VANTAGE **POINT**

DEVELOPMENTS IN NORTH KOREA

Vol. 36 No. 3 MARCH 2013

CONTENTS

	PHOTO NEWS	
	Kim Jong-un's Apparent Chain Smoking during State Functions	2
	A Glimpse of North Korea's Personality Cult for Kim Jong-il	3
	COVER STORY	
	N. KOREA'S NUCLEAR TEST & INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE	
	North Korea's Claim on Nuclear Test and Its Characteristics North Korea is believed to have spent a huge amount of money on the missile and nuclear development, as much as roughly US\$ 2.8 billion to 3.2 billion	4
	Pyongyang's Intentions and Motives behind the Nuclear Blast The North's regime is aimed at maintaining its dictational rule through internal consolidation and boosting bargaining power externally in future negotiations.	7
	International Reaction and Paradigm Shift of Sanctions More than 70 countries in the world and five international organizations have released statements condemning Pyongyang's nuclear test.	9
	Tough Measures against North Korea's Provocations Amid increased tension on the peninsula, international community is striving to craft their own sanctions to punish the North for the nuclear test.	11
	Incessant Provocative Actions by North Korea Among North Korea's provocations are the sinking of the South Korean warship Cheonan and the shelling of Yeonpyeong Island in the Yellow Sea in 2010.	13
SOUTH KOREA'S POLICY REVIEW		
	POSSIBLE CHANGES IN PRESIDENT PARK'S N. KOREA POLICY Park condemned the North's nuclear test in a statement issued on the day of the test and vowed her government will not tolerate a nuclear-armed North.	16
	SYMPOSIUM ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA	
	OPINIONS FROM EXPERTS ON N.K. NUCLEAR ARMAMENT	20
	INTERVIEW with Lawmaker Cho Myung-chul	
	Defector-turned-lawmaker and Former Professor at Kim II-sung Univ.	26
	DATA ON N.K. HUMAN RIGHTS PUBLIC EXECUTION FOR ANTI-REGIME ACTIVITIES	29
	There are some testimonies indicating that public executions have been carried out in connection with murders of security agents of the socialist regime.	
	MOVES TO ORGANIZE COLIN UNHRC AGAINST N.K. International community is concentrating their capability to call on the U.N. council to organize the COI at its upcoming session in March 2013.	32
	NEWS FOCUS	
	North Korea Seeks to Strengthen Role of Ruling Workers' Party N.K. Holds Various Events on Kim Jong-il's Birthday to Promote Personality Cult	34 36
	MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS	
	Internal Affairs / External Affairs / Inter-Korean Relations	38
	STUDIES By Bae Kook-yeol, AN EVALUATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF NORTH KOREAN LAWS REGARDING FOREIGN INVESTMENT	48
	FOREIGN TIPS	58
	PEOPLE & CHRONOLOGICAL REVIEW	
	PEUPLE & UNDUNULUGICAL DEVIEW	60

COVER PHOTO: Chinese people protest against North Korea's recent nuclear test as seen in this series of pictures captured from the Chinese microblogging service Weibo. (Yonhap Photo)

PHOTO NEWS

Kim Jong-un's Apparent Chain Smoking during State Functions

Vantage Point March 2013



- $\ensuremath{\bullet}$ Kim Jong-un presides over a meeting on national defense with top military and party cadres.
- 2 Kim Jong-un inspects a general hospital under construction by the army.
- § Kim Jong-un watches the North's long-range rocket enter orbit at the space center on Dec. 12.
- $\textbf{@} \ \text{Kim and his wife, Ri Sol-ju, attend a concert in Pyongyang to celebrate Youth Day on Aug. 30. }$

Vantage Point March 2013 PHOTO NEWS

A Glimpse of North Korea's Personality Cult for Kim Jong-il









- New statues of Kim II-sung and Kim Jong-il are unveiled at Mangyongdae Revolutionary School on Feb. 16. §
 - A national meeting of the (North) Korean Children's Union is held at the Taekwondo Hall.
 - The 17th Kimjongilia flower festival opens in Pyongyang to mark the late leader's birth anniversary.
- Kim Jong-un and his wife visit the Kumsusan Palace of the Sun in Pyongyang to pay their respects to Kim Jong-il. (3)

Vantage Point March 2013

COVER STORY

N. KOREA'S NUCLEAR TEST & INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE

By Lee Kwang-ho

North Korea's Claim on Nuclear Test and Its Characteristics

North Korea is believed to have spent a huge amount of money on the missile and nuclear development, as much as roughly US\$ 2.8 billion to 3.2 billion.

espite repeated warnings from the international community, North Korea went ahead with its third nuclear test on Feb. 12. The detonation came exactly two months after its successful long-range rocket launch, further ratcheting up alreadyhigh tensions on the Korean Peninsula. South Korea detected a 4.9-magnitude tremor shortly after noon that day at the North's Punggye-ri nuclear test complex in the country's northeast. Hours later, the North confirmed the underground test took place, claiming that a miniaturized and lighter atomic bomb was used in the "successful detonation."

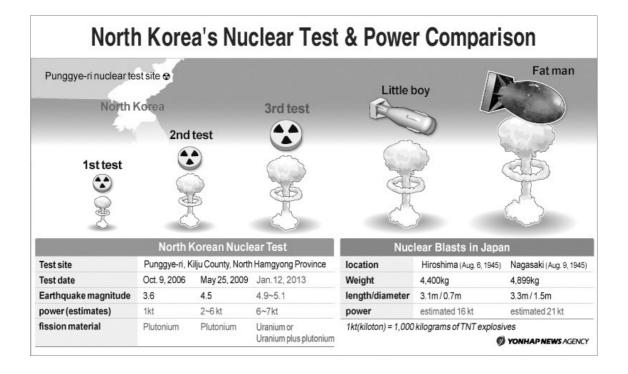
The test flouted international warnings against any further detonations and prompted an urgent U.N. Security Council meeting in New York to formulate a stronger, more enforceable response. The latest test came days before the Feb. 16 birthday of the current leader's late father, Kim Jong-il, who emphasized his mantra of building a strong, prosperous and great nation during his 17-year rule.

The North bristled against the U.N. resolution condemning its Dec. 12 launch of the Unha-3 rocket, accusing the international body of violating its sovereignty and denying its right to peacefully explore space. North Korea said following the test that it would bolster the country's defense against security threats from abroad, adding that the latest test would ensure peace and stability in Northeast Asia. "This nuclear test was carried out as an actual countermeasure to safeguard our national security and sovereignty, in reaction to the United States' atrocious hostile acts that infringed our right to develop our legitimate peaceful satellite launches for the republic," the North's official Korean Central News Agency (KCNA) said in a report following the test.

South Korean officials said the North gave the United States, China and Russia advance notice the day before the blast and the information was passed on to South Korea. Experts say that the North's notification is highly calculated tactic aimed at gaining political and diplomatic advantages.

Vantage Point March 2013

COVER STORY



The North's most recent detonation poses a completely different level of security threat. The recalcitrant regime now seems to be in the final stages of developing its own nuclear weapons, raising the possibility that the latest experiment may have been a last-minute check before the deployment of its atomic arsenal. The KCNA said the third test was more powerful and sophisticated than its past tests. It said its preliminary figures, such as the nuclear bomb's characteristics and power, were all perfectly identical to those in the actual test, proving the strength of its nuclear deterrent.

"The specific features of the function and explosive power of the A-bomb and all other measurements fully tallied with the values of the design, physically demonstrating the good performance of the DPRK's (North Korea's) nuclear deterrence that has become diversified," the KCNA report said. Claims by the North to possess a lighter, more powerful and "diversified" nuclear arsenal have sparked speculation about the socialist country's capability to miniaturize a nuclear warhead and to make bombs from materials other than plutonium. Both developments could mean the North is a step closer to developing an intercontinental missile capable of reaching targets as far away as the United States.

Seoul's Korea Meteorological Administration detected a 4.9-magnitude tremor with its epicenter located in Kilju County. The area, located in North Hamgyong Province in the northeast of the communist country, is home to the North's Punggye-ri nuclear test complex that was also used in the 2006 and 2009 nuclear tests. The magnitude of the seismic activity dur-

COVER STORY

ing the test in 2006 was 3.6 and in 2009 it was 4.5.

Contrary to the North's claims of a successful test, South Korea's defense ministry said the latest detonation resulted in a 6-7 kiloton atomic explosion, with a kiloton being equal to 1,000 tons of conventional TNT explosive. The estimate is short of the yield expected for a "boosted fission weapon," which some experts speculated the North wanted to test this time around. The ministry said that while the detonation resulted in a blast larger than the 1 kiloton device that Pyongyang used for its first test and the 2-6 kiloton weapon used in the second experiment, it was not as powerful as the 13 kiloton bomb dropped on Hiroshima by the United States at the end of World War II. Japanese experts, in contrast, said the yield may have been as much as 8 to 10 kilotons. Germany's BER, a state-run geological research institute, said on its Web site that the latest test was equivalent to 40 kilotons of TNT, which is three times in strength than the one dropped on Hiroshima.

The South Korean Defense Ministry said it assessed the power of the nuclear test based on analysis by the Korea Institute of Geosciences and Mineral Resources (KIGAM). An ordinary earthquake is analyzed using magnitude local (ML) methods, but an artificial earthquake from a nuclear test is monitored using magnitude body (MB) methods. Using the method of the U.N. Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty Organization, KIGAM therefore assessed it as equaling 7.7 to 7.8 kilotons of TNT. In contrast, BER said it assessed the magnitude of the blast at 5.2. The institute had also offered higher readings during North Korea's first and second nuclear tests.

According to the KCNA, the blast "was conducted in a safe and perfect way on a high level with the use of a smaller and light A-bomb unlike the previous ones, yet with great explosive power." Such claims hinted at predictions by South Korean officials that the North may detonate a nuclear device built with highly enriched uranium, unlike two previous tests where plutonium was used, or could even test a "boosted fission weapon," which is smaller in size but has a greater yield than conventional nuclear weapons.

Success in developing boosted fission weapons would mean Pyongyang is on the threshold of being able to make a nuclear warhead small enough to fit atop missiles, technology long considered to be one of the key hurdles to its deployment of nuclear-tipped weapons. Experts said its latest rocket was estimated to have a range of more than 10,000 kilometers, which puts it within at least striking distance of western parts of the United States.

Another key question is whether the North used uranium, plutonium or some combination of the two. A uranium-based nuclear device poses a more serious threat to global security because it is very hard to trace. The North is believed to have enough plutonium for about half a dozen fission bombs. It has apparently been enriching uranium to weapons grade, cashing in on its vast uranium reserves.

Meanwhile, North Korea is believed to have spent a huge amount of money on the latest nuclear detonation. Seoul's intelligence authorities estimate the expense for the blast at roughly US\$1.1 billion to \$1.5 billion, pointing out the North's spending on nuclear weapons and missile programs is unquestionably the key factor causing the isolated country's sus-

tained economic hardships. Also, Seoul officials said Pyongyang has spent some \$2.8 billion to 3.2 billion for both the missile and nuclear development, an amount that could procure about 10 million tons of corn to feed its starving people.

Pyongyang's Intentions and Motives behind the Nuclear Blast

The North's regime is aimed at maintaining its dictational rule through internal consolidation and boosting bargaining power externally in future negotiations.

he latest nuclear detonation by North Korea was, according to experts, aimed to force its No. 1 enemy, the United States, to the negotiation table where the belligerent nation expects for Washington, and the international community, to cave to its demands. The two adversaries fought during the 1950-53 Korean War and, as a legacy to the Cold War Era, there are still some 28,500 U.S. troops stationed in the South. Pyongyang's ultimate goal is to end the current truce on the Korean Peninsula and replace it with a peace accord with Washington.

Seeking international recognition as a nuclear power, North Korea has called for "nuclear arms control" negotiations with the U.S., not denuclearization talks. On Jan. 23, the North's powerful National Defense Commission denounced the U.N. sanctions slapped on the country for its long-range rocket launch in December, and claimed future rocket and nuclear tests may directly have the United States in mind. "In the new phase of our century-long struggle against the United States, we do not hide the fact that various satellites, long-range missiles that we will continue to launch and higher level nuclear test we will conduct will target our sworn enemy, the United States," the commission said in a statement.

Over the past years, North Korea and the United States have held several unfruitful negotiations on banning the socialist country's nuclear weapons program. Following the North's first nuclear test in 2006, then U.S. top nuclear envoy Christopher Hill met with his North Korean counterpart Kim Kye-gwan in Beijing and agreed to resume the six-party talks over Pyongyang's nuclear program. While in response to the 2009 nuclear test then U.S. envoy Stephen Bosworth visited North Korea. "We need to look at the fact that the nuclear test came right before U.S. President Barack Obama's State of the Union address," said Kim Yong-hyun, professor at Seoul's Dongguk University.

For the North's ruling clique, foreign relations may well be compromised in order to accomplish domestic objectives and boost its legitimacy, experts say. Having declared a confrontational stance with the U.S., it will promote the nuclear test as a tool to guarantee its right to self-defense internally and to boost bargaining power externally in future negotiations, said Chin Hee-gwan, a unification studies professor at Inje University in Gimhae,

COVER STORY

South Gyeongsang Province. "By drawing the attention from the U.S. as well as from South Korea and other key players by using the brinkmanship tactics, North Korea will aim to take the upper hand over the international community and repeat its demand of earning the status as a nuclear power," he added.

On the other hand, North Korea is cajoling its closest ally, China, saying that its nuclear test will not be of any threat to its neighboring country, which has been the impoverished nation's greatest benefactor and economic supporter. Nevertheless, Pyongyang's provocative move despite China's efforts reflects the North's intention to stress equal and independent bilateral relations. Indeed, China has been credited with greatly helping the impoverished North Korea feed its 24 million people and keeping the fragile social infrastructure intact.

Domestically, North Korea's third nuclear test is expected to reinforce Kim Jong-un's power base after the young leader took over the socialist dynasty one year ago. The fledgling leadership appears to be seeking to augment power by carrying on the regime's nuclear ambitions through missile and nuclear tests. The latest test preceded the Feb. 16 birthday of his late father Kim Jong-il, who gave priority to building a strong, prosperous and great nation during his 17-year rule.

But the nuclear test wreaked havoc on global hopes for Kim's perceived efforts to ease poverty and shore up the people's livelihoods. His major policy road map unveiled in August envisages a "prosperous country," as his father Kim Jong-il had sought during his life time. Since taking power, Kim has been challenging the military's iron grip, exposing the reclusive family to the public and retuning the state's economic strategy. He has also placed economic specialists in powerful positions, while sacking or demoting hardliners who championed his father's military-first policy.

Another motive behind the nuclear blast is to earn foreign currency. North Korea has been suspected of dealing in secret arms trades with other countries. These are all significant sources of hard currency necessary for the cash-strapped North to survive. Now, the country is boasting to the world that its missiles, nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction are good enough to attract foreign buyers.

Moreover, the North will seek stabilization of the regime through newfound leverage with the U.S. "North Korea has vowed to achieve the so-called prosperous and powerful nation with strong military and economic clout by 2013. So the leadership would be in need to do something to appeal to its own people," said Cho Dong-jun, professor at the Seoul National University.

"The nuclear test following the successful rocket launch will be a chance for the people there to quell uncertainty about its leadership led by Kim Jong-un, through which Kim will solidify its status and secure legitimacy of the hereditary ruling," said Lee Woo-young, professor at the University of North Korean Studies in Seoul.

North Korea now is placed within the delicate situation of new leaderships in China, Japan and the U.S. China's new leader, Xi Jinping, will have to wrestle with a new dilemma of how to get along with Pyongyang. Obama will also have trouble holding out his hands to

Kim, and Shinzo Abe will likely exploit it to accelerate Japan's right-wing movement. President-elect Park Geun-hye has to rethink her peace process based on trust-building.

International Reaction and Paradigm Shift of Sanctions

More than 70 countries in the world and five international organizations have released statements condemning Pyongyang's nuclear test.

appear to be entering a new phase as Seoul and Washington push for more potent sanctions and craft ways to beef up their deterrence capabilities. Specifically, the United States and China have joined other world powers in a chorus of condemnation against the North's third underground atomic test. According to Seoul's foreign ministry, more than 70 countries in the world and five international organizations have released statements condemning Pyongyang's nuclear test as of Feb. 16. The international organizations are the United Nations; the European Union; the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; the International Atomic Energy Agency; the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Organization.

U.S. President Barack Obama unequivocally reaffirmed that the United States remains steadfast in its defense commitments to South Korea, including the extended deterrence offered by the U.S. nuclear umbrella. The multilateral mechanism aside, Seoul and Washington are also considering separate, country-level sanctions that are more enforceable and can inflict a bigger blow on the North's nuclear programs, such as possibly targeting their financial assets or sea transport.

