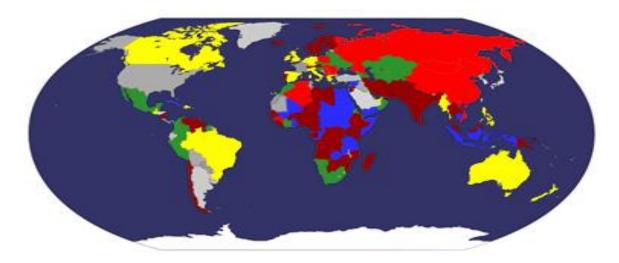
NORTH KOREA

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The DPRK and Diplomatic Relations with other Countries



Map of the world indicating decade each country established diplomatic relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea: Red: 1948/1950) Blue: 1960s; Maroon: 1970s; Green: 1980s/1990s; and Yellow: 2000s.

This map is made by using World Map Maker program. < http://www.worldmapmaker.com/>

Introduction

North Korea's philosophy of Juche or self-reliance provides the basis not only for domestic policy but also for its foreign policy. The three key components of Juche ideology are political, economic and military independence. However, Juche doesn't mean isolation; from the beginning it meant balancing power between the Soviet Union and China. In the 1960s and 1970s, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (or DPRK, the official name for North Korea) sought a further counter-balance by reaching out to Third World countries emerging from colonialism. During this era and beyond, the DPRK competed with the Republic of Korea (or ROK, the official name for South Korea) to be recognized by the greatest number of countries. After the collapse of the USSR and the beginning of China's economic reforms, the DPRK, seeking foreign investment, tried to improve relations with capitalist countries including the U.S., Japan, and European countries.

Although North Korea's foreign policy has changed its characteristics over time, its core value has been to maintain the Juche system; in order to do so it has developed different policies regarding diplomatic outreach in the context of the changing geopolitical environment.

North Korea currently has diplomatic relations with 161 countries.⁴ North Korea has embassies in forty-two of these countries, as indicated in the chart below by an underline.

Region (#	Name of Country
countries)	
Asia/Pan-	Afghanistan, Australia, <u>Bangladesh</u> , Brunei, <u>Burma</u> , <u>Cambodia</u> , <u>China</u> , East Timor, <u>India</u> ,
Pacific	Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Maldives, Mongolia, Nauru, Nepal, New Zealand, Pakistan,
(25)	Papua New Guinea, Philippines, <u>Singapore</u> , Sri. Lanka, <u>Thailand</u> , Vanuatu, <u>Vietnam</u>
Americas	Antigua, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, <u>Brazil</u> , Canada, Chile, Colombia, <u>Cuba</u> , Dominica Is.,
(24)	Dominican Rep., Grenada, Guatemala, Guyana, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru, St. Kitts
	and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago, Venezuela
Europe	Albania, Armenia, <u>Austria</u> , Azerbaijan, Belarus, Belgium, Bosnia Herzegovina ⁵ , <u>Bulgaria</u> ,
(49)	Croatia, Cyprus, Czech, Denmark, Finland, Georgia, Greece, Germany, Hungary, Ireland,
	Island, <u>Italy</u> , Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Malta,
	Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Netherland, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania,
	Russia, San Marino, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Tajikistan,
	Turkey, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, <u>Uzbekistan, United Kingdom</u>
Middle	Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iran, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco,
East (17)	Oman, Qatar, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Yemen
Africa	Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burkina Paso, Burundi, Cape Verde, Cameron, Central Africa,
(46)	Chad, Comoro, Congo Republic, Congo, Cote d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea,
	Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia,
	Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sao
	Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, Swaziland,
	Tanzania, Togo, <u>Uganda</u> , Zambia, Zimbabwe

<Chart 1: Countries that North Korea has Diplomatic Relations>

<Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (South Korea)>

Foreign Embassies in North Korea

Twenty countries have embassies in Pyongyang; China and Russia also have consulates. The majority of countries, including those that have diplomatic relations with the DPRK, base diplomatic staff relating to North Korea at their embassy in Beijing; a handful are based at embassies in Seoul

Countries with Resident	Brazil, Bulgaria, Cambodia ,China, Cuba, Czech Republic, Egypt,
Missions in Pyongyang(25)	Germany, India, Indonesia, Iran, Laos, Libya, Malaysia, Mongolia,
	Nigeria, Pakistan, Palestine ⁶ , Poland, Romania, Russia, Sweden,
	Syria, Vietnam, the United Kingdom

