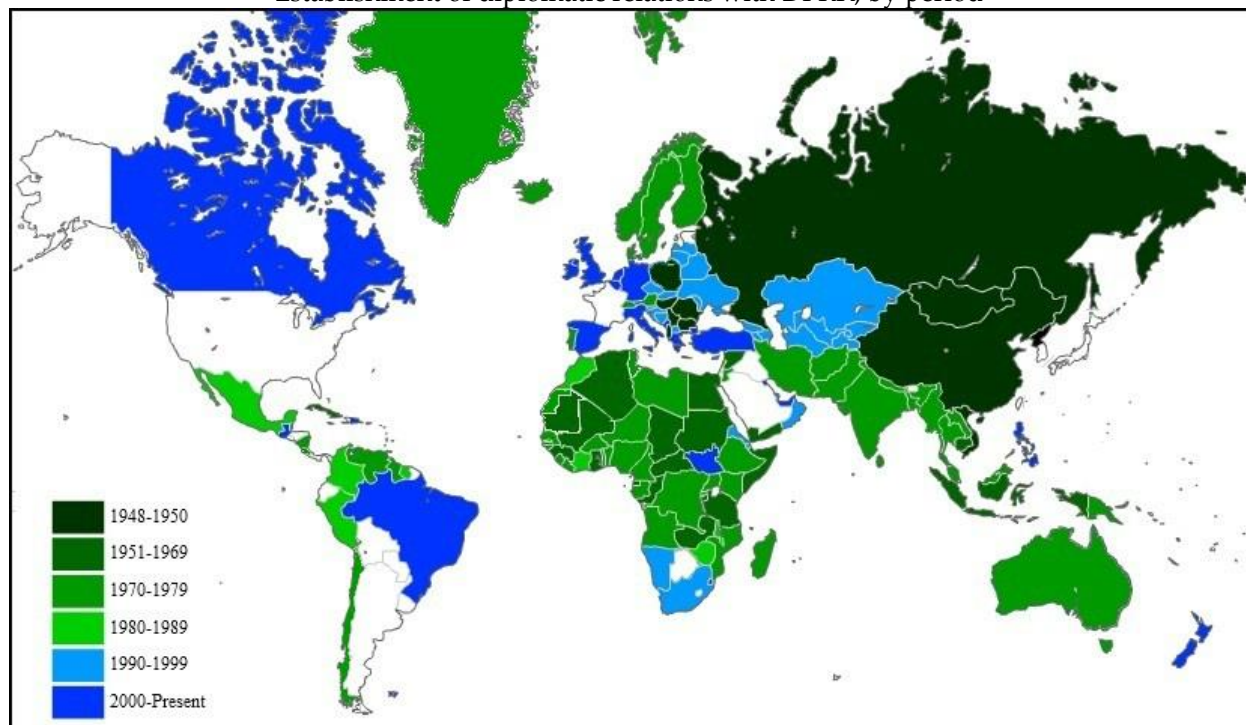


ISSUE BRIEF

DPRK Diplomatic Relations

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Establishment of diplomatic relations with DPRK, by period¹



(Countries are included according to the date of their initial establishment of diplomatic relations with North Korea; countries that have formally broken their relations with North Korea remain blank.)

Introduction

North Korea's foreign policy has been marked by several distinct stages since the establishment of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in 1948. In its earliest years, North Korea maintained diplomatic ties exclusively with Eastern bloc countries, along with the People's Republic of China and Vietnamese revolutionaries. By the 1960s and 1970s, North Korea began reaching out to Third World countries emerging from colonialism, competing with South Korea for diplomatic recognition and legitimacy.² After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the DPRK increased its diplomatic contact with capitalist countries including the U.S., Japan, and Europe.³

North Korea's state ideology of *Juche* emphasizes self-reliance and independence in foreign affairs, but this has not meant diplomatic or economic isolation. North Korea has developed different policies regarding diplomatic outreach in the context of changing geopolitical environments, and has established relations with a large number of countries, with notable exceptions including Japan and the United States (inter-Korean relations being a somewhat separate issue).

