북한의 개발역량 강화와 국제협력을 위한 지식 공유

North Korea’s Development Capacity and International Cooperation for Knowledge Sharing—Gender, Agriculture, and Tourism Perspectives

2014년 6월 11일(수)
1:00pm~6:00pm
경남대 극동문제연구소 정산홀

Wednesday, June 11, 2014
1:00pm~6:00pm
Jungsan Hall, IFES/UNKS, Seoul, Korea
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**Session 2: Partnerships in Agriculture: Building North Korean Capacity**

**Moderator**  
KWON Taejin (Senior Research Fellow, Korea Rural Economic Institute)

**Presenter 1**  
*DPRK Agricultural Training: The AFSC Experience*  
Linda LEWIS (DPRK Country Rep., American Friends Service Committee)

**Presenter 2**  
*DPRK Agricultural Training: The World Vision Experience*  
LEE Jusung (Senior Program Director, World Vision)

**Discussants**  
LIM Sang Cheol (Professor, Sangji University)  
YANG Moon-Soo (Professor, University of North Korean Studies)

**16:45–18:00**  
**Session 3: Developing Capacity in Tourism and International Assistance in Knowledge Sharing**

**Moderator**  
SHIM Sang Jin (Professor, Kyonggi University)

**Presenter 1**  
*North Korea’s SEZs and Tourism: Evaluation and Prospects*  
LIM Eul-chul (Professor, Kyungnam University)

**Presenter 2**  
*DPRK Tourism in the Kim Jong Un Era: Cases and Prospects*  
Gareth JOHNSON & Troy COLLINGS (Managing-Director & DPRK Manager, Young Pioneer Tours)

**Discussants**  
LEE Bong-Hee (Senior Research Fellow, Gangwon Development Research Institute)  
SHIN Yongseok (Associate Research Fellow, Korea Culture & Tourism Institute)

**18:30**  
Dinner (invited participants only)
KEYNOTE SPEAKER

YOUN Miryang is the Assistant Minister for Unification Education of the Ministry of Unification (MOU). She has dedicated her civil service career to the MOU. She previously served as an Assistant Minister for Settlement Support Center for North Korean Refugees (Hanawon), MOU (2009-2012), and as a representative for several inter-Korean Dialogues, including the Maritime Affairs Dialogue. She received her PhD in Political Science from London School of Economics and Political Science. Her publications include North Korea’s Human Rights Situation and the Resolution (Primabooks, 2012, co-authored).

MODERATORS

CHOE Keum Sook is President of Korean Women’s Development Institute (KWDI) and professor of law at the College of Law, Ewha Womans University. She currently serves as Chair of Legal Affairs Advisory Committee at the Ministry of Justice; Co-chair of Research Cooperation Committee for Unification Policy at the Korea Institute for National Unification (KINU); and Advisor to Kaesong Industrial District Management Committee (KIDMAC). She obtained B.A. and M.A. and Ph. D. from Ewha Woman’s University and previously served as President of Korean Society of Family Law.

KWON Taejin is research director of Korea Rural Economic Institute (KREI). Dr. Kwon previously served as vice-president of KREI. He has been studying on North Korean agricultural and economic issues for the last two decades. He has regularly provided policy advice to the Korean government on various issues on the Korean peninsula. Dr. Kwon received his B.S. and M.A. from Seoul National University, and Ph.D. from the Washington State University. His research interests include inter-Korean agricultural cooperation and
international rural development. He published Strategies for Agricultural Reform in North Korea and Inter-Korean Cooperation (KREI, 2004) among many publications.

**SHIM Sang-jin** is professor of Tourism Management Department, Kyonggi University which has been the leading university in Tourism Studies in Korea since 1964. He obtained his MBA from Korea University and PH.D. from Kyonggi University. Previously he served as Senior Vice President for Hyundai Asan Corporation. **Hyundai Asan** is an arm of the Hyundai Group and a major investor in North Korea. The company manages a number of projects including the resort at Mount Kumgang Special Tourist Region, Kaesong Tour project and Kaesong Industrial Park. Professor Shim was in charge for Mt. Kumgang Special Tourist Region, Kaesong Tour and Mount Baekdu Development projects. He lived in Mt. Kumgang Tourist Region for 4 years and worked with North Korea for 14 years. During the period, he visited North Korea over 120 times to survey and discuss on tourism development in North Korea.

**PRESENTERS**

**KIM Hae-Soon** is Visiting Professor in the Department of German and European Studies at the Chung-Ang University. She previously served as a director of Korean Studies at Goethe University (Associate Professor), Frankfurt am Main, Germany. She was a scholar in residence in the Department of Sociology at Stanford University. She earned her BA and MA from Free University of Berlin, and her PhD from Bielefeld University, Germany. Her research interests include the German unification, the unification of Korea, political sociology, gender, political education, and social change. She is the author of Gleichheit, Macht und Gender im Spannungsfeld zwischen schamanischer Kultur und konfuzianischer Gesellschaftslehre in der traditionellen Gesellschaft Koreas (Equality, Power and Gender in the Conflict between...
Shamanistic Culture and Confucian Teachings in the Korean Traditional Society) (Peter Lang, 2006), and has written four other books and more than 25 essays.

Nils WEISENSEE is Entrepreneurship Programs Coordinator at Choson Exchange (CE), a non-profit registered in Singapore that supports the personal development and creation of opportunities for young North Korean professionals (including women professionals) through business, economics, and legal knowledge-sharing. Nils has worked with CE since 2013. He is an entrepreneur, social media expert, and (casual) photographer based in Shanghai, China. He is also co-founder and General Manager of Cafe del Volcan in Shanghai; consultant on effective management, scrum, lean startups, and business development in China and North Korea; and former correspondent and reporter at DAPD news agency and the Associated Press, respectively.

Linda LEWIS is the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) Country Representative for China/DPRK. Based in Dalian, China, she is responsible for AFSC’s DPRK program, including its long-standing agricultural development project. She is a regular visitor to the DPRK and has organized numerous study tours and exchanges outside Korea for DPRK partners. Dr. Lewis received her PhD from Columbia University and taught for many years at Wittenberg University (Ohio), where she was Professor of Anthropology and Director of the East Asian Studies Program. She has also held visiting appointments at Amherst, Dartmouth, and the University of Washington, and has taught and directed student exchanges at Sogang, Kansai Gaidai and Zhejiang universities. Her most recent scholarly publications have focused on the 1980 Kwangju uprising and the politics of memory. Before joining AFSC in 2010, she was Vice-President for Academic Affairs at the Institute for Study Abroad - Butler University (Indiana), and Director of Asian and Pacific Studies at the School for International Training-Study Abroad (Vermont).
LEE Jusung is a senior program director at World Vision International. He graduated from Korea Christian University, majoring in Social Welfare. He joined World Vision Korea in 1994, and began working at its DPRK Ministry since 2003. He also holds a position as an Operation Director for Korea NGO Council for Cooperation with North Korea. World Vision Korea started its DPRK Ministry in 1994 and in 1998 shifted its direction to the agricultural development projects, cooperating with its DPRK counterpart (Pyongyang Academy of Agricultural Science) on seed potato production, fruit and vegetable protection, and agricultural technicians’ training.

LIM Eul-chul is currently Professor and Research Director at the Institute for Far Eastern Studies (IFES), Kyungnam University. He also works as a Director of the Center for International Cooperation for North Korean Development at IFES. His research focuses on development-related issues including capacity building and the Kaesong Industrial Complex. Dr. Lim is widely published in the above mentioned areas, which include *The New Paradigm for Economic Reform: Theory and Practice of Development for North Korea* (in Korean, 2007), *Kaesong Industrial Complex: History, Pending Issues, and Outlook* (in English, 2007) among many others. Prior to joining IFES, he worked as a researcher in the Department of North Korea in the Korea Trade Investment Promotion Agency (KOTRA) (1992-1996), and a reporter specializing in North Korea for *The Hankyoreh Daily* (1996-2005). He was also a visiting scholar at Georgetown University (2000-2001).

Gareth JOHNSON is the Managing-Director of Young Pioneer Tours. He runs the company on a day to day basis, with particular emphasis on marketing the DPRK as a destination, as well as opening of new areas in the country, such as Hyeryong and Sinuiju. He has been to every area in the country that is open to tourism. He has resided in China for 8 years, and has been an expat from the United Kingdom for the past 13 years.
Troy COLLINGS is a full time Director of Young Pioneer Tours, a travel operator specializing in the DPRK and several other destinations. He currently oversees the company's general DPRK operations and visits the country on a frequent basis, having travelled to all provinces (except Jagang) on many occasions. He graduated with a business degree from the University of Auckland, New Zealand.

DISCUSSANTS


CHO Young Ju is an associate research professor at Korean Division-Post Division Research Center, Dongguk University. She studied and earned her PhD at Ewha Womans University. Her main research interests cover North Korean women, Korean division-post division, and peace studies.

LIM Sang Cheol is a professor at Sangji University. His major research fields are horticultural science and North Korea agronomy. He had visited North Korea 10 times for the inter-Korea agricultural collaboration. Previously, he served as Dean of Life Science and Natural Resources, Sangji University. He is also former President of Plant Resources Society of Korea (PRSK). He received his PhD from the Department of Agricultural Science at Dongguk University.
YANG Moon-Soo is Professor of Economics at the University of North Korean Studies. Previously, he worked as a journalist at Maeil Economic Daily Newspaper (1988-1991) and as a research fellow at LG Economic Research Institute (2000-2002). He received his BA in Economics from Seoul National University (1985), and MA (1997) and PhD (2000) in Economics from Tokyo University.

LEE Bong-Hee is a director for the Research Division II of the Research Institute for Gangwon (RIG). She previously served as a research fellow for the tourism department in the Gangwon Provincial Government. She obtained her BA and MA from Ewha Womans University and PhD from the University of Freiburg in Germany. Her primary area of research interest is tourism. She is the author of Policy Measures for Improving DMZ Tourism in Gangwon (2006) and Weiterentwicklung des Mount Keumgang Tourismus in unmittelbaren Grenzgebiet Goseong-gun (2004), among other writings.

SHIN Yongseok is Associate Research Fellow at Korea Culture & Tourism Institute. He received his BA and MA at Seoul National University, and earned his PhD at the University of Waterloo, Canada. Since joining Korea Culture & Tourism Institute (an affiliate with the Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Sports), he conducted numerous tourism research projects. He also served as a board member of the IMPACT project of UNESCO Bangkok, and as a member of the advisory council to the Ministry of Unification (MOU). His research interests include tourism and international cooperation, and tourism development in North Korea, among others.
초대의 말씀

지식의 공유는 성공적인 국제협력을 위한 아주 중요한 요건 중 하나이며, 국제협력은 개발도상국의 경제적 발전을 돕고자하며 개발 역량의 강화를 도울 수 있습니다. 이러한 지식의 공유는 재해를 당한 지역의 산업을 재건하고, 국가의 경제 정책 발전을 통해서 외국자본 유치를 유도하는 등, 수원국(受援國)에 다양한 도움을 줄 수 있습니다. 실제 현장에서 개발 협력을 당당하고 있는 당사자들은 본인들의 전문 지식의 공유를 통하여 더 효과적이고 실제 적용 가능한 해결책을 도출할 수 있습니다. 또한, 지식의 공유는 그 사회의 경제성장을 촉진하여 삶의 질을 개선하고, 대화창구의 다양화를 통해 상호이해를 증진해줌으로써 관계형성을 초석이라고 할 수 있는 신뢰를 쌓아주는 역할을 합니다.

현재 북한과 국제 사회 간의 협조는 미약하나마 진행되고 있는 실정입니다. 북한은 국제 협력을 통하여 주로 식량안보와 지속가능한 도시화(都市化)에 대한 지식을 공유하고 있으며, 이를 통해 새로운 아이디어와 정보를 전달 받고 있습니다. 현재 북한 정부는 국가 경제와 농업생산량을 개선하고, 북한주민들의 생활수준을 높이기 위하여 노력하고 있으나, 이를 위해서는 더욱 획기적인 국제협력이 필요할 것입니다.

이러한 인식하에서 경남대학교 극동문제연구소와 독일 프리드리히 나오만재단은 2014년 6월 11일 수요일, "북한의 개발역량 강화와 국제협력을 위한 지식 공유"라는 주제로 공동 국제학술회의를 개최하고자 합니다. 이번 공동 국제학술회의에서는 특히 북한 여성의 경제활동, 비영리단체와의 농업협력, 그리고 급성장하는 북한의 관광산업을 중점적으로 다루고자 합니다. 각 분야의 전문가들이 합쳐져서 진행되고 있는 역량 강화와 지식공유 활동을 검토하고 논의하여 북한과의 지식 공유를 통한 국제협조의 앞으로의 방향과 새로운 가능성을 제시하고자 합니다.

부디 참석하시어 자리를 빛내주시고 여러분의 고견을 들려주시기 바랍니다.

2014년 6월

윤대규 (경남대 극동문제연구소 소장)
라스 안드리 라히터 (프리드리히 나오만재단 한국사무소 대표)
Invitation

Knowledge sharing is a key component to successful international cooperation that seeks to help developing countries build capacity to achieve economic progress. Governments around the globe recognize it as “a distinct tool for promoting growth and development that is complementary to finance and technical cooperation.” Knowledge sharing can assist recipients in many ways, such as to improve economic policies and strategy at the national and sub-national levels, strengthen whole systems and individual capabilities, attract foreign investment, and even integrate into the international system. The sharing of expertise can allow partners in development cooperation to better judge whether a proposed solution is scalable, adaptable, and effective. Knowledge sharing also allows for the cultivation of people-to-people exchanges and the building of networks that can help sustain engagement, provide mutual benefit, and build trust. Overall, it works to heighten the impact of cooperation to ensure initiatives work effectively to produce successful development results.

In the case of the international community’s engagement with North Korea, a modest number of efforts currently exist that deliver knowledge exchange via traditional and non-traditional formats and learning environments. These target everything from food security and environmental protection to entrepreneurship training and sustainable urbanization, bringing information and new ideas to the North Korean people. As the nascent regime in Pyongyang continues to cautiously try out new measures to modernize the country’s economy and improve agricultural output, as well as improve the livelihoods of average citizens, more of these innovative international efforts should be encouraged and supported.

With this in mind, the Institute for Far Eastern Studies (IFES), Kyungnam University, and Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom (FNF) is hosting an international conference on North Korea’s Development Capacity and International Cooperation for Knowledge Sharing-Gender, Agriculture, and Tourism Perspectives. The conference brings together international practitioners and field experts with domestic scholars to examine and discuss some of the ongoing capacity-building and knowledge-sharing efforts, in particular as they relate to women’s roles and involvement in the economy, partnerships with nonprofits in the agriculture sector, and advancement of North Korea’s burgeoning tourism industry. Through this examination and discussion, we hope to identify cogent lessons, new opportunities, and future directions for international cooperation in knowledge sharing with North Korea.

We cordially invite your participation in what we hope promises to be an enlightening, motivating, and productive conference.

June 2014

Dae-Kyu YOON (Director, IFES, Kyungnam University)
Lars-André RICHTER (Resident Representative, FNF)
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Keynote Speech

YOUN Miryang (Assistant Minister for Unification Education, Ministry of Unification)
It is a great honor for me to deliver the keynote speech at this prestigious international conference on *North Korea’s Development Capacity and International Cooperation for Knowledge Sharing*, although this was a rather sudden and unexpected request. My career in North Korean research is approaching almost thirty-years, during which I took part in various conferences and seminars either as a presenter or discussant. I remember feeling nervous on those occasions for various reasons but now as a keynote speaker, I have a different kind of nervousness as this provides me a moment to reflect on myself whether I have spent those years wisely.

From the moment I learned the Korean language, I grew up regarding North Korea as a “the puppet North,” “commies,” or “reds.” Around the time I entered university in the late-1970s, I began to learn about socialist ideologies either in hiding or indirectly through novels, literatures or writings written by my upperclassmen. For the first time, I began to think of the North as another part of Korea as a whole, and as our fellow countrymen and women. However, it was not until the end of the 1980s that I began to observe North Korea without attaching labels or epithets. What I mean by “without labels” is an effort to remove the so-called “red” and “commie” colors of preexisting stereotypes attached to the North. While I continued to pursue objective observation of reality, I still have doubts whether my research then was truly free of prejudice.

It is somewhat embarrassing, but I expect that some of the attendees here
today may have read my book, “The Women’s Policy of North Korea,” which was published in 1991. Following Professor Lee Tae-Young’s “North Korean Women,” published in 1988, I consider my book to be the second full-fledged work in North Korean Women’s Studies. While writing my book, I often had many doubts on my own research, as facts and information on North Korea were difficult to prove or verify so sometimes I felt it was just like the old story of “The Blind Men and the Elephant.” However, through writing my book, I was able to gather small fragments of facts about North Korea, and I can confidently say that I was able to compile and systemize this data to create a certain standard of information on North Korea.

Following my first publication, I further developed the book to become my doctoral dissertation entitled, “Women in Two Nations and Four States: A Comparative Study of the Impact of Regimes and Culture on the Status of Women in the Two Koreas and the Two Germanies, 1945-89,” during my study in the UK. For this dissertation, I collected data from Berlin Branch of Federal Statistical Office (for information on East Germany) regarding women’s lives during the division, and interviewed women of East German region immediately after reunification. I also meticulously organized sets of partially available classified data on North Korean women, as well as open and unclassified data from both West Germany and South Korea. In sum, my dissertation can be regarded as a study that examined large amounts of unorganized data and then rigorously systemized those data to build information.

In this vein, my doctoral dissertation may be considered insufficient to the basic standards of doctoral dissertation that require “academic contribution” and “creativity and originality.” Despite the possible lack of originality or creativity, a self-evaluation of my dissertation is that it was a new contribution to academia as it provided a systemized set of advanced information. My doctoral dissertation may be insufficient in creating knowledge that
increases the understanding of the lives of humans through the systematization of information, but is sufficient enough in providing a new set of information.

I have written and presented many papers on the status of women, human rights, and environmental conditions of North Korea. This is the reason why some scholars of North Korean studies introduce me as an expert on North Korean women’s issues. However, this introduction as an expert on North Korea or women’s issues makes me uneasy for various reasons, one of which is that I am not confident enough to claim that I have created a new knowledge on those issues.

In the case of South Korea, the Constitution was proclaimed and established in 1948, but Civil Law was not established until 1960 to replace the Choson Civil Ordinance that went into effect during the Japanese occupation. Furthermore, the Civil Law of 1960 was still based on and borrowed heavily from the Choson Civil Ordinance which included many articles that discriminated against women. A group of visionary South Korean women fought against the Civil Law for over ten years, demanding legal amendments for at least ten issues. The movement for this legal amendment was nicknamed as “The Ten Points Platform.” It took until 1987 for the South Korean government to heed their voices, and small changes were achieved including the enactment of the principles of eight-hour workday and equal pay for equal work, albeit remaining many inadequacies. Until the year 2000, the patriarchal familial registration system and the discrimination between son and daughter - especially in terms of inheritance – were intact in laws. During the early days of the enactment of the Civil Law, many illiterate wives, vulnerable to the overpowering legal status of their husbands, were chased out of their homes in unfair divorce settlements, never to see their children again. Parental rights were held completely by the father, and the divorced wife’s ability to see her children was entirely up to the will of her husband, even
if she came from an affluent family. All of these legal inequalities were corrected, slowly but surely, through the struggle of women themselves led by the visionary group. Other countries are pointing out that the women’s rights movement in Korea has stagnated in recent times, and in response to this criticism, domestic analysis is attributing this situation to the fact that too much energy was wasted on the civil law amendment movement.

Contrary to the South, North Korea abolished all the laws of the Japanese colonization period and declared complete gender equality after the enactment of land reform law in March the Labor Law for Workers and Office Employees in June and “North Korean Law on Gender Equality” in July of 1946 by the Provisional People’s Committee of North Korea. The patriarchal family system was abolished, and in the case of divorce, the woman was given preferential treatment for the custody of very young children. The principles of the eight-hour work day and equal pay for equal work were established in North Korea from 1946. Up until the year 1990, the North Korean legal system was an enviable system for young South Korean college women.

However, close observers of North Korea would agree that social status of North Korean women is not that high as it claims. This is because charters and rules of the Worker’s Party of Korea (WPK) and the words of its leader take precedence over law, which carries no real weight. For many years, North Korea regulated family relations without any civil or family laws. It was not until 1990 that North Korea enacted a family law, and the enactment of civil law followed in 1991. This demonstrates the evaluation of the true status of North Korean women is unfeasible simply by looking at its legal regulations and laws.

Specifically, after the Arduous March and the intensification of North Korea’s economic crisis in 1995, a large increase in the number of defectors
proved that many of the "data" that we were suspicious of their factuality were indeed fictitious. Female North Korean defectors reported how wives show their respect for their husbands by calling them as *Saedaeju* or head of the household in public, but despised the husbands by calling them as "day lamp"—comparing them to the uselessness of lamps during the day—for staying at home all day without paid work after their factories shut down. While the wives went out to the *jangmadang* or marketplace to support their families, husbands sat idle in the house all day and complained to their wives for not preparing them dinner. Useless husbands like these are derided also as *geolgeurim* or wall paintings. Even worse, many North Korean women testify that "nine out of ten women are beaten by their husbands." This is a clear indication that North Korean women was never in fact been liberated nor will be liberated any time soon.