<Chart 2: Foreign Embassies in Pyongyang>

<Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (South Korea)>

Changes in North Korea's Diplomatic Policies⁷

From 1948 to 1950s: Limited Diplomatic Relationships

When South Korea was recognized by the UN in 1948, North Korea turned its eyes to the USSR and East European communist counties, asserting itself as the representative of the Korean

Peninsula. After the end of the Korean War in 1953, North Korea focused on reconstruction and strengthening its relationship with China, which had sided with North Korea against capitalist countries.⁸

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

Mid-1950s through 1960s: Declaring Autonomous Diplomacy

Two factors affected North Korea's new approach to foreign policy in this period: increased distance between the DPRK and its two most important allies, and the emergence of newly independent countries that rejected the influence of the two dominant political blocs.

After Stalin's death in 1953, and his successor Khrushchev promoted peaceful coexistence with the United States, which weakened North Korean-Soviet ties.⁹

China supported independent movements in the Third World, first at the Bandung conference in 1955, at which 29 countries from Africa and Asia established the foundation for the Non-Aligned Movement. At a party meeting in April 1956 Kim II Sung announced his intention to develop diplomatic relations with countries of different social systems. In the 1960s, many of the newly independent Asian and African nations joined the UN. The DPRK, responding to this global trend, established relations with many countries in Africa, Asia and the Middle East.

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

^{**}South Yemen and North Korea established diplomatic relations in February, 1968.

In 1970s: Expanded Diplomatic Outreach

As Third World countries increased their influence in the arena of world politics and Soviet–American détente created opportunities for countries in both blocs, North Korea declared 1972 a year of diplomacy. ¹³

The DPRK used two strategies: first, it reached out to African countries where China had already established economic and diplomatic influence. ¹⁴Second, North Korea established diplomatic relations with capitalist countries in an effort to develop its economy. Unlike China, which established new ties across a broad political spectrum, North Korea concentrated its diplomatic efforts in Europe with those countries with a strong communist or socialist party, such as Finland, West Germany, Sweden, and Denmark. ¹⁵ As a result, North Korea established its diplomatic relations with 66 countries in a decade. However, in late 1970s, momentum lagged, caused by tense inter-Korean relations, the North's default on foreign loans, and reports of drug smuggling by its diplomats. ¹⁶

6/14/1970	Maldives	1/29/1974	Gabon
7/15/1970	Sri Lanka	3/16/1974	Guinea-Bissau
10/14/1971	Sierra Leone	5/15/1974	Nepal
12/20/1971	Malta	5/18/1974	Guyana
3/3/1972	Cameroon	6/24/1974	Laos
4/22/1972	Rwanda	7/5/1974	Jordan
6/1/1972	Chile	9/6/1974	Niger
8/2/1972	Uganda	10/9/1974	Jamaica
9/8/1972	Senegal	10/28/1974	Venezuela
10/11/1972	Burkina Faso	12/17/1974	Austria
11/9/1972	Pakistan	12/20/1974	Switzerland
11/16/1972	Madagascar	12/27/1974	Botswana
12/15/1972	Congo	4/15/1975	Portugal
1/31/1973	Togo	5/8/1975	Thailand
2/5/1973	Benin	5/12/1975	Kenya
3/2/1973	Gambia	6/5/1975	Ethiopia
3/16/1973	Mauritius	6/25/1975	Mozambique
4/7/1973	Sweden	8/9/1975	São Tomé and Principe
4/15/1973	Iran	8/18/1975	Cape Verde
6/1/1973	Finland	11/8/1975	Singapore
6/22/1973	Norway	11/13/1975	Comoros
6/30/1973	Malaysia	11/16/1975	Angola
7/17/1973	Denmark	5/25/1976	Nigeria
7/27/1973	Iceland	6/1/1976	Papua New Guinea
12/9/1973	Bangladesh	6/28/1976	Seychelles
12/10/1973	India	12/5/1977	Barbados

12/20/1973	Liberia	5/9/1979	Grenada
12/26/1973	Afghanistan	8/21/1979	Nicaragua
1/23/1974	Libya	9/13/1979	Saint Lucia

1980s: Terrorist Acts

In the 1980s, ideology gave way to economic interests, as countries of all ideologies began interacting in pursuit of economic benefits. As Third World and non-aligned countries turned toward capitalism, China accelerated its economic reforms. At the end of the decade, the Eastern communist bloc began to disintegrate.

