abductions of Japanese citizens, 180-181, 207-208, 225, 226, 229 by South Korea, 208-209 abortions, 257n47 accountability humanitarian aid and, 105, 106, 162, 183 social control and, 57 ACT/Church World Service, 112 Action contre la Faim (Action against Hunger), 111, 127 Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA), 111, 112 AFMAL (Associazone con i Fatebenefratelli per i Malati Lontani), 111 Agreed Framework (Geneva Agreement) Bush administration abandonment of oil shipments, 196 Japan-DPRK normalization talks under, 206 KEDO framework and, 166 normalization of relations with U.S. and, 167

outcomes of, 191 U.S. obligations under, 192-193 agricultural production collectivization of farms, 48-50 deficiencies in, 61-62 disincentives, 149-150 economy and, 60-62 famine-related changes, 80-83 food deficits in early 2000s, 149 food distribution to farmers, 81 government investment in, 82 irrigation and, 60-61 market pricing of commodities, 81-82 military role in, 52 monitoring of aid, 124 policy changes under Kim Jong Il, 78-79 relief efforts, 123-125 Agricultural Recovery and Environmental Protection (AREP), 260n7 effectiveness of, 123-124 as humanitarian assistance strategy, 102

Index

Agricultural Recovery and Environmental Protection (AREP) (cont.) negotiations over, 132-133 as relief/rehabilitation bridge, 103-104 Albright, Madeleine, 39, 167, 192, 214 Allison, Graham, 36 alternative foods, 84, 251n95 American Enterprise Institute, 194 American Friends Service Committee, 109, 113 American Red Cross, 112 AmeriCares, 113, 171 Amigos Internacionales, 112 AREP. See Agricultural Recovery and Environmental Protection (AREP) arms sales, 154, 231 "Army First" policy, 79, 154, 227, 230 Associazone con i Fatebenefratelli per i Malati Lontani (AFMAL), 111 Association of Evangelism in Korea, 112 Association to Send Eggs and Bananas to the Children of the DPRK, 113 Australia, 181 "axis of evil," 168, 195 bartering, 82, 141 Beijing six-party talks, 185-186

Beijing six-party talks, 185–186 Berlin declaration, 202–203 bilateral humanitarian agencies, 109–110, 174 birth rate, 90, 257n47 Bosworth, Stephen, 280n44 Brunei, 182 Bush, George H. W., 171 Bush, George W. on "axis of evil," 168, 195 snubbing of Kim Dae Jung, 195, 205 Bush administration (2001–) Agreed Framework oil shipments, abandonment of, 196 distancing from Clinton policies, 196 hostility toward DPRK, 154, 168-169, 172 negotiations with DPRK, 197-198 North Korean policy, 195-196, 229 paralysis of, 195-199 participation in multilateral talks, 198 proposed UN sanctions against DPRK, 196-197 Roh negotiations with, 204-205 CAD (Children's Aid Direct), 110, 111, 127, 214-215 Campus fur Christus, 111, 125 Canadian Foodgrains Bank (CFGB), 112, 117, 127 cannibalism, unsubstantiated claims of, 31 Cap Anamur, 111 capacity building government suspicion of, 125-126 as humanitarian assistance strategy, 103, 104-105, 216 U.S. humanitarian aid policies and, 229 capitalism criminalized, 218 economic reform and, 138 introduction in Korea, 46-47 CARE, 112, 127 Caritas agencies, 110, 112, 162 Caritas-Coreana, 112, 113 Caritas-Hong Kong, 117 Caritas-Japan, 113 Caritas-South Korea, 201

Carter, Jimmy, 36, 37, 166 Carter Center, 112 Catholic Relief Services, 112, 127 centralism, democratic, 47 CESVI (Cooperazione e Sviluppo), 111 CFGB (Canadian Foodgrains Bank), 112, 117, 127 Chagang, 86, 148 change. See social change; socioeconomic reconstitution Cheney, Dick, 196, 198 child care, 53, 68-70, 93 children death rates, 91 malnutrition, 69-70, 90-91, 122, 255n33, 257nn51-52 Children's Aid Direct (CAD), 110, 111, 127, 214-215 children's centers, 68-69 China diplomatic relations with DPRK, 217-219 diplomatic relations with ROK, 184 DPRK foreign policy toward, 184-187 hard currency requirements for goods, 184 humanitarian assistance of, 108, 186, 217, 285n104 illegal migration to, 218 national security interests, 219 security agreements with DPRK, 185-186 treaty of 1961, 185 Chochongryun. See General Association of Korean Residents in Japan Choe Su-Hon, 138 cholera, 71 Chollima campaigns, 65

