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# **Predicting North Korean Reform:** **Changing the North with a New Strategy**

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May 2014

Master's Thesis

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of  
International Affairs at the City College of New York

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## Abstract

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) is a remarkably unique and obstinate nation. It has firmly maintained its communist government system for over half a century. The country has survived through both the second and third wave of democracy, the collapse of the Soviet Union, Chinese reform, the late 1990 famine, which resulted in a substantially high number of deaths, and significant pressure from both internal and external features such as United Nations sanctions. It also has revealed its unwillingness to make any compromises by designating Kim Jong Un as the next leader who is the grandson of the regime founder - Kim Il Sung. This research thesis, however, argues that North Korean reform will occur in the foreseeable future. The paper specifically reviews the Arab Spring and analyzes the factors and conditions that caused the uprisings. It then applies these discoveries to the DPRK case. Among many other reasons, this thesis analyzes the economic aspects - the people's desire for economic betterment and higher living standards - as the key attributes for recent revolutionary events. Globalization, the freedom of access to information and foreign goods across international borders, allows people to increase their want for betterment. North Korea, too, is affected by this global integration and outside sources are entering the nation in various ways, such as the Internet. Its citizens interact with South Koreans daily at the Kaesong Industrial Zone. The country is currently facing the most difficult test of its era and this thesis argues that the regime will finally breakdown during the new democratization movement that is being called the fourth wave of democracy.

## **Chapter I: Introduction**

### **1. Intro**

Korea was officially divided into two nations in the Fall of 1948. Separated by the 38th parallel, the South formed the Republic of Korea (ROK) and the North became the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK). Since the division, the ROK has mainly focused on developing democracy and strengthening its economy. Its economy grew very rapidly and successfully during the past sixty years, and has been utilized as an excellent case study and economic model for many underdeveloped countries. The DPRK, in contrast, has continuously promoted the communist doctrine and advanced its military power. It has isolated itself from the global community, violated international law on numerous occasions, and created a negative national image in worldwide media. It initiated the Korean War in June 1950, which caused over 2.5 million total deaths, including at least 1.5 million civilian lives.<sup>1</sup> North Korea killed and attempted to assassinate South Korean government officials, including its presidents. It started the nuclear weapons development program despite pressure from other nation states and frequent requests to abandon the program. The North traded weapons of mass destruction with various nations and exchanged illegal goods in the black market. It recently destroyed a ROK warship with a torpedo missile and conducted an artillery attack on a South Korean island named Yeonpyeong. It also violates international human rights laws and consistently puts its citizens at great risk.

It is time to change these headline stories. It is time to reform the DPRK and establish peace on the Korean Peninsula. For the last sixty-six years, the two Koreas

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<sup>1</sup> CNN Library, "Korean War Fast Facts," CNN, July 26, 2013, <http://www.cnn.com/2013/06/28/world/asia/korean-war-fast-facts/>, accessed March 2014.

have failed to construct a firm diplomatic relationship and have been identifying each other as an enemy. This tension has only produced damaging consequences in all social, political, and economic aspects. South Korea, for instance, spends approximately \$30 billion and 10% of its national budget on defense.<sup>2</sup> The North uses roughly \$10 billion and 16% on defense.<sup>3</sup> It is finally time to bring an end to this long-lasting conflict and rewrite Korean history. To reach this goal, however, there must be a new strategy.

The United States (US), the European countries, international governmental organizations, the ROK and the neighboring nation states have thus far implemented different methods to improve the situation. World leaders, including American Presidents Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton, have visited the DPRK. There were two Inter-Korean Summits. There was the Six-Party Talks. The United Nations (UN) and the European Union (EU) have applied tough sanctions on North Korea. South Korea and the global community have shipped a large amount of food and humanitarian aid to the North. They have used carrot-and-stick methods to convince the country. But yet, nothing has worked and the DPRK has remained unchanged. The Korean Peninsula is still one of the most heavily armed regions in the globe and a war is a constant possibility. This thesis, however, argues globalization and international commerce will serve as a new tool to turnaround this trend and permanently build security on the Korean Peninsula and further reunify the two Koreas.

## 2. Research Question

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<sup>2</sup> Ministry of National Defense of the Republic of Korea, "Defense Budget Status," [http://www.mnd.go.kr/mbshome/mbs/mnd/subview.jsp?id=mnd\\_010201010000](http://www.mnd.go.kr/mbshome/mbs/mnd/subview.jsp?id=mnd_010201010000), accessed March 2014.

<sup>3</sup> "North Korea Budget Amount," *Korea JoongAng Daily*, April 3, 2013, [http://article.joins.com/news/article/article.asp?total\\_id=11118873](http://article.joins.com/news/article/article.asp?total_id=11118873), accessed March 2014.

For the sake of international security, peace on the Korean Peninsula and the safety of citizens in North Korea, the primary research question that this thesis seeks to analyze is the following: What are the key factors and conditions that initiated the Arab Spring and whether those conditions might bring about in North Korea the possibility of experiencing its own uprising. Is there also any new type of phenomenon to stimulate North Korean reform?

### 3. Methodology

This thesis first uncovers the features that affected the Arab Spring and then relate the findings to the DPRK. The comparative analysis method is therefore the most proper approach and mainly utilized in the research. There were more than 21 nations involved in the Arab Spring. The thesis primarily reviews 6 countries that had the most significant impact: Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Syria, and Bahrain. It examines their common reasons for revolution: authoritarianism, political corruption, weak economy, human rights violations, and cultural change. It further evaluates what the nations were trying to accomplish such as democracy and regime change, and how they planned to achieve those goals including riots, protests, demonstrations, Internet activism, and self-immolation. The youth generation and security forces played an essential role in the rebellions and they are closely assessed as well in this paper.

The key sources for the research are academic journals, government publications, international institution reports, non-governmental organization research materials, books, and newspaper articles. The major researched topics are the Middle Eastern uprisings, the affect of the Arab Spring on North Korea, and the present social, political and economic status of the North. The research method applied was to use diverse search



engines to locate previously completed researches and studies by scholars and their observations on the issues. The thesis also explores materials from South Korea since due to the nature of the subject more research is conducted in the South. The paper author is proficient in written and spoken Korean. The qualitative research method was employed throughout the study. Some data and quantitative measurement are provided in certain areas but the majority of the information and conclusions are presented in descriptive expressions.

#### 4. Limitation

The major obstacle of this research is limited access to DPRK information. For the past half century, the nation has emphasized its main ideology - independence and self-reliance - and isolated itself from the international community. It has established diplomatic relations and trade partnerships with only a small number of countries like China. It does not allow individuals to cross its borders easily. Foreigners enter the nation with a large number of restrictions and risks. With the exception of diplomats, North Korean citizens are disallowed from travelling outside the country. In a nutshell, the North has one of the strictest closed-door foreign policies ever to exist. For these reasons, it has been extremely difficult for scholars, students, journalists, researchers, government officials to study the facts about the DPRK and gather enough data to make proper judgments. This thesis, therefore, makes arguments based on this limited information availability.

#### 5. Thesis Statement

After analyzing and applying the factors and conditions of the Arab Spring revolutions to the DPRK and reviewing its recent economic interaction with the ROK,

this thesis concludes that North Korea is facing the most critical challenge of its era and a reform will finally occur in the foreseeable future.

## Chapter II: Literature Review

### 1. Under New Leadership

Scholars, researchers and diplomats share different perspectives on the future of the DPRK. Some argue that the regime will collapse as other communist nations have.<sup>4</sup> Some claimed that the status quo will prevail.<sup>5</sup> Some contend that the nation will follow China and gradually make changes.<sup>6</sup> Many also believe that it is too difficult to have predictions on North Korea.<sup>7</sup> As it was evidently proven by its nuclear weapon development, the country has been hiding and lying about what is happening inside its borders.

People are now asking how the new young leader, Kim Jong Un, will dictate his nation's upcoming days.<sup>8</sup> This question is particularly interesting due to his age. He was born in 1983 and was in his late 20s when he took over the highest position. Many individuals think that he is too young and inexperienced to lead the North. The issue is also noteworthy since the country is under maybe the toughest sanctions that the UN has ever imposed on a nation state. The DPRK, furthermore, is faced with historical events like the Arab Spring and is living through the era of globalization (Lynch, 2011).<sup>9</sup> Today, there are no actual borders between countries. Goods, services, and, most importantly, information are freely exchanged. Even the most secured nation, North Korea, cannot

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<sup>4</sup> Selig S. Harrison, *Korean Endgame: A Strategy for Reunification and US Disengagement* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), 3.

<sup>5</sup> Yun Jo Cho, *The Sources of Regime Stability in North Korea: Insights from Democratization Theory* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Journal of East Asian Affairs, 2005)

<sup>6</sup> Judith Thornton, "Benchmarking North Korea Economic Policies; The Lesson from Russia and China," in *Conference North Korea – Guideposts for radical Economic Change*, Washington, DC, February 8, 2007, pp.2-8.

<sup>7</sup> Christopher D. Hale, "Real Reform in North Korea?," *Asian Survey* 45, no.6 (November/December 2005): 823-842.

<sup>8</sup> Victor D. Cha and Nicholas D. Anderson, "A North Korean Spring?," *The Washington Quarterly* 35, no.1 (2012): 7.

<sup>9</sup> Mark Lynch, "The Big Think Behind the Arab Spring," *Foreign Policy*, November 28, 2011, [http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/11/28/the\\_big\\_think](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/11/28/the_big_think), accessed March 2014.

resist this powerful trend and outside news and stories are flowing into the country. Consequently, its citizens are beginning to discover that there is a better world outside, and that its government has been telling lies about other nations. Foreign affairs experts, therefore, are very curious how things will turn out under the new leadership and whether reform will finally occur in the North.

## 2. Korean War II

Under the new global settings, the DPRK's future faces quite a few scenarios. First, North Korea could cross the 38th parallel again and start a full-scale war - the Korean War II.<sup>10</sup> This possibility, however, is extremely unlikely. The North is well aware of the fact that the UN and more crucially the US will engage in the military conflict in accordance with the US-Korea Status of Forces Agreement and defend the ROK. The DPRK knows that it cannot overpower US forces with its military capacity, weapons of mass destruction and even nuclear warheads. Kim Jong Un and his staff would lose everything and flee to China. The risk is too great to launch an attack and spend the rest of their lives in a foreign country as fugitives. They know what the consequences were for both Iraq's long-time dictator Saddam Hussein and the al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden.

China's reaction to this clash will be a big question mark. China and North Korea signed the Sino-North Korean Mutual Aid and Cooperation Friendship Treaty. Article 2 of the Treaty indicates that the two nations agree to provide assistance in case either party is attacked by another state. The Treaty was first signed in 1961 and is renewed every twenty years. The latest re-signing took place in 2001 and will be effective until 2021.

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<sup>10</sup> James Fearon and David Laitin, "The Two Koreas," Stanford University Working Paper KoreaRN 1.5, 2006, p.18-25.

The North Korean-Soviet Mutual Aid and Cooperation Friendship Treaty was also first signed in 1961 but has been discontinued since the 1990s. China would have second thoughts about countering the US-ROK alliance. It obviously would not want to fight a war against its largest trading and business partner.

### 3. Reunification

Another improbable scenario is reunification (Kelly, 2011).<sup>11</sup> The citizens of both South and North Korea are desperate to reunite with their separated families and to revisit their hometowns. Both governments, however, are unwilling to accept such a circumstance. The DPRK government is happy with its current situation. They are living a high-class life and enjoying luxury goods and services, even though the majority of their people are living in poverty. They would not give up their power and money that easily. The ROK government wishes the North to change but sees the reunification as an event that has to take place at a later date. There is a huge gap between the nations' economies. The DPRK's latest recorded gross domestic product (GDP) is \$14,411 million (USD), ranked 120th in the world. The ROK's most recently recorded GDP is ranked 15<sup>th</sup> at \$1,129,598 million. The South would be heavily impacted by the reunification and it would have to spend an endless amount of money to finance the reconstruction of North Korean infrastructure and economy system. This was shown by the German reunification. West Germany somehow managed to recreate East Germany. But, South Korea is reluctant to go through such an ordeal. China would also object to the idea of Korean reunification. It is gaining too much by trading with the North and solely importing its natural resources.

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<sup>11</sup> Robert Kelly, "The German-Korean Unification Parallel," *The Korean Journal of Defense Analysis* 23, no. 4 (December 2011): 461, [http://www.kida.re.kr/data/kjda/02\\_Robert%20Kelly.pdf](http://www.kida.re.kr/data/kjda/02_Robert%20Kelly.pdf), accessed March 2014.

#### 4. Open Economy

Some individuals think that there is still an opportunity that the DPRK might become the next China. Kim Jong Un would still be the supreme leader and the government would remain in power, but they would open the economy to the international community. This assumption is wrong as well. North Korea knows well that the free market system, multinational trade and foreign direct investment are critical elements for economic advancement. It attempted to undertake economic reform three times in 1991, 2001 and 2010. Each time, it struggled undergoing an economic and financial crisis. In 1991, Kim Il Sung was starting to lose one of his closest allies, the Soviet Union, and the aid from the falling communist state. In response, he established the Rajin-Sonbong special economic zone to enhance free trade. The project, however, ended in less than ten years due to a corruption scandal which involved high ranking DPRK government officials. In 2001, Kim Jong Il was anxious and desperate to recover the country's economy after surviving a devastating famine. He reached out to his neighbor states including the ROK and requested help with loans, aids, and direct investments. The South Korean president visited Pyongyang during this time and offered the Sunshine Policy. This hopeful engagement, however, ended soon after the US invaded Iraq. The North resumed its nuclear weapon development program. Recently, in 2010, Kim Jong Il tried to commence currency reform after the UN imposed a series of strict sanctions on the state. His treasury department staff simply failed to properly implement economic policies and worsened its financial situation by creating a higher inflation rate. The person in charge of the mission was later executed.

Today, Kim Jong Un is operating the Kaesong Industrial Complex - a joint economic project with the ROK.<sup>12</sup> These ventures normally last a short period of time and are progressing only on a small scale. The nation needs to generate cash flow quickly only to maintain Kim Jong Un's spending habit. After the UN and the EU imposed sanctions, the country's assets in foreign banks have been frozen and it can no longer bring in foreign currencies from black market businesses. The leader also requires the money to keep his cabinet staff loyal by continuously providing them and their families with expensive goods. Otherwise, they would begin to consider disobeying and overthrowing the leader. The DPRK has no intention to follow the path China took and elect a reform that would adjust its entire economic system. It knows too well that international trade and free market increases the chances of uprising by its dissatisfied and starving citizens.

##### 5. Status Quo

The DPRK future faces two possibilities and one of them is the maintenance of the status quo.<sup>13</sup> Kim Jong Un would remain as the dear leader and continue his grandfather's legacy. His son would take over the dictator position and his grandson after that. It is like a family business and easily seen in Korean culture. The founders of ROK conglomerates, such as LG, Samsung and Hyundai, all passed on ownership to their descendants. One generation to the next, Kim Il Sung's philosophy and ideology would continue to carry on.

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<sup>12</sup> Dongho Jo, "A Strategy for the Advancement of the North Korean Economy," *EAI Asia Security Initiative Working Paper* 11, April 2011, p. 14.

<sup>13</sup> Andrei Lankov, "Staying Alive: Why North Korea Will Not Change," *Foreign Affairs* 87, no. 2 (March/April 2008): 97.

The government system would stay the same as well.<sup>14</sup> The communist doctrine and Juche ideology would still be the fundamental belief. The nation would continue to strengthen its military capacity and upgrade their nuclear program and WMD development. It would retain a very limited foreign policy and restrict international trade and participation in the open market system. Legally, its citizens would not enjoy much freedom, have no voting rights, and the central government would control court rulings. The majority of its citizens would continue to live in poverty and believe that they live a better life than the people in other countries. Global modernization would only affect the capital city of Pyongyang. When satellites take pictures of the Korean Peninsula at night, the South is awash in light and the North is almost completely dark. The Peninsula would keep this image and the DPRK regime would successfully sustain the authoritarian leadership for at least another century.

## 6. Korean Spring

This thesis finds the other possibility more convincing and argues that there will soon be a North Korean case like the Arab Spring - the Korean Spring.<sup>15</sup> The DPRK citizens, especially the young generation, will learn from the Internet that their government has been lying about everything, and that they could be living under better life conditions. In this scenario, they will decide to organize a group of rebels and initiate a revolution. They will figure that the military would play a substantial role and persuade the young officers to take their side. With the support from the military-trained soldiers, the rebel group will put up a fight against the nation's security forces. Some considerable

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<sup>14</sup> James L. Schoff and Yaron Eisenberg, *Peace Regime Building On the Korean Peninsula: What's Next?* (Cambridge, MA: Institute for Foreign Policy Affairs, May 2009), 12.

<sup>15</sup> Geoffrey Aronson, "How the Arab Spring Presages a Shifting World Order," *Foreign Policy*, May 17, 2011, [http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2011/05/17/how\\_the\\_arab\\_spring\\_presages\\_a\\_shifting\\_world\\_order](http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2011/05/17/how_the_arab_spring_presages_a_shifting_world_order), accessed March 2014.



sacrifices are required, but the group will eventually succeed in ending Kim Jong Un's era and bring down communism in North Korea. The Internet usage in the North and the younger generation and its involvement in the military service will thus be closely analyzed throughout this study. There is a chance that this internal violence could force the DPRK government to launch a full-scale war against the South. They would blame the ROK as the primary cause of this movement. But, the government would first fully concentrate on stopping the rebel unit and will not have enough armed personnel at a later stage, especially without the young fighters.

The critics of this probable scenario dissent the opposite based on two valuable points.<sup>16</sup> One, the DPRK government system disallows such groups to gather and share new ideas to initiate any sort of riots. The patrols closely monitor their citizens and prevent such secret meetings. Two, the regime also controls the media and restricts Internet usage. The objectors claim that not enough people are realizing the truth about the outside world and events like the Arab Spring due to strict constraints. The country even limited the travelling of its diplomats and government officials to the Arab states while the revolutions were occurring. More individuals must be informed and educated about the other side of the globe to form an uprising. This thesis, however, verifies that these statements are no longer credible and circumstances have changed in North Korea in recent years. New evidence indicates that the North will collapse within the near future.

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<sup>16</sup> Adrian Hong, "How to Free North Koreans," *Foreign Policy*, December 19, 2011, [http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/12/19/how\\_to\\_free\\_north\\_korea? page=0,3](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/12/19/how_to_free_north_korea? page=0,3), accessed March 2014.

## Chapter III: Korea

### 1. Brief Korean History

The two Koreas share a rich history of prosperity and conflicts. Throughout the five thousand years of Korean history, many kingdoms had their glories and failures on the Korean Peninsula. The territorial boundary was constantly redefined due to struggles among the different regimes present on the Peninsula. In ancient Korea, as many as six independent states coexisted at a time. The unification was achieved by those Kingdoms with advanced technology and a powerful army. Sometimes, an alliance with ancient China was used to achieve unification on the Peninsula. Nevertheless the longevity of each kingdom was always tested on its ability to fight against foreign incursions from ancient China and especially Imperial Japan.<sup>17</sup>

During the Bronze Age, Gojoseon, the first civilization to appear in the Korean Peninsula, emerged in 2333 B.C. The mythical figure Dangun, which means chief priest, was credited to unite tribes living in the northern part of Korea and Manchuria. The introduction of iron during the Gojoseon period led to the development of agriculture and a centralized political structure, and the state became strong enough to maintain a trading relationship with the Han Empire of China, at least until it fell to the Han (108 B.C.). The fall of Gojoseon led to the rise of a number of states, such as Buyeo, Okjeo, Dongyea, and the Three Hans in the northern part of the Korean Peninsula. The Jin state was formed in the southern part of the Peninsula (300 B.C.). These states were a confederation of tribes and were based on the technology of iron.