The United Nations Security Council condemned North Korea's test of a nuclear device, paving the way for negotiations with China to punish the socialist regime with additional sanctions. The Security Council met in an emergency session in New York to discuss measures after North Korea's third nuclear test. Council members are working out sanction programs which will require delicate consultations. But the support of China, North Korea's closest ally and a council member wielding a veto, is needed for a fresh round of sanctions.

Upon the report of the nuclear blast, President Obama said North Korea's announcement of another nuclear test is a "highly provocative act" and pledged all necessary actions to defend his country and its allies. It also "contravenes its commitments under the September 19, 2005 Joint Statement of the six-party talks, and increases the risk of proliferation," Obama said.

China's Foreign Ministry said that it was firmly opposed to the test, stressing the North conducted it "in disregard of the common opposition of the international community." "Bringing about denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, preventing nuclear proliferation, and safeguarding peace and stability in Northeast Asia is the firm stance of the Chinese. We

COVER STORY

strongly urge the DPRK (North Korea) to honor its commitment to denuclearization and refrain from any move that may further worsen the situation," it said in a statement. However, China also called on relevant parties to respond calmly to the situation and solve the problem of denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula through dialogue and consultation in the framework of the six-party talks, the foreign ministry said.

Russia condemned the test as a violation of Security Council resolutions, according to the Interfax news agency, citing a foreign ministry source. Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe meanwhile called the test a grave threat to his country that cannot be tolerated, while Britain called for a "robust response" to the test.

Seoul's Foreign Minister Kim Sung-hwan and U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry spoke by phone and agreed to take "swift and unified" action at the UNSC over the North's nuclear test. Also in Seoul, Defense Minister Kim Kwan-jin and Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Jung Seung-jo held an emergency meeting with Gen. James Thurman, chief of the U.S. Forces Korea, and American ambassador Sung Kim to share intelligence and prepare measures to handle heightened tension on the Korean Peninsula.

For nearly a decade, South Korea and four other regional powers have sought to convince Pyongyang to give up its nuclear programs in exchange for economic aid and other concessions. But the on-again-off-again six-party talks, which also involved China, Japan, Russia and the United States, produced no lasting results. The talks have been suspended since the last session in late 2008.

Meanwhile, U.S. President Obama said on Feb. 12 that North Korea's provocative act will only deepen the communist nation's isolation. Delivering the first State of the Union address, Obama said his administration will strengthen missile defense against North Korean threats. U.S. officials have delivered a consistent message that Washington would deal with a nuclear test in a stern and resolute manner. "We don't take anything off the table. We never do," State Department spokeswoman Victoria Nuland said during a press briefing. A bill banning food aid to North Korea is awaiting the approval of the U.S. House of the Representatives.

Indeed, China has been credited with greatly helping impoverished North Korea feed its 24 million people and keeping the fragile social infrastructure intact. For China, the test underscores the limited influence that it has on North Korea's policies. China can trouble North Korea by withdrawing these forms of support, directly or indirectly, but the consensus is that the incoming power headed by Xi Jinping will adhere to traditional friendly policies to the North. Some even say that North Korea is already prepared for the worst-case scenario under which China could withdraw all of its assistance.

In the wake of the Banco of Delta Asia (BDA) case, the North appears to have prepared for the possibility of China turning its back, said Prof. Yang Moo-jin at the University of North Korean Studies. The North would face a big blow in the event that China stopped all assistance, but the shockwave would not be strong enough to shake the stability of the regime. It would be a hard pill to swallow, but the North does not live in fear of this happening. In 2005, the U.S. government identified BDA as a money-laundering outfit, which

led to the freezing of North Korean assets worth around \$25 million.

On Feb. 18, the European Union agreed to tighten sanctions against North Korea for its recent nuclear test. After a meeting in Brussels, 27 EU foreign ministers decided to impose "more comprehensive and stronger" sanctions against Pyongyang, including financial and trading sanctions, asset freezes and travel bans, according to diplomats. The new sanctions ban the export of components that could be used for ballistic missiles, and prohibit trade in new public bonds from North Korea.

A U.S. official on sanctions affairs said the U.N. Security Council can do what they have done with Iran – threaten secondary sanctions on banks in the region doing business with already blacklisted institutions, such as Bank of East Land.

But North Korea's reactions seem to be getting tougher and more resolute. "This nuclear test was our preliminary measure, for which we exercised our most restraint," a spokesman of North Korea's Foreign Ministry said in a statement after the nuclear test. "If the U.S. continues to be hostile until the end and complicates affairs, we cannot but consecutively take high-level secondary and third measures. Enemy force's mention of ship searches and maritime blockades will soon be received as an act of war and will trigger our merciless retaliation," according to the North's news agency KCNA.

Tough Measures against North Korea's Provocations

Amid increased tension on the peninsula, international community is striving to craft their own sanctions to punish the North for the nuclear test.

In the wake of North Korea's third nuclear test, calls are growing for South Korea and its allies to map out a more effective, stronger deterrence strategy against North Korea. The tough measures have emerged more urgently these days as Pyongyang claimed it had used a miniaturized and lighter nuclear device in carrying out the detonation. To make matters worse, there are signs of additional provocations from the recalcitrant nation.

Officials and experts have warned there is a possibility the socialist state will test a fourth nuclear device following the test on Feb. 12. A news report said the North has already notified its closest ally China about its plan to conduct the fourth nuclear test within the year. South Korea's Defense Minister Kim Kwan-jin said at a National Assembly meeting that he doesn't rule out the possibility that the North will conduct an additional nuclear test, adding there is another tunnel in Punggye-ri that can still be used for an underground test.

Also there are signs the North will launch another long-range rocket. A U.S. institute, 38 North, posted recent satellite imagery of a rocket launch pad in North Korea, raising fears of

COVER STORY

another missile test. Located in the northeastern tip of the country, the Tonghae Satellite Launching Station was used for rocket launches in 1998, 2006 and 2009.

After the third nuclear blast, the main question is whether North Korea is capable of mastering atomic bombs small enough to fit onto the warhead of a long-range missile. The danger posed by North Korea's threatening activities warrants further swift and credible action by the international community, according to experts. They pointed out the communist nation is now one step closer to building a nuclear-tipped intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) capable of striking the United States. Should it launch another long-range rocket, the North would pose a grave security challenge to South Korea, Japan and the U.S., experts noted.

Amid increased tension on the peninsula, Seoul, Washington and Tokyo are striving to either craft their own sanctions or bilateral ones to punish the North for the nuclear test. They apparently believe the U.N. Security Council might not be able to come up with tougher sanctions with Beijing calling for "calm and restraint."

Seoul is accelerating its work to devise its own sanctions against the North. Some officials said that it could finalize the work before the new administration of Park Geun-hye takes office on Feb. 25. Although she has yet to disclose details of her administration's North Korea policies, she promised to resume humanitarian aid and establish trust on the Korean Peninsula. In the wake of the nuclear test, however, she raised concerns whether such an approach is viable.

Harshly responding to international condemnation, North Korea's main newspaper, the *Rodong Sinmun*, the organ of the North's ruling Workers' Party, warned on Feb. 15 that Seoul's toughened sanctions against it would spark "retaliatory strikes." Saying that there would be nothing to achieve from harsher sanctions, its editorial threatened to make Seoul pay the "high price." After its nuclear test, the North's foreign ministry spokesperson said that sanctions by "hostile forces" would be regarded as an act of war and be met with retaliatory strikes.

The U.S. has expressed its resolve to sternly handle the North's provocations, indicating that its measures against the North would be linked to its efforts to curb Iran's nuclear ambitions. "Just as it's impermissible for North Korea to pursue this kind of reckless effort, so we have said it's impermissible with respect to Iran," U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry said after his meeting with Jordanian Foreign Minister Nasser Judeh at the State Department on Feb. 13.

Observers said that the allies might seek to introduce fresh financial sanctions, inspections of the North's maritime cargo and sanctions on foreign vessels that have made calls in North Korean ports. But it is unlikely that Seoul and Washington would seek to include Article 42 of U.N. Chapter 7, which offers grounds for military action, in a fresh sanction against the North as China and Russia likely would oppose it, experts said.

A bipartisan group of senior U.S. senators has crafted legislation calling for Washington to take across-the-board measures to stop Pyongyang's development and transfer of weapons of mass destruction, and to address its human rights record. The bill is aimed at preventing nuclear proliferation in North Korea, and if passed by both chambers of Congress, it would

lead to unprecedentedly tough steps against North Korea.

Military strategists argue Seoul should devise a fresh military approach to fend off the threat such as developing its nuclear deterrence capability and strategic, asymmetrical weapons systems, including special operations forces and stealth combat aircraft. But others say Seoul should maintain its denuclearization policy and strengthen international cooperation based on the robust South Korea-U.S. alliance, suggesting that it could consider delaying the transfer of wartime operational control slated for December 2015.

In a show of protest, Seoul's defense ministry said it has deployed indigenous cruise missiles capable of hitting all parts of North Korea and will soon reveal more details. According to officials, the Navy has installed ship-to-land cruise missiles with a range of 500-1,000 kilometers on its Aegis warships and destroyers.

The military will also accelerate the process to develop an advanced missile interception system, the so-called "kill chain," which is designed to detect, target and destroy missiles. The system mobilizes spy satellites and surveillance aircrafts as well as missile and fighter jets to detect incoming targets and destroy them in the air. Seoul has long committed itself to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which has played a pivotal role to keep world peace.

A nuclear-armed North Korea will most likely provoke South Korea, Japan and Taiwan to have nuclear weapons, which will eventually lead to a fierce competition for a military buildup in Northeast Asia amidst the tense Sino-Japan relations over territorial disputes over the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands in the East China Sea.

Japan has in recent days displayed a marked shift toward the right, with growing calls for military rearmament amid heightening tensions with China over a group of islands in the East China Sea. Japanese right-wing politicians have taken advantage of the conflict to call for bulking up its Self-Defense Forces and widening its role under the doctrine of collective self-defense.

Incessant Provocative Actions by North Korea

Among N. Korea's provocations are the sinking of the South Korean warship Cheonan and the shelling of Yeonpyeong Island in the Yellow Sea in 2010.

hile many of its 24 million people are suffering from famine, North Korea has never stopped its provocations, building up its arms capabilities through atomic bomb tests and long-range rocket launches. It even shelled a South Korean island and torpedoed a South Korean warship. Pyongyang's provocations also came in the form of verbal threats, defamation of the South Korean government and army, and even exposing secret contacts between South and North Korean officials.

COVER STORY

During the five years of outgoing president Lee Myung-bak, the Seoul 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 a principled and flexible policy toward Pyongyang was rebuffed by the North.

The frayed relations between the two divided Koreas have plunged to their 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 a third nuclear test on Feb. 12 and the long-range rocket launch on Dec. 12.

Many conflicts took 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.

The fatal shooting of the South Koran tourist at Mount Kumgang resort by a North Korean soldier 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.

Defying South Korea's 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.

Despite the Lee government's new peace initiative for the Korean Peninsula in 2009 that also calls for the scrapping of the North's nuclear program, Pyongyang has spurned the South's "Vision 3000" initiative as an insult and has described it as a criminal campaign against the Pyongyang regime.

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 that year 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.

According to a senior Seoul official, North Korea sank the Navy corvette Cheonan and shelled Yeonpyeong Island in 2010 in protest against Seoul's refusal to provide economic aid. The official told reporters the Lee administration attempted several times to arrange a summit with then North Korean leader Kim Jong-il but was unwilling to pay the price the North demanded.

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 stalled six-party talks.

Yet, the enmity and distrust between the two Koreas continued. Earlier in 2011, North

Korea claimed South Korean officials seemed to offer them an envelope filled with cash for the summit talks between the 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 a bid to create conflicts in the South. 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 a merciless retaliation against any South Korean move to destroy its socialist system. In 2011, 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 the North's founding leader Kim Ilsung as targets for a shooting drill.

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 Seoul government and private companies between 2009 and 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 and the launching of distributed denial-of-service attacks. (Yonhap News)

Chronology of Major Provocations by North Korea

July 4-5, 2006	N.K. test-fires at least seven missiles, including a long-range Taepodong-2.
Oct. 9, 2006	N.K. conducts its first-ever test of a nuclear device.
April 5, 2009	N.K. launches a long-range rocket despite international condemnation, and was
	viewed as a covert test of its ballistic missile technology.
May 25, 2009	N.K. detonates an underground nuclear explosive device, its second nuclear test.
March 26, 2010	N.K. torpedoes a South Korean warship near the tensely guarded western sea, killing
	46 sailors. Pyongyang denies any involvement.
Nov. 23, 2010	N.K shells South Korea's border island of Yeonpyeong, killing four people. The dead-
	ly provocation further raises tension on the peninsula.
April 13, 2012	N.K. launches a long-range rocket, but it flames out shortly after a lift-off.
Dec. 12, 2012	N.K. successfully fires off a three-stage rocket and places the Kwangmyongsong-3
	satellite into orbit. Seoul and Washington condemn the rocket launch as a covert test
	of its ballistic missile technology.
Feb. 12, 2013	N.K. conducts a third nuclear test in the Punggye-ri test site.

POSSIBLE CHANGES IN PRESIDENT PARK'S N. KOREA POLICY

Park condemned the North's nuclear test in a statement issued on the day of the test and vowed her government will not tolerate a nuclear-armed North.

■ By Kim Tae-shik

orth Korea's third nuclear test is putting further strains on already tense South-North Korean relations, forcing President Park Geun-hye's new government to take a tough stand against Pyongyang. Park who took office on Feb. 25 had expressed hope for improved inter-Korean relations based on confidence building between the two Koreas.

North Korea carried out a long-threatened nuclear test on Feb. 12, exactly two months after its long-range rocket launch, drawing strong international condemnations. The blast "was conducted in a safe and perfect way on a high level with the use of a smaller and light A-bomb unlike the previous ones, yet with great explosive power," Pyongyang's official Korean Central News Agency announced the day of the test.

The 6-7 kiloton nuclear blast could force Park, to reassess her "Korean Peninsula confidence building process," which she has said is the cornerstone for better inter-Korean relations, according to North Korea analysts in Seoul. The process, among other things, calls for building mutual confidence and trust through economic cooperation projects as the North's denuclearization plan makes headway. The process, if successful, would eventually lead to "normalization" of South-North relations and bring an end to cross-border confrontation.

Park strongly condemned the North's nuclear test in a statement issued on the day of the test and vowed her government will not tolerate a nuclear-armed North. She said that her administration will build up strong deterrence to counter any further North Korean threats, while at the same time working with the international community to persuade Pyongyang to give up its nuclear ambitions.



President Park Geun-hye is sworn in as South Korea's new president during her inauguration ceremony in front of the National Assembly in Seoul on Feb. 25. (Yonhap Photo)

The remarks mean that there will be no partial lifting of the sanctions Seoul imposed on North Korea after one of its warships was torpedoed by its northern neighbor in March 2010. The sanctions included a near blanket ban on cross-border investment and trade.

"I strongly condemn North Korea's third nuclear test that was carried out in spite of strong warnings from us and the international community," Park said. "North Korea's nuclear test is a grave threat to the Korean Peninsula and international peace, hampers inter-Korean trust-building and undermines efforts for peace."

Park has repeatedly said North Korea's nuclear weapons program is intolerable.

Park even warned that the North Korean regime may face collapse like the East European communist bloc unless it gives up its nuclear ambitions.

"No matter how many nuclear tests North Korea conducts to upgrade its nuclear capabilities, if it becomes an international outcast and wastes resources, that would only be causing its own collapse," Park said in a foreign policy meeting with the transition team on Feb. 13. Pyongyang "should learn that it was not because the former Soviet Union had no nuclear weapons that it collapsed."

Park's strong accusation of the North's provocation is in line with the stance of the incumbent government and the U.S. administration.

Park confirmed her stance of not tolerating the North's nuclear armament in a meeting with President Lee Myung-bak earlier on Feb. 12. The two shared the view that the ruling and opposition political parties should make suprapartisan cooperation in coping with North Korea's nuclear ambitions.

The government strongly condemned the test as a blatant violation of U.N. resolutions, an "unacceptable threat" to peace and security on the divided peninsula, and a "head-on challenge" to the international community. It also vowed to make Pyongyang pay a "grave" price for the provocation.

SOUTH KOREA'S POLICY REVIEW

U.S. President Barack Obama also pledged unswerving unity in dealing with North Korea's nuclear and ballistic missile threats in a phone conversation with his South Korean counterpart Lee on Feb. 12. Obama agreed to work together on several measures to punish Pyongyang for its continued provocative acts and to curb its drive for weapons of mass destruction, according to the White House.

