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Master's Thesis of Graduate School of International Studies

A Study on the EU's Aid towards North Korea

유럽연합의 대북 지원에 대한 연구

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Abstract

A Study on the EU's Aid towards North Korea

This article examines the aid flow from European nations to North Korea, especially looking at individual countries' dedication and also the European Union as a whole. The research finds that the international sanctions following North Korea's missile provocation after year 2010 had a significant effect on aid influx into North Korea. In early 2000s, the international community aimed to provide developmental aid that could change North Korean people's lives from the inside, such as KEDO. However, the international economic sanctions have made it hard for countries to send aid into North Korea. Afterwards, only humanitarian aid has been given to North Korea. Sweden has played the key role in aid giving to North Korea, being a neutral country that plays the role of window to connect North Korea and other western countries. Other European countries like Germany, Finland and France follow being the leading donors. The study points out that Eastern Europe countries form a favorable relationship with North Korea and have mediums to send aid, but lack the resources in their countries to do so.

Keywords: North Korea, humanitarian aid, developmental aid, DPRK, European Union

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List of Abbreviation

DPRK	Democratic People's Republic of Korea (used interchangeably with North Korea)
EC	European Commission
ECHO	European Community Humanitarian Aid Office
EDRIS	European Emergency Disaster Response Information System
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
KEDO	Korean Peninsula Energy. Development Organization
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NPT	Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty
ODA	Official Developmental Aid
UN	United Nations
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organization

I. Introduction

While the United States and South Korea have more complicated understanding with North Korea due to geopolitical factors, European Union is relatively free from North Korea's calculation when receiving aid. The study aims to look at the aid influx into North Korea that come from Europe, to provide a new aspect in the need for aid in the country and how it has been made so far. The study will also find out whether leadership change had resulted in a shift in aid in any way.

Since year 2018, North Korea's leader Kim Jong Un came forward with a new direction of diplomacy. The hermit kingdom in Asia claimed its rightful possession of nuclear weapons and insisted their say in the international politics. Their key propaganda vocabulary is 'self-made' and 'self-rehabilitation.' The regime tells their people to support the 'anti-foreign power' movement.

Ironically, North Korea has been receiving a significant amount of financial aid from other countries, especially the United States (U.S.), which the state reprimands repeatedly throughout the state media and through words from their diplomatic official statements. More than 90 percent of U.S. aid to North Korea go through the World Food Programme (WFP). It shows how U.S. sends aid to North Korea as an international institution, not as an individual country itself. South Korea and the European Union are also huge donors to North Korea following the U.S.

1. Background of research

The international political background plays a key role in analyzing the changes that took place regarding EU's aid to North Korea. Since the Kim Jong Un leadership starting 2012, the international community has developed a new phase of strong economic sanctions on North Korea due to the communist regime's consistent missile provocations and deployment of Nuclear facilities. The United States has been taking the lead to apply sanctions on North Korea.

Considering the fact that the EU is not a member of the six-party talks on North Korea's nuclear program, it does not have direct security concerns with the Korean peninsula. Therefore, the Korean peninsula has been relatively peripheral to its strategic interests. Yet, EU has been one of the biggest donors in providing humanitarian aid to North Korea in the past, emphasizing norms such as human rights and freedom. Furthermore, it has shown a steady interest in strengthening economic ties with North Korea.

North Korea's need for aid became imminent as the floods in mid-1990s failed North Korea's crops a big time. After the Korean war and each government were settling, socialist North Korea took off as the wealthier of the two Koreas. But due to the failure of the public distribution system and economic isolation, the economy began to fall. And with the flood and drought, people were starving.

That's when international community's aid came in. The EU, which considers human rights as a matter of basic right in life sent in humanitarian aid following the poor state of life in North Korea. The country received a lot of aid as the country established several diplomatic relations with European countries. Until today, France and Estonia are the only two countries without official diplomatic relations. France's case, to be mentioned in more detail later on, is different from other European nations in that France is one of the top aid donors to North Korea.

But North Korea expelled the foreign aid who came in to North Korea, afraid of information outflow. Around early 2000, EU's human rights conversation and US's human rights law influenced the favorable EU-North Korea relations to fall apart.

International circumstances regarding North Korea have faced ups and downs during Kim Jong Un's regime. They adopted the "parallel (Byungjin) policy of economic construction and nuclear development," in 2013. Since then, the regime conducted nuclear experiments four times- 12 February 2013, 6 January 2016, 9 September 2016, and 3 September 2017 respectively. Launches of short and long-range ballistic missiles were much more prevalent compared to the former leadership.

The United Nations Security Council imposed sanctions to condemn the communist regime with resolutions. According to the latest fact sheet on UN's North Korea related resolutions reviewed on April 2018, there are nine major sanctions resolutions

responding to North Korea's nuclear and missile activities.

2. Research question

This research will look at the bilateral relationship between North Korea and individual European nation that has been providing aid to North Korea. By looking into detail, this will lead to a comprehensive understanding of the Europe-North Korea relations.

The amount of aid going into North Korea has decreased after 2011 according to EU Aid Explorer. This research aims to find out whether that had to do with the shifted leadership from Kim Jong Il to Kim Jong Un in North Korea. Has the increased number of missile and nuclear experiments leading to harsher economic sanctions affected EU's aid going into North Korea. According to the United Nations, sanctions on North Korea are not intended to have adverse humanitarian consequences for the civilian population of the country to restrict economic activities and cooperation, food aid and humanitarian assistance. (Park Kee B, 2019)

Some questions that can be raised are-Are EU's aid policies in a comprehensive relationship with the U.S. sanctions? Is EU able to make independent decisions regarding aid, or does it have to be in accordance with the U.S.' North Korea policies? Is EU in accordance with those imposed sanctions?

The study will find out in what way European nations provided aid to North Korea independently, apart from the EU principle. South Korea's foreign ministry have announced that EU's humanitarian aid to North Korea has decreased since 2012. There will be an in-depth analysis based on reports to find out whether it was solely because of international sanctions, or just because there were not as many natural disasters or famine since 2012 until now.

Previous studies on aid to North Korea focus on the broad aspect of how it was distributed. There is a need to find out whether the international circumstances had an effect on the aid policies.

3. Literature Review

Due to the fact that North Korea is secluded from the outside world, there is a limitation of available information for research purposes. Even international organizations have limited access to the basic statistical information on North Korea, such as population and GDP.

Raising questions about aid to North Korea

Lee Jong Un's research was the most recent study done regarding the international community's aid towards North Korea. It pointed out the concerns that the international

operations and related countries had about sending aid to North Korea.

Aid to North Korea has been a subject of constant controversy not only in South Korea but also in major related countries and international organizations since the mid-1990s, when Pyongyang requested emergency relief in the face of starvation. Behind the initial criticism of aid were questions about whether the North Korean authorities diverted food and aid supplies and fair distribution to the vulnerable.

As North Korea's nuclear weapon possession became a graver issue in the 2000s, North Korea's behavior of threatening the international community with nuclear development and at the same time receiving aid has been criticized. Therefore, it is stressed that measures that relax the effects of the strongest-ever sanctions and pressure taken to drive nuclear dismantlement are undesirable even in a humanitarian manner, and that aid to the North cannot be allowed without fundamental changes such as denuclearization of North Korea and further improvement of its people's human rights.

However, there are some supporting arguments on providing aid to North Korea, bringing up the country's impoverished state. North Korea has been classified as the only Asian-Pacific country to fall short of its target in the same category as the Millennium Development Goals, which includes reduced child mortality, maternal health, and disease. (UNCT in DPRK 2011). In the Global Hunger Index, a global hunger indicator, in 2017, North Korea was ranked as the lowest 93rd food security vulnerable country

among 119 countries surveyed due to severe food shortages. The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) reported that although it has improved compared to the past, a considerable number of North Korean children are undernourished. Therefore, need for humanitarian aid to North Korea is emphasized in terms of alleviating poverty and realizing the universal value of the international community to help the vulnerable in crisis.

The United Nations stands with the universal value on sending humanitarian aid to the needed despite the hostile relations between the U.S. and North Korea. U.N. Security Council Resolution 2375 added strong trade control and financial sanctions, but reiterated in Article 26 that sanctions have no intention of limiting humanitarian aid activities.

Assistance to North Korea and sanctions on North Korea's nuclear weapons program

The international community's aid to North Korea, which began in 1995, has changed in scale and character depending on inter-Korean relations and relations between the North and its neighbors. Humanitarian aid to North Korea is complicated with transparency in aid and human rights issues, and amid repeated North Korea's nuclear and missile provocations and the international community's additional economic sanctions, recent aid to the North has maintained its reputation as a relief effort.

Lee's study looked at the development of changes in International community's aid to

North Korea, comparing the numbers between 1995-early 2000s when international community's aid to North Korea was increasing, and after North Korea declared possession on nuclear capabilities in 2005 and international community cut down on aid following the consecutive nuclear experiments.

European countries, Canada and Australia, which improved diplomatic relations with North Korea in the 2000s, have expanded bilateral aid through their government aid agencies and non-governmental organizations. The shift to development aid comes in the European Union's North Korea Assistance Force Report in March 2002, in which the European Commission set policy directions regarding aid from the European Union and its member countries. (The European Commission, 2004)

Unlike the United States and Japan, Western countries such as the EU, Canada and Australia did not significantly reduce aid to the North in 2003 and 2004. These donor countries and international organizations have taken the position of separating poverty alleviation and relief from the political and security situation of North Korea in the wake of the economic crisis. However, in 2005, when North Korea officially declared its possession of nuclear weapons and conducted a nuclear test in 2006, many donor countries and NGOs stopped or greatly reduced aid to the North.

The European Commission Directorate for Development has decided to withdraw its Pyongyang office of the European Union Humanitarian Aid Office (ECHO) in May 2008,

raising the issue of distribution and monitoring of food aid. EU food aid has also been suspended as ECHO's aid activities have been suspended. Despite the deepening North Korean nuclear issue in the 2000s, the EU, which continued to provide food aid to the North, as well as agricultural restoration and environmental management, stopped providing food aid to the North in 2008, greatly reducing the amount of international aid to the North.

Since Kim Jong Un took power, North Korea conducted its third nuclear test in February 2013, and international public opinion has worsened. Since 2014, only about 10 donor countries have provided funds to North Korea, and the international community's annual aid has remained below \$50 million.