North Korea's terrorist act in Burma in 1983¹⁷ and North Korea's attack on Korean Airlines flight 858 in 1987¹⁸ were both strongly criticized. Burma cut diplomatic ties with North Korea and expelled North Korean officials in response.¹⁹ Illegal trade by North Korean officials at some embassies was also a matter of international concern during this period. Liberia cut diplomatic ties and Lesotho suspended its diplomatic relationship with North Korea during this period, although diplomatic relations were later re-established.²⁰

4/18/ 1980	Zimbabwe	10/11/1982	Suriname
9/9/ 1980	Mexico	1/9/ 1985	Côte d'Ivoire
2/12/ 1981	Lebanon	1/22/ 1986	Trinidad and Tobago
10/1/1981	Vanuatu	10/24/ 1988	Columbia
3/25/ 1982	Nauru	12/15/1988	Peru
6/25/1982	Malawi	2/13/ 1989	Morocco

1990s: Former Soviet Bloc – and attempts with Japan and the U.S.

In the 1990s, the collapse of the Soviet bloc resulted in major cuts in economic aid to the DPRK, causing economic hardship and food shortages. With the death of Kim II-sung in 1994, the first nuclear crisis and famine in the mid-1990s, North Korea asked for food aid not only from UN agencies and countries around the world, but also from South Korea. In the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the formation of the Russian Federation, the DPRK established relations with newly independent nations such as Lithuania, Latvia, and Ukraine.

With a severely reduced budget, North Korea closed thirty percent of its embassies between 1998 and 2001: seven in Africa, six in Europe, two in Middle East, two in Latin America and one in Asia. ²¹ During this decade, North Korea turned its diplomatic efforts to two major adversaries, seeking security guarantees and economic benefit: the United States., technically still an adversary since the Korean War, and Japan, which had ruled North Korea for 36 years prior to the war. North Korea signed the Agreed Framework in 1994, which outlined steps to "cooperate to replace the DPRK's graphite-moderated reactors" with light water reactors and to "move toward full normalization of political and economic relations," among other commitments. However, although the U.S. and the DPRK did improve relations during this era, no irreversible progress was made toward either denuclearization or normalization.

North Korea also began talks with Japan to normalize relations. The two countries met eight times between 1991 and 1992 and Japanese representatives of the LDP visited North Korea in March, 1998. However, no concrete actions were taken.

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

In 2000s: The European Union

In 2001, Kim Jong-il declared that North Korea was ready to talk with any capitalist countries if they respected the North's sovereignty. Kim Jong Il also said he was ready to improve U.S.-DPRK relations. North Korea successfully concluded diplomatic ties with many European countries and opened embassies in Italy, Germany, South Africa and the United Kingdom in the early 2000s. North Korea successfully concluded diplomatic ties with many European countries and opened embassies in Italy, Germany, South Africa and the United Kingdom in the

The United States and the DPRK had a roller-coaster relationship during this period, which saw the effective end of the Agreed Framework and two DPRK nuclear tests. It also saw the beginning of the Six Party Talks and the September 2005 Joint Statement. The DPRK's relationship with Japan worsened during this period; Kim Jong-il's 2002 acknowledgement that the DPRK had abducted Japanese citizens resulted in a backlash and Japanese reluctance to address other issues until this matter is fully resolved. Although the nuclear and missiles tests in 2006 resulted in a slow-down in new diplomatic relationships, in 2007 the DPRK established or re-established ties with six countries. In September 2009, France dispatched Jack Lang to Pyongyang as a "Special Envoy to North Korea." Following the visit France expressed its interest in forging cultural links with North Korea, but not full diplomatic ties.²⁴

1/4/2000	Italy	5/2/2001	Liechtenstein
5/8/2000	Australia	5/14/2001	EU

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

The two incidents in 2010 the Cheonan sinking and the Yeonpyeng Shelling, strained some of North Korean's diplomatic relations but none were severed.²⁵ In July 2011, France announced plans to open up a "cooperation bureau" in Pyongyang to support the activities of French NGOs, emphasizing that this will be cultural bureau, and not a diplomatic mission.²⁶