Chollima steel complex, 83 Chongjin, 147 Chosen Soren. See General Association of Korean Residents in Japan Christian Friends of Korea, 171 Chung Ju Yung, 201 Church World Service, 112 Clinton administration, 191-195 ambivalence toward DPRK, 192-193 arms negotiations, 193-194 foreign aid to DPRK, 192-193, 286n14 four-party talks, 191 fragility of consensus, 194-195 Geneva Agreement. See Agreed Framework (Geneva Agreement) negotiations with DPRK, 39, 167, 191-192 Cold War DPRK socioeconomic data interchanges, 9 presumptions of DPRK politics, 37 strategic concerns of U.S., 190 "comfort women," 179, 206, 209, 282n70 Commission on Human Rights (UN), 58, 182, 213 Common Humanitarian Assistance Plan, 128–129 communications agencies, 165 Communism, 54, 164 community, ethics of, 41 community surveillance, 56, 247n49 compromise, negotiated, 6 Concern Worldwide, 111 Conference on Trade and Development (UN), 42-43 confidence building, 6, 221

consensus, 46-53 famine and loss of, 77, 79-80 foundations of, 46-47 human security trade-offs, 46 management of, 48-53 context, human security and, 41-42 cooperative farms disincentives for, 80-81, 149-150 food market economy and, 146 under Kim Il Sung, 48-49 Cooperazione e Sviluppo (CESVI), 111 Council on Foreign Relations, 194 Coutts, Douglas Casson, 106 crime, increase in, 97, 259n71 culture, as socialization, 54-55 Cumings, Bruce, 36-38 currency euros, 142-143 exchange rates, 275n46 hard currency economy, 135, 140, 142-144 won, 140, 141-142

data

analysis of, 12–14 difficulties in obtaining, 8–9, 31–32, 119, 120–121, 241n47, 268n104 distortion of, 35 from humanitarian community, 10–12, 120 improved reporting of, 129–130 politics and, 8–14 pressures toward transparency, 9–10 research methodology, 14–17 restructuring of information base, 16–17 sources of, 17–19, 119–120 Davies, Ian, 75 deaths, famine-related, 73-74, 91, 253n120 debt repayment defaults, 161, 184 democratic centralism, 47 Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) abduction of Japanese citizens, 180-181, 207–208, 225, 226, 229 anti-Japanese climate, 178-180 arms sales, 154, 231 concealment of information about, 6, 8-9, 31-32, 241n47 contact with donors, 131-132 creation of, 58 default on loans, 161, 184 democracy, lack of experience with, 46 foreign visitors, 9-10 human insecurity assessment, 43 human rights and, 28-29, 182, 240n32 intelligent intervention in, 7, 219-220 lack of understanding of international norms, 228-229 liberalization, resistance to, 242n54 madness of politics, 30-32, 240n44 as militarized society, 25-28 Ministry of Foreign Trade, 183-184 nation building, 47, 54, 233-234 national security priorities, 3-4 national territory of, 225 nationalistic pride, 47, 245n11 nouveau riche, 145-146 nuclear arms development, 181, 184 openness and humanitarian aid, 133-134

Index

Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) (cont.) per capita income, 151, 273n17 population estimates, 27, 239n26 presidential office, abolition of, 79 as rational actor, 36-38, 228 as rogue state, 22-23, 25-26 South Korean visitors to, 203 standards of living vs. South Korea, 59 UN membership, 191 Western media and, 294n2 See also Korean peninsula and subjectspecific entries (e.g., foreign policy) Deutsche Welthungerhilfe, 111 development aid programs, 214-215 diplomacy under Communism, 164 expansion of diplomatic relations, 181-182 goal-oriented actions, 165 negotiating style, 165-166, 187-188 new approach to, 164-166 role of NGOs, 169-171 trickle-down, 131-133 See also foreign policy disabled persons, famine and, 91-92 Disaster Assessment and Coordination (UN), 109 disease prevalence, famine and, 92 dissent food riots, 87 suppression of, 32, 46, 56, 58, 156, 227 dollarization, 142-144 double-cropping, 61 DPRK. See Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) drug usage, 72