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<sup>17</sup> Mark Bender, "Korean History," Ohio State University Department of East Asian Humanities, <http://people.cohums.ohio-state.edu/bender4/eall131/EAHReadings/module02/m02korean.html>, accessed February 2014.

With the decline of the Han, the Chinese influence gradually diminished in the Korean Peninsula, and the Three Kingdoms, Goguryeo, Bekjae, and Shilla emerged (57 B.C. – 667 A.D.). Goguryeo, located in the northern part of the Peninsula, became the strongest and largest state absorbing Buyeo into its territory. Bekjae and Shilla occupied the west and east sides of the southern part of the Peninsula. Each of the Three Kingdoms started as a federation of different tribes as seen in earlier forms of civilization. The common factor among the Three Kingdoms was the development of agriculture. The dependency on rice cultivation led to the formation of a rigid social hierarchy with a powerful ruling class. The Three Kingdoms used similar languages and shared cultural influences from China. Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism greatly affected the social and cultural atmosphere. During the Three Kingdoms period, Gaya emerged at the far south end of the Korean Peninsula. However, with Bekjae and Shilla as a constant threat, it was unable to evolve beyond a federation of tribes and eventually fell under the Unified Shilla.

The weakening of Goguryeo, the largest and most powerful of the Three Kingdoms, was a major milestone to the unifying of the Three Kingdoms. Shilla was able to defeat the Gaya state, Bekjae, and Goguryeo using its alliance with the Tang Dynasty of China (668 A.D), and became the Unified Shilla. After unification, the centralized ruling structure was enhanced by two new practices: the appointment of a successor during the King's reign, and the organization of six bureaus to oversee public affairs. The extended peace and prosperity resulted in cultural advancements, such as the construction of a large-scale Buddhist temple, Bulguksa, and an astronomical observatory, Chomsungdae. However, dependence on agricultural production gave much power to

regional warlords, and heavy taxation resulted in a series of farmer uprisings. Meanwhile, in the northern part of the Korean Peninsula, the descendants of Goguryeo managed to reappear in Manchuria as Balhae (698 A.D.), stretching up to the Amur River. This is thought to be the northernmost region that ancient Koreans have historically occupied. Balhae came to an end with the defeat of the Kitan of China (926 A.D.).

Unified Shilla declined as regional warlords claimed independence. Meanwhile, post-Bekjae and Goguryeo appeared until Wang-geon established Goryeo (918 A.D.). Wang-Geon unified the Korean Peninsula, and reclaimed a part of the Goguryeo territory. The name Goryeo was derived from Goguryeo, which also became the origin for the country name - Korea. As previous countries in the Korean Peninsula, Goryeo struggled against constant foreign attacks from the north. Goryeo relocated its capital city southward as a defense strategy against the Mongols. During this time, Tripitaka Koreana or Palman Daejanggyung, which means 81,258 letters of Buddhist scriptures, was created by monks whose spiritual yearning for peace led to the making of the magnificent volume of wooden letter blocks. The treasure has been stored at the Haeinsa Temple, a UNESCO World Heritage Site.<sup>18</sup>

Goryeo was overthrown by its general Yi Sung Gye, who successfully suppressed the Jin Dynasty of China in Manchuria, and Japanese pirates in the south of the Peninsula. The Yi Dynasty established Joseon in 1392. To strengthen his power, Yi upheld Confucianism as the national ideology as opposed to Buddhism to shed Goryeo's remaining influence. Civil and military officials were selected through open examination testing on Confucian literature. As a result, national institutions for scholars and private

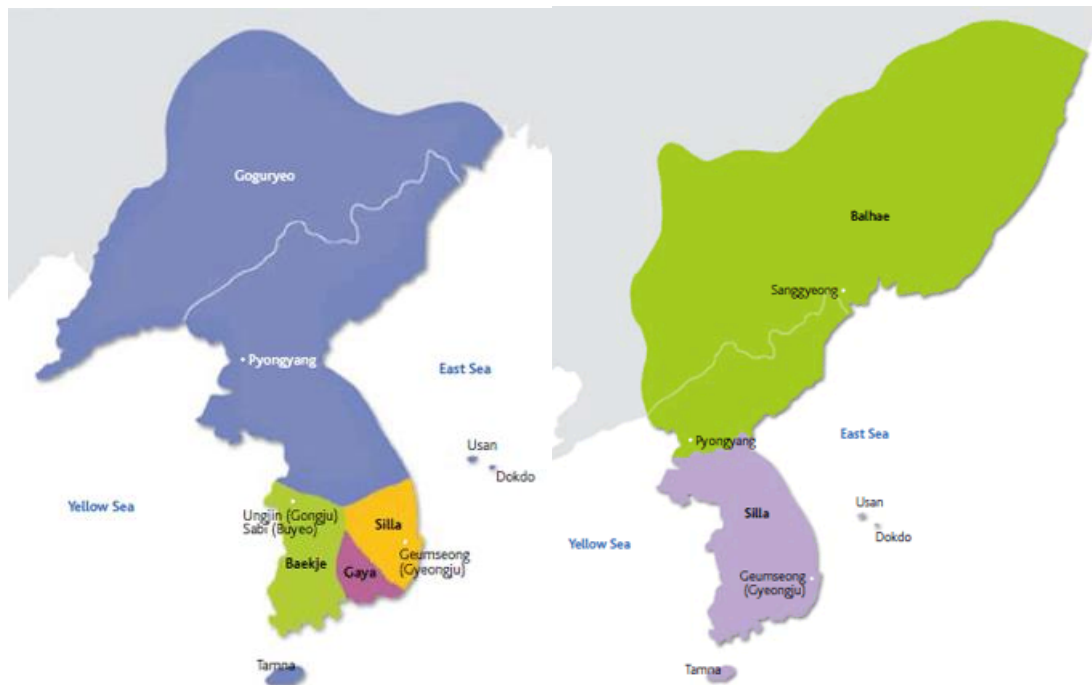
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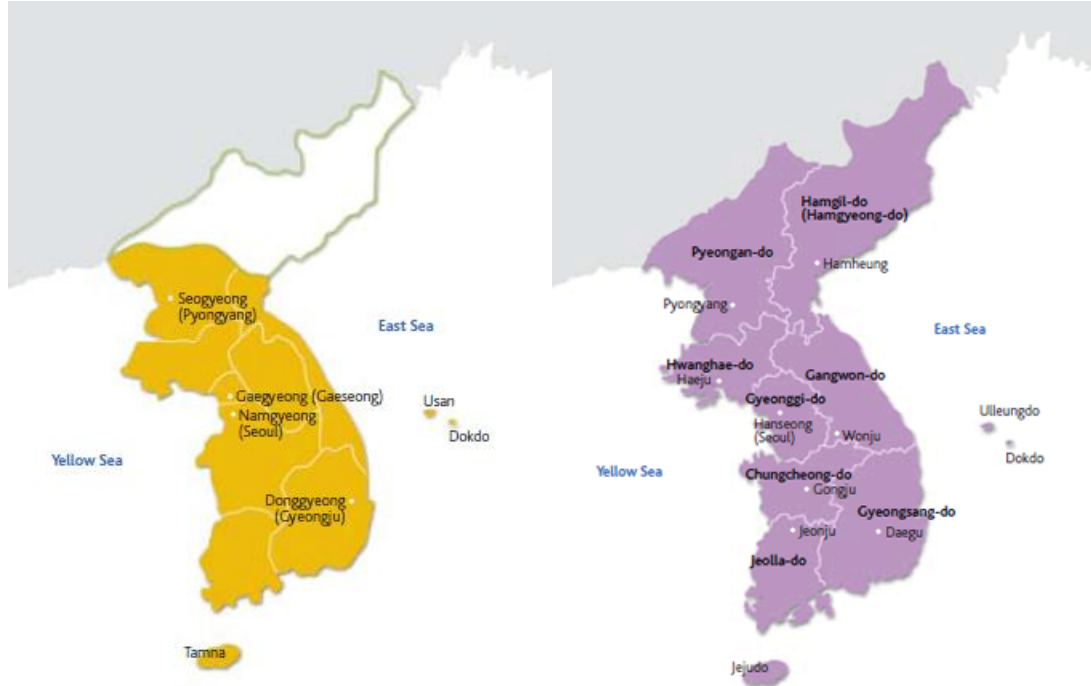
<sup>18</sup> UNESCO, "Haeinsa Temple Janggyeong Panjeon, the Depositories for the *Tripitaka Koreana* Woodblocks," <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/737>, accessed February 2014.

learning academies flourished, and a new elite class well versed in Confucianism called the Yang Ban appeared. Successful economic and agricultural reforms during the early years improved the lives of common people, and paved the way for remarkable advancements, such as the Korean alphabet, or Hangeul by King Sejeong. Prior to the creation of Hangeul, all written communications were in Chinese characters, and only those who received the proper education were literate. The phonetic-based letter system was easier to learn and became the language of common people. During Joseon, the first paper money was issued, and the comprehensive legal system based on the National Code, or Gyung Gook Dae Jun, further modernized the country. The central bureaucracy of the Yi Dynasty continued to thrive despite the rising of political factions by powerful regional landowners. However, Joseon was not immune to foreign incursions. A series of Japanese invasions, including the devastating attack from warlord Hideyoshi greatly undermined Joseon. Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Korea refrained from all trading and diplomatic relationships with foreign countries including Japan, US, France, and Russia. Korea was known as the “Hermit Kingdom.” This continued until the last empress of Joseon, Queen Min, opened the doors to foreign powers, believing that cordial diplomatic relationship with Western powers could act as a shield against Japan. However, after winning a battle with the Qing of China, Japan began its imperialist agenda in the Korean Peninsula by assassinating Queen Min (1895) and abducting King Gojong to Japan. It was the start of the Japanese colonization of Korea in 1910, the oppression lasting 35 years.

Imperial Japan exploited natural resources and the Korean people for the further expansion of its power under the Eulsa Treaty in 1905. Use of Korean language and

custom was banned, and people were forced to adopt Japanese surnames. In a desperate effort to avoid the unfair treaty, King Gojong sent his agents to the Hague Conference, the international peace convention held in 1907. However, Japan managed to deter the mission, and King Gojong's attempt to plea to other countries ultimately failed. Stripped of dignity and freedom, independence movements such as the March 1<sup>st</sup> demonstration took place. Secret resistance activists set up a provisional Korean government, led by Lee Seung Man in Shanghai, China. Lee Seung Man later became the first president of South Korea. There were also organized armed forces battling against the Japanese in Manchuria. Kim Il Sung, the founder of North Korea, was the main guerrilla leader during this struggle. Korea regained its sovereignty with the surrender of Japan and the end of World War II in 1945. A new type of ideological clash, however, was gradually arising in the Korean Peninsula during this period.





**Figure 1-1:** (Top left) The Three Kingdom Period - Goguryeo, Baekjae, and Shilla, 5<sup>th</sup> Century

**Figure 1-2:** (Top right) Balhae and Unified Shilla, 8<sup>th</sup> Century

**Figure 1-3:** (Bottom left) Goryeo, 11<sup>th</sup> Century

**Figure 1-4:** (Bottom right) Joseon, 15<sup>th</sup> Century  
(Korean Culture & Information Service)

## 2. Division of South and North Korea

During the Cairo Conference in 1943 the US, United Kingdom, and China agreed to put in military forces until the surrender of Japan. The declaration made at the conference also acknowledged the independence of Korea. After the defeat of Japanese, however, Korea was divided as the Soviet Union and the US had a shared interest of preventing Japan's potential aggression in the Korean Peninsula. At the Malta Conference in 1945, the US and the Soviet Union agreed to temporarily deploy its military forces until Korea successfully established its own government. An arbitrary line was drawn at the 38th parallel. The Soviet Union resided on the north side of the line, while the US took on the south side of the line.

With an escalation of the Cold War, the Korean Peninsula became the ground for political, military, and ideological struggles. Those who participated in the resistance activities during Japanese colonization had different ideas about how the Korean government should be organized after independence. The Soviet Union supported Kim Il Sung, who envisioned a unified Korea with a communist ideology. On the South, Rhee Seung Man, who had led the provisional government in Shanghai during the Japanese occupation, was preparing a democratic government supported by the US. Both leaders strongly believed that Korea should not be divided and that unification should be achieved under one ideology.

The UN-sponsored election was held in 1948, and Rhee Seung Man was elected as the first president of the Republic of Korea. However, supporters of Kim Il Sung did not acknowledge the result, which resulted in the formation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In the South, political controversy aroused as President Rhee claimed the intention of unification by force. The US, however, withdrew its military support from South Korea to deescalate the tension building up in the Pacific area. At the time, the US believed that the ROK should instead seek assistance from the UN.<sup>19</sup> Seizing the opportunity, Kim Il Sung attacked South Korea on July 25th, 1950, to achieve his goal of unifying Korea under the communist regime. The North Korean People's Army (NKPA) was backed up with tanks and artillery supplied by the Soviet Union. The better-equipped NKPA easily crushed the ROK army, pushing the frontier southward. The US then called on the Security Council of the UN to send troops to South Korea. The NKPA, however, was able occupy down to Busan, the port city located at the south end of the

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<sup>19</sup> United States Department of State, "US Relations with South Korea," <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2800.htm>, accessed February 2014.



Peninsula. It was the General McArthur's brilliant operation, a sudden attack at the port of Incheon located west of the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel that caught NKPA off guard. Dispersed force of NKPA was finally under control under the joint forces of ROK army and the US allies. The frontier was moved up past north of the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel to the border of Manchuria. At the time, a prediction of the unification of Korea under the democratic government prevailed.

Threatened by the victory of the US Allies at its border, Communist China intervened, taking the side of North Korea. The unexpected turn of events returned the frontier of the Korean War to where it first started, at the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel. The divisive line further solidified as the North Korean forces and the South Korean allies tightly held the positions of defense. In 1951, the armistice talk began. The result was an indefinite truce along the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel with the establishment of the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) where neither North Koreans nor South Koreans could enter. The Korean War was agreed to be on indefinite hold in 1953.

After the end of the Korean War, the DPRK and the ROK went on separate ways. Kim Il Sung established his own political ideology called Juche, or "self-reliance" as the principles of government. Juche was enforced to an extent of being a political religion and idolization of Kim Il Sung and his family.<sup>20</sup> The idea of Juche was translated into the three main principles - political independence, economic self-sustenance, and self-reliance in defense. Rather than being an application of Socialism or Communism, Juche became the tool for an execution of the policies and rules that solidified Kim Il Sung's control over people in North Korea.

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<sup>20</sup> Audrey Yoo, "North Korea rewrites rules to legitimise Kim family succession". *South China Morning Post*, October 16, 2013, <http://www.scmp.com/news/asia/article/1296394/democratic-peoples-monarchy-korea-north-korea-changes-ruling-principles>, accessed February 2014.

In the South, Rhee Seung Man continued his leadership as the first president of South Korea. However, his political repression of his opponents, such as the massacre of Communist rebels, and his authoritarian governing style became controversial. Rhee Seung Man attempted to amend the constitution to be re-elected solely upon popular vote. Rhee managed to serve as the president for four consecutive terms, however, a revolution led him to resign, and he was exiled to the US. In the following years, South Korea underwent economic hardship and political struggles against a series of military regimes until the 1960s.



**Figure 1-5:** (Left) Current map of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

**Figure 1-6:** (Right) Current map of the Republic of Korea  
(CIA World Factbook)

### 3. Current Status - Republic of Korea

After the Korean War, the ROK had a GDP equivalent to that of a Third World country, even lower than the DPRK's figure. It took several decades for South Korea to evolve into what it is today. During this turbulent time, the authoritarian president Park Jung Hee came with an agenda to put South Korea on track for rapid economic development. The former president Park had a controversial reputation for incidents of violent suppression of civilian demonstrations. At the same time, he was credited with

establishing the groundwork for rebuilding from the remains of the Korean War. The unparalleled economic progress was known as the “Miracle of the Hangang River” and became a model for developing countries.

Today, South Korea has become the 13<sup>th</sup> largest economy in the world with a growth rate of 2.8%.<sup>21</sup> The labor force was comprised of 25.86 million people, mostly engaged in industry and services sector by occupation.<sup>22</sup> The unemployment rate was 3.4%, in 2011,<sup>23</sup> while the population below poverty line was 16% in 2009.<sup>24</sup> The direct foreign investment was \$275.5 billion at the end of 2012.<sup>25</sup> The gross domestic product (GDP) amounted to \$1.666 trillion in 2013.<sup>26</sup> Due to the limitation of natural resources, over 50% of GDP relies on export, which was \$557.3 billion in 2013.<sup>27</sup> The major exporting partner countries were China, US, and Japan.<sup>28</sup> The composition of GDP consisted of 58.2% in the services sectors, 39.2% in industry, and 2.6% in agriculture.<sup>29</sup> The major export items were semiconductors, petrochemical product, petroleum products, vessels, and machinery in 2011.<sup>30</sup>

Exports are not only limited to tangible goods. Starting from the early 1990s, Korean pop culture products such as music, drama, and entertainers became a huge hit, first in Asia and then, on a global scale. In 2011, the cultural export amounted to \$4.2

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<sup>21</sup>Central Intelligence Agency, “The World Factbook – Korea, South,”

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ks.html>, accessed March 2014.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>United Nations, “Country Profile – Republic of Korea,”

<http://data.un.org/CountryProfile.aspx?crName=Republic%20of%20Korea>. Accessed March 2014.

<sup>24</sup>Central Intelligence Agency, “The World Factbook – Korea, South.”

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

<sup>28</sup>United Nations, “Country Profile – Republic of Korea.”

<sup>29</sup>Ibid.

<sup>30</sup>Korean Culture and Information Service, “About Korea – Economy,” <http://www.korea.net/AboutKorea/Economy/Overview>. Accessed March 2014.

billion.<sup>31</sup> The spread of Korean culture was also based on the advanced IT infrastructure. The South has the world's fastest average broadband speed and 39.4 million Internet users, ranking the 11<sup>th</sup> in the world. Having the 8<sup>th</sup> largest trade volume in 2011,<sup>32</sup> the ROK imports as much as it exports. Imports amounted to \$516.6 billion on items like machinery, electronics, oil, steel, transport equipment, organic chemicals, and plastics.<sup>33</sup>

South Korea has a mixed legal system combining European civil law, Anglo-American law, and Chinese classical thought.<sup>34</sup> Since it was created in 1948, the Constitution underwent 5 major revisions. The last revision was dated in 1987 and currently the South is referred to as the 6th Republic. Based on the Constitution three institutions work as part of the checks and balances system similar to that of the US. The President serves as the head of the Executive Branch. During earlier republic years, some presidents exploited their powers to extend presidential terms, which led to the constitutional changes. The Legislative power falls under the National Assembly. The National Assembly is comprised of 300 members who are the representatives of regional Gu districts. The judicial branch consists of the Supreme Court and the Constitutional Court. The 13 justices are selected by the President with the consent from the National Assembly. There are two major political parties, New Frontier Party or the Conservative, and Democratic Party or the Liberal.