"They agreed to work closely together, including at the United Nations Security Council, to seek a range of measures aimed at impeding North Korea's nuclear and ballistic missile programs, and reducing the risk of proliferation," the White House said in a press release.

"President Obama unequivocally reaffirmed that the United States remains steadfast in its defense commitments to the Republic of Korea, including the extended deterrence offered by the U.S. nuclear umbrella," it added.

Inter-Korean relations have been in the doldrums since the launch of the Lee Myung-bak government, who maintained a tougher stance compared with former presidents Roh Moohyun and Kim Dae-jung.

Park has suggested a more flexible policy with the North than Lee but stressed the need for North Korea's cooperation. The nuclear test is jeopardizing inter-Korean relations that could otherwise make headway under the Park Geun-hye administration.

"On the whole, Park has made clear on numerous occasions that she cannot allow the North to have nuclear weapons, yet stressed her commitment to engage the communist country in dialogue to deal with all outstanding issues," said one source closely related to the presidential transition team.

The source said that the North's third nuclear detonation, conducted in defiance of international warnings, will effectively tie up Seoul's options, since South Korea will likely join other countries in punishing its communist neighbor for its latest provocation. Such a stance can cause the North to take a more hard-line approach, making it harder for South Korea to make any conciliatory overtures.

Some North Korea analysts said inter-Korean relations may be stalled for up to five more years, until a new administration takes office.

"Under the present circumstances, it may be hard for the Park administration to make conciliatory gestures, while the North may opt to ignore talks altogether," said Chang Yongseok, a senior researcher at the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies at Seoul National University.

Right after the U.N. Security Council passed a resolution condemning its long-range rocket on Dec. 12, North Korea declared that there will be no more denuclearization talks on the Korean Peninsula.

The North's nuclear test is likely to prod the U.N. Security Council to hit Pyongyang with another sanction, which could possibly cause the communist regime to respond with harsh actions.

In a statement issued through its Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland on Jan. 25, North Korea said that if the South directly joined U.N. sanctions

Park has made clear on numerous occasions that she cannot allow the North to have nuclear weapons, yet stressed her commitment to engage the communist country in dialogue to deal with all outstanding issues,"

against it, it would consider the move as a declaration of war.

Concerns persist that the North may actually incite armed provocations, especially along the Northern Limit Line (NLL) that serves as the de facto maritime border in the Yellow Sea. The navies of both sides have bloodily clashed twice along the disputed sea border, resulting in the deaths of dozens of sailors on both sides.

The North's nuclear test and subsequent threats are raising voices to boost South Korea's military deterrence. South Korea's defense ministry vowed on Feb. 13 to speed up building an integrated air and missile system, and secure missile capability to hit all parts of North Korea to counter threats.

Seoul has been making efforts to improve its missile capacity following the revision of a missile guideline in October 2012, but calls for improved security measures have heightened after Pyongyang launched a long-range missile and conducted its third atomic test recently despite a chorus of international condemnation.

In a show of protest, the South Korean defense ministry said it has deployed indigenous cruise missiles capable of hitting all parts of North Korea and will soon reveal more details. "The South Korean military has secured various combat capabilities, including cruise missiles and ballistic missiles, to cope with North Korea's threat," ministry spokesman Kim Min-seok said in a briefing.

According to officials, the Navy has installed ship-to-land cruise missiles with a range of 500-1,000 kilometers on its Aegis warships and destroyers. South Korea's Navy chief earlier announced that the deployment will be completed in the next couple years to be able to strike nuclear and missile arsenals.

The military will also accelerate the process to develop an advanced missile interception system, the so-called "kill chain," which is designed to detect, target and destroy missiles. The system mobilizes spy satellites and surveillance aircrafts as well as missile and fighter jets to detect incoming targets and destroy them in the air.

The South Korean military had initially planned to complete the kill chain system by 2015 to coincide with Seoul regaining its wartime operational control of its troops from Washington, but the recent atomic test is expected to accelerate the process for early deployment. (Yonhap News)

OPINIONS FROM EXPERTS ON N.K. NUCLEAR ARMAMENT

South Korean and U.S. experts discussed North Korea's nuclear issues, the inter-Korean relations and transformation of North Korea during a symposium jointly hosted by Yonhap News Agency and the Asia-Pacific Research Center (APARC) of Stanford University in Seoul on Feb. 5.

In the symposium titled "Northeast Asia under New Leadership," participants, including former U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry, reviewed the past diplomatic efforts on North Korea and looked at current security situations and prospects in the Northeast Asian region amid a series of leadership changes in China, Japan and South Korea. Vantage Point publishes excerpts of perspectives from three experts. They are David Straub, Siegfried Hecker, and Daniel Sneider. –Ed.

In the symposium, the experts agreed that if North Korea conducts a third nuclear test, the new South Korean President Park Geunhye's pledge for engagement with the socialist regime would be revoked, urging Pyongyang to change its policy of confrontation. Park, who will take office on Feb. 25, has pledged more positive interactions with North Korea than her predecessor.

Tensions had been high on the Korean Peninsula since North Korea had threatened to conduct a third nuclear test in retaliation for a U.N. Security Council resolution that widened sanctions against Pyongyang for its December rocket launch. Regretfully, North Korea conducted the third nuclear test on Feb. 12, in spite of the diplomatic efforts of the international community to get North Korea to desist from staging a nuclear test.

Accordingly, as opined by experts, inter-Korean relations are getting worse. "If North Korea uses the coming year to attack South Korea again or conduct another test of a nuclear device or long-range rocket, the possibility of significant near-term improvement in the situation on the Korean Peninsula will evaporate," said David Straub, the associate director for the Korean Studies Program at Stanford University.

As a result, changes in the new South Korean government's North



A security forum in Seoul hosted by Yonhap News Agency and the Asia-Pacific Research Center (APARC) of Stanford University is in session at a Seoul hotel on Feb. 5. (Yonhap Photo)

Korea policy seem inevitable. Siegfried Hecker, a nuclear scientist at Stanford University who was shown North Korea's modern uranium enrichment facility during a visit to the country in late 2010, called for South Korea and the U.S. to lay out a new policy aimed at limiting the North's nuclear threat before the North's nuclear ambitions become "an increasingly menacing and permanent fixture."

Inter-Korean Relations under New Leaderships: Possibilities, Problems and Prospects

■ By David Straub (Associate Director for Korean Studies Program, Shorenstein APARC)

We are here today in part because of the upcoming change of government here in Seoul and with elections or changes of leaderships having occurred within the past year or so in North Korea, China, Russia, Japan, and the United States. Even one change of administration among these countries creates a theoretical possibility of movement on Korean Peninsula issues. That all six administrations in and around the Korean Peninsula will have changed increases significantly the possibility of initiatives and new dynamics.

However, the only new administration that has laid out a somewhat different approach to the Korean Peninsula than its predecessor is that of President-elect Park Geun-hye. She has expressed her intention to make greater efforts to engage North Korea and provide large-scale food aid to the hungry people of North Korea with few conditions. On the other hand, like President Lee, she has also made it clear that sustained progress in inter-Korean ties will depend on North Korea responding positively to her overtures and, ultimately, moving to

SYMPOSIUM ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA

give up its nuclear weapons.

Even though the new leader of North Korea has not declared a new policy toward South Korea, he is a different person from his father, and there is a new mix of policymakers around him. As he grows in experience, confidence, and power, we cannot exclude the possibility that his government will adopt a more positive approach, even though there are few indications of this so far.

While the United States and China have fundamentally different long-term interests on the Korean Peninsula, neither wants to see an increase in tensions on the peninsula. They will both be supportive of efforts that President Park takes to engage North Korea. The United States will not oppose South Korea's providing humanitarian aid to North Korea, although the United States itself is unlikely to give large amounts of food aid due to the nuclear issue and the fact that other countries need American food aid as much or more than North Korea.

Moreover, while North Korea policy is made in the White House, with John Kerry as Secretary of State, the odds have increased that the United States will make another effort sooner rather than later to engage North Korea. Senator Kerry has long advocated greater efforts to engage North Korea, and if he chooses to use his political capital with the White House, he may be allowed some leeway to see what he can do with the new leadership in Pyongyang. In any event, the United States reaches out periodically to North Korea to seek to hear directly its views and test its intentions.

If, and it is a big if, the Kim Jong-un government in North Korea has reformist tendencies and evinces some willingness to cooperate with the new administration of President Park, we could see significant movement in inter-Korean relations this year and possibly a resumption of the six-party talks.

However, the fundamental problem in inter-Korean relations is not the division of the peninsula into two Korean states but the fact that the leaders of the Pyongyang regime find themselves locked, for historical reasons, into failed political and economic policies. They are well aware that increased openness toward the South would tend to undermine their regime. Thus, they are perfectly willing to accept largesse from Seoul as long as no strings are attached and as long as there is no "contamination" of their society.

The United States and other countries will support President Park's efforts to engage North Korea in the process of confidence building she calls trustpolitik. Her initiative will be an opportunity for other countries also to increase their engagement of North Korea to seek to read the intentions of the new leaders in Pyongyang and to encourage them to make positive changes. If and when North Korea will respond positively, time will tell.

During this period, the United States and other countries should take special care in their words and deeds toward the Korean Peninsula, to give North Korea no reason and no pretext to reject President Park's overtures. The new government in Seoul may also wish to consider, for example, whether allowing groups to launch balloons into the North is, overall, prudent and helpful.

If North Korea uses the coming year to attack South Korea again or conduct another test of a nuclear device or long-range rocket, the possibility of significant near-term improvement in the situation on the Korean Peninsula will evaporate. To repeat, the fundamental choices must be made by North Korea, because it is Pyongyang that is on a fundamentally wrongheaded and unsustainable course.

Problems, Prospects, and Recommendations for North Korean Denuclearization

■ By Siegfried Hecker (Co-Director, Center for International Security and Cooperation)

As the new Park Administration and the second Obama Administration formulate their policies on North Korea and regional security in Northeast Asia, it is important to have as complete as possible an understanding of North Korea's nuclear and missile capabilities. This is especially important in assessing the seriousness of recent claims and threats made by Kim Jong-un's regime in response to U.N. actions following the December 2012 satellite launch.

American and South Korean policies since 2002 designed to denuclearize North Korea have failed to halt the North's relentless march to enhance its nuclear programs – from nuclear reactors, to uranium enrichment, to nuclear tests and its long-range missile capabilities. Yet, in spite of the North's threatening rhetoric, the nuclear threat is still in its infancy – the worst is yet to come, unless the new administrations formulate policies that focus on limiting the threat, which is best done by focusing on the much broader issues of economic, educational, energy and cultural understanding and exchange.

North Korea has now categorically stated its nuclear weapons are not negotiable. South Korean and American actions must focus on those weapons being a temporary hedge rather than an increasingly menacing and permanent fixture.

And also, in an interview with Yonhap News on Feb. 5, Hecker said, "It's quite possible that if they do the next test, it's highly enriched uranium (HEU). North Korea may detonate a uranium-based bomb when it carries out its next nuclear test, the U.S. nuclear scientist said, estimating that the country may have developed one or two uranium bombs. "It's quite likely that they have made enough HEU, perhaps for a bomb or two."

He said the North may have another covert HEU production plant besides the one the country showed to me. His visit to the North's Yongbyon nuclear complex in 2010 revealed that the socialist country was running a uranium enrichment facility with as many as 2,000 centrifuges. The forthcoming North Korean nuclear test is certainly driven by its hope to build a bomb small enough to be loaded onto a missile, but the country may take at least five more years and an enormous amount of testing to complete an inter-continental ballistic missile (ICBM).

Prospects for Transformation of North Korea: Coordinating ROK and U.S. Policy

■ By Daniel Sneider (Associate Director for Research, Shorenstein APARC)

It is important to ensure that the incoming government of President Park Geun-hye and the second Obama administration hold high-level talks with each other to forge a common policy that balances different concerns, from security to human rights. I would like to offer some of my own thoughts on the policy basis for an effective response to North Korea. But before getting to the specifics of policy, it is important to understand the broad trends taking place within North Korea.

During the first four decades of the life of our treaty alliance, the main threat posed by North Korea was that of conventional military attack, combined with acts of state-sponsored terrorism and political subversion. Allied with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, the North Koreans lived in a classical command economy, tightly controlled by a repressive single-party dictatorship under the rule of Kim Il sung. The regime, despite its ideology of juche, was sustained by significant amounts of economic and military aid which allowed the regime to cope with the signs of systemic failure that were apparent from the 1980s, if not sooner.

Both the nature of the threat and the state of North Korea itself has undergone significant change in the last two decades. During this period, the North Korean regime has experienced multiplying crises, characteristic of all such communist party dictatorships. With the disappearance of subsidies from its two principal allies, triggered by the collapse of the Soviet Union, the underlying crisis of the command economy emerged into the open. The famines of the mid-1990s and the inability of the state to supply basic goods exposed an economy that had fallen well behind not only the dynamic market economy to the South but also the market-reformed economy of neighboring China. At the same time, North Korea underwent a political transition to the rule of the founder's son, the far less charismatic Kim Jong-il.

The regime' economic survival depended on growing interaction with the markets of China and with those of South Korea, based on the South's engagement policy. With a population increasingly aware of outside reality through these contacts, the leader relied even more on the support of the North Korean military and the state security apparatus. The fear of loss of political control has limited the ability of the North Korean state to undertake the market-based reforms urged on it by China and others, leading to a familiar pattern of half-hearted steps forward, followed by retreat.

With the death of Kim Jong-il and the transfer of leadership to his son, Kim Jong un, we entered a new phase in North Korea in the past year. Based on the reports coming from travelers, as well as the regime's own actions, there is a clear change in leadership style, an attempt to return to the more popular imagery of Kim Il-sung, to deliver more consumption

goods, and to bring out into the open the black economy and what it brings to the populace, especially in the capital. We have seen some tentative signals of a move towards market reform, especially in the area of agriculture. But these have been inconclusive at best, and without the clear certification of support from the top that would allow North Koreans to pursue market forms without fear of reprisal and imprisonment. As has been true in the past two decades, the North Korean leadership is trapped between the need to reform its failed command economy and the fear of the political consequences of such change.

The new government (of North Korea) celebrated its recent missile test and failed satellite launch as a triumph of North Korean science and technology. Signals of preparation for a third nuclear test, perhaps using highly enriched uranium, are mounting. All this only certifies that the regime will continue to cling to its nuclear and missile programs for reasons of regime security, to deter outside pressure and to rally the populace, and for its military capacity.

Two essential conclusions can be drawn from this analytical narrative, both of which are crucial to shaping the policy response of our two governments. The first is that North Korea's sustained systemic crisis of its command economy and party dictatorship can be ameliorated by outside assistance but not resolved. Looked at in a comparative context, the evidence suggests that the North Korean state can postpone certain effects of the crisis but it cannot ultimately remain intact as it is. It must either transform itself, as China and Vietnam have done, or collapse, as happened to the Communist Party rule in the Soviet Union. The second is that the North Korean regime is simply unable, so long as it remains trapped in its current dilemma, to give up its nuclear weapons and the delivery systems for those weapons.

Neither Seoul nor Washington can or should abandon the goal of rolling back North Korea's nuclear weapons capability. But we need to place that goal within the broader framework of promoting the transformation of North Korea, whether that transformation leads to a Soviet-style collapse or to a successful adoption of the Chinese model. In either case, it would yield a North Korea that is open to the outside world, accelerate the process of economic and social change, likely lead to political change, and eventually to some form of reunification of the Korean peninsula.

A transforming North Korea would no longer need nuclear weapons as an instrument of economic blackmail. Nor would it need them to retain legitimacy in the competition with the South. Hopefully it would see a greater value in giving up those weapons in exchange for a more rapid process of transformation. But even if that were not the case, full transformation that leads to unification will resolve the security issue.

That process may take a long time, requiring us to follow the lessons of the Cold War. There is little alternative than to adopt a long-term and consistent strategy of deterrence and containment. That strategy should be clearly articulated to the North Korean leadership, preferably at the highest level, and to our allies and partners in the 6-party process. This should be done quietly, without bombast or not in an atmosphere of threat.

Defector-turned-lawmaker and Former Professor at Kim II-sung Univ.

Rep. Cho Myung-chul said North Korea will be further isolated when it indulges in provocations, which will create an environment favorable to Korean unification.

■ By Lee Joon-seung

high-profile North Korean defector now serving as a lawmaker in South Korea's ruling party warned that the socialist country will face further hardships down the road, if it fails to respond to the new South Korean President Park Geun-hye's call for building inter-Korean trust.