The reason why I mention about the status of women in the South and North is that our information on North Korea is extremely limited. We are gathered here today at this conference to discuss both the strengthening of development capacity and knowledge sharing with North Korea. However, I believe that both the contents and the method of “knowledge sharing” that we are engaging in today differ completely with “knowledge sharing” as defined by the global standard. This is because even now, when discussing North Korea’s development capacity, we are faced with huge research obstacle as obtaining verifiable and sizeable amount of data on our object, North Korea. We can only rely on information created from the systemized data compiled from limited resources. Of course, the increasing number of defectors contributes to the advancement of information as the defectors serve as “data deliverers.” In addition to this, many foreign scholars have visited North Korea personally to collect real data on the environmental and rural development issues, among others. That being said, I am sure that this international conference, above all others, will be rich with pertinent, relevant data, and approach North Korea’s development capacity from new angles and
different points of view through reorganized, systematized information.

However, taking Fritz Machlup’s interpretation of information and knowledge into consideration, we must keep in mind that data is simply the raw material for information; information is organized in a specific contextual setting and knowledge integrates all the information to explore ways that deepen the understanding of, and pays new path for the advancement of, mankind. That means we have a long way to go for the “knowledge sharing” on North Korea yet. As the accumulation of information on North Korea is rather in nascent stage, we need expend our efforts and time to reach the “knowledge sharing” level for North Korea’s development.

In today’s society, there are various facets of “knowledge sharing” such as quality control of information; intellectual property rights and patent; the so-called “tragedy of the commons” “open access” and the public release of information and the “tragedy of the anticommons” in the digital world. Problems arise as information is disseminated to everyone through the Internet community, where anyone can have access to and arbitrarily provide and modify information on the Internet. This leads to the “information quality” problem. The simplest way to address the problem is through the example of the Wikipedia, a resource that contains boundless information, but at the same time is an unacceptable reference for academic articles. However, completely blocking a person’s right to upload information to the Internet is no different from the past religious and academic organizations that acted as an “ivory tower” that privatized information. This is also called the Second (information) Enclosure movement. Is the protection of intellectual property rights, including online information, truly beneficial for scholars? The tragedy of Edward Snowden is directly connected to this information controversy, testing the limits of how much information one individual can acquire in the digital community, and more importantly, how much of that information one individual can release to the public.
In comparison, research of North Korea is relatively free and unrestricted from these “knowledge-sharing” disputes. North Korea is essentially an outlander in the modern digital world and unlikely to open information in the Internet since the information provided by the North Korean regime is for propaganda use, and copyrights of online sites operated by it will not be subjected to private profits. As for South Korea’s online information resources, the information available on North Korea is of very low credibility and quality, and even supposedly “confirmed” information is nearly impossible to verify. As some may imagine, if North Korean information held by various international organizations happens to leak, it would be a completely different matter – that may develop into a second “Snowden incident.” However, the probability for occurrence of such incident is insubstantial and the exchange of information on North Korea will continue to remain offline in South Korea. From this point of view, it appears that we have become the last “offline knowledge-sharing experts.”

And yet, in a way, this is a relief. Information technology is already advancing at a pace that is impossible to measure. In the near future, information relating to North Korea will not be exchanged between persons, but will be directly accessed by the world’s scholars through North Korean Digital Archive/Libraries. From that point on, we will be entering a generation where we then must address the issues of “knowledge-sharing” such as information quality and management of those libraries. When that generation arrives, there will be no place for people like myself who are “digitally challenged.”

I am very much looking forward to seeing today’s conference provide an opportunity to contemplate the issues of knowledge-sharing relating to North Korea that matches the pace of the modern world from multifarious perspectives and methods.

Thank you.
기조연설

윤 미 량
통일교육원장

다소 의외이고 감작스러운 제안이긴 하였으나 북한의 개발역량 강화와 지식공유를 위한 국제회의에서 기조연설을 맡게 된 것을 매우 영광스럽게 생각합니다. 제가 북한연구에 몰두한 지도 어느 덧 30년이 다가옵니다. 그 기간 동안 어떤 한 번씩 제가 토론자로, 혹은 주제 발표자로 세미나에 참석하는 경우에 여러 가지 긴장을 느꼈습니다, 지금 기조연설을 하는 입장이 되고 보니 그동안 제가 낭비한 시간은 없었는지 반성이 앞섭니다.


이 자리에 계신 분들 중에도 독자가 있으시리라 예상되어 부끄럽습니다만, 제가 쓰는 ‘북한의 여성정책을 발간한 것이 1991년입니다. 그 전에 이태영선생님께서 ‘북한여성’을 1988년에 발간하신 후 본격적 북한여성 연구로서는 두 번째라고 자임합니다. 그 책을 쓰면서 저는 정보논문 논문관계도 확인되지 않는 체제를 대상으로 연구를 한다는 것이 장난들이 코끼리 먹는 것과 얼마나 다름가 의외하기도 하였습니다. 하지만 저는 그 책을 통하여 단편적 북한의 지식 조각들, 말하자면 data를 수집하여 체계화하였다고 확인할 수 있었습니. 다시 말해 제 저서는 사실들 (data)을 체계화하여 일정 수준의 정보(information)를 만들어 낼 것입니다.

그 이후 그 첫 저서를 발행시키는 영국 연재중에 박사논문, Women in two Nations and four States: A Comparative Study of the Impact of Regimes and
Culture on the Status of Women in the two Koreas and the Two Germanies, 1945-89를 발표하였습니다. 저는 이 논문을 위해 통일 직후 베를린의 독일연방통계청 분청에서 독일 분단시절 여성생활 관련 자료를 수집하였고, 통독직후의 동독지역 여성들 면담하였습니다. 또한 제가 개별적으로 접근 가능했던 미공개 북한여성 자료, 그리고 코로 작은 서독과 남한의 공개 또는 미공개 자료들을 모두 꼼꼼하게 정리하였습니다. 다시 말해 저 박사논문은 당시에 정리되지 않았던 보다 많은 “자료(data)”를 보다 정밀하게 체계화한 것으로 평가할 수 있을 것입니다.

이런 의미에서 저 박사논문은 ‘학문적 기여도’와 ‘창의성 혹은 독창성’이라는 박사논문의 근본적 평가기준에는 미치지 못했습니다. 그러나 저 논문은 정보(information)를 보다 새로운 차원에서 체계화시킴으로써 학문적으로 기여하였다고 스스로 평가합니다. 저 박사논문이 정보를 보다 체계화하여 사람의 삶에 대한 이해를 높인다는 의미의 ‘지식(Knowledge)’의 창출에 미흡하였다 하더라도 새로운 ‘정보’(information)의 창출에는 충분하였다는 의미입니다.

저는 북한 여성의 지위에 대해서, 그리고 북한 인권실태와 북한 환경실태에 관해서 종종 글을 발표해왔습니다. 그래서 국내 일부 북한학자들은 저를 북한 여성문제의 전문가로도 소개합니다. 하지만 여러 가지 이유로 저는 ‘북한’ 또는 ‘여성’ 문제의 전문가라는 평가를 부끄러워합니다.

해외에서는 요즘 대한민국의 여성운동이 침체되어 있다고 지적하는데, 우리 내부에서는 민법 개정운동에 우리 여성운동의 너무 많은 에너지를 빼앗겼기 때문이라고 평가하기도 합니다.

이에 반해 북한은 1946년 북조선임시인민위원회의 결정으로 3월의 농지개혁, 6월의 노동자·사무원에 대한 노동법령, 그리고 7월의 “북조선 남녀 평등권에 관한 법령”을 제정, 일제 강점기의 모든 법령의 효력을 중지시키고 전면적인 남녀평등을 선언하였습니다. 호주제도 없앴고, 이혼시 법정에서는 어린 자녀의 경우 어머니의 입장을 더 반영하였습니다. 주8시간 노동과 동일노동 동일임금의 원칙은 1946년부터 보장되었습니다. 1990년대까지 남한의 여대생들에게 북한의 법제도가 부러울 정도였습니다.


특히 북한의 경제난이 심화된 1995년 고난의 행군 이후의 탈북사태는 우리에게 그동안 우리가 의심해온 ‘사실들’이 정말로 거짓일 가능성이 높다는 것을 입증했습니다. 탈북여성들은 남편을 ‘세대주’라고 공식적으로는 존경하여 부르면서 공장가동이 멈추어 할 일 없이 집을 지키는 남편을 ‘낮전등’이라고 비하합니다. 그리고 여성들은 악착같이 장마당활동 등을 통해 가족을 부양하고, 반면에 종일 집에서 머물던 남편은 장마당 나가다 온 아내가 밥을 차려주지 않는다고 화풀이를 합니다. 이런 쓸모없는 남편을 여성들은 ‘걸그림’(벽걸이 그림)이라고 욕합니다. 그러면서도 대부분의 여성이 “열이면 아홉은 맞고” 산다고 합니다. 북한의 여성은 결코 해방되지 않았고, 당분간 해방될 여지도 없이 보입니다.

제가 북한여성의 지위에 대해 언급한 이유는 우리 북한에 대한 “지식”이 정말 제한되어있다는 사실을 지적하기 위한 것입니다. 지금 오늘 우리는 북한의 개발역량 강화와 지식공유를 논의합니다. 하지만 저는 오늘 우리의 ‘지식공유’에 관한 논의는 현재 세계적인 수준에서 논의되는 ‘지식공유’와는 내용과 방법이 판이할 것이라고 예측합니다. 그것은 아직까지도 우리가 북한의 개발 혹은 개발역량 강화를 고민할 때.
검증가능하고 사방에서 구할 수 있는 무수한 data에 의한 연구를 진행하지 못하고, 제한된 자료를 체계화하여 만든 information에 의거하여 연구할 수밖에 없기 때문입니다.

물론 탈북민이라는 새로운 ‘사실(data) 전달군’의 존재는 그동안의 한정적이던 우리의 정보보다 더 전진시키고 있습니다. 뿐만 아니라 많은 해외학자들이 북한의 환경문제, 농촌개발문제 등으로 북한을 방문해서 실제적 data도 수집해왔습니다. 그러므로 오늘날 백한 개발역량 강화와 지식공유를 위한 국제협력에서는 이전의 어떤 회의보다 풍부하고 시사적인 data, 그리고 이를 새로운 각도에서 재조직화한 체계적인 정보들이 소개될 것으로 확신합니다.

그러나 data가 정보(information)의 원료일 뿐이며, 특정 배경에서 data가 조직화된 것이 정보이고, 그에서 나아가 정보를 결합시켜 그것을 우리 인류에게 어떻게 활용할 것인지 이해해 나가는 것이 지식(Knowledge)이라는 Fritz Machlup의 지적을 기억한다면, 우리는 우리가 지닌 북한에 대한 정보가 아직 일천하고, 때문에 북한 개발을 위한 “지식” 공유를 위해서는 오랫동안 더 많이 노력해야 한다는 것을 깨닫게 됩니다.


이에 비하면 북한 연구는 이러한 “지식공유”의 논쟁에서 상대적으로 자유롭습니다. 현대의 Digital World에서도 이방인 북한의 경우 자신의 정보를 달성,
에 공개하는 경우도 없거나 공개하더라도 자신들의 선전목적에 필요한 사항뿐일 것이므로 북한이 운영하는 online site의 정보를 잘못 인용해서 저작권에 저해될 일은 없기 때문입니다. 우리 남한의 online 정보자원은 정보의 품질에 대해 신뢰도가 매우 낮고 일부의 소위 '확인된' 정보조차도 검증하기가 거의 불가능합니다. 일부가 상상하듯이 외국 몇몇 기관이 북한에 대해 엄청난 online 정보를 갖고 있다가 유출된다면 그것은 별개의 문제가 될 것입니다. 제2의 Snowden 사태가 될 수도 있겠습니다. 하지만 그러한 사건이 일어날 가능성은 비현실적으로 낮고 때문에 여전히 남한의 북한에 관한 지식공유는 offline입니다. 이런 점에서 우리는 어쩌면 최후의 "offline 지식공유 전문가"들일 것입니다.

하지만 다행이기도 합니다. 지금도 IT 기술은 속도를 측정하기도 어렵게 진보하고 있고, 조만간 북한 관련 정보를 서로 교환하는 것이 아니라 북한 내부의 전자도서관(Digital Archive/Library)을 세계 각지의 학자들이 머리를 맞대고 들여다보면서 그 도서관의 관리 개선과 정보의 품질 유지를 고민하는 시대가 올지도 모릅니다. 그런 시대가 오면 저 같은 전자지체아(Digitally Challenged)는 설 곳이 없어지니가요.

오늘을 계기로 북한관련 지식 공유도 현대 세계의 발걸음에 맞게 북한 관련 정보를 보다 다양한 각도에서 다양한 방법으로 고민하게 되기를 기대합니다.

감사합니다.
Knowledge Sharing and North Korea from a Gender Perspective

State and Gender Relations in North Korea with a Focus on Women’s Activities in the ‘Jangmadang’ (Market)

KIM Hae-Soon (Professor, Chung-Ang University)

North Korea’s Female Factor: A Case of Knowledge Sharing for Women in Business

Nils WEISENSEE (Entrepreneurship Programs Coordinator, Choson Exchange)
State and Gender Relations in North Korea with a Focus on Women’s Activities in the ‘Jangmadang’ (Market)

KIM Hae-Soon (Professor, Chung-Ang University)
본 논문은 조선민주주의인민공화국(북한)에서 형성된 성별관계에 대해 그 규범적 규정, 구조화, 형태변화 등을 위주로 권력관계와 여성주의적 차원에서 연구하였다. 대별해 보면 세 개의 통로를 통해서 서로 다른 형태의 성별관계가 형성되었음을 확인할 수 있었다. 첫째, 북한은 남녀평등법과 사회주의헌법을 제정하여 남녀에게 모든 분야에서 평등한 권리를, 노동권 등을 약속하며 평등권 보장을 공포했다. 국가는 합법적제도적으로 남녀의 수평적 관계를 규정한다. 둘째, 국가는 김일성 어머니 김정숙을 표본으로 하는 여성-모성 이데올로기 사상교육을 하고 있다. 남편을 주인으로 잘 섬기고, 자식에게 헌신하는 여성의 가부장주의적 덕목이 그 예가 되었다. 남편은 가족부양자로서 경제권을 가지고 있다. 상하 위계질서에서 여성은 낮은 위치에 자리매김하는 수직적 성별관계를 볼 수 있다. 셋째, 이러한 국가제도에서 규정한 여성상과 성별관계와는 다른 형태가 장마당활동을 하는 여성으로부터 구현되고 있다. 장마당은 북한의 사회주의적 경제에서 가족생계를 유지하는 원천이다. 장마당활동을 하는 사람은 대다수가 여성이다. 2002년 7.1 경제관리개선조치 이후 여성들은 60% 이상의 가족생계를 책임지고 경제권을 가지고 있다. 장마당은 북한 각지에 있고, 국가는 여성의 장마당활동을 통제하고 있다. 그러나 여성은 자주적으로 계속 활동한다. 그들은 시장활동과 관련된 조직망을 형성하고, 새로운 물품을 판매하고, 자본을 형성하면서 시장을 이끌어가고 있다. 이 활동으로 인해 가족 내에서 성별관계에 변화가 오고, 가족은 북한에서 사회의 세포로 인식되고, 그 결과 상기적으로 새로운 사회의 변화도 이끌어낼 수 있다는 예측을 한다.

주제어: 북한, 국가와 성별관계, 성별 개념, 여성, 모성 이데올로기, 여성의 장마당활동
Abstract

State and Gender Relations in North Korea with a Focus on Women’s Activities in the ‘Jangmadang’ (Market)

This article investigates gender relations in the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (hereafter North Korea) with a focus on their normative rules, their structures and their form change in point of power and feminist perspective. There are three different types of gender relations in North Korea. Firstly, North Korea’s constitution guarantees equal rights to men and women in all fields, including work, as well as gender equality. Secondly, the state takes Kim Il-sung’s mother, Kang Ban-seok, and his wife, Kim Jeong-sook, as examples for women to follow with respect to properly serve the husband as master and dedication to children. We can see how women are positioned lower than men in the hierarchic relationships. Thirdly, different women’s images and gender relations are embodies through women active in the “Jangmadang” (market). The Jangmadang is today a source for keeping the family alive. Jangmadangs have developed everywhere in North Korea but the state controlled women’s activity in the market. Despite the ban women have developed networks related to the market activities, have sold new items, and have accumulated capital by leading the market. Through these activities of women, gender relations have changed in the family. The family is considered as a cell of the society in North Korea so we can predict that the change of gender relations in the family can lead to a new change of society in the future.

Keywords: North Korea, state and gender relations, gender terms, women’s and motherhood ideology, women’s activities in the market.
1. 들어가기

북한의 국가권력(Staatsgewalt)은 중앙권력의 정치적 통제장치로서 제도적 합법성을 가지고 사회적 상하위계질서에 부응한 성별관계를 규정하고, 남녀에게 이에 맞는 역할을 하고 가치관을 갖도록 교육하며, 사회적 안정을 추구하고 있다. 북한에서 국가의 성별관계에 대한 규정은 1946년 7월 30일에 공포된 '남녀평등권'에 대한 법령과 1972년에 공포된 사회주의헌법과 여성·모성 이데올로기에 기인한다. 이 헌법은 남녀에게 안정적인 생활과 모든 분야에서 평등한 권리, 자유, 노동권 및 평등권을 보장하고 여성의 경제활동을 통해서 남녀의 평등과 여성의 독자적 발전을 친영하고 있다. 국가는 합법·제도적으로 남녀의 수평적 관계를 규정하고 있다. 그러나 성별관계에 더 영향을 미치는 것은 유교에 뿌리를 둔 가부장주의를 떠받는 여성·모성 이데올로기이다. 여성은 위계질서에서 낮은 위치에 자리매김되고 독립적인 개체로 드러나지 않는다. 여기에 하나의 결정적인 요인은 남성으로 구성된 권력기관의 정치적 결정과정에서 여성이 배제되어 남성의 이해와 관점만이 반영된 점이다. 이와는 다른 여성상이 장마당활동을 하는 여성들로 정의되고 있다. 장마당은 현재 북한의 어느 곳에서도 형성되었고 경제난이 심해지면서 가족생활을 유지하는 원천이 되었다. 가족 중에 장마당활동을 하는 사람들은 대다수가 여성들이다. 국가는 장마당을 통제하고 여성들의 활동을 막고 있으나 여성은 가족부양 책임자로서 위협을 무릅쓰고 계속 활동한다. 안정적인 가족생활유지는 안정적인 사회발전에 근본이 되며 국가의 권력 존속에 주요한 토대이다. 여성 장마당활동은 가족 내 성별관계와 여성들의 위치를 새롭게 자리매김하고 있고, 장마당이 계속 활성화된 것으로 보면서 앞으로 사회변화를 이끌어내는 데도 한몫할 것으로 조심스럽게 내다보고 있다.

1) 연구영역과 문제제기

본 연구논문은 북한에서의 성별관계 형성을 분석하기 위해 우선 성별의 개념적 이해를 서구의 성별관계에 대한 논의와 담화를 위주로 갖는다(제2장). 이 것을 바탕으로 북한에서 국가의 성별관계에 대한 규정을 정착한다. 여기에 제기되는 질문은 국가의 성별관계의 규범이 어떻게 구조화되고, 현실에서는 어떻게 구현되는가이다. 남녀의 차별화에 의거하여 성별관계를 규정하는 국가는 여성·모성 이데올로기 교육의 목

2) 연구의 접근방법 및 목적

본 연구논문에는 김일성저작집과 같은 1차문헌과 이에 관계된 2차문헌 등을 적용하였다. 성별에 대한 개념적 이해와 성별관계 설정에 권한을 가진 국가권력에 대한 분석에는 서구 이론적 문헌을 반영했다. 서구의 성별개념의 이해와 권력에 대한 이론적 담화에 비춰서 북한의 국가제도의 안과 밖에서 형성된 성별관계의 차이, 국가의 수평·수직적 성별관계를 규정하는 모순적인 면과 국가의 제도적 권력을 도출하는 방법을 적용하였다. 아울러 국가가 추구하는 모성·여성태울로기를 국가의 권력을 유지하는 중요한 수단으로 보고, 이 점에 주목하여 성별특성적인 억압을 추적하였다.

북한연구에는 많은 한계가 있다. 성별관계에 대한 연구는 두말할 나위 없겠다. 이 분야에 대한 자료는 공적 자료가 대부분이고, 국가권력만이 반영되어 일방적이다. 여기에 가중되는 문제는 현지답사가 불가능하여 현실에 가까운 연구를 하기 어렵다. 이러한 문제를 어느 정도 극복하기 위해서는, 탈북자들과의 인터뷰를 통해 얻어진 정보가 중요하다. 이는 근본적인 기여임에 틀림없다. 그러나 그들이 북한체제에 대한 비판적이다 보니, 그들의 견해가 얼마나 객관적인가도 문제이다. 이러한 문제는 여성의 장마당활동에 대한 연구에도 제기된다. 그들은 장마당활동이 우세하고, 여성의 수입으로 가족생계가 유지되고, 장마당활동에 대한 국가의 통제가 심해도, 여성이 이 활동을 계속한다는 점이다. 여성의 장마당활동에 대한 본 연구는 이러한 점에 주목하여 선행된 연구자료를 바탕으로 연구되었음을 밝힌다.