In the 2010s, most of the international community aid in North Korea has been carried out through UN agencies and European NGOs. Currently, seven European NGOs are stationed in North Korea. The NGO, which is a member of the European Union Project Support Group under the supervision of the International Development Cooperation Secretariat of the European Commission, is a member of the European Commission's Project Support Group, Save the Children International (UK), Concern Worldwide (Ireland), and Welthungerhilfe (German for World Hunger Aid, Triangle GHance).

The six NGOs' humanitarian aid to North Korea is funded by European donors, the International Red Cross and private organizations, along with financial aid from the

European Union. European countries such as Germany, France, and Sweden are participating in humanitarian aid to North Korea by supporting disaster relief, health care, and drinking water sanitation projects promoted by NGOs at the government level. The EU Commission and European governments are actively participating in tougher sanctions against North Korea, while maintaining humanitarian aid. From 1995 to 2017, the European Union provided 135.6 million euros to 130 humanitarian aid projects aimed at providing food aid and health services to vulnerable North Koreans.

EU's North Korea strategy

Park Chae-Bok's study in 2006 examines the intent of European Union in providing aid to North Korea. The European Union, which established formal diplomatic relations with North Korea in 2001, sought to strengthen its status and role in the international community through active intervention in Asia. Unlike its initial conciliatory stance, the EU's policy toward North Korea shifted to a very tough stance around 2003. This is based on the perception that close cooperation with the U.S. is needed to adopt a new security strategy at the European Union level and prevent the spread of mass destruction.

The European Union, which established formal diplomatic relations with North Korea in 2001, emphasized the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and the non-nuclearization of North Korea through various channels of dialogue with the North. The European Union sees it as an opportunity to defend its interests and values in the international community and strengthen its international standing by playing a

constructive role in world politics.

The European Union's national strategic report on North Korea will not be actively carried out due to the North Korean nuclear issue, and EU-North Korea relations will be stalled except for humanitarian aid.

In addition to improving diplomatic relations with North Korea, the European Union has continued to provide economic and humanitarian aid to the North, despite the nuclear crisis since it began in 1995. The European Union believes international understanding and cooperation are indispensable to improve the current situation in North Korea, and maintains that humanitarian aid to the North should continue regardless of political interests or tensions.

Despite the North Korean nuclear issue, the EU's aid policy has been maintained through active support for the North's efforts to break down the economic crisis and food shortages under the principle of separating political and security issues from economic and humanitarian aid. Apart from the EU-level aid, humanitarian and technical assistance to North Korea has been steadily carried out at the individual level. In particular, humanitarian aid at the European Union level began in 1995, when severe floods left about 5.7 million people homeless, prompting the North to seek international assistance for the first time. (Park, 2006)

The European Union's attitude began to get tougher as North Korea ignored international nuclear norms, such as lifting its nuclear freeze mechanism and refusing to accept inspections by the International Atomic Energy Agency. In 2002, it stopped supplying heavy fuel oil to North Korea. The existence of a concerted agreement between the European Union and its member states on negative perceptions of North Korea and concerns over its nuclear development provided an opportunity for a fundamental shift in the European Union's role in easing tensions on the Korean Peninsula and establishing peace in Northeast Asia.

Given that it supports the use of economic measures, sea blockade or even armed sanctions as an additional measure in case of an emergency against countries with weapons of mass destruction, a shift in the European Union's stance suggests that while it prioritizes peaceful methods through diplomatic means on the North Korean nuclear issue, it could shift to a tougher stance than the European Union's previous flexible stance if the nuclear issue fails to move forward in the direction demanded by the international community. It should not be overlooked that the European Union continues to maintain a dialogue channel with North Korea on international agenda items, including easing tensions on the Korean Peninsula and preventing nuclear proliferation and human rights issues.

Despite that Europe is neither a regional power nor global hegemon, it pays attention to the Korean peninsula diplomacy-wise. The EU has a solid, although not crucial

economic ties with South Korea in both trade and FDI, which explains Europe's concern about security in the region. The EU is understood as a supranational institution, not necessarily as the aggregate of individual actions of single members. (Ruediger, 2002)

EU as a value-based actor in the international community

Song Tae Soo's study sees the European Union's aid to North Korea as a means of solidifying its stance in the international community as the troubleshooter. Song writes in the study that EU has an intention to become a value-based actor amid the international political turmoil. Song claims that EU is using its civilian power, in continuation of its soft power, and form its own identity. Since the 1990s, North Korea made efforts to normalize diplomatic relations with European nations, as there was less political issues between individual countries compared to the U.S. or South Korea. There were efforts to expand on economic relations through investments and trade.

Song explains that EU's economic support and trade exchange with North Korea was influenced big time by North Korea's condensed Uranium development in October 2002 and the nuclear experiment followed by missile launch in June 2006. Nevertheless, EU's aid support and trade exchange did continue even after the two main struggling incidents. The EU acknowledges that it should attempt for a leap as an supranational institution in the upcoming years, based on the political volition, normative power and the capacity to reinvent.

The EU's precondition is for each European nation within the EU to make one identical voice in constructing order in the international politics, not destroying the cohesiveness. At the same time, it must secure the EU identity. EU's strategic goal is to prevent conflict. As the former UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali said, the western diplomatic politics' conflict prevention is quite underdeveloped. Therefore, taking the initiative in conflict prevention diplomacy is the way to refrain from being competitive to the NATO, and not colliding with the individual nation's diplomacy policies.

The EU was given the opportunity to prove its conflict prevention potential in a conflicting environment. The EU's participation in Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO) was by a coincidence of interest between the EU and countries taking part in KEDO-U.S., South Korea and Japan. The three countries needed a neutral member, and the EU was in the right spot, looking for a way to expand its political stand in Northeast Asia.

Firsthand experience of aid to North Korea from Europe

Frédéric Ojardias's firsthand experience of EU's aid in North Korea gives an opportunity to take a closer look at what EU's aid looks like inside the regime. Frédéric Ojardias' study based on his experience in North Korea as a French NGO employee is the source of information.

Ojardias claims in his research that although it may be still scanty, the nutrition state in

North Korea has been improved since year 2000, and famine has also disappeared from North Korea's list of problems. Ironically, it's not the result of successful government planning but actually due to the liberalization of underground market, appearance of markets whether they are legally approved or not, and the increased autonomy of the farmers.

Ojardia says European NGO activities tend to take place in specific criteria for a specified region for long enough time to make a change, in order to avoid misuse of the aid put into North Korea, especially by the military. For example, a hygienic hospital in the countryside equipped with better facilities will benefit the townspeople in the long term. He claims that the success settlement of European NGOs inside North Korea has to do with their engagement in the region physically, to create rapport with the people and advise locals to make future plans on developing the region to a better environment. Ojardia disagrees with assumptions that North Korean regime may fall apart if it were not for the food assistance given by the international community. Existing studies regarding North Korea and EU have mostly analyzed the relationship between EU and North Korea or what diplomatic approach they have against each other. This research will complement the existing studies to fill in the questions that have not been answered in prior research.

This research will also associate the global atmosphere regarding North Korea from time to time to assess EU's aid to North Korea. It will consider which state North Korea was

in globally, considering the missile provocations, and deals with international community.

4. Methodology

As an empirical study, this research will show the relationship between the European Union and DPRK by looking into more detail in humanitarian aid aspect. Since there has not been a great amount of prior research done on the certain period, this research will

By analyzing European Union's aid to North Korea, a much more detailed form of examination, rather than general theory, is possible.

This paper will examine the EU aid to North Korea since 1995. It was the year The United Nations humanitarian agencies including WHO (World Health Organization), FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization), UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund) and WFP (World Food Programme) representatives made their first assessment visit in August.

The EU related foreign policy shift will be explained throughout the study. Since the third leader of North Korea, Kim Jong Un took power in the regime, there has been intensified testing of nuclear power and missiles, changing the foreign relations

environment to a harsher situation compared to the predecessor leaders. The exact timing of Kim Jong Un's coming to power is unknown, but this paper sets the timing as year 2012. North Korea's late leadership Kim Jong Il passed away on December 17 2011, and the regime was inherited to Kim Jong Un.

5. Theoretical Framework

This study looks at the European Union's aid to North Korea as a means of expressing its influence in an international scale. Not only does aid to North Korea give relief and help to its people, by sending aid, the EU strengthens its influence in the Korean peninsula by approaching North Korea and finds a potential for Europe to engage in Asia where its political significance is growing. The Korean peninsula was a perfect stage for the EU to test its role in the international politics. The EU's common foreign security policy that began to hold concreteness after the Maastricht Treaty was ratified in November 1993. The treaty aims for the member states to cooperate and contribute to peace and stability of the world, not just Europe, and eventually intensify the international reputation of the EU.

Participating in the multilateral order is an opportunity to strengthen the EU's united diplomatic security policies. Within the North Korean human rights policies by the EU, there underlies an objective that by carrying out human rights policies that the U.S. or South Korea is unable to touch upon, the EU secures its leverage in the Korean peninsula

and moreover, Asia. (Lee S.P., 2009)

The EU had taken the ‘constructive engagement’ approach to North Korean aid. The institution took this flexible approach by linking human rights issues while offering both technical and humanitarian aid to the rogue regime. Since G. Persson then Sweden prime minister in May of 2011 visited North Korea and formed a diplomatic relationship, the EU has made consistent efforts to convince North Korea to make decisions favorable for loosening tension in the Korean peninsula, denuclearization and security of the North East Asia.

At the end of 1990s and the beginning of 2000s, the EU resumed the relationship with the economically-depressed North Korea for political interests rather than economic interest. (An S.W., 2007)

The EU’s New Asia Strategy in 1994 states that the EU strengthens the Union’s economic presence in Asia in order to maintain its role in the world economy, to contribute to stability in Asia by promoting international cooperation and understanding, to promote economic development of the less prosperous countries and regions in Asia given that Asia will continue to have the world’s largest concentration for poor people, which the EU member states will need to keep contribute to alleviation and sustainable growth, and lastly to contribute to development and consolidation of democracy and rule of law, respect for human rights and fundamental Time humanitarian aid was also part

of this strategy. In 2001, a report that took one step further from the strategic report in 1994 was published. “The Europe and Asia: A Strategic Framework for Enhanced Partnership” underlined the need to develop more reciprocal investment and trade, also mentioning a Korean peninsula strategy as one of the new strategic measures in Asia. (European Commission, 1994) This context makes it possible to assume that the EU wished to keep U.S. from being the sole lead in foreign influence in Asia. (Lee, 2009)

A Korean issues expert M. Fernandez in the EC pointed out in 2005 during his visit to Seoul that the EU’s steady increase in engagement for North Korea in the 1990s should be understood in a context that there’s a relationship with EU and South Korea, in which South Korea attempted for peace and reconciliation in inter-Korean relations and also the EU’s strategic understanding of the EU to intensify the political and economic entry to East Asia. (Masami, 2005) To support this, prime minister Persson of Sweden in 2001 who visited Seoul as a representative of the EC said that his visit to North Korea was because of the then South Korean president Kim Dae-joong asked the EU to take part in peace establishment in the Korean peninsula.