Rep. Cho Myung-chul, a first-term lawmaker for the ruling Saenuri Party who formerly served as an economics professor at Pyongyang's most prestigious Kim Il-sung University, said in an interview with Yonhap News Agency that Park is adamant in her determination to deter the North's nuclear weapons program, urging leaders in Pyongyang to give up their vested rights and put the needs of their people first.

Cho, who defected to South Korea in 1994 and is still considered one of the most prominent of the 24,000 North Korean escapees living in the South, also called on South Korea to extend a helping hand to North Korean escapees so as to lay the foundation for peaceful unification down the road.

The legislator said it is time for South Koreans to share vested interests and economic opportunities with people from the North instead of ignoring them and denying them a fair chance to assimilate into society.

Cho's comments come as the number of North Korean defectors arriving in the country fell to 1,508 in 2012, compared with 2,706 the previous year. Also, those who defected have started to return to the socialist country and harshly criticize the "inhumane" conditions in South Korea.

"Sharing is right because people in the South have gained a lot (in

the past) and failure to take such a step is creating problems," he claimed, adding that the drop in defectors can be attributed to several factors such as a clampdown by Pyongyang and Beijing against North Koreans trying to flee the isolationist country, as well as to problems in South Korea.

He pointed out that ignoring this demographic has led to serious problems such as high suicide rates among North Korean defectors. He said there have been a few who have resorted to spying for the North.

He emphasized that escapees are "pioneers of unification" and allowing them to have hope is a kind of "small unity" that can lead to the eventual merging of the divided Koreas.

"Unification isn't some grand thing, but starts with small everyday events," the lawmaker said, pointing out that it is nonsense to talk about how the two Koreas should unify on a grand scale when escapees cannot make a living for themselves here and that South Korean society is not open minded when it comes to North Koreans.

The lawmaker added that many South Koreans do not believe or try to discount what escapees say about the North and only listen to what they want to hear.

He said to correct such problems, the South should be open to what escapees are saying and engage in more proactive policies, including the allocation of more state funds, and to implement support measures that are custom made to meet the needs of individual escapees, depending on age, level of education and other characteristics. He said at present, support is given uniformly without taking into account individual requirements.

Cho, who received threats on his life from the North's Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland last year, said that providing employment is the best form of welfare the country can give to defectors, and the government as well as public institutions should take the lead in this regard. He said the public sector can set an example for private companies by providing employment to escapees while simultaneously training them to assimilate into society.

On how to establish policies that can facilitate unification and for them to gain momentum, there is a pressing need to seek a consensus between people in the South who have disagreed on how to approach this crucial issue.

"There must be unity or nothing will be accomplished and there may be more discord among people in the South," he said.

He said while people in the South and the world at large hope that the new leader Kim



"Leaders in the North must now think of the people, and develop a mindset that power must serve the people instead of using the people to defend their vested interests," he said, adding that the government should not be a tool to defend the Kim family.

Jong-un will instigate change, nothing has really been altered in the socialist country.

The present leader took over running the country in late 2011 after the death of his father Kim Jong-il. Senior Kim became the ruler in 1994 after his father and North Korea's founder Kim Il-sung died, making Kim Jong-un the third ruler from the Kim family to dominate the country.

"His short hair style, his meetings with ordinary people, the showing of the first lady are an extension of the country's propaganda campaign and are not really new," the Saenuri lawmaker said. He characterized the new ruler who is in his late 20s or early 30s as a mix of his grandfather's leadership style with his father's overall policy stance.

The defector who held posts at the Korea Institute for International Economic Policy in Seoul and was director of Institute for Unification Education, meanwhile, called on the North to accept the inter-Korean trust building process being pursued by the incoming Park Geunhye administration.

"Leaders in the North must now think of the people, and develop a mindset that power must serve the people instead of using the people to defend their vested interests," he said, adding that the government should not be a tool to defend the Kim family.

The lawmaker warned that if the North fails to accept talks with the South and misses the chance when the new administration takes power, it can face hardships down the line. Park takes office as South Korea's first female president on Feb. 25.

Cho said that while the North has been stepping up its saber rattling tactics, Seoul's stance on preventing Pyongayng to develop nuclear weapons capability is strong.

He said this stance is needed in order for unification to move forward. He pointed out that the unification process requires not only hard work on the part of Seoul, but also requires the support of the international community. The lawmaker said that to win assistance from foreign countries, the nuclear-armed North Korea issue must be tackled first.

The lawmaker, however, made clear that the incoming Park administration seeks improvements in inter-Korea relations and is willing to keep past promises and push forward pledges that can be fulfilled. He said that the goal is to reduce social differences and urge the North to make changes that best take into account its circumstances.

"By moving forward with talks and exchange, the two Koreas can move from small type of unity to eventual unification," Cho stressed. (Yonhap News)

PUBLIC EXECUTION FOR ANTI-REGIME ACTIVITIES

There are some testimonies indicating that public executions have been carried out in connection with murders of security agents of the socialist regime.

Resistance Activities against the Regime

North Korea will execute those charged with anti-regime activity or treason against the Fatherland. Executions are also sometimes carried out for brokering illegal river crossings, the sale of property from revolutionary historic sites, and the receipt of money from the South Korean National Intelligence Service. The death penalty has also reportedly been handed out for some acts of religious proselytizing.

- Defector XXX testified that in April 2007 he witnessed XXX of Hoeryong City, North Hamgyong Province executed at the marketplace in Hoeryong City on charges of helping his family illegally cross the Tuman River.
- Defector XXX testified that in 2007 a man and a woman living in Yonsa County had sold off some legally protected trees to China through an intermediary under the tacit consent of military, party and security officials. North Korea had been protecting those trees by law as "relics of revolutionary history." When this incident was uncovered during an inspection, the two perpetrators were publicly executed in Soonam Marketplace.
- Defector XXX testified that in July 2007, XXX, the owner (president) of the Namgang Company, a 41-year-old man, was publicly executed at Shinpoong Stadium in Wonsan City on charges of having received money from South Korea's National Intelligence Service. He was arrested during the Central Party inspections.
- Defector XXX testified that he heard a rumor in October 2009 that a woman who used to live in Junghwa-gun, Pyongyang, was executed in early 2009 for the possession of a Bible.

DATA ON N.K. HUMAN RIGHTS

Murders of People's Safety and State Security Agents

There are some testimonies indicating that public executions have been carried out in connection with murders of agents of the Ministry of People's Safety and State Security Agency. It appears that some North Korean residents, discontented with the tighter social control measures enacted in the process of building the political succession system, have committed murders of People's Safety agents and State Security agents, and the North Korean government is responding harshly to these perceived acts of resistance to the regime.

- Defector XXX testified to hearing a rumor that two brothers convicted of killing a People's Safety agent in July 2010 during a crackdown on bingdu (a type of drug trafficked in North Korea) and viewing South Korean compact discs were executed at Hoeryong Stadium. Another defector also heard a rumor that two brothers who lived in Mangyangdong, Hoeryong, were publicly executed at the Hoeryong Stadium for murdering a People's Safety agent in the summer of 2010.
- Defector XXX reported to witnessing two brothers, XXX and XXX, being shot in August 2010 in Sechon area of Hoeryong, North Hamgyong Province for killing a State Security agent. Another defector XXX testified to hearing a rumor in January 2011 in Kangan-dong, Hoeryong, North Hamgyong Province, that two men were caught using cell phones by a People's Safety agent. The men killed the agent, but they were later both shot for the crime. Defector XXX also heard in March 2011 in Hoeryong that there was a public execution in Hoeryong for the murder of a State Security agent.

Dissemination of Information about the Outside World

North Korea has been cracking down on people involved in the dissemination of information about the outside world, including the distribution of South Korean leaflets and the selling of South Korean videos, and the usage of cellular phones. One can be brought up on criminal charges, and executed, for being involved in such activities.

In particular, North Korea regards the use of cellular phones as an anti-state activity. It has prohibited the use of cell phones along the border regions. Anyone caught using a cell phone can receive either a US\$100 fine or expulsion, along with confiscation of the cell phone. In most cases, people try to avoid expulsion by paying the fine and having their cell phone confiscated. However, as more and more detailed information about events inside North Korea has trickled out of the country and found its way into South Korean and international reports; and as more and more information about the outside world has crept in and been circulated, authorities in the North have begun to tighten internal controls.

However, not everyone caught using mobile phones is executed. The level of punishment varies according to the contents of the phone conversation, and the heaviest penalties are imposed on those caught talking to a South Korean.

- Defector XXX testified that she was penalized with fines for using a mobile phone and the phone was confiscated; this level of punishment was based on the contents of conversation.

- Defector XXX testified that he was penalized with disciplinary prison labor for using a mobile phone in February 2010. He was given only a fine because he was classified as having voluntarily reported the use.
- Defector XXX testified that if anyone is detected using a mobile phone, the minimum penalty is disciplinary prison labor.
- Defector XXX testified that anyone caught using mobile phones illegally in 2010 would be forcibly banished or punished with an unlimited term of correctional labor.
- Defector XXX testified that the heaviest penalties were imposed for those caught contacting persons in South Korea.

Sometimes individuals are publicly executed for the crime of circulating information about the outside world through leaflets and/or video materials. Recently, as devices such as computers, cell phones, MP3 players, and USBs have been introduced to North Korea, a culture of mutual communication between North Korean residents has started to develop. As new attitudes have spread due to this development, South Korean movies and television dramas have come to be widely enjoyed even by Party officials and members of the middle class who support the North Korean regime. North Korea is increasingly cracking down on information distribution activities so as to forestall changes in perception among the people due to the influx of capitalist culture into North Korea. In particular, it is putting special effort into cutting off news of the pro-democracy movements that began to spread through the Middle East and Northern Africa from January of 2011, the so-called Jasmine Revolution.

- Defector XXX testified to witnessing one woman's execution in October 2008 at the Sinpung Stadium at Sinpung-dong, Wonsan, Kangwon Province for the crime of selling South Korean compact discs.
- Defector XXX testified to hearing a rumor in 2009 that XXX was shot at Susong River in Chongjin, North Hamgyong Province for distributing compact discs. The market was not open at the time, and the public execution was announced during a public event.

Even among those caught with South Korean videos or propaganda leaflets in their possession, not everyone is subject to public execution. Defector XXX testified that depending on the case people may be penalized with fines or sent off to labor-training camps, but not always to correctional centers. Defector XXX who defected in January 2010 testified that people could avoid physical punishment if they could offer bribes. But through the Penal Code revision of 2009 North Korea made it possible to punish a wide range of cases by adding penalties for possession of corruptive or depraved materials and decadent behavior in an effort to cut off the inflow of capitalist culture, because the authorities feared that South Korean videos would have a detrimental influence on North Koreans. For example, defector XXX said she listened to broadcasts by South Korea's Christian Broadcasting Station and Hanminjok (One Nation) in 2009, and afterwards she wished she could go to South Korea.

(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.)

MOVES TO ORGANIZE COI IN UNHRC AGAINST N. KOREA

International community is concentrating their capability to call on the U.N. council to organize the COI at its upcoming session in March 2013.

International demand for the United Nations to establish a commission to investigate human rights crimes in North Korea has been rising, and the pleas are likely to increase after North Korea conducted its third nuclear test on Feb. 12. The test is viewed as the country sacrificing the needs of the people for it's 'military-first' policy.

U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights Navi Pillay called for an international investigation of North Korea on Jan. 14, 2013 and requested the creation of the investigation commission.

In a formal report, Pillay described the country's human rights violations as "deplorable" and showing no signs of improving under new leadership.

She took issue particularly with the reports of torture and execution of political prisoners in concentration camps.

"Because of the enduring gravity of the situation, I believe an in-depth inquiry into one of the worst – but least understood and reported – human rights situations in the world is not only fully justified, but long overdue," she said.

Citing testimony by North Korean defectors, she added, the prison camp system "involves rampant violations, including torture and other forms of cruel and inhumane treatment, summary executions, rape, slave labor, and forms of collective punishment that may amount to crimes against humanity."

Multiple groups say as many as 200,000 people are held in political prison camps in North Korea.

Pillay said the initial hope that some change could come under leader Kim Jong-un, who took power just over a year ago, has faded. She insisted the world should pay as much attention to Pyongyang's human rights violations as its nuclear and missile programs.

"It is time the international community took a much firmer step towards finding the truth and applying serious pressure to bring about change for this beleaguered, subjugated population of 20 million people," she said.

In Seoul, officials of the International Coalition to Stop Crimes against Humanity in North Korea (ICNK) stressed the urgent need to establish an international commission to investigate the human rights crimes in North Korea. The ICNK, established in September 2011, pro-

motes solidarity among the international organizations and private advocators of human rights in North Korea, with the goal of establishing a U.N. COI to investigate North Korea's crimes against humanity.

"When it comes to the improvement of virtually inaccessible human rights conditions in North Korea, the most urgent and desperate task is to establish an international Commission of Inquiry (COI) in the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC). In order to achieve this, we are concentrating our capability to call on the U.N. council to organize the COI at its upcoming session in March 2013," Kwon Eun-kyong, a manager at ICNK secretariat, said in a press conference on Jan. 22.

In another report on Feb. 6, the U.N. investigator for human rights in North Korea urged the world body to open an inquiry into the secretive socialist nation for possible crimes against humanity. In the report to the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, Marzuki Darusman recommended that it authorize an investigation of North Korea's "grave, widespread and systematic violations of human rights."

North Korea's human rights violations should be laid bare before the U.N. Human Rights Council and the U.N. General Assembly, it said.

"The inquiry should examine the issues of institutional and personal accountability for such violations, in particular where they amount to crimes against humanity and make appropriate recommendations to the authorities of North Korea and international community for further action," Darusman said in the report.

The report to the U.N.'s top human rights body cited violations such as having prison camps, enforcing disappearances and using food to control people. North Korea's U.N. Ambassador in Geneva denounced the report as "politically biased."

Last year, Darusman told the New York-based General Assembly's human rights committee that he saw no improvement in human rights under Kim Jong-un and urged the country's new leader to divert money from his "military first" policy to help more than 60 percent of the population suffering from a lack of food.

Darusman said Kim, who succeeded his father more than a year ago, had made it his top priority to strengthen the military while about 16 million of North Korea's 25 million people suffer from hunger and malnutrition.

In a related move, Rep. Hwang Woo-yea, chairman of the International Parliamentarians' Coalition for North Korean Refugees and Human Rights (IPCNKR), sent a letter to the 47 member nations of the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights to urge the establishment of an investigation committee of North Korea's anti-humane crimes.

Hwang, concurrently head of South Korea's ruling Saenuri Party, said in the Feb. 1 letter that the human rights conditions in North Korea have not improved at all despite the change in the leadership in the country. He said the international voices for the establishment of a U.N. COI to intensively investigate the severe human rights abuses in the country have been steadily rising. (Yonhap News)

NEWS FOCUS

North Korea Seeks to Strengthen Role of Ruling Workers' Party

Kim Jong-un stressed the function and role of the party cells, pointing out that every effort must be made to galvanize party members into action.

orth Korean leader Kim Jong-un stressed the need to increase the role of the ruling Workers' Party of (North) Korea (WPK) in his address at a meeting held in Pyongyang on Jan. 28 to 29, the North's state-run media reported.

At a meeting of the WPK's lowest-ranking secretaries, Kim urged the participants to increase the function and role of party cells "as required by the developing party and revolution to help the country become a great, prosperous and powerful nation," according to the North's official Korean Central News Agency (KCNA).

The meeting was the 4th meeting of Cell Secretaries of the WPK, which convened for the first time in over five years. The third meeting was held in October 2007. It was the first time that the socialist country's top leader attended the gathering.

The KCNA said the country's top leader urged in his closing address for the function and role of the party cells to be increased and pointed out that every effort must be made to galvanize the party members and core masses into action. Party cells are the smallest organizations composed of five to 30 party members and are the North's "grass-roots" political organizations.

"We should further develop the WPK into a powerful staff, firmly united with one ideology and purpose and rooted deep among the popular masses and surely build on this land the best power and a people's paradise to which the world will look up with the might of the harmonious whole of the party and the people, taking the undying feats Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il performed in party building as assets of eternal value," the KCNA quoted Kim as saying in an English-language dispatch.

The KCNA also said Kim made clear that North Korea's party, army and people are all united under the immortal flags bearing the portraits of Kim Il-sung and Kim Jongil, and will move forward on the road of independence, "songun" or its military-first politics, and socialism, which was the behest of the two previous leaders.

Kim Il-sung is the founder of North

Korea and grandfather of Kim Jong-un who took power after his father Kim Jong-il died of a heart attack in December 2011. Kim Il-sung died in 1994 and the North Korean leadership was inherited to Kim Jong-il.