Years Diplomatic Relations were established, alphabetical order

Afghanistan	12/26/1973	Denmark	7/17/1973
Albania	11/29/1948	Djibouti	6/13/1993
Algeria	9/25/1958	Dominica	1/21/1991
Angola	11/16/1975	Dominica Rep.	9/24/2007
Antigua &	11/27/1990	East Timor	11/5/2002
Barbuda			
Armenia	2/13/1992	Egypt	8/24/1963
Australia	5/8/2000	Equatorial Guinea	1/30/1969
Austria	12/17/1974	Eritrea	5/25/1993
Azerbaijan	1/30/1992	Ethiopia	6/5/1975
Bahamas	5/16/1991	EU	5/14/2001
Bahrain	5/23/2001	Finland	6/1/1973
Bangladesh	12/9/1973	Gabon	1/29/1974
Barbados	12/5/1977	Gambia	3/2/1973
Belarus	2/3/1992	Georgia	11/3/1994
Belgium	1/23/2001	Germany	3/1/2001
Belize	6/20/1991	Ghana	12/28/1964
Benin	2/5/1973	Greece	3/8/2001
Bosnia	1/19/1996	Grenada	5/9/1979
Botswana	12/27/1974	Guatemala	9/26/2007
Brazil	3/9/2001	Guinea	10/8/1958
Brunei	1/7/1999	Guinea-Bissau	3/16/1974

Bulgaria	11/29/1948	Guyana	5/18/1974
Burkina Faso	10/11/1972	Hungary	11/11/1948
Burundi	3/12/1967	Iceland	7/27/1973
Cambodia	12/28/1964	India	12/10/1973
Cameroon	3/3/1972	Indonesia	4/16/1964
Canada	2/6/2001	Iran	4/15/1973
Cape Verde	8/18/1975	Ireland	12/10/2003
Central Africa	9/5/1969	Italy	1/4/2000
Chad	5/8/1969	Jamaica	10/9/1974
Chile	6/1/1972	Jordan	7/5/1974
China	10/6/1949	Kazakhstan	1/28/1992
Columbia	10/24/1988	Kenya	5/12/1975
Comoros	11/13/1975	Kuwait	4/4/2001
Congo	12/15/1972	Kyrgyzstan	1/21/1992
Congo Rep.	12/24/1964	Laos	6/24/1974
Côte d'Ivoire	1/9/1985	Latvia	9/26/1991
Croatia	11/30/1992	Lebanon	2/12/1981
Cuba	8/29/1960	Liberia	12/20/1973
Cyprus	12/23/1991	Libya	1/23/1974
Czech	1/1/1993	Liechtenstein	5/2/2001
Republic			

Lithuania	9/25/1991	Senegal	9/8/1972
Luxembourg	3/5/2001	Seychelles	6/28/1976
Macedonia	11/2/1993	Sierra Leone	10/14/1971
Madagascar	11/16/1972	Singapore	11/8/1975
Malawi	6/25/1982	Slovakia	1/1/1993
Malaysia	6/30/1973	Slovenia	9/8/1992
Maldives	6/14/1970	Somalia	4/13/1967
Mali	8/29/1961	South Africa	8/10/1998
Malta	12/20/1971	Spain	2/7/2001
Mauritius	3/16/1973	Sri Lanka	7/15/1970
Mexico	9/9/1980	St. Kitts and Nevis	12/13/1991
Moldova	1/30/1992	St. Vincent and the Grenadines	8/16/1990
Mongolia	10/15/1948	Sudan	6/21/1969
Montenegro	7/16/2007	Suriname	10/11/1982
Morocco	2/13/1989	Swaziland	9/20/2007
Mozambique	6/25/1975	Sweden	4/7/1973
Myanmar	4/26/2007	Switzerland	12/20/1974
Namibia	3/22/1990	Syria	7/25/1966
Nauru	2/25/1982	Tajikistan	2/5/1992
Nepal	5/15/1974	Tanzania	1/13/1965
Netherlands	1/15/2001	Thailand	5/8/1975
New Zealand	3/26/2001	Togo	1/31/1973
Nicaragua	8/21/1979	Trinidad and Tobago	1/22/1986
Niger	9/6/1974	Turkey	

			6/27/2001
Nigeria	5/25/1976	Turkmenistan	1/10/1992
Norway	6/22/1973	Uganda	8/2/1972
Oman	5/20/1992	Ukraine	1/9/1992
Pakistan	11/9/1972	United Arab	9/17/2007
		Emirates	
Papua New	6/1/1976	United Kingdom	12/12/2000
Guinea			
Peru	12/15/1988	USSR	10/12/1948
Philippines	7/12/2000	Uzbekistan	2/7/1992
Poland	10/16/1948	Vanuatu	10/1/1981
Portugal	4/15/1975	Venezuela	10/28/1974
Qatar	1/11/1993	Vietnam	1/31/1950
Romania	11/3/1948	Yemen	3/9/1963
Rwanda	4/22/1972	Yugoslavia	10/30/1948
Saint Lucia	9/13/1979	Zambia	4/12/1969
San Marino	5/13/2004	Zimbabwe	4/18/1980