본 연구논문은 통일 대비를 위해 북한여성에 대한 이해와 관심을 높이고자 하는 목적을 갖는다. 아울러 북한의 성별관계를 규정하는 국가기관의 목적, 기능과 수단에 대해 객관적으로 알리고, 성 역할적 협업적 제도적 국가권력을 비판적으로 관찰하여 학문적 인식론적 이해를 높이고자 한다. 본 논문이 성별관계와 북한여성을 연구하는
2. 성별에 대한 개념적 이해: 서구 여성주의자들의 성별에 대한

우리나라에서는 성별에 대한 개념과 이해가 아직 정리된 것 같지 않다. 본 논문에서는 성별에 대한 논론을 살펴보면, 성별은 일반적으로 사회적 문화적 구성으로 이해되며 '성성'(Geschlechtlichkeit, Sexualität)과 결부된다고 보고 있다. 성별은 여성(Weiblichkeit)과 남성(Männlichkeit)으로 분리된다. 이와는 달리 성(sex)은 생물학적(유전자, 신체 등) 자연적인 것, 즉 선천적인 것으로 이해되며, 남자와 여자를 의미한다. 사회적 문화적 성별은 사회화 과정에서 배웠거나 또는 확득한 것을 뜻한다. 이것은 성별특성적인 역할, 행위, 태도이며, 사회적 위치 등을 의미한다. 성별특성적인 성성(남성, 여성) 분리에는 사고, 관점, 인지 방법과 가치관 등이 내재되어 있고, 인간은 이것을 사회화 과정에서 배워서 내면화한다. 그러나 포스트모던(Postmodern)이론, 후기구조주의(Poststrukturalismus)와 관점이론(Standpunkttheorie)의 학자들은 성성의 이분법적(binary) 구분과 차이에 대한 수용은 객관적 거부한다. 이들은 성성과 성별관계의 다양성을 주장한다. 그러나 그 다양성에 대한 정확한 의미는 아직까지 밝혀지지 않았다. 하계만-화이트(Hagemann-White) 학자는 성별 소속에 대해 정확하고 만족할 만한 인간학적 개념이 아직까지 존재하지 않다고 확언했다. 이것이 일상생활의 변화와 이에 맞는 성별관계에 합당한 이론적 명제를 설정하지 못했다는 의미이다. 성에 대해서도 이견이 있다. 서구 여성주의의 학자들은 몇 가지 요인, 즉 인신 등을 제외하면 오늘날 이명제를 유지하기가 어렵다고 한다. 버틀러(Butler)는 "성이 콤플리치, 즉 자연적인 사실에만 의거한다"는 명제를 역설한다. 성은 자연적이라고 하지만 현실에서는 문화

1) Kim, Hae-Soon, 2005.
2) Heintz, 1993: 19.
4) 성별 관계의 다양성은 그에 관한 이해가 공간과 시대마다 다른 의미를 가져서 명확하게 정의를 내릴 수 없다는 점을 제시한다(Walby, 1993, 참조).
적으로 구성되고, 두 개 성(남자, 여자)은 해부학적 형태와 생물학적 구성에 문제가 없는 이분법적으로 보인다고 해도, 문제가 없는 것은 아니라고 하게만-화이트그는 주장한다. 두 개 성에 부속시키는 성성도 현실에서 보면 문제가 많다. 그 이유는 현대사회는 더 복합적, 이종적(heterogeneous) 그리고 합리적으로 되어가고 있어서 일률적으로 성성을 규정하기가 어렵다는 것이다. 휘자는 성별의 차이가 사라지고 있다고 한다. 프레베르트(Frevert)는 서구의 성별 담화에서는 성별을 구조화하고 해체시키고 재구성하는 일들을 반복하고 있다고 주장한다. 이 점은 모든 사람이 자신의 이해에 맞게 진리를 추구하고 있다고 푸코(Foucault)는 지적하며, 그는 개인의 가장 비밀스럽고 깊은 진리는 성별에서 찾아야 한다고 했다. 그 이유는 성별 본체에 개인은 자신의 가장 비밀스런 부분을 숨기기 있다고 강조했다. 예를 들어, 자신의 환상(상상), 자신의 ‘나’에 대한 뿌리, 현실과의 관계형태가 바로 거기에 숨겨져 있고, 그게 바로 진실(Wahrheit)이라고 했다.

위에서 보았듯, 서구의 성별에 대한 이론적 담화는 성별에는 성성(남성, 여성)의 분리가 내재되어 있고, 선천적인 것을 바탕으로 남녀의 차이가 구현되고 있다고 보고 있다. 그러나 이 명제에 대해 반론을 제기하는 학자도 있다. 이론적인 성별과 성의 차이점은 오늘날 복합적인 사회에서 비춰볼 때 명백하지 않다는 데 그 이유를 두고 있다. 그러나 성별은 일반적으로 남녀의 행위와 존재조건을 결정짓고 남녀를 상하위계 질서에서 높고 낮은 위치에 자리매김하는 데 중요한 토대이다. 이러한 높고 낮은 평가에 의거하여 남녀의 권력관계가 규정된다. 남녀는 개인적 물질적, 그리고 사회적 필요와 이해에 따라 서로 상호작용하고 있고, 여기서 남녀의 권력관계는 형성된다.

3. 북한에서의 국가와 성별관계: 권력관계 관점에서

1) 국가의 성별관계에 관한 규정: 수평적 또는 수직적 성별관계

북한에서 국가에 의해 성별관계가 두 통로를 통해서 수평적 또는 수직적으로 자리

매김되고 있다. 우선 수평적인 성별관계가 어떻게 설정되는가 보자. 국가는 사회주의 헌법에 토대를 둔 남녀평등과 모든 남녀에게 참다운 민주주의적 권리와 자유, 행복한 물질문화생활을 실질적으로 보장하며(제64조), 국가사회생활의 모든 분야에서 누구나 다 같은 권리를 가지며(제65조) 안정된 일자리와 노동조건을 보장하며(제70조) 여자는 남자와 동같은 사회적 지위와 권리를 가진다(제77조)라고 천명했다. 이 외에도 국가는 여성들이 사회에 진출할 수 있는 온갖 환경을 만들어준다고 밝혔다. 여기서는 성차별이나 여성에 대한 통제, 가부장주의적인 지배를 찾아볼 수 없다. 성별관계는 평등차원에서 규정되고, 여성은 인격적 독립적인 개체로 구현된다. 그러나 현실에 비춰볼 때 평등이 이루어졌다고는 볼 수 없다. 하버마스(Habermas)는 평등을 이루기 위해서는 여성의 국가시민적 자율의 활성화가 전제된다고 지적한다. 여성의 자율적인 활동은 국가로부터 통제되고, 성별관계는 현실에서 수직적으로 구성되어 있다. 여기에는 가부장주의에 의거하는 여성·모성 이데올로기가 큰 원인으로 작용하고 있다. 가부장주의에 의거한 여성·모성이데올로기는 일반적으로 유교에 뿌리를 두고 있고, 이것은 성별관계와 여성의 위치, 활동, 그리고 가치관 등을 규정하는 결정적인 요인이다. 예를 들어, 남성을 높고 여성을 낮은 위치에 자리매김하고 있다고. 이 점은 사회 모든 영역에서 볼 수 있다. 이러한 문제는 북한의 사회주의 사회에서뿐만 아니라 남한의 자본주의 사회에서도 볼 수 있다. 다음은 북한에서 성별관계와 여성의 지위와 활동을 산업분야와 공사(公私) 영역에서 어떻게 자리매김하는가 보자.

북한은 중공업과 경공업을 동시에 발전시키고자 하였으나, 사실상 중공업을 우선적으로 발전시키려는 데 무게를 두면서, 이 분야에 남성을 지방중공업에는 여성을 배치시켰다. 경공업은 일반적으로 경공업보다 보수가 높다. 경공업의 평균임금은 전체 공업의 평균임금의 86%에 해당한다. 경공업은 중공업을 보완 또는 보조하는 산업분야이고, 여기에 여성의 경제적 환영이 집중되었다. 성별 분업에 따른 노동력의 배치정책이다. 같은 직종에서도, 예를 들어 중공업에서도 여성은 경공업(사무직)을 하거나 보조노동적으로 활동한다. 이러한 현실은 여기저기 같은 전문직에서도 볼 수 있다. 이 외에도 남성은 보수가 있는 공공분야를, 여성은 보수 없는 가사노동, 12) Habermas, 1992: 506ff.
14) 박현선, 2006a: 319.
자녀양육 및 가족 돌봄을 전담한다. 성별특성적인 노동분업이다. 여기서 확인할 수 있는 점은 남녀의 차별적인 활동영역과 그들의 활동에 적절한 지위와 보수가 책정된다는 것이다. 그 결과 남자의 수입은 여자보다 더 많다고 \(^{16}\) 남성이 경제권을 가지게 되는 것은 기정사실이다. 여성의 사회적 경제적 종속을 의미하는 것이다. 이렇게 산업분야에서 성별관계는 불평등하게 구조화되었다. 공공영역의 의사결정과정에서 여성은 배제되고, 이 영역에서도 여성에게 주변적 지위와 보조적 역할만이 주어졌다. 이러한 국가의 정책 아래 여성은 자유롭고 동등한 사회적 진출을 할 기회를 봉쇄당한 것이다. 북한 사회주의헌법에 남녀에게 민주주의적 권리와 자유를 보장하며, 안정된 일자리와 노동조건을 보장하며 여자는 남자와 동일한 사회적 지위와 권리를 가진다고 전면한 점은 사실상 현실에서는 적어도 부분적으로 면 거리에 있다. 성별 분업에 의거한 남녀의 권력구조는 가정에서도 볼 수 있다. 그 하나의 예가 남편을 ‘주인’ 또는 ‘세대주’로 섬기는 것이다. 부인은 남편에게 순종해야 한다는 것이다. \(^{17}\) 쉐터르레(Schölderle)에 따르면 권력은 무엇을 행할 수 있는 가능성을 가지고 남에 의해 영향을 미치는 것이다. \(^{18}\) 이 맥락에서 여성어로 이데올로기는 국가가 권력을 여성에게 행할 수 있는 기제로 볼 수 있다.

북한에서 여성-모성 이데올로기는 김일성 어머니인 강반석 여사와 부인인 김정숙 여사의 표본으로 하고 있다. 부모에게 순종하고, 남편을 주인으로 잘 섬기고, 지식에게 헌신하고, 자신의 이해보다는 남편과 가족의 이해에 맞춰서 생활해도와 가치관을 갖도록 한다. 여기에 김일성 저작집\(^ {19}\) 등 같은 국가의 자료가 간접적으로 사용되고 있다. 이러한 것은 사상교육을 위한 수단이다. 사상혁명의 중요한 목적은 ‘세 명의 인간’을 만들어 체제가 필요로 하는 목표에 동원하는 데 있고\(^ {20}\) 아울러 국가의 체제와 권력보존에 있다. 이러한 목적을 달성하기 위해 여성-모성 이데올로기는 교육을 통해서 내면화되고, 실천되고 전수되고 있다. 이러한 이데올로기를 주입하는 데는 문질적 비

\(^{16}\) 여성의 평균임금은 남성의 것이 84%정도이다(김애실, 1997, 재인용, 박현선, 2006: 43).
\(^{17}\) 사회주의와 가부장제에 대한 민의식을 위한 설문조사에 따르면 86.5%가 이러한 점에 동의한다고 항원하고 있었다(박현선, 2006: 17).
\(^{18}\) Schölderle, 2002: 12.
\(^{20}\) 이태영, 1988: 142.
물질적 다양한 인센티브가 동원되고, 모범적인 여성은 임금을 높여 주고 때로는 영웅으로 표창장을 주어 상징적으로 우월성을 제시하며, 카리스마적인 인물로 대우한다. 카리스마를 가진 사람은 남다른 특별한 가치를 가지고 있고, 이것은 다른 사람으로부터 인정받음으로써 성립된다. 인정받는다는 것은 다른 사람에 대하여 권위를 가진다는 것이다. 권위는 권력을 위한 합법적 토대이다.21) 강반석과 김정숙 두 여성의 권위는 일반여성들이 그들의 권위를 인정함으로써 가능한 것이다. 권위에는 다른 사람에게 귀감이 되는 도덕성이 내재되어 있다. 두 여성의 권위에 의거한 도덕성은 다른 여성에게 설 자리와 그 자리에 맞게 행동하고 태도와 가치관을 가져야 함을 암시한다.

국가에 의해 규정된 여성의 도덕성을 나타내는 도덕에 대한 명제를 받아 설명해보자. 나체(Nietzsche)는 “도덕은 지배자의 압박도구일 뿐 아니라 (그에게는) 다양한 도덕은 단지 자기만의 길, 제급, 사회적 지위를 유지하고, 자기보존을 위한 도구이며, - 종략 - 자체변신과 자기중대이고 경쟁자의 정신적 전도적인 타도이다”22)라고 했다. 국가가 규정한 도덕성을 여성에게 강요하는 것은 국가의 자기보존과 권력유지를 위한 도구인 것이다. 이와 비슷한 견해를 플라크(Plack)23) 명제에서 볼 수 있다. 그는 지배자의 도덕은 대중의 정신적 실리적 압박을 위한 도구라고 강조했다. 도덕은 아랫사람에게 국가와 공권(Obrigkeit)에 대해 복종을 요구하고, 그들은 지배계층, 국가, 권력장치의 이해의 맥락에서 행위를 해야 한다는 생각을 가지게 한다고 했다. 이 맥락에서 북한 당국이 두 여성의 순종적 도덕을 일반여성에게 전달하도록 하는 것은 '성별특성적인 압력'이라고 할 수 있다. 일반여성이 도덕을 실천함으로써 국가가 규정하는 여성관과 성별관계가 현실화되는 것이다.

이러한 국가의 성별규정은 사실상 이용배반적인 여성성을 드러내고 있다. 사회주의의원법에 입각한 남녀 평등이념은 여성을 독립적인 개체로 간주하고, 이와 반대로 가부장주의를 떠받는 여성-모성의 이해로기는 여성은 종속적인 개체로 구현하고 있다. 국가는 성별관계를 규정하고, 여성의 역할과 그 위치를 결정하는데 독점적 권한을 가지고 있다. 이러한 권력 아래 여성이 국가권력기관에서 부차적인 역할을 담당하거나 배제된 것은 뜻밖의 일이 아니다. 국가권력기관은 남성으로 구성되었고, 그 결과 남성은 국가기관의 권력소지자이다.

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2) 남성동맹으로서 국가기관, 국가권력 소지자인 관료와 성별관계

서구 여성주의자들이 제시한 국가이론 중 하나는 구조적 성성을 지지하는 국가의 관료제를 남성제도로서 이해한다. 그 하나의 예를 크라이스키(Kreisky)24) 이론에서 볼 수 있다. 크라이스키는 '국가를 남성연맹'으로 보고, 국가관료주의의 합리성은 남성적이며, 그래서 국가는 근본적으로 남성적이라고 강조한다. 국가는 하나의 핵심적인 기관(monolithische Institution)이며, 정치는 남성의 활동영역으로 이해되고, 남성은 수뇌기관에서 대다수를 차지하고 있어서 모든 정책결정에 남성의 이해와 관심 등이 반영된다. 여성이 배제된 국가기관에 여성들의 이해와 그와 관련된 의견을 반영하기는 어렵다. 이러한 문제는 단지 정치영역에서만 볼 수 있는 점은 아니다. 사회 어느 곳에서나 볼 수 있는 현상이다.

서구 여성주의자들의 국가이론에서 하나 더 논의되고 있는 것은 국가를 법치국가로서 그 원칙을 억시 남성주의적으로 판독하는 것이다. 국가는 남성에 의해 조직되고 통제되고 남성의 관점이 반영되는 정책을 남성의 '이해조직'으로 보고 있다. 북한에서도 여성의 이해조직은 사실상 부재하다고 보아도 과언이 아닐 것이다. 김일성은 최고인민회의에서 전체 인민위원의 13.1%가 여성이고, 예전에 사람다운 대우를 받지 못한 여성들의 정치진출을 높게 평가했다.25) 그렇다. 그것은 혁명적인 발전임에 틀림없다. 그러나 결정적인 것은 그들이 대중여성 이해와 관점을 반영하는 독자적인 정책을 폼 수 있는가가 관건이다. 국가에 영향력을 행사할 수 있는 시민사회나 여성주의적 여성운동이 부재한다. '조선민주주녀성동맹'이 있다고 해도 이 단체는 '당과 대중여성을 잇는 고리'로서 진정한 여성의 이해와 관점을 반영할 수 있는 기능을 갖추고 있지 않으나도 말할 수 없다. 김정일 세습을 정당화하기 위해 강반석과 김정숙 우상화에 앞장섰던 점이 그 하나의 예가 되었다. 사실상 알리바이 기능을 담당하고 있다. 그래서 여성은 독립적인 개체, 즉 주체자로서 제시한 주체자로서 국가기관에서 배제된 것이다.

3) 국가의 성별관계 규정에서 독립적인 주체자로서 여성 부재

국가의 성별규범과 이데올로기에 기인한 여성 배타적인 국가의 인식에 초점을 맞추어 여성주의적 차원에서 논의하는 보자. 위에서 제시했듯, 여성은 국가권력기관에 참


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여할 수 있는 기회를 차단당했다. 이것은 이성규범적 국가정책이며 갈퉁(Galtung)의 맥락에서 보면 ‘구조적 폭력’(strukturelle Gewalt)인 것이다. 이 폭력형태는 자연적으로 받아들여서 눈에 띄지 않는다.


4. 북한여성의 장마당활동: 새로운 성별관계 형성

1) 북한 장마당의 발달

북한에는 크고 작은 장마당이 전국적으로 형성되어 있고, 이는 예전에 이미 있었던 농촌시장이 1950년대부터 농민시장으로 불렸고 지금에 이르렀으며, 계획경제를 보조하는 물물교환 시장이었다. 28) 농민은 시장에 자가 농작물을 자유롭게 반출하기 위해 각 인민위원회에 요청해야 하고, 그래서 장마당은 국가가 허용한 공식영역으로 보고 있다. 29) 경제난으로 주민의 생존이 어려웠던 1990년대부터는
주민의 생존을 위해 장마당은 보조기능을 넘어서 핵심이 되었다. 30)

그 동안 장마당은 발달하여 다양한 형태가 형성되었다. 아직도 생활필수품을 주로 판매가 이루어지고 있는가 하면 국가는 2003년에 농민시장을 종합시장으로 변형 시켜서 31) 국가가 인정한 평양통일거리시장 32) 같은 종합시장이 형성되었다. 국영상점에서는 물자공급이 원활하게 이루어지지 않아 사경제 시장의 필요성을 절감하여, 종합시장에 개인판매를 허용하였다고 한다. 33) 중국과 가까운 지역에 있는 장마당은 종려 규모가 크고 중간도매상들도 있고 물품도 중국에서 들어온 것도 거래된다고 한다. 34) 장마당은 국가 배급제도가 붕괴되자 주민의 자력구제를 위한 공간으로 활용되고 있다. 오늘날 북한 장마당에는 “없는 것 빼놓고 다 있다” 35)라고 한다. 국가가 인정한 시장보다 장마당에서는 물건을 쉽게 구할 수 있다고 한다. 이 점은 국가의 완전한 통제가 어렵다는 뜻이다. 36) 장마당은 계속 확대되고, 변화되고 그 형태와 거래물목은 갈수록 다양한 성격을 띠고 있다.

그 중 두드러져 드러나는 변화는 역동적인 장마당활동이다. 이러한 활동은 계획경제의 무능함에서 시작된다. 계획경제는 물자 공급하거나 그 순환구조를 장악할 수 있는 능력을 대부분 상실했다. 37) 그 동안 다양한 시장억제정책이 실시되었고 통제와 단속도 심했으나 시장활동은 계속 활성화되었다. 그 점은 시장 규모가 커지고 점차 확산되는 추세에서 볼 수 있다. 38) 그러나 북한 당국이 통제를 지속 시도하는 이상 시장은 불안정하다고 한다. 39) 국가의 통제정책 이면에는 시장경제권을 장악하고, 국가관료의 권력을 유지하는 데 목적이 있다.

장마당은 과도기적 이중경제적 성격을 띈다. 2003년 시장합법화가 공포되었고, 계획경제와 시장이 공존하는 이중경제체계 (dual economy system) 가 형성되었다. 40)
국영상점과 종합시장을 병행운영하여 시장경제와 사회주의 계획경제를 부분적으로 공존시키고 있다. ① 오늘날 장마당에서는 계획경제와는 달리, 원자재 수입을 위해 공장들은 자본을 모으고, 물건을 만들어서 시장에 내놓고 돈을 회수하여 갚는다고 한다. ② 공장이나 농장에서 물자를 확보하면 품목별로 특화된 중간 도매상들이 형성되고, ③ 시장가격은 외부 세계의 변화에 민감하게 반응하며, 예를 들어, 중국의 위안과 결부되어서 반응의 폭이 크다고 한다. ④ 화폐교환과 함께 농민시장에서는 가격이 수요와 공급에 의해 정해지는 경향이 있다. 이전은 장마당의 가격형성도 국가의 통제에서 벗어나 한정적이었다. 하지만, 장마당활동이 벌어지고 공장이나 농장에서 물자를 확보하면 품목별로 특화된 중간 도매상들이 형성되고, 시장가격은 외부 세계의 변화에 민감하게 반응하며, 예를 들어, 중국의 위안과 결부되어서 반응의 폭이 크다고 한다. ① 화폐교환과 함께 농민시장에서는 가격이 수요와 공급에 의해 정해지는 경향이 있다. 이전은 장마당의 가격형성도 국가의 통제에서 벗어나 한정적이었다. 하지만, 장마당활동이 벌어지고 공장이나 농장에서 물자를 확보하면 품목별로 특화된 중간 도매상들이 형성되고, 시장가격은 외부 세계의 변화에 민감하게 반응하며, 예를 들어, 중국의 위안과 결부되어서 반응의 폭이 크다고 한다. ④ 화폐교환과 함께 농민시장에서는 가격이 수요와 공급에 의해 정해지는 경향이 있다. 이전은 장마당의 가격형성도 국가의 통제에서 벗어나 한정적이었다. 하지만, 장마당활동이 벌어지고 공장이나 농장에서 물자를 확보하면 품목별로 특화된 중간 도매상들이 형성되고, 시장가격은 외부 세계의 변화에 민감하게 반응하며, 예를 들어, 중국의 위안과 결부되어서 반응의 폭이 크다고 한다.