In his opening address on Jan. 28, Kim said the gathering "is a significant meeting which was convened at the behest of (late) leader Kim Jong-il," the KCNA said. The late leader wanted the party cell secretaries to have a bigger role and contribute more to the party, according to the report.

The KCNA's report quoted Kim Jong-un as saying that "the current meeting will be an epochal turning point in increasing the party's capability in every way as required by the new era of the Juche revolution by decisively enhancing the function and role of the party cells."

The WPK is "determined to make this meeting a decisive occasion of bringing about a great turn in the overall party work by ... radically improving and strengthening the work of the party cells," the KCNA dispatch also said.

In a separate dispatch, the KCNA said the meeting was held to discuss ways to increase the role of party cells and to "powerfully mobilize all service personnel and people to build a thriving country."

Besides Kim, the North's top officials also attended the meeting, including No. 2 leader Kim Yong-nam, president of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly and Premier Choe Yong-rim, according to the report.

The North's official news agency said Kim Jong-un, believed to be in his late 20s or early 30s, touched on the need to root out influence peddling practices and bureaucratic mindsets of its party officials.

It is the first time that North Korea's top leader has attended the cell's conference. In previous conferences, Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il delivered a message instead of attending. They further said it was very unusual for the top leader to attend the meeting and deliver two speeches, during the opening and closing ceremonies.

Kim's unusual attendance may be related to recent moves to strengthen the WPK in the communist state over the military, which is a departure from Kim Jong-il who was the advocate of military-first politics that gave more power to the military over the party.

The young Kim, who became the supreme leader of both the party and military in April last year, is trying to recover the former status of the WPK by reviving its organization and function. In July last year Kim purged Gen. Ri Yong-ho, former army chief and a symbolic figure of the military, through a conference of the WPK Political Bureau, a symbolical measure the superiority of the party over the military.

Experts said the meeting of the lowest-ranking secretaries came as Kim is solidifying power he inherited from his father and striving to fulfill the goal of building an economically powerful nation, as he declared in his New Year message.

Kim Jong-un emphasized that there is a pressing need to weed out such negative forces once and for all. The remarks can be interpreted as a sign that the leader may be moving to purge the WPK, although it may just be to push for systematic change in how the party is run. (Yonhap News)

NEWS FOCUS

N.K. Holds Various Events on Kim Jong-il's Birthday to Promote Personality Cult

North Korea has pushed the effort to build up Kim Jong-il's personality cult into full gear since the leader's death in December 2011.

ith its fanatical worship of the Kim family akin to a state religion, North Korea spares no expense each year to celebrate the birthdays of its deceased leaders Kim Jong-il and Kim Il-sung despite its moribund economy and impoverished populace. For the 71st birthday of Kim Jong-il, the socialist state held a variety of ceremonies and events aimed at promoting his "brilliant achievements and good images" and shoring up his massive personality cult.

With new leader Kim Jong-un heavily reliant on the legacies of his father and grandfather to justify his ascension to power, North Korea has pushed the effort to build up Kim Jong-il's personality cult into full gear since the leader's death on Dec. 17, 2011. The Feb. 16 birthday of Kim Jong-il, known in the North as the Day of the "Kwangmyongsong," or the Shining Star, was designated as an important national holiday in 1995, and has been widely celebrated every year.

Starting in January, the North has held with cultural events, festivals, public gatherings and international forums in honor of Kim Jong-il's birthday. Rising tensions with the international community over the communist country's defiant rocket launch and nuclear test have not dampened the celebratory mood, official media outlets have claimed, as people across the country and overseas join in on the festivities.

North Korean media reported on Feb. 5 a wave of North Koreans were visiting Mount Jangja, a historical site in Jagang Province where the late leader is known to have spent his childhood. A group of young North Koreans also went on a group trip to the late leader's birthplace near Mount Paektu from Jan. 22-28 while another band of young workers embarked on a group trip there on Feb. 1.

The North's official Korean Central News Agency (KCNA) said on Feb. 10 that Kim Jong-il's statue, which was erected along-side his father Kim Il-sung's statue on Mansu Hill in Pyongyang, had been remodeled to change his knee-length coat to his signature anorak. The change came about two months after North Korea unveiled a newly renovated mausoleum for the ruling Kim family, where both stat-

ues are located.

The North also awarded a new prize to a group of soldiers, scientists and technicians recognizing their devotion to constructing a prosperous socialist country. A ceremony for awarding the "Kim Jong-il Watch Prize" was held in the Workers' Party Central Committee conference hall, with Kim Jong-un in attendance. The newly-made prize was apparently given to those who contributed to the country's successful long-range rocket launch in December and the latest nuclear bomb test on Feb. 12, according to North Korea watchers in Seoul.

The KCNA reported on various celebrations that took place across the country, including an orchestral concert, dance performances and art exhibitions. All government organizations, factories and schools marked the day by placing baskets of flowers in front of statues of the former leaders.

On Feb. 16, the KCNA said Kim Jong-un, along with his wife Ri Sol-ju, visited the Kumsusan Palace of the Sun in Pyongyang, where Kim Jong-il lies in state. The junior Kim first paid tribute to the statues of Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il. After placing a floral basket before the statues, the young leader went into the hall of immortality. Kim later attended a ceremony unveiling statues of his late grandfather and father at Mangyongdae Revolutionary School in Pyongyang, the KCNA said.

Late last year, North Korea established an international award named after its late leader Kim Jong-il. The KCNA said the "Kim Jong-il international award" was created in light of his birthday and to commemorate his inauguration as Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army 21 years ago.

In 2012, just months after Kim Jong-il's death, the country celebrated his 70th birthday in a more solemn manner. In one example, the North's state media said people across North Korea participated in pilgrimages to Kim Jong-il's birthplace to celebrate his birthday and to pledge loyalty to his son and successor Kim Jong-un.

On his 70th birthday, the North also established the Order of Kim Jong-il. The Order of Kim Jong-il and the Order of Kim Il-sung are the highest awards in the country. The North produced a new poster for the Day of the Shining Star, said to represent the firm faith and will of all service personnel and North Koreans to hold Kim Jong-il in high esteem forever.

North Korea commemorated the first anniversary of Kim Jong-il's death on Dec. 17, 2011 by holding mass rallies, unveiling a renovated mausoleum for the deceased leader and holding various cultural events. Pyongyang has spent US\$100 million to mummify former leader Kim Jong-il and exhibit his body in the Kumsusan Palace of the Sun, a North Korea source based in Beijing said recently.

In 2012, the North said dozens of poems were produced in the country to commemorate the solemn demise of the late leader on the one-month anniversary of his death. The North Korean media also introduced a new song in praise of Kim Jong-il, named "Kim Jong-il is Immortal as (the) Sun." Moreover, North Korea has unveiled a massive carving 120 meters wide across on a natural rock face to mark Kim's birthday. (Yonhap News)

MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS

(Internal Affairs)

North Korea Boasts Development of High-performance Computer

North Korea said on Jan. 23 it has developed a high-performance computer that can be used to automate various industrial production processes.

Rodong Sinmun, a major newspaper representing the country's all-powerful Workers' Party of Korea, said in an article that a North Korean joint venture has developed the "Noul" computer model, an all-in-one computer which resembles those built into a single unit and used widely across the world.

A computer that can be used at industrial sites was needed in order to computerize facilities and enhance production processes, *Rodong Sinmun* article said, claiming "the newly developed Noul is superior to previous models."

Noul was also cheaper to produce than other models and had a larger memory capacity and quick processing time that allow it to respond quickly to changes, the newspaper said. "The interface is in Korean thus easy to use" for workers and technicians at industrial sites, it said.

A few factories and power plants have started to use the new computer, it also noted.

"The development of our own industrial computer secures a technical guarantee to speed up our fight to computerize facilities and production processes, major tasks proclaimed in our supreme leader's (Kim Jong-un) New Year's message and the last will of our general (Kim Jong-il)," the article said.

The joint venture firm is striving to further improve the quality of the high-performance computer and increase its use in the country's factories, *Rodong Sinmun* said.

Kim Jong-un took over running the country in late 2011 after the sudden death of his father Kim Jong-il. (Yonhap News)

Four North Korean Defectors Return to Their Socialist Homeland

 \mathbf{F}^{our} more North Korean defectors returned to their socialist homeland after living in South Korea where they had to endure unbearable hardships, the North's media reported on Jan. 24.

The (North) Korean Central Broadcasting Station (KCBS) said a couple and their daughter as well as a woman came back home and held a press conference, explaining how they suffered in South Korea.

"Our people who were forcibly taken to South Korea through mean tactics are continuously returning to their home, saying good bye to South Korea," the KCBS said.

According to the report, they were the third group who has come back to the socialist country after defecting to the South since last year, raising the total to eight.

The North Korean couple said they had difficulty making a living in the South and decided to return home after their daughter was born.

Another woman said she missed her children she left in the North when she defected.

"I slipped through China, lying I will bring my children in the North," one of the returnees, Ko Kyong-hee, said during the news conference.

The North Korean TV report gave no further details, including when they defected and how long they lived in South Korea.

According to South Korean officials, some North Korean defectors had difficulty adjusting themselves to South Korea's capitalist society. Some fled back to the North after committing crimes in the South, they said. (Yonhap News)

North Korea Highlights Party Cells Asserting Loyalty to Leader

Thousands of grass-roots socialist party cadres swore loyalty to leader Kim Jong-un after a rare meeting convened for the first time in five years, the North's media reported on Feb. 2. The meeting of "secretaries of cells" came as North Korea is trying hard to rally its people behind the young leader who has vowed to detonate another nuclear device in a show of force against U.S.-led outside threats.

According to North Korean media, the party cells, whose number is believed to exceed 10,000, met in Pyongyang for two days starting Jan. 31 to review what they discussed at a party meeting. The earlier meeting was the first of its kind since 2007, according Seoul officials.

In what appeared to be an unusual move, Kim personally greeted the party cells at the end of their two-day study sessions and took photos together with them, the North's official Korean Central TV Broadcasting Station said in a report, monitored in Seoul.

Party cells are political "grass-roots" organizations of the North's ruling Workers' Party, and each group is made up of 5 to 30 members.

The broadcaster said the study sessions focused on the importance of obeying Kim's leadership and that secretaries were called on to transform the cells under their control into viable fighting organizations.

All cells who attended the session reconfirmed their allegiance to the leader and resolved to make North Korea a Kangsong Taeguk, or a prosperous and powerful nation with strong military and economic clout, the TV report said. (Yonhap News)

More N. Koreans Cited for Playing Roles in Long-range Rocket Launch

Thousands of North Korean scientists, engineers and workers have been additionally cited for their contribution to the country's successful long-range rocket launch in December, the North's media reported on Feb. 2.

MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS

The latest citations were in addition to 101 North Korean scientists and engineers who had been honored with the "Hero of the Republic" titles following the Dec. 12 rocket launch that Pyongyang claimed allowed it to place a satellite into orbit.

In a report, monitored in Seoul, the North's official Korean Central News Agency (KCNA) said thousands of scientists, engineers and workers were additionally awarded medals, titles and prizes. It did not give the exact number of awardees.

The report said seven people, including Ri Ung-won and Kim Song, received the coveted Order of Kim Jong-il, while 20 others received the Kim Jong-il Prize. The report did not say what roles they had played in the rocket launching.

Kim Jong-il is the late North Korean leader credited with the North's nuclear and rocket development. His death in late 2011 opened the way for his young son, Kim Jong-un, believed to be in his late 20s, to take over.

The KCNA also said the Kim Jong-il Youth Honor Prize was given to 27 people, with many others getting various recognition such as the People's Scientist title, the Order of National Flag Class, the Medal of Merit, the Order of Labor and Distinguished Military Service Medal.

North Korea is reportedly pushing to carry out its third atomic test in defiance of the U.N. Security Council resolution condemning its rocket launch which Western experts regard as a test of its intercontinental missile technology. (Yonhap News)

N.K. Denounces U.N. Resolution as Obstacle to Its Economic Development

North Korea on Feb. 4 denounced the latest U.N. sanctions imposed for December's rocket launch as a "grave obstacle" to its efforts to rebuild the tattered economy, saying such sanctions will only harden its resolve to further strengthen its self-defense power.

In January, the U.N. Security Council toughened sanctions on the socialist nation for carrying out a long-range rocket launch in December in violation of U.N. resolutions over concern such a firing could be used to develop missile technology.

The sanctions "are composed of hostile measures aimed at hampering the economic development of our nation as well as the improvement of people's living and consolidation of our defensive power," the North's main newspaper *Rodong Sinmun* said in an article.

The sanctions posed "a grave obstacle to our efforts to build an economy in which people do not need to tighten their belts," it said.

The newspaper also accused the U.S. of leading the outside world's hostile actions toward the country, saying the U.S. and its allies are imposing "the most unfair and vicious" sanctions against all sectors in North Korea, including trade, finance, investment, real estate, insurance, transportation and mail shipments.

The U.S. now is limiting trades of almost all kinds of goods, even those necessary for the livelihoods of ordinary North Koreans, it said. (Yonhap News)

New Version of Kim Jong-il's Statue Unveiled ahead of His Birthday

The new version of late leader Kim Jong-il's giant statue was unveiled just days before his birthday, slated for Feb. 16, which replaced his knee-length coat with a jumper.

The North's official KCNA said on Feb. 10 that Kim Jong-il's statue, which was erected along with his father Kim Il-sung's statue on Mansu Hill in Pyongyang, changed his kneelength coat to a jumper.

The change came about two months after North Korea had unveiled a newly renovated mausoleum of the ruling Kim family, where the bronze statue of Kim Jong-il was standing alongside a similar statue of his father and the country's founder Kim Il-sung.

Some watchers in Seoul speculate that the change came as North Korean authorities apparently considered the jumper better fits the "Dear Leader," who often inspected military units and factories in the signature attire.

Kim Jong-il's statues were erected in humble reverence in different parts of the capital and local areas. Kim Jong-il died of a heart attack in December 2011. (Yonhap News)

(External Affairs)

North Korean Newspaper Calls for Withdrawal of USFK

A North Korean newspaper on Jan. 21 accused the U.S. Forces Korea (USFK) of being a hotbed of crime and called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the Korean Peninsula.

An article carried by *Rodong Sinmun*, an organ of the ruling Workers' Party of (North) Korea, claimed U.S. soldiers have fueled social problems and corrupted ordinary people.

It said a U.S. soldier was recently caught bringing in illegal drugs and that the conduit for such transactions was the military mail service. The wife of the soldier was also accused of selling illegal narcotics.

The paper stressed that with the end of the Cold War, Washington has no legitimate reason to station its troops in South Korea.

It argued that describing the USFK as a deterrent force to ensure regional peace and security is nothing more than an attempt to forcefully occupy the South forever.

The USFK was set up in 1954 right after the Korean War (1950-53) and currently has some 28,500 military personnel stationed in South Korea with the bulk being Army troops assigned to the U.S. 2nd Infantry Division. (Yonhap News)

MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS

N.K. Appeals for Military Volunteers ahead of Planned Nuclear Test

North Korea is urging its youth to voluntarily join the military en masse in an apparent effort to unite its people ahead of what appeared to be an imminent atomic test, according to media reports from the reclusive country.

Rodong Sinmun, the North's main newspaper, carried an article on Jan. 31 featuring a university architecture student who suspended his studies to join the military in a bid to help defend his country from outside threats.

The same article also reported that a group of middle school students eagerly pledged to join the army and that a growing number of young people are planning to join or reenlist in the military.

A Jan. 26 report by the KCNA also stated that "Many young people are volunteering for military service, out of their will to annihilate the enemies."

According to North Korea experts in Seoul, the socialist regime often uses its propaganda media outlets to instill a sense of patriotism among its people when it believes the country faces a crisis.

The North issued similar calls for enlistment in 1993 after it withdrew from the Non-Proliferation Treaty, touching off acute tension with the outside world.

"North Korean authorities are encouraging the youth to enlist and trying to dramatize the pressure from the outside world and the sense of crisis in a bid to set the social mood to unite before the nuclear test," said Kim Yong-hyun, a professor of North Korean studies at Seoul's Dongguk University.

North Korea has strongly indicated that it was in its final stage of preparation before conducting another nuclear test in response to a U.N. Security Council resolution condemning its Dec. 12 long-range rocket launch.

South Korea officials believed that North Korea is technically ready to conduct a nuclear test at any time upon approval by the North Korean leader. The communist regime had previously conducted nuclear tests in 2006 and 2009. (Yonhap News)

N.K. Threatens 'Physical Countermeasures' against Seoul over Sanctions

Torth Korea on Jan. 25 threatened "physical countermeasures" against South Korea if it directly takes part in U.N.-led sanctions against the socialist country.