Nevertheless, this framework is possible when analyzing the EU as a whole, but cannot explain the diverse humanitarian aid sent to North Korea from European nations.

I. Global conditions regarding North Korea

1. History of EU-NK relations

The EU is understood as a supranational institution, not necessarily as the aggregate of individual actions of single members. (Rudieger, 2005)

There are some key decisions made by the EU regarding North Korea. US's most recent North Korea policy direction was announced in July 17, 2017. EU reaffirmed its critical engagement policy towards North Korea. European Union along with the United States called for halt in further provocations and condemned North Korea's ballistic missile launch tests and nuclear weapon development. The EU announced support for South Korea's leading role in solving problems in the Korean peninsula and also called for North Korea's engagement in nuclear talks.

Despite that Europe is neither a regional power nor global hegemon, it pays attention to the Korean peninsula diplomacy-wise. The EU has a solid, although not crucial economic ties with South Korea in both trade and FDI, which explains Europe's concern about security in the region. (Rudieger, 2005)

Under the critical engagement, EU kept the communication channels with North Korea intact. EU adhered to the three prior conditions advancement in nuclear problems, progress in inter-Korean relations, and betterment in human rights issues in order to

achieve an actual advancement in EU-North Korea relations.

One of the main decisions that the European Union made was in November 2002 when EU chose the EU Commission Presidency Conclusions related to North Korea related policies. It consisted of calling for North Korea to shut down the nuclear program, reexamining aid to North Korea including the EU's technology aid and preference treatment in trade while adhering to food and humanitarian aid, and sending support for the reconciliation process in the Korean peninsula.

The relationship between North Korea and EU began as follows. In 2000 September, North Korea suggested establishment of diplomatic relation with the EU member nations, with a written letter by then its foreign minister Paik Nam Soon. 26 EU member states, except for France and Estonia formed a diplomatic relationship with North Korea. EU Commission, announced the diplomatic relations with North Korea on May 14, 2001, In North Korea, the British Embassy holds an additional position as the EU ambassador. 7 countries, the United Kingdom, Germany, Sweden, Poland, Czech Republic, Bulgaria, Rumania have a permanent residence in North Korea. France, established a cooperation office based in North Korea in October 2011 for NGO activities and cultural collaboration.

North Korean foreign ministry sends envoy to the European Union almost every year. The most recent visit of a high official from North Korea to EU was that of Kim Deon Kyung, Foreign ministry's Europe bureau chief in April 2018, May 2017 and December

2015 to Brussels to meet with the EU Council, foreign relations department and the foreign ministry of the Belgium.

North Korea's military provocations

In June 2009, European Union members of the U.N. Security Council issued a statement condemning North Korea's long-range rocket launch in April 2009 and nuclear test in May 2009. Following the UN security council resolution 1814, the EU issued a common position for additional sanctions on North Korea during the July 27 2009 EU foreign ministers' meeting. In December 22, 2009, the EC regulation was modified to include 13 more people and four more companies to be included in the sanctions list.

In April 2012, which is after Kim Jong Un officially took power in North Korea, the EU issued a high official statement regarding the long-range missile launches of North Korea. The statement called for North Korea's refrainment and that missile launch was certainly against the UN security council resolutions. In February 2013, EU statement was issued, the strongest of its statement, regarding North Korea's third nuclear experiment. The statement strongly condemned North Korea's nuclear test and asked North Korea to halt further provocations. In March and May of 2014, high official statement was announced to condemn North Korea's missile launches and violation of UN security council resolutions. In January 2016, a high official statement was issued to condemn North Korea's fourth nuclear experiment. In September 2016, a high official statement was issued to condemn North Korea's fifth nuclear test. In July 2017, council conclusions

regarding North Korea was chosen, including contents to urge denuclearization conversation, to deplore human rights deprivation in North Korea, supporting South Korea's role in Korean peninsula matters, and condemning North Korea's nuclear experiments and ballistic missile test launch. In September 2017, a high official statement was issued related to North Korea's sixth nuclear test.

2. North Korea's policies regarding EU

North Korea faces the worst financial crisis as well as political crisis in 1990s. The great famine during 1990s and natural disasters that followed give North Korea the only choice to ask for help abroad. This is when North Korea chooses 'survival diplomacy,' officially requesting aid to Europe. North Korea conducted diplomatic activities to secure humanitarian aid from Western European countries by having the Worker's Party secretary Kim Yong Soon visit Sweden, Denmark, and Italy from March to April 1993 and inviting representatives from Norway, Spain and the British Communist Party to the North. Instead of demanding humanitarian aid to overcome the economic crisis, North Korea accepted the EU's political dialogue for the first time in Belgium in December 1998 and held talks on the abandonment of North Korea's nuclear and missile development, resolution of human rights issues, and inter-Korean dialogue.

North Korea first proposed foreign ministers' talks to most European Union members, including Britain, ahead of the 54th U.N. General Assembly in September 1999. As a result, it succeeded in establishing diplomatic relations with Italy on January 4, 2000,

and in September of the same year, it proposed diplomatic relations to seven countries among the 15 countries belonging to the European Union that had no diplomatic relations. The European Union responded to North Korea's offer. In particular, Britain, Germany, and Spain will announce their plans to establish diplomatic ties with North Korea through the third Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) held in Seoul in October 2000. On May 2, 2001, a European Union delegation led by Swedish Prime Minister Göran Persson, then chairman of the EU, visited North Korea and held talks with then North Korean leader Kim Jong-il. During the talks, the two sides agreed to suspend North Korea's missile launches until 2003, expressing concern over the North Korean human rights issue and agreeing to a visit by a North Korean economic team to Europe. The European Commission officially announced the normalization of relations with North Korea on May 14, 2000, after such summit talks between the two sides took place. In addition, North Korea established diplomatic relations with other European Union members except France and Estonia by 2013.

North Korea's EU policy can be understood as an extension of its national strategy to overcome international isolation. North Korea has sought its own interests in the international community amid its relations with the Soviet Union, China and the United States, but has been seeking a new path by improving relations with Europe whenever it is isolated by friction with them. (Choi, 2017)

North Korea has continued to engage in exchanges, with Kang Sok-ju, secretary of the

Workers' Party of Korea, visiting Germany, Belgium, Switzerland and Italy in September 2014, as well as a group of members of the European Union and representatives of the European Union's parliament. The bilateral political dialogue, which has been going on since 1998, was suspended from 2012 to 2014 when the Kim Jong Un regime was launched, and has been suspended again since it was held in June 2015 for the first time in four years. (South Korea's Foreign Ministry, 2017)

Since North Korea's third and fourth nuclear experiments and long-range missile launches in 2016, the international community had imposed the strongest-ever sanctions on the communist regime, isolating the country to the fullest.

II. European nation's aid to North Korea

1. EU's stance on aid for North Korea

The European Union's direct aid to North Korea began with humanitarian aid, providing emergency food aid for the North Korean people suffering from famine after a series of natural disasters. The first official aid was sent to North Korea through the European Commission Humanitarian Aid Office (ECHO) to support the flood-destroyed North Korea in 1995. Back in 1995, there was no official diplomatic channel formed yet, therefore one could assume that the EU had no political intention behind the decision to send aid to North Korea.

The United States government imposed financial sanctions on North Korea since 1950s through US department of Treasury. But the international community, represented by the United Nations, began imposing sanctions after the 2006 nuclear test in North Korea. Coercive measures by the U.S. such as unilateral sanctions and diplomatic pressure led to adverse effects on the humanitarian aid programs due to shutdown of banking channels and funding shortfalls, according Park Kee B's report in 38 North in 2019. (Park Kee B, 2019)

Since 1995, the early aid to North Korea was mostly food aid and emergency relief. However, the characteristics of aid gradually shifted to curing the fundamental reason for North Korea's financial crisis and seeking for ways to solve the problem. The EU's

aid to North Korea is among programs to fight poverty and economic development of undeveloped countries. This includes food aid, recovery of farming, building infrastructure for economic reform and also humanitarian aid. The EU is adhering to its direction and principle that humanitarian aid and food aid is separated from security issues.

A statutory footing for carrying out foreign aid was established in 1993, with the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty, officially the Treaty on European Union. The treaty states that the objective of developmental cooperation policy is to expedite economic and social development of the developing countries continuously and gradually and harmoniously combining the developing nations to the world economy, and to solve poverty issue of the developing nations. This gives the EU a lawful background to play its role as world's biggest Official Developmental Aid (ODA) donor.

European Commission's humanitarian aid policy goals are found in "Towards a New Asia Strategy". According to the paper, the main goal of the strategy is as follows: First objective is to strengthen the Union's economic presence in Asia in order to maintain the Union's leading role in the world economy. Second objective is to contribute to stability in Asia by promoting international co-operation and understanding; the Union must to this end widen and deepen its political and economic relations with the countries in Asia. Third objective is to promote economic development of the less prosperous countries and regions in Asia. Fourth objective is to contribute to the development and

consolidation of democracy and the rule of law, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in Asia. (European Commission, 1994)

The EU's foreign aid comes through the EU External Relations Committee and the Development Committee, based on a strategy report and aid execution plan report written with the help of the representatives staying in North Korea which is handed to the European Commission. (Choi, 2017)

The EU's foreign aid is assessed as able to provide adequate aid for the recipient country based on a long term accumulated experience of aid experience. Ans EU shows strength in providing tailored aid to recipient country rather than a one-time patronage. The aid to North Korea is focusing on education, medicine and job producing projects in Pyong-an-nam-do and Pyong-an-buk-do area, not the crowded and relatively developed central city of Pyongyang.

