean diplomat, addressing the U.N. General Assembly, warned on Nov. 5 that a war can break out any time on the Korean Peninsula due to mounting military tensions.

"The situation on the peninsula is on the brink of explosion and nobody knows when the war will break out," North Korea's deputy ambassador to the U.N. Ri Tong-il said.

He accused the U.S. of continuing to exacerbate the situation with "increased hostilities" against Pyongyang.

Ri said his socialist nation is a nuclear state and the six-way talks on its nuclear program have become "almost a dead body." The negotiations have not been held since December 2008. Ri dismissed a report by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) on Pyongyang's nuclear ambitions.

IAEA chief Yukio Amano told the U.N. that the North's move is "deeply troubling." He

cited North Korea's revelation in 2010 of a uranium enrichment facility in Yongbyon.

Ri stressed North Korea has withdrawn from the nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT) and it is not subject to rules set by the IAEA, which he claimed "blindly" sides with the U.S.

North Korean officials have often used the annual meeting of the U.N. General Assembly for efforts to justify its nuclear program and assail Washington. (Yonhap News)

### **Choson Sinbo Forecasts Improved Economic Cooperation with S. Korea**

**C**hoson Sinbo, a Japan-based pro-North Korean newspaper, gave an unusual prediction of improved economic relations with South Korea amid optimism that the re-election of U.S. President Barack Obama and election of a new South Korean president in December may help thaw Pyongyang's relations with the two countries.

"Domestic (North Korean) economic officials ... are predicting that South-North economic cooperation projects will take off at a high speed only if objective conditions are met," Choson Sinbo said in a news series on economic plans being pursued by the Kim Jong-un regime.

The newspaper, published by North Korean nationals residing in Japan, is deemed the mouthpiece of the reclusive country. It did not elaborate on what it meant by objective conditions.

The news outlet also cited the South-North relations as the basis for building peace and economic stability in Northeast Asia, along with joint economic zones with China in Rajin and Hwanggumpyong Island in the northern area of the reclusive country.

It then referred to leader Kim Jong-un's willingness for unification with the South, expressed in Kim's speech in April. "The phrase that anyone who wants unification and national peace and prosperity will join and walk hand in hand will surely apply to the economic sector," Choson Sinbo reported.

The socialist country's new administration is widely believed to be pushing for an expansive economic development plan to shore up the livelihood of its people mainly as part of efforts to solidify its power.

The North's relations with the South, including economic ties, have remained frozen since Seoul adopted a set of sanctions in 2010, the year the North launched a deadly attack on South Korea's navy ship Cheonan. (Yonhap News)

### **N.K. Expresses Hope for Closer Ties in Message Marking CPC Congress**

**N**orth Korea has expressed its hope for friendlier relations with China, its major ally and patron, in a letter sent to mark the neighboring country's party congress to usher in a new leadership, the North's state media said on Nov. 8.

“We will as ever join the Chinese comrades in making positive efforts to put the traditional DPRK-China friendship, the common wealth of the two peoples, on a higher stage,” the Workers’ Party of (North) Korea (WPK) was quoted by the KCNA as saying in its congratulatory message sent to the Communist Party of China (CPC) a day earlier.

The North also noted that the North Korean party “sincerely wishes the 18th National Congress of the CPC satisfactory success” in promoting prosperity of the Chinese nation and strengthening the party, according to the KCNA.

“We are rejoiced over the achievements made in China and firmly convinced that the fraternal Chinese people will continue registering good successes in the future, too,” the North’s party was also quoted as saying.

On Nov. 8, China opened a weeklong congress in which President Hu Jintao will relinquish his power to appointed heir and current vice president Xi Jinping. It is widely believed the new Chinese leadership will further strengthen economic ties with the North. (Yonhap News)

## <Inter-Korean Affairs>

### **Families to Call for Repatriation of 11 S. Koreans Abducted by N. Korea**

Families of 11 South Korean citizens abducted by North Korea in 1969 plan to visit the North’s representatives to the United Nations in Switzerland to raise pressure on the country to repatriate the abductees, a representative for the families said on Nov. 5.

The 11 were aboard a Korean Air service hijacked by the North.

The group representative said family members will fly to Geneva on Nov. 5 for a seven-day trip aimed at pressing the North to repatriate the 11, including the delivery of a letter to the North’s representatives calling for the repatriation.

“On Nov. 8, we will try delivering the letter to the North Korean representatives,” said Hwang In-cheol, who leads the families of the abductees. The group will also visit the International Committee of the Red Cross and the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights as part of efforts to secure international support for the repatriation project, Hwang said.

Their trip also includes giving testimony at a Japan-organized symposium on abductees by the North, and a meeting with David Alton, a member of the British Parliament active in North Korean matters, he said.

A Korean Air domestic flight heading to Gimpo was hijacked on Dec. 11, 1969, by an agent from the North posing as a local passenger. Of the four crew members and 46 passengers aboard, 39 were sent back 66 days later, but the crew members and seven passengers

were detained in the North.

In response to the South Korean government's call to verify the survival of the 11 abductees in 2006, the North said that was impossible. (Yonhap News)

## **Seoul Seeking to Build 2 More Day Care Centers in Kaesong Complex**

The South Korean government is seeking to build two more day care centers in the Kaesong Industrial Complex in North Korea as part of its humanitarian efforts in their joint economic zone, the Seoul ministry handling inter-Korean issues said on Nov. 7.

The South Korean government "plans to hold a discussion with the North over the plan to build two nurseries accommodating 600 infants in the Kaesong Industrial Complex," an official at the Unification Ministry said.

Before the discussion with the North, the ministry must secure funds from the national budget earmarked for promoting exchanges with the North, the official said.

Within the joint economic zone, Seoul runs one day care center that oversees the care of 600 North Korean infants under the age of 1. About 50 North Korean nannies are employed there. The latest humanitarian plan comes amid strained inter-Korean relations that have hit their worst point in many decades.

The May 24 sanctions adopted in 2010 following the North's deadly sinking of a South Korean Navy vessel Cheonan that year brought trades and exchanges between the two Koreas almost to a halt.

Seoul offered to provide flour and medicine to the North after heavy typhoons devastated the socialist country last summer, but the North refused to accept the aid in September. (Yonhap News)

## **Construction Begins for South-North Korean Youth Exchange Center**

South Korea broke ground on Nov. 9 to construct a center for exchanges between South and North Korean youth in a South Korean border village.