The statement carried by the KCNA and issued by the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland, claimed that South Korea played an active part in the passage of the U.N. Security Council resolution that condemned Pyongyang for launching a long-range rocket on Dec. 12.

The UNSC resolution passed unanimously by the 15-member council on Jan. 23 (Korea time) was the fifth to be slapped on the North for its rocket and nuclear programs since May

1993.

It called for the tightening of existing sanctions, such as imposing travel bans on four individuals and freezing assets belonging to North Korea's space agency, a bank and four trading companies accused of engaging in arms shipments.

It also banned technology developments and the transfer of money that supports such operations.

"If the South takes direct part in the U.N. sanctions, the DPRK (North Korea) will take strong physical countermeasures against it," the statement said.

North Korea also said that imposing sanctions was tantamount to a declaration of war and it will respond immediately to such provocations with counter strikes.

The committee that is one of the main conduits for talks with South Korea claimed that any act of aggression will be met by a grand war of unification, hinting it may take military action against the South.

The committee, moreover, said that there will be no more inter-Korean talks on the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.

"Now that the South Korean conservative groups are desperately kicking up a racket against the DPRK over its nuclear and rocket issue with the United States, there will be no more discussions on the denuclearization between the North and South in the future," it said.

It said the 1992 Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula was totally invalid.

The organization said that as long as the South maintained its anti-North Korea stance there will be no interaction.

"As long as the South Korean group of traitors persistently pursues a hostile policy toward the DPRK, we will never negotiate with anyone," it stressed.

The latest remarks by the committee is the third statement issued by Pyongyang since the UNSC passed the resolution. (Yonhap News)

N. Korea Denounces U.S. for Approval of S. Korean Space Rocket

North Korea again warned on Feb. 2 of "toughest retaliation" against the United States over the United Nations Security Council's recent resolution condemning its rocket launch, accusing Washington of having double standards for its own space program and South Korea's rocket launch.

The accusation came three days after South Korea successfully launched its first space rocket, the Korea Space Launch Vehicle-1, putting a 100-kilogram science satellite into orbit.

An unidentified spokesman for the North's foreign ministry claimed that the U.S. "supported and defended" the South Korean space rocket, also known as Naro, and drew "worldwide censure and derision," according to an interview carried by the KCNA on Feb. 2.

MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS

North Korea invited fresh UNSC sanctions by launching a satellite-carrying long-range rocket late last year.

The communist state claimed the satellite launch was part of its peaceful space program, but the Security Council maintained it was still in violation of previous U.N. sanctions against Pyongyang that condemned any test or use of ballistic missile technology.

The U.S., along with the rest of the international community, however, welcomed Seoul's successful launch of its space rocket, drawing a clear line between the two Koreas in terms of the transparency of their programs.

"You know our view that there is no basis for comparing the behavior of the ROK (South Korea) in space with the behavior of the DPRK (North Korea)," State Department spokeswoman Victoria Nuland said at a press briefing.

She added Pyongyang is "completely proscribed under binding U.N. Security Council resolutions from any kind of launching," while Seoul "has developed its space launch program completely responsibly."

In the briefing, Nuland used the acronyms of the formal names of the Koreas -- the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Dismissing the U.S. response as "sophism," the North's foreign ministry spokesman said the United States' different stances toward the rocket launches by South and North Korea were a fallacy.

"The U.S. denied the DPRK's right to launch satellite for no justifiable reason but blindly connived at the satellite launch by its stooge South Korea. This is the height of double standards and impudence," the spokesman was quoted as saying in the English version of the KCNA report.

Stressing its "independent and legitimate" right to satellite launch, the spokesman warned of "toughest retaliation" against the U.S. (Yonhap News)

N. Korea Claims S. Korea's Military Drill Aimed at Provoking War

North Korea accused South Korea of preparing to stage a war against the socialist state on Feb. 6, citing a field training exercise by a small infantry unit.

The accusation came one day after South Korea's 20th Mechanized Infantry Division, named Gyeoljeon, announced its plans to stage a three-day ground exercise in Yangpyeong and Yeoju, both east of Seoul in Gyeonggi Province. The announcement was made solely to warn local residents of possible traffic and other inconveniences.

A division is a military unit usually consisting of 3,000 to 20,000 soldiers.

In a report by its Korean Central News Agency, the North claimed the drill "envisages huge forces' mobile exercise to take a start line for attack."

"The evermore undisguised saber-rattling of the warmongers goes to clearly prove that the Lee Myung-bak group of traitors is desperately pursuing confrontation till the last moments of their office," the report said.

Pyongyang often denounces South Korea's military drills as preparations for a war against it but usually only when those exercises involve U.S. troops stationed here.

Earlier, South Korea and the United States held a three-day joint naval exercise in waters off South Korea's east coast in an apparent show of force against the communist regime's third nuclear test.

North Korea earlier had condemned the joint naval exercise as a proof that South Korea and the U.S. are preparing to start a new war against it.

The two Koreas, divided since the end of 1950-53 Korean War, are still technically at war, since the Korean War ended in an armistice agreement, not in a peace treaty. (Yonhap News)

N. Korea Threatens to Scrap Joint Industrial Complex with S. Korea

North Korea on Feb. 6 vowed strong measures against what it called South Korea's economic sanctions against the socialist nation, saying it may scrap the joint industrial complex in Kaesong and turn the area back into a military base.

The threat came two days after Seoul said it will tighten inspection of industrial parts and materials going to the Kaesong complex in the communist state to reflect the recent U.N. Security Council resolution calling for tighter sanctions on Pyongyang.

"If the South thinks the so-called sanctions against the Kaesong industrial complex can put any pressure on us, they are gravely mistaken," an unidentified spokesman for the North's National Economic Cooperation Committee said in a statement.

The statement, carried by the North's official news agency KCNA, said Pyongyang will withdraw any privilege afforded to South Korean companies at the Kaesong complex should the South or anyone else even touch the joint complex.

"And we will take other stern measures such as turning the area back into our military district," it said.

Currently home to 123 South Korean companies, Kaesong sits just north of the inter-Korean border with all materials needed to produce goods there shipped from South Korea.

Despite frosty South-North ties under the incumbent Lee Myung-bak administration, Seoul had not halted economic cooperation taking place at the industrial park, which is viewed as the crowning achievement of an inter-Korean summit meeting in 2000.

Pyongyang launched a long-range rocket carrying a satellite on Dec. 12, prompting the fresh U.N. Security Council resolution as it was seen as a cover to test its ballistic missile technology. (Yonhap News)

(Inter-Korean Relations)

North Korea behind Hacking Attack on JoongAng Ilbo

North Korea is responsible for last year's cyber attack on a Seoul newspaper that crippled its server and Web site, South Korean police said on Jan. 16.

The National Police Agency (NPA) in Seoul said the hacking method and Internet protocol (IP) addresses used for the attack on the *JoongAng Ilbo*, one of the country's major conservative media outlets, were either similar or identical to those used by the North in previous attacks.

A drawing of a white cat grinning and covering its mouth was posted on the Web site of the *JoongAng Ilbo* on June 9, 2012, the NPA said. Beneath the picture were the words, "Hacked by IsOne," with complicated codes marked in green.

The main server of the firm's cyber system was also attacked and substantial data were destroyed from the production system of the newspaper, the NPA added.

Police officers pinpointed Pyongyang as the perpetrator after analyzing access records of the hacked system, malicious codes, the IP addresses of two local servers and 17 servers spread in 10 different countries.

"We are weighing the possibility of the intentional attack, judging from a variety of circumstances," an NPA official said.

It was the fifth time that Pyongyang has been found to be held liable for cyber attacks on Seoul's Web sites, officers said.

Pyongyang attacked the computer system of Nonghyup, one of the country's major banks, in 2011; major government and business Web sites in 2009 and 2011; and email accounts of Korea University in 2011.

Police officers said one of the IP addresses of an overseas server used to break into the Nonghyup network and for the distributed denial-of-service (DDoS) attack in March, 2011 is identical to the latest attack.

The officers said that it was highly unlikely that one IP address was used for three different counts of incidents since there were nearly 4 billion addresses around the globe.

The malicious codes used by the North when hacking into e-mail accounts of students and alumni of Korea University were also identical, they added.

Access via the IP address of the North Korean Ministry of Post and Telecommunications started on April 21 last year, the NPA said, adding that it was when Pyongyang threatened to attack Seoul's conservative media firms.

After two months of preparations, Pyongyang-hired hackers attacked a personal computer of an official at the firm on June 7 and deleted data from the system on June 9, they said.

North Korea previously rejected the results of the investigation, which stated they were behind the attacks, and accused the South of "fabricating" the inspection. (Yonhap News)

S. Korea's Humanitarian Aid to N. Korea Drops to 16-year Low Last Year

South Korea's humanitarian aid to North Korea dropped 28 percent to a record 16-year low last year, the unification ministry said on Jan. 27, as the cross-border relations remained chilled under Seoul's outgoing government of President Lee Myung-bak.

Seoul's humanitarian aid to the impoverished North totaled US\$13.1 million, compared with US\$18.2 million a year earlier. Last year's amount was the lowest since 1996 when only US\$3.3 million was provided to the North in humanitarian aid.

The sharp drop came as relations between the two Koreas remained frozen since the North sank a South Korean warship near their Yellow Sea border in March 2010 and then shelled a border island in November that year. Pyongyang's nuclear test and rocket launches also affected their ties.

The total amount of assistance the South provided the North during the five years of President Lee was US\$239 million, including US\$143.8 million of civilian aid. The total amount was only 20 percent of the aid sent during the presidency of Lee's predecessor, the former late President Roh Moo-hyun. (Yonhap News)

South Korea Develops Index Gauging North Korea's Stability

South Korea developed an index gauging the level of stability in North Korea but it has yet to decide whether to release the index's figures to the public, a government official said on Jan. 29.

The Ministry of Unification, which deals with inter-Korean relations, recently completed the development of the so-called North Korea condition index, an official said. The project to develop the index began in 2010.

The 100 point-scale index, designed to measure the overall stability of the country, assesses three key conditions – risk of instability, regime change and crisis – of the largely unpredictable and reclusive country. The index assess stability and recent transformations as well as the likelihood of a crisis developing in the fields of politics, economy, social affairs and the North military.

The closer the number is to 100, the higher the risk of instability in the North.

Official data released by various organizations will also be used to compile the yearly index, according to the official. The ministry, however, has yet to decide whether to release the annual figures to the public due to the sensitivity of openly assessing the North's political conditions as well as accuracy issues.

In order to secure impartiality in compiling the index, the ministry plans to outsource the work to a private entity, which will be selected this month through a bidding process, the official said. (Yonhap News)

STUDIES

AN EVALUATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF NORTH KOREAN LAWS REGARDING FOREIGN INVESTMENT

I. Introduction

North Korea has continued to modify its laws to attract higher foreign investment since it enacted its first joint venture law in 1984. The North has since made a lot of laws governing foreign investment, but this essay will deal with only the laws regarding joint ventures, foreign investment, the Rason Economic Zone, the Mt. Kumgang International Tourist Zone, taxation on foreign invested enterprises and foreigners, plus the leasing of land. In short, the laws dealt with in this essay concern the management of joint ventures and foreign enterprises in the North, their taxation, special economic zones, and the system for real estate management.

In comparison with other studies on the North's introduction of related laws, this essay's observations are more comprehensive and detailed. Accordingly, this essay deals with North Korean laws regarding the attraction of foreign capital in a more concrete way, in terms of their nature and level. Second, this essay will be useful for the two Koreas as an overview when they draft policies regarding the attraction of foreign investment. In particular, it will help North Korea watchers in Seoul and elsewhere understand the policies regarding the attraction of foreign investment pursued by the North in the future because it shows desirable ways for the North to attract foreign investment.

By Bae Kook-yeol, an expert adviser to the Korea Land and Housing Corporation in Seongnam, South Korea

II. The System of North Korean Laws for Attracting Foreign Capital

North Korea has continued to enact various laws and regulations aimed at providing conditions favorable for foreign investors' business activities in the country and revise them in a way to meet the demand of the changing reality, in an effort to establish a system for those laws.¹⁾ Foreign investment is usually composed of direct and indirect investment, but foreign investment as described in this essay only refers to the direct form. North Korea defines direct investment as investment aimed at securing the right for business administration and a dividend.²⁾

This essay will deal with the North's current system of laws regarding its attraction of foreign capital, before analyzing a change in those laws, because the anlysis would require reviewing the process of North's related legislation until the days when it could be furnished with the current laws. Article 37 of the North Korean constitution,³⁾ which defines the basic principle for foreign investment, serves as the basis for the enactment and enforcement of those laws and regulations.

North Korean laws regarding the attraction of foreign capital consist of a primary overarching law and many sectoral ones dealing with specific issues. The basic law is the Foreign Investment Law, which regulates the general principle and order of investment made by foreigners in a comprehensive way. The sectoral laws are comprised of 1) the laws regarding the establishment and management of foreign invested enterprises, 2) the laws regarding

special economic zones aimed at encouraging foreign invested business activities, 3) the laws regarding the leasing of real estate aimed at activating foreign investment, and 4) the laws regarding taxation on foreign invested enterprises aimed at controling their activities. Among the sectoral laws are also those detailing provisions for regulating partly foreign investment although they are not exclusively for restricting foreign investment.⁴⁾

The basic law for inter-Korean cooperation is the North-South Economic Cooperation Law, and its sectoral laws include those regarding the Mt. Kumgang Tourist Zone and the Kaesong Industrial Zone. These laws regarding inter-Korean economic cooperation are only applicable to South Korean citizens, and the laws regarding foreign investment are not applied to them unless the laws include specific provisons regarding South Korean citizens.5) But South Korean businessmen are naturally under the control of the Foreign Investment Law when they invest in areas other than the Kaesong Industrial Zone and the Mt. Kumgang Tourist Zone, because the North Korean law regarding inter-Korean economic cooperation has yet to be furnished with its enforcement mechanisms.

III. The Characteristics of Change in North Korean Laws Regarding the Attraction of Foreign Investment

1. The Periodic Characteristics

The North Korean laws regarding the attraction of foreign capital have been upgraded step by step in a way to improve the investment environment for foreigners. In other words, the North appears to have arrived at its current laws regarding foreign investment through a trial period (1984-1991), a period of enacting those laws (1992-1997), an adjustment period (1999-2001), a period for establishing a two-tier system (2002-2007), and a period for making the system solid (2008-2011).

First Phase: Introduction of the Legal System for Foreign Investment Attraction and Experimentation – Era of the Joint Venture Law

North Korea enacted the Joint Venture Law in 1984 and followed up with a law on income tax for foreigners and a law on income tax for joint ventures involving foreigners the following year. These three laws are the first North Korean laws aimed at encouraging foreign investment in the country. The North Korean Joint Venture Law, which was patterned after the Law of the People's Republic of China on Chinese-Foreign Joint Ventures enacted in 1979, remained incomplete for years. The North Korean laws on income tax for foreigners and joint ventures were meant to revive the taxation system abolished in 1974, but their provisions were so simple that they could hardly produce substantial effects.

2) Second Phase: Establishment of a System - Era of the Rason Special Zone

North Korea enacted the Joint Venture Law under an opening-up policy in the mid-1980s as mentioned above, but it failed to attract foreign investment as much as it desired. Under the constitutional amendment in 1992, the North rewrote Article 18 in a way to complete its socialist judicial system, and Article 16 and Article 37 in a way to provide a base for an opening-up policy. It then provided an institutional framework for foreign direct investment in the country from 1992 through 1997. The institutional framework was under the two-track formula for providing an environment favorable to foreign investment in the country while building an intensive system to monitor and control foreign investment behavior.

The North started with the enactment in 1992 of the Foreign Investment Law, the basic law, followed by the enactment of the Law on the Free Economic and Trade Zone, the Law on Foreign Invested Enterprises, the Equity Joint Venture Law, the Law on the Taxation of Foreigners and the Law on the Leasing of Land in 1993, and the rewriting of the 1984 Joint Venture Law into the Contractual Joint Venture Law in 1994. The North created as many as 23 regulations regarding the Free Economic and Trade Zone from 1993 through 1997. The North deleted "free" from the name of the zone in 1998, renaming it the Rason Economic and Trade Zone.

In an effort to supplement the incomplete Joint Venture Law of 1984, the North made an amendment to its enforcement regulations in 1992. The North rewrote the Joint Venture Law in 1994, reflecting the revised enforcement regulations. Under the Contractual Joint Venture Law, the North improved investment environments for foreign investors while intensifying the regulations on labor management, finance and foreign exchange management. And it

replaced the obscure provisions on the procedure for the establishment and liquidation of foreign invested enterprises with concrete ones.

3) Third Phase: Realignment of the Legal System for Foreign Investment.