The EU has a policy of critical engagement towards the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK). Its goals are to support a lasting diminution of tensions on the Korean peninsula and in the region, to uphold the international non-proliferation regime and to improve the situation of human rights in the DPRK. (European Union External Action, 2019) The EU supports international efforts to promote peace and stability on the Korean peninsula, in particular through support for international efforts to promote denuclearization and an improvement in the human rights situation in North Korea. The

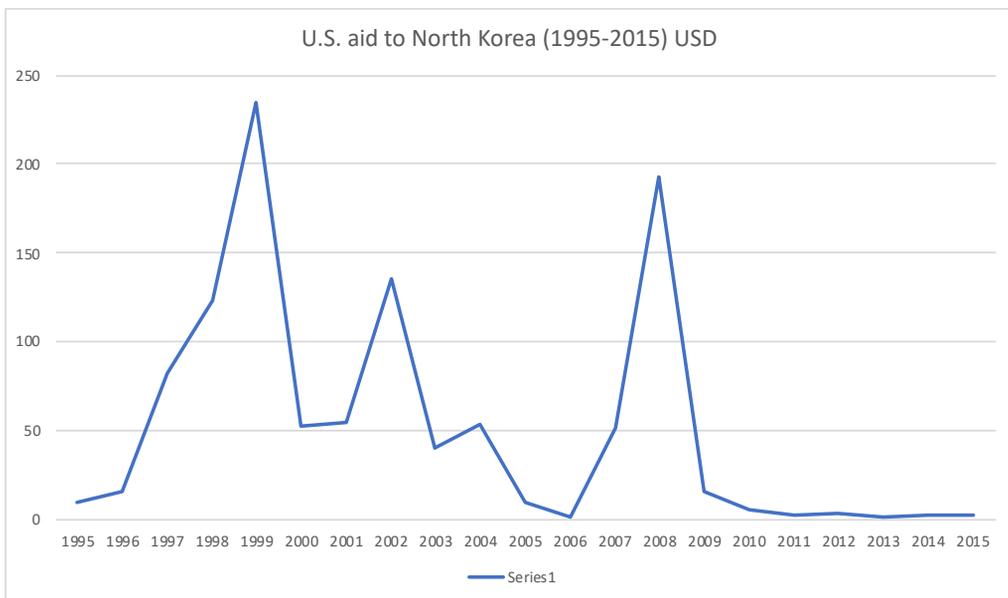
“EC Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, Country Strategic Paper 2001-2004” introduces the EU’s goal and strategic frame for the objective of the EU’s technical support sent to North Korea. Since 1998, the EU has been conducting regular political dialogue with the DPRK. The 14th session of this dialogue was held in Pyongyang between 19 and 24 June 2015. (European Union External Action, 2020))

Political issue is a sensitive and critical variable in foreign relations, but the EU continues to send humanitarian aid, apart from such variable. There is a lot of obstacles sending aid to North Korea, because of the regime’s closedness and difficulty in finding transparent information. Yet, NGOs in Europe have consistently provided aid to North Korea based on their regular exchange and effort to maintain the relationship. In order to keep the relationship stable, most NGOs tried to focus on projects that the regime would not take too sensitive, and at times the NGOs will carry out aid that North Korea requested specifically. The cooperative relationship that the NGOs have created and maintained with North Korea authorities, is key to consistent aid programs.

The nuclear crisis was a huge hurdle, but it did not put the aid from EU institutions and individual countries to a halt. In this sense, the EU’s stance on aid is different from that of the United States. The U.S. is the largest aid donor to North Korea among all countries and institutions combined. However, the U.S. aid to North Korea has been on the rise and fall as a whole, from \$250,000 in 2001 to \$176.17 million in 1999. This is because the U.S. will link the aid to North Korea with the North Korean nuclear issue. The

humanitarian aid from the U.S. begins to fall dramatically since 2009. This phenomenon comes from the doubt whether the aid was allocated to the people who really needed them within North Korea, and also the accumulated displeasure on the continued missile provocations by North Korea. (Rugin, 2012)

Figure 1. U.S. aid to North Korea from 1995 to 2015 in USD



Source: OECD CRS, USAID, congressional Research Service. Reconstructed based on Kim Sunghan's research. (Kim, 2018)

Table of the U.S. aid fluctuation shows how in 1999, 2002 and 2008, the aid sent from U.S. to North Korea was greater than that of other years. The increase was the result of 1994 Geneva agreement, and that North Korea-U.S. relations was relatively favorable until the second nuclear crisis in 2002. In 2007, there was a February 13 agreement that

eased the nuclear crisis of North Korea temporarily.¹ North Korea also officially announced in 2009 that it won't accept any food aid from the U.S. Following the continued nuclear and missile experiments, there were almost no food aid going to North Korea until 2016. (Kim, 2018)

Of course, the European Union's stance on the North Korean nuclear issue, the European Security Strategy in 2003 and the Debating on Terrorism in 2004 have been strongly changed, which has since led to a decrease in aid to the North. However, the European Union continues to provide aid under the principle of separating political and security issues from humanitarian aid, including North Korea's nuclear and missile tests and human rights issues. In particular, we continue to provide small-scale assistance, focusing on special food security programs on humanitarian grounds, and support is being provided in the areas of infrastructure and services, education, agriculture and fisheries, and production.

2. Aid flow into North Korea from Europe

Starting with the 180,000 USD worth aid in 1995, the EU has been sending aid to North Korea every year until today except for 1996 and 2012. The EU as a whole, is the biggest

¹ February 13 agreement in 2007 refers to the agreement that laid out a framework for the Six Parties to implement the September 19, 2005 joint statement on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, and marked the beginning of an intensified negotiating process under the Six Party Talks. The National Committee on North Korea. Agreement: Initial Actions for the Implementation of the Joint Statement. February 13, 2007.

donor institution to North Korea, but the overall donating scale has decreased around year 2000. (Choi, 2017) The EU's humanitarian aid projects follow the ECHO strategy guidelines. The guidelines require North Korea to assure rights to approach residents in the mountainous area, improve the NGO's monitoring work environment, and increasing the NGO activities within North Korea.

The EU provided over 69,000,000 Euros to the humanitarian aid into North Korea from 2005 to 2013, of which over 90 percent of the portion was allocated in food security and the rest for emergency relief and medicine. (Choi, 2017)

Since 1995, the EU has been involved in aiding some of the most vulnerable communities in the DPRK. The aid in the beginning focused on relieving the harm left after flood from 1995 to 1996 and then drought in 1997. Current activities are mainly oriented towards support for the agricultural sector and are financed under the Food Security Thematic Programme of the Development Cooperation Instrument. Projects are implemented by European teams working with DPRK partner organizations.

Since 1998, the European Commission was in charge of transporting aid to North Korea, playing the role as a unanimous channel to North Korean aid from the European Union. Simplifying the aid channel to just one, aimed to increase the quality and efficiency of aid giving to North Korea from European countries.

3. Donor countries from year 2007 to 2020

Under the heightened financial sanctions on North Korea following its nuclear and missile provocations, the European Union has cut down most of its developmental aid projects going into North Korea. European Union has Since year 2008, EU's aid to North Korea is more focused on the supporting projects that focus on food security and capacity building. (Choi, 2017)

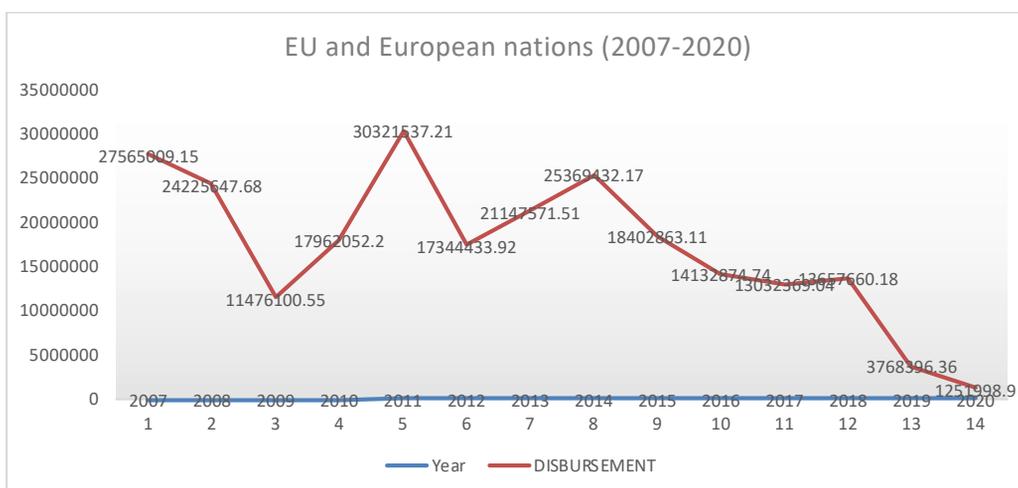
This research analyzed the data provided by the European Commission, in particular the European Emergency Disaster Response Information System (EDRIS). It is a database listing yearly contribution by the EU member states and also the European Commission's Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations, also abbreviated as the ECHO. The list is made up of human assistance records to help natural or man-made situations that require aid around the world. This research focused on the accounts of aids sent to North Korea.

The EDRIS contains humanitarian aid records that date back to 1995. This research took into analysis aid contributions from EU member states and the ECHO from 1995 to 2019. Yet, encoding the relevant data of humanitarian aid contributions is up to the member state's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The data on EU funding is transferred from EDRIS

to the global humanitarian Financial Tracking System managed by the UN.²

EDRIS also feeds in data into the EU Aid Explorer—an EU-wide database on humanitarian and development aid funding. EU aid explorer provides data of all aid contributions by the EU member states from 2007 to latest. It has two source logics. First source has information combined with the European Commission data and other donor countries data reported to the IATI. Second source has European Commission data combined with other EU donor data reported to the OECD. Third is the EU Trust Fund. This research took account of the data that combines EC and OECD data.

Figure 2. European Union member countries’ aid contribution to North Korea from 2007 to 2020



Source: Reconstructed based on EU Aid Explorer

² European Commission. Last accessed May 25, 2020. https://ec.europa.eu/echo/resources-campaigns/online-databases_en

Looking at the trendline which shows the fluctuation of disbursements from 2007 to 2020, it turns out that the amount gradually decreased until 2010. The amount remained around 11 million dollars from 2011 to 2013 and then spikes up in 2014. Then the amount decreases, remains below 11 million dollars from 2015 to 2019.

It is not hard to say that this graph shows the crisis history of North Korea. Every time there was a crisis such as natural disaster like flood and drought, North Korea would request help to the international community. Increase in aid from Europe means that there was more need during that time period. It can be assumed that there was an event that required a huge amount of international aid in North Korea in the year 2014. Comparing with North Korea's nuclear experiments and missile provocation. When were UN security resolutions taken into effect? Did the resolutions have any effect on the size of aid that goes into North Korea?