2) 여성 장마당활동을 통해 새로운 성별관계 형성: 여성주의적 관점에서

여성의 장마당활동을 통해 국가의 영향력 밖에서 예전과는 다른 새로운 성별관계와 여성역할이 형성되고 있다. 여기에 어떤 변화가 있는가 고찰해 보자.

첫째, 여성은 가족의 생계부양에 책임과 경제권을 가지게 되었다. 2002년 7.1 경제관리개선조치 이후 장마당활동을 하는 사람의 대다수가 여성이고, 이들의 생활비의 기여도는 60% 이상이라고 한다. ③ 경제난에서 국가배급체제가 무너지면서 세대주인 남편이 월급도 식량배급도 거의 받지 못해 가족생계를 책임지지 못했다. ④ 가정의 생계유지를 위한 주요한 현금수입원과 소득원이자가 여성 장마당경제활동이

41) 박현선, 2006a: 315.
43) 동용승, 2010: 135.
44) 동용승, 2010: 140.
45) 윤미량, 2006: 94.
47) 박현선, 2006a: 310, 332.
48) 가정 내 시장활동을 하는 사람이 여성(주부)이라는 응답이 남녀 모두에게 80%로 옹기를 띈 것으로 여성의 생활비 마련 기여도는 60% 이상이라는 답변이 78.9%로 집계되었다(박희진, 2010: 108).
49) 윤미량, 2006: 93.
원천이었다고 한다.\(^{50}\) 여성은 국가에 의존하지 않고 스스로 살아남는 자력구제 방법을 배우면서, 남편을 주인으로 하는 태도를 전과는 다르게 하고 있다. 남편은 부인에게 “기업소에 나가지 말라고 하고 - 종락 - ‘부인은 남편에게’(필자) 배급도 안주는데 기업소에 나가면 뭐하느냐며 큰이라도 벌어먹을 일을 찾으라고 성화가 심하다”\(^{51}\)라고 한다. 무위도식하는 남편에 대한 불만이다. 이러한 불만은 남편을 “낮전등”\(^{52}\)으로 설명한 점에서도 볼 수 있다. 가정 내 성별 위계질서에서 변화가 감지된다.

둘째, 여성은 장마당에서 핵심적 역할을 한다. 계획경제에서 여성은 경로동 중심의 산업분야에서 낮은 임금을 받고 부자적 또는 보조적 역할을 담당했다. 장마당에서 노동분담이 성별에 의하여 차별적으로 이루어지지 않는다. 여성은 자신의 스스로 시작참여를 결정하고, 자신의 능력에 따라 물품을 판매하고 있다. 이 점은 국가와 기업의 통제로부터 벗어나 장마당에서 자유적으로 활동하고 있다는 것을 의미한다. 여성은 공식경제 부문으로부터 가장 많이 이탈되었고, 공장가동률이 20% 내외이어서\(^{53}\) 공장이나 기업소에 다시 들어갈 수 없다. 여성은 7.1 조치 이후 합법 시장 중심으로 한 비공식부문에서 새로운 경제주체로 부상했다.\(^{54}\)

셋째, 여성은 장마당에서 부르디외(Bourdieu, Pierre) 의미에서 “사회적 자본”(soziales Kapital)을 형성한다. 사회적 자본의 사회학적 개념은 부르디외(Bourdieu, 1983)에 따르면 서로를 알고 인정하는 사회적 관계망(네트)에의 참여를 통해서 연결될 수 있는 실제적 잠재적 모든 자원을 뜻한다. 그에 따르면 사회적 자본은 개인에게 사회적 생활에 필요한 자원에 접근을 제공하며, 그 자원은 지원, 보조, 인정, 지식, 직업과 교육기관과의 연결 등을 말한다. 그것은 상호협약관계를, 예를 들어 상호 선물, 상호 호의, 상호 방문 등을 통해서 생산하고 재생산한다. 사회적 자본은 성공의 중요한 수단이다. 여성은 장마당에서 스스로 자신의 활동과 관계된 조직망을 형성한다. 품목에 따라 특화된 사적인 유통망을 구축하는 점이 그 하나의 예가 되었다. 유통망은 상품판매 조직에 필요한 중요한 기능을 가지고 있다. 조직의 혁신도 부분적으로

\(^{50}\) 박희진, 2010: 94.
\(^{51}\) 이애란, 2008: 107.
\(^{52}\) 윤미량, 2006: 110.
\(^{53}\) 윤미량, 2006: 93.
\(^{54}\) 박희진, 2010: 94.

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이루어지고 있는 듯하다. “엄청난 돈을 벌 사람은 상품을 차나 기차로 나르는 사람이다”라고 한 점과 금 또는 아연 등 부피가 크고 체포·처벌의 물품을 거래할 때는 극소수에서는 남편이 동행하거나, 그러나 대부분은 거래상과의 관계에 있는 다른 남성이 함께 다녀온다는 점에서 볼 수 있다. 조직의 혁신은 조직의 환경적응력과 경쟁력을 증가시키는 것을 목적으로 도입된 새로운 조직의 방법이다.

넷째, 여성은 자본을 형성한다. “엄청난 돈을 벌 사람이 있다”라고 언급한 점과 여성들은 장마당에서 특별한 물건을 만들어서 이윤을 남기고 있다는 점에서 찾아 볼 수 있다.

다섯째, 여성은 시장경제활동을 하면서 시장원리, 물품 유통관계 등에 대한 지식과 정보를 축적하고 있다. 이 점은 여성은 장사를 하면서 판의를 제공받기 위해 사회의 공적·사적 연결망 활용, 자금조달, 이윤배가, 수지약산에 따른 상품선택 등과 관련된 장사 수완 내지 요령을 터득한다는 점에서 드러난다. 이것은 경쟁력 확보에 중요한 수단이다. 이러한 긍정적인 이면에는 부정적인 면도 볼 수 있다. 이 점은 “여성은 사회적활동을 통해 새로운 경제주체로 활동하게 되면서 불법적 행위에 가담하는 과감성을 키우고”이윤이 높으면 뇌물을 주면서도 장사를 한다는 점이 대변한다.

여섯째, 의식, 가치관 및 태도변화가 다양한 면에서 감지된다. 전통적인 부부상이 무너지고, 이혼을 쉽게 결정하는 경향이 있다. “정식부부는 아니지만 생계활동을 같이 하는 부부 같은 관계가 형성된다”고 하며, “남편이 이를 시비해서 가정불화가 생길 경우 여성들은 차라리 이혼하는 쪽을 선택한다”라고 한다. 아내의 장기간 외유와 아내가 예전처럼 순종적이지 않은데 대해 남편이 불만을 품고 있으면, 부인은 이것을 못마땅히 여기고 이혼을 선택한다고 한다. 남편을 부양하는 것이 힘들다고 한다.

여성의 장사를 나가고, 집에 남은 남성들 중에 가사일을 하는 사람이 있다. 성별역할이 서로 뒤바뀌고 있다. 여성은 자체결정권을 가지고 자신의 일에 대한 자주적인 결정을 내리면서 남편의 통제와 종속적인 관계로부터 서서히 벗어나고 있다. 장마

55) 윤미량, 2006: 95.
58) 윤미량, 2006: 94.
59) 좋은 벡의 27호, 재인용, 박희진, 2010: 111.
60) 이미경, 2006: 391~392.
61) 윤미량, 2006: 110.
당에 대한 가치관도 변화하고 있다. 북한경제가 침체되지 않았던 1980년대 이전까지 북한에서는 장사는 상당히 부끄러운 일이었고 허용되기 어려운 자본주의적 요소로 보았다고 한다. 남성의 가치관도 변화하고 있다. 남성은 자신의 위신을 지키기 위해서 장마당활동을 하지 않았지만, 그러나 오늘날 국가 공무원도 여행을 하는 사람은 장사와 관계가 없는 사람은 거의 없다고 한다. 국가 공무원은 주로 남성이다. 1999년에는 장마당에서 장사하는 남자들이 늘었고 밥파는 남자들도 있고, 의지로 차를 타고 장사하러 나가는 사람은 주로 여성이라고 한다. 성별분업에 대한 고정관념이 깨지고 있다. 여성은 남편을 섬기고 복종은 하지 않지만, 그러나 가정의 여성이 책임이 크다고 보고 있고, 가장으로서의 남편의 존중과 권위적 관계를 부정하지 않는다고 한다. 다양한 형태의 혼합적 성별 관념이 존재하고 있다.

일곱째, 국가는 여성의 경제적 활동 없이 존재의 위태로움을 피할 수 없을 것이다. 여성은 장마당활동을 통해서 가족의 생계를 이끌어가면서, 사회적 불안을 어느 정도 완화시키는 데 근본적인 기여를 하고 있다. 불안한 사회는 국가의 보존을 위협하게 한다.

여덟째, 여성의 장마당활동에 대한 국가의 완전한 통제가 불가능하다. 이로 인해 국가는 성별관계의 규범적 규정에 의거하는 특별한 산업분야에의 여성활동을 배치하는 데 제도적 권한을 어느 정도 상실했다고 볼 수 있다. 이에 토대를 둔 가부장주의 철저와 제도 역시 서서히 무너지고 있다고 볼 수 있다. 이러한 점을 뒤집어서 보면 국가의 통제가 약한 곳에는 여성의 자율적 활동이 높아진다는 의미이다. 여성의 자율을 활성화하는 것은 평등 사회의 형성에 전제조건인 것이다.

아홉째, 장마당활동을 통해서 여성은 자체능력을 개발하여 자체변화와 성별관계의 변화를 이끌고 있다. 그 원동력은 다양하다. 여성 스스로 자신의 일을 결정하고 장마당 활동을 통해서 국가의 통제 밖으로 나온 데 기인한다. 빈곤 때문에 궁여지책으로 장마당활동을 하고 있지만 여성은 자신의 역량을 키울 수 있는 결정적 계기를 맞게 된 것이다. 장마당에서 자주적으로 활동하는 여성은 성별관계의 사회적, 문화적 권력

62) 이것은 자본주의적 이기주의와 관련 있다고 보고, 돈에 대한 관심을 가지거나 이기주의적인 사람에 대해서는 사회적인 평가가 좋지 않았다(이애란, 2008: 110)고 한다.
63) 이애란, 2008: 111.
64) 이미경, 2006: 389.
65) 이미경, 2006: 394.
과 질서를 새로 구성해 가는 주체자로 볼 수 있다.

5. 나오기

북한에서 성별관계의 구성과 차이 및 성질분리는 국가의 정치적 문화적 제도와 장
마당의 활동을 위주로 서구의 성별관계에 대한 논의와 담화에 비춰 분석하였다. 이러
한 것들은 사회주의헌법과 여성·모성 이데올로기에 기인해 문화적으로 형성되어 사
회적 활동을 하면서 구현된 점을 확인할 수 있었다. 남녀의 평등이나 여성해방은 여
성의 물질적인 독립이 주요한 요인임에 틀림없으나, 북한 사회주의헌법에서 제시한
것처럼 여성의 노동참여만으로 가능한 게 아니라라는 점도 천착했다. 성 억압의 구조적
해체와 성별관계의 평등을 달성하기 위해 남성중심적 국가제도와 정치적 사회적 권
력구조를 변화시켜야 하며, 여성의 체결적인 주체로서 독립적인 사회적 위치를 달
성하기 위해 이에 따른 의식과 자주적인 활동을 사회 어느 분야에서 해야 되는 결
론을 얻었다. 이러한 발전의 첫 시작을 북한에서는 자주적인 장마당활동을 하는 여성
들로부터 볼 수 있다. 그들은 가족의 생계에 책임을 지면서 남녀의 관계의 변화도 이
끌어 냈고 국가에서 제시한 이상적인 성별관계와 여성의 역할에서 벗어나고 있다. 남
편을 주인으로 생각하는 여성 의식이 변화가 있고, 여성의 가족관계를 위해 활동하는
동안, 국가의 중앙지도적 지배권 아래 성별에 의거하여 형성된 사회적 수직적 분업
모델이 장마당에서 부분적으로나마 무너지고 있는 점도 확인했다. 국가의 통제에도
불구하고 여성의 활발한 장마당활동을 비춰볼 때, 이로부터 사회적 경제적 변화를 이
끌어 낼 수 있다는 예측을 하게 한다.

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North Korea’s Female Factor:
A Case of Knowledge Sharing for Women in Business

Nils WEISENSEE

(Entrepreneurship Programs Coordinator, Choson Exchange)
국문초록

북한의 여성: 비즈니스 여성을 위한 지식공유의 사례

비즈니스 여성(WIB) 프로그램을 시작한 2012년 이래, 조선교류는 사업과 재정, 법률에 관련하여 130명이 넘는 여성들을 교육시켜왔다. 경쟁적으로 선택된 수십 명의 참가자들은 교육연수를 위해서 싱가폴로 보내져 국제경영학과 정책결정을 공부하였다. 비즈니스 여성 프로그램은 여성에게 중점이 맞춰져 있는데, 야심 있는 신흥 중소기업 여성 전문가들은 점점 더 북한의 경제적 변화를 추동하고 있다. 초기 비즈니스 여성 프로그램의 참가자와 북한의 파트너들의 피드백은 매우 고무적이었다. 따라서 조선교류는 북한에서 다양한 워크숍뿐만 아니라 싱가폴의 교육연수도 확장하고자 하는 계획을 가지고 있다. 또한 조선교류는 북한사람들이 사업을 시작함에 있어 발생하는 장애물을 멘토십과 네트워크를 제공하고 그리고 가능하다면 자금을 제공함으로써 줄여나가고자 한다. 거시경제정책, 미시경제적 실무능력과 관련한 프로그램과 독특한 지역 파트너는 조선교류가 큰 영향이 미치는 위치에 있다는 것을 보여준다.
Abstract

North Korea’s Female Factor: A Case of Knowledge Sharing for Women in Business

Since the initiation of its Women in Business (WIB) program in 2012, Choson Exchange (CE) has been training more than 130 female North Koreans in business, finance, and law. Several dozen competitively selected participants have been taken to Singapore for study trips on international business practices and policy-making. The WIB program focuses on women because ambitious female professionals in the emergent small and medium enterprise sector (SME) are increasingly driving economic change in the DPRK. Feedback from participants and North Korean partners on this initiative has been very encouraging. Therefore, CE plans to expand both its workshop series in the DPRK, as well as the study trips to Singapore. CE also works to reduce some of the hurdles that prevent North Koreans from starting a business by providing mentorship, a network of peers, and possibly funding to get startups off the ground. Having strong local partners, as well as programs on both macro-economic policies and micro-economic business skills, puts CE into a position to scale its impact as much as donor support permits.
1. Introducing CE

Choson Exchange (CE) is a Singapore-based non-profit organization founded in 2010 with the purpose of organizing workshops on business, finance, and law in the DPRK. CE also arranges study trips, internships and other educational programs for young North Korean professionals in Singapore and China. Through these programs, the organization provides opportunities for personal and professional growth, both through knowledge-sharing and relationship-building with foreign experts, as well as with fellow participants.

CE has two main umbrellas, one focused on business skills and entrepreneurship, the other focused on economic policy and macrobusiness environment. These are mutually supportive, seeking to influence the conversation both on management strategies for companies and their operational environment.

In 2013, CE trained more than 260 North Koreans in the country, with an additional 18 people trained in Singapore. This year, more than 350 North Koreans are expected to join workshops in the country, while an additional 30-40 will join one of CE’s overseas study trips to Singapore. By the end of 2014, CE will have trained more than 600 North Koreans.

In-country workshops are lead by foreign experts who are joining CE as volunteers for trips to North Korea that last between five and seven days. In 2013, a total of twelve workshop leaders travelled to North Korea as part of these trainings. This year, CE expects to bring more than 20 foreign experts into the country. In-county workshops can be up to four days each, with a maximum of two sessions per day. Each workshop is attended by 30 to 50 North Koreans, which usually ends with a panel discussion on the last day that allows for questions and concludes the training. While most of CE’s workshops take place in Pyongyang, since last fall trainings have been organized in Wonsan, which has allowed CE to gather audiences
from nearly every province in the country.

To support economic growth and promote change in the DPRK, CE has developed three key programs: The Young Entrepreneurs Network (YEN), the Provincial Development Program (PDP) and the Women In Business program (WIB). The PDP in particular focuses on regions that are developing Special Economic Zones (SEZ).

YEN aims to educate young North Koreans in their twenties to forties who are interested in venturing out of state-owned enterprises (SOE) and setting up their own businesses. YEN trainings include workshops on project management, business development, customer validation, product innovation, budgeting, and similar topics related to setting up and growing a private business.

PDP trainings focus on workshop topics like feasibility studies, investor expectations, economic policy, and other skills and knowledge that support economic development in the provinces, especially in context of the new SEZs. In 2013, North Korea introduced a total of 14 SEZs, which—while poorly implemented—indicates a degree of recognition that economic policy changes are needed, and that experimentation may take place in the provinces. The PDP aims to support this notion.

The WIB program seems to be the first female-focused business program in North Korea, and has been one of CE’s most important successes. While there is some overlap with topics also covered in YEN trainings, the WIB program specifically focuses on helping North Korean women advance their careers in business. So far, women in the DPRK have had only limited access to business education and management positions. Therefore, WIB aims to support aspirations of women to move towards managerial positions, take on leadership responsibilities, and start their own enterprises when the opportunity arises.
2. Getting Started with WIB

CE initiated its WIB program in fall 2012 with the goal of supporting female managers and entrepreneurs in North Korea, focusing on women between 20 and 40 years old. Many members of this age group have gained some professional experience, may have started to move up within the management structure of North Korean SOEs and government agencies, and are looking for further professional opportunities. This includes the possibility of starting their own businesses, using the skills they have learned as young professionals.

In North Korea today, women represent an important and dynamic force for economic development. While leading positions in government and SOEs are still dominated by men, women have begun to pursue their own careers in newly set up businesses related to tourism, service or trade, which are operated as subsidiaries of government entities but often independently managed and autonomously profitable. Often, a share of their profits is paid to the state entity that they are affiliated with.

While connections to officialdom are still crucial to succeed with an enterprise in the DPRK, a career in business is quickly becoming an attractive alternative to traditional careers (or none at all) for ambitious women. The goal of the WIB program is to specifically support these female managers and potential entrepreneurs who underpin the emerging sector of SMEs.
Fig. 1) Areas of business activity in North Korea

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informal Markets</th>
<th>Scalable Private Businesses</th>
<th>State-Owned Enterprises</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Small-scale businesses</strong> in the <em>jangmadang</em> with &lt;10 employees</td>
<td><strong>Illegal or legal</strong> businesses run by individual North Koreans with significant state collusion</td>
<td>Government-owned businesses, but increasingly developing joint-ventures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g. small-scale retail, restaurants, agriculture</td>
<td>e.g. property development, restaurant chains, wholesale, etc.</td>
<td>Wide range of industries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditionally where funders have been active but <strong>difficult to scale.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Highly scalable</strong> business with significant opportunity to become dynamic private sector. This is the “gray zone” with most opportunities to accelerate entrepreneurship.</td>
<td>Privileged sector with rentseeking advantages. Scalable business, but not an effective driver of private sector.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A second, but perhaps more important purpose of the WIB program in the DPRK is to get regular access to ambitious women who are then interviewed for joining a future study trip to Singapore. Out of all participants who have joined workshop series in the DPRK, CE has been selecting 15-20% who have later participated in such a trip.

Because there had been little precedent or state sanction for this type of work, North Korean partners initially tried to steer CE towards gender-neutral trainings. The few professional training initiatives that had existed for North Koreans in the past have predominantly had male participants. Therefore, skepticism was high, and CE’s partners initially voiced doubts whether it would be possible to recruit a sufficient number of women who fit the program’s requirements and would be permitted by their employers to attend the workshops. This was even more of a problem for the overseas component in Singapore: It was unclear whether female participants would be able to get permission to leave the DPRK.

Since the concept of business trainings focused on women was new to CE’s North Korean partners, some male participants suggested the gender preference of the selection process was a kind of sexism. One male candidate explained that “you have to interview us for the overseas program...
men make all the important decisions!” CE did not follow this request.

Recently, some of CE’s North Korean partners changed, and the two key contacts are now 23 and 29 years old. Possibly due to their relatively young age, these partners have shown a particularly good understanding of the workshops’ goals and the value of CE’s programs for North Korea. This should make it easier to raise support for future workshops with increasingly complex and more challenging content.

3. Recruitment & Planning

When preparing a training, CE staff recruits workshop leaders in China, Singapore, Europe, and other countries. These volunteers are then grouped according to their expertise in order to create a series of workshops on a specific area of topics. Recruitment happens through talks, presentations, personal contacts, and recommendations from former workshop leaders who help with outreach.

Past workshop leaders have come from eleven different countries, and have focused their trainings on a variety of topics like innovation, management, lean production, customer relationships, consumer behavior, strategy, project planning, accounting, and even corporate social responsibility. Workshop leaders are consultants, managers, entrepreneurs, restaurateurs, lawyers, journalists, PR executives, and more. They have at least three years of experience in their field and are collaborating with CE staff to prepare workshops according to their expertise and the needs of the North Korean audience.