The center with a capacity of 500 people will be completed in August 2014, in the border village of Yeoncheon, just south of the Military Demarcation Line, according to the regional office of the county.

The country invested 52.1 billion won (US\$47.95 million) for the construction of the complex to be used to host exchange events with the North.

Seoul plans to utilize the complex to hold reunion events for families separated between the South and the North, and other talks with the North. "We should plan to help South and North Korean youth jointly design the future of the Korean Peninsula," Unification Minister Yu Woo-ik said during the ground-breaking ceremony held on Nov. 9. (Yonhap News)

# A CHANGE IN N. KOREAN ECONOMIC POLICIES UNDER THE KIM JONG-UN REGIME AND THE IMPLICATIONS OF ITS REFORM AND OPENING-UP MEASURES

## I. Introduction

When was the inauguration of the new North Korean regime led by Kim Jong-un, the third son in his late 20s of late North's leader Kim Jong-il? Did it come in the third conference of representatives of the Workers' Party of (North) Korea (WPK), the North Korean version of the Communist Party, held on Sept. 28, 2010, where the young Kim took the office of vice chairman of the WPK Central Military Commission, or right after the death of the senior Kim on Dec. 17, 2011, or in April 2012 when the young Kim won the top office both in the Party and the National Defense Commission (NDC), whose chairman had served as virtual state president in the Kim Jong-il era?

This writer believes that the Kim Jong-un regime was inaugurated immediately after the death of the former leader when the young Kim chaired the funeral committee for the late Kim and the new regime launched its official activities in April 2012. For this reason, this essay will cover the policies pursued by the Kim Jong-un regime for nine months since December 2011 in a move to weigh whether or not the keynote of its policies has led to any reform or opening-up measures.

The core of Kim Jong-un regime's economic policies regards Kim's instruction "about the establishment of our own new economic management system," which was exposed to the outside world last July as the June 28 policy measures. News about the measures was delivered to North Korea watchers by sources

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close to the North and organizations of North Korean refugees in South Korea in fragments. This writer could perceive a change in the North, based on the remarks from a North Korean citizen he met in China. But in a session held on Sept. 25 this year, the Supreme People's Assembly (SPA), the North's rubber-stamp parliament, did not announce any economic measure of a reform nature, betraying the expectation of North Korea watchers in Seoul and elsewhere.

The only new measures were ones to extend the period of mandatory education to 12 years, while stressing the importance of education in basic scientific arenas, computers and foreign languages. Did the June 28 measures originate simply in an idle rumor, with no real substance? Some North Korea watchers in Seoul view the measure as a move for a change in the North's economic policy line, connecting it with the dismissal in mid-July this year of Marshal Ri Yong-ho from all offices he held. Ri had served as a mentor of Kim Jong-un in his capacity as member of the five-man Presidium of the Politburo, chief of the General Staff of the Korean People's Army and vice chairman of the WPK Central Military Commission since the third conference of party representatives held in October 2010.

They also linked it with the China tour in August this year by Jang Song-thaek, Kim Jong-il's brother-in-law, who has also served as a mentor of the young leader in recent years in his capacity as vice chairman of the NDC and chief of the Central Administrative Department in the WPK Central Committee, a powerful office that oversees all of the security-related institu-

tions, including the State Security Ministry, the North's version of the secret police. Some other watchers were even in the radical position that recent developments in the North indicate a power struggle between the party and the army, and that the Songun (military-first) era is gone and coming is the economy-first era. It may be improper to talk about questions surrounding the North's reforms and opening-up, based on the obscure topic of the June 28 measures. This essay will show Kim Jong-un regime's perception of its economic problems, based on Kim's activities and statements made in the past nine months, and it will also review the North's policies regarding the market in the past and re-interpret Kim's way of mapping out policies in connection with the June 28 measures.

## **II. Kim Jong-un's Economic Policies: Focusing on Media's Coverage**

### **1. A Series of Related Developments**

North Korea watchers in Seoul and elsewhere have sensed a considerable change in North Korea since the new young North Korean leader presented his goal to turn the country into a Kangsong Taeguk, a great country that is powerful ideologically and militarily, and prosperous economically, based on a knowledge-based economy. *Mainichi Shimbun*, one of the Tokyo-based influential Japanese newspapers, on April 16 this year reported on the probable pragmatic policy line of the new leader, for the first time.<sup>1)</sup>

Noteworthy in the report showing Kim's perception of the question regarding reforms and an opening-up of the North is that he accented the point that the North's economic management should be improved in a practical way, and not in a theories-oriented manner. A similar report came from the Hankyoreh, a progressive daily in Seoul, on June 8 – in an interview with Jin Zhe, the chief secretary of the Korean Peninsula Research Centre at the Liaoning Academy of Social Sciences.

“We're even hearing about prominent North Korean figures saying that First Secretary Kim Jong-un has urged officials concerned to accept any idea regardless of its ideological connection if and when people accept and support it,” Jin said. “They're said to be very intent on developing the economy.” These and other reports in this direction are encouraging North Korea watchers to expect substantial measures for reforms and an opening-up to be taken by the new North Korean leadership.

The North's announcement on relieving Ri Yong-ho from all his posts on July 16, 2012 was a significant happening that further encouraged North Korea watchers to expect the North's promotion of reforms and an opening-up. They interpreted North Korean state media's reports on Premier Choe Yong-rim's visits to farms and industrial facilities following Ri's dismissal as preparations for economic reforms, while expecting the rise of technocrats, including Jang Song-thaek and ministers of the Cabinet.

Moreover, testifying before a South Korean parliamentary committee on July 26, Won Sei-hoon who heads the National Intelligence Service in Seoul, revealed that

North Korea has installed a task force for restructuring its economy under Kim Jong-un's instruction while pushing ahead with new policies calling for a more active role of the Cabinet, downsizing the farming squads and giving a freer hand to enterprises in their management.

Jang Song-thaek, the husband of Kim Kyong-hui who is the younger sister of late North Korean leader Kim Jong-il, made a six-day visit to China starting on Aug. 13, leading a 50-strong North Korean delegation in his capacity as chief of the Central Administrative Department in the WPK Central Committee. During his China trip, he not only met with Chinese leader Hu Jintao but reached an agreement with China for cooperation in developing the North's two special economic zones, one in the Rajin-Songbong city and another on two islands in the estuary of the Yalu River – the Hwanggumphyong and Wihwa Islands – according to the *China Daily*, state-controlled English-language newspaper in Beijing. The paper also said that the North Korean mission focused their efforts on the securing of a fund necessary for the June 28 measures, which accept part of the market economy.