Is there a difference since the regime change, specifically from the year 2012 when Kim Jong Un began ramping up on nuclear experiments, offering an upgraded rhetoric from his predecessors to introduce himself as a new leader of North Korea. It could be assumed that humanitarian aid continued like before, for it is to serve a universal good, but developmental aid stopped or decreased.

4. Aid flow compared with diplomatic circumstances

After the Korean war, North Korea formed a conflicted relationship with the Western

Europe countries. The United Kingdom, France, Netherlands, Greece, Belgium, Luxembourg were part of the UN combined forces which sent military strength to the South Korean side during the Korean war. And countries Italy, Denmark, Norway, Sweden sent medical support team to the South side during the Korean war, which led to unfavorable relationship with the mentioned European countries with North Korea until end of 1950s.

**Table 1. European Nations diplomatic relations with North Korea
(In alphabetical order)**

Country or Union	When formal relations began	Notes	Embassy in North Korea
European Union	March 2002		(Not relevant)
Albania	28 November 28, 1948		
Austria	December 12 1974		
Bulgaria	29 November 1948		o
Belarus	1992		
Czech Republic			o
Denmark	July 17 1973	Trade treaties formed near end of 1960s	
Finland	June 1, 1973		
France		Trade treaties formed near end of 1960s	
Germany	March 1, 2001 United Germany	Diplomatic relations was formed in 1949 with East Germany before unification. Private trade treaty in 1959 with Western	o

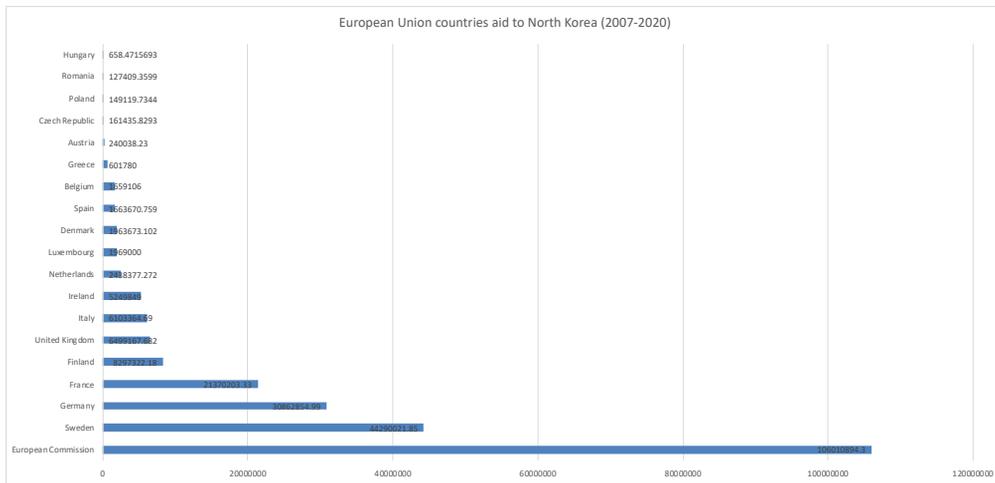
		Germany.	
Hungary			
Iceland	July 27, 1973		
Italy	January 2000		
Malta	December 20, 1971	First among Western European countries to form diplomatic relations with North Korea	
Netherlands	2001	Trade treaties formed near end of 1960s	
Norway	June 22, 1973	Trade treaties formed near end of 1960s	
Poland	October 16, 1948		o
Portugal	April 15, 1975		
Romania	November 3, 1948		o
Serbia	1948		
Slovenia			
Spain			
Sweden	April 7, 1973	Private trade treaty in 1958 Trade treaties formed near end of 1960s	o
Switzerland	December 20, 1974	1956, private sector cooperation	
United Kingdom	December 12, 2000	Private trade treaty in 1958	Ambassador in North Korea

Among the donors that gave aid to North Korea from 2007 to 2019, European Commission took up the biggest portion, meaning that the EC carried out various aid measures for North Korea as a supranational institution. Sweden was the biggest single donor to North Korea followed by Germany, France, Finland, United Kingdom, Italy,

Ireland, Netherlands, Luxembourg, Denmark, Spain, Greece, Austria, Czech Republic, Poland, Romania and Hungary.

The European nations each have varying diplomatic background with North Korea. East Europe and West Europe.

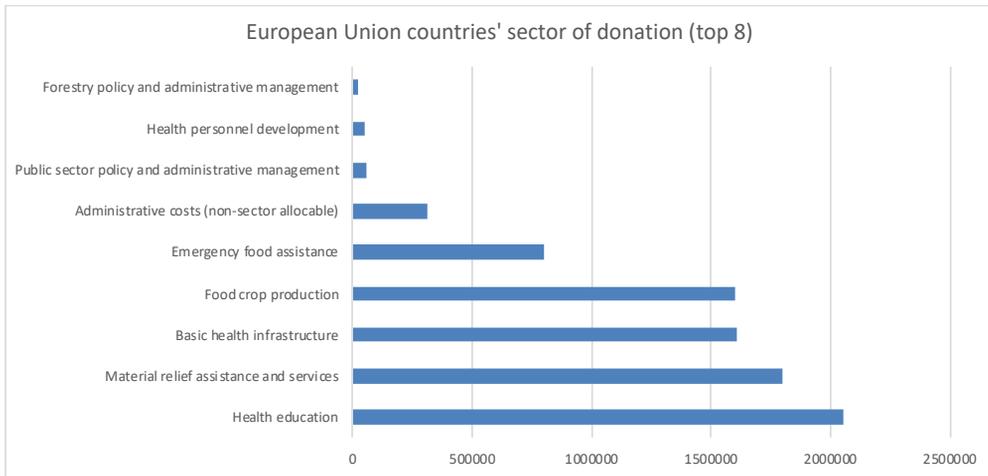
Figure 3. European Union countries giving aid to North Korea



Source: Reconstructed based on EU Aid explorer

This research chooses to compare the top five donors to North Korea among the EU member countries- Sweden, Germany, France, Finland and the United Kingdom, on which sector of humanitarian aid each country focused on sending to North Korea. The numbers show that although under the same European Union direction to separate aid from political choices, aid match the characteristics of the country itself.

Figure 4. European Union countries' sector of donation (top 8)



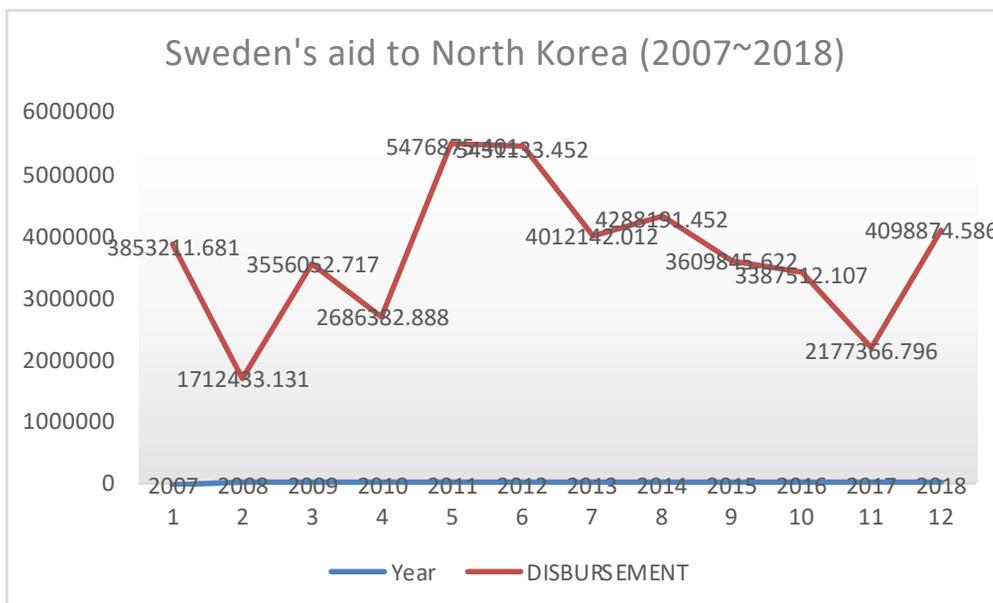
Source: Reconstructed based on EU Aid explorer

Sweden

Sweden is the leading country when providing humanitarian aid to North Korea. Its role in the western world is a window of communication between North Korea and the more conservative western countries such as the United States. Sweden has a symbolic role in the diplomatic channels concerning North Korea and other countries admit the relationship formed between Sweden and North Korea.

There are reside coordinates that stay within North Korea for a certain period of time to form rapport with the North Korean people, to ease the process of aid distribution and to find out what exact humanitarian aid will suit the people in the area. Countries sending aid to North Korea have evolved to have their own way of making sure the help is given to those in real need, not abused to provide more for the already wealthy people.

Figure 5. Sweden’s aid to North Korea from 2007 to 2018



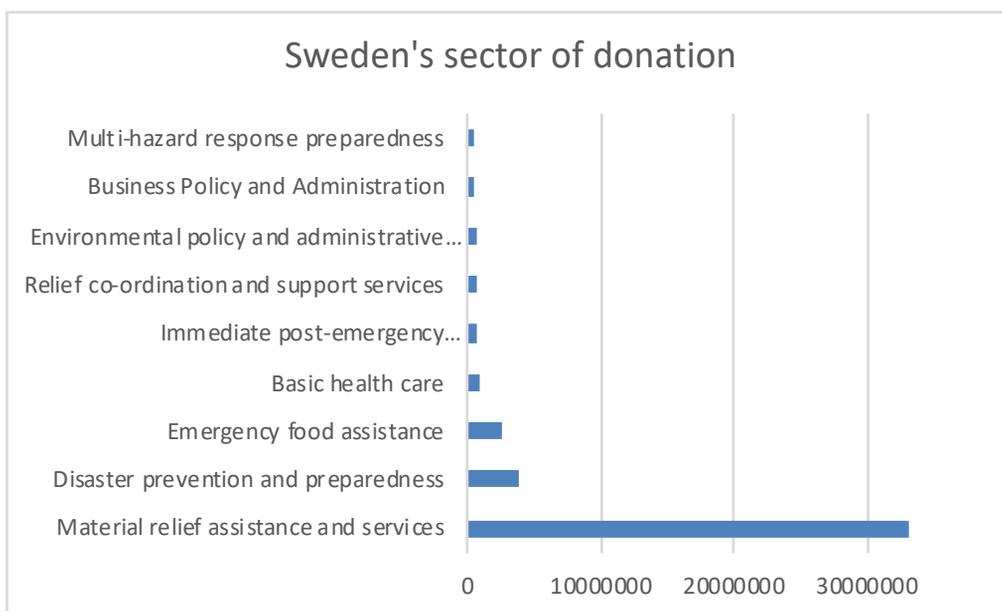
Source: Reconstructed based on EU Aid explorer

While food assistance is the most given aid to North Korea, Sweden took a route to support North Korea in a different aspect. Sweden’s biggest aid to North Korea was in material relief assistance and services. In year 2010, it was the only aid they provided to north Korea. Material relief assistance includes shelter, water, sanitation and health services.