One hundred and sixty-four countries have extended formal diplomatic recognition to North Korea,⁴ although many of those countries do not currently have an ambassador accredited to the DPRK or a diplomatic mission in Pyongyang. Twenty-four countries have embassies in Pyongyang, while China and Russia also have consulates in the northeastern city of Chongjin.

Additionally, Switzerland has a representative office in Pyongyang, while France (which has not established formal diplomatic relations with the DPRK) has established a Cooperation and Cultural Action Office. Many of the countries that have diplomatic relations with the DPRK base diplomatic staff handling North Korea at their embassies in Beijing; some are also based at embassies in Seoul. However, the DPRK has not always permitted non-resident ambassadors to present their credentials in Pyongyang.

North Korea has embassies in 47 countries, with several of its ambassadors also accredited to neighboring countries. North Korea has also established a handful of trade missions or representative offices in countries where it lacks an embassy, as well as diplomatic missions to UN offices in New York, Geneva, and Paris.⁵

Foreign Embassies in Pyongyang
Brazil
Bulgaria
Cambodia
China
Cuba
Czech Republic
Egypt
Germany
India
Indonesia
Iran
Laos
Malaysia
Mongolia
Nigeria
Pakistan
Palestine
Poland
Romania
Russia
Sweden
Syria
United Kingdom
Vietnam

Countries Hosting DPRK Embassies	
Algeria	Mexico
Angola	Mongolia
Austria	Myanmar
Bangladesh	Nepal
Brazil	Nigeria
Bulgaria	Pakistan
Cambodia	Peru
China	Poland
Cuba	Romania
Czech Republic	Russia
D.R. Congo	Senegal
Egypt	Singapore
Equatorial Guinea	South Africa
Ethiopia	Spain
Germany	Sweden
Guinea	Switzerland
India	Syria
Indonesia	Thailand
Iran	Uganda
Italy	United Kingdom
Kuwait	Uzbekistan
Laos	Venezuela
Libya	Vietnam
Malaysia	

From 1948 to 1950s: Limited Diplomatic Relationships

USSR	10/12/1948
Mongolia	10/15/1948
Poland	10/16/1948
Yugoslavia	10/30/1948
Romania	11/3/1948
Hungary	11/11/1948
Albania	11/29/1948
Bulgaria	11/29/1948
Czechoslovakia	1948
China	10/6/1949
East Germany	1949
Vietnam	1/31/1950

Upon their establishment as independent states in 1948, both the Republic of Korea and Democratic People’s Republic of Korea claimed to be the sole legitimate government of the Korean Peninsula. The ROK was recognized by the UN and several Western states after declaring independence in 1948, while the DPRK initially established relations only with fellow Marxist states. The Soviet Union was intimately involved in the establishment and early years of the DPRK, while the Chinese intervention in the Korean War led to a relationship that Mao Zedong declared to be “as close as lips and teeth.”

Late-1950s through 1960s: Non-Aligned Diplomacy

Two major factors affecting the DPRK’s approach to foreign policy in the decades after the Korean War were the split between the Soviet Union and China, and the emergence of post-colonial states and the Non-Aligned Movement.

After Josef Stalin’s death, as the Soviet Union promoted “peaceful coexistence” with the United States under Nikita Khrushchev, the DPRK joined China in denouncing Soviet “revisionism.” However, after the launch of the Cultural Revolution in China, North Korea moved toward a closer relationship with the Soviet Union.⁶ The DPRK continued a policy of balancing its relationship with the two communist powers throughout the Cold War, often attempting to play one against the other.

Although neither North nor South Korea was invited to the 1955 Bandung Conference, which established the foundation for the Non-Aligned Movement, the DPRK responded positively to burgeoning third-world solidarity.⁷ North Korean relations with a non-Marxist regime were first established with the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) in 1958, as the FLN was in the midst of its war against French rule. In the 1960s, as many newly independent nations joined the UN, the DPRK expanded its diplomatic relations, particularly in Africa. By the late 1960s, South Korea ended its policy of maintaining diplomatic ties only with countries that did not recognize the North, allowing the scope of diplomatic outreach for both Koreas to expand.⁸