Outsiders' expectations for the North taking active measures toward economic reforms culminated right before the communist nation held its sixth session of the 12-term SPA on Sept. 25 this year. Kommersant, a nationally distributed daily newspaper published in Russia, reported that North Korea had already begun to take step-by-step measures for economic reforms, introducing a deferential payment system for laborers. Quoting sources close to the Chinese authorities concerned, Reu-



ters mentioned the possibility of the North's reforms in the farming sector.

In a dispatch from Sariwon, a North Korean city in North Hwanghae Province, the Associated Press said on Sept. 24 this year, "North Korean farmers who have long been required to turn most of their crops over to the state may now be allowed to keep their surplus food to sell or barter in what could be the most significant economic change enacted by young leader Kim Jong-un since he came to power nine months ago."

The AP quoted a farmer at Migok Cooperative Farm as saying, "I'm happy because we can keep the crops we worked so hard to grow." *Le Figaro*, a French daily newspaper in Paris, also made a similar report, expecting a significant announcement on surprising economic reforms to be made at the aforementioned SPA session. Yu Woo-ik, the South Korean minister of unification, said that North Korea is passing a positive signal for economic reforms. But "Uriminzokkiri," a Web site run by a propaganda tool of the North, on Aug. 16 this year aired an article denying Minister Yu's statement. Although the North failed to announce any measures for reforms and an opening-up, many North Korea watchers in Seoul are awaiting a change in the North Korean policies.

## 2. Signs for Change

Signs of change in the North's economic policies have come in two directions. One regards a change in Kim Jong-un's perception of economic issues as shown in his remarks and the other is concerned with a

new economic management system introduced under the June 28 measures. Probably, these developments imply that members of the North Korean ruling circle are sharing the view that a change is inevitable, and that North Korea is signaling its move under a significant plan for economic development.

Kim's statements and speeches in recent months have shown his view of economic issues.<sup>2)</sup> In a statement on April 6 this year, Kim stressed, "All projects should be subject to the goal of developing the national economy and improving the standard of people's living," indicating the task of the North is to promote the development of its economy and improve living conditions for its citizens. Drawing the attention of North Korea watchers is the passage in the statement: "We are required to take measures for our people, who have been loyal to the Party, not to make them tighten their belt again under any circumstance."

According to Prof. Han S. Park at the University of Georgia in the U.S., who was an eyewitness of the military parade held in Pyongyang on April 15 this year to mark the centenary of the birth of North Korean founding leader Kim Il-sung, Kim clarified in a speech there that now is the time for the North to develop its economy.

He also instructed officials in the central offices concerned on April 27 this year not to excessively control economic projects in the areas other than the capital city of Pyongyang. While visiting the Mangyongdae Amusement Park, according to the (North) Korean Central News Agency (KCNA) of the North on May 9 this year, Kim expressed his displeasure about the condition of the amusement park, indicat-

ing that the young North Korean leader is attempting to work out problems in every economic project to improve people's standard of living.

### III. North Korea's Perception of Its Economic Reality

This chapter is a compilation of this writer's interviews in recent months with more than 20 North Korean refugees in South Korea and China on the current economic situation in the North. Their identities will not be disclosed because of various factors.

The North Korean citizens have instinctively moved toward marketization in the 1990s when the North Korean economy was faced with the worst-ever situation and their moves were followed by the July 1, 2002 measures taken by the North Korean government for improving its economic management. But the North Korean market since 2007 was not an institutionalized market any more and the market was under the control of the North Korean authorities concerned, with its function and role restricted.<sup>3)</sup> Moreover, the measure taken in November 2009 for redenominating its bank notes has dealt a heavy blow to the markets. A series of developments in relations between the market and North Korean citizens can be broken down into four phases as follows.

First Phase (from 1998 up until the reform measures on July 1, 2002): North Korean citizens' spontaneous activities are expanding the marketplace. They perceive the marketplace called "jangmadang" just like their kitchen. They have solved their

food problem and are focused on bartering. According to North Korean refugees interviewed, some people bartered their goods for grain and some others sold homemade food at the marketplace, calling them "marketing activities." For North Koreans, the market at that time was a place where they earned their living. Second Phase (from July 1, 2002 to the date of taking measures for bringing the market under government control in 2006): The barter trade was transformed into commercial trade and the market provided North Koreans with a chance to earn money. Of course, there were those who accumulated capital during the first phase of "jangmadang". But a majority of North Koreans were able to not only solve their food problem but also make money for the first time.

Third Phase (from 2007 to the redenomination of the North Korean currency in November 2009): During this phase, people's market-oriented economic activities were brought under government control. The government began to crack down on professional traders for their non-socialist activities. The authorities responsible for controlling the market were vigilant in their search for something profitable and people's market activities were at the crossroads between profit and loss. Testimonies from the North Korean refugees interviewed frequently included the phrase, "to provide an offering," in relation with the market, while considering the merchants, who are skillful in deception, as people excellent in commerce.

Fourth Phase (after the currency redenomination in 2009): While the market is experiencing a slump and the prices of

commodities are rising at a rapid pace, the officials concerned become parasitic on the market and merchants dominating the market install a border to keep others from the market. And the North Koreans who are kept from the market repeat success and failure in their attempts to join the market. Those, who have experienced failure, feel the need for capital and relations with powerful officials.

### **I. North Koreans' Growing Pessimism toward the Market**

The market in North Korea, including "jangmadang", which emerged amid economic difficulties in the country, and the general market, an institutionalized market in the socialist state, has experienced a change in its scale and structure, plus its function, according to the North Korean government's policies regarding it and North Korean citizens' attitude toward it. A sizeable percentage of North Korean citizens are now suffering from accumulated pessimism toward the market, an indication that the market has failed to provide all of them with a positive, hopeful chance.

The North Korean refugees interviewed shared the view that more than a few North Korean citizens in urban areas lead toilsome lives, purchasing their daily food with their daily earnings. They think they cannot make money through commercial activities, which they think require talent, relationships with powerful officials and skills to deceive others, among other things. The refugees said ordinary North Korean citizens are accustomed to offering money to teachers of their children, and

merchants bribe officials in charge of the market.