Eberstadt, Nicholas, 29 ECHO (European Commission Humanitarian Aid department), 283n89 economic growth and development agricultural sector, 60-62 decline since 1990s, 59-60 energy and, 63-64 flaws in government policies, 65-66 human security trade-offs and, 45 industry and, 62-63 infrastructure deficiencies, 150 limits to, 148–153 living standards since 1948, 59 loss of Soviet bloc support, 59, 65, 160, 184 military sector, 64-65 national security and, 225-226 oil imports and fragility of, 59 per capita income, 151, 273n17 productivity policies, 66, 250nn83-84 rewards and social management, 46 signs of recovery, 147-148 trade deficits and, 60 economic reform development and, 216 food market economy, 140, 141-142 government interventions, 150-151 hard currency economy, 135, 140, 142-144 human security improvements, 155-156 information technology and, 137 legislation legitimizing, 137-139 limited benefits for workers, 150 limits to growth, 148-153 market-based, 135-136, 227

economic reform (cont.) marketization without liberalization, 136-139 mixed signals about, 272n8 political instability and, 227-228 proactive leadership and, 135 profitability and, 138, 272n10 recovery and, 140 rejection of socialism, 139 See also socioeconomic reconstitution education famine and, 93, 258n58 universal, 53, 54 efficiency, as humanitarian aid norm, 105, 106 Einhorn, Robert, 286n11 elderly, famine and, 91 electricity, 60-61, 64 energy sector, 63-64, 70-71, 75 ethics of community, 41 Eugene Bell Foundation, 113, 171 European Coal and Steel Community, 232 European Commission, 110, 283n89 European Union criticism of DPRK human rights practices, 182, 213, 293nn100-101 development aid programs, 214-215 diplomatic interventions, 182, 211-216 encouragement of NGO operations, 214 humanitarian assistance to DPRK, 108, 183 "joined-up" assistance strategy, 189 negotiations strategies, 228-229 South Korean support for DPRK,

204

Index

exchange rates, 275n46 fairness, 40-41 faith-based agencies, 111, 171 FALU (Food Aid Liaison Unit), 111-112, 268n100 Family Planning Association (UN), 110 famine, 66-74 alternative foods, 84, 251n95 causes of, 34, 66-67, 242n57 children and, 68-69, 90-91 coping responses, 84-86, 95 deaths from, 73-74, 91, 253n120 economic impacts, 74-75, 80 effects on industry, 83-86 human insecurity and, 223-223 illness prevalence, 92 loss of consensus and, 79-80 nutrition status before 1995 floods, 71 provincial responses to, 86-87 scale and scope of, 73 vulnerable population groups, 88-92 women and, 89-90, 256n43 See also malnutrition famine relief first responses from international agencies, 113-114 food distribution systems, 93–94, 258nn61-63 failures of, 83-84, 275n44 inequalities in, 147 provincial, 87 as humanitarian strategy, 102 lives saved by, 121-123 major donors, 107-108 nongovernmental organization contributions, 116-118

euros, 142-143

famine relief (cont.) requests for humanitarian assistance, 101, 161 UN consolidated interagency appeals, 114-116, 265n65, 265n69 See also humanitarian assistance; World Food Program (WFP) farms, 48-50, 82, 254n19 fertilizer, 34 field research, 14-15 floods, 66-68, 70-71 Food Aid Liaison Unit (FALU), 111-112, 268n100 food market economy, 140, 141-142, 146, 147-148 food production. See agricultural production foreign investment barriers to, 151, 275n38 encouragement of, 163-164, 274n31 mechanisms for, 232-233 necessity for, 149 policy changes and, 161–162 from South Korea, 201-202 foreign policy ambivalence in, 184 China and, 184-187 humanitarian activities affecting, 159-160 increased openness in 2000s, 160 intelligent interventions, 7 Japan and, 178–181, 187 limitations of theories, 5 links with capitalist countries, 161 negotiating practices, 187-188 rational-actor model, 38-39 reorientation of, 159, 177-178 Republic of Korea and, 172–178

role of policymakers, 7 Russia and, 184-187 state as black box, 6 state-centric, 5, 22-23 suspicion of the West, 160 United States and, 166-172, 187 Bush administration, 154, 168-169, 172 Clinton administration, 167 See also diplomacy four-party talks, 191 fragmentation, social, 144-147 freedom from fear contradictory changes in, 155-156 human security and, 40 humanitarian assistance and, 224 losses in, 223 military and, 52 unequal distribution of, 144 freedom from want cooperative farm families and, 146-147 human security and, 40, 156, 223 humanitarian assistance and, 225 military and, 52 national security policy and, 4 freedom of speech, repression of, 58 free-trade zones, 138, 147, 150-151 Gallucci, Robert L., 286n11 gender roles, 14-15 General Association of Korean Resi-

dents in Japan, 113, 179, 211 Geneva Agreement. *See* Agreed Framework (Geneva Agreement) German Agro Action (GAA), 111 Gilbert, Aimee, 171 Gilman, Benjamin, 287n23