While the economic expansion was the first priority, national defense was always an important issue for the ROK government. Since the Korean War ended in a truce,

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<sup>31</sup>Christian Oliver, "South Korea's K-Pop Takes Off in the West," The Financial Times, February 10, 2012, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/ddf11662-53c7-11e1-9eac-00144feabdc0.html#axzz2yGJkhz00>, accessed April 2014.

<sup>32</sup>Korean Culture and Information Service, "About Korea – Economy," <http://www.korea.net/AboutKorea/Economy/Overview>. Accessed March 2014.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>Central Intelligence Agency, "The World Factbook – Korea, South."

South Korea utilized its alliance with the US as well as its national manpower. Over 50 American army bases are installed throughout South Korea and joint military exercises with the South army are performed annually. The ROK armed forces are comprised of the army, navy, and air forces. Total 2.8% of GDP accounted for military expenditure ranking the 26<sup>th</sup> place in the world.<sup>35</sup> South Korea is also one of the two countries in the world that requires all eligible men to serve in a military for 21 to 24 months by law. They make up for a reserve force known as the ROK Civil Defense Corps.

#### 4. Current Status - Democratic People's Republic of Korea

Occupying the north side of the Peninsula, the DPRK is located in a temperate weather zone, having four distinct seasons with heavy rainfall during the summer.<sup>36</sup> The landscape is comprised mostly of hills and mountains. While there is 19% of arable land, this ratio is on decline.<sup>37</sup> Compared to the ROK, North Korea has a relatively adequate amount of natural resources such as coal, lead, tungsten, zinc, graphite, magnetite, iron ore, copper, gold, pyrites, salt, fluorspar, and hydropower.<sup>38</sup> Due to poor management of resources and deteriorated infrastructure, the North has environmental problems such as water pollution, inadequate supplies of potable water, waterborne disease, deforestation, soil erosion, and degradation.<sup>39</sup>

Although the DPRK government does not publish official data on its daily activities, available information can provide a snapshot of its people and society. The

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<sup>35</sup>Central Intelligence Agency, "The World Factbook – Korea, South."

<sup>36</sup>Central Intelligence Agency, "The World Factbook – Korea, North,"

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/kn.html>, accessed March 2014.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

population of North Korea was 24.5 million people in 2012 at the growth rate of 0.4%.<sup>40</sup> The population growth rate is higher than that of South Korea, yet the actual population is half the number of South Korea. The estimated breakdown of the population by age groups in 2014 is as follows: 21.5% are under 14 years, 16.3% are between 15 to 24 years, while the majority, 44% of population falls under the working age, which is 25 to 54 years.<sup>41</sup> Some 9.7% of population is between 55 to 64 years and the rest, 9.5% is 65 years and over.<sup>42</sup> The median age is 33.4 years, which is 7 years younger than median age of South Korea.<sup>43</sup> Approximately 14.51 births and 9.18 deaths per 1,000 people are estimated in 2014.<sup>44</sup> Both rates are much higher than those of South Korea. The infant mortality rate was 25.1 deaths per 1,000 live births in 2010.<sup>45</sup> Urban population is 60.3% of total population, and the major urban area is the capital, Pyongyang, with 2.843 million people in 2011.<sup>46</sup> The literacy rate in North Korea is 100%, which means every person in North Korea over 15 years of age is literate.<sup>47</sup> This may indicate that literacy of its citizen is important for North Korean government in reinforcing its political propaganda. Independent religious activities are forbidden. Instead, cult-like idolization of the founder Kim Il Sung and the Kim Family is encouraged. Those expressing opposition will be sent to the prison camps. However, to create the false impression of having religious freedom, the government approves the existence of some religious

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<sup>40</sup>United Nations, "Country Profile – Democratic People's Republic of Korea," [http://data.un.org/CountryProfile.aspx?crName=Democratic People's Republic of Korea](http://data.un.org/CountryProfile.aspx?crName=Democratic+People's+Republic+of+Korea), accessed April 2014.

<sup>41</sup>Central Intelligence Agency, "The World Factbook – Korea, North."

<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>United Nations, "Country Profile – Democratic People's Republic of Korea."

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

<sup>47</sup>Central Intelligence Agency, "The World Factbook – Korea, North."

groups, such as Christian and the indigenous Korean religion Chondogyo, which means the Religion of the Heavenly Way.

The legal system of the North is a civil law system based on the Prussian model with influences from Japanese tradition and the Communist legal theory. Although all power is concentrated on its current leader Kim Jung Un, North Korea still has three entities - the executive branch, legislative branch, and judicial branch. The executive branch has absolute power demonstrated by the dictatorship of the Kim Family. Since December 2011, the third generation of the founder, Kim Jong Un has served as the first secretary of the Supreme People's Assembly of Korea. Kim also holds the position of the Chief Commander of the Korean People's Army. The legislative branch is represented by the Supreme People's Assembly or Ch'oego Inmin Heoui, which is comprised of 687 members, who are selected by the ruling party. The ruling party approves a list of candidates to be elected and North Korean citizens have to "vote." Election results usually go without any opposition because it actually serves as a tool for weeding out the ideological defectors. It is interesting to note that the DPRK government requires its citizens to go through the election process, which embodies the freedom of choice, even if it is a fairytale. The election result, which is 100% affirmative, is used to further validate its political regime. The judicial branch is represented by the Supreme Court or Central Court, which consists of the chief justice and two "People's Assessors." Judges are elected by the Supreme People's Assembly for 5-year terms. Government regulations are also reinforced at the subordinate level of courts and there are provincial, municipal, military, and people's courts. There is only one major political party in North Korea. The Korean Worker's Party, under its leader is Kim Jong Un's control, also oversees the

other minors parties, such as Chondoist Chongu Party and Social Democratic Party. Although not active in the international community, North Korea belongs to some international organizations such as the UN, the UN Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) regional forum. The complete list of organizations that the North belongs to is as follows; ARF, FAO, G-77, ICAO, ICC, ICRM, IFAD, IFRC, IHO, IMO, IOC, IPU, ISO, ITSO, ITU, NAM, UN, UNCTAD, UNESCO, UNIDO, UNWTO, UPU, WFTU, WHO, WIPO, and WMO.<sup>48</sup> The DPRK is not actively involved in the international community and its diplomatic relationships are limited to China, Russia, and Pakistan. There is no diplomatic representation from the US. However, the Swedish embassy in Pyongyang represents the US as consular protecting power. In America, North Korea has a permanent mission to the UN in New York.

After the Korean War, the North was in a better economic situation than the ROK. Based on Kim Il Sung's philosophy of self-reliance or Juche, the DPRK people were encouraged to be part of the collective labor force in building the strongest nation in the world. The imagery of North Korea being the most prosperous nation was constantly fed to its citizen as motivation. During the early years, the sustenance of North Korea was possible due to aid from the Soviet Russia and China. However, the continued large-scale military spending slowed the development of crucial industries and improvement of civilian life. Inadequate response to the famine in 1995 was critical and resulted in nationwide starvation, leaving the citizens in the North in poor living conditions. Since 2002, the government has allowed private farming and small-scale farmer's markets to increase the agricultural output. In 2009, the government carried out the redenomination

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<sup>48</sup>Central Intelligence Agency, "The World Factbook – Korea, North."



of currency, only to bring about inflation. In recent years, the DPRK has acknowledged the importance of foreign investment for its survival. It established bilateral economic cooperation with South Korea by establishing joint economic ventures such as the Kaesong Industrial Zone.

The current economic standing of North Korea can be best described as deficient. The total estimated amount of GDP was \$12,385 million in 2011.<sup>49</sup> The GDP per capita was \$506 at the growth rate of -0.1% in 2011.<sup>50</sup> Most GDP was created from agriculture (23.4%) and industry (47.2%) sectors, while 29.4% was from the services sector in 2012.<sup>51</sup> The source of GDP came from the industries of military products, machine building, electric power, chemicals, mining of natural resources, metallurgy, textiles, food processing, and tourism.<sup>52</sup> Agricultural products included rice, corn, potatoes, soybeans, pulses, cattle, pigs, pork, and eggs.<sup>53</sup> The total estimated labor force was 12.6 million in 2011, comprised of 71.6% of female population and 83.7% of male population.<sup>54</sup> Of the labor force, 35% was reported to have worked in agriculture, while the rest worked in industry and the services sectors in 2008.<sup>55</sup> Export is limited but currently it amounts to \$3.954 billion in 2012, ranking 122th in the world.<sup>56</sup> Exported products included minerals, metallurgical products, manufactures including armaments, textiles, agricultural and fishery products.<sup>57</sup> Imports amounted to \$4.828 billion in 2012,

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<sup>49</sup>United Nations, "Country Profile – Democratic People's Republic of Korea."

<sup>50</sup>Ibid.

<sup>51</sup>Central Intelligence Agency, "The World Factbook – Korea, North."

<sup>52</sup>Ibid.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid.

<sup>54</sup>United Nations, "Country Profile – Democratic People's Republic of Korea."

<sup>55</sup>Central Intelligence Agency, "The World Factbook – Korea, North."

<sup>56</sup>Ibid.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid.

ranking 130<sup>th</sup> place in the world.<sup>58</sup> Imported goods were petroleum, cooking coal, machinery and equipment, textiles, and grain.<sup>59</sup> China and South Korea have been the only trading partners to the North. Two third of export and import occurred with China, while the rest of the exchange was carried out with the South.<sup>60</sup>

The DPRK provides controlled channels of information to its citizens. Independent media is nonexistent and radios and TVs are pre-tuned to government stations. The Korean Worker's Party controls and operates the Korean Central Broadcasting Station, and state-run station, the Voice Korea. The government restricts its citizens listening to all foreign broadcasts. The freedom house index for North Korea is 7.0 which translates to being "not free," compared to the rating of the ROK (2.0) and the US (1.0), which translates to being "free."<sup>61</sup> The main communication infrastructure is telephone lines and there were 1.18 million main lines in use in 2011, ranking 70<sup>th</sup> place compare to the rest of the world.<sup>62</sup> The quality of telephone system is adequate, which is based on nationwide fiber-optic network. Mobile cellular phone users were 1.7 million in 2012 and the technology was provided by Orascom Telecom Holding, an Egyptian company which launched mobile service in 2008 for the Pyongyang area.<sup>63</sup> Intranet exists within the North but restricted to chats, e-mails, and government approved websites mainly used among universities and institutions.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>Ibid.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid.

<sup>61</sup>Freedom House, "2014 Freedom in the World," [http://www.freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-world#U04S0InD\\_IU](http://www.freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-world#U04S0InD_IU), accessed April 2014.

<sup>62</sup>Central Intelligence Agency, "The World Factbook – Korea, North."

<sup>63</sup>Ibid.

<sup>64</sup>Jessica Chasmar, "Report sheds light on 'Bright' - North Korea's version of Internet," *The Washington Times*, February 3, 2014, <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2014/feb/3/report-sheds-light-bright-north-koreas-Internet>, accessed April 2014.

The DPRK has been spending much of its national resources and human capital on its military forces. The Korean People's Army which is comprised of ground forces, navy, air force, and civil security forces. According to the annual publication from the Ministry of National Defense of South Korea there are about 1 million in the ground forces, 60 thousand in the navy, and 110 thousand in the air force.<sup>65</sup> There are total 1.2 million soldiers and this number is twice as much as the number of the South soldiers.<sup>66</sup> The International Institute for Strategic Studies revealed in 2010 that North Korea has the 4th largest army per population (49 military personnel per every 1000 people) in the world, which demonstrates the level of concentration of armed forces.<sup>67</sup> Approximately 22.3% of GDP was spent as military expenditure, which was \$8.21 billion in 2008.<sup>68</sup> Compare to the ROK's military expenditure, which was \$26.1 billion, the North's spending amount is less than one third of South Korea's number. However, the DPRK employs the "asymmetrical strategy," which focuses on the weak point of the South forces to make the most of their resources. North Korea's asymmetrical strategy was not considered a threat until the recent incident of sinking the ROK navy corvette Choen'an. The North is equipped with about 70 submarines including 1,830-ton Romeo-class and 330-ton Shark-class submarines.<sup>69</sup> Ballistic missiles are another part of the asymmetric strategy and the firing of missiles for sake of testing is used every now and then to send a message to South Korea and its allies.

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<sup>65</sup>Lee Byung Shik, "NLL as the Actual Divisive Lin between North and Nouth Korea," *YTN*, [http://www.ytn.co.kr/\\_ln/0101\\_201212211602011710](http://www.ytn.co.kr/_ln/0101_201212211602011710), accessed April 2014.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid.

<sup>67</sup>The Economist Online, "Armed Forces: Armied to the Hilt," <http://www.economist.com/blogs/dailychart/2011/07/armed-forces>, accessed April 2014.

<sup>68</sup>The Guardian, "South v North Korea: how do the two countries compare?," <http://www.theguardian.com/world/datablog/2013/apr/08/south-korea-v-north-korea-compared>, accessed April 2014.

<sup>69</sup>The Chosun Ilbo, "New Threat from N.Korea's 'Asymmetrical' Warfare," April, 29, 2010, [http://english.chosun.com/site/data/html\\_dir/2010/04/29/2010042901362.html](http://english.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2010/04/29/2010042901362.html), accessed April 2014.

**Table 1:** Comparison between South Korea and North Korea (CIA World Factbook, UN Data)

CATEGORY	COUNTRY	South Korea	North Korea
People & Society	Population	49,039,986 (2014 est.)	24,851,627 (2014 est.)
	Population Growth Rate	0.16% (2014 est.)	0.53% (2014 est.)
	Population by Age		
	0-14 years	14.1% (male 3,603,943/female 3,328,634)	21.5% (male 2,709,580/female 2,628,456)
	15-24 years	13.5% (male 3,515,271/female 3,113,257)	16.3% (male 2,041,861/female 1,997,413)
	25-54 years	47.3% (male 11,814,872/female 11,360,962)	44% (male 5,465,889/female 5,456,850)
	55-64 years	12.7% (male 3,012,051/female 3,081,480)	9.7% (male 1,007,667/female 1,127,455)
	65 years and over	12.3% (male 2,570,433/female 3,639,083)	9.5% (male 826,175/female 1,590,281)
	Birth Rate	8.26 births/1,000 population (2014 est.)	14.51 births/1,000 population (2014 est.)
	Death Rate	6.63 deaths/1,000 population (2014 est.)	9.18 deaths/1,000 population (2014 est.)
	Infant Mortality Rate	3.93 deaths/1,000 live births	24.5 deaths/1,000 live births
	Urban Population	83.2% of total population (2011 est.)	60.3% of total population (2011 est.)
Major Urban Cities	SEOUL 9.778 million (2009 est.) Busan 3.439 million (2009 est.) Incheon 2.572 million (2009 est.) Daegu 2.458 million (2009 est.) Daejeon 1.497 million (2009 est.)	PYONGYANG 2.843 million (2011 est.)	
Literacy Rate	97.9% (2002)	100% (2008)	
Economy	GDP	\$1.12 trillion (2011 est.)	\$12.4 billion (2011 est.)
	GDP per Capita	\$23,000 (2011 est.)	\$500 (2011 est.)
	GDP Growth Rate	2% (2012 est.)	1.3% (2012 est.)
	GDP Breakdown		
	Agriculture	2.6% (2013 est.)	23.4% (2012 est.)
	Industry	39.2% (2013 est.)	47.2% (2012 est.)
	Services	58.2% (2013 est.)	29.4% (2012 est.)
	Labor Force	25.86 million (2013 est.)	12.6 million (2012 est.)
	Export	\$547.9 billion (2012 est.)	\$3.954 billion (2012 est.)
	Exporting Goods	semiconductors, wireless telecommunications equipment, motor vehicles, computers, steel, ships, petrochemicals	minerals, metallurgical products, manufactures (including armaments), textiles, agricultural and fishery products
Import	\$519.6 billion (2012 est.)	\$4.828 billion (2012 est.)	
Importing Good	machinery, electronics and electronic equipment, oil, steel, transport equipment, organic chemicals, plastics	petroleum, coking coal, machinery and equipment, textiles, grain	
Freedom House Index	2.0 / Free	7.0 / Not Free	
Military	Military Expenditures as % of GDP	2.8% (2008)	22.3% (2008 est.)
	Military Spending	\$26.1 billion (2008)	\$8.213 billion (2008 est.)

## IV. DPRK Issues

### 1. Nuclear Weapons

#### A. Development

The DPRK initiated nuclear development in 1964. The nuclear weapon was one way to rebuild and strengthen its military after the loss of the Korean War. The nation discovered uranium deposits in the Yongbyon area and assembled the first nuclear research center. The set up was helped by the Soviet Union. So far, there have been a total of three nuclear tests in 2006, 2009 and 2013. There have also been ballistic missile tests in the same years. The missiles are capable of carrying nuclear bombs to long-distance destinations. Despite a significant amount of pressure from the international community, North Korea never gave up its desire to obtain nuclear weapons. There have been pauses to the process followed up by a series of negotiations. Its ultimate goal, however, has always been to become a nuclear state.<sup>70</sup>

#### B. The Need

The DPRK wants nuclear weapons for two specific reasons. One, the arsenals provide the nation with guaranteed security. Throughout the entire history of the world, no nuclear state has ever been attacked by another nation. North Korea often argues that Iraq would have not been invaded by the US if it carried nuclear weapons.<sup>71</sup> It is afraid that it could be the next Iraq. The North wishes to become a nuclear weapon state and protect and defend itself permanently from countries that possess not only nuclear weapons, but also powerful military forces.

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<sup>70</sup> Chamberlin, Paul F, "Six-Party Talks: Time for Change," *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs* (2007): 63.

<sup>71</sup> Lee, Eric Yong-Joong, "The Six-Party Talks and The North Korean Nuclear Dispute Resolution under the IAEA Safeguards Regime." *Asian-Pacific Law & Policy Journal* Vol. 5 (2004): 106.

The second reason is because the weapons give the DPRK great bargaining power. North Korea presented the nuclear card during negotiations to receive economic benefits from other states. The nuclear development has continuously brought in luxury goods for the leader, the Kim Family, living expenses for the government officials, and rice for the civilians. In return, it was obligated to terminate the program. Nuclear weapons, therefore, serve as a huge bargaining chip against nations that do not want to see North Korea as a nuclear state such as Japan, the US, and the ROK.<sup>72</sup>

### C. Current Status

There is one question that must be answered before moving forward. How far has the DPRK developed its nuclear weapons program? It seems like no one has the correct response to this puzzle except North Korea. The question is important because it can identify the North as a nuclear state. There is also a difference between a nuclear development program and nuclear weapons development. The former program is aimed more towards generating nuclear energy. It is necessary to find out precisely which area North Korea is presently concentrating on.

## 2. NPT & IAEA

### A. Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

#### a. The Treaty

The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) was elected on July 1, 1968 and went into effect on March 5, 1970. The overall purpose was to avoid a nuclear war and the great danger it could present to the general public. After the World War II and during the Cold War, the number one priority of each state was national security. Most countries desired to achieve this goal with a nuclear weapon. The United

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid, p.120

Nations (UN) disliked the idea and wished to stop the spread of nuclear weapons and nuclear technology through a legally binding multilateral commitment. The movement was led by so-called Depository Governments, consisting of Russia, Northern Island, the United States, and the United Kingdom.

Under the agreement, countries with nuclear weapons are obligated to discontinue further development, countries without such weapons should not attempt to acquire them, and all countries have the right to obtain peaceful nuclear energy. These three are the core concepts of the Treaty. Each party is heavily monitored by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) for their cooperation to the Treaty and strict compliance to the conditions.<sup>73</sup> The Treaty also upholds the 1963 Partial Test Ban Treaty, which prohibits all nuclear weapons tests (in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water) except underground.