### **2. Serious Corruption of North Korean Officials**

A majority of the North Korean interviewees said that officials cracking down on the market sometimes outnumber the merchants. Bribing officials concerned is a must for merchants, and the authorities concerned have repeatedly alternated between intensive inspections and control of the market with a soft approach, they said, adding that ironically, there is nothing that can't be attained in the North and there is nothing to truly achieve. A chain of corrupt officials make it extremely difficult for merchants, who struggle every day to sell their goods in the market, they said. Merchants' doubt and distrust of the government has deepened since the currency reform, and they view senior officials as "direct plunderers" and the state as an "indirect plunderer" siding with the officials and tacitly allowing their troublesome behavior to continue.

### **IV. Reinterpretation of Kim Jong-un's Ideas for New Economic Policies**

A review of the situation facing the North Korean economy today and the North's economic policies since the inauguration of the Kim Jong-un regime has revealed four motives for the regime's policies. First, North Korea has an urgent need to establish a successful opening-up model as seen in Jang Song-thaek's behavior dur-

ing his visit to China. Second, the North needs to eradicate corruption among officials and guarantee a basic livelihood to officials with nothing to do with the market and senior officials. Third, the North needs to encourage laborers to increase their productivity in an effort to improve the standard of people's living.

### **1. Establishing a Successful Model for Opening Up**

During his six-day visit to China which started on Aug. 13 this year, Jang Song-thaek attended the third meeting of the joint North Korea and China steering committee for developing and managing the Rason Economic and Trade Zone, and the Hwanggumphyong and Wihwa Islands Economic Zone in the North, which confirmed that the development projects are proceeding on schedule, according to the China Daily.

Jang also visited the Chinese provinces of Jilin and Liaoning near the two North Korean economic zones to ask their governments' active cooperation with the projects. The success of the Rason project requires the North to guarantee conditions for Chinese companies' activities as proposed by China,<sup>4)</sup> while the Hwanggumphyong projects are in close relation with the economic situation facing the two Chinese provinces.

Evident is the North's policy on the special economic zones. North Korea has mentioned time and again, albeit unofficially, the idea to expand its special economic zones in the western and eastern parts of the country. On the occasion of relieving Vice Marshal Ri Yong-ho, who

was a mentor of Kim Jong-un since he was named member of the five-man Presidium of the Politburo in the third Party conference held in September 2010, from all Party and other offices, the North stressed its economic management under the Cabinet's initiative and realigned the offices for foreign trade and overseas investment in a way to encourage the Committee for Joint Venture and Investment under the umbrella of the Ministry of Foreign Trade to play a leading role in that matter.<sup>5)</sup>

On Sept. 26 this year, the Committee for the Promotion of Economic Cooperation of the North hosted a briefing session on foreign investment in Beijing, introducing tax breaks for foreigners making investments in the two special economic zones in the North and the promising projects set for foreign investment such as development of natural resources, including iron ore and gold, fish farming and garment manufacturing.

Earlier, the North held briefing sessions for foreign investors in Changchun, Jilin Province on Sept. 7; in Xiamen, Fujian Province on Sept. 9; and in Dandong, Liaoning Province on Sept. 9. On Sept. 22, the Beijing office for the Committee for Joint Venture and Investment concluded a contract with China Overseas Investment to set up an exclusive North Korea investment fund of 3 billion Chinese yuan (about US\$476 million).<sup>6)</sup> Undoubtedly, this is a follow-up measure after Jang Song-thaek's visit to China.

### **2. Overseas Dispatch of Labor Force**

While establishing special economic

zones in its territory, North Korea is pushing ahead with the projects aimed at dispatching its labor force en masse to foreign labor markets. This is among the policies being pursued by the Kim Jong-un regime at a time when there are many idle laborers in the country because of the extremely low operation rate of industrial facilities there and their non-productive activities that are likely hampering social discipline.

A North Korean company in a Chinese city bordering the North that this writer visited last August is under the umbrella of the Committee for Joint Venture and Investment, which began to operate its plant recently in a five-year contract with the Chinese authorities concerned. Under the contract, China provides the company with land, water, a building housing the plant, power, a dormitory for employees and raw materials while the North supplies laborers to the business in the form of manufacturing on commission. Working in its plant were about 450 women in their 20s, 30s and 40s.

They are paid 1,500 yuan a month on average. According to a Chinese manager of the plant, there are many similar companies in China under the control of the Committee for Joint Venture and Investment and women volunteers are assigned to plants in China after one or two years of training.

The number of North Korean laborers working in the Chinese provinces of Jilin and Liaoning is estimated to remain somewhere between 20,000 and 30,000. The Shenyang office of the Korea Trade-Investment Promotion Agency in Seoul has said it confirmed last July that North Korea had decided to dispatch as many as

120,000 laborers to China.<sup>7)</sup>

This writer has also sensed the increasing number of North Korean laborers in China while traveling from Dandong, bordering the North, to Hunchun, a county-level city in the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture. The North Korean government is reportedly encouraging its citizens in urban areas to seek a job abroad. Different from the Chinese government worrying about unrest in its labor market, North Korean businessmen in China view North Korean laborers' entry into the Chinese labor market as their chance to make money at a time when an ever increasing number of young Chinese are reluctant to work in plants. Chinese plants are willingly employing North Korean laborers whose wages remain half of those for Chinese laborers. For this reason, the North Korean government will likely enjoy an ever increasing number of North Korean laborers being sent to China in the years to come.

### **3. Eradication of Officials' Corruption and Patriotic Education**

The key factor for officials' corruption in the North is the social environment there, where influential officials can have a monopoly on things profitable and misuse their power. For this reason, Kim Jong-un has called on army commanders to innovate their behavior while urging them to solve all problems in economic projects, under the instructions of the Cabinet. The young North Korean leader also said on May 14 this year that army servicemen have excessively learned the charm of money and urged them to only fight battles

with guns and bullets provided by the state.<sup>8)</sup> He also warned them that the State will not tolerate them plundering farmers' grain any more.<sup>9)</sup>

The North Korean Army has so far played a leading role in the economic sector of the country, monopolizing key projects for earning foreign currency and developing mines while the Second Economic Commission run by the army overpowered the Cabinet in both authority and status.

But the new North Korean leadership has instructed the Cabinet to play a pivotal role in solving all economic problems, keeping the army from economic affairs and removing inefficiency, confusion and irrationality caused by the army's interference with economic affairs.