global free trade, 140 Great Britain, 182 Gregg, Donald, 171

hailstorms, 66 Han Sung-Joo, 204 Handicap International, 91-92, 111 hard currency economy, 135, 140, 142-144, 146 Harrison, Selig, 37 Health Care Workers to Aid North Korean Flood Victims, 112 health services floods and crisis in, 71-72 inadequacies of, 152 under Kim Il Sung regime, 53 modern vs. traditional medicine, 72 resource limitations, 89, 249n78 Help Age International, 111, 127 Helping Hands Korea, 288n40 Heritage Foundation, 194 high energy milk (HEM), 71 Human Development Report (1994), 39-40 human rights abuses of DPRK, 28-29, 240n32 Japanese, 179 dialogue concerning, 188 DPRK reactions to activism, 156 European Union criticism of DPRK practices, 182, 213, 293n99 human security assessment of, 40-42 concept of, 39-40 context and, 41-42 diplomatic initiatives, 190 DPRK priorities, 3-4, 7 failure of policies in 1990s, 66, 77

fragility of, 148 fundamentals of, 40 humanitarian aid and. See humanitarian assistance loss of government safety net, 88-92 marketization and, 138 national security policy and, 160 patchwork of, 155-156 peace and, 39, 43-44 process vs. outcome, 41 providers of, 42-43 socioeconomic reconstitution and, 77-99, 144-148 trade-offs, 45-76 collapse of, 75-76 in Kim Il Sung regime, 45, 46, 223 partial reversal of, 96-98 See also freedom from fear; freedom from want humanitarian agencies diplomatic role, 131-133, 194 easing of restrictions on workers, 131 effectiveness of, 118-126 employment restrictions, 275n38 first responders to aid appeals, 113-114 funding for, 162 knowledge about DPRK from, 6, 10-12, 162 malnutrition assessments, 68-70 multilateral and bilateral, 109-110 presence in DPRK before 1990s, 108-109 reaffirmation of humanitarian principles, 128-129 relations with DPRK government, 102, 132, 183 safety of workers, 276n53

Index

humanitarian agencies (cont.) as transmission belt for openness, 162-163 withdrawal of support, 127 See also nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) humanitarian assistance agricultural recovery, 123-125 beneficiary input, 130-131 benefits of, 118-121 capacity building, 125-126 Chinese-Korean, 186 conflict prevention and, 134 DPRK requests for aid, 101, 159-160, 161 freedom from fear and, 224 freedom from want and, 225 government reliance on, 152-153 human security and, 133–134, 224-225 Humanitarian Development Working Group, 104 as ice-breaker, 214-216 immediate aid, 103 international security and, 189-221 Japanese, 107, 108, 179-180, 210-211 lives saved by, 121-123 negotiations with DPRK, 105-106, 163 norms and principles, 105, 106, 126-129, 133 prospects for peace and, 6-7 reform as sensitive issue, 103-105, 163 sectors of, 102 South Korean, 107, 108, 173-174, 201-202, 289n47 strategies, 102-105

successes in, 129-131 See also famine relief humanitarian coordinators, 106-107 Humanitarian Development Working Group, 104 Hungarian Baptist Aid, 111 Hussein, Saddam, 25 Hwang Jang Yop, 79, 242n54 Hyder, Masood, 107 Hyundai tourism project, 201 identity, Korean, 231-232 immiseration, 148 immunization programs, 72, 120 India, 181 individuals, human security for, 41 Indonesia, 181 industry economic development strategies, 62-63 energy consumption, 64 factory closures, 83 famine effects on, 83-86 "make do and mend," 63, 65 privileges for workers, 50-51 workers' response to famine, 85-86 inequality, acceptable limits of, 40-41 infant mortality, 91 inflation, 155 information technology, 137 infrastructure, deficiencies of, 150 institution building, 7 intelligent intervention, 7, 219-220, 223-234 Interaction, 279n34 International Federation of the Red Cross, 106, 108, 110, 117 International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), 124

Index

International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS), 26-27, 64, 209 international security alternatives to intelligent intervention, 233 approaches to, 21, 228-230 "bad" thesis, 25-30, 238n15 confidence building and, 221 DPRK as militarized society, 25 - 28hard approach, 29-30 human security and, 39-42 humanitarian assistance and, 189-221 intelligent interventions, 219-220 international actors affecting, 228-230 international relations theory, inadequacies of, 21-23 Korean identity and, 231-232 "mad" thesis, 30-32, 240n44 military restructuring and, 230-231 nation building and, 233-234 rational-actor model, 36-38, 228 secrecy and, 31-32 securitization paradigm, 23-25, 32-36 soft approach, 30 South Korean role in, 231-233 spillover gains in, 214, 219 worst-case analysis of DPRK intentions, 23-24 See also names of specific countries intervention, intelligent, 7, 219-220, 223-234 irrigation, 60-61 Italian Development Cooperation Office, 110 Iussaran Association, 113