On May 11, 2005, the Treaty was extended indefinitely. A total of one hundred ninety countries have joined the Treaty. The countries include the five permanent members of the UN Security Council (Council): China, Russia, France, the United States, and the United Kingdom. Some notable countries that are non-parties to the Treaty are India, Israel, Pakistan, and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK). The first three never signed the agreement and the DPRK withdrew in 2003.

#### b. Articles

There are eleven articles in the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Some of them are worth examining. Article I fosters nuclear-weapon states not to transfer nuclear explosive devices to non-nuclear-weapon states or help them manufacture nuclear weapons. Article

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<sup>73</sup> The International Atomic Energy Agency. "About Us," The IAEA Website <http://www.iaea.org/About/>, March 2014, accessed March 2014.

II commands non-nuclear-weapon states not to receive any nuclear explosive devices or seek assistance to produce nuclear weapons. Article III demands all parties to fulfill the IAEA's safeguard system. This clause is further explained in Article IV, which permits countries to function research, production and use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. The article also authorizes the exchange of scientific and technological information and materials for peaceful means.

Article VI commands nuclear disarmament and complete cessation of nuclear weapon manufacture. Article VII promotes regional treaties that confirm the territory as a denuclearized zone. Article VIII requests the parties to hold a conference every five years to ensure the operation of the NPT. Article IX defines a nuclear-weapon state as a country that possessed nuclear explosive devices prior to January 1, 1967. Lastly, Article X gives the parties their right to withdraw from the Treaty with three months advance notice served to all other countries and the UN Security Council.

#### c. DPRK

On January 10, 2003, the DPRK declared that it was withdrawing from the Non-Proliferation Treaty and was no longer bound to the Safeguard Agreement it made with the IAEA. North Korea joined the Treaty in 1985 as a non-nuclear-weapon state and became the first country ever to pull out from the pact. The North had once in 1993 stated its desire to remove itself from the NPT regime. The US, however, engaged in a bilateral negotiation with the DPRK and enforced the country to change the plan just days before the withdrawal went into effect.<sup>74</sup> The negotiation involved a promise from Washington to supply aid including oil shipments.

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<sup>74</sup> The United Nations, "The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons," <http://www.un.org/en/conf/npt/2010/npttext.shtml>, accessed March, 2014.



The withdrawal was chiefly due to the 9/11 terrorists attacks and US invasion of Iraq. US President George W. Bush identified North Korea as an axis of evil, and US diplomacy towards the North was hostile. The DPRK asserted that it felt threatened and saw a possible American military attack. It said that it had to breach the disarmament agreement and strengthen its national security. Under the international customary law doctrine, North Korea was expected to fulfill the good faith requirement and prove that the claimed US aggression put the country in actual danger. The Non-Proliferation Treaty, however, did not specify exact standards to determine that a state proceeded in good faith.

## B. IAEA

### a. Organization

The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was founded in 1957. The IAEA's core theme is famously known as "Atoms for Peace."<sup>75</sup> Its main areas of works in the nuclear field are safety and security, science and technology, and safeguards and verification. The Agency is an independent international organization and runs within the UN family. It reports to the UN General Assembly annually and the Security Council on special occasions when it recognizes threats to global peace and security.

The IAEA is headquartered in Vienna, Austria. It has regional offices in Tokyo, Geneva, Toronto, and New York. It also has research centers and scientific laboratories in Italy and Monaco. The Agency hires over 2,300 professionals and is led by Director General Yukiya Amano, a Japanese native who served at the Japanese Foreign Ministry for over thirty years. Its financial resources are generated from the regular budget and voluntary contributions.

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<sup>75</sup> The International Atomic Energy Agency.

## b. Duties

As of November 2012, the IAEA has one hundred fifty eight member states. It supports its members in five distinct nuclear subjects. The Agency's Department of Nuclear Sciences and Applications helps countries apply nuclear techniques in agriculture, human health, water resource management, marine environment and industrial applications. Its Department of Nuclear Energy promotes the safe use of nuclear power. The Department of Nuclear Safety and Security works to prevent the harmful effects and possible damage of ionizing radiation on human beings and the environment. One of the IAEA's most important sectors, the Department of Safeguards, relies on its inspectors to end the increase of nuclear arsenals. Lastly, the Department of Technical Cooperation assists countries in enhancing nuclear technology.

## c. North Korea

On January 30, 1992, the DPRK signed an agreement with the IAEA in Vienna, Austria. The agreement was largely based on the three focal features of the NPT. North Korea consented not to build nuclear bombs and to attain them from another state. It had to permit the IAEA personnel to inspect the facilities and show that no development existed. The country was entitled to gain technology for nuclear power. The agreement was thirty pages long and enclosed ninety-eight articles. Every article was extremely precise and organized in a very detailed manner.

## 3. Sanctions

### A. Sanction Types

#### a. Asset Freeze

There are a number of sanctions imposed on the DPRK. Freezing of funds and economic resources is the major one. Both organizations, the UN and the EU, designed a list called 'restrictions on admission'. The list contains names of individuals and 35 entities that international banks and financial institutions should not do business with.<sup>76</sup> From time to time, the organizations also request that the banks and institutions freeze the accounts that belong to North Korea, so that the nation is restricted from getting free access to its capital and funds that are linked to its nuclear program. The other idea is to also stop its debt defaults and illicit activities including counterfeiting currency and laundering money. If the banks and financial institutions did not follow these instructions, the organizations demanded the national governments to close down the institutions. The banks and institutions are exempt from the regulation if they see the money is spent on humanitarian and development purposes or find clear evidence that the resources are not related to proliferation objectives.

#### b. Financial Support

International banks and financial institutions are prohibited from offering financial assistance and concessional loans to the North. The UN and EU member states also must closely watch the DPRK banks that are located within their territories. This monitoring includes all payment records and transactions that are suspected to contribute to the country's nuclear weapon programs, as well as ballistic missile and weapons of mass destruction programs. North Korea cannot open new banks or branches in the

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<sup>76</sup> David Casa, "Imposing EU Sanctions on North Korea." *The Malta Independent*, April, 13, 2013. <http://www.independent.com.mt/articles/2013-04-13/opinions/imposing-eu-sanctions-on-north-korea-1380417541/>, accessed February 2014.

member states. Its banks cannot establish joint ventures and take ownership interest in global banks. International banks also cannot start businesses in the North.

#### c. Export & Import Restrictions

Any kind of arms trading with the DPRK is limited. This includes not only the goods or equipment but also technology that could be utilized to develop nuclear and other weaponries. Iran is one of the biggest trading partners of North Korea in terms of armory. Both nations also sell military products to other countries. They seem to find ways to make sales in the black market. The UN and the EU member states cannot export gold, diamonds, precious metals, or other luxury products to North Korea. The items are largely wanted by the upper-class citizens of the North. Both organization sanctions, however, do not specify exactly which items are defined as luxury goods. The exemption rule applies here as well and export items are qualified as long as they are for humanitarian aid.

#### d. Shipping & Cargo Inspections

Shipping and air cargoes are a crucial portion of the DPRK economy. This inspection requirement therefore impacts the nation considerably. It is prohibited to sell, operate, lease, and insure North Korean vessels. The member states have a right to inspect any North Korean ship if they have reasonable grounds to believe that the ship carries suspected items. The vessel can be directed to the nearest port for careful inspection. The North airline company must give pre-arrival and pre-departure information. If vessels or airline carriers do not cooperate, the member states do not allow them to dock or land in their territories. The transportation companies of the member states also do not attempt to deliver the prohibited items for the nation.

## E. Restrictions on Admission & Residence

The UN and the EU member states do not allow entrance of DPRK people who are related to its weapon development practice. This includes non-DPRK citizens who get paid and work under direction of the North Korea government. This also includes diplomats of the North and the member states can reject based on clear evidence that the envoys are working to advance the weaponry. The UN and the EU lists contain 29 individuals and these people are banned from residing in the member states as well.

## 6. Energy & Other Restrictive Measures

Teaching and training the DPRK nationals who could support the military system is another notable sanction. Universities and educational institutions must carefully select its students to avoid any scientists and engineers who might help the weapon development in North Korea.

Both the UN and EU do not consider energy as one of the constraints imposed on the North. Many experts believe that this should be included in the list since the nation is extremely vulnerable in this field and frequently experience energy shortages. China is the largest importer of energy to the North. It would be difficult to break this relationship. But, if the UN and the EU controls the energy trading to the DPRK, they would have a huge bargaining chip and would be able to easily bring the country to the Six-Party Talk.<sup>77</sup>

## B. UN Security Council Resolutions

### a. Resolution 825 (1993)

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<sup>77</sup> Cha, Victor. *The Impossible State: North Korea, Past and Future*. (New York: HarperCollins, 2012), p.37

There are seven key UN Security Council resolutions that review North Korean issues. The first one the Security Council discussed was the Resolution 825 on May 11, 1993. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the DPRK delivered a written notification explaining its intention to withdraw from the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. It further notified its unwillingness to continue cooperating with the International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards agreement. It did not offer specific reasons for the withdrawal.

The Security Council was very concerned about the letter. Until that point, North Korea had failed to fully comply with the Treaty and the IAEA could not completely inspect and verify any existence of nuclear weapons and nuclear explosive devices. The Council encouraged the IAEA and all the Security Council members to influence the DPRK to terminate the notice and reaffirm its commitment to the safeguards agreement.<sup>78</sup>

b. Resolution 1695 (2006)

The Council adopted Resolution 1695 on July 15, 2006 and soon after the DPRK tested a series of ballistic missiles. The action surprised most member states. In September 2005, the Six Party Talks made a joint statement that North Korea plans to abandon all existing nuclear weapons and programs and return to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the IAEA safeguards agreement. (The Six Party Talks was held for the fourth time in Beijing, China with participating diplomats from China, Japan, North and South Korea, Russia, and the United States.)<sup>79</sup> In return, the parties promised to provide energy and economic assistance to the DPRK.

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<sup>78</sup> The United States Department of State, "UN Security Council Resolution 1540," The State Department Website. <http://www.state.gov/t/isn/c18943.htm>, accessed February 2014.

<sup>79</sup> The United States Department of State, "Six-Party Talks, Beijing, China," The State Department Website. <http://www.state.gov/p/eap/regional/c15455.htm>, accessed March 2014.

The majority of the members condemned North Korea and agreed that the launches constituted a clear threat to international peace and security. Japan was especially displeased with the fact that there was no adequate advance notice and the missiles landed near its territorial sea. China and Russia, on the other hand, took the neutral stance and insisted that any aggressive reaction would aggravate tension and the situation should be resolved through dialogue and negotiations. The two nations are usually very cautious when dealing with matters regarding the DPRK, because of their economic ties with the country.<sup>80</sup> The spokesman of North Korea argued that the test was perfectly justified and conducted as a part of routine military exercises to increase its capacity for self-defense.

The Council sent a strong message to the DPRK and urged its immediate return to the Six Part Talks without any preconditions. The Council members also decided to strictly prevent the transfer of missiles or missile-related equipment and technology to North Korea and the procurement of the same materials from the nation, as well as the movement of any financial resources that aims to support its missile or weapons of mass destruction programs.<sup>81</sup>

c. Resolution 1718 (2006)

Just three month after the missile launch, the Security Council re-gathered on October 14, 2006 to talk about North Korea. This time the main topic was even more devastating – nuclear testing. On October 3<sup>rd</sup>, the DPRK foreign affairs representative made a statement of a possible nuclear testing. The President of the Security Council

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Jayshree Bajoria, “The Six-Party Talks on North Korea’s Nuclear Program,” *Council on Foreign Relations*, February 29, 2012. <http://www.cfr.org/proliferation/six-party-talks-north-koreas-nuclear-program/p13593>, accessed March 2014.

soon responded to the announcement and warned that the test, if carried out, would bring serious consequences. Nonetheless, the North performed the test on October 9<sup>th</sup>.

Acting under the United Nations Charter Chapter VII Article 41, the Council on this occasion chose to impose sanctions on North Korea. The article notes that, when a state causes harm to worldwide peace, the Council may select, as an alternative to the use of armed force, certain measures to resist the country's inappropriate actions.<sup>82</sup> The measures may well be economic restrictions.

The Council prohibited all member states to maintain trade relations with the DPRK. It requested multinational financial institutions to freeze North Korean assets. There were, in addition, travel bans to the country and permission to inspect North Korean shipping cargoes. The Council emphasized that the constraints had exemptions and should not affect humanitarian needs. It also established a committee to analyze the effectiveness of the sanctions and to make adjustments and toughen the restraints if necessary. China again acted out of self-interest and had objection to the right to search clause.

#### d. Resolution 1874 (2009)

The DPRK launched another missile on April 13, 2009. The President of the Security Council made a statement that North Korea should avoid firing additional missiles and comply with Resolution 1718.<sup>83</sup> On May 25<sup>th</sup>, the North conducted extra nuclear tests. Resolution 1874 was formed in response on June 12<sup>th</sup>. The resolution was an intensified version of Resolution 1718. The goal was to tighten the sanctions proposed in 1718.

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<sup>82</sup> The United Nations, "Security Council Resolutions," The UN Website. <http://www.un.org/en/sc/documents/resolutions/index.shtml>, accessed March 2014.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.



Resolution 1874 allowed the member states to destroy the DPRK cargoes and vessels after careful inspection or in case there were reasonable grounds to believe that the shipments may contain nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons or other WMD. The resolution forbade any grants and financial assistance or concessional loans to North Korea, except for developmental aid that directly benefits civilian needs. It created the Panel of Experts whose sole objective was to assist the Committee, which was set up during Resolution 1718, and to evaluate whether the sanctions were working properly. It also advised the North to join the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty.<sup>84</sup>

#### e. Recent Resolutions

Following 1874, there were six more resolutions that managed the DPRK problems: Resolution 1928 in June 2010, Resolution 1985 in June 2011, Resolution 2050 in June 2012, Resolution 2087 in 2013, Resolution 2094 in 2013, and Resolution 2141 in 2014. Resolution 2087 and 2094 condemned the recent missile launch and nuclear test, and the other three resolutions extended the mandate of the Expert Panel, as it was designed to operate on an annual basis. The panel was required to oversee the status and file reports with their findings and recommendations.

#### C. EU Sanctions

Sanctions have become the European Union's popular foreign-policy tool. The EU is generally known as a soft power organization. It has been, however, very aggressive with its sanctions. The EU currently forces sanctions on 26 nations and some on particular terrorist groups, business entities and individuals. The total number of sanctions increased from 22 in 2010 to 69 in 2011.<sup>85</sup> Most sanctions are directed at Syria,

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> David Casa, David Casa, "Imposing EU Sanctions on North Korea."

Iran, Libya, Burma, and the DPRK. The rise of sanction implementation indicates that the EU is now more involved in world affairs than previous years. The organization has recently been updating the old sanctions to fit today's environment.

The increase also deleted the soft image of the EU. It uses restrictions to cause damages to the target and prevent it from taking a certain action and follow the common international norm. The targeted country or group usually violates the value and the mission of the EU and the security of the global community. The first one is called 'democracy sanctions' and the latter is named 'security sanctions'. The EU applies the democracy sanctions when nations violate international human rights or when countries should adopt more of democratic governance. For example, the EU imposed sanctions on Uzbekistan following the Andijan massacre. It also has relied on the security sanctions to discourage actions that could cause serious consequences in the worldwide community. North Korean weapon development is the perfect case.

The EU sanctions on the North go hand-in-hand with the UN Security Council Resolutions. They are both very identical to one another. The EU sanctions frequently mentions the UNSC Resolutions and pretty much follows the UN Resolutions. The major difference is the listed individuals and entities that the member states should be aware of and should not do business with unless the matters are related to humanitarian aid. The table below lists all EU constraints imposed on the DPRK. They all deal with armory and are categorized as security sanctions.

**Table 2:** EU Sanctions on North Korea (European Union)

Sanction Title	Sanction Number	Date	Cause	Type
Council Common Position	2006/795/CFSP	11/20/2006	Missile Launch	New
Council Regulation	329/2007	03/27/2007	Nuclear Test	New
Commission	117/2008	01/28/2008	Nuclear Test	Amendment

Regulation				329/2007
Commission Regulation	389/2009	05/12/2009	Nuclear Test	Amendment 329/2007
Council Common Position	2009/573/CFSP	07/27/2009	New Nuclear Test	Amendment 2006/795/CFSP
Commission Regulation	689/2009	07/29/2009	Nuclear Test	Amendment 329/2007
Council Regulation	1283/2009	12/22/2009	Nuclear Test	Amendment 329/2007
Council Decision	2009/1002/CFSP	12/22/2009	Nuclear Test / Missile Launch	Amendment 2006/795/CFSP
Council Regulation	329/2007	06/29/2010	Nuclear Test	Amendment 329/2007
Commission Regulation	1251/2010	12/22/2010	Nuclear Test	Amendment 329/2007
Council Decision	2010/800/CFSP	12/22/2010	Nuclear Test / Missile Launch	Amendment 2006/795/CFSP
Council Decision	2011/860/CFSP	12/19/2011	Nuclear Test / Missile Launch	Amendment 2010/800/CFSP
Commission Implementing Regulation	1355/2011	12/20/11	Nuclear Test	Amendment 329/2007
Council Decision	2013/88/CFSP	02/18/2013	New Nuclear Test / New Missile Launch	Amendment 2010/800/CFSP
Commission Implementing Regulation	137/2013	02/18/2013	Nuclear Test	Amendment 329/2007
Council Regulation	296/2013	03/26/2013	Nuclear Test	Amendment 329/2007
Commission Implementing Regulation	370/2013	04/22/2013	Nuclear Test	Amendment 329/2007

### C. Effectiveness of Sanctions

The number of sanctions for the UN and the EU is continually growing. The aftermath of implementation is, however, the total opposite story. It is hard to measure the effectiveness of sanctions and so little has been done to evaluate the sanctions. Some research and studies have been conducted in academia, but the EU and other international organizations have not done enough to calculate the effectiveness of sanctions they imposed. The academia has often recommended enhanced planning, monitoring and reporting. The cooperation and coordination among sanction committees, expert panels, and monitoring bodies are another key element. There is also a need of a sanction

coordinator and a special advisor. The EU, however, does not have this system in place. Monitoring is done most of time by the general law-enforcement agencies of the member states. It is thus difficult to conclude that the sanctions are reaching the intended objectives. They are for sure causing damages, but many steps have to be taken in order to be certain that the sanctions affect the right target.

The success of a sanction should not be judged based on its impact on the economy of the targeted state. Instead it should be measured based on the state's change in behavior. The EU sanctions on the DPRK have affected the country by making it lose millions of dollars. The sanctions, however, have failed to finish the weapon development. The intended nation must know that its compliance would lift the sanctions. But, this goal is almost impossible to accomplish since many different organizations employ separate sanctions on that particular state.<sup>86</sup> It is therefore important to unify sanctions among the global institutions and nations. The constraints are also too inflexible. When there is a necessary for amendment of sanctions, it is often too complex to make changes. Sanctions must also be accompanied by diplomacy. The UN and the EU cannot impose sanctions on North Korea and leave out their foreign relations responsibilities. The organizations must continually attempt to put the North into a negotiating position.