CE staff arranges meetings with workshop leaders and helps them to adjust the content and style of their presentations to this new audience. CE strongly encourages workshop leaders to include interactive components in their trainings where the audience is split into small teams, collaborates on discussions, and competes to achieve specific goals related to the content of the workshop. Past practice sessions have included developing business
ideas through mind maps, learning how to react to customer feedback and increase production efficiency by cutting paper snow flakes, improving teamwork by building paper towers, analyzing personal strengths and team dynamics by building paper bridges, and many more. The excitement, ambition, and competitiveness among workshop participants during these practice sessions is astonishing, and their impact on learning outcomes is significant.

In order to build support for a series of workshops, and to clarify what kind of audience would be suitable for the proposed topics, upcoming trainings are explained to CE’s partners in the DPRK. CE also suggests industries, institutions and demographics which participants should or should not come from, and let North Korean partners put together the pool of candidates based on these suggestions. The goal is to create a large pool of participants who have an interest in business and are ambitious about their future. Each workshop series requires at least 30 participants and is attended by up to 60 people.

Topics are not only suggested by CE, but also by its partners. For example, recent workshop series that have focused on hotel and restaurant management were partly initiated by North Korean partners, who specifically requested training in certain areas and industries. Additionally, workshop topics have been requested through feedback forms that are collected after each workshop, as well as in conversations with participants who express interest in certain skills.

“This panel discussion format is really good... I want to learn how to run them myself” - WIB participant

Based on the topic of the workshop, CE’s partners invite institutions and companies to send participants. Other times, past participants or CE’s partners informally reach out to people they think are suitable for a workshop, and encourage them to take part. Sometimes, participants hear about
CE from their friends, and request a place in a workshop by contacting CE’s partners in Pyongyang.

From this pool, CE interviews and then selects the top 15-20% of participants for two-week overseas training components, where they learn from managers and entrepreneurs about international business standards and innovative business models. Participants for overseas trips are picked based on their education, current industry and position, professional achievements, as well as their entrepreneurial ambitions for the future.

For many candidates, these culturally unfamiliar interview questions put them on the spot. Few are willing to claim any accomplishments, and some stare blankly at the interviewer or give generic answers. Interviews last between 10 and 30 minutes, and are conducted by CE staff in Korean and English, depending on the abilities of the interviewer and the candidate. English skills among the candidates are not required since interpreters are available throughout the study trip.

The strongest candidates articulate concrete ideas about their plans for the future, how they want to get there, and what they want to learn in the process. Unfortunately, candidates like these are few in a typical pool of participants. Due to a shortage of qualified candidates, CE has occasionally reduced the number of participants in an overseas program.

An even smaller group of participants is being shortlisted for longer-term programs in Singapore, such as internships or more extended educational programs. So far, 24 WIB participants have been selected for overseas programs.

Like everything done in North Korea, CE is not immune from the political context. In August and September 2013, CE selected managers from several restaurants for an overseas program that was to take place in November. When some participants were suddenly unable to travel abroad, the program was first delayed to early December, and later cancelled. As it was unclear if the disruption was linked to Jang Song Thaek’s purge, CE’s Managing Director took an emergency Christmas visit to
Pyongyang. Fortunately, North Korean partners assured that there was continued interest in this program, despite the changes at the very top of society.

*Fig. 2) Recruitment process at Choson Exchange*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step 1: Workshops in NK</th>
<th>Step 2: Overseas study trips</th>
<th>Step 3: Internships &amp; Scholarships</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intial workshops run by volunteer leaders who cover the logistical costs of going to North Korea. Selection of participants for overseas programs through interviews at workshops to ensure proper use of resources.</td>
<td>Short workshop exposing participants to developed environment in Singapore and to discussions on international business standards or policymaking. Enables participants to understand how unusual the environment in NK is.</td>
<td>Selected suitable candidates take part in internship programs or scholarship programs to build deeper knowledge and understanding. Leverages database of past participants to select the right people.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Successes & Challenges

After running the WIB program for more than a year, the understanding of and support for this initiative among CE’s North Korean partners has significantly improved, and the program has gained an increasingly positive reputation among SOEs and other organizations in Pyongyang. Now, some companies in the DPRK reach out to CE’s partners, trying to gain access to workshop series organized in the country. CE hopes that the increasing appreciation for the value that WIB workshops offer for managers and regular employees will help to scale this initiative.

Since the start of this program, the interest, attitude and excitement among North Korean participants for the content offered during WIB workshops has been extremely encouraging. Each workshop usually includes one or two practice sessions where participants are asked to split up into smaller teams and put theory into action: develop business plans, create mind maps, collect and incorporate customer feedback, streamline production processes, built bridges and towers out of paper to learn lessons on team work and
collaborative behavior, and much more. Participants actively interact with workshop leaders, and ask concrete, detailed questions related to business ideas and professional improvement.

In feedback forms filled out at the end of each workshop series, participants regularly express their intention to share the insights and information they have learned with coworkers and friends. They also say they plan to tell their peers about CE’s workshops, which helps to grow the program and reach potential candidates for study trips that may otherwise have not been suggested by CE’s North Korean partners. An overview of the results from these feedback forms is shown in Fig. 3.

Fig. 3) Feedback from workshop participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I would recommend this program to a colleague at my department</td>
<td>88% positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I learned new concepts</td>
<td>70% positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I learned something new I can adapt to my working life</td>
<td>70% positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting the other participants will help me in my business</td>
<td>64% positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I will share this knowledge with my colleagues</td>
<td>98% “yes” or “probably”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(N=92, Sample drawn from both in-country and out-of-country programs, omitted some incomplete questionnaires and WIB programs in 2012)

Based on these results, CE sees significant value in continuing to focus on this demographic in North Korea. When recruiting workshop leaders, CE tries to find professionals who are experienced in their field, but are somewhat close in age to the North Korean participants to help both groups relate to each other and identify with each other’s professional experiences —despite all differences. However, even if age differences exist, personal interactions during the trainings seem to frequently inspire female participants to pursue their own professional goals.

- At one workshop focused on service-sector businesses, an Australian entrepreneur who pioneered fine dining in China talked about her business experience. The entrepreneur claimed what made her successful after
dropping out of college, was that she did every job that could be done in a restaurant—cleaning the floors, washing the toilets, cooking, waitressing, handling the money and bartending—before setting up her business. A Korean participant enthusiastically responded to the story, telling the workshop leader over coffee break how she too worked on all those jobs before becoming the manager of a restaurant. She was also full of questions about systems that could raise the productivity of her waitresses.

“I agree that you have to have done every job in the business to really understand how a company functions.” – WIB participant

- In another case, a workshop on management styles and customer relationships caused excitement among participants because the workshop leader was the founder of a coffee company—an industry that has recently received significant interest in Pyongyang. The “coffee expert” was asked for autographs and was later requested to visit several coffee shops in the capital for short trainings and product feedback. His workshop was not only attended by previously registered and authorized participants, but also by several employees from coffee shops around the city who had heard about the event and spontaneously joined in. When this workshop leader left the country, the immigration officer noted: “Ah, you are the coffee expert!”

Fig. 4) Examples of independent entrepreneurship

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Entrepreneur</th>
<th>The Potential</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30 year old female took over a failing petrol station from parents and turned it around to generate &gt;$1M in revenue per year.</td>
<td>Building a chain of petrol stations and expanding sales of petrol products.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 year old North Korean, fluent in English and French, wants to set up a bakery and supply baked goods to universities in Pyongyang.</td>
<td>Supplying a 2-3M people market in Pyongyang which is served by only two known bakeries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43 year old North Korean setting up construction firm to cater to growing infrastructure and housing demand.</td>
<td>Positioned for potential market liberalization policies.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
However, not all workshop series are equally successful: Personal capability, enthusiasm and ambition among the audience varies, and the interviews with some audiences yield significantly fewer high-potential candidates for overseas programs than those with others. To make sure the few spots in the overseas programs are filled with the most capable candidates, CE occasionally decides to scale down or even cancel a planned study trip to Singapore if no fitting participants can be found. This rigor is also a reminder for CE’s North Korean partners that it is crucial for them to press their contacts to propose the most talented, ambitious, and creative employees for attending a workshop series. CE has always considered active participant selection for overseas programs to be absolutely critical.

There also have been cases where one company sent a disproportionate number of employees to attend a workshop series. Since CE’s goal is to reach a wide variety of participants from different institutions and professional backgrounds, North Korean partners were asked not to let one or few employers dominate any series of trainings.

5. Participant Demographics

The WIB program is structured to have a majority of female participants in order to shift away from participants working in government ministries or commissions, and to continue focussing on the key demographic of young professionals. The workshops for CE’s WIB program are not completely closed to men, but are aiming for a significant female majority, particularly in the overseas component.

In total, the WIB program has had more than 200 participants, about 65% percent of which were female. Compared to other CE programs in 2013 on tourism and SEZs, which had around 20% female participation, this is a major improvement. For the overseas component, the total share of women was about 90%. 

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Participants for WIB workshops come from a variety of industries and companies. So far, more than 41 institutions have had female employees take part. Most of them were junior to mid-level managers. The restaurant and service sector are the best represented, alongside participants from light manufacturing, mining, logistics, and retail.

“I learn that grasping the demands of consumers is important in market strategy” - Workshop participant

At the time of attending the workshops, only a small minority of participants were actual entrepreneurs with managerial autonomy. While hard statistics are limited and it is at times difficult to distinguish SOEs from SMEs, participants who run SMEs generally come from either the service sector, trading, or retail and distribution. None of them are from the heavy industries.

This quasi-private sector of SMEs is growing and providing dynamism to the North Korean economy. These companies are different from the grassroots markets much studied in the West: Some of them have annual revenues of more than one million USD, and are able to invest in growing their business. CE expects that this sector will provide the basis for North Korea’s transition into a mixed economy, and will help absorb the labor that will come from layoffs at inefficient state enterprises. Encouraging skills upgrading and growth in this sector should be a priority.

Many of the women in the WIB program have strong aspirations to run their own businesses someday, and most of the content that is being taught during workshops can be applied at SOEs and other institutions to improve management, productivity, customer awareness, and other aspects of the operation.

Unlike CE’s policy-focused programs in the past, WIB participants also come from more varied personal and educational backgrounds. For instance, quite a few women attended vocational schools instead of universities,
whereas in policy-focused programs, most participants come from top universities.

6. Tracking Impact

The WIB program is still in its early stage and comparably small in scale. From its initiation in 2012 until March 2014, a total of 130 women have attended one or several workshop series. 24 of them have also joined CE’s overseas programs. Because of its limited scope, expectations for the program’s impact are modest.

The immediate impact of every workshop series is measured through a survey that is used to track learning outcomes. CE asked participants to rate on a scale of 1 to 10 (10 being strong agreement) their opinions on some questions posed after the workshops. Results in the range between 8 and 10 are considered positive responses. As shown in Fig. 3, the results are overwhelmingly positive.

Here are two examples of individuals who have participated in the WIB program that show how CE supports entrepreneurial interests in the DPRK:

- Heung Mi (pseudonym) is a graduate from the Pyongyang University of Foreign Studies. After graduation, she worked at a major North Korean library. She does not have experience with business, but after attending a CE workshop in Pyongyang, she was inspired by the stories of some of the entrepreneurs who spoke at the event, and came up with an idea to set up a restaurant to serve people who study at the library.

- Un Byol (pseudonym) started out as a waitress at a restaurant. After jobs in cleaning, cooking and waitressing, she found herself managing the waitressing staff. She was able to eventually obtain funding to set up her own restaurant – two floors with a pleasant outdoor patio. Un Byol was interested in ways to use technology to improve the efficiency of her operations, and to provide her restaurant with a differentiating factor.
Most participants find value in the workshops, and the knowledge that is being shared translates into action. CE has seen participants leave their positions to start their own business after attending programs, although this remains a small proportion of all program participants. CE staff have also noticed that participants of study trips to Singapore stay in touch with each other afterwards, organizing get-togethers over dinner.

While current successes are inspiring, CE would like to see more longterm outcomes, and find better ways to measure the long-term impact of the WIB program in the DPRK. One of the major challenges has been to retain regular contact with workshop participants beyond each workshop series. While the total number of North Koreans who have participated in CE programs is now high enough that staff occasionally meets former participants on the streets of Pyongyang, there are few ways to contact groups of CE alumni in a planned and reliable way to organize follow-up meetings and assess the long-term impact of the programs.

Unfortunately, phone calls and emails are still fairly unreliable means of communication with North Koreans. While CE staff has received anecdotal evidence that some WIB participants have made the leap and set up businesses on their own, there are many more who have expressed strong interest in doing so where the outcomes are unknown.

CE surveys indicate that one of the key restraints for WIB participants to realize their entrepreneurial plans is the lack of capital available to them. Another challenge is the lack of continuous support in form of mentorships for would-be entrepreneurs. CE plans to help with both aspects through two initiatives that are key priorities in the coming months, and are explained in more detail in the chapter 8 of this paper.

7. Overseas Programs

The study trips to Singapore are tailored to offer inspiration and additional
insight to the most compelling participants who have been picked through competitive interviews during the workshop series in the DPRK. Overseas programs last one to two weeks and include presentations, trainings and workshops on a variety of topics that match the professional background and interests of the North Korean participants. Typical topics covered during these trips are business development, logistics and supply chain management, the impact of the Internet on business in Singapore, international standards in accounting, and more. Throughout the program, participants are given opportunities to build bonds among themselves and with the workshop leaders they meet.

CE has picked Singapore as the main destination for overseas programs because North Koreans tend to look at Singapore as a potential role model for a successful path towards strong economic development. The strong role of the government in a very young Singaporean society makes the city-state comparably easy to relate to, while the ethnic diversity and entrepreneurial culture provide plenty of inspiration and learning opportunities for visitors from the DPRK. More than 90% of Singaporeans live in public housing, while healthcare and education are heavily subsidized by the state. Many North Koreans are fearful of abruptly abandoning their current economic system. The change that is most acceptable to them is one that is gradual and incremental. The purpose of holding programs in Singapore is not to have them copy a "Singapore model", but to emphasize that they should take away ideas useful to their economic development, and adapt it to the specific circumstances they face.

“I plan to implement the lean production systems that allow you to respond to the market” - Workshop participant

Singapore’s neutrality is also important. While China and South Korea provide highly relevant lessons on economic development for the North, they are less desired places to study economics or business because of the
ideological competition and their political involvement in the North. North Korea does not want to be seen as a satellite state of China. Claiming to adapt policy ideas from Singapore does not come with the same political baggage, even if these are the same policies that China or South Korea have. The positive impression of Singapore’s neutrality is reinforced by the visa-free entry North Koreans enjoy when visiting the city-state.

Feedback from participants about these trips is extremely positive. According to anecdotal reports, North Korean participants tend to remain in touch with each other through private social events. CE staff were able to meet a few CE alumni during visits to Pyongyang, albeit only by chance.

To ensure the financial sustainability of the WIB program, it is particularly important to control the costs of overseas trips for North Koreans. When avian flu forced a shift of overseas workshops from Shanghai to Singapore, rising program expenses were a major concern. Fortunately, participants are content staying at cheaper hostels, eating street food, and using public transportation to move around. North Korean participants are also contributing some of their own money to cover a symbolic portion of their transportation costs to Singapore. Additionally, CE plans to establish a small cover charge for participants who are attending workshops in the DPRK. The purpose is not only to improve the financial sustainability of the WIB program, but also to continue promoting a sense of the value offered by CE to partners in North Korea.

Given CE’s limited budget, and the high costs associated with study trips to Singapore, the selection process is critical to ensure that the few positions available are filled with the most qualified candidates. The current process—a combination of personal interviews by CE staff among pre-selected workshop participants in the DPRK—has been a relatively effective way of finding high-potential candidates.
8. Steps Ahead

In order to increase impact and improve connections with WIB alumni, CE plans to arrange workshop modules that are built on top of earlier workshops, targeting women who have already attended a training and are interested in deepening their understanding of selected topics. These training modules will satisfy requests from North Korean partners for longer and more in-depth trainings, while giving CE an opportunity to reconnect with WIB alumni, survey them about their progress, and assess the challenges they are facing on the path to entrepreneurship. These follow-up programs will also give participants who have met each other before a second chance to connect, build their network with peers, and form partnerships for the future.

The success of this initiative will strongly depend on available funding for CE, as well as on the ability of North Korean partners to reconnect with former WIB participants and get permission from their employers to attend additional trainings. However, considering the positive reputation that these programs have gained among employers in Pyongyang, there is reason for optimism. Even this year, a few former workshop participants have returned for additional trainings, some of which have already attended several WIB series, including overseas programs in Singapore. If CE succeeds in creating a system of modularized trainings, the goal of long-term connections, engagement, and mentorship of ambitious women in the DPRK will be much easier to achieve.

A second strategy that CE plans to pursue this year is the creation of an alumni center in Pyongyang, which is intended to become a meeting point for CE alumni who want to reconnect with their peers. This alumni center may also provide a more permanent location for trainings, which will help further spreading the word about CE’s educational initiatives in the DPRK. CE staff has started working with North Korean partners on
finding potential locations for this venue, and hopes to make significant progress before the end of 2014.

The third objective is to help CE alumni overcome capital restraints that prevent them from starting their own business. In the long-term, CE is exploring ideas to initiate a startup incubator program that provides funding and entrepreneurial mentorship to alumni who have been identified as having the ambition, capability and determination to build a business in the DPRK.

Looking at the current financial infrastructure, or lack thereof, there are even bigger opportunities for improvements. A lending facility for SMEs handled by a neutral third party could help support the emerging private sector in North Korea. Or, to support the development of the financial sector, a joint-venture bank meant to transfer best practices could be set up. Aside from micro finance, seed venture capital could be provided to get new enterprises off the ground. Based on initial experiences and the entrepreneurial expertise of volunteers and staff, CE aims to create a solution for what seems to be the missing link between the ambition of WIB alumni and more small startups in the DPRK.

Last but not least, CE plans to expand the number of trainings in SEZs like Rason, Wanson and others in order to broaden its audience and support the economic development of the North Korean countryside.

9. Conclusions & Recommendations

North Korea is still a country that emphasizes military over economy. However, there is debate over whether to reform the economy, how to reform it, and how fast to push ahead. While a clear decision does not seem to have been made yet, there is increased willingness to learn more about experiences in economic development elsewhere. This should be encouraged. Independent of CE’s programs, multiple North Korean governmental
delegations have been visiting Singapore each year over the past few years. They often request to meet with different agencies to learn about various economic policies.

CE also has been noticing a number of encouraging developments which indicate that engagement, knowledge exchange, personal interaction, and professional capacity-building are falling on fertile grounds. Interest in business skills is increasing, personal ambitions are more openly expressed among peers, consumerism is on the rise, and there seems to be a more common agreement that the DPRK should experiment with its economic policies in order to move the country forward.

Now, a younger generation of women (and men), who have barely experienced the old centralized distribution system in proper operation, are pushing to develop their own careers in business. They tend to be more ambitious, more flexible, and more eager to secure a share of the increasing wealth they see and know about.

Looking to China, Singapore and other countries for inspiration and successful examples is not frowned upon, but more and more perceived as a smart and promising strategy towards success. The inauguration of 14 SEZs last year is—a symbol of this new willingness to learn from others and try things out.

In the coming months, CE hopes to see a sense of competition develop among the current SEZs, as well as additional applications for future SEZs in other parts of the country. CE’s focus on expanding its programs towards the provinces reflects this hope and attempts to support this trend.

“I want to be in business to show that women can be good business leaders” — WIB participant

At the same time, the push for development of the tourism industry seems to increase the interest of policy makers and government officials in the
exchange of knowledge with foreign experts. CE’s North Korean partners in the provinces seem well aware that in order to provide attractive environments for foreign visitors, they must improve their understanding of other cultures, needs, and international expectations towards a host country.

CE believes that economic development in North Korea can come from better economic policies, as well as from the development and growth of SMEs. Having both a policy and an entrepreneurship program allows CE to equally support these sources of change.

While stable funding remains a major challenge, CE believes that these programs should be supported regardless of political tensions. They are not about rewarding the government. These programs are about encouraging it to move in a direction that is better for its neighbors, better for the region — and most importantly, better for North Korea’s people.

_Nils Weisensee & Geoffrey K. See
Choson Exchange, Singapore_
Partnerships in Agriculture: Building North Korean Capacity

*DPRK Agricultural Training: The AFSC Experience*

Linda LEWIS (DPRK Country Rep., American Friends Service Committee)

*DPRK Agricultural Training: The World Vision Experience*

LEE Jusung (Senior Program Director, World Vision)
DPRK Agricultural Training: The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) Experience

Linda LEWIS

(DPRK Country Rep., American Friends Service Committee)
북한의 농업 교육: 미국 프렌드 교회 사회 복지 사업회의 사례

농업교육과 지식구축활동은 AFSC농업 원조 프로그램 개발전략에 있어서 중요한 요소다. 개발전략 프로그램은 북한의 과학 관련 기구와의 협력 하에 네개의 농장에서 이행되고 있으며, 핵심 소양과 정보 그리고 새로운 기술을 제공하는 연구프로그램으로서 지지를 받았다. 이 전략은 다양한 수준의 접근법을 포함하고 있으며, 프로그램 당사자가 문제와 해결책에 다양한 시각으로 접근할 수 있게 하고 북한 농장에 혁신적인 기술의 채택을 효율적으로 지원할 수 있게 한다. 성과로는 AFSC의 파트너 농장에서 모판 경작에 플라스틱 쟁반을 사용(use of plastic trays for seedbed cultivation)을 통하여 증가한 쌀 수득율을 포함한 것 등이 있다.
Abstract

DPRK Agricultural Training: The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) Experience

Agricultural training and knowledge-building activities have long been an integral part of an AFSC agriculture assistance program development strategy that combines grass-roots implementation on four partner farms, with cooperation with scientific institutions within the DPRK, and is supported by study programs that provide necessary knowledge, information, and new skills. This strategy allows a multi-level approach that enables program stakeholders to assess problems and solutions from different perspectives and effectively supports the adoption of innovation technologies on DPRK farms. Successes include increasing rice yields through the introduction of the use of plastic trays for seedbed cultivation on AFSC partner farms.
Background: The AFSC DPRK Agriculture Development Assistance Program Model

The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) has a long history of work on the Korean peninsula, extending back to the early 1950s. AFSC activities in the DPRK started in the 1980s with people-to-people exchanges, and then AFSC offered humanitarian aid during the famine of the late 1990s. The current agricultural development assistance program has its roots in an agricultural rehabilitation program begun in 1996, when AFSC was one of the first NGOs allowed to work directly with North Korean cooperative farms.