By JJ Oh and Kim Insung Last Updated August 22, 2011

¹ Grace Lee, "The Political Philosophy of Juche," Standford Journal of East Asian Affairs 3 (2003)

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

⁴ Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2011 외교백서(Diplomatic White Paper), p. 276-277 (Accessed at: http://www.mofat.go.kr/state/publication/whitepaper/2011/20110708/21116_file_wpc.pdf)

According to "The People's Korea" Website, North Korea does not have diplomatic relations with Bosnia (< http://www1.korea-np.co.jp/pk/>); according to the Republic of Korea's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the two countries do have diplomatic relations.

Although Palestine is not recognized as a state by the UN, it has official representatives in Pyongyang.

⁷ KINU(Korea Institute for National Unification) 2009 북한 개요 [Pukhan gaeyo] p.117-126 at http://www.unikorea.go.kr/CmsWeb/viewPage.req?idx=PG0000000353>

⁸ Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, White Paper 2009, MOFAT 2009

⁹ In the 1960s the USSR engaged in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I) with the U.S., which eventually led to the ABM Treaty and the Interim Agreement on strategic offensive arms in 1972. For more information, see Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (Salt I) at http://www.state.gov/www/global/arms/treaties/salt1.html

¹⁰ See the U.S. Department of State's description of the Bandung Conference at < http://history.state.gov/milestones/1953-1960/BandungConf >

¹¹ Jae-gyu Park, "북한의 대 아프리카 외교정책 [North Korea's Foreign Policy to Africa]," 북한외교론 3 (1977) 12 KINU 2009 북한 개요. op. cited. p.118

¹³ Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, White Paper 2009, MOFAT, op. cited.

¹⁴ Ki-jong Lee, "북한의 대 제 3 세계 비동맹 외교 정책 [North Korea's Foreign Policy to the Third World]," 시민정치학회 (1997)

¹⁵ Tae-un Kim, "북한의 대 EU 수교 현황과 그 배경 [Status of North Korea's diplomatic ties with EU and its background]," 한국정치정보학회 (2001)

¹⁶ KINU 2009 북한 개요. op. cited. p.119

¹⁷ Time Magazine "A Bomb Wreaks Havoc in Rangoon," Oct. 17, 1983. < http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,952196,00.html>

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

¹⁹ Ministry of Unification, 북한 이해 2009 [Understanding of North Korea], MOU 2009

²⁰ See http://www.foreign.gov.ls/diplomats/show_non_res.php?Country=Korea%20(Democratic%20Peoples%20Republic

²¹ In 1993, North Korea closed embassies in Jamaica and Benin. In 1995, it closed embassies in Portugal, Nicaragua, Tunisia, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Lebanon, Congo, Burundi, Mozambique, Hungary. In 1998, it closed embassies in Denmark, Finland,

Jordan, Ghana, Senegal, Algeria, Zimbabwe, Mali, Zambia, Togo, Kazakhstan, Ukraine. In 1999 it closed embassies in Mongol, Angola, Venezuela.

²³ The DPRK closed its embassy in Australia in 2008 for economic reasons.

The Rusi Journal, p. 79 http://asiafoundation.org/resources/pdfs/201104SnyderandByun.pdf>

²⁶ "France Plans to Set Up Cooperation Bureau in N. Korea in September," July 13, 2011, Airang News, http://www.arirang.co.kr/News/News_View.asp?nseq=118067&code=Ne2&category=2

²² Keun-sik Kim, "북한의 체제보전과 대외정책 변화 [North Korean Regime Integrity and the Change of North Korea' Foreign Policy: From Encampment Diplomacy to All Directional Diplomacy]," 국제정치논총 4 (2002)

²⁴ AFP: "French envoy Jack Lang arrives in Pyongyang." Sep. 17, 2009 http://www.nkeconwatch.com/2011/07/12/france-to-open-pyongyang-office/ Scott Snyder and See-Won Byun, "Cheonan and Yeonpyeong, The Northeast Asian Response to North Korea's Provocations."