Sanctions to freeze foreign bank accounts are being imposed as smart sanctions.<sup>87</sup> This way the economic constraints would not affect the general public. But it is uncertain whether the smart sanctions are working properly and not negatively influencing the citizens. No nation and global institution can obtain accurate data from North Korea to

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<sup>86</sup> Victor Cha., *Nuclear North Korea: A Debate on Engagement Strategies*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005): 37.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

make this judgment. A recent study found that only one third of sanctions are operating efficiently. While another stated that almost all sanctions do not reach the intended objectives. These studies are inaccurate for the same reason: It is not easy to gain access to the DPRK information system and gather the necessary data to draw up an analysis. Some claim that there may be no data available but there may certainly be reactions. And they believe such reactions can replace data and give feedback. In order to make the right decision, however, it is obvious that the data must be accurate and abundant.

Each state has its own distinct interests and that is the norm of the international relations. China, however, is too often a barrier when the international community tries to utilize sanctions on North Korea.<sup>88</sup> China has a close relationship with the North. Their relations go back to the Korean War. They fought together against the ROK and the US. China also wishes to take advantage of their trading alliance with the DPRK. Currently, China remains the sole commercial partner of North Korea. The nation is constantly creating problems by disagreeing with the UN and the EU sanctions and almost always taking the side of the North.

#### D. Sanction Monitoring

##### a. Unification

The most necessary change that must be made is monitoring of the implementation and impact of EU sanctions. Again, the EU presently has no sanction monitoring system in place. It is also true that each member state has different opinions on imposing sanctions and different levels of monitoring capability. Some members cannot afford the time, effort and funding on sanction monitoring. So, it is time to put the self-interest of each state aside and unify the common EU sanction monitoring practice.

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

To this date, the organization should impose only sanctions that can be monitored. Otherwise, the restraints that are not monitored may bring undesired results back to the EU. So, in a nutshell, the EU needs to customize, target and evaluate all of its sanctions.

#### b. Realistic Sanctions

The EU must set goals that both the institution and the targeted nation can both reach. In other words, the EU cannot ask too much from the country. The request must be something that the state can fulfill. Sanctions are another tool for negotiation. When each negotiating party is requiring too much from the opposite end, the deal cannot be made. The restraints cannot be too broad either. The EU must suggest clearly what it wants the target nation to do. In short, it must set realistic goals. The DPRK, for instance, will not bother with something it cannot accomplish.

#### c. Reward for Compliance

A study points out that a threat to employ further sanctions on a nation does less good than a promise to loosen or suspend the existing ones. It is therefore better to go with a large sanction package that contains detailed description of each sanction than to start with a small one and keep on adding on to the list. There has to be a rewards program. And, the target country must understand how to take advantage of the program. It must be aware with the fulfillments and their rewards.

#### d. Communication

It is difficult in the case of the DPRK, but the EU must try to communicate with the public of the target state. It should explain the reasons for the imposition of sanctions and the nature of sanctions and the conditions attached to them. This is because the citizens can force the government to comply with the requests. The EU would explain to

the people that the consequences of its government's actions. It must clearly specify what the conditions are.

#### 4. 1994 Geneva Agreed Framework & Six Party Talks

##### A. Agreed Framework

###### a. Background

The Agreed Framework (Framework) was adopted in Geneva on October 21, 1994, after a few months of bilateral meetings between the US and the DPRK. The former American President Jimmy Carter began the first discussion with North Korea during his trip to the nation's capital, Pyongyang. President Carter met with its leader Kim Il Sung and opened diplomatic negotiations to resolve the North Korean nuclear crisis. The following series of encounters were difficult but highly valuable as both sides reached an accord to create the nuclear-weapon-free-zone on the Korean Peninsula. The North further consented to following the IAEA's Safeguards Agreement and its requirement for peaceful use of nuclear energy.

###### b. Agreements

The Framework consists of four articles. The first one indicates that the DPRK's graphite-moderated reactors and related complexes will be replaced by light-water reactor (LWR) power plants. The US should help organize an international consortium to finance this project. America also agreed to arrange interim energy alternatives and provide heavy oil until the completion of the LWR units.

The second article specifies that the two nations will form political and economic relations. They should reduce barriers to trade and investment including controls on

telecommunication services and financial transactions. Furthermore, they planned to open an embassy in each other's respective capital cities.

Pursuant to Article Three, the DPRK was required to maintain peace and security on the Korean Peninsula. In return, the US assured not to use nuclear weapons against North Korea. In Article IV, the North pledged to remain as a member of the IAEA, rejoin the NPT and accept the Safeguards Agreement which included facility inspections.

### c. Results

Some international affairs experts criticize the US for being too soft with the Framework and yielding too much to the DPRK.<sup>89</sup> Most people, however, believe that the agreement produced significant outcomes for the two parties and the international community. Most notably, America was able to put together a global consortium and supply the DPRK with two LWRs while successfully delivering heavy oil for alternative energy prior to the construction of the reactors. This large consortium project was managed by the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO). In March 1995 national representatives of Japan, the US, and the ROK gathered in New York City to kick off the KEDO. The main priority of the KEDO, an international non-profit organization, was to efficiently execute Article I of the Framework. South Korea also played an important role in the project as one of its businesses, the Korean Electric Power Corp., was selected as the main contractor.

Although there were some delays, America productively carried out the other Articles. The Framework was effective for several years. The US and the DPRK kept a peaceful relationship and were heading towards a positive direction. The aggressive

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<sup>89</sup> Ralph A. Cossa, "The U.S.-DPRK Agreed Framework: Is It Still Viable? Is It Enough?," *Pacific Forum CSIS* (1999): 28



foreign policy by the Bush administration and the terrorist attacks in 2001, however, facilitated a drastic change and caused North Korea to reconsider the nuclear development issue.

## B. Six-Party Talks

### a. Background

Soon after the US invasion of Iraq, the American Ambassador to the ROK Thomas Hubbard affirmed that the US policy towards the DPRK would be dissimilar to the Iraq case. Such verification eased the growing intensity between the two nations, and North Korea showed its interest in founding new multilateral meetings. China, America, and the North met in Beijing in April 2003 and formulated the trilateral talks. The US asked China to persuade the DPRK to dismantle the nuclear weapons system. North Korea desired a legally binding non-aggression pact with America in exchange for the disarmament. The parties could not come up with a settlement, but approved to further extend the meetings and also demanded involvement of other major parties including the ROK, Japan and Russia. This was the start of the Six-Party Talks which necessitated long-lasting and painstaking negotiations with the most difficult and unpredictable nation around the globe. The Six-Party Talks began in August 2003 and ended in September 2007, consisting of six total rounds of discussions and 11 separate meeting phases. They all took place in Beijing.

### b. Main Contentions

The primary topic was the DPRK nuclear weapons advancement. The main participants were the US and North Korea. The North wished to reconstruct diplomatic relations with America and receive economic rewards for its disarmament. Specifically,

the DPRK first needed the US and President Bush to conclude the hard-line policy towards the nation. Second, it sought a legally binding non-aggression treaty that could guarantee security from a possible American attack. Lastly, the country would invite the IAEA inspectors if the conditions were satisfied. Unlike the Clinton era, however, the US was indecisive with its reactions to the DPRK's verifiable and irreversible disarmament. It could not trust the nation and did not take the promises seriously based on the previous deceptive behaviors of the North.<sup>90</sup>

### c. Parties

#### - China

There were six nations involved in the gathering. Each country participated with different interests and reasons. China was the host of the Six-Party Talks as all meetings occurred in Beijing. It also acted as a mediator since it had close political relations with the DPRK. It had developed economic ties with the nation and was a rare trading partner. It also provided North Korea with an enormous amount of humanitarian and energy assistance. Another cause was its intention to raise its power in the Northeast Asia region. China consistently wished to reduce the American presence and military influence in the area. One way to accomplish this goal was to establish peace on the Korean Peninsula which could result in withdrawal of American troops from the ROK and Japan. It also wanted to prevent further development of the US-Japan military coalition. Both China and Japan continuously desired its own military dominance in this territory.

China needed a stable and peaceful neighborhood during its modernization process. The political stability in Northeast Asia thus was a vital matter for its economic

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<sup>90</sup> Paul Chamberlin F. "Six-Party Talks: Time for Change." *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs* (2007): 63.

enhancement. China also had a crucial commercial relationship with the ROK as the advanced technology imports from South Korea were critical to China's long-term economic prosperity. Finally, the number of North Korean defectors was constantly rising, and the issue was a concern to a nation which was already overcrowded. In a nutshell, China was committed to helping the North but not to the extent where it had to sacrifice its own political interests and economic needs.

- DPRK

North Korea was seeking to achieve three objectives from the Six-Party Talks. The largest reason the North had to acquire nuclear arsenals was for national security. If the nation had to give up its weapons, it needed to secure a guaranteed non-aggression pact with the US. It wanted to complete this deal at the Six-Party Talks. Energy was on the agenda. The country needed a continuous supply of oil and additional constructions of LWRs. Third, economic incentives were also an important negotiating term. The DPRK suffered multiple famines during the last two decades and lost a great portion of its population due to food shortage and poverty. North Korea was desperate to receive economic aid from the global community.

- Japan

The DPRK did not wish Japan to join the Six-Party Talks. They never built good relations due to Japan's occupancy of Korea for over three decades. In fact, numerous North Korean leaders fought against Japanese during the colonial period. Not only did the US, however, push for Japan's participation but also Japan had a massive assistance package that the DPRK could not ignore. The number one priority for Japan during the meetings was to return its citizens who had been abducted by North Korea. Over the

years, the North kidnapped citizens of other nation states to obtain information and train its diplomats and secret agents (spies) before sending them abroad. This abduction issue frequently disturbed the progress of the Six-Party Talks. Japan desired to settle the problem before moving onto any negotiation, and the subject matter seemed to be of too little connection to the DPRK's disarmament. The Japanese economic impact, however, was too great, and the success of the Talks depended heavily on Japan's financial contributions. Secondly, security was a huge concern to Japan. North Korea was prepared to launch countless long-distance missiles targeted at Japan's largest cities. Japan also worried that China might gain too much power in the region, which could reduce its status and control in the area.

- Russia

Russia's interest to join the Six-Party Talks was the most straightforward one. Firstly, the nation wanted its businesses to become the primary contractor for the construction of nuclear power plants and other related facilities in the DPRK. Secondly, it wished to continuously utilize North Korean territory as the main trade route with the ROK. This railroad export and import route saved tremendous amounts of money compared to airways and shipment cargo deliveries.

- ROK

The ROK's intentions were pretty obvious. It needed to create stability on the Korean Peninsula. Too often, foreign financial institutions were hesitant to make investments in South Korea because of the nuclear dilemma. Many multinational corporations also left Seoul over the years for the same reason. In addition, the fall of the Berlin Wall presented the South with hope and possibility for its own unification. For the

past decade, the ROK policy on the DPRK has been the use of economic engagement to reduce tensions and induce reforms. Two presidential summits held in Pyongyang and the recent construction of Kaesong Industrial Zone may bring the impossible dream into fruition. South Korea must keep on knocking on the door to find the right moment to unify with the North under mutually agreeable conditions.

- US

For a number of years, the US had attempted to prevent the proliferation of nuclear technology and materials to both nation states and non-state actors. This effort has been carried out not only in the Northeast Asia region but also throughout the world. Each case required distinguished negotiation strategies and planning. Each was tough and stressful. The nonproliferation endeavor, however, had worked very effectively thus far. Currently, less than ten countries possess nuclear warheads. The new challenge for America was in the non-state actors and terrorist groups such as Al Qaeda. The weapons could possibly somehow end up in the hands of the terrorists and be used against the US and other developed societies. Another reason to be a major player in the Six-Party Talks was its longtime commitment to defend South Korea in accordance with the Mutual Security Agreement of 1953.

d. Results

Compared to the 1993 Geneva Agreed Framework, the scale of the Six-Party Talks was much bigger. The exact comparison of the outcome therefore cannot be measured. The Talks certainly had ups and downs. They produced many dissatisfactions as well as achievements. The greatest disappointment was that the parties never reached

a final agreement.<sup>91</sup> The meetings were concluded in 2007. The nations had promised for the 7th round, but the DPRK leader Kim Jong-Il became ill. The country was going through a leadership change. It conducted a series of nuclear experiments and tested long-distance missiles on a several occasions. And, it performed military attacks on the ROK and took lives of innocent individuals.

That was the key difference from the previous negotiation, where the US and the DPRK came up with a settlement at the Framework. Regardless, the Talks offered a forum for all parties to exchange their positions and proposals. The parties also agreed that they were committed to resolving the nuclear dispute through peaceful means and dialogue. The Six-Party Talks were successful largely due to the fact that more than one nation (America) was involved in trying to convince North Korea to abandon the weapons and to help the nation by offering economic assistance.<sup>92</sup>

#### e. Recommendations

In order to have the DPRK voluntarily dismantle its nuclear weapons system, the US has to change its diplomatic policy. The 1994 Agreed Framework is considered as a success case and the Six-Party Talks is viewed as a total failure because there was a binding settlement in Geneva and none in Beijing. The key distinction between the two can be found from the American negotiation strategy. The Clinton administration worked with North Korea to settle the dispute, whereas the Bush administration simply ordered the North what to do. Prior to any security guarantee or economic aid, President Bush told the nation to eliminate the weapons in a “complete, verifiable and irreversible”

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<sup>91</sup> Evan S. Medeiros. “The Possible Collapse of the U.S.-North Korea Agreed Framework: Prospects, Probabilities and Potential Solutions.” *Center for Nonproliferation Studies* (1999):76.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid.

manner.<sup>93</sup> The DPRK desired a legally binding non-aggression pact before discussing the disarmament. Both sides were looking at each other and waiting for the opposition to drop the weapon first. This situation normally occurs when there is no trust between the parties. The host country China and the other nations also could not persuade either side to act before the other. For several years, the parties tried to figure out this issue - who would go first - when the Geneva case was settled within a year.

There was not much difference between the Framework and the Talks. The asking elements were the same: security, assistance and disarmament. It was about applying the right plans and schemes to bring out the desired results. Unless the US is first to display room for negotiation, the North Korean nuclear dispute will be hard to improve in the foreseeable future.

There are alternative solutions available to satisfy these needs. Instead of a less formal written assurance, the US can make a legally binding non-aggression pact which avoids a possible American attack. Other nations are also ready to supply financial assistance packages that can have a huge impact on the DPRK economy. No country gains from the development of nuclear bombs in North Korea. Many states, however, will benefit from a liberalized DPRK. Some experts worry that the North will secretly progress the nuclear program while taking these incentives. Under the IAEA surveillance and its Safeguards regime and the inspection requirement, such a task is almost impossible to accomplish.

The next Six-Party Talks can bring different results and finish the nuclear dispute. The US must first restructure its mindset and embrace the methods used in the Agreed

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<sup>93</sup> Jong-Chul Park, Young-Ho Park, Moon-Young Huh, and Woo-Taek Hong. "The Six-Party Talks and Inter-Korean Relations: Prospects and Strategies." *KINU Policy Study* (2003): 14.

Framework where President Clinton applied a soft power theory. President Bush preferred the complete opposite tactic. The current American President, Barack Obama, is stuck in between, trying both carrot and stick. Only the carrot will get the job done. When the strong side negotiates with the weak side, the strong must take two steps backwards first and make the weak take one step forward. The timing is perfect to present new offers. The DPRK is now struggling under a new leadership. One of its closest allies, Iran, has decided to switch its defense policy. It is time for the US President to send another letter to the leader of North Korea and rewrite history.

## 5. Human Rights Violations - Prison Camps

### A. The Issue

The DPRK is currently violating a number of human rights laws. To identify a few: labor rights, freedom of expression, freedom of religion, freedom of movement, freedom of press, minority rights, right to food, forced prostitution, forced abortion, and right to a fair trial.<sup>94</sup> North Korean prison camps and violations against the prisoners are one of the major ones. The issue has become a popular discussion topic around the globe. As the North does not provide any information on its prison system, the available facts are very limited. Numerous former detainees, however, have successfully escaped the country and testified about their time in the camps. Scholars, the media, international institutions, and non-governmental organizations (NGO) have discovered adequate information from the testimonies and produced reports about the camps.

### B. Kwan-Li-So

#### a. Prisoners

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<sup>94</sup> World Report 2013. "North Korea." *Human Rights Watch* (2013).



The kwan-li-so labor camps are to imprison social, political, economic or ideological deviants who are considered a risk to the DPRK. To be more specific, persons suspected of wrong-doing, wrong-thinking, wrong-knowledge, wrong-association, or wrong-class-background are captive in the camps.

Wrong-doing may include skipping too many mandatory ideological education classes, failing to take good care of photographic images of the leaders - Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il, making complaints about living conditions, criticizing regime policies, travelling without permission, or interacting with South Koreans while travelling outside the nation. Wrong-thinking can be supporting ideas that go against the official ideology, which includes any religious beliefs that counter the main philosophy. Wrong-knowledge can be applied to North Korean students or diplomats who lived in foreign nations and returned to the country after their duties. The North believes they may pose a danger to its population since they had been exposed to capital prosperity, democracy and civil liberties. Wrong-association is being part of a family whose family members had been involved in Japan's occupation of Korea or supported the Republic of Korea during the Korean War. And, lastly, wrong-class includes those who kept close relations with the Japanese government during Japan's colonial days. It is known that South Korean and other foreign war prisoners from the Korean War and the Vietnam War are also incarcerated in these camps.

#### b. System

There are six kwan-li-so prison camps and they are all large facilities. They are located in the mountains and mostly in the northern part of the DPRK. The total number of prisoners is estimated to be between 150,000 and 200,000, and there are about 5,000 to

50,000 prisoners per camp.<sup>95</sup> The outer perimeters of the prisons are surrounded by barbed-wire fences, heavily guarded by armed guards. Some detainees are incarcerated in a single cell and some are in larger units as a group or with family members.

At most times, the offending political prisoner is not the only one who is confined. His or her parents, children and sometimes grandchildren are imprisoned as well. The past leader, Kim Il Sung strongly believed in this three generation penalty practice. Such guilt-by-association was a common procedure in Korean history, which was discontinued after the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1897) but revived again during the Kim Il Sung era.

Often times, people put in the camps are arrested and charged for no particular criminal offense. They are definitely not tried in any sort of judicial process. They do not have the opportunity to appear before a judge, confront the accusers, offer a defense, or hire a legal counsel. The presumed offenders are one day taken to an interrogation complex and tortured to confess. They disappear all of a sudden and without notifying their families, friends, and coworkers. Such an act, forced disappearance with arbitrary detention and execution, is a clear violation of the international human rights and a modern day phenomena of repression. Notably, The Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners was elected by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations General Assembly to set out a good principle of the treatment of prisoners and the management of institutions. The DPRK prison system completely disobeys these global norms and standards.

### c. Main Problems

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<sup>95</sup> Yeo Sang Yoon, Ja Eun Lee and Sun Young Han. *The North Korean Prison Camps Operation System and Human Rights Violations*. Seoul, Korea: North Korean Human Rights Information Center (2011).

The most severe troubles of the DPRK prison camps are below-substance food rations and hard labor. Due to the food shortage, the prisoners often choose to eat plants, grass, bark, rats, or snakes. Starvation is not only jeopardizing the lives of inmates but is also a national crisis and the majority of its citizens are suffering from hunger.