Algeria	9/25/1958
Guinea	10/8/1958
Cuba	8/29/1960
Mali	8/29/1961
Yemen	3/9/1963
Egypt	8/24/1963
Indonesia	4/16/1964
Mauritania	11/12/1964
Congo Rep.	12/24/1964
Cambodia	12/28/1964
Ghana	12/28/1964
Tanzania	1/13/1965
Syria	7/25/1966
Palestine	1966
Burundi	3/12/1967
Somalia	4/13/1967
Iraq	1968
South Yemen	1968
Equatorial Guinea	1/30/1969
Zambia	4/12/1969
Chad	5/8/1969
Sudan	6/21/1969
Central African Republic	9/5/1969

1970s: Expanded Diplomatic Outreach

As Third World countries increased their influence in the arena of world politics, the DPRK continued building ties to Africa and Asia, particularly reaching out to those countries where China had already established economic and diplomatic influence.⁹ Additionally, North Korea began new outreach to the West in an effort to develop its economy. Although North Korea began trade relations with many Western European countries during this period, its diplomatic efforts were limited to European countries with strong left-wing parties such as Portugal and Denmark, and neutral countries such as Austria and Switzerland.¹⁰

During this period, the DPRK also joined several international organizations such as the World Health Organization. In 1975, Pyongyang was admitted to the Non-Aligned Movement, to the exclusion of the Seoul. Additionally, North Korea established observer missions to the United Nations, although it rejected South Korean proposals to jointly enter the UN as full members.¹¹

By the late 1970s, North Korea's diplomatic momentum lagged, caused in part by tense inter-Korean relations, the North's default on foreign loans, and reports of drug smuggling by its diplomats (in 1976-77, North Korean diplomats were accused of smuggling drugs into countries as far-ranging as Norway, Venezuela, and India.)¹² Additionally, North Korea's support for revolutionary groups led to several countries temporarily or permanently suspending their relationships with the DPRK during this period.¹³

Maldives	6/14/1970
Sri Lanka	7/15/1970
Sierra Leone	10/14/1971
Malta	12/20/1971
Cameroon	3/3/1972
Rwanda	4/22/1972
Chile	6/1/1972
Uganda	8/2/1972
Senegal	9/8/1972
Burkina Faso	10/11/1972
Pakistan	11/9/1972
Madagascar	11/16/1972
Zaire	12/15/1972
Togo	1/31/1973
Benin	2/5/1973
Gambia	3/2/1973
Mauritius	3/16/1973
Sweden	4/7/1973
Iran	4/15/1973
Finland	6/1/1973
Norway	6/22/1973
Malaysia	6/30/1973
Denmark	7/17/1973

Iceland	7/27/1973
Bangladesh	12/9/1973
India	12/10/1973
Liberia	12/20/1973
Afghanistan	12/26/1973
Argentina	1973
Libya	1/23/1974
Gabon	1/29/1974
Costa Rica	2/10/1974
Guinea-Bissau	3/16/1974
Nepal	5/15/1974
Guyana	5/18/1974
Laos	6/24/1974
Jordan	7/5/1974
Niger	9/6/1974
Jamaica	10/9/1974
Venezuela	10/28/1974
Austria	12/17/1974
Switzerland	12/20/1974
Botswana	12/27/1974
Australia	12/31/1974
Fiji	4/14/1975

Portugal	4/15/1975
Thailand	5/8/1975
Kenya	5/12/1975
Ethiopia	6/5/1975
Mozambique	6/25/1975
Tunisia	8/3/1975
São Tomé and Príncipe	8/9/1975
Cape Verde	8/18/1975
Singapore	11/8/1975
Comoros	11/13/1975
Angola	11/16/1975
Myanmar	1975
Western Sahara	3/16/1976
Nigeria	5/25/1976
Papua New Guinea	6/1/1976
Seychelles	6/28/1976
Barbados	12/5/1977
Grenada	5/9/1979
Nicaragua	8/21/1979
Saint Lucia	9/13/1979