AFSC’s agricultural training and knowledge-sharing activities started at almost the same time. From the beginning, they were an integral part of AFSC’s focus in the DPRK on farm-based research to restore soil fertility and to introduce appropriate technologies to increase productivity. AFSC started with one farm, providing material and technical assistance. Initial inputs of farm supplies (fertilizers, seeds, equipment) led to discussions of farming methods and the initiation of farm-based trials of new crops and green manures. In addition to farm-based support, AFSC also organized study delegations for DPRK agricultural specialists to other countries, including the United States, where from 1998 study programs covered a wide range of topics around grain and livestock. These early study visits built relationships and led to cooperation on seed production and soil fertility research.

By 2003, at the request of DPRK partners, AFSC’s program had expanded to include technical exchanges with DPRK agricultural organizations. Being able to work both at the farm level and the institutional level increased the potential of the program to address both pragmatic and systemic factors limiting agricultural productivity. For eight years AFSC provided support for a winter seed multiplication project, sending hybrid rice breeders from
the DPRK Academy of Agricultural Sciences (AAS) to conduct research at the Cuu Long Rice Research Institute in Vietnam. Scientists from the AAS Center for Research in Compound Microorganisms also learned about bio-fertilizer production in China.

Today, AFSC works with four cooperative farms, as well as with agricultural scientists at the Academy of Agricultural Sciences and at Kyungsang College of Agriculture of Kim IL Sung University. The primary objective of AFSC’s work continues to be the promotion of sustainable agricultural practices and increasing farm productivity, and we aim to do this through practical approaches that are field-tested on partner cooperative farms. Following the model AFSC has refined over the past decade, Korean farm managers use modest amounts of farm materials shipped from China to conduct field-based experiments using innovative technologies. Data are then collected and results discussed with AFSC staff on periodic visits. In support of these initiatives, AFSC regularly hosts study tours outside the DPRK for farm managers, agricultural researchers, and policy makers to learn about new practices and current research that might be adaptable to the Korean context. The last study tour to the U.S. was held in 2006, but in 2008 AFSC moved its DPRK program office to Dalian, China. Since then, the knowledge-building component of the DPRK work has expanded, with study tours and exchanges mostly conducted in China.

With three decades of work in the DPRK, including more than 15 years of continuous development assistance, AFSC is an example of a small private U.S. NGO that has realized substantial results operating under significant administrative constraints and with relatively limited resources. And, the main success of the AFSC program is a development strategy that combines grass-roots implementation on four partner farms, with cooperation with scientific institutions within the DPRK, and is supported by training and knowledge-building activities, primarily in China. This allows
a multi-level approach that enables program stakeholders to assess problems and solutions from different perspectives and effectively supports the adoption of innovation technologies on DPRK farms.

**Agricultural Innovations: The Example of Plastic Trays for Seedbed Cultivation**

One successful innovation introduced by AFSC has been the use of plastic trays for seedbed preparation. In 2004 AFSC began introducing SRI (Systems of Rice Intensification) technology on DPRK partner farms. SRI is a method of increasing rice yields, primarily through better management of plants, soil, water, and nutrients. Farmers were reluctant to experiment with the new methods of cultivation, however, until 2007, when several farm managers from an AFSC delegation observed the practice in China, where SRI principles are used in growing rice seedlings in plastic trays.

At the farm managers’ request, AFSC began supplying plastic trays, providing them in small numbers, and farms started experimenting on small areas. Some farms were initially reluctant to try them, but the results have been surprising: use of the trays raised rice yields by 10-20%. And, not only did the new technology increase yields, but compared with conventional methods, it also resulted in significant savings of material and labor in seedbed preparation. Each year, the number of seedbeds planted with plastic trays on AFSC partner farms has grown and now farm managers on the four farms plant over 50% of their paddy land using the trays.

The agricultural scientist from the AAS who works with AFSC partner farms monitored the experiments with the plastic trays on the farms and three years ago worked to have the use of plastic trays officially recognized at the national policy level as an approved agricultural technique, paving the way for its widespread use on cooperative farms. This year, the DPRK
government requested all farms nationwide to introduce plastic trays, as well as other SRI-related techniques, in rice seedbed cultivation. Now, AFSC is supporting the agriculture scientist to conduct a pilot project on 24 farms, both to provide training in proper use of the plastic trays and to collect more scientific data.

Key to the successful introduction of this new method of seedbed preparation over the last decade has been AFSC support for trainings and knowledge-building activities: farm managers asked to experiment with plastic trays after observing their use by Chinese farmers, study tours to rice research facilities and other universities and institutions in China for DPRK agricultural scientists have increased their understanding of SRI principles, and in 2011 AFSC even organized visits for DPRK agricultural engineers to factories in China that produce the plastic trays.

**AFSC’s Annual Farm Managers’ Study Tour to China:**

**Some Lessons Learned**

An annual study tour to China for partner farm managers is an integral part of AFSC’s agricultural development program model. Some lessons learned include:

- It is essential that farm managers, in consultation with AFSC staff and other DPRK partners, help determine the focus of the study tour, and that the content is designed to complement on-going experimentation on AFSC partner farms.
- “Seeing is believing”: most useful for farm managers is observing first-hand practices on Chinese farms, with the opportunity to talk with farmers themselves.
- Central to AFSC assessment of study tour outcomes is the question: what did you learn that you plan to immediately apply on your farm? The intended outcome for AFSC knowledge-building activities is that parti-
Participants find workshops and trainings relevant to their needs.

- Follow-up for the study tour with materials needed to implement field-trials of new technologies in-country is crucial.
- Agricultural training in China is relatively inexpensive and easy to arrange, and farm managers find conditions in northeast China similar to their own farms’ situations.
- For non-resident NGOs, study tours outside the country for partners, in combination with cooperation with agricultural institutions and the use of agriculture researchers as advisors to farms, can offset the constraints of limited access within the DPRK.

The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) is a US-based Religious Society of Friends (Quaker)-affiliated organization dedicated to issues of peace, social justice, and humanitarian assistance. With offices in 35 US cities and 14 countries, AFSC work is based on the Quaker belief in the worth of every person and faith in the power of love to overcome violence and injustice.
World Vision DPRK Agricultural Cooperative Projects:
World Vision Korea

LEE Jusung (Senior Program Director, World Vision)
북한의 농업 교육: 월드비전의 사례

Abstract

World Vision DPRK Agricultural Cooperative Projects: World Vision Korea

World Vision was founded during the Korean War to help orphans and broken families, and now it has grown to a group that helps suffering children in 98 different countries. World Vision has started to help DPRK from 1994 starting with emergency relief and in 1998 started operating agriculture development (vegetable production) projects to help children suffering from malnutrition, providing them with vitamin. In 2000, with the goal to solve the chronic food problem of DPRK, World Vision and Pyongyang Agricultural Academy of Science has worked together in order to setup a system that has the capability to produce and provide seed potatoes all over DPRK. Starting from 2001, Joint Agricultural Science Symposium has been held annually connecting agricultural specialist from both countries to this day. Finally, from 2008 World Vision Korea has worked with World Vision International to operate a program to educate agricultural specialist from DPRK at a base in China. World Vision currently is planning to start an area development project based on agriculture and cooperative farm helping the local DPRK community.
World Vision has been working in DPRK since 1994, starting with emergency relief aid, and gradually moved on to the agricultural sector. It has been 20 years since World Vision started DPRK projects and we have seen lots of positive results through our efforts. Following is the brief summary of its Agricultural Development Project done in DPRK. World Vision has been working in DPRK sending emergency relief materials such as wheat and medical supplies. World Vision felt the limitlessness of sending food item to DPRK and shifted to agriculture to look for ways to fundamentally solve the chronic food shortage problem in DPRK. Since 2000, World Vision has set up facilities that can repeatedly produce virus-free seed potatoes, important for potato farming. Through the seed potato production project World Vision was able to successfully pass on the technology needed for potato production to DPRK National Academy of Agricultural Science and the Ministry of Agriculture. Also, to tackle the malnutrition problem of DPRK children, World Vision drew out measures to raise the supply of fruit and vegetable by introducing new skills that will increase the capability to produce fruit and vegetable in DPRK.

The positive results from World Vision’s agricultural development projects had influence on the agricultural policy of DPRK. “Revolution” on potato farming, double cropping, and seed "revolution" in DPRK looked to World Vision to start a joint research in all agricultural areas including soil, exchanging technology and human resources. In consequence, agricultural projects of World Vision have enhanced farming productivity and contributed to the balanced supply of food and nutrients to DPRK people. When looking at the results in details, World Vision successfully built up tissue culture facility and seed potato production facility based on hydroponics, and skills regarding it that are essential for “revolution” on potato farming. In addition, World Vision, with the help from various agricultural advisors, introduced a precocious species of Korean potato seed named ‘Chubaek’ enabling DPRK to double-crop and increase production of potatoes. World Vision provided support for the development and
production of vegetable species and conducted joint research to select species of apples and pears developed by the South suitable to North Korean soil. As a result, this cooperation has been making breakthrough to help DPRK residents get better nourished through various advancements in production of vegetable and fruit in DPRK.

The best way to make pace towards the solution to the food shortage problem in DPRK is to connect DPRK with the flow of technology in South Korea, providing new technology and updated information. Also, inter-change of human resources between South and North so that there can be numerous scholars and specialists that can spread new technology to farmers and agricultural technicians living in DPRK.

World Vision has been holding annual “Agricultural Symposia” since 2001 to discuss about the results of the past year and to look for solution to the problems they have faced. The symposiums connected North and South scholars and enabled them to discuss freely about the things they have been curious about. It also created flow of information that later changed in to a chain of trust between North and South Korea agricultural specialists. The feedbacks DPRK scientists and scholars received were very effective and as years went by there were more and more information shared in the symposiums along with answers to various problems and questions.

Also, World Vision has been inviting agricultural specialists to China through World Vision International since 2008 in order to introduce and train them on the various fields in agriculture. Total of three teams has participated in the two year program (four in 2008, six in 2010, six in 2012) and fourth team has arrived in China on May of this year. The trained specialists who have been trained in the program has gone back to DPRK and currently plays an important role in various aspects. Some of them have been placed in high rank government branches as policy makers, and others as teachers to teach future agricultural specialist who will lead the development of DPRK agriculture.
These actions of World Vision will make new contributions to DPRK’s agricultural development and it will boost the international competitiveness in the agricultural sector in DPRK, which in turn will pave the way for the reunification in the future. However, it is hard to make a full recovery in DPRK’s agricultural industry solely by the support of NGOs. DPRK has to empower their economic strength and be able to carry its agricultural industry along with various aid and support from outside. This is only way that DPRK can overcome this dreadful situation that is making its people suffer. World Vision has and will continue to play its part creating firm foundation of DPRK agriculture. It is now up to us and the government to play a part to help DPRK people and agriculture.
Developing Capacity in Tourism and International Assistance in Knowledge Sharing

*North Korea’s SEZs and Tourism: Evaluation and Prospects*
LIM Eul-chul (Professor, Kyungnam University)

*DPRK Tourism in the Kim Jong Un Era: Cases and Prospects*
Gareth JOHNSON & Troy COLLINGS (Managing-Director & DPRK Manager, Young Pioneer Tours)
North Korea’s SEZs and Tourism: Evaluation and Prospects

LIM Eul-chul (Professor, Kyungnam University)
북한의 특별경제지구와 관광사업: 평가와 전망

북한은 관광산업을 전략적으로 발전시키기 위해서는 전문가를 육성하는 것이 무엇보다 중요하다는 점을 잘 인식하고 있는 것으로 평가된다. 이는 최근 평양에 관광전문대학을 신설하고 김일성종합대학을 비롯한 북한의 주요 대학들에 관광경영 관련학과를 대거 신설된 데서도 확인된다. 또한 북한은 관광산업 발전을 위한 해외 전문가들의 조언을 적극 수용하고, 관광전문가 양성을 위해 국제협력을 받아들임 의지를 계획도 피력하고 있다.

이 글은 국제사회와 북한간 관광교류협력이 다른 사회주의 개발도상국들이 경험한 것과 달리 북한 개혁개방을 촉진하는 핵심 기제가 될 수 있음을 유의하면서, 우선 김정은 시대 북한의 관광산업 육성 노력을 관광특구 개발과 북중간 관광교류 중심으로 고찰하고 평가한다. 더불어 북한 당국의 이도와 문제점을 간단히 살펴볼 것이다.

결론으로서 최근 북한 당국 차원의 관광분야 전문가 양성 동향을 간단히 살펴보면서 정책적 시사점을 도출한 뒤 관광분야 역량개발을 위한 국제사회의 협력과제를 제시한다.
Abstract

North Korea’s SEZs and Tourism: Evaluation and Prospects

The most urgent task for the active promotion of North Korea’s tourism service industry is to foster tourism professionals, even though it is also necessary to form peaceful relationships in its geopolitical neighborhood and develop various tour courses for open travel. Without nurturing professionals, it is impossible to sustain growth in the area of tourism. By accumulating advanced know-how for fostering professionals, and creating new employment by making a successful tour income model based on accumulated know-how could be continuously evolving into a virtuous circulation as a result.

North Korea also recognizes the importance of developing professionals in order to strategically develop the tourism industry. This can also be confirmed by the recent establishment of a tourism college in Pyongyang and massive new establishment of tour management related majors in established colleges such as Kim Il-sung University. Moreover, North Korea is actively accepting advice from foreign professionals in order to develop its tourism industry, and expressed a willingness and plan to welcome international cooperation for nurturing tourism professionals.

This essay would be cautious of tour cooperation between international society and North Korea as a focal mechanism for promoting the country’s reform and opening as other socialist developing nations experienced, and try to examine and evaluate the promotion efforts of North Korea’s tour industry in Kim Jong-Un era by focusing on development of Special Tourist Zone and exchange of tourism between North Korea and China. Moreover, the intention and problems related to the North Korean authority would be briefly dealt with. In the conclusion, the policy implication would be derived by looking into the recent trend of North Korean authority’s tourism area professional training in short, and suggest cooperation projects of international society for building capacity for the field of tourism.
I. Foreword

In the celebration of the birthday for Kim Il-Sung (April 15th) in North Korea, there was a marathon competition with foreign participants on April 13th in Pyongyang. It was remarkably the first opening of a North Korean marathon course for amateurs including foreign tourists; it used to be only open to professional runners. A Chinese freelancer who participated in this marathon mentioned in his article that he could “read the expression on people’s faces as ‘normal’ who were spectators attentively watching the marathon.” and that “there was warmth unexpected from the world’s most secretive and fearful country.” Although the marathon course itself was not attractive, there were moments when Pyongyang citizen’s life could be seen which was not available in limited group sightseeing tours.\(^1\) This is a symbolic case demonstrating the role tourism has played as ‘a window looking into the secretive North Korea in the current era.’

North Korea has been actively promoting and developing various products in order to enhance growth in tourism industry which is a major way to earn hard currency from abroad. Tourism is a representative service industry. The tourism industry is attractive from the aspect of it having high productivity compared to the input of money. Unlike the manufacturing industry, tourism service industry does not require factories, facilities, and other large-scale assets. Labor cost and other cost account for a majority of the cost for the actual service industry. Moreover, the job creation effect is excellent. Also with tourism items being excluded from the international sanction list, North Korea is particularly driven to have more interest in this area.

Nevertheless, the most urgent task for the active promotion of North Korea’s tourism service industry is to foster tourism professionals, even

\(^{1}\) Kyunghyang Shinmun, April 18, 2014.
though it is also necessary to form peaceful relationships in its geopolitical neighborhood and develop various tour courses for open travel. Without nurturing professionals, it is impossible to sustain growth in the area of tourism. By accumulating advanced know-how for fostering professionals, and creating new employment by making a successful tour income model based on accumulated know-how could be continuously evolving into a virtuous circulation as a result.

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II. Characteristics of North Korea’s Tour Policy

1. Reflection of Interests from the leader Kim Jong-Un.

Kim Jong-Un First Chairman of the National Defence Commission of North Korea is adopting the slogan of parallel route in economy and nuclear development for the outside, but he is expecting economically profitable outcome, and hopes to be highlighted as a leader who developed the economy in both domestic and international spheres. Tourism industry is one of the areas that demonstrates the largest growth in Kim Jong-Un era. It is also connected to the goal of establishing socialist civilization nation which the leader Kim Jong-Un emphasizes about, and also related to his personal preferences. Kim Jong-Un concentrated on building leisure sports facilities such as horse-tracks, skiing, and golf places as well as various amusement parks.

Accordingly, North Korea is expanding tourism cooperation between North Korea and China and moving on fast-track towards the full-scaled tourism development which is a “none-smokestack industry.” In the long term, North Korea is planning to develop tourism industry as an epoch-making foreign-exchange earning business. As a matter of fact, this is partly a succession of the policies from the father Kim Jong-il era. However, some differences are found compared to the previous times, such as emphasizing the promotion of tourism business and proposing more open policy.

The vitalization movement of tourism became more prominent after the 2nd nuclear experiment of May 2009. Kim Jong-Un, First Chairman of the National Defence Commission emphasized directly on vitalization of foreign trade and attracting overseas capital, while on the other hand directed on concentrated nurturing of mining, tourism, and IT industry as a new way of obtaining foreign capital. As economic sanction on North
Korea strengthened, export for weapons has been blocked, and in the midst of stagnant foreign investment, a vibrant road has been sought out in the business area where capital investment on its own was possible. Chairman Kim established resource development, tourism, and IT industry in 2009 as a new growth engines, and joint project was promoted by stages, where North’s leader Kim Jong-Un who hereditied powers is also succeeding this keynote and developing it.

The subject where it shows Kim Jon-Un’s will on developing tourism is the decision to privatize the 3 major military airports such as Samjiyeon Airport (near Baekdu Mountain), Eurang Airport (near Chilbo Mountain), and Galma Airport. The last one, Galma Airport which is located near Wonsan, would greet tourists who are visiting the Special Tourist Zone with a new furbished name of ‘Wonsan Airfield.’ This resolution has been brought out by Kim Jong-Un in early January 2013, and known as the troops withdrawn from the area in order for civilians to operate the base. Moreover, privatization occurred for Galma Hotel and Saenal Hotel which was previously owned by the military base, and a new opening ceremony has been held.

2. Tourism Cooperation with China is at the Center

North Korea’s tourism industry has characteristics for concentrating on its cooperation with China in the process. North Korea is putting special effort on simplifying the immigration procedure for attracting more Chinese tourists and developing various types of tour packages, where China responded positively. China is promoting policies to focus on development of frontier region and relating it to North Korean tourism, where it is vitalizing the cooperation between two countries in the area of tourism.

Tourism cooperation between China and North Korea has been for-
malized by making a contract of MOU for invigorating tourism between two countries when Premier Wen Jiabao visited North Korea. In the end of the same month, Chairman Kim Jong-il inspected the newly built Myohyangsan amusement park, and proposed on the task of “Discovering more new tourist attractions and managing them into cultural leisure park and global tourist hiking courses.” From April 13th, 2010 as a 5 days and 4 nights itinerary, Chinese group tourists and inspection group of 395 in total visited various regions in North Korea. The tourists were organized from 10 different cities and provinces including Beijing(北京), Tianjin(天津), Shanghai(上海), Liaoning(遼寧), Jilin(吉林), Heilongjiang(黑龍江), Guangdong(廣東) and others, where they arrived in Pyongyang on air flights and trains. It was the first occasion where hundreds of tourists used exclusive trains to travel in North Korea.

As it is mentioned above, China announced on vitalizing tourism business of its northeast area in 2010 toward North Korea on full-scale permission of package tours and also measures on activating land travel with neighboring countries such as North Korea and Russia, while developing new tourist locations at home and abroad. According to the statistics released by the Chinese Bureau (China National Tourism Administration), approximately 237,000 Chinese tourists visited North Korea. Compared to the commonly known number of foreign tourists visiting North Korea standing at 30,000, it is a remarkable trend of growth. Kim Jong-Un administration is informed to have targeted 1 million tourists annually.

3. A Linkage Development of Special Tourist Zone and Special Economic Zone

North Korea is unveiling various international tour packages for obtaining foreign exchange, and at the same time, displaying characteristics to elaborate on will of tour industry development though planning on constructing
Special Tourist Zone on a national level. The most recent occurring was on May 2nd, where Professional Discussion on Economic Development Zone was held in Pyongyang, and North Korea introduced to the foreign professionals on economic development zones about the whole plan on developing Wonsan-Geumgang Mountain Region which it has been preparing passionately. 2)

North Korea has adopted ‘Special Economic Zone Law’ on May 29th of 2013, and it aimed to construct central-level Special Economic Zone as well as provincial-level Special Economic Zone on a national scale, and afterwards economic zone development department is established under national economic development committee and each province’s People’s Committee to attract investment.