The kwan-li-so camps require hard labor. The detainees are used in producing mining coal, iron, gold, and other ores. Farming and manufacturing duties are also very common. The prisoners work twelve hours a day and seven days per week. They have one rest day per month and celebrate three holidays per year. They are assigned with daily production quotas and punished if they fail to fulfill their parts. They receive a very small amount of money for their labor and a small meal per day. They are also given extremely thin clothes to go through the entire cold winter season. Shoes but no socks are provided. Common physical symptoms and illnesses among the inmates are insufficient protein and calcium in the diet, hunched backs, frostbite, and missing toes, fingers, hands, arms, or legs from work accidents.<sup>96</sup> There are no doctors or adequate medicine to treat the injuries.

For these reasons, death rates are extremely high in kwan-li-so. Most of the detainees die in prison with sickness or disease and some of them commit suicide. These inhumane conditions are often compared to the Soviet Union concentration camps and even the Holocaust.

#### d. Execution and Punishments

Those who violate the camp regulations are put into special detention cells. They are beaten and tortured and die soon after being released. They are punished for various causes: stealing, unauthorized eating, and failure to meet production quotas, damaging

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

camp facilities, complaining, or sexual conduct between prisoners. Escape attempts are punished by execution. The executions are performed while other inmates are watching from a close range. Some of the detainees witnessing the executions cry out in distress and some are forced to throw stones at or strike the corpse.

As sexual relations are prohibited, young female inmates who become pregnant are harshly punished. They are taken away by the guards and often not seen again. Sexual exploitation of young women is although very common. These women, in exchange for sexual favors, receive additional food and less intense work such as record keeping or cleaning guard offices. The current international human rights law clearly indicates that sex between prisoners and prison guards constitute rape.

#### e. Release

Official reported releases occur twice a year from only select camps. Those extraordinary days are on the birthdays of Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il. A minor ceremony is conducted to pledge the appreciation and loyalty to the regime. The released individuals are sworn to secrecy, promising not to disclose insights of the camps. Although, a study found that the most North Koreans are well aware of the existence of the prison camps and refer to the prisoners as "those living in the mountains."<sup>97</sup>

### C. Kyo-Hwa-So

#### a. Prisoners

Kyo-hwa-so may be translated from Korean as "a place to make a good person through education." The term is also utilized in the ROK, and it can also be translated as a "reeducation, enlightenment, re-socialization or edification center." The DPRK has

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

kyo-hwa-so in every province. The prisons hold political detainees and people convicted of criminal offenses. They are known to be brutal labor prison camps.

#### b. System

The kyo-hwa-so camps, consists of several buildings that are surrounded by high walls, electrified-wire fencing, and guard towers. Each cell is extremely small and overcrowded. The education component of the imprisonment is repeatedly memorizing Kim Il Sung public speeches and editorials which emphasize the regimes' priorities, as well as organized self-criticism sessions. During these sessions, inmates often confess crimes that they did not commit and ask for forgiveness.

Kyo-hwa-so, similar to kwan-li-so, mandates hard labor while providing below-subsistence-level food provisions. These circumstances consistently cause weight-loss, industrial accidents, malnutrition-related diseases, and death. Again, medical doctors and medications are rarely available. Many detainees, therefore, die in prison and before the completion of their sentences.

#### c. Kwan-li-so v. Kyo-hwa-so

There are some differences between the two discussed prison camps. Kwan-li-so confine only the political wrongdoers. Whereas, Kyo-hwa-so contain people with both criminal and political convictions. At kyo-hwa-so, there is no custody policy of the convict's family members. The kyo-hwa-so detainees are found guilty after going through the judicial process and given a fixed term sentence. Their imprisonment is also not in secrecy as their families and friends know exactly which camp center they are incarcerated at and why. In a nutshell, kyo-hwa-so are correctional facilities for persons with serious criminal backgrounds or who committed felony level crimes.

Another unique group that is captivated at kyo-hwa-so is those who have been repatriated from China. They end up at the prisons often without trial and beaten and tortured by the prison guards. Repatriation is considered as a heavy crime and treated critically in the DPRK.

#### D. Human Rights Violations

##### a. International Standards and Norms

The DPRK prison camps violate various international human rights standards: the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Rome Statute of the international Criminal Court, and the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.<sup>98</sup> In particular, the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court should be examined since the camps significantly challenge the definition of "crimes against humanity." The term "crimes against humanity" covers the topics of murder; extermination; enslavement; deportation or forcible population transfer; imprisonment or severe deprivations of physical liberty, torture, rape or sexual slavery; persecution on political, racial, national, ethnic, cultural, gender or religious grounds; enforced disappearances; apartheid. The Rome Statute has been signed by 139 UN Member States and ratified by 117 members.

ROME STATUTE OF THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT  
ARTICLE 7

1. For the purpose of this Statute, "crime against humanity" means any of the following acts when committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population, with knowledge of the attack:

- a. Murder;
- b. Extermination;
- c. Enslavement;
- d. Deportation or forcible transfer of population;
- e. Imprisonment or other severe deprivation of physical liberty in violation of fundamental rules of international law;

<sup>98</sup> World Report 2013. "North Korea."

- f. Torture;
- g. Rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilization, or any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity;
- h. Persecution against any identifiable group or collectivity on political, racial, national, ethnic, cultural, religious, gender, ... or other grounds that are universally recognized as impermissible under international law in connection with any act referred to in this paragraph or any crime within the jurisdiction of the Court;
- i. Enforced disappearance of person;
- j. The crime of apartheid;
- k. Other inhumane acts of a similar character intentionally causing great suffering or serious injury to body or to mental or physical health.

Adopted by the United Nations Diplomatic Conference of Plenipotentiaries on the Establishment of an International Criminal Court, July 17, 1998, Rome, Italy. Entered into force June 2002.

## b. "Gross Violations"

There are a number of other violations involved in North Korean prison camps. The sudden disappearances and no available information regarding their whereabouts take away the physical liberty. The deportations and subsequent imprisonments happen without any judicial procedures. Article 14 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) verifies that suspected offenders have the right to judicial proceedings conducted in accordance with due process and fair trial. Article 9 identifies that no one should be subject to arbitrary arrest. The incarceration of the family members of the detainees is a violation of Article 26 - right to equal protection and non-discrimination, including on grounds of political or other opinion, birth, or other status. The insufficient food supply and hard labor disobeys Article 10, which necessitates people deprived from liberty to be treated with humanity and with respect for inherent dignity. More specifically, Article 8 directly forbids forced or compulsory labor. Under Article 11, sovereign states also need to offer adequate food to prisoners, as well as present the right to freedom from hunger.

The executions in the prisons go against Article 6 of the ICCPR, which entails the inherent right to life. The article further instructs that the death penalty must be carried

out with a final judgment rendered by a competent court. Beatings and torture performed by the prison guards are banned by Article 7. The additional harassments that follow the executions contravene the terminology in Article 7 - other inhumane act. The detainees who watch the executions and are forced to abuse the corpse suffer from great injury to mental health.

The International Criminal Court Statute highlights the crime against humanity of extermination, and the high numbers of deaths in detention are a clear violation. The forced abortion and the three generation guilty-by-association practices are as well a part of the crime against humanity of extermination clause. The punishments for repatriation are also considered as a crime against humanity of extermination.

#### Fundamental Rules of International Law

Articles of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights violated in North Korea's political penal labor colonies:

Article 6 (right to life);  
Article 7 (right not be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment);  
Article 8 (right not to be held in slavery or servitude);  
Article 9 (right not be held in arbitrary detention);  
Article 10 (right for all persons deprived of liberty to be treated with humanity);  
Article 12 (right to free movement);  
Article 16 (right to recognition as a person before the law);  
Article 17 (right not to be subjected to arbitrary interference with privacy, family, home or correspondence);  
Article 18 (right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion);  
Article 19 (right to hold opinion without interference);  
Article 21 (right to peaceable assembly);  
Article 22 (right to freedom of association);  
Article 26 (rights to equal protection and non-discrimination, including on grounds of political or other opinion, birth, or other status.)

#### E. Recommendations

##### a. UN Members States

At the United Nations Human Rights Council and General Assembly, the member states can vote for the resolutions on the DPRK human rights impasse. This should



include establishing a commission of inquiry and a panel of experts whose task is to oversee the situation and write UN reports to publicize and stress the seriousness of the crisis. This effort would make it more difficult for North Korea to deny the existence of the prison camps and pressure the nation to make proper changes. The commission and the panel should principally question the applicability of the responsibility to protect doctrine. The UN sees its responsibility to protect citizens when their own governments fail to do so and they are subjected to the crimes against humanity. The member states that maintain diplomatic relations with the North can also play a major role. They may propose that they are willing to discontinue the relationship unless the DPRK improves the human rights violations.

#### b. China

China is in a unique position whenever the international community attempts to discuss the DPRK issues. It is a father figure to North Korea and always tries to protect the country from outside pressure, especially at the UN Security Council gatherings. The reason behind this is due to their close relations in history and their current close trade ties. In terms of the human rights violations in the North, China should cease the repatriation of North Koreans back to the DPRK. This especially includes aged people, women and children. When these persons are forced to return to the North, they are mostly executed or beaten and tortured in the prison camps for the rest of their lives.

China must also allow the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to interview the North Koreans hiding in the nation. The UNHCR should have the authority to examine those who would face immediate danger upon their return to the DPRK and find appropriate solutions. Noting that China already agreed to and signed the Refugee

Convention, it has to give out citizenships to North Korean refugees and permit these individual to settle and make adequate living in China.

c. ROK, US and Japan

When the Six-Party Talks resume, the human rights problems must be discussed followed by the security and economic matters. Usually, the parties gather with the common goal of resisting the DPRK nuclear weapon development program by offering both financial and economic incentives. The human rights violations are another agenda that must be included and the parties should attempt to find ways to resolve the issue at these meetings. The ROK, the US and Japan can also continue to provide asylum, residence and citizenship to North Koreans who successfully escape the country. This should include some assistance in adjusting to a new culture and living environment as most of these people struggle to find jobs in new countries and survive in new life settings.

6. Human Rights Violations - Defectors

A. The Issue

The issue on the DPRK defectors is becoming a critical concern for many nations, international agencies, and human rights groups. The key reason is that the number of defectors is on the rise. There are over 100,000 defectors residing in China.<sup>99</sup> Almost 3,000 defectors have been entering the ROK annually during recent years.<sup>100</sup> This is a 100% increase from the early 2000s.<sup>101</sup> Many also wish to go to other developed countries such as the US and Western Europe.

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<sup>99</sup> World Report 2013. "North Korea." *Human Rights Watch*.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

Choosing to leave one's country is a difficult decision to make. To escape a nation like North Korea is another challenging process. Settling down and making lifestyle adjustments in other countries are also demanding and stressful for the defectors. Most states welcome the North Korean defectors. They offer various programs and financial support to help them. China, however, returns the defectors to the North. It does not classify them as refugees or asylum seekers and does not provide citizenship opportunity.

## B. Reasons

### a. Economical

Most North Korean defectors leave their nation for economic reasons. They flee to search for employment and make a living outside the country. These economic defectors have no intention to return home in the foreseeable future, not until the nation's economic situation makes progress.

The number of economic defectors has been consistently high during the two decades. Since its first leader Kim Il Sung's death in 1994, the DPRK economy has been in recession. The economic system has deteriorated since this time. Both production and consumption have fallen. Various economic stimulus plans have constantly failed. Its economic growth rate was below par during most of the 1990s. The rate was barely above zero during the 2000s. The public food distribution was disrupted on many occasions. North Korea also suffered a severe famine in the 1990s. Over 1 million individuals lost their lives due to starvation and 200,000 to 300,000 of its citizens escaped the nation during this time.<sup>102</sup> Today, many people in the North engage in informal

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<sup>102</sup> Yeo Sang Yoon, Ja Eun Lee and Sun Young Han. *The North Korean Prison Camps Operation System and Human Rights Violations*, p. 87.

trading and private cultivation. Numerous free markets or the so-called farmers markets and even black markets also operate in the country, which violate its national laws. If the DPRK continues to focus on its military and spend most of its budget on defense, a sudden economic recovery is almost impossible. It can be therefore easily predicted that the number of economic defectors from the North will remain high over the next several years.

#### b. Political

Defectors also flee for political reasons. North Koreans who have visited other nations, people who witnessed the outside world through the Internet, and those who heard about the developed world from foreigners attempt to leave their country simply for a better life. The North still functions under the communist doctrine. The government has complete control over its citizens. Both politically and economically, individuals do not enjoy much freedom and the fundamental legal rights which are often widely available in most countries.

This is one of the main reasons the DPRK is cautious to open its borders for both leisure and business. Travelling requires significant interactions. When the citizens of a nation network with foreigners, they are exposed to new ideas, values and beliefs. They make improvements from these new views and regularly seek for betterment. When this desire becomes larger, people reach out to the outside world at a greater scale. The Internet also brings the international community a lot closer. People can find fault with its system and government through new technologies. North Koreans accordingly would want to take the risk to be a part of a liberalized society and have a brighter future. The entire structure will then begin to disintegrate.

### c. Cross-Borders

There are also simple cross-borders who leave home on a temporary basis for work or a family visit. A number of North Koreans engage in border commerce with the Chinese. They usually trade Korean food and forest products with processed food and consumer goods manufactured in China. North Koreans also have family members and relatives living in China. They are allowed to make trips to China with special travel permits. These individuals are different from other defectors that they are not leaving home permanently and have the intention of returning when their needs are fulfilled.

### C. Routes

#### a. South

There are two ways to escape the North. The first method is taking the southbound route. This approach is, however, extremely difficult and has taken away numerous lives. In fact, only 1 out of 40 successfully makes it this way.<sup>103</sup> The ROK-DPRK border, which runs 155 miles from the West Sea to the East Sea, is known to be a heavily armed demilitarized zone.<sup>104</sup> Anyone who attempts to cross the border is challenged with military patrol guards, land mines, and electric wires. Unless the defector has military background and is physically well trained, this path would not be preferred. This is, however, the shortest route to reach the most desired destination - South Korea. Some defectors therefore are willing to take a higher risk to acquire a greater result.

#### b. North

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Yeo Sang Yoon, Ja Eun Lee and Sun Young Han. *The North Korean Prison Camps Operation System and Human Rights Violations*, p. 89.

The other way is through the China-DPRK border. North Korea shares most of its northern inland border with China, about 90 percent.<sup>105</sup> The Tumen River is a famous cross place for the defectors since there are some spots where the depth of the river is shallow so that people can cross more easily, especially in winter when the water is frozen. But, this northern route also presents many difficulties. It takes several days to reach the borderline to begin with. Security points are located every 50 meters, watching defectors fleeing to China and foreign spies attempting to enter the nation illegally. North Korean defectors who get caught by patrol guards can run away, fight, or bribe them. Due to the recent economic downturn in the North, the bribery option works best against the border guards. The country is where “nothing can be done without money and anything can be done with money.”<sup>106</sup> The middle and upper class defectors often utilize brokers who arrange the entire trip from the DPRK to the final destination. The broker’s fee exceeds \$8,000 (USD).<sup>107</sup>

#### D. Destinations

##### a. China

China may be the easiest nation in which to flee, but the defectors face countless tests upon arrival. Since they are not familiar with anybody and have no place to go, they seek help from the Korean-Chinese and local Korean churches. There are currently 2 million Korean-Chinese residing in the cities near the China-DPRK border. These local Koreans often offer assistance to the defectors although it is against Chinese law to help illegal immigrants. It becomes harder, however, if the size of the defector group is too

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> Kim, Yong. *Long Road Home: Testimony of a North Korean Camp Survivor*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 45.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

large. Those that bring their entire family must split up and execute separate settlement plans.

Most defectors immediately look for employment in China. Due to their illegal status, they have to choose low income jobs that normally require hard labor. Most of them end up working in farms since agriculture is still the dominant profession in China, especially in the suburban areas. Many of the female defectors are, in fact, very popular among Chinese farmers and are being “sold” to them as bribes since there is a gender imbalance in the rural areas of China. The current trend for young Chinese women is to move to large cities for better employment opportunities. Even when North Korean women are married to Chinese men, Chinese law specifies that they are not eligible for Chinese citizenship. This law even applies to the children who are born from these marriages. The children do not enjoy the chance to apply for neither legal residency nor citizenship.

Other women are extremely vulnerable to trafficking. As they are scared of being forcibly repatriated, they have no option other than working for the traffickers. Some of them are used as hostesses in bars or as prostitutes. Many female defectors also end up being exploited. They work for long hours with very little payment or sometimes no payment at all. They know too well that their employers can report to the local government about their illegal immigration status. It takes several months to relocate themselves to other countries. So, the defectors have to learn to survive and make a living in these difficult conditions during this time period.

China has been very unclear and ambiguous with the North Korean defector issue. It has never publicly declared official policy guidelines on the subject matter. It has been

very reluctant to grant the status of refugees to the defectors as the nation does not see them as political refugees but rather economic floaters who are not qualified for legal protection. One reason China is taking this position is largely due to a request by the DPRK. The North frequently demands China to return the defectors. The two nations also signed An Agreement on Repatriation of Border Crossers in 1987. Sometimes China intensifies arrests of defectors whenever high ranking North Korean leaders visit the nation and hand over the defectors to the leaders upon their departure. Still today, China requests Korean Chinese and Korean religious and civic organizations not to offer assistance to defectors and report them to the local agencies. The fine for breaking this regulation is over \$3,000 (USD).<sup>108</sup>

#### b. Other Nations

The neighboring states in Asia and other developed countries tend to offer generous resettlement packages to North Korean defectors. The popular final destination is the ROK for obvious reasons. They try to find overseas South Korean embassies and general consulates (ROK government offices in China cannot support defectors due to the domestic law) or take the boats used for smuggling. There are numerous vessels on the Yellow Sea that transport goods and workers between China and the South. These ships also make earnings by smuggling illegal products and immigrants. On average, it takes approximately a year to successfully enter the ROK. The reward of this long journey is worthwhile as South Korea is known for offering adequate financial aid and appropriate refugee programs. North Korean defectors have less difficulties living in the South than any other states.

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<sup>108</sup> Yeo Sang Yoon, Ja Eun Lee and Sun Young Han. *The North Korean Prison Camps Operation System and Human Rights Violations*, p. 88.



Sweden, Switzerland, and other Western European nations are also very popular locations for the defectors. The countries have very strong government structure and have high respect for human rights. England, in particular, pays a monthly allowance of \$660 (USD) to the defectors once they are given asylum in the United Kingdom.<sup>109</sup> The US has accepted a number of North Korean defectors in recent years. It fully understands the current political and economic situations in the DPRK and generally grants asylum and assistance to North Korean immigrants.

#### E. Human Rights Violations

##### a. International Standards and Norms

Listed below are the current international human rights laws. The DPRK presently shows no intention to respect the regulations, and China is also severely violating the laws. It is although crucial to point out that no international law approves “right to enter” an adjacent state as nations have the full authority to control their immigration status.

Anyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.  
Article 13.2 Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Everyone shall be free to leave any country, including his own.  
Article 12.2 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

“No State Party shall expel, return (“*refouler*”) or extradite a person to another State where there are substantial grounds for believing that he would be in danger of being subjected to torture. For the purposes of determining whether there are such grounds, the competent authorities shall take into account all relevant considerations including where applicable, the existence in the State concerned of a consistent pattern of gross, flagrant or mass violations of human rights.”

<sup>109</sup> Hawk, David. "North Korea's Hidden Gulag." *Human Rights Watch in North Korea* (2013), p. 10.