North Korea realigned its laws and regulations on foreign investment after a constitutional amendment in 1998 for the official inauguration of the Kim Jong-il regime. The constitutional revision covered a wide range of issues because it was aimed at rearranging the authority and roles of state organizations in a bid to cement the Kim Jong-il regime, and revitalize the external economic sector.

The North realigned all laws regarding the attraction of foreign investment in 1999, including the Foreign Investment Law, the Law on the Rajin-Sonbong Free Economic and Trade Zone, the Law on Foreign Invested Enterprises, the Equity Joint Venture Law, the Contractual Joint Venture Law, the Law on the Taxation of Foreign Invested Enterprises Foreigners, the Law on Foreign Exchange Management, the Law on Foreign Invested Banks, the Law on the Leasing of Land, the Law on External Economic Contracts, and the Trade Law. The North made the institutional alignment in a way to prevent the "yellow winds," referring to the decadent capitalist culture, from blowing into the country, intensifying social control, and improving the investment environment for foreigners.⁷⁾

North Korea amended the Law on the Taxation of Foreign Invested Enterprises and Foreigners again in 2001 as a way to intensify the central government's control of foreign business concerns in the country and to formalize the range of tax rates, in a move to attain the same objectives sought by the North when it amended an array of laws in 1999. But the laws were revised also as a way to increase the sources of taxation, bringing about a heavy burden on foreign investors. This set of amendments to the laws were likely designed to increase the North's foreign exchange holdings on the eve of its economic reforms scheduled for the following year and adjust the pace and range of foreign investment in the country.⁸⁾

4) Fourth Phase: The Two-tier System - Era of Inter-Korea Economic Cooperation

North Korea shifted its policies regarding the attraction of foreign investment in a way to expand its special economic and trade zones and energize inter-Korean economic cooperation since it took an array of reform measures on July 1, 2002. In other words, that year the North enacted a basic law on the Sinuiju Special Administration Region and the laws regarding Mt. Kumgang Tourist Zone and the Kaesong Industrial Zone. It has since pursued a two-tier policy on the attraction of foreign investment, under the laws on foreign investment and those on inter-Korean economic cooperation. The North amended as many as 26 enforcement regulations regarding the industrial zone and the tourist zone during 2003-2007, while enacting the North-South Cooperation Law on July 6, 2005. The North has since amended several times the laws regarding the attraction of foreign investment in a way to improve conditions for foreigners' investment in the country.

5) Fifth Phase: Period of Institutionalization- Era of Economic Cooperation betweenNorth Korea and China

North Korea enacted the Law on the Financial Management of Foreign Invested Enterprises and the Law on the Labor Management of Foreign Invested Enterprises during 2008-2009, while revising seven laws regarding foreign investment in the country. The legal realignment was presumably made in a conservative manner although little was known about the revised provisions of the laws, because the North suffered a setback in its reform measures and inter-Korean relations began to worsen in 2008.⁹⁾

North Korea revised the Law on the Rason Economic and Trade Zone in 2010, followed by its enactment of the Law on Mt. Kumgang Special International Tourist Zone the next year. It realigned a wide array of laws on the attraction of foreign investment during the period around the death of its leader Kim Jong-il in mid-December 2011. In other words, the North enacted the Law on the Hwanggumphyong-Wihwado Special Economic Zone during November-December 2011, while revising the Foreign Investment Law, the Contractual Joint Venture Law, the Equity Joint Venture Law, the Law on Foreign Invested Enterprises, the Law on the Leasing of Land, the Law on the Rason Economic and Trade Zone, the Law on Foreign Invested Banks, the Law on the Taxation of Foreign Invested Enterprises and Foreigners, the Law on the Labor Management of Foreign Invested Enterprises, the Law on the Financial Management of Foreign Invested Enterprises, the Law on the Insolvency of Foreign Invested Enterprises, the Law on the Registration of Foreign Invested Enterprises, and the Law on the Financial Management of Foreign Invested Enterprises. The North's amendment of an array of laws regarding its attraction of foreign investment indicates that the North placed policy priorities on its economic cooperation with China, particularly, the attraction of Chinese investment, at a time when it was preparing for the inauguration of its new regime officially led by Kim Jong-un, the third son of late leader Kim Jong-il believed to be in his late 20s.

In 2010 North Korea elevated the status of Rason City to a special city while revising the Law on the Rason Economic and Trade Zone in an effort to actively develop the area jointly with the Chinese government. As a result, the North and China concluded an agreement on the joint development and management of the Rason and Hwanggumphyong areas in December that year. In an effort to implement the agreement, the two countries created a joint guidance committee. And at China's request, the North revised the Law on the Rason Economic and Trade Zone again in December 2011. The revised law calls for a significant improvement of environments for foreign investment and moderate regulations on the development of the areas.

The Law on the Rason Economic and Trade Zone is the most advanced law among those regarding the attraction of foreign investment because it was made on the basis of experience with the Kaesong Industrial Complex and in consideration of the Chinese views. That law is one step higher than the Law on the Kaesong

Industrial Zone because it calls 1) for supplementing the provisions aimed at protecting the rights and status of foreign investors, 2) for placing priority on an agreement between the two countries over the zone, and 3) for following the international custom.

North Korea enacted the Law on Mt. Kumgang Special International Tourist Zone in 2011 in an effort to place priority on the attraction of foreign investment and tourists, rather than South Korean capital and tourists. Accordingly, the law was aimed at depriving the existing South Korean developers there of preferential treatment while improving the environment for business management of foreign investors.

The North revised the Foreign Investment Law in 2011 in a way to realign its system regarding foreign investment at a time when it was opening the Kim Jong-un era. In other words, the legislative action was an expression of the North's policy intended not only to improve the environments for foreign investors but to block "yellow winds," protect its natural resources and intensify other measures for regulation. The amendment to the Contractual Joint Venture Law was made in a way to improve business management environments for joint ventures, intensify the North's control of them and realign the laws on the attraction of foreign investment.

The revision of the Law on Taxation of Foreign Invested Enterprises and Foreigners was aimed at increasing tax revenues and encouraging investment in the infrastructure and other sectors of the special zone. The amendment resulted in a

setback in the legal stability of the North's tax system and the system for remedying foreign investors' rights, probably implying the North's policy intention to flexibly control foreign investors' activities through the taxation system.

The revision of the Law on the Leasing of Land was aimed at serving the convenience of land lessees, but removed the ground for their suit, a remedial measure for foreign investors in their dispute with the North Korean government, thus bringing about a factor unfavorable to foreign investors.

2. Characteristics in Terms of Legal Realignment

Reviewing these developments on a basis of legislation, the North Korean laws regarding foreign investment were revised in a way to replace their obscure provisons with concrete ones and realign the whole law system. First, abstract provisions regarding regulations were replaced with concrete ones. Except for the Foreign Investment Law and the Law on the Leasing of Land, the number of provisions of the laws increased remarkably under their amendment. In other words, the North has imposed more concrete regulations on foreign investors step by step as there came a rise in foreign investment in the country.¹⁰⁾

North Korea revised provisions 9, 10, 15, 34, 43 and 44 of the Contractual Joint Venture Law in 1994 in a way to clarify the procedure for the establishment of joint ventures, the scale of their registered capital and the method of their account settlement, the reasons for their dismantlement

and procedure for their liquidation, and amended its Provision 34 again in 2001 in a way to calculate their profits more concretely. It also revised provisions 81-83 of the Law on the Rason Economic and Trade Zone in 2011 in a way to stipulate the methods of settling disputes in more detail.

Second, the North revised the laws in a way to realign the legal system. First of all, it realigned the system in a way to connect the laws closely with their enforcement regulations. The North, for instance, has usually put a stipulation into enforcement regulations of a law with no mention of it, and amended the law later in a way to reflect the trial management of the enforcement regulations.

The North revised the Law on the Rason Economic and Trade Zone in 2010 in a way to allow the business concerned to rent buildings and land they have used under regulations on the transfer and mortgage of buildings and other real estate. Amending the Law on the Taxation of Foreign Invested Enterprises and Foreigners in 2001, the North signed into the law the taxation rates which had been under the provision of enforcement regulations 19, 28, 34, 39 and 55. The next year the North deleted the provision on registration permit tax from the enforcement regulations of the aforementioned law.

The North revised the Law on the Rason Economic and Trade Zone in 2010 to stipulate the period for approving foreign investment and the materials whose imports and exports are banned, in Provision 14 and 19, respectively. The next year the North amended Provision 68 of the law in a way to exempt enterprises obliged to do business for 10 years or

more from income tax and stipulate details about it in a separate regulation.

But North Korea amended the Law on Taxation of Foreign Invested Enterprises and Foreigners, in a way to suffer from a setback in the legal stability when it entrusted the subordinate regulations with the job to deal with the matter which should be stipulated by the law. The North, for instance, deleted the range of taxes on the use of cars in Provision 60 of the law and the ceilings of fines in Provision 63. This setback came in November 2008 when the North realigned laws regarding the attraction of foreign investment while it was backtracking in its reform policies and its relations with South Korea.

Laws regarding the attraction of foreign investment have been realigned in recent years in a way to provide a system for balancing the relationship between them. The North revised the Contractual Joint Venture Law in 2011 in a way to delete stipulations about the Rason Economic and Trade Zone in Provision 7 and Provision 22 and their dissolution based on a court decision in Provision 44. The North amended the Foreign Investment Law in 2011 in a way to delete the stipulation on employment of contracted laborers with the organization rendering employment services in Provision 16. While amending the Law on the Rason Economic and Trade Zone in 2011, the North deleted the stipulation in Provision 36 that the foreign exchange management organization in the zone is authorized to approve banking business dealings with nonresidents there. The matters deleted were to be mentioned the laws concerned.

In 2011 the North equipped the laws regarding the attraction of foreign investment with many provisions in accordance with international practices and standards. Provision 23 of the Law on the Rason Economic and Trade Zone revised that year calls for the creation of principles for the management of the zone in consideration of international practices; Provision 35, for the management of the place of origin in accordance with international practices; Provision 52, for the application of international account standards to the account of enterprises there; Provision 78, for allowing foreign seamen and boats to enter and depart from the zone under the internationally applied order in free trade ports; and Provision 82, for the settlement of disputes through arbitration in accordance with the rules of the an arbitration committee there. Noteworthy is the fact that it was the first time North Korea created provisions of laws requiring adherence to international practices. Of course, this policy measure was taken at the request of China, which was to develop the zone jointly with the North. But it could be an expression of the North's intention for an active opening-up.

North Korea has attempted to attract foreign investment mainly from Korean residents in Japan since it enacted its first joint venture law in 1984 until 1991, from the Chinese areas where many Koreans are living during 1991-2002, from South Korea during 2002-2007 when inter-Korean cooperation was in full swing, and from China thereafter. But the North Korean efforts have yet to pay off, in contrast to the experiences of such socialist countries as China and Vietnam after their launch of campaigns for reforms and opening-up

IV. An Evaluation of North Korean Laws Regarding the Attraction of Foreign Investment

The North Korean laws regarding the attraction of foreign investment have been upgraded in recent years to reach the level seen in China and Vietnam in the early 2000s. 11) Strong points of North Korean laws, in comparison with Chinese and Vietnamese ones, are that they allow more tax holidays and that their land-related provisions are clearer. But there are weak points in North Korean laws because the North has continued to hold fast to its command economy system which often hampers business activities of enterprises.

Another strong point of the North is that it has already passed the general Foreign Investment Law, which helps make related laws unified and systematic and codifies the North's stipulations on the standard of evaluating foreign investments other than those made in cash. But North Korea's labor management is less elastic than China's because there is no labor market in the North.

Vietnam is allowing various forms of foreign investment, including contract investment. Although there is no specific stipulation on that matter in the North Korean Foreign Investment Law, Provision 13 in the Law on the Economic Zone on the Islets of Hwanggumphyong and Wihwa and Provision 13 in the Rason Economic and Trade Zone allow various forms of development under the agreement among developers, giving the impression that the North applied the Vietnamese type of contract investment to its aforementioned economic zones.

Though the North has upgraded its laws regarding the attraction of foreign investment to the Chinese and Vietnamese levels, its actual attraction of foreign investment falls much behind the two socialist countries. Many North Korea watchers in Seoul and elsewhere attribute this development to the North's poor investment environment. 12) The economic factors unfavorable to foreign investors in the North include its low international credit standing; an inelastic economic management system; various restrictions on business administration regarding raw materials, labor force and sales channel for products; and poor social overhead capital, among others. There are also unfavorable political factors, including mounting tensions on the Korean Peninsula and international economic sanctions against the North triggered by its nuclear weapons development program.

Many North Korea watchers view that the North needs to replace its command economy with a market-driven one, or upgrade its system for attracting foreign investment to the international level. But for the North, their argument does not make sense because the North Korean leadership has no intention of changing its self-reliance-oriented ideology and economic system, and it is armed with an economic development strategy based on its own solid socialist system.

For this reason, attracting greater foreign investment in North Korea will require the following measures, among others. First, the North needs to establish its own successful model for opening-up. If the North is unable to introduce all market economy functions because of their potential to undermine its socialist regime, the North needs above all to allow foreign investors' free business activities within the special economic zones. The Rason Economic and Trade Zone is best suited for this project because the law governing the zone, which was revised in November 2011, is the most advanced among the related laws, and the zone already has institutional conditions that are suitable for a successful model of development.

Second, it needs to exert strenuous efforts to lift the international sanctions against the country through the improvement of its relations with the U.S. The North's normalization of its ties with the U.S. will help 1) secure its social stability, 2) lift the internal sanctions against it and 3) establish favorable relations with international financial institutions. The Chinese and Vietnamese policies for reforms and opening-up have paid off mainly because the two socialist countries normalized relations with the U.S. The way for the North to improve its relationship with the U.S. as viewed by this writer, is simple. The North must simply settle a deal with the U.S. on its nuclear weapons and their development program in exchange for an international guarantee of its security and other things valuable to the North. A successful deal requires restoration of mutual trust between the North and the U.S., among others. In the course of this deal, there might be a chance for South Korea to serve as a coordinator.

Notes:

- 1) Jong Chol-won, *A Guide to the DPRK Investment Law: 310 Questions and Answers*, (Pyongyang, The Law Publishing House, 2007), p. 46.
- 2) Jon Kyong-jin, "The Understanding of the System for Foreign Investment Laws Outside the DPRK," *Studies of Politics and Laws*, No. 1 of 2011 (Pyongyang, the Publishing House of Science Encyclopedia. 1995), p. 1043.
- 3) Article 37 of the North Korean constitution stipulates: "The State shall encourage institutions, enterprises or associations of the DPRK to establish and operate equity and contractual joint venture enterprises with corporations or individuals of foreign countries within a special economic zone."
- 4) Jon Kyong-jin, op. cit., p. 43.
- 5) North Korean laws classify investors' identities as "foreign," "South side," and "Koreans abroad." Jong Chol-won, *op. cit.*, p.60.
- 6) Unlike the up-and-down course of its policy for reforms, North Korea has been steady in upgrading its policy and laws regarding an opening-up, albeit step by step. The writer views that the North Korean reform policy develops under a sawtooth formula, and its policy for an opening-up and laws, under a stair formula. Bae Kook-yeol, "A Study of a Change in North Korean Laws Regarding foreign Investment" (the thesis for a doctorate at Dongguk University in Seoul, 2012), pp. 192-
- 7) Provision 22 of the Law on Rason Economic

- and Trade Law, which calls for transferring parts of the price-setting right from the central government to the People's Committee in the Rason city, and Provision 4 of the Law on the Leasing of Land, which calls for transferring the authority to lease land in the zone from the central government to the People's Committee in the province, or the city, are aimed at managing the zone in a way to meet the demand of the real situation.
- 8) There are views in South Korea that North Korea made a conservative turn in its policy on the attraction of foreign investment during 1998-2001.
- 9) Chances are high that many provisions in the Contractual Joint Venture Law, the Foreign Investment Law, the Law on the Taxation of Foreign Invested Enterprises and Foreigners and the Law on the Leasing of Land were revised during 2008-2009 in a way to intensify regulations over foreign invested enterprises and cripple the system for remedying foreign investors' rights.
- 10) These regulations have increased sharply during the period of forming a system for foreign investment (1992-1997) and the period of making it solid (2008-2011).
- 11) This is the result of the comparison between the North Korean laws and related laws in China and Vietnam.
- 12) Choe Soo-young, An Evaluation of the North Korean Policy for Attracting Foreign Investment for 10 Years and Tasks (Seoul, The Korea Institute for International Economic Policy, 2001), p. 82.