Disaster prevention and preparedness was the second biggest aid. As a whole, the largest aid North Korea received from donors in Europe was food assistance followed by material relief assistance and services, emergency food assistance, higher education, administrative costs-as in money needed to maintain offices and keep aid going on within

the recipient country, disaster prevention and preparedness, democratic participation and civil society.

Figure 6. Sweden's sector of aid from 2007 to 2018



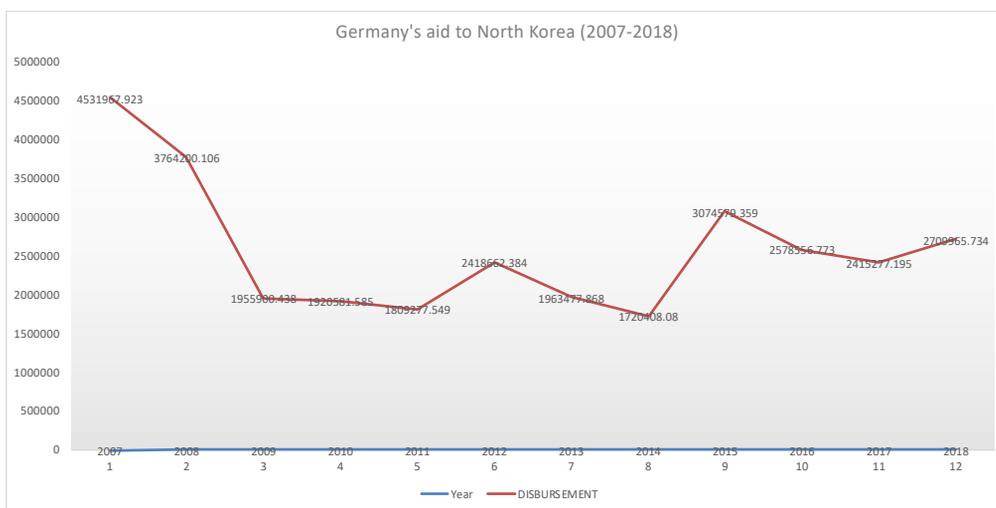
Source: Reconstructed based on EU Aid explorer

Germany

Germany is the second biggest donor country after Sweden according to the EU Aid Explorer. Since Germany sent 78,157 USD worth aid to North Korea in 1995, it has never stopped since. Germany's aid to North Korea shows a characteristic different from other countries in that it had supported criteria in education since the very beginning. Since 2005, there was a shift to more support for civic society as well as education.

Relatively, the emergency aid decreased.

Figure 7. Germany's aid to North Korea from 2007 to 2018



Source: Reconstructed based on EU Aid explorer

Recently, Welthungerhilfe, a private German relief organization, launched a new nutrition improvement project in North Korea with \$1.45 million from the European Union. Through this project, residents of Hwanghae and Pyongan provinces are taught how to manufacture compost, manage weeds, and increase livestock production, and provide education in health and nutrition. The project will benefit 2,000 households at local cooperative farms and some 300 officials from social institutions such as hospitals and kindergartens, and will be carried out by February 2020. Since 1997, the group has been carrying out aid projects to North Korea, including wastewater purification, rural disaster preparedness and vegetable seed production. Currently, the North is actively

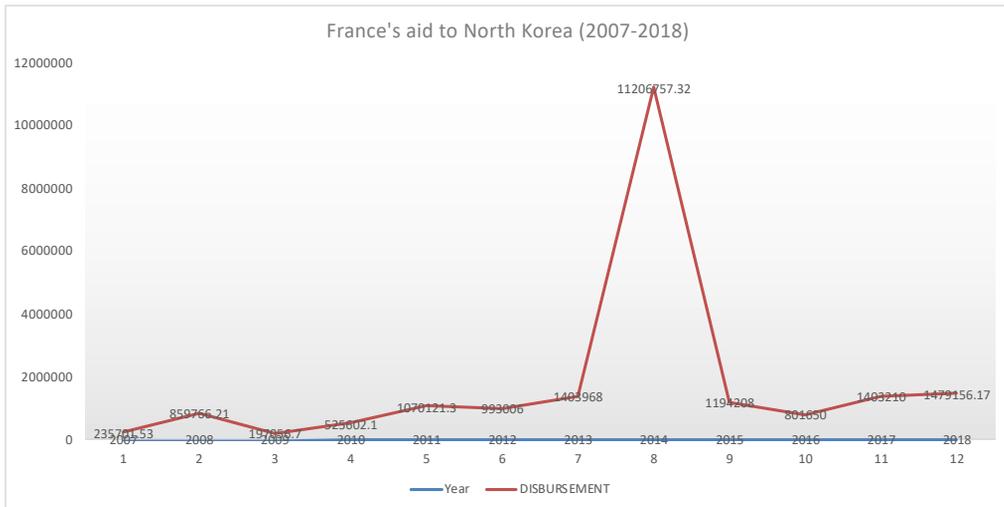
carrying out vegetable seed production projects, disaster preparedness projects and greenhouse management projects, which began in 2015, with the aim of improving the food situation by August next year by providing quality seeds to farmers. Disaster preparedness projects in Anbyun-gun, Gangwon-do, Hyangsan-gun, Goojang-gun, and Unsan-gun, Pyeonganbuk-do, are also planned until September. In addition, the solar greenhouse management project in Gangwon Province, Hwanghae Province and Pyongan Province will continue until December next year, including the construction of 32 greenhouses in hospitals and social institutions. Another German private organization, IFOAM, is working on a project to build a self-reliant organic industry in North Korea with the support it received from the European Union. Under the name of 'Building an Independent Organic Industry System', Ssangwoon Farm located in Pyong Annam-do, has been selected as a major project site to pass on organic farming techniques, while managing pastures and integrating agricultural and livestock products. The grain, fruit, and livestock produced in the process are considered to be the representative results of the project, and the technologies deemed suitable through various attempts at organic methods will be expanded throughout North Korea to establish an organic industry.

France

France is the third biggest donor country to North Korea from 2007 to 2020 according to the EU aid explorer. France is different from other European countries in that it is the only country in the EU that has not recognized North Korea, nor form an official diplomatic relation with the communist kingdom. Yet, France has provided aid to North

Korea since 1995. And a lot of French NGOs have worked to send aid to North Korea, apart from the diplomatic relations.

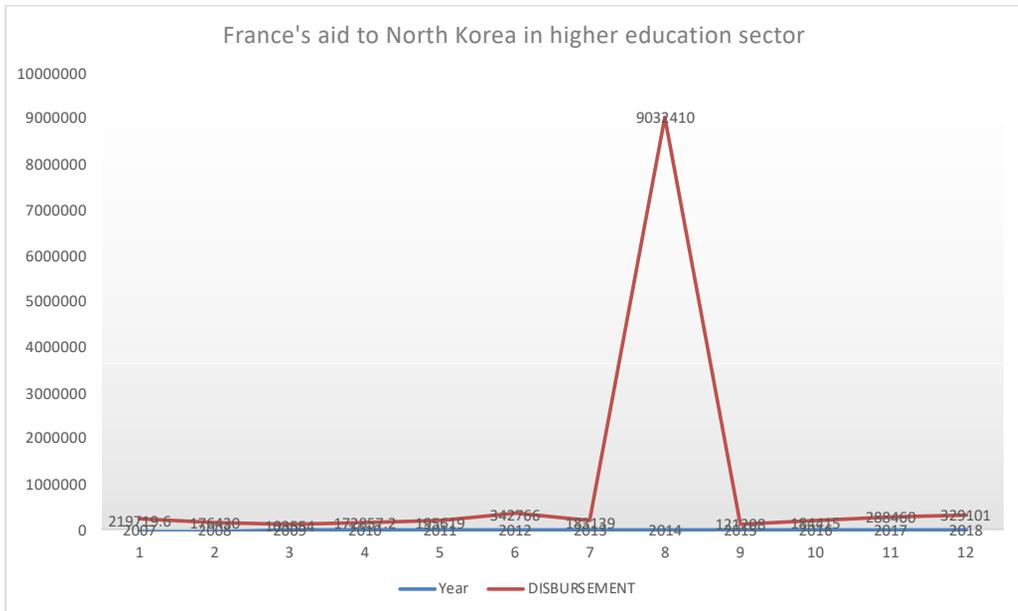
Figure 8. France’s aid to North Korea from 2007 to 2018



Source: Reconstructed based on EU Aid explorer

The EU Aid Explorer shows that there was a dramatic spike in aid to North Korea from France in 2014. Total of 1121 million euros were used for North Korea in 2014, and the 903 million euros were for higher education. This was extremely higher than the higher education contribution that France has sent to North Korea in other years, where it varied between 10,355,000 euros in 2009 to 34277000 euros in 2012. France has relatively weak diplomatic relation with North Korea because of the human rights talks that France had claimed North Korea should open ears to, which North Korea was very annoyed by every time.