Article 3, Convention Against Torture, Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (ratified by China 4 October 1988)

[T]he term “refugee” shall apply to any person who:...owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.

Article 1, Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, 1951

... A person who was not a refugee when he left his country, but who becomes a refugee at a later date, is called a refugee “*sur place*.”

... A person may become a refugee “*sur place*” as a result of his own actions, such as ...expressing his political views in his country of residence. Whether such actions are sufficient to justify a well-founded fear of persecution must be determined by a careful examination of the circumstances. Regard should be had in particular to whether such actions may have come to the notice of the authorities of the person’s country of origin and how they are likely to be viewed by those authorities.

Paragraphs 94 and 96 of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees Handbook: Procedures and Standards for Registration, 2003

No contracting state shall expel or return (“*refouler*”) a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontier of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion.

Article 33, Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, 1951

#### b. Gross Violations

The DPRK prohibits its citizens from leaving the nation. This is a direct violation of Article 13.2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Article 12.2 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Both legal regulations indicate that everybody has the right to leave any country, including their own. According to the 1951 Refugee Convention, North Korean defectors fleeing to China are identified as “refugees” and “asylum seekers.” They have fear of being persecuted if they remain in

the North and are unwilling to return to the nation. Paragraphs 94 and 96 of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Handout mentions that the definition of “refugees sur place” or “refugees in place” applies to persons who may not have fled a nation for fear of persecution, but who will face persecution when returned to the country.<sup>110</sup> Most North Korean defectors in China are in this situation because of the fact that they are categorized as traitors for leaving the nation without the permission from their government. Furthermore, the Refugee Convention and the Convention Against Torture, Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment prevent states from expelling or returning defectors who face danger upon return to their home country. China is violating these terms. Especially since it ratified the Convention against Torture in October 1988 and is still sending back the North Korean defectors.

## F. Recommendations

### a. China

China must discontinue returning North Korean defectors who are likely to suffer persecution upon their return to the nation. It should permit the UN High Commissioner for Refugees to enter China and carefully evaluate the situation of the North Korean defectors. It should also comply with the Refugee Convention which it signed and ratified back in 1988.

China must obey the guidelines of the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women and the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child. It has to investigate the condition of female North Korean defectors in China and make certain that they do not become victims of trafficking and marriage enslavement due to their

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<sup>110</sup> Yeo Sang Yoon, Ja Eun Lee and Sun Young Han. *The North Korean Prison Camps Operation System and Human Rights Violations*, p. 83.

illegal immigration status. It has to avoid returning children to the DPRK if there is reasonable ground to believe that they face imminent danger from their government. China should also allow North Korean women who have married Chinese men to apply for citizenship of China and their children to have access to school and health care.

#### b. UN Member States

Europe, the US, the Northeast Asian nations, and the rest of the UN member states will continue to offer asylum, residence and citizenship to North Korean defectors. They will also present the defectors with refugee and resettlement programs and financial aid to help them adjust to a new lifestyle. But, more importantly, the countries have to remind China that it is violating international human rights standards and norms. They must keep pressuring the nation to analyze the issue with a different viewpoint and immediately implement proper amendments. Since China has gained undeniable power over the last few decades, such a task will be hard to accomplish. This is especially true since the North Korean defector matter is yet to become one of the most debated topics within the global community. More states are, however, acknowledging the problem recently as the number of defectors has grown over the past decade and the issue has started to cause direct impact to the countries. It is also always ideal to manage trouble before it gets too problematic.

The number of the DPRK defectors will thus continue to increase. More and more North Koreans are discovering the outside world through modern technologies, and they are building stronger desires to one day live in a developed society. Unless the nation decides to strengthen the border security, a greater number of people will try to cross a frozen Tumen River and move into China.

Human rights workers should not concentrate on fixing the primary cause of the problem – poor economic and political conditions in the North. Rather they should focus on the troubles the DPRK defectors face once they leave the country. In other words, they should attempt to change China and its policy towards North Korean defectors. In some cases, where the media was closely following the Chinese government, the nation sent the defectors to third countries and their desired destinations. It can be therefore concluded that the pressure from the international community matters to China and can alter its perspective on the North.

This is where the problem lies. It is not about the DPRK's struggling economy. It is not about its government structure. It is rather about China's foreign relations with North Korea. If nation states, international institutions, and human rights organizations manage this area of problem, it will have a huge influence on the issue and help create a strong stepping-stone towards resolving the entire matter.

## **Chapter V: Arab Spring & North Korea**

### **1. Arab Spring - Most Impacted Nations**

#### **A. Background**

Similar to the term the Autumn of Nations, which describes the fall of the Berlin Wall and the other democracy movements around the globe in 1989, the Arab Spring (or sometimes called the Arab Awakening) is a term that illustrates a series of riots and protests that occurred in the Arab world since December 2010. The primary cause for the Arab Spring was dissatisfaction with government. The citizens of the Arab states were displeased with dictatorship, monarchy, corruption, a weak economy, unemployment, and human rights violations. People were also largely concerned about inflation and food security, which were a result of the 2007-2008 global famine and food price crisis. They were attempting to accomplish regime change, democracy and free elections. They planned to achieve these goals by revolutions, uprisings, civil wars, and demonstrations. The youth population played a great role in the Arab Spring. They were literate, educated and Internet savvy. In fact, they communicated, raised awareness, and organized the insurgencies mostly through the Internet and some of the more popular social media websites. The younger generation was inspired by the lifestyle in the modernized, liberalized, and developed nations and desired to form a higher standard of living and more promising future for their own countries.

#### **B. Tunisia**

The series of revolts generally took place in the Middle East and North Africa. The most affected nations were Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Syria, and Bahrain. It would not be an overstatement if one argues that the Arab Spring was initiated by a

Tunisian named Mohamed Bouazizi. He was unemployed and made a living by selling fruits as a street vendor. On December 17, 2010, municipal officers harassed and humiliated Bouazizi in public and confiscated his wares. While street vending was legal in Tunisia, bribery was a normal activity and Bouazizi did not bribe the officials. An hour after the incident, he expressed his anger and frustration by covering himself with gasoline and setting himself on fire. His self-immolation brought together diverse groups dissatisfied with government to begin the Tunisian revolution. There had been numerous rebellions throughout Tunisian history, but none of them were quite serious. Following Bouazizi's death there were many violent riots, which resulted in a number of deaths and serious injuries. Despite strong resistance from police and security forces, the demonstrators successfully overthrew the government, as well as the long-time Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali. He occupied the presidency for 23 years and managed to flee to Saudi Arabia and avoid execution by his citizens. New political and legal systems were implemented soon after Ben Ali's departure and the effect spread out to the neighboring Arab states and other African countries.

### C. Egypt

Protests started in Egypt on January 25, 2011. At first, its government was able to eliminate the nation's Internet access as the rebels were organizing their rallies through social network services. But, it lost control as the President Hosni Mubarak and his cabinet were replaced by new political members. His successor, Mohammed Morsi, was the first democratically elected president in Egypt and sworn in before the supreme court justices. President Mubarak was later sentenced to life in prison for failing to limit casualties during the earlier period of the revolution. There were a large number of

deaths during the Egyptian revolution as the Armed Forces of Egypt were largely involved. The military, however, also worked together with the rebels to change the then-current government.

#### D. Libya

Libya can be considered a special case as the UN, the US, and many other nations were engaged in the situation. Additionally, the long-time dictator, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, was captured and killed by rebels. Anti-government riots began in Libya in February 2011. The government soon dispatched elite troops and militia to oppose the activities. But, as the death toll continued to rise, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1973 and authorized a no-fly zone over Libya and all necessary measures to protect civilians. Soon after the US, France, England, and other European countries through NATO began using force by air in Libya to bomb Gaddafi forces. No NATO troops were deployed on the ground. The confrontations in Libya were viewed as a civil war instead of protests in a sense that the scale was much greater and the government refused to back down or compromise, as they had in Tunisia and Egypt.

#### E. Yemen

The Yemeni revolution erupted to press the resignation of President Ali Abdullah Saleh. A series of protest marches were carried out in major cities, and the demonstrators and frequent military encounters turned into urban warfare. President Saleh was given an opportunity to agree to the Gulf Cooperation Council initiative, which requested his resignation in exchange for immunity. As he was hesitant to sign the agreement, a number of assassination attempts were conducted including a bomb blast in the presidential compound. President Saleh and much of the government staff suffered



physically injuries from the attack. A few months later, he decided to step down and transfer the authority to the Vice President Abd al-Rah Mansur al-Hadi, who later was voted to take over the presidency.

#### F. Syria

Syria also experienced a civil war and the uprising began in a manner similar to the one in Tunisia. A police officer assaulted a man in public in old Damascus. Plus, the security forces arrested 15 children in a southern Syria city, Daraa, for writing slogans against the government. Soon after, protestors gathered together in a large group to call for the release of the children and initiated riots against the Baathist regime, which had been ruling Syria since 1963. They formed the Free Syrian Army to fight against the Syrian military. The Syrian forces, however, were too strong for the rebels and were not hesitant to hurt civilians and often committed massacres, killing thousands of innocent people. At this date, the conflict is still on-going in Syria and over 100,000 people have died with over six million individuals forced to leave their homes.

#### G. Bahrain

The demonstrations in Bahrain began in a more peaceful way. The initial aim was to obtain greater political freedom and respect for human rights. They were not intending to overthrow the monarchy. The protests, however, became more violent as police and army forces tried to resist the rallies and in the process harmed a number of individuals. After the killings, King Hamad bin Isa Al Khalifa ordered his troops to withdraw. But, as the marches became more intense, he had to declare a state of emergency and send back the forces. There were reports that the police committed torture and other human rights violations such as denial of medical care to prisoners who

were captured during the parades. The Bahrain government does not strictly deny these facts, but has refused entry to international human rights groups, UN inspectors, and news organizations.

#### H. The Rest

The Arab Spring has affected not only the surrounding areas but also the rest of the globe. Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Albania, Croatia, Burkina Faso, Uganda, Nigeria, and even an Asian nation, the Maldives, were all influenced by the events. Protest movements in the Maldives led to the resignation of its President. While the international community has been supporting the uprisings, some critics have accused the US and other developed countries for not getting involved. Other than the Libyan case, they have not been engaged and have decided to observe the happenings without taking sides, except for humanitarian aid to rebels in Syria. As stated above, the youth and their Internet and digital technology usage have been a crucial part of the Arab Spring. In fact, the number of social media network users doubled during the protests. The younger generation has created a new concept of a 'digital democracy' and proven how shared ideas and dynamics of the crowd in a participatory system have an enormous power to form collective action.

### 2. Synthesis & Analysis - North Korea

#### A. Effect on the DPRK

The Arab Spring had a limited effect in the DPRK. There were several other factors that could explain why similar riots did not occur in North Korea. First, unlike the Arab states, there had been very little economic development in the North. People who visited Pyongyang would recognize some changes, but there has hardly been any

modernizing effort and the overall economic growth has continued to be very low. The per capita gross national income in 2009, \$960, was lower compared to 1990, at \$1,146.<sup>111</sup> The life expectancy rate was also down from 70.2 to 67.4.<sup>112</sup> About one-third of the population live in extreme poverty. The key element of the Arab Spring, rising expectations and hope for a better lifestyle, was absent from the society. Its citizens were too concerned with daily survival and the next meal.

North Korea has a relatively young and literate population. The median age is 32.9 years.<sup>113</sup> Literacy rate is 100 percent.<sup>114</sup> This population is, however, different from the Arab states and is unlikely to fight against the government. In a communist country, there are no unemployed personnel as everyone labors for the state. These people could be paid a very small salary, but were not dissatisfied with their employment status as the young individuals in the Middle East. Moreover, North Korean young males spend up to 12 years in the military.<sup>115</sup> This is perhaps the longest service terms in the entire globe. And the purpose is to maintain a strong force and keep young men out of trouble. There is also no leisure time available for the youth to gather and share ideas. The government always forces them to participate in extra activities and ideological indoctrination.

The contagion effect did not work well in the North either. As soon as the revolutions began to intensify in the Middle East, the DPRK prohibited its citizens from using the Internet, watching television, using radio, and visiting foreign countries, which

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<sup>111</sup> Victor D. Cha and Nicholas D. Anderson, "A North Korean Spring?," *The Washington Quarterly* 35, no.1 (2012): 7.

<sup>112</sup> Central Intelligence Agency, "The World Factbook – Korea, North."

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

included restricted travelling of its diplomats.<sup>116</sup> It did not want its people to witness the Arab Spring and formulate similar actions against the government. Some non-governmental organizations sent leaflets and newspaper reports into North Korea describing the rebellions in the Arab states. They utilized various methods to do this, but these attempts affected only a very small percentage of the whole population. The literacy rate was sufficiently high, but Internet access and a free press were not available in the North for people to be influenced by the Arab Awakening.

Cellular phone usage was also a comparable element. The cellular phone was first introduced in the DPRK in 2002. At first, only the elites in Pyongyang were permitted to use the phones. But, in 2004, the government banned the usage of mobile phones as it discovered that an assassination attempt on Kim Jong Il was made, utilizing a cell phone-detonated bomb. More recently, in 2008, an Egyptian corporation, Orascom, acquired the sole contract to sell mobile phones in North Korea. A year later, the company sold 70,000 units. At the time of the Arab Spring revolutions in 2011 and 2012, the number rose to 500,000. This increase, however, only represented approximately 1.8 percent of the population.

Another piece that was present in the Arab Spring but missing in the North was the exiled elites. This group embodied individuals who left their country to gain education and employment and return to their homeland with plans and a desire to rebuild and reform the nation. An Egyptian, Mohamed ElBaradei, is a perfect example of this case. ElBaradei was educated and worked in Western countries, including his tenure as the director general of the International Atomic Energy Agency. He later returned to

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<sup>116</sup> Brendan Toolan, "Korean Spring? An Analysis of the Arab Spring and its Relevance for North Korea," (M.A. diss., Virginia Military Institute, 1998), pp. 1-31.

Egypt and was a symbol of reform for the rebel groups during the revolutionary movements. He was fully involved in politics and later became the Egyptian vice president. The DPRK, however, lacks this kind of leader figure. Most of the defectors fleeing North Korea blamed the economic situation, and quite surprisingly not the dear leaders or overall political situation. As was seen during the Arab Spring, leaders or self-immolation sparked the revolutions. But, these factors were nonexistent in North Korea.

#### B. The Korean Spring

The Korean Spring, however, is still a possibility. It is not just because the DPRK government could not completely stop the stories from spreading mostly in a large city like Pyongyang. The elites and university students had access to the Internet and the news on the Arab Spring could be told to one another through word-of-mouth. There is also a series of events that occurred in North Korea in recent years.

In 2002, after North Korea survived a severe famine, it went through a brief economic reform. The public distribution system had failed and the government had no choice but to lift price controls and introduce market mechanisms. The regime simply did not have any food to give out and told its people to fend for themselves. It received foreign aid and loans and the economy was able to recover after a while. It resumed the ration system, but was incapable of completely ending market activity. Today, the citizens of the North rely heavily on markets. The farmers, factory workers, and urban residents all do business on the black market and collect substantial profit. During interviews, the DPRK defectors admitted that more than half of their income was generated from private practices. The individuals residing in Pyongyang purchase their food from the market. Experts predict that it is almost impossible to make this activity

disappear in North Korea.<sup>117</sup> Even if it has already been 12 years since the country tried to modify its economic structure, people cannot forget what they saw and experienced. Additionally, the market system allows individuals to start their own businesses and this entrepreneurship creates independence from the government. The currency redenomination in 2009 is also a memorable occasion for its citizens. To uproot marketization, the government implemented the new denomination and people could only exchange a portion of their savings for the new currency. The citizens reacted to the situation with anger and despair. Some of them committed suicide, fought with police, and defiantly protested in the public square. This behavior showed that a portion of the population no longer fear the regime.<sup>118</sup> Through these two incidents, Kim Jong Il left a mark on society in North Korea that is irreversible and can damage the regime later on.

Until recently, the North had only one Facebook and Twitter account that was set up by the government. This is, however, changing very rapidly. The Pyongyang University of Science and Technology (PUST) was opened in 2010. The nation needs the Internet to obtain information without sending its personnel to foreign countries. The Internet saves them money and limits interaction with foreigners. The Internet also helps the regime to mobilize foreign direct investment. The government staff therefore can use the Internet for intelligence purposes and the university students for educational ones. This is, however, a very risky project for the regime. It is allowing the best and smartest groups to gain access to the Internet and surf the web. Someone who has negative views towards the government can spread news about the Arab Spring and the truth about the outside world and that there are better societies and they too can make changes to live

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<sup>117</sup> Brendan Toolan, "Korean Spring? An Analysis of the Arab Spring and its Relevance for North Korea," pp. 1-31.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

quality lives. The Internet is very much like the market system. Once people know there are tools available that provide them convenience and efficiency, it is extremely hard to take that away from them.

Cellular phones apply a similar formula. Phones enable better communication and are necessary devices for the elites in the DPRK. Even though the regime limits cell phone usage to select people, some people buy phones smuggled in from China on prepaid SIM cards. These individuals not only communicate with each other via mobile devices but also have web access. This is something the government cannot control unless it shuts down its entire wireless infrastructure, which the elites would not agree to do because of the inconvenience it may bring upon their daily lives. The total number of mobile phone users has now passed 2 million.<sup>119</sup> It took three years to reach 1 million users, but only one year to double that number. The number is continuing to grow and is spreading like wild-fire.

The regime witnessed the Arab Spring and is apparently affected by what happened on the other side of the globe. Its reactions to the events reflected a sense of vulnerability.<sup>120</sup> The revolutions in the Middle East and North Africa proved to them that authoritarian regimes were inherently unstable. The government relies heavily on its military. There have been a number of reported domestic disturbances. The military, however, has always been there to prevent the actions from widening. Although, if the youth in the military should decide to disobey Kim Jong Un, it would be a totally different scenario. Its forces would be fighting against each other. Prior to the Arab Spring, most persons believed that things would not change in the region. But the Arab

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<sup>119</sup> Central Intelligence Agency, "The World Factbook – Korea, North."

<sup>120</sup> Victor D. Cha and Nicholas D. Anderson, "A North Korean Spring?," *The Washington Quarterly* 35, no.1 (2012): 8.

governments collapsed all of a sudden and in a reasonably short period of time. All four dictators - Zine El Abidine Ben Ali of Tunisia, Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, Muammar Qaddafi of Libya, and Ali Abdullah Saleh - had each been ruling their regimes longer than Kim Jong Il and definitely Kim Jong Un. The new young leader and his cabinet know that they are living on borrowed time and changes are soon to be made in the DPRK.



## Chapter VI: Kaesong Industrial Zone

### 1. Background

The Kaesong Industrial Zone (KIZ) is in the city of Kaesong, the DPRK. The KIZ is located 43 miles north of the capital of the ROK, Seoul, and 106 miles southeast of the capital of the DPRK, Pyongyang. It is also only 3 miles away from the demilitarized zone (DMZ). The KIZ is a unique place in a sense that it is one location where people from the South and the North are allowed to interact on a daily basis. To be more specific, it is an industrial complex where the two Koreas agreed to build a joint economic territory with a combination of North's human labor and South's capital investment and business knowhow. As indicated in Table 2 below, the KIZ is growing quickly since its opening in 2004. The two nations also plan to make a significant expansion within a few years. This thesis finds that the KIZ serves as a unique element that can affect the DPRK reform.