First 24-hour Pharmacy Opens in Pyongyang

A joint venture between North Korea and Switzerland has been operating the North's first 24-hour pharmacy in Pyongyang since last year, the company's Web site showed on Feb. 11. Pyongsu Pharmaceutical Factory first launched its business in 2004 in partnership with the North's health ministry and has since opened nine drug stores in the showy capital to provide North Korean people with essential medicine, such as aspirin and digestive aids.

FOREIGN TIPS

North Korea Pushing to Re-open Embassy in Australia

<Yonhap from SEOUL and SYDNEY/ January 16, 2013>

- North Korea is seeking to re-open their embassy in Australia after closing it five years ago, news reports monitored in Seoul and Australia said on Jan. 16.
- The North's embassy in Indonesia is in charge of the paperwork needed for the reopening in the capital of Canberra, Australia's news outlets and Voice of America said. The timetable for the plan has yet to be determined.
- Australia's foreign ministry welcomed the North's plan, indicating that the embassy can become a window for discussing human rights cases as well as Pyongyang's nuclear ambitions in the largely isolated country.

N. Korea Possesses Considerable Cyber Hacking Capability: Experts

<Yonhap from SEOUL/ January 17, 2013>

- North Korea possesses considerable cyber hacking capabilities that can disrupt and immobilize Internet traffic and key computer systems, local experts said on Jan. 17.
- The socialist country's ability to hack into online systems generated new interest after officials in President-elect Park Geun-hye's power transition team raised a possibility earlier on Jan. 17 that the North may have conducted an attack against the press room.
- "We were told by security authorities this morning to pay more attention to (computer) security as the Internet network of the press room is vulnerable to outside hacking forces," a committee official said.

N. Korea Allows Foreign Visitors to Bring Mobile Phones: Report

<Yonhap from HONG KONG/ January 21, 2013>

- North Korea, one of the world's most reclusive countries, has started to allow foreign visitors to bring their own mobile phones into the country, a Chinese media outlet said on Jan. 21.
- China's state run Xinhua News Agency said North Korean authorities lifted the ban on foreigners bringing their mobile phones to Pyongyang when visiting, citing an Egyptian technician working for the North Korean-Egyptian joint venture company Koryolink.
- In order to bring their cellphones into North Korea, foreign visitors need to register with North Korea's customs office and fill out a form to provide the office with the International Mobile Station Equipment Identity numbers of their phones.

North Korea's Grain, Fertilizer Imports from China Fall Sharply

< Yonhap from SEOUL/ January 22, 2013>

- North Korea imported significantly less grain and fertilizers from China last year, mainly due to improvements in overall food conditions in the country, local sources said on Jan. 22.
- Kwon Tae-jin, a research fellow at the Seoul-based Korea Rural Community Corp., said data compiled from January through November showed North Korea's grain imports from its

neighboring country reaching 257,931 tons.

— This represents a 26.8 percent decrease from 352,282 tons tallied for the same 11 month period in 2011.

N. Korea Dissolves State-run Firm in Charge of Attracting Foreign Investment

<Yonhap from SEOUL/ February 1, 2013>

- North Korea dissolved a well-known state-run company in charge of attracting foreign investment due to its unsatisfactory performance, Unification Ministry said on Feb. 1.
- "Taepung International Investment Group seems to have been disbanded, probably due to poor performance," a ministry official said in a briefing on governmental and personnel changes taken under the Kim Jong-un regime over the past year.
- The country also broke up another extra-governmental organization in charge of trade promotion and foreign investment with its work believed to have been reassigned to the government's Commission for Joint Venture and Investment, according to the official.

Global Donations Come to Stop after N. Korea's December Rocket Launch

<Yonhap from SEOUL/ February 6, 2013>

- Global donations to North Korea have effectively been halted amid a rise in international tension following the launch of a long-range rocket in December, a report said on Feb. 6.
- Charity donations intended for the impoverished country have completely stopped as of now since the North's rocket launch on Dec. 12, the Washington, D.C.-based Radio Free Asia quoted WFP spokesperson Nanna Skau as saying. The international organization may continue to face the suspension unless the ongoing tension dissolves, she said.
- The report said the organization received US\$3 million in donations from Russia as promised before the North's December launch, and that was the only donation collected from any nation since sending the Unha-3 rocket into space.

Latest South Korean Pop Culture Penetrates North Korea

<Yonhap from SEOUL/ February 13, 2013>

- The latest South Korean pop culture, including the international hit song "Gangnam Style", has deeply permeated North Korea despite widely held beliefs that the country is completely isolated from outside influence, a human rights group said on Feb. 13.
- A video clip by Caleb's Mission, a Christian group dedicated to improving human rights conditions in the North, showed two North Koreans moving their shoulders up and down in amusement in front of a television set playing rapper Psy's "Gangnam Style" music video, which became a worldwide sensation in late 2012.
- The video file, which the group said was recorded in a North Korean city bordering China, also featured another North Korean household with a DVD player showing the latest K-pop songs as well as a South Korean drama.

PEOPLE & CHRONOLOGICAL REVIEW

PEOPLE

- Kim Jong-un (김정승): 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)
- Jan. 20 visits the Taesongsan General Hospital being built by the KPA.
 - sends messages to foreign heads of state in reply to their messages sent on the occasion of the first anniversary of demise of leader Kim Jong-il.
 - 27 convenes a consultative meeting of officials in the fields of state security and foreign affairs in regards to the grave situation prevailing in the country.
 - 29 makes an opening address at the 4th Meeting of Secretaries of Cells of the WPK.
 - 29 makes an important speech calling for decisively increasing the function and role of the party cells as required by the developing party and revolution at the Fourth Conference of Cell Secretaries of the WPK.
- Feb. 3 makes an important concluding speech at an enlarged meeting of the WPK Central Military Commission.

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

- Jan. 25 sends a congratulatory message to the 20th ordinary session of the assembly of heads of state and government of the African Union due to open in Addis Ababa.
 - sends a message of greeting to Indian President Pranab Mukherjee on the occasion of the Day of the Republic of India.
 - 30 sends a congratulatory message to Milos Zeman upon his election as president of the Czech Republic.
- Feb. 2 sends a congratulatory message to Ethiopian Prime Minister Haile Mariam Dessalegn, president of the African Union, for the successful holding of the 20th session of the assembly of heads of state and government of the African Union.
 - 5 sends a message of sympathy to Armando Emilio Guebuza, president of Mozambique, in regards to floods accompanied by heavy rain that hit various regions of the country.
 - 8 sends a message to Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad on the occasion of the 34th anniversary of the victory of the Islamic revolution in Iran.
 - sends a message of greeting to Tomislav Nikolic, president of Serbia, on the occasion of its national day.

Choe Yong-rim (최영림): Premier

Feb. 4 attends a meeting of officials in the field of land and environmental conservation held at the People's Palace of Culture in Pyongyang.

Choe Ryong-hae (최룡해): Director of the General Political Bureau of the KPA

Feb. 9 makes a field survey of the construction of the Munsu Wading Pool in Pyongyang to be built by the KPA.

CHRONOLOGICAL REVIEW

(Local Events)

- Jan. 16 The KCNA says the (North) Korean Association of Cooks opened a Web site called "Korean Dishes."
 - 17 Rodong Sinmun calls for bolstering the nation's defense capability.
 - 22 The KCNA says new kinds of remedies have been developed at public health institutions of the DPRK (North Korea).
 - 23 The KCNA says Sosan Walls, believed to have been built in the period of Koguryo Kingdom (277 B.C.- A.D. 668), were recently discovered by teachers and researchers of the History Faculty of Kim Il-sung University in Pyongyang.
 - 23 The 49th plenary session of the Central Committee of the Kim Il-sung Socialist Youth League is held in Pyongyang.
 - 23 The 72nd plenary session of the Central Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions of (North) Korea is held in Pyongyang.
 - 24 The NDC declares it will take all-out action to defend the sovereignty of the country regarding the unreasonable resolution adopted by the U.N. Security Council over North Korea's launch of satellite Kwangmyongsong 3-2.
 - 24 The 18th Sports Contest of Officials of National Institutions for Paektusan Prize opens with due ceremony at the Basketball Gymnasium on Chongchun Street in celebration of the birth anniversary of leader Kim Jong-il that falls on Feb. 16.
 - 26 The KCNA says the UNSC resolution against the DPRK, adopted on the initiative of the United States, has incited fury among the local people.
 - 28 Rodong Sinmun says no force on earth can block the Korean people from defending their independent rights including the right to space development.
 - The KCNA says North Korean people hailed Kim Jong-un's decision to take substantial and high-profile state measures, hardening their will to turn out as one in the all-out action against the United States.
 - 29 The 4th Meeting of Secretaries of Cells of the WPK takes place in Pyongyang to discuss the issues of enhancing the function and role of the party cells.
 - The KCNA says the second-phase project of the Huichon Power Station, the construction of multi-tier power stations on the Chongchon River, is to kick off in accordance with the plan of the WPK.
- Feb. 2 Scientists, technicians, workers and officials who contributed to the successful liftoff of satellite Kwangmyongsong 3-2 were awarded state decorations.
 - 4 The KCNA says high sulfur cast steel has been developed by the Rolling-Stock Research Institute under the Branch Academy of Railway Science in the DPRK.
 - 4 A meeting of officials in the field of land and environmental conservation was held at the People's Palace of Culture in Pyongyang with Premier Choe Yong-rim and other senior officials in attendance.

PEOPLE & CHRONOLOGICAL REVIEW

- Feb. 5 The sports contest for the Mount Paektu Prize opens with due ceremony at the Basketball Gymnasium on Chongchun Street in Pyongyang.
 - 6 The February 16 Science and Technology Prize is conferred on the scientists, technicians and others who contributed to the development of the country's science and technology at an awards ceremony at the People's Palace of Culture in Pyongyang.
 - 7 The State Stamp Bureau of the DPRK (North Korea) issues new stamps (two sheets and individuals) to celebrate the Day of the Shining Star (Feb. 16), the birth anniversary of late leader Kim Jong-il.
 - 7 The KCNA says the news that North Korean leader Kim Jong-un made an important decision has hardened the will of the people to remain faithful to his "songun" (military-first) leadership.
 - 8 The KCNA says news that Kim Jong-un made an important decision has stirred up the morale of the servicepersons ready to turn out in an all-out action against the U.S. imperialists.
 - 8 The KCNA says the Order of Kim Jong-il was awarded to the Rakwon Machine Complex in North Phyongan Province, the March 5 Youth Mine in Jagang Province, the Kanggye Unha Garment Factory and the Migok Co-op Farm in Sariwon City, North Hwanghae Province on the occasion of the birth anniversary of late leader Kim Jong-il.
 - 8 The Kim Jong-il Prize is conferred upon Kim Sang-ok and the Kwangmyong Encyclopedia on the occasion of the birth anniversary of late leader Kim Jong-il.
 - 11 *Rodong Sinmun* warns the South Korean regime against its scenario for a pre-emptive strike on the DPRK, saying that the South Korean defense ministry declared that the concept of a "pre-emptive attack" would be included in the "strategy of nuclear deterrence against the North" to be worked out with the U.S.
 - 11 A meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of (North) Korea (WPK) takes place in Pyongyang.
 - 12 The KCNA says that the scientific field for national defense of the DPRK succeeded in its third underground nuclear test in the northern part of the DPRK.
 - 13 The KCNA says citizens of Pyongyang were very delighted to hear the news about the successful third underground nuclear test, which was conducted on Feb. 12.
 - 14 The 17th Kimjongilia Festival opens in Pyongyang with due ceremony to mark the birth anniversary of late leader Kim Jong-il.
 - 15 A national meeting for celebrating the 71st birth anniversary of late leader Kim Jong-il took place at Pyongyang Indoor Stadium.
 - 15 The KCNA says the successful third underground nuclear test has greatly encouraged its people in the efforts to significantly celebrate the 65th DPRK birthday and the 60th anniversary of the victory in the Fatherland Liberation War.

(Foreign Events)

Jan. 19 The KCNA says the Japanese imperialists committed a lot of crimes to turn Korea into their colony. One of their hideous terrorist acts was the assassination of Kojong who was the emperor of the Feudal Joson Dynasty.

- Jan. 19 The KCNA denounces the U.S. and South Korea for staging ceaseless war maneuvers against the DPRK.
 - 20 Rodong Sinmun says whether or not the U.S. dissolves the "UN Command" immediately will show whether it wants peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region or seek the revival of the Cold War.
 - 23 DPRK Foreign ministry denounces the U.N. Security Council's resolution over North Korea's rocket launch as "wanton violation of the inviolable sovereignty of the DPRK."
 - 23 Rodong Sinmun warns the U.S. will suffer a defeat more bitter than the USS Pueblo spy ship case if it ignites another war on the Korean Peninsula, pursuant to its policy of aggression against the DPRK.
 - 25 The KCNA reports the foreign ministry's Jan. 23 statement, on the resolution adopted by the U.N. Security Council, said that the North has concluded the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula impossible.
 - 26 Rajesh Kumar Aherwar, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Indian embassy in Pyongyang, gives a reception at the Taedong River Diplomatic Corps Club in Pyongyang to mark the Day of the Republic.
 - 27 The KCNA says North Korean Ambassador to Finland Pak Kwang-chol presented his credentials to Finnish President Sauli Niinisto on Jan. 22.
 - 27 Rodong Sinmun says, "The DPRK will never accept the U.N. Security Council's 'Resolutions' Nos. 1718 and 1874, products of the U.S. hostile policy toward the country."
 - 29 The KCNA urges in a commentary that South Korea heed North Korea's warning and not be indiscreet regarding the U.N. Security Council's resolution over North Korea's long-range rocket launch in December.
 - 30 *Minju Joson*, organ of the Cabinet, denounces South Korean President Lee Myung-bak for inciting confrontation with North Korea.
 - 30 *Minju Joson* says Japanese reactionaries are moving to legalize overseas aggression, referring to recent negotiations between Tokyo and Washington on the issue of reexamining Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation.
 - 31 The KCNA says the foreign ministry's memorandum titled "Dissolution of the 'UN Command' is the essential requirement in defending peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula and in the Asia-Pacific region" was distributed as an official document of the U.N. Security Council on Jan. 18.
- Feb. 1 *Rodong Sinmun* says the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula is impossible unless the world is denuclearized as it has become clear now that the United States' hostile policy toward North Korea remains unchanged.
 - 2 A spokesman for the foreign ministry blasts the U.S. for revealing its double standards and brigandish nature by denying North Korea's right to launch satellite for peaceful purposes.
 - 5 Rodong Sinmun denounces the "resolution on sanctions" against North Korea as a product of collusion between the U.S. and South Korea.
 - 5 The KCNA says the U.S. hostile policy and moves for a nuclear war against North Korea have entered a grave stage and the country's response will be beyond the imag-

PEOPLE & CHRONOLOGICAL REVIEW

ination of hostile forces.

- Feb. 6 Igor V. Morgulov, Russia's deputy foreign minister, discussed with North Korean Ambassador to Russia Kim Yong-jae international issues, including the situations on the Korean Peninsula on Feb. 6, the Voice of Russia monitored in Seoul reported quoting the Russian Foreign Ministry.
 - 7 The KCNA says the North's National Economic Cooperation Committee said in a statement on Feb. 6 that South Korea will have to pay dearly for sanctions against the Kaesong Industrial Zone.
 - 12 The Foreign Ministry says in a statement that the country's third nuclear test is a resolute step for self-defense taken by it to cope with the U.S. hostile act against it.
 - 13 Ri Song-hyon is appointed ambassador to Bangladesh, according to a decree of the Presidium of the SPA.
 - 13 Iranian Ambassador to the DPRK Mansour Chavoshi gives a reception at the Taedong River Diplomatic Corps Club in Pyongyang on the occasion of the 34th anniversary of the victory in the Islamic revolution of Iran.

Publisher : Park Jung-chan Managing Editor : Kim Jin-hyung

Editor: Kwak Seung-ji

Staff Writers: Lee Kwang-ho, Kim Tae-shik

Copyreaders: Adam Lipper, Elaine Ayo, Darryl Coote, Jenna Davis

Subscription inquiries and address changes should be mailed to: The Editor, **VANTAGE POINT YONHAP NEWS** AGENCY, Center One Bldg. 67 Suha-dong, Jung-gu, Seoul, 100-210, Korea

P.O. Box Kwanghwamoon 1039, Korea Tel: 82-2-398-3519 Fax: 82-2-398-3463

Internet Address: http://www.yna.co.kr E-mail Address: vpnk@yna.co.kr.

Subscription rates (mailing cost included): US\$70.00 for one year, US\$7.00 per copy

VOL. 36 NO. 3 Copyrights © 2013 by **YONHAP NEWS** AGENCY

Publication Registration No : Culture RA-08259 Printed by The Korea Herald Company, Seoul, Korea