1980s: Faltering Outreach

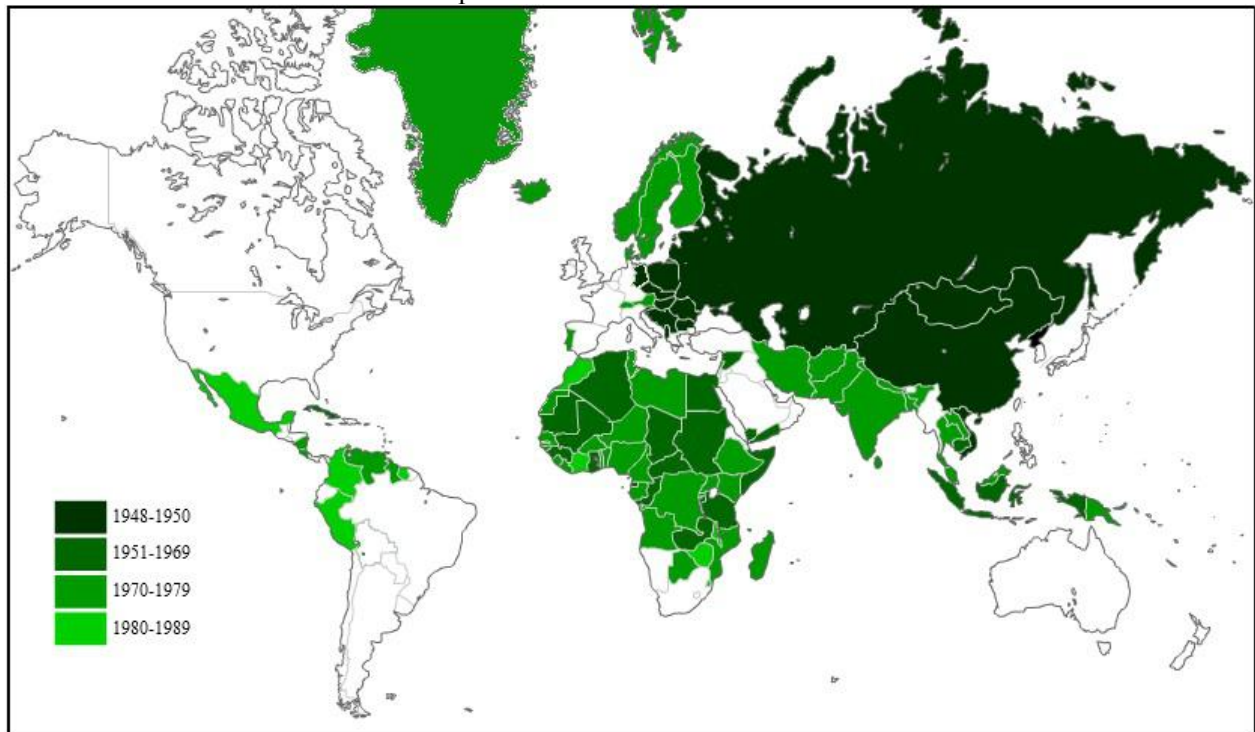
Zimbabwe	4/18/1980
Lesotho	7/19/1980
Mexico	9/9/1980
Lebanon	2/12/1981
Vanuatu	10/1/1981
Nauru	2/25/1982
Malawi	6/25/1982
Suriname	10/11/1982
Côte d'Ivoire	1/9/1985
Trinidad and Tobago	1/22/1986
Columbia	10/24/1988
Peru	12/15/1988
Morocco	2/13/1989

During the 1980s, the pace of North Korea's establishment of new diplomatic relations slowed considerably. The country's links to terrorist acts abroad, its economic weakness relative to South Korea, and the collapse of the Eastern Bloc all contributed to this dynamic over the course of the decade.¹⁴

North Korea's terrorist act in Burma in 1983¹⁵ and its bombing of Korean Airlines flight 858 in 1987¹⁶ were both strongly criticized internationally. Burma, which had relations with both North and South Korea, "de-recognized" the DPRK and expelled North Korean officials in response to the attempted assassination of South Korean president Chun Doo-hwan in Rangoon.¹⁷

By the end of the decade, North Korea's foreign policy hit a nadir as the Eastern Bloc began to collapse. In 1988, in the run-up to the Seoul Olympics, South Korea announced a new foreign policy of *Nordpolitik*, reaching out to North Korea's traditional communist allies. By 1989, this policy had begun to bear fruit, as Seoul established relations with Eastern European countries in return for economic assistance, ending the Eastern Bloc policy of exclusively recognizing Pyongyang. The prospect of access to South Korean trade and capital would soon lead to the ROK's recognition by the Soviet Union and China, as well.¹⁸