Japan, 205–211 abduction of citizens by DPRK, 180-181, 207-208, 225, 226, 229 anti-DPRK sentiments, 208-209 DPRK foreign policy and, 178-181 DPRK missile threats, 179, 181, 207 human rights abuses, 179, 209 humanitarian assistance to DPRK, 107, 108, 179-180, 189, 210-211, 283n76 investment in DPRK, 232-233 military expenditures, 209 national security policy, 205-206 normalization of relations with DPRK, 206-207, 229 Pyongyang Declaration, 207 Japanese colonialism abuses of, 209 community surveillance structures, 247n49 DPRK reparations claims, 207 Korean suppression under, 46-47 legacy of, 178-180, 282n68 reparations to South Korea, 178, 179 Join Together Society, 113 Juche, 49, 53-54, 164, 242n54 Kaeson industrial-development zone, 138

138 Kaesong, famine and, 86 Kanemaru, Shin, 206 Kangwon, famine and, 86 Kartman, Charles, 280n44 KCNA (news agency), 165, 277n9 KEDO. *See* Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO) Kelly, Jim, 168–168, 197–198

kidnappings. See abductions Kilander, Svante, 214 Kim Dae Jung Bush snubbing of, 195, 205 DPRK view of, 175 engagement policy, 39, 175, 200, 202-203 humanitarian aid policies, 289n48 kidnapping of, 209 meeting with Kim Jong Il, 172, 175-176 on military threat from North Korea, 27 Nobel Peace Prize awarded to, 203 Kim Il Sung death of, 46, 79 as leader of anti-Japanese guerrillas, 178, 282n67 leadership style, 47 on peasants' markets, 103-104 personality cult, 54-55, 223 Kim Il Sung regime agricultural policies, 60-62 collapse of human security trade-offs, 75-76 collectivization of farms, 48-50 consensus in, 46-53 control of military, 51-52 democratic centralism, 47 human security trade-offs, 45 industrial policies, 62-63 industrial worker privileges, 50-51 nation building and, 47, 54 overlap with Kim Jong Il regime, 19 regional interests and, 51 safety net provided by, 52-53 social control in, 56-59 socialization process, 53-55 socioeconomic fragility, 45-46

Kim Jong Il Albright visit to, 192 apology for abduction of Japanese citizens, 180, 207-208, 225, 226, 229 coup attempts against, 28 family privileges, 145 leadership style, 77 mandatory loyalty to, 98 meeting with Kim Dae Jung, 172, 175-176 as supreme commander of army, 79 as titular ruler under Kim Il Sung, 19 visits to Russia and China, 185 Kim Jong Il regime absence of social policy, 151-153 agricultural policies, 78-79, 80-83 arms sales, 154, 231 "Army First" policy, 79, 154, 227, 230 economic policies, 78 human security trade-off, partial reversal of, 96-98 loss of legitimacy, 92-93, 99 opposition to government, 79 stability of, 227 support for military, 153-154, 275n46 Kim Young Sam, 200-201, 289n48 Kimchaek University for Technology, 199 Koizumi, Junichiro, 180, 181, 207, 229, 230 Korean identity, 231-232 Korean peninsula international policymakers and, 7 Japanese occupation. See Japanese colonialism

Index

Korean peninsula (cont.) military forces, 26-28 national territory disputes, 225 normalization of North-South relations, 175-176, 187-188, 200, 202-203, 226, 231-232, 281n52, 281nn64-65 pre-World War II society, 46 reunification concerns, 29-30, 231-232, 240n40 unresolved conflicts, 3 See also Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK); Republic of Korea (ROK) Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO), 10, 132-133, 166, 175, 196, 280n44 Korean People's Army (KPA) involvement in civilian sectors, 153, 275n48 Kim Jong Il as supreme commander, 79 MIA search cooperation, 167, 196, 214 production and foreign trade, 154 reduced size of, 231 social status of, 51 U.S. payments to, 10 See also military forces Korean People's Welfare Foundation, 113 Korean Sharing Movement, 113 Korean War armistice, 3 MIA remains, 10, 167, 190-191 popular support for national security strategy following, 51 Korean Workers' Party (KWP), 47 dissent and, 56