#### **4. Encouraging Laborers to Produce More and Increase Their Productivity**

The core issue at stake in the North is how to turn pessimistic North Korean laborers into ones who are motivated to produce more. In other words, the North needs to prevent its citizens, who know how to make money, from using unlawful means of achieving their goals, while encouraging ordinary citizens to engage in productive labor.<sup>10)</sup>

Although the entire picture of the North's new reform measures can't be formed with 100 percent certainty because the remarks of the North Korean refugees interviewed were vague, it undoubtedly does not break away far from the July 1, 2002 measures, which called for a radical increase in commodity prices and wages aimed at providing a production boost in

the agricultural and industrial sectors, and for legalizing the market. Presumably, the North Korean government is drafting reform measures in a way to bridge the wide gap between official wages for laborers and merchants' income from their market activities.

The new reform measures will likely be based on a freer hand given to the managers of enterprises and a reduction in the portion of the command economy. A practical change is expected to emerge in the North Korean society during which more shops and service facilities will appear to lure consumers into spending more of their money there.

The remarkable difference between the July 1, 2002 measures and the reform steps today is likely in the process of their implementation. Probably, the North Korean leadership wants North Korean citizens not to perceive a radical change in the reform guidelines and the international community not to interpret the measures as a new policy step toward reform and an opening-up.

This is because the North's leadership wants to remove itself from the heavy burden caused by the failure of its measures, which were put into play during a trial implementation. In other words, they can replace the measures with other ones if they turn out to be unsuccessful. For this reason, North Korea will unlikely attempt to make a fundamental change in its economic policies, considering the June 28 measure as a transitional step.

## V. Conclusion

This essay has attempted to view Kim Jong-un regime's economic policies as a whole. It also attempted to examine the June 28 measure, in consideration of the situation facing the North Korean economy, where economic developments impact the social environment, which are reflected in new policies. A series of developments in the North in recent months indicate that North Korean policymakers have given priority on establishing Kim Jong-il's leadership rather than making a change in economic policies.

In other words, they have attempted to promote a new image of the leader, forming a fresh social atmosphere, tightening social discipline and giving practical solutions to socioeconomic problems. For this reason, it will take more time for North Korea watchers to perceive a tangible change in the North Korean economic policies. They have no option but to wait for a positive signal from the North.

The new young North Korean leader is following closely the steps his father took in the 1970s and 1980s. He has called for a "speed battle" and a campaign for the production of the "Aug. 3 people's consumer goods." He stressed propaganda-oriented education through movies and literary activities. But the young Kim has shown a leadership difference from the late senior Kim, who presented strategic visions such as the military-first policy and the idea for turning the country into a Kangsong Taeguk.

The senior Kim also had different ideas regarding nuclear weapons, foreign policies and the July 1, 2002 reform measures.

It might be too hasty for North Korea watchers in Seoul and elsewhere to expect chronic economic reform measures for a fundamental change to be taken by Kim Jong-un, who launched his leadership officially just several months earlier. The North Korean Cabinet is likely struggling to provide reform measures based on the July 1, 2002 ones while worrying about its new policy measures failing. For this reason, the North will likely attempt to realign its economic policies in a way to tighten social discipline in this era of new state leadership.

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### Notes :

- 1) *Mainichi Shimbun*, April 17, 2012; Yonhap News Agency, April 16, 2012; The Korean Central News Agency (KCNA), June 6, 2012.
- 2) *Rodong Sinmun*, April 19, 2012; The KCNA, June 12, 2012; *Rodong Sinmun*, May 9, 2012; The KCNA, Aug. 3, 2012; The KCNA, June, 6, 2012.
- 3) Ryu Kyong-won, "Merchants Are Spreading an Illusion on the Enemies, Utilizing South Korean Goods," *The Limjin River* No. 2, (Seoul, The Imjingang Press, March 2008), pp. 83-85.
- 4) Lim Kang-taeg, "How Can We Evaluate the Results of Jang Song-thaek's Visit to China?" Online Series CO 12-36. The Korea Institute for National Unification in Seoul, August 2012.
- 5) Chung Chang-hyun, "What Is Happening in North Korea?" *Tongil News*, July 25, 2012.
- 6) *Hankyoreh*, Sept. 27, 2012.
- 7) *Hankyoreh*, Oct. 5, 2012.
- 8) Chung Chang-hyun, *op. cit.*
- 9) Yonhap News Agency, Sept. 16, 2012.
- 10) The KCNA, July 23, 2012.

**North Korea Ditches Secret Fund Management Agency, 'Office 38'**

<Yonhap from WASHINGTON/ October 18, 2012>

— North Korea's leadership has dissolved a key communist party organization tasked with managing slush funds for the ruling Kim family, a news report said on Oct. 18.

— Japan's Kyodo News Service reported Pyongyang has abolished the agency, code-named "Office 38," under the Workers' Party of (North) Korea. It quoted unidentified "sources familiar with North Korean affairs." Kyodo's story has not been confirmed independently.

— It cited the sources as saying the North's move reflects efforts by the young leader Kim Jong-un to streamline entities involved in earning foreign currency and also increase the role of the cabinet.

— Office 38, created by the late leader Kim Jong-il, is known as a party bureau that manages the funds of the Kim family and ruling elites. Its main mission was to oversee transactions involving foreign currency, hotels and trade.

**German Theaters to Screen Movie on N. Korean Political Prison Camp**

<Yonhap from BERLIN/ October 22, 2012>

— A rare movie about a former North Korean political prisoner will be screened in theaters in Berlin and around nine other German cities on Nov. 8, according to Engstfeld Film.

— Director Marc Wiese's "Camp 14 - Total Control Zone" is about the dramatic life of Shin Dong-hyuk, who was born in a political prison camp, according to the documentary film company. Shin remained in the camp for 24 years before escaping over electrified fences and making his way to China. He settled in South Korea in 2006.

— "Our sole purpose was to follow the rules of the work camp and then die," Shin said in a synopsis posted on the Web site of Engstfeld.

— "Sometimes people tried to escape, driven by fear of starving or being beaten, but they were publicly executed and became the object of hate for those of us who were left behind," the defector said.

**N.K. Mends Nuke Test Tunnel After Flood Damage, Satellite Photo Shows**

<Yonhap from WASHINGTON/ October 22, 2012>

— North Korea suffered flood damage at its major nuclear test site but it has made good progress in restoration, security experts said on Oct. 22, citing satellite photos.

— "Satellite imagery of North Korea's underground nuclear test site at Punggye-ri in the country's northeastern corner shows that significant repairs have been undertaken to mitigate damage caused by this summer's floods," said James Hardy and Allison Puccioni, analysts at IHS Janes, a London-based security information firm.