North Korean Diplomatic Relations at the end of the Cold War



1990s: Growing Isolation, New Outreach

The Soviet and Chinese recognition of the ROK in 1990 and 1992, respectively, was a major diplomatic blow to North Korea. The shift in the dynamics of international politics at the end of the Cold War led Pyongyang to drop its longstanding opposition to joining the UN jointly with Seoul, with both Koreas joining the global body in 1991. While North Korea quickly established relations with most of the successor states of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, its nuclear program and political system largely precluded broader diplomatic recognition during this period. The collapse of the Soviet bloc also resulted in major cuts in aid to the DPRK, contributing to North Korea's economic collapse and famine in the mid-1990s. With a severely reduced budget, North Korea closed many of its embassies between 1993 and 2001.¹⁹

During this decade, North Korea began undertaking dialogue with its longtime foes. Talks with South Korea began in the early 1990s, resulting in the 1991 Basic Agreement on reconciliation and cooperation and the 1992 Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula; inter-Korean dialogue was largely suspended after Kim Il Sung's death in 1994, but resumed with President Kim Dae Jung's "Sunshine Policy" later in the decade. Between 1991 and 1992, the DPRK and Japan held eight rounds of Foreign Ministry talks on normalization of relations, which faltered as North Korea refused to discuss its suspected abductions of Japanese citizens.

Amid major tension over its nuclear program, North Korea also began to engage in dialogue with the U.S. during this period. In 1994, the two countries signed the Agreed Framework on North Korea's nuclear program, which outlined steps to freeze and eventually dismantle the program in exchange for the provision and energy assistance and light-water reactors. The Agreed Framework also pledged the two countries to "move toward full normalization of political and economic relations," among other commitments. Although the U.S. and North Korea began to engage in regular dialogue during this period – including a visit by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright to Pyongyang in 2000 – Washington and Pyongyang did not normalize relations, and did not make irreversible progress toward denuclearization.

Namibia	3/22/1990
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	8/16/1990
Antigua & Barbuda	11/27/1990
Dominica	1/21/1991
Bahamas	5/16/1991
Belize	6/20/1991
Lithuania	9/25/1991
Latvia	9/26/1991
St. Kitts and Nevis	12/13/1991
Cyprus	12/23/1991
Ukraine	1/9/1992
Turkmenistan	1/10/1992
Kyrgyzstan	1/21/1992
Kazakhstan	1/28/1992
Azerbaijan	1/30/1992
Moldova	1/30/1992
Belarus	2/3/1992
Tajikistan	2/5/1992
Uzbekistan	2/7/1992
Armenia	2/13/1992
Oman	5/20/1992
Slovenia	9/8/1992
Croatia	11/30/1992
Czech Republic	1/1/1993
Slovakia	1/1/1993
Qatar	1/11/1993
Eritrea	5/25/1993
Djibouti	6/13/1993
Macedonia	11/2/1993
Georgia	11/3/1994
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1/19/1996
South Africa	8/10/1998
Brunei	1/7/1999

2000s: The European Union and Six-Party Talks

With its nuclear activities apparently frozen under the Agreed Framework, its missile program under a moratorium, and relations with South Korea improving after the first Inter-Korean Summit in 2000, North Korea began to establish diplomatic ties with many European countries, opening embassies in Italy, Germany, South Africa and the United Kingdom in the early 2000s. In 2001, the DPRK established diplomatic relations with the European Union, with EU country embassies in Pyongyang subsequently alternating turns as the EU representative office.²⁰ North Korea also hosted Russian President Vladimir Putin for a summit in July 2000 – the first time a Russian or Soviet leader had visited Pyongyang – and hosted Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi in 2002, another first.

However, after the Agreed Framework between the United States and North Korea broke down in late 2002, the DPRK’s international outreach stalled. The Six Party Talks process to resolve the new nuclear crisis included discussions of normalizing U.S.-DPRK relations, but the talks collapsed before any normalization of relations occurred. The DPRK’s relationship with Japan also worsened during this period: Kim Jong-il’s 2002 acknowledgement that the DPRK had abducted Japanese citizens resulted in a backlash and Japanese reluctance to address other issues until the matter had been fully resolved.