However, a majority of Special Economic Zones (SEZs) share the characteristic of including creation of Special Tour Zone (STZ) on a separate basis, as proven in the case of Tour Specialized Developmental Zones such as Onsung Island STZ and Shinpyoung STZ. For example, in the planning outline of SEZ for Gangryoung-gun in Hwanghaenam-do an international STZ construction plan is included. Other STZs include Manpo SEZ, Amnokgang SEZ, Hyesan SEZ and more.

Onsung Island STZ is expected to be constructed as a Special Tourist Zone based on professional service of tourism of recreation for foreigners. The Onsung Island STZ is a plan to develop tourist zone by linking Chinese Hedongshang (河東上) Island of downstream Tumen River and North Korean Onsung Island, where Chinese Jilin Province (吉林省) announced promoting business cooperation on connecting Hedongshang-Onsung Island STZ to North Korea’s Naseon SEZ to create a bridgehead for developing

2) Korean Central News Agency (KCNA), May 2, 2014.
the Tumen River basin area.

In fact, Yanggang-do SEZ means ‘Baekdu Mountain STZ’ and its hidden picture or goal is to attract Chinese and foreign tourists trough Samjiyeon Airport and ‘Yalu River Friendship Bridge’ located in Hyesan City, and develop tourist course from Daehongdan potato farm to Baekdu Mountain Cheonji, Samjiyeon Pond, Ri Yeongsu Waterfall, and eventually leading to Naegok Hot Spring.

III. North Korea’s Development of STZ and Current Situation of Tourism Exchange between North Korea and China

1. Linkage Development of Geumgang Mountain and Wonsan STZ

The very first STZ which North Korea created was Geumgang Mountain STZ. The Supreme People’s Assembly standing committee has authorized on developing the whole region of Geumgang Mountain STZ through government ordinance, on October 23 of 2002. However, on July 2008, after the tourist gun-fire case happened in Geumgang Mountain, the halt of Geumgang Mountain tour urged North Korea to newly announce on ordinance of the standing committee of Supreme People’s Assembly to rename the Geumgang Mountain STZ as Geumgang International STZ.

Subsequently, North Korea additionally assigned Wonsan, Chilbo Mountain, Baekdu Mountain as STZs from early 2013, and held briefing sessions in order to attract more tourists in the area.3) Baekdu Mountain, Chilbo Mountain, and Wonsan STZ is already thriving with international tourism with mainly Chinese tourists, and it is known to be promoting infrastructure

3) Korean Central News Agency (KCNA), August 24, 2013.
establishment such as transportation and hotels.

North Korea legislated on law for SEZ on May 29th 2013 and inaugurated National Economic Development Committee where official announcements were made on beginning 14 Special Economic Zones, Wonsan STZ, and Shinuiju SEZ. The design is for confirming the development plan on tourist belt with Wonsan as axis of east coast zone, and also industrial belt with Nampo as axis of west coast zone, where construction of Gaeseong-Shinuiizu rail-road would be the largest central business to be promoted.

Especially in 2013, Wonsan has been designated as the city for becoming an international and global vacation spot, and business is being on the right track of work. Wonsan is named as “Pearl of East Sea in Chosun” by North Korea, and it is a representative project promoted by the government to realize tourism development in the coastal region.\(^4\) North Korean leader Kim Jong-Un is putting particular efforts into developing Wonsan, which could be named as the homeland of his birthmother Koh Young-hee.

In May 12th~15th Pyongyang, ‘Wonsan-Geumgang Mountain STZ Development Plan’ was also officially informed in an investment seminar targeting on foreign businessmen who participated in Pyongyang Spring International Commerce Fair. According to the North’s explanation, a new axis of city center for Wonsan City would be established, and there would be commercial voluntary districts, cultural leisure districts, and science & technology exchange districts spread out in the surrounding area. Moreover, swimming pool, aquarium, dolphin circus track, cultural entertainment center, and other tourism facilities would be established mainly surrounding the coastal area where 12,000 people would be allowed for accommodation at the same time in Songdowon International Beach, where service centers

would be available.

North Korea is also especially focused on establishing plans for regional linkage tourist development in Wonsan-Masikryoung-Geumgang Mountain area, and leading its way to attract more foreign capital. An important phrase to consider at this point is that, North Korea is intimately relating Wonsan STZ development with Geumgang Mountain STZ development plan considering its intended attraction of South Korean visitors.

North Korea has already made official statements on Geumgang Mountain International STZ in 2011 into elaborate plans. The design is to create this area into a complex STZ which could be based on scenic spots and also involve eco-tours or historic tours. Moreover, it also tries to create commercial, cultural, and business center as well as developing into general athletic complex in the winter on an international scale. North Korea has also declared on establishing detailed plans on infrastructure building such as airports, roads, railroads, telecommunication, providing electricity and water, and others in order to develop the tourist zone.

According to this plan, in the 1st stage the road between Wonsan and Geumgang Mountain is to be renovated, and in the 2nd stage a new highway is constructed from Galma Airport to Geumgang Mountain Onjung-ri. Additionally, the existing railroad that lies from Wonsan and Geumgang Mountain is to be reconstructed in a modernization scheme. North Korea in investment seminar during Pyongyang Spring International Commerce Fair last May explained that Wonsan Airport is newly built on a total capacity to hold thousands and it is predicting to construct a new high-speed tourist railroad along with Wonsan-Geumgang Mountain Tour Road. Moreover, in a short time, an international tour road connecting Wonsan

5) Choson Sinbo, September 17, 2011.
City central area to Masikryoung Ski Resort, Ulim Waterfall, Seokwang Temple, and Geumgang Mountain STZ would be formed in the future.

In the case of harbor facilities, the current Goseong Harbor, Wonsan Ferry Port, Rajin Harbor would be reconstructed and modernized in order to allow large-sized ferry boats to come in freely. In case of electricity, the power generator in Goseong Harbor which accounts for 3 units of 1000 kw, 1 unit for 6000 kw, and 2 units for 1700 kw would be used. Moreover, 1 unit would be additionally equipped for 6000 kw, and in the 2nd stage in order to complement 100,000 or more kw of electricity, thermal power stations would be constructed along with storage facilities for crude oil. Solar power plants and wind power plants are arranged to fit in. Moreover, there are plans to include telecommunication centers in Goseong-up in the STZ to use mail service, telephone, fax, or internet freely in the area.6)

2. Current Situation on North Korea and China’s Tourism Exchange and its Future Prospects

As mentioned earlier, the tourism exchange cooperation between North Korea and China began from the Kim Jong-il era. After the Kim Jong-un administration was started, the tourism exchange cooperation between North Korea and China shows the trend of strengthening as there is increase of human and material exchange between the two sides. The tourism between two countries are prospectively showing sustainable trend of growth as there is a coinciding interest between Chinese provincial government’s intention which is to help economic development by alleviating the level of tension in the border area, as well as the North Korean national interests which needs rapid foreign investment.

After the 3rd nuclear experiment of 2013, there was a slightly decreasing

6) Chosun Sinbo, September 17, 2011.
trend of influx of Chinese tourists, but as North Korea diversified tour packages from difficulties facing foreign investment, and also specializing or other various measures allowed North Korea to be actively engaging and continuously promoting tourism exchange. For example, Chinese media even reported on Chilbo Mountain of Hamkyoungbukdo operating a guest-house town targeting on foreigners which has a good response.\textsuperscript{7}) This village is a small fishing village near the eastern coast with only 20 households residing in total, but the attractive part is where foreign tourists can take lodgings at a private house and freely engage in filming a video and having conversation with the residents. The North Korean tour guide showed unprecedented sight where electricity was provided overnight for Chinese tourists in the village after the sunset by contacting the local transformer substation.

Chinese tourists were using various means of transportation for travelling in North Korea such as train, transfer by chartered plane, private car, public bus, or bicycle. On April 13th, the operation of train tour connecting Jian (集安) of Jilin Province and Pyongyang started again after 12 years since it was halted in 2002. A train ride begins from Jian which would take the tourists to a tour around Myohyang Mountain, Pyongyang, and Gaeseong for 5 days. A train tour operating from Jilin Province Tumen (圖們)～Chilbo Mountain restarted again. The 4-day tour course which reopened on October 2011 is scheduled for looking around Chilbo Mountain, Chongjin City, and Kyoungsung Hot Spring as well as watching some performances, where it did not operate last year. China’s Tumen City and Namyang City of North Korea restarted operation of tour specialized train in Chilbo Mountain of Hamkyoungbukdo recently, and started bicycle tour

\textsuperscript{7}) State-run media agency “China News” introduced in an article about Myoungcheon-gun Bochon-ri which is a lodging town created by North Korean authority below Chilbo Mountain. The article was a report about Jilin Province Tumen (圖們)～Chilbo Mountain train tour which restarted on April 30th ending the halt of 1 and a half year period.
in order to provide various convenience related to tourism.

In the case of criticism about North Korea’s tour course as being monotonous and without much sightseeing materials other than natural spectacle, Chinese tour agencies released ‘Theme-oriented North Korean Tourism’ in the market. Tour agencies are promoting ‘Single People's Private Car Tourism in North Korea’ on opportunity to socialize in addition to tourism, targeting on Chinese single men and women. North Korean tour which begins from Dandong (丹東) of Liaoning Province is mainly sold in existing tour packages in the form of Shinuiju 1 day and Pyongyang 4~5 day tour.

North Korean package tour starting from Dandong City is mainly consisted of group tours with the itinerary of a day-trip looking around the Shinuiju neighborhood, or a trip for 3 nights and 4 days in looking around Pyongyang, Gaeseong, 38th parallel line, and Myohyang Mountain. The opening measure of Dandong City is the second time following the event of Hunchun (琿春) City of Jilin (吉林) Province in June 2011. According to the statistics of Dandong City, the total travelling number of people in North Korea recently has been 60,000 people annually, including the number of foreigners.

Dandong (丹東) City of Liaoning (遼寧) Province is expected to allow travelling in private cars for cross-border tourists from China to North Korea since this June. However, North Korea and China is showing subtle discrepancies on opinions for making decision to allow tour courses for Chinese drivers travelling on their own cars. Dandong (丹東) City is negotiating with North Korea on operating private-car tour course which

9) China’s Jinghua Times(京華時報) reported on May 2nd, Yonhap News cited for the news on May 2nd 2014.
allows Chinese citizens to drive their cars from Dandong and cross Yalu River steel bridge into North Korea for looking around the border region.

If this project is finalized and completed, it becomes the 2nd private car-based North Korean tour course in China, following the course in Hunchun (琿春) City-Naseon City of North Korea which opened in 2011. Dandong City which became the latter business developer is requesting North Korea’s border area which faces Yalu River and Dandong as a whole to become tour course for private cars. It is intended for differentiating the existing Hunchun-Naseon course which was limited on travelling in Naseon City, even though the total extension of the travel course is 70 or more kilometers.

Nevertheless, the North Korean side is experiencing difficulties for opening most parts of the border area of Pyonganbukdo which shares border to Dandong City. Chinese side is demanding the total course for North Korea’s tourism to extend to 200 km for driving course from Dandong, but as North Korea is strict and represents many restrictions for opening up tour courses, there are not many chances for the driving course to become a national scale tourist course.

The difference of opinion for North Korea and China is interpreted as arising from contrasting positions related to management of border line regions. China has intentions for alleviating tension in the border sharing region between two countries by inducing more opening in the frontier region, but North Korea is fortifying security near the border region recently which is the opposite direction toward expansion of open policy. Moreover, China’s Jilin Province suggested on a proposal plan of private car tourism business toward Baekdu Mountain (Chinese official name, Chang Bai Shan 長白山) for North Korea’s National Tourism Bureau.
In fact, tourism exchange cooperation of North Korea and China reflects sensitive political situation of the Korean peninsula. In the case of restart for nuclear experiment by North Korea, Chinese administration could not help but to refrain from North Korean tourism because it has to put stability of citizens as a priority. North Korea and China’s tourism exchange cooperation has reached the highest level that is unforeseen, as there has been a ‘North Korean Tourism Boom.’ The tour course between two countries which has maintained a level of 3～5 courses increased to 10 or more since the transportation means were diversified into aeroplanes, trains, private cars, ferry boats, and going on foot. In the same year, more than 100,000 people were starting a tour in North Korea.

However, as North Korea enforced the 3rd nuclear experiment in February, the tourism exchange cooperation between North Korea and China also had direct impacts from the event. Chinese tour agencies which are near the border in Dandong and Yanbian halted on selling North Korean tour packages for two months from April to June last year due to safety problems related to Chinese citizens. The Chinese government explained itself that the following measures were done according to the voluntary decisions made by the individual tour agencies, but in reality it was a uniform measure from China during the time where sanction was enforced toward North Korea, due to the nuclear experiment pursued in spite of the protest from China and international society.10)

3. Other Miscellaneous Observation Points related to Tourism

A beerhouse in the middle of Pyongyang City is drawing out ‘point cards’ (saving cards) in order to attract more customers including foreigners, which accounts for active marketing activities that are taken as capitalist approach. There are direction signs in Korean and English popping up in

various places. This is provided for tourists and foreign customers.

There is a system to be provided with ‘points’ according to the paid amount of money in ‘Sunrise Restaurant’ of Chang Jeon Street in Pyongyang. Even in North Korean stores, it is possible to use ‘point cards’ (saving cards) as freely as using cash.\textsuperscript{11)} Electronic cards are known to be available for usage in supermarket, bakery, and beerhouse. It is evaluated as introduction of similar marketing ways as capitalism in order to secure more customers from home and abroad. Sunrise Restaurant, which is very popular among foreign tourists after being visited by Kim Jong-Un Chairman of the National Commission in August 2012, have modern facilities such as coffee shop and meat or seafood stores.

In a beer pub in Pyongyang, marketing strategies are carried out by drawing out ‘point cards’ in order to attract customers from home and abroad. This beer pub, furnished with sophisticated indoor decoration and lighting, is known to sell Paulaner Beer and other imported beer brands including German beer. In early 2013, there was even a temporary measure of allowing the use of wireless internet for foreign tourists with their mobile phones, which was considered as exceptional but it was banned after one month.

\textbf{IV. Intention of North Korean Authority and the Problems related to Tourism Operation}

North Korea’s opening behavior of the tourism field is interpreted as a step towards preparing for economic development fund and governance fund. Moreover, there is a glimpse of intention for creation of tour courses or tour packages in the direction towards blocking as much contact among

\textsuperscript{11)} \textit{Yonhap News}, April 11, 2014.
North Korean locals and the alien tourists. Nevertheless, the phenomenon of North Korea’s STZ development movement for attracting visitors and development of various tour packages can be analyzed as a gesture toward more acceptance of traits found in capitalist economy with tourism as a sort of medium in North Korea.

The main reason for Chinese citizens visiting North Korea is due to ‘nostalgia.’ Since North Korea is much more similar to the former socialist China’s form found 20 or 30 years ago, there are more people looking for the memories in North Korea. On the other hand, for Europeans and Americans, there is more of curiosity involved in the reasons for visiting the country. Curiosity is the biggest factor analyzed for visiting the country where it is the very last socialist state, world’s most closed nation, and a state where autocracy is inherited for 3 generations.

However, the biggest obstacle lying on the path for North Korea’s tourism business development is political problem. Detention case of foreign tourists, military provocations such as nuclear experiment, and the causing tension escalating in the Korean peninsula, execution of Jang Seong-taek and other internal political instability could be indicated as problems. Moreover, due to the closed nature of North Korean politics, lack of security for providing convenience to the tourists could be suggested as a weakness. Other weaknesses are such as inspection of tourists, not being able to take photographs, not being allowed to visit places without permission, and using the internet which is available in most cities of the world. Thus, it is a burden for foreigners to travel in a nation where they are forced to express honor of the leader and its statue.

Due to the aforementioned problems, there are exemplary cases where businesses gave up investing in North Korea. The once globally renowned hotel group Kempinski decided to lead the project of hotel construction
by agreeing to make inroads into Geumgang Mountain STZ with North Korea’s Chosun Incorporated Investment Committee. The Kempinski group negotiated on modernization of Wonsan airport, developing a recreation area of the region where hotel is built in Wonsan, while North Korea agreed on modernization of the road which connects Wonsan and Geumgang Mountain.12)

When this accord is favorably carried out, foreign tourists could arrive in Wonsan airport with a direct flight, check into Kempinski Hotel, and start on Geumgang Mountain tour through travelling on Wonsan-Geumgang Mountain road. If the Kempinski Hotel is thoroughly built in Wonsan, this region would be connected to the Geumgang Mountain STZ and transform itself as a global tourist spot for recreation. However, Kempinski’s Executive Officer Reto Wittwer has already explained about the rumors related to starting Geumgang Mountain tourism as “It is true that we have been suggested on North Korean tourism, but since Hyundai has already started investment, we did not progress in the area.”13)

Moreover, Kempinski Group has considered on investment in Ryukyung Hotel of Pyongyang, but it has been analyzed as withdrawn from the plan to proceed on North Korean tourism industry due to North Korea’s nuclear experiment, tentative closure of Gaeseong Industrial Complex and other measures. Moreover, Kempinski Group was expected to open and operate Ryukyung Hotel in Pyonyang on July~August 2013 in the beginning, but as tension escalated in the Korean peninsula, it decided to abandon the North Korean hotel business. According to Kempinski side, its position has been clarified as “There is no current management way to adopt to

12) Tongil News, April 24, 2011.
13) German Hotel Group Kempinski’s Executive Officer Reto Wittwer commented in a seminar co-hosted by Human Resource Development Institute and Korean Peninsula Mirae Foundation in Seoul on November 1 2012 about this.
Kempinski standard and operate the Ryukyung Hotel.”

In the first place, North Korea is seemed to utilize tourism as a mere way to reap some fortune in order to sustain the current political regime, rather than pursuing opening and reform for tourism industry. However, unlike the intention of North Korean authority the expansion of tourism business is interpreted as an important symbol of opening policy. Kim Jong-Un Chairman of the Committee concentrating on developing STZ including the Wonsan STZ is on the one hand considered as a movement to prepare basic funds for ‘new economic management system.’ As North Korea is striving to make more success into tourism business including Masikryoung Ski Resort, it is recognized as a movement to lay foundations for solving financial problems in the situation where the ‘new economic management system’ has not been effective in manufacturing and agricultural industries.

As tourism business is showing what already exists and earning money, North Korean citizens are thought to prefer selling mining resources or forestry resources at a lower price to China and make profit over tourism. North Korea’s higher officials and intellectuals are analyzing the ultimate purpose of ‘new economic management system’ as economic reform and opening. There is also a possible argument that North Korea is concentrating on tourism business as a preliminary step toward economic reform and opening.

V. Efforts for North Korea’s Tourism Area Capacity Building and Exchange Cooperation Projects from the International Society

The awareness of North Korea’s desperate need for human resource and systemic development in tourism business is already well brought out. It is also confirmed in massive new establishment of economics and business administration related majors in North Korea’s main universities including Kim Il-sung University. It is exceptional since North Korea created a tourism college in Pyongyang in order to specialize on educating professionals in tourism. National measures are being taken in order to promote more on tourism business. Other than the establishment of Pyongyang Tourism College, there are new establishment of tourism departments in each provincial teacher’s college. After 1 year since the school started the construction work, Pyongyang Tourism College in East Pyongyang District has established tourism information departments such as English, Chinese, Russian Language and Literature majors and tourism management departments such as business management and development majors, with tourism volunteer department of Jangcheolgu Pyongyang Commercial College as a base.

Moreover, there is a tourism research lab which deals with academic research of tourism business. New students of this year entering the college are mainly graduates of Pyongyang Foreign Language Institute and from each provincial foreign language institutes, where the qualifications of tourism professionals are conferred to the graduates. North Korea is declaring that it is willing to continue in active engagement with other nations that are more developed in tourism for exchange and cooperation, even though it is a first-stage measure to educate tour professionals by using the aforementioned ways. On the other hand, Jeong Jun-taek Wonsan Economic College has established tourism economics major, and also hotel management majors and hotel volunteer majors in Jangcheolgu Pyongyang
Commercial College. In the midst of North Korea’s efforts for attracting foreign capital for economic development and also fostering growth for tourism industry, there are new emergence of international economics and tourism or hotel management majors.

North Korea is also expressing their plans and willingness to accept international cooperation for educating tourism professionals. Chosun International Tour Agency which is a state run company, has mentioned in a North Korean tour seminar which it organized, that "there is a plan to invite foreign professionals needed for developing and management of STZs including Wonsan and Chilbo Mountain districts" via person in charge on the North Korean side.16)

North Korea on March 2014 dispatched friendship visiting delegation to Shanghai with Cho Seong-gul National Tourism Bureau vice president as the leader, in order to seek for tourism exchange and cooperation enforcement method between North Korea and China. North Korean delegation has been reported by China’s state-run media as having two achievements; it focused on studying China’s tourism development experience and skills during the visiting period in China, and also directly witnessed the accomplishments of Shanghai’s city tourism development.17)

Most recently on May 2nd, a professional discussion on SEZ has been taken place in Pyongyang Yanggakdo International Hotel, which was sponsored by North Korea’s Chosun Economic Development Association. In this seminar, current situation in some of North Korea’s SEZs and their future prospects in development, special preference policies, and total plan of Wonsan-Geumgang Mountain SEZ has been introduced as well as exchanging research results and opinions relating to them. Therefore, North Korea is striving to foster growth for professionals and develop tourism

industry in its own way, and it is ready to accept support and cooperation from the international society.