local authorities and socioeconomic change, 94–95 membership in, 55 party discipline and legal system, 57–58 regional membership in, 51 Korean-American Sharing Movement, 112, 169 Koryo (traditional medicine), 72, 152 KPA. *See* Korean People's Army (KPA) Kuhn, Thomas, 24–25 Kuwait, 182 Kuwait, 182 Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development, 183 kwashiorkor, 70

labor camps, 58 labor unrest, 50 land reform, 48 land rezoning, 82–83 Latter Day Saints Charities, 112 lawlessness, increase in, 97, 259n71 League of Socialist Working Youth of Korea, 55 legal system, 57–58, 151 liberalization, political, 242n54 literacy, 53 living standards, 59

MAC (Military Armistice Commission), 190–191 "make do and mend," 63, 65, 249n78 make-work jobs, 88 malnutrition in children, 69–70, 90–91, 122, 255n33, 257nn51–52 following 1995 floods, 68–70 food deficits in early 2000s, 149 incidence of, 122

malnutrition (cont.) treatment of, 71-72 wasting and, 69 See also famine marasmus, 70 marketization by default, 77, 95-96, 259n68 social fragmentation and, 144-147 without liberalization, 136-139, 140 markets dual systems, 140 functioning of, 139-144 government legitimization of, 136-139 organization of, 94 Marx, Karl, 41 mass mobilization, 65 maternal health, 90, 152 Médecins du Monde (MDM), 111, 127 Médccins Sans Frontières (MSF), 110, 111, 127 Mennonite Central Committee, 117 Mercy Corps International, 112, 113, 170 Mexico, loan defaults of, 161 MIA remains, 10, 167, 190-191, 196, 214 migration to China and Russia, 218 famine-related, 85, 95 reimposed restrictions on, 156 Military Armistice Commission (MAC), 190-191 military forces "Army First" policy, 79, 154, 227, 230 capacity of, 26-28 economic costs and benefits, 64-65, 153-154, 275n48

food distribution priorities, 87-88 integration with civilian sector, 52 under Kim Il Sung regime, 51 lack of political power, 52 peace proposals and, 230-231 popular support for, 51-52 terms of service, 246n30 See also Korean People's Army (KPA) Ministry of Foreign Trade (DPRK), 183-184 missiles, 159 Clinton administration negotiations with DPRK, 191-192, 229 DPRK-Japanese relations and, 179, 181, 207 negotiations over, 167 missing in action (MIA) remains, 10, 167, 190-191, 196, 214 mortality, famine-related, 73-74, 91, 253n120 Morton, David, 106-107, 123 MSF (Médecins Sans Frontières), 110, 111, 127 multilateral humanitarian agencies, 109-110 Murayama, Tomiichi, 207 NAM (Non-Aligned Movement), 161, 164 Nampo, famine in, 86, 87 National Christian Council (Japan), 113 National Defense Commission, 79 national security Chinese-Russian interests, 185-186, 219

Clinton administration negotiations, 167 defense of national territory, 225 foreign policy and, 187–188

Index

national security (cont.) human security priorities and, 160 military role in peace proposals, 230-231 normalization of North-South relations, 175-176, 187-188, 200, 202-203, 226, 231-232, 280n52, 281nn64-65 popular support for policies, 51 priorities, 3-4, 171-172, 225-226, 228, 229 regime stability and, 187-188, 225 nationalism, Korean, 54 natural disasters, 66-67, 74-75 Nautilus, 199 negotiation, conflict resolution and, 134 news media, Western, 294n2 Nobel Peace Prize, 203 Noland, Marcus, 31, 241n47 Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), 161, 164 nonengagement, as peace alternative, 233 nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) Chinese-Korean, 186 Clinton administration agenda and, 194 data collection, 120 diplomatic role of, 199-200 DPRK interactions with, 109 encouragement by EU, 214 European, contributions to DPRK relief, 117 humanitarian activities, 102, 110-113, 116-118, 267nn94-95 Japanese, 113, 179-180, 211, 283n76 nonresidential, 111-113

provision of niche commodities, 268n100 residential, 110-111 see-saw pattern of relations, 215 South Korean, 112-113, 117-118, 173-174, 267n94 U.S., diplomatic roles of, 169-171 withdrawal of support, 127 North Hamgyong, 86, 87, 147, 148, 273n26 North Hwanghae, 147 North Korea. See Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) North Pyongan, 147 nouveau riche, 145-146, 147 nuclear crisis of 1993-1994, 164, 166, 190, 191 of 2003-2004, 159, 168-169, 177, 181, 185 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, 168 nuclear power program, 37, 166, 243n71 nuclear weapons development, 197 nutrition surveys, 71, 119, 130, 271n145 Office for the Coordination of Human-

itarian Affairs (OCHA), 29, 107–108, 117, 128 Oman, 182 Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, 211–212 orphanages, population of, 28–29, 240n35 Oxfam, 111, 127