Figure 9. Frances aid to North Korea in higher education sector from 2007 to 2018



Source: Reconstructed based on EU Aid explorer

In May 2017, the French government also provided US\$100,000 for the World Food Program's project to "Support Nutrition for North Korean Children and Women and Strengthen Community Capabilities to Reduce Disaster Risk." Triangle Generation Humanitaire is carrying out a "project to increase vegetable production" in Soheung, North Hwanghae Province, this year to improve the nutrition of its residents. The main content of the project, which will run until August next year, is to increase the cultivation of various vegetables to continue to support 43,000 vulnerable people, including day care centers and kindergarten children. The group is also working on a project to increase fish production. The project, which aims to increase the production of fish through "integrated farming techniques" that combine fish farming, crop cultivation and

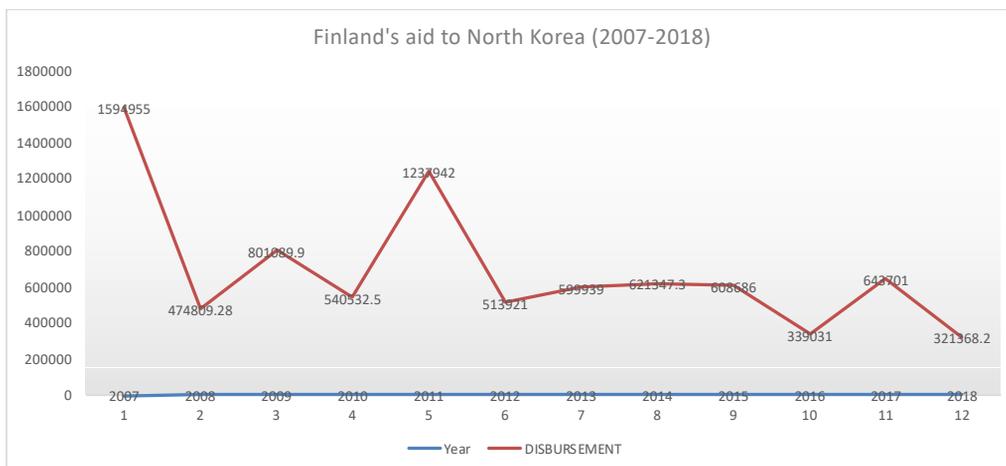
livestock raising, is scheduled to run until January 2019.

In 2016, the French government also provided 150,000 euros and 170,000 U.S. dollars to the North Korean projects of the "Premier Urgence," which is the first group to support the European Union, and the "Triangle Generation Human Terre," which is the fifth group, respectively. In addition to the French government, the group is carrying out projects in North Korea with support from the European Union and SIDA, focusing on providing goats to North Koreans, teaching them how to raise goats, and teaching them how to increase feed production.

Finland

Finland is the fourth biggest donor to North Korea among EU nations. Finland's disbursements marked 8,297,322 euros from 2007 to 2018, according to the EU Aid Explorer. For North Korea, Finland was a distant but not too trivial country, because late leader Kim Il Sung's son Kim Pyong Il was the last resident ambassador to Finland before the embassy closed in 1998 for economic reasons. Compared to Sweden, the biggest donor to North Korea as a sole country, the amount Finland had given to North Korea is 5.5 times smaller. The aid flow shows decrease since Kim Jong Un's reign began in 2012. It overlaps with the timing when the international community implemented stronger economic sanctions to North Korea, meaning that Finland is in line with the international sanctions limiting cash inflow into the regime and only allowing humanitarian help.

Figure 10. Finland’s aid to North Korea from 2007 to 2018

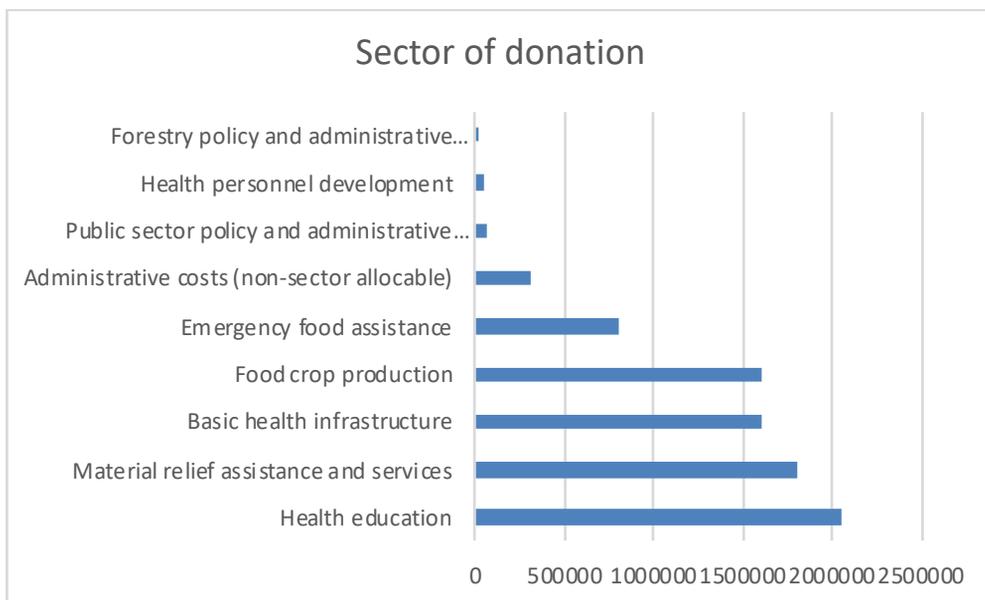


Source: Reconstructed based on EU Aid explorer

As a Northern European country, the donation mainly focused on health education. Pentecostal charity Fida International (FI) and the Finnish Red Cross operate in the North Korea. Finland showed a characteristic of focusing on health issues within North Korea. The sectors that had the biggest portion were health education, and basic health infrastructure as well as health personnel development. Other than the urgent food assistance given for the starving people, it was not hard to find out that Finland put a lot of effort into settling down a hygienic environment for North Korean people.

Material relief was also a second greatest part of Finland’s aid to North Korea, for North Korea still suffered from the natural disasters such as flood and drought. Considering that flood and drought resulted from the lack of trees, Finland is also contributing in the forestry in North Korea.

Figure 11. Finland’s sector of aid from 2007 to 2018



Source: Reconstructed based on EU Aid explorer

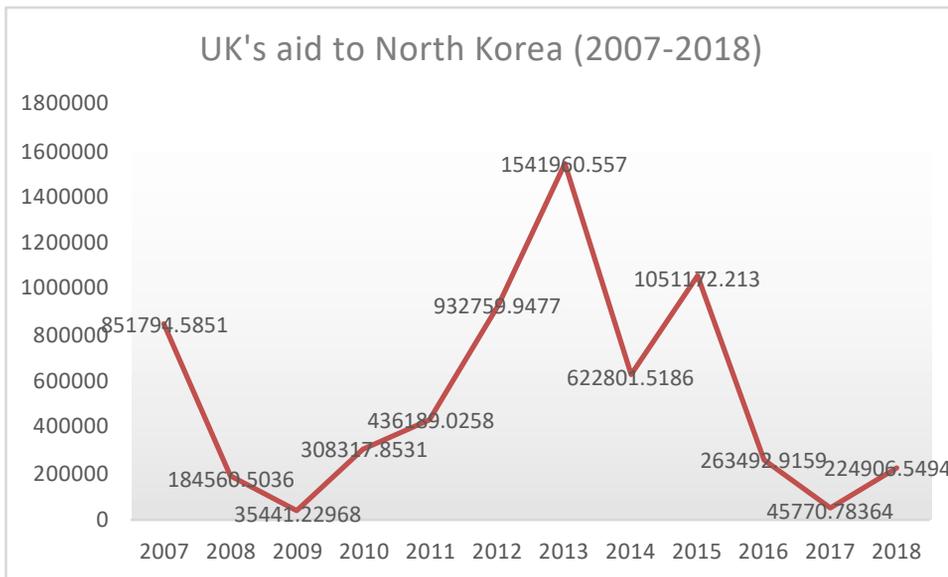
United Kingdom

The United Kingdom is the fifth biggest donor to North Korea among EU nations. Since the UK left the EU in January 2020 for good, the EU Aid Explore explains that it will no longer keep track of the country’s aid flow. Data of the UK is no longer accumulated in the EU Aid explorer as of Brexit in 2020.

The United Kingdom’s aid giving to North Korea differed from other European countries in that It hit the peak in 2013 and then 2015 despite international sanctions on North

Korea. It would mean that the NGOs were less influenced by the international policy influence.

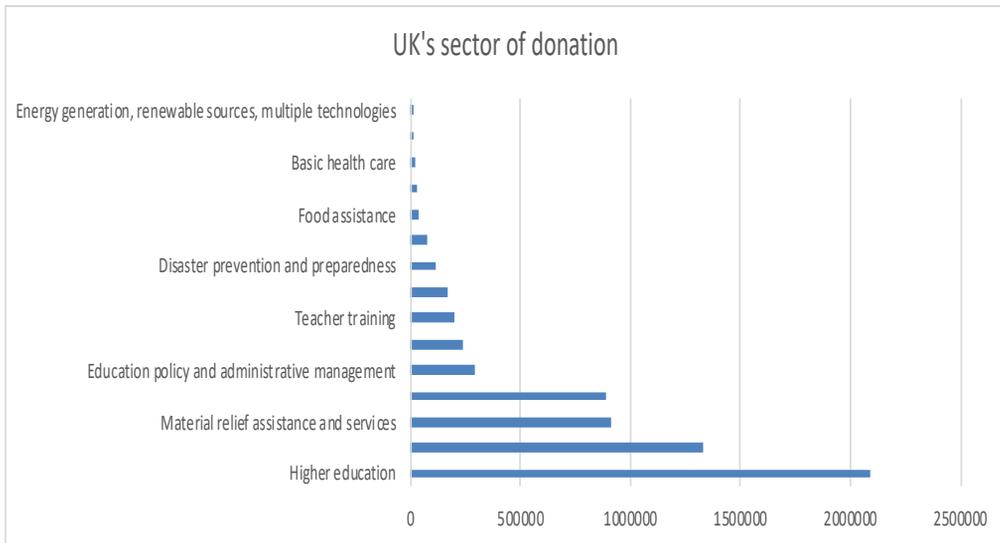
Figure 12. United Kingdom's aid to North Korea from 2007 to 2018



Source: Reconstructed based on EU Aid explorer

UK's donation focused mainly on providing higher education to North Korea. Material relief was also a main part of aid sector, but the top aid criterion that took up most of the percentage were higher education, education policy and administrative management, teacher training, all leading up to providing better education for the North Korean people and building a fundamental ground for better quality education in the country.

Figure 13. United Kingdom’s sector of aid to North Korea from 2007 to 2018



Source: Reconstructed based on EU Aid explorer

European countries not part of the EU

This study focused on the EU and countries that are part of the union. However, there are countries in the European continent, not part of the union that are sending aid to North Korea. In fact, the scale of aid those countries are contributing to North Korea is significant.