— South Korean intelligence sources said earlier heavy rains and floods had caused damage at a tunnel in the site. The reclusive North is believed to have constructed two new tunnels in addition to as many existing ones. It conducted two underground nuclear tests there



in 2006 and 2009, respectively.

### **North Korea Has ‘Significant’ Cyber Warfare Capacity: USFK Chief**

<Yonhap from SEOUL/ October 22, 2012>

— North Korea’s cyber-warfare capabilities have become “significant” and the country is continuing to further develop them, the top American military commander in South Korea said on Oct. 22.

— The socialist regime’s capacity for cyber terror is one of the unconventional weapons that it is developing, Commander of U.S. Forces Korea (USFK) Gen. James Thurman said during an event sponsored by the Association of the United States Army in Washington. But Thurman did not elaborate on the exact details of the North’s cyber abilities.

— Other unconventional arsenals in North Korea include its special operations force, believed to be the world’s largest with 60,000 personnel, as well as weapons of mass destruction, with the country pushing to refine its ballistic missiles technology and further investing in developing nuclear weapons that could be of use, according to the general.

### **N. Korean Leader Dismissed, Purged 31 Ranking Officials Since 2010**

<Yonhap from SEOUL/ October 23, 2012>

— North Korean leader Kim Jong-un has dismissed or purged 31 senior officials including the former chief of the military’s general staff since being anointed heir to his father and longtime leader Kim Jong-il in 2010, a South Korean lawmaker claimed on Oct. 23.

— The younger Kim, who took power after his father’s death last December, dismissed four members of the Central Military Commission of the North’s ruling Workers’ Party in September 2010, and purged 27 other ranking officials between 2011 and 2012, according to Rep. Yoon Sang-hyun of the South’s ruling Saenuri Party.

— “Kim Jong-un is purging senior officials who are becoming an obstacle to his grip on power, performing poorly or expressing their dissatisfaction, according to his needs,” Yoon said in a news release.

— Among those purged were Vice Marshal Ri Yong-ho, the former chief of the military’s general staff who was abruptly relieved of all of his posts in July; Ryu Kyong, a senior intelligence official; and Kim Chol, a senior defense official, the lawmaker said.

### **N. Korea Imports US\$170,000 of Firearms from Switzerland**

<Yonhap from SEOUL/ October 26, 2012>

— North Korea imported US\$170,000 worth of firearms from Switzerland in the first half of this year, Seoul’s trade agency said on Oct. 26.

— The socialist country brought in about \$100,000 of guns such as shotguns, air and gas rifles, and revolvers while importing around \$70,000 worth of firearm components, according to the report by the Korea Trade-Investment Promotion Agency, or KOTRA.

— The state-run agency said the North had no record of firearm imports from Switzerland

since 2009 until last year when it started to ship them in the first half.

### **UNEP Report Shows Pollution in Pyongyang Worse Than in Seoul**

<Yonhap from SEOUL/ November 1, 2012>

— The air quality in Pyongyang is worse than that in Seoul, according to a report released by the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) on Nov. 1.

— The average level of air pollutants in Pyongyang was found to be higher than that in Seoul, with other environmental problems also present in the socialist country such as poor water quality and rapid deforestation, the UNEP report showed.

— According to the report compiled by the U.N. agency together with the North's environment ministry, the average sulfur dioxide concentration in Pyongyang stood at 0.009 parts per million (ppm) in 2008, higher than the 0.006 ppm measured in Seoul the same year.

— The U.N. agency compiled the report after conducting surveys of the country from 2010 to last August.

### **Egypt's Orascom Invests US\$150 Million in North Korea's Telecom Biz**

<Yonhap from SEOUL/ November 10, 2012>

— Orascom Telecom Media and Technology (OTMT) of Egypt has invested more than US\$150 million in North Korea's telecom business since it made inroads into the socialist state in 2008, Radio Free Asia (RFA) reported on Nov. 10.

— Quoting a business Web site based in the Middle East, RFA said Orascom has invested a sum of \$153 million in North Korea since 2008, of which the lion's share was used to establish the telecom network in the country.

— Orascom has established Koryolink, a joint venture mobile phone service company, with the North Korean government. The Egyptian company owns 75 percent of the sole 3G cellular operator in North Korea with the rest being held by the North Korean government.

### **North Korean Missile Parts Heading to Syria Seized in May**

<Yonhap from NEW YORK/ WASHINGTON/ November 13, 2012>

— South Korea intercepted a Chinese ship in May bound for Syria carrying parts that could be used for missile production, a news report said on Nov. 13.

— The case, included in a U.N. report, came amid lingering concerns over North Korea's ties with Syria – and China's commitment to U.N. sanctions on Pyongyang, according to Japan's Kyodo News Service.

— Citing U.N. diplomats, Kyodo said the Chinese-registered freighter, based in Shanghai, was seized by South Korean authorities in Busan. The ship was carrying 445 graphite cylinders, which are convertible to ballistic missile components, bound for a Syrian company with North Korean ties, it added. The goods are believed to be made in North Korea, the report said.

## PEOPLE

**Kim Jong-un** (김정은): Supreme Commander of the (North) Korean People's Army (KPA), First Secretary of the Workers' Party of (North) Korea (WPK), First Chairman of the National Defense Commission (NDC)

- Oct. 19 sends a letter to the teachers and students of Mangyongdae Revolutionary School and Kang Pan-sok Revolutionary School on the schools' 65th anniversaries.
- 21 sends a wreath to the bier of Great King Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia, expressing profound condolences over his passing.
- 29 watches a performance of the Moranbong Band held to mark the 60th founding anniversary of the Kim Il-sung Military University along with his wife Ri Sol-ju.
- Nov. 3 visits the newly built Breast Cancer Research Centre at the Pyongyang Maternity Hospital.
- 3 inspects the Ryugyong Health Complex, the People's Open-air Ice Rink and the Roller-skating Ground nearing completion located in the riverside of River Taedong in Pyongyang.