In the future, North Korea is expected to foster tourism business development, as well as nurture tourism professionals which can support this plan. As North Korea’s will on becoming a nuclear state is more consolidated, and international society is enforcing economic sanctions, the only major industry that North Korea could make profit is from tourism.

In fact, if North Korea is to improve the competitiveness of tourism business, it needs to focus on continuous efforts for alleviating military tension as well as attracting foreign investment in tourism related category of business by actively encouraging participation from private companies into tourism business. In order to help selection of strategic tour locations and invigorate investment from private firms and foreigners, the government should tune up law and regulations and also continuously pursue promotional activities in tourism. Moreover, international society’s support should be actively accepted in order to build capacity for employees in tourism area.

In the initial stage, there should be efforts to reflect experiences from socialist developing nations such as Cuba, Vietnam, and China about their tourism business development into policies and system. Further steps to be taken are maintenance of tourism organizations, a pan state-level effort for promotion of tourism, and subsequent measures taken to support this institutionally, establishment of basic law for tourism industry, abolishment of unnecessary tourism regulations, expansion of tourism administration bureau and its relevant staff, and training of labor forces for new tourism affairs as well as continuous program improvement.

Fortunately, looking at the policy line of Kim Jong-Un until now shows
that policy intention for promotion of tourism is solid. Some of the indicators are, suggestion of determined strategic targets under state-led initiative, repair of management system in order to show willingness for developing tourism industry as an integrated and professional national strategy. International society should help North Korean government by capacity building program in tourism area, where North Korea can lead the way for capitalistic tourism business by actively promoting private or foreign companies investment in tourism infrastructure or alleviating regulations.

International society should lead the way for North Korea to be responsible for carrying out the projects for successful opening through supporting North Korea’s tourism business and the education of related professionals. By supporting capacity building in tourism area of international society, when North Korean professionals improve their level of awareness, more efforts would be expected for making the environment for foreign tourists to travel; all-rounded opening of major tour spots, permission of direct flight routes, and open-door policy at all times.
DPRK Tourism in the Kim Jong Un Era:
Cases and Prospects

Gareth JOHNSON & Troy COLLINGS
(Managing-Director & DPRK Manager, Young Pioneer Tours)
김정은 시대의 북한 관광사업: 사례와 전망

영 파이오니어투어(YPT)는 6년 이상 북한 국내 관광을 구성하여 운영하는 여행사이다. 영 파이오니어투어는 북한에서 가장 큰 규모의 여행회사인 코리아국제여행회사(KITC)와 파트너로 함께 일하고 있다. 영 파이오니어투어는 북한의 다양한 지역의 작은 지역여행사와 함께 일하고 있다.

북한 관광은 계속적으로 발전하고 있으며 기회가 증가하고 있다. 정부는 특히 관광산업에 관심을 가지고 있고 그것이 경제 발전을 이끌어낼 잠재력에 대해서 이해하고 있다. 특히 아직 개발되지 않은 관광지에 적합한 지역에서의 경제발전에 관심을 가지고 있다.

북한관광은 비교적 짧은 역사에도 불구하고 아직도 크게 오해되고, 일반적으로 다른 나라들에게 허구적으로 보여지고 있다. 이 발제문은 영 파이오니어투어의 경험을 공유함을 통해서 이러한 오해를 면쳐버리고 관광분야에서 현재 진행되고 있는 프로젝트와 장래방향을 검토하고자 한다.
Abstract

DPRK Tourism in the Kim Jong Un Era: Cases and Prospects

Young Pioneer Tours (YPT) is a travel company that has organized tours to the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK) for more than 6 years. YPT works in partnership with the Korean International Travel Company (KITC), the largest of the state owned travel companies in the country. YPT also operates with smaller localized travel companies in various regions of the DPRK.

Tourism in the DPRK is continually developing and allowing more opportunities. The government is particularly interested in the industry and understands the potential it brings for economic development, especially in regions with lower levels of development and suitable natural features.

Tourism in the DPRK, despite a relatively long history, is still largely misunderstood and commonly misrepresented in the outside world. This paper will share the experience gained by YPT, dispel some of the misunderstandings and examine the future direction and current projects being undertaken in the tourism field.
An overview of Tourism to the DPRK

Tourism in the DPRK is largely misunderstood by those outside the industry. This is exacerbated by the division between Western Tourism and the tourism formerly available to South Koreans (often referred to as “barbed wire tourism”). YPT is far more experienced with tourism for non-Korean citizens so tourism in this paper can be considered to refer to this.

There are many fundamental misunderstandings about what tourism to the DPRK involves, many of which dissuade people from visiting. Some of the fundamental misunderstandings include the idea that it is nearly impossible to get a visa or that the number of visas are limited each year, that certain nationalities are not allowed to visit and that all tours follow the same extremely limited itineraries with Pyongyang and the DMZ being the only places tourists get to see. Of course there are limitations placed on tourists, the most obvious of these being the necessity of being accompanied by local guides in most places and the fact that all tourist sites must be approved for foreign visitors, but the reality of tourism is far less stringent than most people have been led to believe.

Contrary to common belief, tourist visas are extremely easy to acquire provided that you apply through an approved operator. The only exceptions are journalists, South Korean citizens and Americans currently residing in South Korea – these very few cannot apply for tourist visas. We have no limits on the amount of tourists we can bring and in fact the government encourages the state travel companies to bring as many tourists as possible. The visa process in general takes 30 days but can be done more quickly when situations require and at no stage are applicants required to visit a DPRK consulate or Embassy, nor to hand over their passports. The travel
agency can handle the visa arrangements using scanned documents.

Another common misunderstanding is that certain nationalities (particularly Americans, Japanese or Israeli citizens) are restricted from visiting. As noted before this is not the case, with South Korean citizens being the one notable exception (though a rule enforced by both sides). All other nationalities are welcome to visit the DPRK, however there are some minor regulations that can affect US and Japanese citizens. Americans and Japanese are only allowed to stay for a maximum period of 11 days, they can not visit the city of Sinuiju at this stage, nor can they stay overnight at the homestay in Mt Chilbo or the hotels in Sariwon and Haeju cities. Americans also are not able to take the international train from Beijing to Pyongyang and must fly into Pyongyang.

Finally there is the misconception (frequently aided by poor journalism) that Pyongyang is the only place tourists can visit, and often as an extension to this, that all tourists must stay at the Yanggakdo hotel due to it’s convenientisl and location. In fact it is possible to visit locations in Eight of the Nine provinces (Jagang being the oneexception) as well as Pyongyang and the Rason Special Economic Zone. There are also numerous hotels available in Pyongyang for tourists and usually a choice between two in other cities/regions. The Yanggakdo is generally preferred by travel agencies simply because it has the best mix of comfort, price and entertainment of the currently available hotels in Pyongyang. Other options include the Koryo hotel, “budget” hotels such as the Chongryon Youth Hotel and the Ryangang and boutique options such as the Moranbong or Pothangang hotels.

Standard itineraries look generally similar, which unfortunately reinforces the myth that this is all that is available. However this is simply due to demand, all tourists want to see the DMZ, Kumsusan Palace of the Sun, Mansudae Grand monument etc. There are however many trips available
that visit other cities, scenic spots throughout the country and a wide variety of locations and activities including visiting the beach, hiking in the mountains, the shooting range, horseriding, visits to hospitals, schools and factories, fun fairs and the new water park, just to name a few. Generally though most of these trips appeal to return visitors or those with special interests.

At this point in time there are three borders open to non-Chinese tourists: Rason, Namyang and Sinuiju (also Pyongyang by air). It is possible to visit areas such as North Hamgyong, Sinuiju and Rason without stepping foot in Pyongyang, however most other regions are extensions of the Pyongyang route.

So the current situation for tourists visiting the DPRK is far more open than most would expect with a wide variety of locations and activities being possible and tourism being firmly encouraged. All nationalities other than South Koreans are welcomed and there are no limitations on visas issued. The only people unable to visit as tourists at this time are journalists.

Recent developments in DPRK Tourism

In recent years the reach of tourism has expanded relatively rapidly. In 2010 the city of Hamhung was opened to tourists and since then, Hoeryong, Sinuiju and Pyongsong have followed suit as well as the county of Onsong in North Hamgyong. (Hoeryong and Sinuiju were open to Chinese tourists from an earlier date). 2010 was also the year from which Americans were allowed to visit at any time of the year, previously they had only been allowed during the Arirang mass games period. These decisions, in particular allowing Americans to visit all year round, show a very clear desire to increase the number of visitors along with the importance placed
on tourism by the government. In recent years this has been reconfirmed by a concerted effort to expand their reach in South East Asian Markets such as Malaysia and Vietnam.

The opening of the land border crossing from Tumen to Namyang (2012), as well as the earlier decision to allow extensions to Rason tours to visit Mt Chilbo, has opened North Hamgyong up to tourism without the expense of a chartered flight from Pyongyang to Orang (there are no regular domestic flights). North Hamgyong is by most measures considered to be the poorest province of the country and one that suffers from a difficult climate and challenging topography. Allowing tourists easy access to the province, despite the challenges it faces, shows an understanding of the benefits tourism can bring to the region which is, fortunately, blessed with some great natural resources for the industry; including Mt Chilbo, the famous hot spas at Kyongsong County and excellent East Coast beaches. The greatest draw for foreign tourists however is generally the chance to stay at the home-stay, as well as seeing parts of the country that few have seen before, such as Onsong County and Hoeryong city.

Currently Mt Chilbo is halfway through its planned development as a tourist attraction, with further areas of the mountain region remaining to be opened, a ski field planned and renovation of the inner Chilbo Hotel underway. Along the coastline in between Chongjin and Mt Chilbo there is also a new hotel under construction which is intended to be the first 5 star hotel in the region (excluding the Emperor hotel in Rason). There are hopes to greatly expand the maximum tourist occupancy in the region and also to develop the natural hot springs to a standard suitable for tourist expectations.

Last year this expansion of opportunities continued at an accelerated pace, seeing the opening of Sinuiju to Non-Chinese-allowing tourists the oppor-
tunity to take day trips into the country for the first time. Pyongsong City near Pyongyang was also opened up. At the same time a shift seems to have occurred in the process of approval for foreign tourists with many new locations such as Munsu Water Park and Mirim Horse Ranch accepting tourists from the beginning rather than after a period of approval. Hand in hand with this has been a steady increase in the possibilities for interaction between tourists and local people.

Last year also saw the removal of the winter off season- (previously tourism had generally ceased between December 10th and January 10th) a change largely due to the development of the new ski resort at Masik Pass. Masik Pass Ski resort being of course a major development for the tourist industry. Tourists were able to visit the resort from December last year, but due to the practicalities of visa and group arrangements, the first tourists to the resort mostly arrived from January this year. Another major development in tourism is the opening to tourists and development of the Kalma peninsula near Wonsan city as a beach resort. Previously the only similar location had been at Majon near Hamhung, which featured a choice of either guesthouses from the soviet era or a new hotel at extra cost. The new resort at Kalma should be much more convenient in terms of travel time and is also closer to other areas of attraction for tourists.

The other big change in tourism last year was the upgrading of Rason border to a national level border. Allowing tourists for the first time to travel to all open areas of the country without having to exit and re-enter at a different border. As most people consider a visit to the DPRK a once in a lifetime experience this will help expand the reach of first time visitors and should increase the number of tourists visiting the far north of the country, an area that can greatly benefit from the accompanying development and income.
Issues Facing the Tourism Industry

The types of issues facing the tourism industry in the DPRK can largely be divided into two groups- internal (problems arising within the country) and external (the issues affecting the industry that come from external sources). As most of the external issues are related to the misinformation covered in the overview section, this section will cover the internal issues. Internal complications for tourism are varied. Obvious ones such as infrastructure and communications are well known to most people with even a passing interest in the DPRK. Others are more subtle, such as the gap between local perceptions of what will appeal to tourists and the actual preferences tourists have. Of course one of the most challenging is the requirement to be accompanied by guides and to largely follow an itinerary, something most travelers find unusual and off-putting in a world where people tend to travel with loose plans and adapt as they go. This however seems unlikely to change in the near future, though in general flexibility during tours has increased.

In terms of infrastructure there are a myriad of issues. One of the major ones is transportation. Although the tourist companies do have, in general, modern vehicles with a good standard of comfort, the roads are mostly in dire need of repair and traveling from city to city takes much longer than the distance should. Further to this there is little in the way of domestic air travel, and most trips to further reaches of the country require chartered flights, which require either large groups or for individuals large financial outlays. There has however been some progress on both fronts: The highway to Nampho has mostly been resealed and this has reduced travel time and increased comfort considerably and it seems to be a first step in a project of highway reconstruction. In terms of air transport this year in August and September KITC will be operating it’s own flights to
Samjiyon airport (providing access to Mt Paekdu) in partnership with Air Koryo, an option which is open to all their foreign partners. If these should prove successful it is likely to lead to similar options being explored with other regions.

Another limiting factor is accommodation. In many areas the hotels are quite dated and in need of renovation. In some regions, hot water is not available or only at limited times, while power cuts, though less frequent than in the past, can still be problematic at times. Though most tourists are expecting these problems, they can still be a challenge or even a surprise for some. Another complication is the highly seasonal nature of tourism to the country, during major holidays and the mass games period visitor numbers spike heavily whereas in other periods of the year visitors are few. During peak periods there is often a shortage of accommodation, particularly in Pyongyang, while at other times of the year the vast majority of hotels are almost empty. This situation is being addressed however, both by the development of new hotels to increase capacity and attempts to attract tourists during the off peak periods with novel tour ideas and new facilities such as the ski resort.

Communications presents another factor of concern for tourists. Internet is only available at a few hotels such as the Hyangsan hotel or the Masik Pass hotel. These hotels not only cost more but are also outside Pyongyang, meaning for the vast majority of tourists they will not stay in these places. The hotels in Pyongyang do have international calling and the Yanggakdo has emails, but it operates from a closed system using the hotel’s account, users can not log in to their own email accounts. Recently cellphones have been allowed and it is possible for tourists to get a sim card and make calls to international numbers, however it is very expensive and the process for application is unnecessarily time consuming, meaning for most tours it is not possible to apply for sim cards unless Koryolink have a desk in
the hotel (usually only set up during peak periods). Further the sim cards available to tourists do not allow data connections. Most tour agencies are able to use 3G however, so tour guides will often be able to allow tourists use of their phone in emergency situations which at least assists with peace of mind for tourists, however for some the thought of going so long without internet access is daunting, for personal or professional reasons.

Another issue sometimes arises between the international agencies and the local companies when it comes to tour organisation. Local partners sometimes have difficulty understanding what it is that motivates foreigners to visit the country and why things such as the cancellation of mass games has such an affect on the market. There is also a tendency for them to pursue opportunities that would generally attract tourists such as scenic spots, but this fails to consider the uniqueness of the DPRK as a tourist location. Tourists are more interested in seeing the differences between the DPRK’s system and their own and often seek out opportunities to meet locals, visit factories and schools etc. The complication though is not critical but requires a good working relationship between the agency and KITC, with both sides learning from each other as time goes on. On a larger scale however it often means that projects go ahead which foreign tourists have little interest in, which are then not used to their maximum capacity.

**Future Plans**

The tourism industry is developing steadily in the DPRK with a keen interest in it being shown by the government. Many changes have occurred in recent years and many more are planned over the near future. The importance of tourism has steadily been increasing, a change in priority which is clear when one considers several key events in recent years, the opening of new regions and cities to tourists, the development of Kalma
Peninsula (formerly a military area) and Masikryong Ski Resort, and the elevation of the Pyongyang Tourism College to a fully recognised University.

Change also has happened for the main state travel company KITC. Their staff has expanded rapidly and they will soon be moving to a new and larger headquarters. Another sign of the increased importance placed on tourism was the opening to tourists, including amateur runners, of the Mangyongdae International Prize Marathon this year, one of the events to celebrate the birthday of President Kim Il Sung. For a long time it has not been possible for amateurs to enter the marathon but it will now be possible for foreigners to enter every year and has proved a huge draw for tourists.

Going forward the government seems eager to expand the reach of tourism, moving away from depending largely on Chinese visitors to receiving tourists from all over the world, with a particular focus on Europe and neighbouring regions such as South East Asia. Recent incidents such as last year's ban imposed by the Chinese government on Chinese travel agencies running trips to the DPRK (This lasted approximately six months and may have had a major effect on the decision to open Sinuiju to Westerners), seem to have led the DPRK to attempt to appeal to more markets and protect the industry from the risk of over dependence on a single market. Air Koryo recently began operating flights from Kuala Lumpur to Pyongyang to increase the accessibility of tours to the DPRK for the South East Asian Market and also set up a KITC office in Malaysia. Areas formerly open only for Chinese tourists such as Hoeryong, Sinuiju and the border crossing to Namyang have now been opened to other nationalities.

There is also a move towards greater diversification of itineraries and possibilities and a greater receptiveness towards ideas and requests from
the partner agencies. In the year 2014 local train rides, camping trips and tram rides have been approved for foreigners, with many more unique ideas being considered. New activities and locations that have opened in Pyongyang have swiftly opened for tourists such as Munsu Water Park, Mirim Horse Ranch, Okryu Children’s Hospital and the Munsu Physical Rehabilitation Clinic as well as new restaurants, supermarkets and cafes such as the Haemaji chain. This diversification is aimed at attracting visitors who may choose the DPRK for reasons other than it’s uniqueness. For example efforts have been made to expand the range of scenic spots available in order to target markets such as Malaysia, where many visitors are motivated by the natural unspoiled beauty of the DPRK’s countryside rather than curiosity about it’s system, the ski resort should attract skiers from China and recently day tours to Namyang and Onsong have been promoted to Chinese tourists with heavy focus being put on the organic, natural food.

Diversification also appeals to repeat visitors, regions such as North Hamgyong and Rason in particular tend to be visited primarily by returners, and Sinuiju will no doubt follow suit. Opening up these new regions encourages tourists to return and helps to spread the development that accompanies tourism to areas throughout the country. The expansion of options also allows for specialised tours focused on areas such as healthcare, education, industry or leisure to name a few.

There is also a focus on improving the standard and capacity of accommodation for tourists. Recently built hotels such as Masikryong Resort Hotel and the new Hotel at Kalma Peninsula are of a significantly higher standard than most existing hotels. In Pyongyang there is also the development of the Yongwang hotel (next to the Koryo) and of course the Ryugyong hotel, both seemingly under construction and which are planned to be of a much higher standard than current options in the city. However
it is unclear when these projects may finish and if they are still viable. In North Hamgyong, the Inner Chilbo hotel is undergoing renovations and there is a new hotel under construction along the coastline (as mentioned earlier). Sinuiju is also seeing construction of a new hotel- a Joint Venture with China International Travel Service. The Baegabong Hotel near Mt Paektu is also scheduled for renovation next year. The various DPRK travel companies in different regions are all very interested in attracting foreign investment to improve the hospitality industry, especially in regard to hotel construction.

There has also been a drive to connect different routes or regions. With the upgrading of Rason border to a national one it is now possible to visit all available locations without leaving the country, however it generally requires an internal flight. We (YPT) are in negotiations to connect the various regions overland though which seems likely. This will enable visitors to explore much more of the country without the expense of chartered aircraft and should increase the lengths of tourist stays and the development of areas further from the capital. New routes are planned by the NTA (National Tourism Administration) with hopes to connect Mt Paektu and Hyesan overland to Pyongyang in the near future. Sinuiju is also now available for overnight stays for tourists exiting the country by train, rather than only day trips as originally allowed.

Another area that has been identified for improvement is the increase of night time activities. Although these have improved considerably in recent years with the opening of new bars to tourists, the renovation of the Taedonggan Diplomats Club and the renovation and construction of new funfairs. There is still an awareness of a need to increase the variety of options, especially for longer tours or repeat visitors. KITC have been considering various options for night time activities and will most likely be seeking outside investment and partners to construct and operate new
At the 2013 conference to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the NTA, held in Pyongyang, there were also numerous plans announced for the future. Plans included smaller proposals such as running a ferry from Weihai to Nampo city (primarily aimed at Chinese tourists) and a plan to develop the Kumgang Mountain regions to attract foreign tourists with plans such as allowing visits to farming and fishing villages, spa and mud treatments, mountaineering and camping, steam engine train travel and construction of a large seafood specialty restaurant, none of these have yet been adopted however. There are also plans to build an airport at Mt Kumgang to provide flights to and from the mountains and countries in South East Asia/China but this is most likely some time from realisation.

The biggest news from the conference however was the announcement of a proposed new policy to create a Special Tourism Zone in Wonsan. Encompassing the new development on Kalma Peninsula, the city itself and several other areas surrounding the city that will be attractive to tourists, the plan is to create a zone where wholly owned foreign enterprises would be allowed in the hospitality industry. In theory this would allow for foreign owned hotels, bars, restaurants and more. However it has not yet been put into practice and until it is can only be considered as a proposal, though if it does go ahead it could be a very unique undertaking for the DPRK and something that could help rapidly develop the tourism industry.

**Summary**

The tourism industry in the DPRK is much more varied and dynamic than most people consider it to be and possibilities for tourists are expanding at a steady rate. It is however an industry that is hampered by
numerous misconceptions and in many cases outright misrepresentations by outside sources and also an industry that faces internal challenges as well. Many steps have been taken in the right direction, however there are some strings attached that seem unavoidable any time in the near future, such as regulations and restrictions like those on length of stay for US citizens or the requirements for guides to accompany tourists during their travels and restrictions on internet accessibility. There is however much that is happening to expand and open the industry up, with new regions being accessed, routes being connected, activities being opened to tourists and improvements being undertaken in many key areas, leading to the anticipation of continued growth for the industry.