Despite the slowdown in opening new diplomatic relationships during this period, the DPRK did establish ties with several countries while the Six Party Talks were ongoing, and notably re-established its relationship with Myanmar in 2007. However, since the end of the Six Party Talks, the DPRK has established formal diplomatic relations only with the newly-independent country of South Sudan.

Italy	1/4/2000
Philippines	7/12/2000
United Kingdom	12/12/2000
Netherlands	1/15/2001
Belgium	1/23/2001
Canada	2/6/2001
Spain	2/7/2001
Germany	3/1/2001
Luxembourg	3/5/2001
Greece	3/8/2001
Brazil	3/9/2001
New Zealand	3/26/2001
Kuwait	4/4/2001
Liechtenstein	5/2/2001
EU	5/14/2001
Bahrain	5/23/2001
Turkey	6/27/2001
East Timor	11/5/2002
Ireland	12/10/2003
San Marino	5/13/2004
Montenegro	7/16/2007
United Arab Emirates	9/17/2007
Swaziland	9/20/2007
Dominica Rep.	9/24/2007
Guatemala	9/26/2007
South Sudan	11/18/2011

Continuing international opprobrium over North Korea’s nuclear program and human rights record has limited the scope of Pyongyang’s foreign relations. United Nations Security Council Resolution 2094, adopted after North Korea’s third nuclear test in February 2013, expressed concern that North Korean diplomats were abusing their diplomatic privileges and immunity, and included a provision calling on states to “exercise enhanced vigilance over DPRK diplomatic personnel.” Following the release of the final report of the United Nations Commission of Inquiry on Human Rights in North Korea in February 2014, Botswana announced its decision to terminate its diplomatic and consular relations with the DPRK.²¹

**Dates diplomatic relations established,
alphabetical order**

Afghanistan	12/26/1973
Albania	11/29/1948
Algeria ^a	9/25/1958
Angola	11/16/1975
Antigua & Barbuda	11/27/1990
Argentina ^b	1973
Armenia	2/13/1992
Australia ^c	12/31/1974
Austria	12/17/1974
Azerbaijan	1/30/1992
Bahamas	5/16/1991
Bahrain	5/23/2001
Bangladesh	12/9/1973
Barbados	12/5/1977
Belarus	2/3/1992
Belgium	1/23/2001
Belize	6/20/1991
Benin	2/5/1973
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1/19/1996
Botswana ^d	12/27/1974
Brazil	3/9/2001
Brunei	1/7/1999
Bulgaria	11/29/1948
Burkina Faso	10/11/1972
Burundi	3/12/1967
Cambodia	12/28/1964
Cameroon	3/3/1972
Canada	2/6/2001
Cape Verde	8/18/1975
Central African Republic	9/5/1969
Chad	5/8/1969

^a Relations initially established with National Liberation Front, prior to Algeria winning independence.

^b Relations broken off in June 1977.

^c Relations suspended from November 1975 to May 2000.

^d Relations broken off in February 2014.

Chile ^e	6/1/1972
China	10/6/1949
Colombia	10/24/1988
Comoros	11/13/1975
DR Congo	12/15/1972
Congo Republic	12/24/1964
Costa Rica	2/10/1974
Côte d'Ivoire	1/9/1985
Croatia	11/30/1992
Cuba	8/29/1960
Cyprus	12/23/1991
Czech Republic	1/1/1993
Czechoslovakia	1948
Denmark	7/17/1973
Djibouti	6/13/1993
Dominica	1/21/1991
Dominica Republic	9/24/2007
East Germany	1949
East Timor	11/5/2002
Egypt	8/24/1963
Equatorial Guinea	1/30/1969
Eritrea	5/25/1993
Ethiopia	6/5/1975
EU	5/14/2001
Fiji	4/14/1975
Finland	6/1/1973
Gabon	1/29/1974
Gambia	3/2/1973
Georgia	11/3/1994
Germany	3/1/2001
Ghana	12/28/1964
Greece	3/8/2001
Grenada ^f	5/9/1979
Guatemala	9/26/2007
Guinea	10/8/1958
Guinea-Bissau	3/16/1974

^e Relations suspended in September 1973; later resumed.

^f Relations suspended January 1985; later resumed.