Switzerland has continued to provide aid to North Korea since it began providing \$30.95 million in food aid to the North in 1995. Recently, Switzerland's aid to North Korea has shown a decrease in large-scale emergency relief aid and an increase in small-scale development assistance. Except for emergency relief assistance, Switzerland's aid

projects to North Korea include support related to agriculture, conflict management, social welfare services, drinking water supply and sanitation. In particular, agricultural support has been continuously provided since 1998, and the Swiss Agency for Development and Co-operation is directly carrying out mid- to long-term projects to improve North Korea's environment and improve food security.

Since 2003, the Swiss government has been providing aid to North Korea to transfer "mountain farming," which plants trees and crops together on hills and mountains. SDC has been carrying out SLMP: Sloping Land Management Program since 2004 to solve North Korea's deforestation and food shortages, and started agriculture and forestry support program through SLMP. SLMP provides residents with the right to use the slope directly through the user group, and has been expanded to eight counties, including Yeonsan, Yeontan, Sariwon, Seohung, Linsan, Pyongsan, and Sinpyeong, starting with Suan-gun, North Hwanghae Province. In 2015, it established the North Korean MoLEP: Registry of Land and Environmental Protection and the National Agroforestry Policy and Strategy from 2015 to 2014.

Norway, along with Switzerland, has provided aid to North Korea every year since 1995. Although relations have deteriorated due to North Korea's provocations and hereditary power succession, Norway has continued to provide humanitarian aid to the North. Norway did not participate in aid to North Korea in 2016, but the Norwegian government recently announced through the Red Cross that it would provide \$300,000 for flood

recovery. According to the Norwegian Red Cross, the aid will be used for projects to improve contaminated drinking water and sanitation caused by floods in North Korea. In addition, it will be used for projects for North Koreans who are not receiving enough health benefits due to poor health facilities.

Eastern Europe nations

Czech Republic, Poland, Romania and Hungary are Eastern Europe countries that have formed diplomatic relations with North Korea since the Soviet socialism period. The countries provide relatively small scale of aid to North Korea compared to other wealthy European countries. Considering each countries' national finance, however, the aid given to North Korea can be understood as a courtesy to a socialist comrade.

During the 1990s, Eastern Europe's socialist nations have almost shut down the relationship with North Korea while going through a regime change, making the environment difficult for them to send any support to North Korea.

The exchange of culture and political conversation between socialist countries and North Korea is still ongoing, according to Korean Central Television's depiction of news stories that cite socialist leaders from all over the world sending their congratulatory messages for Kim Jong Un.

Table 2. North Korea and Eastern European countries relations (1970-1975)

Country	North Korean representatives' visit to Eastern European nation	Eastern European nation representative's visit to North Korea
Albania	10	5
Bulgaria	52	59
Czech Republic	40	47
Germany (East)	44	56
Hungary	41	66
Poland	35	35
Romania	71	78
Yugoslavia	15	17

(Recreated based on North Korea's DPRK Foreign relations history 2, published by Pyongyang's Social Sciences publishing, 1987)

Right after the Korean war from 1950 to 1953, North Korea requested help to the socialist brother countries in Eastern Europe. North Korea introduced a slogan 'One country, one province' to have Eastern Europe countries help rebuild North Korea. For example, Hamheung was rebuilt by East Germany and Chongjin was rebuilt in the form of support from Poland. One Romania helped build individual factories, including an aspirin plant in Suncheon, a brick factory in Wonsan, a wooden manufacturing plant in Pyongyang, and a car repair plant in Deokcheon, the Czech Republic. (Park, 2014)

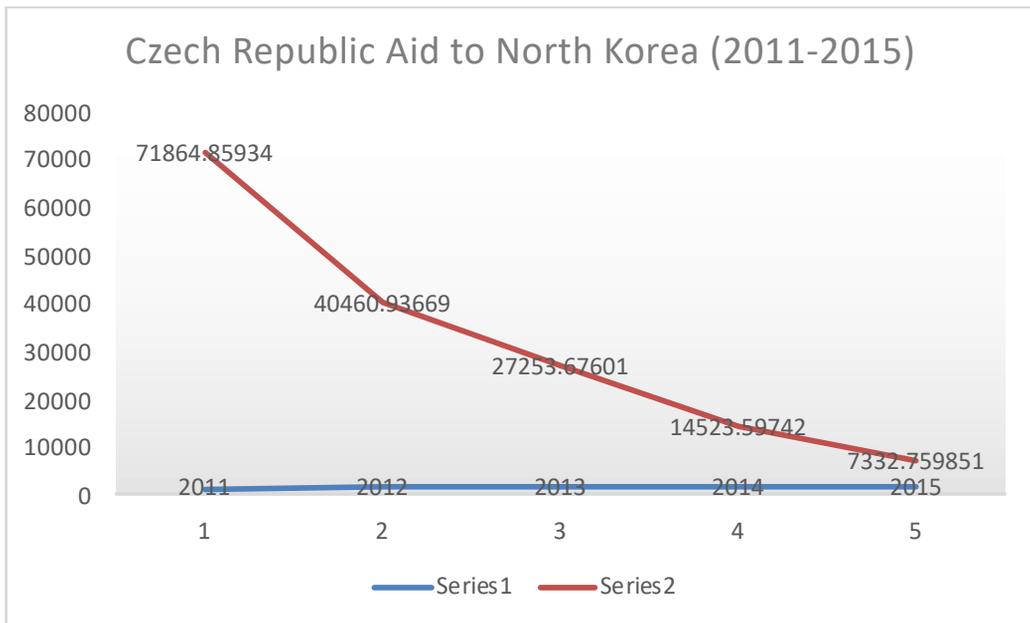
However, as North Korea launched its long-range missiles Kwangmyongsong-3 and Unha-3 in 2012 and conducted its third nuclear test in February 2013, the international community will focus on resolving the issue through economic sanctions rather than resolving the issue through dialogue. In particular, Resolution 2270 and Resolution 2321 adopted by the U.N. Security Council after North Korea conducted its fourth nuclear test (January 6) and fifth nuclear test (September 9) in 2016, will introduce a cap on North Korea's coal exports with the consent of China, urge North Korea to reduce its diplomatic personnel, prohibit member financial institutions from operating in the North, and close their existing offices and accounts within 90 days. As the international community has strengthened its sanctions against North Korea, the European Union has also tightened its own sanctions against the North. Trade between North Korea and the European Union, with North Korea at the center, grew until 2011, but has shrunk since 2014 after a sharp decline and an increase in 2011 and 2012. In particular, Mineral products accounted for most of the exports in 2013, but they avoided the suspension of exports after 2014. North Korea's trade imports to the EU have been on a gradual decline since 2006. It has been very weak since 2014. Considering that the bilateral trade volume was about 351 million euros in 2004, the trade volume was reduced to about 27 million euros as of 2016, down to less than one-tenth.³

Czech Republic, as a former socialist country whose financial status was not as

³ European Commission, "European Union, Trade with North Korea," pp. 1-10. http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2006/september/tradoc_113428.pdf.

prosperous as the Western Europe countries, contributed to North Korea for higher education, agricultural input and development, and advanced technical and managerial training. The donation lasted since 2011 until 2015. And the aid size gradually decreased until the last one in 2015. The aid on higher education took up the biggest portion, up to 13,237,000 euros. It was done through the governmental projects like EAC and JRC for three years from 2011 to 2013. Czech Republic only just began sending aid to other countries in need since 2011, according to the EU Aid Explorer. It

Figure 14. Czech Republic’s aid to North Korea from 2011 to 2015



Source: Reconstructed based on EU Aid explorer

III. Conclusion and Implication

There's a need to conduct research on the EU and European countries' aid contribution to North Korea. Outside world has interest in the relationship between the European countries and North Korea, as Europe is a window of communication that leads the United States and South Korea in case of international crisis concerning the rogue regime. This finds that European countries, represented by the European Union, implements strong sanctions to contain North Korea's threat to the international community, while separating humanitarian aid giving from diplomatic and political decisions. Therefore, the aid flow going into North Korea from Europe have been more consistent compared to that of the United States or South Korea, whose major aid decisions had a close affect from relationship changes or North Korea's provocations. Western Europe countries like Sweden, Germany, France were the top tier countries in the scale of humanitarian aid sent to North Korea. Eastern Europe countries-the past socialist countries- have a close human network formed with North Korea, but lack the resources to send aid.

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Abstract in Korean

국문초록

유럽연합의 대북 지원에 대한 연구

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이하경

2012년 김정은 위원장의 북한 집권 이후 북한은 이전 지도자들보다 더 공격적으로 핵실험과 미사일 시험을 진행했다. 이에 따라 미국을 비롯한 국제사회는 지속적으로 북한 당국을 규탄했다. 미국은 북한 내에서 진행중이던 개발 협력 프로젝트를 중단하고 나오는 등 정치적 이유와 구호 (Aid) 문제를 결부시켰다. 한편 유럽연합은 인도적 지원과 정치는 별개로 진행한다는 입장을 유지하고 있다. 본격적으로 대북 인도적 지원은 시작한 1990년대 이후, 유럽연합 그리고 유럽연합 국가들은 안정적으로 북한에 대한 인도적 지원을 보내왔다. 초반에는 식량 지원과 긴급구호가 주를 이뤘지만, 북한 사람들이 단순 구호가 아닌 스스로 발전할 수 있는 인도적 지원을 찾게 됨에 따라, 점차 교육 중심의 인도적 지원으로 그 특징이 달라졌다. GDP가 높은 서유럽 국가들 (스웨덴, 프랑스, 독일, 영국) 등이 가장 많은 지원을 보냈다. 구 사

회주의 동유럽 국가들은 중요한 인적 네트워크를 북한과 형성하고 있음에도 불구하고, 인도적 지원을 꾸준히 보낼 여력이 되지 않았다.

유럽 국가들은 지리적으로나, 정치적으로나 북한과의 관계가 지엽적이기 때문에 대북 지원을 보내는 데 있어 북한의 지도자가 바뀌거나 북한 내에서 군사력 도발을 할 때에도 인도적 지원과 대북 제재를 분리해서 의사 결정을 내리는 게 가능했다. 한편, 유럽연합은 UN 안전보장이사회, 그리고 미국이 북한을 대상으로 한 강도 높은 경제 제재 외에도 독자적인 제재를 엄격하게 지키며 국제사회를 위협하는 북한의 군사 도발을 견제해왔다.

주제어: 북한, 인도적 지원, 유럽연합

학번: 2017-27883