

An Endless Game: North Korea's Psychological Warfare

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Abstract

The North-South military talks in June 2004 were a turning point that introduced a new phase of psychological warfare as both parties agreed to the removal of all forms of propaganda materials. While North Korea has not given up its political objective to unify the entire Korean peninsula through spreading revolutionary spirit, it has prepared for the next round of psychological warfare by establishing the basic infrastructure needed to conduct psychological warfare in cyberspace since 2000. "Uriminzokkiri," which means "our nation alone" is a new term created by Pyongyang and also its official website, a tool to foment anti-Americanism, project a peaceful image of itself, and evoke national consciousness in order to create favorable conditions during the period of terse exchanges between the United States and North Korea and to achieve its political objectives regarding South Korea.

Some of the findings include: First, the scope of influence of North Korea's propaganda is widening, exerting greater influence on more South Korean people who are familiar with the use of the Internet. Second, North Korea's propaganda might be transmitted implicitly and inculcated as an accepted fact as the Internet provides people with a forum to spread opinions and organize protests. Third, there is no entity that can effectively control North Korea's psychological operation as it is technically impossible to police the web comprehensively. Lastly, it is difficult to verify whether any material posted on the Web sites is related to North Korea's psychological warfare because its message is very obscure and sources are seldom identified. As long as people are exposed to media coverage on DPRK, it should be recognized that North Korea's endless game is still going on.

Introduction

With the changes in the global security environment, the significance of psychological warfare through cyberspace has increased today. It is therefore highly likely that North Korea's approach toward psychological warfare has also recently changed. On the one hand, North Korea could not but change its traditional propaganda technique when North and South agreed in June 2004 on the removal of propaganda materials along the DMZ. On the other hand, North Korea sought to begin a new round of psychological warfare. The development of the IT industry in North Korea and growing importance of the Internet as a means of delivering messages might have prompted North Korea to put more focus on the psychological warfare that could serve its long-term policy objectives. North Korea, in need of promoting a pro-DPRK atmosphere in South Korea, crossed the threshold into an unfavorable international environment after its declaration of a nuclear program and has thus tried to influence the people's perceptions in South Korea. North Korea might have perceived the ability to change people's minds as a new instrument of power to shift the balance of the power game. Thus it would be safe to assume that North Korea is now playing an endless game through psychological warfare.

North Korea's consistent policy objective—communization of the Korean peninsula—has intertwined with the changes in the international and domestic environment that prompted North Korea to conduct psychological warfare. Thus it is likely that North Korea would never give up conducting psychological warfare even though it agreed to remove propaganda materials along the DMZ. The second phase of psychological warfare came about due to the emergence of the Internet era. Information on almost anything was easy to attain, which resulted in susceptibility to the misuse of information to manipulate people on a grand scale. North Korea's new psychological warfare should be examined in the same vein. North Korea has ample human and technological infrastructures to operate psychological warfare through the Internet. Thus it is likely that North Korea has begun to use the Internet as a tool to wage psychological warfare in order to realize its policy objectives.

This paper tries to answer such questions as: why North Korea

operates psychological warfare against South Korea; how North Korea's psychological warfare has changed recently; and why North Korea's psychological warfare through the Internet is so important today. It is the first attempt to explore North Korea's Internet propaganda as a new method of conducting psychological warfare and carry out an in-depth analysis. However, data about North Korea, in particular, is hard to obtain and verify due to limited access. The problem here is that we have no option but to rely on secondary data. Access to pro-DPRK Web sites has been impossible in South Korea since November 2004 after the Ministry of Information and Communication decided to restrict access to them, including the official Korea Central News Agency (KCNA) Web site. However, contents posted on the blocked Web sites are still provided by several newspapers. South Korea's Yonhap News is the primary source that other newspapers cite. Consequently, all the relevant reports from Yonhap News that are related to North Korean Web sites and their propaganda were collected and studied. In particular, daily reports on "Uriminzokkiri," North Korea's well-known Web site, which is under direct control of the United Front department, were thoroughly examined.

North Korea's Conventional Psychological Warfare

Definition and Objectives of Psychological Warfare

The U.S. Department of Defense defines psychological warfare as the planned use of propaganda and other psychological actions having the primary purpose of influencing the opinions, emotions, attitudes, and behaviors of hostile foreign groups in such a way as to support the achievement of national objectives.¹ Thus psychological warfare can be simply stated as a planned operation to convey selected information to the enemy in order to influence thoughts and emotions, to change behaviors and to achieve a nation's ultimate objectives.

During wartime, psychological warfare is used either to spread

1 Trevor N. Dupuy, Curt Johnson, and Grace P. Hayes, *Dictionary of Military Terms* (New York: H.W. Wilson Company, 1986), p. 177.

fear in the minds of the enemy or to demoralize them by removing faith or a cause to fight for. On the other hand, during peacetime, psychological warfare is used to influence the enemy's attitudes and create favorable conditions before armed events occur.