Guyana	5/18/1974
Hungary	11/11/1948
Iceland	7/27/1973
India	12/10/1973
Indonesia	4/16/1964
Iran	4/15/1973
Iraq ^g	1968
Ireland	12/10/2003
Italy	1/4/2000
Jamaica	10/9/1974
Jordan	7/5/1974
Kazakhstan	1/28/1992
Kenya	5/12/1975
Kuwait	4/4/2001
Kyrgyzstan	1/21/1992
Laos	6/24/1974
Latvia	9/26/1991
Lebanon	2/12/1981
Lesotho ^h	7/19/1980
Liberia	12/20/1973
Libya	1/23/1974
Liechtenstein	5/2/2001
Lithuania	9/25/1991
Luxembourg	3/5/2001
Macedonia	11/2/1993
Madagascar	11/16/1972
Malawi	6/25/1982
Malaysia	6/30/1973
Maldives	6/14/1970
Mali	8/29/1961
Malta	12/20/1971
Mauritania ⁱ	11/12/1964
Mauritius	3/16/1973
Mexico	9/9/1980
Moldova	1/30/1992
Mongolia	10/15/1948
Montenegro	7/16/2007

^g Relations broken off in October 1980.

^h Relations suspended in August 1986; later resumed.

ⁱ Relations suspended from June 1977 to March 1980.

Morocco	2/13/1989
Mozambique	6/25/1975
Myanmar ^j	1975
Namibia	3/22/1990
Nauru	2/25/1982
Nepal	5/15/1974
Netherlands	1/15/2001
New Zealand	3/26/2001
Nicaragua	8/21/1979
Niger	9/6/1974
Nigeria	5/25/1976
Norway	6/22/1973
Oman	5/20/1992
Pakistan	11/9/1972
Palestine ^k	1966
Papua New Guinea	6/1/1976
Peru	12/15/1988
Philippines	7/12/2000
Poland	10/16/1948
Portugal	4/15/1975
Qatar	1/11/1993
Romania	11/3/1948
Russia ^l	10/12/1948
Rwanda	4/22/1972
St. Lucia	9/13/1979
San Marino	5/13/2004
São Tomé and Príncipe	8/9/1975
Senegal	9/8/1972
Serbia	10/30/1948 ^m
Seychelles	6/28/1976
Sierra Leone	10/14/1971
Singapore	11/8/1975
Slovakia	1/1/1993
Slovenia	9/8/1992
Somalia	4/13/1967
South Africa	8/10/1998
South Sudan	11/18/2011

^j Relations suspended from November 1983 to April 2007.

^k The State of Palestine has limited international diplomatic recognition.

^l Assumed diplomatic relations from the Soviet Union.

^m Assumed diplomatic relations from Yugoslavia.

South Yemen	1968
Spain	2/7/2001
Sri Lanka ⁿ	7/15/1970
St. Kitts and Nevis	12/13/1991
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	8/16/1990
Sudan	6/21/1969
Suriname	10/11/1982
Swaziland	9/20/2007
Sweden	4/7/1973
Switzerland	12/20/1974
Syria	7/25/1966
Tajikistan	2/5/1992
Tanzania	1/13/1965
Thailand	5/8/1975
Togo	1/31/1973
Trinidad and Tobago	1/22/1986
Tunisia	8/3/1975
Turkey	6/27/2001
Turkmenistan	1/10/1992
Uganda	8/2/1972
Ukraine	1/9/1992
United Arab Emirates	9/17/2007
United Kingdom	12/12/2000
Uzbekistan	2/7/1992
Vanuatu	10/1/1981
Venezuela	10/28/1974
Vietnam ^o	1/31/1950
Western Sahara ^p	3/16/1976
Yemen	3/9/1963
Zambia	4/12/1969
Zimbabwe	4/18/1980

ⁿ Relations suspended from March 1971 to March 1975.

^o Relations initially established with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, during the French Indochina War.

^p The Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic, the government declared by the Polisario Front, has limited international diplomatic recognition.

¹ Map created by the authors via P&P World Map <<http://edit.freemap.jp/en/>>

² Charles K. Armstrong, "Juche and North Korea's Global Aspirations," North Korea International Documentation Project Working Paper No. 1 (April 2009).