Pakistan, 181 Patten, Chris, 293n100

333

peace costs of alternatives, 233 East Asian security and cooperation proposals, 231 human security and, 39 humanitarian assistance and, 189 intelligent interventions for stability, 223-234 policy recommendations, 232, 233 - 234Perry, William, 191 Peters, Timothy, 288n41 physical repression, 58 PMU Interlife, 111 policy change, social change vs., 13 politics, transformation of, 156 poverty endemic, 88-89 famine and, 80 prevalence of, 42-43 urban vs. rural, 147-148, 273n26 Powell, John, 147 Premiere Urgence, 111 Private Voluntary Organization Consortium (PVOC), 111, 112, 169-170, 279n34 profitability, economic reform and, 138, 272n10 propaganda, 99, 244n2 Public Distribution System (PDS), 83-84, 258nn61-63 make-work jobs and, 88 restructuring of, 93-94 Pueblo incident, 191 Putin, Vladimir, 175-176 Pyongyang famine in, 86, 87 socioeconomic reconstitution and, 147 - 148

Pyongyang Chamber of Commerce, 163–164 Pyongyang Declaration, 207 Pyongyang Maternity Hospital, 90, 152 Pyongyang Summit (2000), 9, 175–176, 203 Pyongyang Times, 175

Qatar, 182

Rajin-Sonbong, 147 rational-actor model of politics, 36-38 conflict resolution assumptions, 38 international relations and DPRK, 38-39, 228 South Korean engagement with DPRK, 44 Rawles, John, 41 recycling, 63 Red Army Faction, 180 Red Cross American Red Cross, 112 funding of movement, 162 International Federation of the Red Cross, 106, 108, 110, 117 reform humanitarian strategies and, 103-105 through labor camps, 58 refugees, famine-related, 85 regime, defined, 19 regional interests, 51 Relief Campaign Committee for Children, 113 religious tolerance, 28 reparations, Japanese DPRK claims for, 207 to South Korea, 178, 179 repression, physical, 58

Republic of Korea (ROK). See also Korean peninsula abductions by, 208-209 Berlin declaration, 202–203 Bush administration and, 204-205 cash transactions with DPRK, 143 diplomatic relations with China and Russia, 184 DPRK foreign policy and, 166, 172-178 engagement policy, 44 humanitarian assistance to DPRK, 107, 108, 173-174, 201-202, 289n47 international security and, 231-233 Japanese reparations to, 178 "joined-up" assistance strategy, 189 Kim Young Sam policies, 200-201 military strength, 26-27 National Security Law, 112, 201 national territory of, 225 negotiations strategies with DPRK, 228-229 NGOs, 112-113, 117-118, 173-174 Roh Moo Hyun presidency, 203, 204-205 standard of living vs. DPRK, 59 support for war on terrorism, 204 visitors to North Korea, 203 research methodology, 14-17 resource shortages, industrial, 63 Revolutionary Martyrs Cemetery, 282n68 rezoning, 82-83 Richardson, Bill, 171, 279n38 riots, food shortages and, 87 Roh Moo Hyun, 203-205 ROK. See Republic of Korea (ROK) Rumsfeld, Donald, 196

Russia

diplomatic relations with DPRK, 217-219 diplomatic relations with ROK, 184 Far East, economic links to, 185 foreign policy and, 184-187 hard currency requirements for goods, 184 humanitarian assistance to DPRK, 186, 189, 217 illegal immigration from DPRK, 218 national security and, 186, 219 treaty of cooperation with DPRK (2000), 185Ryanggang famine in, 86, 87 government-sponsored migration to, 150, 274n34

Saddam Hussein, 25 sanitation, 70-71 Save the Children (SCF), 111 Scalapino, Robert, 31 schools. famine and, 93, 258n58 SDC. See Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC) Second Economic Committee, 276n49 secrecy, culture of, 134 securitization paradigm, 24-25, 32-36 change and, 34 conflict resolution assumptions, 37 distortion of data, 35, 238n11 famine and, 34 lack of evidence for, 33-34 security. See human security; international security; national security self-defense, 51-52 Self-Defense Forces (Japan), 209