**Kim Yong-nam** (김영남): President of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly (SPA)

- Oct. 17 meets with a delegation from the Democratic Party of Italy headed by International Secretary Lapo Pistelli at the Mansudae Assembly Hall in Pyongyang.
- 18 receives credentials from new Swiss Ambassador to the DPRK (North Korea) Jacques De Watteville at the Mansudae Assembly Hall.
- 19 meets with Munshi Faiz Ahmad, the Bangladeshi ambassador to the DPRK, who paid a farewell visit to him at the Mansudae Assembly Hall.
- 22 receives credentials from Michael John Gifford, new British ambassador to the DPRK, at the Mansudae Assembly Hall.
- 24 receives credentials from Iranian Ambassador Mansour Chavoshi at the Mansudae Assembly Hall.
- 30 receives credentials from Matti Heikki Heimonen, the new Finnish ambassador to the DPRK, at the Mansudae Assembly Hall.
- Nov. 2 meets with the visiting delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic led by Minister of Culture Loubana Mouchaweh at Mansudae Assembly Hall in Pyongyang.
- 5 meets with a delegation of the Laos-Korea Friendship Association led by Tong Yeu Tho, a member of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, at Mansudae Assembly Hall.
- 6 receives credentials from Qatar Ambassador to the DPRK Hamad Bin Mohammed al-Khalifa at Mansudae Assembly Hall.

**Choe Yong-rim** (최영림) : Premier of the Cabinet

- Oct. 20 makes a field survey to learn about the work in different domains of North Hwanghae Province on the spot.

- Oct. 25 inspects production at the Chollima Steel Complex and the Hwanghae Iron and Steel Complex.
- 31 conducts a field survey of Kim Chaek University of Technology.
- Nov. 6 makes a field survey of the Taedong River Terrapin Factory to learn about the project of expanding its production capacity, which is under way in line with the plans of Kim Jong-un.
- 8 sends a message of greeting to Hun Sen, prime minister of Cambodia, on the occasion of the 59th anniversary of its independence.
- 9 learns about the preparations for creating a vast field of grass in Sepho, Phyongan and Ichon counties of Kangwon Province and turning it into a large-scale stock farming base of the country.

**Pak Ui-chun (박의춘) : Foreign Minister**

- Oct. 17 has separate meetings with Swedish Ambassador to the DPRK Karl-Olof Andersson and Bangladeshi Ambassador to the DPRK Munshi Faiz Ahmad.
- 30 meets with a government economic delegation from the Syrian Arab Republic led by Minister of Culture Loubana Mouchaweh at the Mansudae Assembly Hall.
- Nov. 1 sends a congratulatory message to Salman Khurshid upon his appointment as India's foreign minister.
- 7 meets with new Qatari Ambassador to the DPRK Hamad Bin Mohammed al-Khalifa.
- 8 meets with Mansour Chavoshi, Iranian Ambassador to the DPRK (North Korea), who paid a courtesy call on him.

## CHRONOLOGICAL REVIEW

**(Local Events)**

- Oct. 16 The construction of the modern Fitness Center on Thongil Street in Pyongyang is completed.
- 16 The Mastoncus Institute goes into operation at the Pyongyang Maternity Hospital on the occasion of the 67th founding birthday of the WPK.
- 18 North Korea marks the 53rd anniversary of the death of Ri Po-ik, the grandmother of President Kim Il-sung.
- 18 The 23rd national software contest and exhibition presenting at least 1,300 computer programs opens with due ceremony at the Three-Revolution Exhibition in Pyongyang.
- 19 The Western Front Command of the KPA notifies South Korea of a possible physical strike at a location where South Koreans send out anti-North Korean leaflets.
- 24 The State Stamp Bureau issues new stamps (sheets of two values) to commemorate the International Stamp and Coin Exposition "Beijing 2012" to be held in China on Nov. 2-4.

- Oct. 24 The Order of Kim Jong-il is conferred on Kim Il-sung Military University on the occasion of its diamond jubilee.
- 24 The (North) Korean Central News Agency (KCNA) says mosaics portraying a smiling President Kim Il-sung and leader Kim Jong-il have been erected in Hyesan city of Ryanggang Province and Chollima District of Nampho city.
- 26 A "Mother of Revolution" mosaic portraying Kim Jong-suk, mother of late leader Kim Jong-il, is erected at the Kim Il-sung Military University on the occasion of its 60th founding anniversary.
- 26 A ceremony takes place in Rason City to start a project of office building for the Rason Economic and Trade Zone Management Committee.
- 27 The State Stamp Bureau of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea issues a stamp in commemoration of the institution of Mother's Day in the country.
- 28 The Kim Il-sung Military University marks its 60th founding anniversary. A commemorative banquet was held at the People's Palace of Culture in Pyongyang.
- 29 The Postgraduate Research Institute of Kim Il-sung Military University is renamed the Kim Jong-il Military Postgraduate Research Institute on the occasion of its 60th founding anniversary.
- 29 The fourth national information science and technology exhibition of university students opens with due ceremony at the Three-Revolution Exhibition in Pyongyang.
- 29 Statues of Generalissimos Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il are erected at the Kim Il-sung Military University on the occasion of its 60th founding anniversary.
- 29 The Moranbong Band gives a performance to mark the 60th founding anniversary of the Kim Il-sung Military University, which was attended by North Korean leader Kim Jong-un and his wife Ri Sol-ju.
- 30 Director of the General Political Bureau of the KPA Choe Ryong-hae makes a field survey of the construction of the Victorious Fatherland Liberation War Museum.
- 30 The Pyongyang Taegyong Laver Processing Factory, a modern aquatic product processing base, is commissioned in a ceremony. The factory has the latest equipment for secondary laver processing and modern equipment for processing such products as tangle weed and squid.
- 30-31 National scientific and technological presentations of the metal and tool materials field, and electronics engineering field take place at Kim Chaek University of Technology under the sponsorship of the Central Committee of the General Federation of Science and Technology of (North) Korea.
- 31 A meeting of chairpersons of primary organizations of the youth league in the companies under the KPA takes place at the April 25 House of Culture in Pyongyang.
- 31 A national meeting of medical workers is held at the People's Palace of Culture in Pyongyang.
- 31 A scientific symposium and scientific and technological presentation and exhibition takes place in Pyongyang from Oct. 23-31 under the sponsorship of the Central Committee of the General Federation of Science and Technology of (North) Korea.
- Nov. 2 Artists from groups representing cinematic art, theatrical art and fine art take part in