³ Ministry of Unification, 북한 이해 2009 [Understanding of North Korea], MOU 2009

⁴ Although the DPRK Foreign Ministry has not published a list of countries with diplomatic relations with North Korea, a paper published by the "DPRK Association for Human Rights Studies" (which is likely affiliated with the Foreign Ministry) states that Pyongyang has diplomatic relations with 166 countries. This figure may include the State of Palestine and the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic, both of which have established diplomatic relations with North Korea but have limited international diplomatic recognition.

<http://www.ncnk.org/resources/publications/Report_of_the_DPRK_Association_for_Human_Rights_Studies.pdf/>

⁵ The information on diplomatic relations in this issue brief is drawn from several sources of data, which sometimes conflict with one another. These sources include the ROK Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2011 Diplomatic White Paper; "The People's Korea" website <http://www1.korea-np.co.jp/pk/029th_issue/98020407.htm>; Yonhap News Agency, *North Korea Handbook* (M.E. Sharpe, 2003); Byung Chul Koh, *The Foreign Policy Systems of North and South Korea* (University of California Press, 1984), p. 11; contemporary news accounts (including those from North Korean sources); and countries' Ministries of Foreign Affairs or equivalent. Conflicting accounts have been resolved in favor of data from primary sources.

⁶ Mitchell Lerner, "'Mostly Propaganda in Nature:' Kim Il Sung, the Juche Ideology, and the Second Korean War," North Korea International Documentation Project Working Paper No. 3 (December 2010).

⁷ Jae-gyu Park, "북한의 대 아프리카 외교정책 [North Korea's Foreign Policy to Africa]," 북한외교론 3 (1977)

⁸ Jide Owwoeye, "The Metamorphosis of North Korea's African Policy," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 31, No. 7 (July 1991), pp. 630-645.

⁹ Ki-jong Lee, "북한의 대 제 3 세계 비동맹 외교 정책 [North Korea's Foreign Policy to the Third World]," 시민정치학회 (1997)

¹⁰ Charles Armstrong, *The Tyranny of the Weak: North Korea and the World, 1950-1992* (Cornell University Press, 2013), pp. 168-207.

¹¹ Bernd Schafer, "Overconfidence Shattered: North Korean Unification Policy, 1971-1975," North Korea International Documentation Project Working Paper No. 2 (December 2010)

¹² KINU 2009 북한 개요. op. cited. p.119; Andrei Lankov, "Narco-Capitalism Grips North Korea," *Asia Times*, March 11, 2011.

¹³ Barry K. Gills, *Korea versus Korea: A Case of Contested Legitimacy* (Routledge, 1996), p. 198.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 190-256.

¹⁵ Time Magazine "A Bomb Wreaks Havoc in Rangoon," Oct. 17, 1983.

<<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,952196,00.html>>

¹⁶ KAL 858 Blown Up by North Korean Terrorists: Panel, Chosun Ilbo (South Korea), August 1, 2006 <http://english.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2006/08/01/2006080161017.html>

¹⁷ Ministry of Unification, 북한 이해 2009 [Understanding of North Korea], MOU 2009

¹⁸ Don Oberdorfer, *The Two Koreas: A Contemporary History*, New Edition (Basic Books, 2001), pp. 186-192.

¹⁹ In 1993, North Korea closed embassies in Jamaica and Benin. In 1995, it closed embassies in Portugal, Nicaragua, Tunisia, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Lebanon, Congo, Burundi, Mozambique, and Hungary. In 1998, it closed embassies in Denmark, Finland, Jordan, Ghana, Senegal, Algeria, Zimbabwe, Mali,

Zambia, Togo, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine. In 1999, it closed embassies in Mongolia, Angola, and Venezuela.

²⁰ “EU Relations with the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (North Korea),” European External Access Service. <http://eeas.europa.eu/korea_north/index_en.htm>

²¹ Republic of Botswana, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, “Botswana Cuts Ties with North Korea,” February 20, 2014 <<http://www.gov.bw/en/Ministries--Authorities/Ministries/Ministry-of-Foreign-Affairs-and-International-Cooperation/News/BOTSWANA-CUT-TIES-WITH-NORTH-KOREA/>>