**Figure 1-7:** Kaesong Industrial Zone (Korea Trade Investment Promotion Agency)

**Table 3: KIZ Growth from 2005 to 2012**

Category	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
No. of enterprises in operation	18	30	65	93	117	121	123	123
Production (US\$ million)	14.9	73.7	184.8	251.4	256.5	323.3	401.9	469.5
South Korean workers	507	791	785	1,055	935	804	776	786
North Korean workers	6,013	11,160	22,538	38,931	42,561	46,284	49,866	53,448
No. of visitors	40,874	69,999	100,092	152,637	111,830	122,997	114,435	120,119

## 2. Sunshine Policy

The KIZ project was initiated when the ROK President, Kim Dae Jung, visited the DRPK in 2000. The President and the leader of the North, Kim Jong Il, agreed to form an economic relationship. North Korea went through a devastating famine in the late 1990s and needed to desperately improve its economic situation. Kim Jong Il came up with various ways to restore the economy including boosting foreign investment, trade and aid from the neighboring states such as Japan, China, and Russia. The KIZ was also another ideal approach, and this was true for a number of reasons.

The ROK agreed to take the entire financial burden and develop the complex from scratch. Two large South Korean firms, Hyundai Asan and the Korea Land Corporation, mostly managed the 800 acres development process. The KIZ contains not only state-of-the-art manufacturing factories but also all other necessary supporting facilities including a post office, police and fire stations, a library, a hospital, an exhibition center, a bank, and lodging. It also has an extensive infrastructure system, which includes road, railroad, telecommunication, electricity, water supply (purification and drainage plant), and waste plant. Additionally, the DPRK enjoys the opportunity to

train its workers and help them obtain diverse business and management skills. Most ROK companies operating in the KIZ serve in different industries, which allows the North Korean laborers to attain diverse experiences and knowledge. Lastly, the nation collects constant income from the salary paid by the South Korean companies to its citizens working in the KIZ which totals approximately \$30 million per year.<sup>121</sup> There are also other business fees. Hyundai Asan, for instance, paid \$450 million in 2000 to purchase a business license.<sup>122</sup>

**Table 4:** Types of South Korean Companies in the KIZ

Total	Textiles	Machinery and Metals	Electric & Electronics	Chemicals	Paper and Wood	Food	Non-metal Minerals
123	72	23	13	9	3	2	1

The ROK companies are attracted to the KIZ despite the risk that is involved in doing business in a communist country. First, the minimum wage rate is lower than China and Vietnam. There is a low employee turnover rate and no possibility of labor dispute. Second, the rent price for land is US\$41 per square meter, which is five times less than other industrial parks. Third, the corporate income tax rate is only 14% of the net profit.<sup>123</sup> The firms get a tax exemption for five years from the first profit-generating year and the tax rate is cut by 50% for the following three years.<sup>124</sup> Fourth, the South offers loans with low interest rates and political risk insurance that will reimburse up to 90% of a company's investment in the KIZ. Fifth, the KIZ is close to the ROK's Incheon International Airport and there are no applied tariffs. Sixth, the KIZ is a duty-free area. Anyone can use foreign currency and credit cards and there is no visa required for entry

<sup>121</sup> "Introduction to Kaesong Industrial Zone for Investors." *Korea Trade-Investment Promotion Agency Invest Korea* (December 2013), p.35.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

or exit. Lastly, the complex has its own law and South Koreans faced with legal issues are not to go on trial in the DPRK. The South Korean government expects the number of firms moving into the KIZ will rise as the complex will expand to 6,000 acres with shopping districts, residential areas, and tourist and recreation facilities.

### 3. Issues

#### A. Labor

It is often claimed that the KIZ workers are being exploited and the DPRK is violating the international human rights and labor law. This is because it is unclear what portion of the wages they acquire from the ROK companies for their labor is kept for themselves and how much is being given to their government. It is estimated that the North Korean authorities take as much as 45%.<sup>125</sup> Experts, however, assert that the KIZ average wages and working conditions are much better compared to other individuals in the North. The monthly minimum wage is \$60.78.<sup>126</sup> The employees receive a 15% social insurance fee provided for unemployment and occupational hazards.<sup>127</sup> They get overtime pay for extended working hours. They receive 14 days per year vacation time and female staff members are given 60 days paid maternity leave. The workers are offered with free commute to the KIZ. Their health conditions have enhanced as they have had access to better nutrition. Employers are prohibited from freely punishing employees and firing incompetent staff. The workers, however, do not enjoy the right to change employers. The idea is to prevent labor costs from escalating and to let firms

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<sup>125</sup> Mark E. Manyin and Dick K. Nanto, "The Kaesong North-South Korean Industrial Complex," *Congressional Research Service* Report for Congress 7-5700 (April 2011): RL34093.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

<sup>127</sup> "Introduction to Kaesong Industrial Zone for Investors." *Korea Trade-Investment Promotion Agency* Invest Korea

maintain a stable workforce. This practice, however, goes against the global workers' rights.

#### B. Financial Benefits for the Regime

It is important to identify how much the DPRK, a state that has been creating problems for international security, is taking advantage of the money produced from the KIZ project. The employee salaries are first delivered in hard currency (dollars) to the North Korean government, and it deducts some portion (social insurance taxes and a socio-cultural policy fee) before distributing to the workers. Article 234 of the Labor Law of the KIZ, however, states that wages must be paid directly to employees in cash. It is assumed that the government collects approximately \$2 million per month from the staff salaries.<sup>128</sup> The other payments also include land lease fees, corporate income tax, sales of raw materials and other industrial products, and employee recruiting services.

#### C. Import from and Export to the KIZ

Another critical issue is whether the US and other nations should ban products that are made in the KIZ. Currently, the US is imposing a sanction on the DPRK due to its development program of nuclear warhead and weapons of mass destruction. It forbids the North Korean made goods, services and technology to enter the American border without approval of the Office of Foreign Assets Control of the Department of the Treasury. It also disallows merchandise made from a third country that utilized North Korean products and technology to be brought into the US. The sanction has affected the recently signed Korea-US Free Trade Agreement and America decided not to recognize goods made in the KIZ as made in the ROK and therefore the merchandise are not subject

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<sup>128</sup> Graham, Edward M. "The Matter of the Kaesong Industrial Complex in the Korea-US Free Trade Agreement Negotiations." *Institute for International Economics*.

to the benefits of reduced tariffs. Although, the European Union classifies the situation as a special case of products refined outside the South Korean region and does not impose tariffs.

In terms of the US exports to the KIZ, the Department of Commerce reviews and licenses all American exports to the DPRK and the Department of Treasury grants licenses for certain financial transactions. In 2006, for example, the US Bureau of Industry and Security approved glass fiber optic transmission items and software to be shipped to the KIZ and the shipments were used for telecommunication equipment in setting up the communication lines into the KIZ.<sup>129</sup>

#### 4. Stakes and Interests

It is crucial to understand the significance of the continuing operation of the KIZ and the interests of the related parties. First, the ROK believes that the KIZ is a gateway to the DPRK's reform. More than 50,000 North Koreans come to the KIZ every day and meet South Koreans. They hear and witness through tools like the Internet that there is a better world outside. These experiences strengthen their desire for betterment and a higher life standard. China and the Arab states have changed for this reason and settled to adopt the new global modernizing system. The South firmly relies on this theory and that its economic engagement with the North will lead to increased peace and political cooperation. This was proven true when the ROK government chose not to close down the KIZ even after the DPRK destroyed a South Korean naval vessel with a torpedo missile and launched an artillery attack on a South Korean island in 2010.

Second, North Korea regards the KIZ as one of its key sources of income. Simply put, the complex is a lucrative business. According to a recent study, the DPRK has

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<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

earned roughly over \$10 billion from the KIZ productions since its opening in 2004.<sup>130</sup> The government is aware of the fact that the complex negatively affects its citizens and could escalate the possibility of an uprising. The KIZ, however, creates plenty of revenue for the regime and too much is at stake to discontinue this profitable venture.

Lastly, America and other nations' interests in the KIZ are also quite substantial. They are first concerned about the economic profit the KIZ produces for the DPRK government and the possibility that this money is directed towards funding its military and nuclear program. It is, however, unsure how the income is being spent and there is no possible method available to discover the country's financial arrangements unless the government makes this information accessible, which is highly unlikely to occur at least within the foreseeable future. The international community also values a market-based economy and representative government. It thinks the KIZ is a great opportunity to bring changes in North Korea, but at the same time the complex working conditions, environment regulations, and other humanitarian matters should be par with the international norms and legal standards. These subjects shall be addressed now and before the KIZ becomes a larger complex.

## 5. Recommendations

It is recommended that global policymakers apply the following solutions to resolve the issues involved in the KIZ project and help expand the business.

- Adjust free trade agreements and allow South Korean companies in the KIZ or firms in the South that buy the parts made in the complex to receive the benefits of the agreement and avoid any tariffs when exporting to America. This would encourage more ROK

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<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

corporations to move into the KIZ, which would intensify the chances of a North Korean reform.

- For the same reason, policymakers should allow a third country to do business with the ROK companies operating in the KIZ.

- While adjusting the FTA, it should be demanded that the South Korean government to pay more attention to labor and other conditions in the KIZ.

- Loosen up the sanctions imposed on the DPRK and increase the amount of export from the KIZ into other nations and foreign export and investment in the KIZ. Request other countries to do the same.

- Take the necessary steps to resume normal trading relations status with North Korea.

- Ask both China and Russia to set up similar industrial parks in the northern part of the DPRK, across from their national borders.

- Form a committee, similar to the United Nations Panel of Experts, whose primary duty is to oversee KIZ issues and progress.



## **Chapter VII: Conclusion**

After reform takes place in the DPRK, the nation will struggle to form a new government system. The UN, the ROK, the US, and other nations have to help the nation implement the right political and legal system. More importantly, however, North Korea must quickly find ways to enhance its economy and feed over 20 million people. Immediate reunification with South Korea and reliance on its support should not be considered as an option. The South economy would suffer tremendously as it was clearly shown in the German reunification. Most people in the ROK would strongly refuse this idea. The World Bank (WB), rather, can offer assistance to the North and will play a vital role in modeling the future of the North Korean economy.

The WB was established at the end of World War II to rehabilitate the international community. In the 1970s, its focus shifted towards solving economic problems of developing countries. Today, the institution has set goals to end extreme poverty and boost shared prosperity by fostering the income growth of the bottom 40% for every country.<sup>131</sup> Through effective allocation of resources in areas such as education, health, public administration, infrastructure, financial sector, agriculture, environmental and natural resource management, the WB seeks to make economic and social progress in underdeveloped regions of the world. The members of the Bank are 188 nations, comprised of the 187 UN member countries and Kosovo. All member states are eligible to borrow grants and seek consultation from the World Bank. Currently, the DPRK is not a member and the first step towards enhancing its economy is gaining the WB membership.

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<sup>131</sup> World Bank, "About," <http://www.worldbank.org/en/about>, accessed April 2014.

The Bank operates on a project basis, and the aims of each project should align with the mission of the institution. Its recent projects were conducted in the Arab Spring nations. It issued Interim Strategy Note (ISN) to some of these countries such as Tunisia, Egypt, and Yemen. The ISN delineated strategies for these nations to cope with post Arab Spring situations involving social and political unrest. The ISN stated that the organization was especially focusing on (1) solidifying the new governance by increasing transparency and accountability, (2) building foundation for sustainable economic growth and jobs creation, and (3) modernizing infrastructure to benefits disadvantaged social groups such as women, the youth and the poor.<sup>132</sup>

In Tunisia, the WB initiated thirteen new projects and of these projects, five projects specifically targeted to aid the political transition. The rest of the projects concentrated on environment, rural development, human development and water. The biggest project, totaling in the amount of \$1 billion of lending, was put in to the Governance and Opportunity Development Policy Lending (DPL) Program to fund the interim government in June 2011 and November 2012.<sup>133</sup>

In the case of Egypt, the organization has taken up nine projects since the uprising of total \$4.6 billion.<sup>134</sup> About \$ 200 million was put into the Emergency Labor Intensive Investment Project and the Youth Employment Project to combat the high unemployment rate in the youth.<sup>135</sup> Financing for the Micro and Small Enterprises Project distributed

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<sup>132</sup> World Bank News, "A new Relationship for Changing Times," July 11, 2012. <http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2012/07/11/new-relationship-changing-times>, accessed April 2014.

<sup>133</sup> World Bank, "Tunisia – All Projects," <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/tunisia/projects/all>, accessed April 2014.

<sup>134</sup> World Bank, "Egypt Project & Programs," <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/egypt/projects>, accessed April 2014.

<sup>135</sup> World Bank, "Egypt Overview," <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/egypt/overview>, accessed April 2014.

more than 75,000 loans, creating over 100,000 jobs, especially targeting the youth group between the ages of 21 to 25.<sup>136</sup> The Bank also carried out projects aiming at the low income households. The Natural Gas Connections Project yielded a gas distribution network to 90,000 low income households, while creating 3,000 jobs in Cairo and Giza. The expansion of the housing market was realized through creating both supply and demand. In June 2013, the government built 75,000 new units of housing offered at a special rate. At the same time, the Mortgage Finance subsidies Program provided 8,400 subsidies to households, which aimed to stimulate the housing market and establish transparent mortgage programs.

Yemen has one the lowest GDP among the Arabic nations. Yemen also has one of the highest population growth rates in the world and 45% of the population lives with food insecurity.<sup>137</sup> The poverty rate, which marked 42% in 2009, has risen to 54.5% in 2012 due to the recent political crisis, a part of the Arab Spring movement.<sup>138</sup> The WB has generated twenty new projects since the civilian uprising in 2011 and a total of \$317 million has been distributed, following the agreement made at the Yemen Donors Conference in September 2012.<sup>139</sup> Among these, some projects were implemented to provide direct relief. The Emergency Crisis Recovery Project received the largest amount of loan, a total of \$100 million, in which cash benefits were offered to eligible poor households through Social Welfare Fund program.<sup>140</sup> Human development is not an exception in the Bank's commitment in Yemen. A total of \$66 million was approved for

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<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

<sup>137</sup> World Bank, "Yemen Overview," <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/yemen/overview>, accessed April 2014.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> World Bank, "Yemen – All Projects," <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/yemen/projects/all>, April 2014.

<sup>140</sup> World Bank, "Yemen Overview."

the Second Basic Education Development Project, which ensured basic education through building schools and training teachers to promote equal access to quality educations. Other ongoing projects, such as Modernization of the Central Bank of Yemen, aim to rebuild the infrastructure system which is crucial for Yemen to become a viable economy.

As shown in the cases of Tunisia, Egypt, and Yemen, the WB has resources and expertise to help a country cope with political and social unrest. The purpose of the Bank in North Korea should be advancing the living standard of the citizens and to help build a sustainable economy. In particular, it should concentrate on the following sectors; infrastructure, improving healthcare, education, and food security.

With its capital Pyongyang being the only major city in the DPRK, the general population lives in rural areas with little or no infrastructure. Throughout the nation, the WB should launch infrastructure building projects that are necessary to live a modern life such as gas, electricity and waste water system. These projects will be labor intensive public works that create jobs and provide ground work for a competitive market economy.

At the early stage, the WB should commit to the development of information and communication infrastructure since the citizens in North Korea have a limited channel of information to the outside world. The North will have geographical advantages, bordering China and Russia towards the North and proximity to South Korea and Japan. The upgrade and development of transportation systems, such as roads and railways, is therefore crucial and will not only induce internal growth, but also place North Korea in an important portal of exchange in northeast Asia.

For building sustainable communities, the Bank should seek targeted regional growth. Identification of the unique characteristics and economic resources at a local level should be conducted as well as implementation that will bring out the maximum potential of the targeted region. For example, a village built around a mining ore will need certain types of infrastructure such as a road system to effectively transport the production. A port city will appreciate expansion and modernization of the port logistics system to increase traffic capacity. In major farmlands, irrigation system development and construction of renewable energy sources will ensure increased production and long term environmental benefits.

Like most underdeveloped countries, a significant ratio of the population suffers from malnutrition and lack of medical care. Modernization of infrastructure such as clean water supply and waste system will certainly reduce the future risks. The DPRK will benefit from interventions and targeted aid programs that will bring the improvement on the population's existing state of health. For instance, the critical indicators of health, maternal and infant mortality rates are especially high in rural areas. As an immediate relief, the WB can offer various types of assistance such as social welfare program, health service packages for pregnant women and children and incentives for healthcare providers, and distribution of vaccines and medical service. As a preventive measure to health problems and ensure that improvements on the healthcare sector are sustainable, the institution should take upon projects providing education on basic nutrition, hygiene, and signs of common illness such as water borne diseases. Programs for training medical staff, nurses, and midwifery along with strengthening of public healthcare system will help North Korea in building a reliable and accessible healthcare system. Successful

delivery of these projects will not only improve the general welfare of the population, but also strengthen the existing and future labor force.

In the North, educational opportunity is limited to those who are privileged. The citizens receive basic education, which is concentrated on fostering the political agenda. Major reform in the primary educational system will be inevitable in the nation, especially in the time of political transition. The goal of potential projects should be setting a standard for basic education and ensuring all citizens access for a certain level of learning experiences. Through projects such as defining school districts, delivery of educational materials and supplies, training programs for teachers, and creating incentives for low income parents to send their children to school can be potential projects supported by the Bank. The community involvement in construction of schools will also generate jobs. For secondary education, the organization should focus on preparing the younger generation through offering a system where they can get technical and vocational training. They will compose a quality labor force that will drive economic growth.

In 2002, the North Korean government allowed private farmer's market on an experimental level to increase agricultural output; however the general population deals with food insecurity on a daily basis. The WB has several case studies on resolving the issue and the food security project in the DPRK should aim to achieve modernization of agricultural industry and reaching out to the most disadvantaged groups. Subsidies on fertilizers and seeds will create a short term production boost in supply, while vouchers and food stamps can be distributed among low income households to create a consumer base. Projects on the assessment of soil quality, equipment, resources operation and

management should be conducted. Then, the farmers should receive education and training for estimating crop yields and preparing for natural disasters. The modernization of the irrigation system will be also crucial as rural farmlands are especially prone to drought, which can lead to a famine.

A developed and modernized DPRK brings numerous benefits to the global community. The world becomes a safer place without North Korean nuclear weapons and WMDs. Both South and North Korea can reduce military spending and concentrate on other national agendas. The US and other UN members will be able to withdraw their troops located in the area. Nations will have another trading partner, and worldwide corporations will have another market to enter and over 20 million potential customers to sell their products and services. There will no longer be human rights violations in the North, and its people and children would be able to have access to food and medical care. Most significantly, however, a reformed DPRK increases the possibility of reunification. Many of the movies and television shows in the ROK carry stories of North Korea. This proves that South Koreans have a great interest in the issue and always think about the matter in the back of their minds. They feel a great sorrow for not being able to visit their hometowns and see their family members. It should be extremely difficult to be separated with its own people for over sixty years and identify them as an enemy. The two countries share the same history, ancestors, culture, food, customs, and language. Since their division in 1948, there have not been too many changes in terms of their nationality features. They sincerely want this problem to be resolved during their lifetime. As this thesis finds, the day will come soon. Modern activities will eventually force North Korean reform. Whether it is initiated by a street vendor, students, social groups,

or a courageous political leader, this thesis predicts that there will soon be revolutionary movements in the North. The people may have to make sacrifices, but it is imperative for the welfare of those living under these repressive conditions and for a united Korea that these changes take place, and soon, to prevent further suffering.



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