Index

September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, 172, 196 sexual slavery, 179, 206, 209, 282n70 Sherman, Wendy, 191 Shevardnadze, Eduard, 184 shuttle diplomacy, 37 Sigal, Leon, 37 Sinuiju free-trade zone, 138, 150–151, 185, 217-218 social change fragmentation and, 144-147 policy change vs., 13 securitization paradigm and, 34 social consensus. See consensus social control, 56-59, 247n49 social policy, absence of, 151-153 socialism, 139 socialization, 5, 53-55 socioeconomic reconstitution absence of social policy, 151-153 Clinton administration failure to recognize, 193 economic recovery and, 140 government resistance to, 96 human insecurity and, 77-99 human security and, 144-148 inequalities in, 144 institutionalization of inequality, 156-157 legislation and, 137-138 local parties and, 94-95 loss of government safety net, 88-92 market reform and, 135-139 marketization by default, 77, 95-96 negative consequences of, 155-156 policy change vs., 13 political instability and, 227-228

survival and, 96, 135 See also economic reform Soerensen, Runar, 69-70 soil erosion, 82 South Hamgyong, 87, 147, 273n26 South Hwanghae, 147 South Korea. See Republic of Korea (ROK) South Pyongan, 87, 147 spare parts, shortage of, 75 standards of living, 59 state, as human security provider, 42 - 43state farms, 48-50, 82, 254n19 state-centric international relations, 5 Stone Age lifestyles, 147, 273n26 Sweden, 181, 214 Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC), 110, 125, 130-131, 183, 216-217 Swiss Disaster Relief Unit (SDR), 110 Switzerland engagement with DPRK, 212, 216-217 food aid to DPRK, 107 "joined-up" assistance strategy, 189 Syracuse University, 199 Syria, 107

Taean heavy machinery factory, 83 Taehongdan, 150 Takeshita, Noboru, 206 Taro Aso, 209 tidal waves, 67 trade agreements, preferential, 59 transparency, 105, 106, 183 Triangle, 111 trickle-down diplomacy, 131–133 tuberculosis, 72

Index

unemployment, famine-related, 85-86 UNICEF, 14, 101, 110, 125 United Nations Commission on Human Rights, 58, 182, 213 Conference on Trade and Development (2002), 42-43 consolidated interagency appeals, 114-116 Department of Humanitarian Affairs, 67 Disaster Assessment and Coordination, 109 DPRK membership in, 191 Family Planning Association, 110 humanitarian coordinators, 106-107 Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), 29, 107–108, 117, 128 UNICEF, 14, 101, 110, 125 WHO (World Health Organization), 91, 110 World Tourism Organization, 110 See also United Nations Development Program (UNDP); World Food Program (WFP) United Nations Development Program (UNDP), 42 agricultural recovery and, 123-124 Country Cooperation Framework 2001-2003, 260n9 Geneva workshop on agricultural recovery, 103-104 presence in DPRK before 1990s, 108 scope of work in DPRK, 109-110 United States Cold War strategic concerns, 190 congressional criticism of DPRK, 198, 288nn41-42

contact with DPRK before 1994, 190-191 diplomatic relations with DPRK, 187 diplomatic roles of NGOs, 169-171 food assistance negotiations, 167 foreign policy toward, 25-26, 166-172, 238n15 humanitarian assistance to DPRK, 107-108, 199 lack of recognition of DPRK national security reconceptualization, 229 nuclear crisis of 2003-2004, 177 preemptive nuclear strike policy, 168, 237n8 "Washington consensus," 192–195 See also Bush administration (2001-); Clinton administration uranium-enrichment program, 172, 197

Vollertsen, Norbert, 288n42

wasting (malnutrition), 69
water pollution, 70–71
WFP. See World Food Program (WFP)
WHO (World Health Organization), 91, 110
Wit, Joel, 286n11
Wolfowitz, Paul, 196
women

famine's impact on, 89–90, 256n43
health care, 152
rights under Kim Il Sung regime, 48, 53

won (currency), 140, 141–142, 143, 150, 155

337

World Food Program (WFP) aid to DPRK, 101-102 capacity-building activities, 125 dominance in DPRK negotiations, 101, 106-107 field research, 14-17 Food Aid Liaison Unit (FALU), 111–112, 268n100 food ration needs in early 2000s, 148 humanitarian coordinators, 106-107 monitoring activities, 120, 269n108 Pyongyang office, 110

site visits, 268n104 World Health Organization (WHO), 91, 110 World Tourism Organization (UN), 110 World Vision International, 112 World Vision South Korea, 112–113, 201

yakuzas, 171 Yang Bin, 138 Youth League, 55