- the 43rd sports contest at Kim Il-sung Stadium in Pyongyang.
- Nov. 4 An enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the WPK Central Committee takes place in Pyongyang to adopt a decision of the Political Bureau “on forming the State Physical Culture and Sports Guidance Commission.”
- 4 Ri Hyang-sim (리향심), a footballer for Amnok River Sports Team, won the Adidas Silver Ball at the 2012 FIFA U-17 Women’s World Cup.
- 7 A meeting of forestry industry workers is held at the People’s Palace of Culture with Premier Choe Yong-rim and ranking officials and workers in the forestry field in attendance.
- 9 A joint concert by performers of the Pyongyang Kim Won-gyun Conservatory and the Munich Chamber Orchestra of Germany is held in the conservatory’s music hall.
- 10 The title of labor hero and Gold Medal and Order of National Flag First Class are awarded to seven women who gave birth to many sons and daughters and are bringing them up to be dependable persons.
- 12 Multiple-launch rocket systems “Nyomaeng-ho” associated with the ardent patriotism of the women across the country are presented to units of the KPA on the occasion of the 4th National Meeting of Mothers.
- 13 State commendations are awarded to mothers for their contributions to the building of a thriving socialist nation ahead of the 4th National Meeting of Mothers in a ceremony at the April 25 House of Culture in Pyongyang.
- 13 Delegates to the 4th national meeting of mothers arrive in Pyongyang.
- 13 North Korea issues greeting cards with phrases including “Mother’s Day,” “November 16th,” “Happy Mother’s Day” and “I Love Mother” in different calligraphic styles on the occasion of Mother’s Day.
- 15 The 4th National Meeting of Mothers takes place in Pyongyang.

**(Foreign Events)**

- Oct. 16 A reception is given at the DPRK embassy in Moscow on Oct. 12 to mark the 64th anniversary of the establishment of the DPRK-Russia diplomatic ties.
- 16 Talks between the delegations of the WPK and the Democratic Party of Italy are held in Pyongyang.
- 16 Wreaths are sent to the Cambodian embassy in Pyongyang by the DPRK to mourn the death of the Great King of Cambodia Norodom Sihanouk.
- 17 Cuban Ambassador to the DPRK German Hermin Ferras Alvarez gives a reception at his embassy to mark the 67th anniversary of the WPK.
- 18 Kim Yong-il, the secretary of the WPK Central Committee, meets with new Swedish Ambassador to the DPRK Karl-Olof Andersson, who paid a courtesy call on him.
- 18 North Korea decides to set Oct. 23, 2012 as a mourning day and raise flags at half-mast at fixed places on that day to mourn the death of King of Cambodia Norodom Sihanouk.
- 20 A North Korean delegation led by Yang Hyong-sop, the vice president of the SPA Presidium, leaves Pyongyang to visit Cambodia to express condolences over the pass-

- ing of King Norodom Sihanouk.
- Oct. 21 A delegation of the Dandong Municipal Committee of Liaoning Province of the Communist Party of China led by Deputy Secretary Li Shumin arrives in Pyongyang.
- 22 A delegation of the Ministry of Civil Affairs of China headed by Vice Minister Dou Yupei arrives in Pyongyang.
- 23 Palestinian Ambassador to the DPRK Ismail Ahmed Mohamed Hasan gives a reception at his embassy to mark the 15th anniversary of Kim Jong-il's election as general secretary of the WPK and its 67th birthday.
- 24 Jerome Sauvage, U.N. resident coordinator in Pyongyang, gives a reception at Koryo Hotel in Pyongyang to mark the Day of the United Nations.
- 25 A North Korean Foreign Ministry spokesman denounces recent remarks by U.S. Special Representative for North Korea Policy Glyn Davis who allegedly called for North Korea to implement its obligations to the September 19 joint statement and suspend its missile and nuclear weapons development.
- 25 Wreaths are laid before the Friendship Tower on the occasion of the 62nd anniversary of the entry of the Chinese People's Volunteers into the Korean front.
- 26 A ceremony takes place in Rason City to open to traffic the Rajin-Wonjon road in the Rason Economic and Trade Zone jointly developed and operated by the DPRK and China.
- 29 The DPRK Friendship Order Second Class is awarded to Vladimir Novikov, mayor of Artyom City of the Maritime Territory of Russia in a ceremony at the Mansudae Assembly Hall in Pyongyang.
- 29 Kim Yong-il, alternate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the WPK Central Committee, meets with a delegation of the Communist Party of Czech and Moravia headed by Zdenek Levy.
- 30 A delegation of the SPA headed by Ri Jong-hyok, chairman of the DPRK-EU friendship parliamentary group, leaves Pyongyang by air to visit European countries.
- 30 Dusan Strauch, the Czech ambassador to the DPRK, hosts a reception on the occasion of the country's national day.
- Nov. 1 A delegation of officials of the Education Commission led by Chairman Kim Song-du leaves Pyongyang to visit China.
- 1 A delegation of the Laos-DPRK (North Korea) Friendship Association headed by Tong Yeu Tho, a member of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, visits the statues of Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il on Mansu Hill.
- 5 The 8th meeting of the DPRK-Syria Joint Economic Committee closes in Pyongyang. The meeting started on Oct. 30.
- 5 An MOU between the DPRK and Syrian governments on mutual cooperation in the field of the special economic zones and the free zones is signed at the Mansudae Assembly Hall.
- 5 An MOU on cooperation in the field of environment is signed between the Ministry of Land and Environment Protection of the DPRK and the Ministry of State for Environment Affairs of the Syrian Arab Republic.

- Nov. 8 Chairman of the SPA Choe Thae-bok meets with the visiting joint delegation of four political parties of the State Duma of the Russian Federation at Mansudae Assembly Hall.
- 10 A government economic delegation led by Vice Minister of Foreign Trade Ri Myongsan leaves Pyongyang to visit Egypt.
- 12 A delegation of Korean women in China headed by Chon Jae-ryon, director of the Women's Affairs Department of the General Association of Koreans in China, arrives in Pyongyang to take part in the 4th National Meeting of Mothers.
- 12 A delegation headed by Vice Minister of Electric Power Industry Kim Yong-chol departs Pyongyang to take part in the 64th meeting of the Board of Directors of Korea-China Hydroelectric Power Company to be held in China.
- 12 Kanji Inoki, president of the Inoki Genom Joint Co., Ltd. of Japan, and his party arrive in Pyongyang.
- 13 The delegation of the SPA led by Ri Jong-hyok, chairman of the DPRK-EU friendship parliamentary group, returns home after visiting European countries.
- 15 A North-South joint Buddhist mass praying for Korea's reunification and having Nirvana service takes place at Ryongthong Temple in Kaesong of the DPRK.

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