Goals and Objectives of North Korea's Psychological Warfare

The ultimate objective of North Korea's psychological warfare is to create favorable conditions to communize the entire Korean peninsula. The Korean Workers' Party (KWP) regulation says, "The immediate goal of the Korean Workers' Party is achieving a complete victory of socialism in the northern half of the republic, thereby successfully accomplishing its revolutionary mission of liberating the Korean people and establishing a people's democracy. The ultimate goal of the party is to spread 'Juche Thought' and construct a communist society throughout the world."²

As expressed, North Korea has so far emphasized "firstly, revolutionizing the southern part of the Korean peninsula, and secondly completing unification," which implies that today's South Korea is still in a pre-revolutionary stage. North Korea aims to liberate South Korea from the influence of the United States and to spread revolutionary ideology among the South Korean people. Accordingly, North Korea's psychological warfare is being conducted to support this ultimate objective.

According to South Korea's Defense White Paper, published by the Ministry of National Defense in 1999, North Korea's basic objectives and directions to operate psychological warfare are: first, to spread revolutionary indoctrination throughout the South Korean populace; second, to provoke struggles for anti-American independence among South Korean people; third, to launch disguised peace offensives against South Korea; fourth, to induce internal discord within South Korean society; fifth to create a favorable international environment to incite revolution in the South.³

2 ROK Ministry of National Defense, *Defense White Paper 1999* (Seoul, 1999), ch. 3.

3 ROK Ministry of National Defense, *Defense White Paper 1996* (Seoul, 1996), ch. 3.

North Korea's Conventional Means of Conducting Psychological Warfare

Under the direction of the Secretariat of the KWP, the supreme organization in the North Korean political system, Pyongyang has continuously pursued psychological warfare in various ways. The United Front Department of the Korean Workers' Party Secretariat conducts psychological warfare through radio, loudspeakers, leaflet distribution and visual displays.

Psychological operations via radio broadcasts have been the most direct and quickest way to deliver messages with few limitations of time and location. North Korea established the Korean Central News Agency in 1945, which ever since then has been used as a powerful tool to propagate socialist ideology.⁴ North Korea established the Pyongyang Broadcast Service in 1972 to advertise development of North Korean regime and society, the Voice of National Salvation in 1970 and Pyongyang FM Service in 1989. The Voice of National Salvation and the Pyongyang FM Service are major propaganda machines against South Korea.⁵ These are operated by the Committee on Broadcasting toward South Korea, which is under the direct control of the Unification Frontline Bureau.⁶

The Enemy Force Breakup Operation Department of the General Politburo has been in charge of loudspeaker broadcasts.⁷ North Korea started border loudspeaker broadcasts in the late 1950s with the aim of encouraging defectors from South Korea. North Korea has run 1–2 small-sized speakers until late 1967 and increased the number to 10–30 since 1968. North Korea stopped using loudspeakers for propaganda broadcasts from 1972 to 1980, due to the “July 4, 1974 North South Joint Statement” but resumed it again and ran it until June 2004 when the North and South agreed to end propaganda broadcasts as part of an agreement signed between the militaries of the two sides on June 4,

4 Lee Tea Ha and Shim Jin Seop, “Trend of North Korea's Psychological Warfare toward South Korea,” *Policy Studies of Defense Psywar*, Vol. 3 (Seoul: JCS, 1999), p. 120.

5 Institute for Peace Affairs, *Unification: North Korea Handbook* (Seoul: Institute for Peace Affairs, 1997), pp. 363–68.

6 ROK Ministry of National Defense, *Defense White Paper 1997* (Seoul, 1997).

7 Ibid.

detailing a series of tension-reducing measures. At this moment, North Korea has repeatedly broadcast 20–30 programs from 107 locations for 5–15 hours a day.⁸

Leaflets are carried by several means, such as secret agents, balloons, kites, airplanes, and rivers in forms of white, grey, and black propaganda.⁹ North Korea has made new types of leaflets every year except in the 1970s when meetings of separated families took place and North Korea temporarily withheld denunciation and propaganda in accordance with the spirit of the 1974 Joint Statement. There were 397 types of leaflets in the 1960s, 990 in the 1970s, 1074 in the 1980s and 1082 in the 1990s respectively. Even after the June 15, 2002 Agreement, North Korea has distributed over 15 million leaflets and pieces of black propaganda materials over the Seoul metropolitan area.¹⁰ North Korea disseminated almost 15 million leaflets in 2002, one million more than in the previous year. Among new types of leaflets, for example, 13 were related to idolization of Kim Jong Il while two were related to anti-Americanism.¹¹

North Korea has displayed audio-visual instruments along the DMZ since the 1980s. It set up wooden signboards in 1980, electronic screens in 1985, engraved stones and neon lights in 1987.¹² The themes of the propaganda messages included self-praise of North Korean regime, provocation of anti-Americanism, and enticement to defect by crossing the demarcation line.¹³ North Korea often attempted a series of artistic performances and shooting of movies aimed at luring South Korean soldiers to defect.

8 Joint Chief of Staffs, *North Korea's Recent Psywar* (Seoul: JCS, 2003).

9 Army Headquarters, *DPRK Psywar* (Kaeryong: ROKAHQ, 1997), pp. 89–96.

10 Joint Chief of Staffs, *North Korea's Recent Psywar*.

11 Lee Youn-kyu, *Analysis on North Korea's Psywar toward South Korea*, M.A. dissertation, Korea National Defense University, 2000, pp. 60–61.

12 Army Headquarters, *DPRK Psywar* (Kaeryong: ROKAHQ, 1997), pp. 31–33.

13 Joint Chiefs of Staff, "North Korea's Psywar: Analysis on its visual display," in *'99 Guidelines of Psywar* (Seoul: JCS, 1998), p. 31.

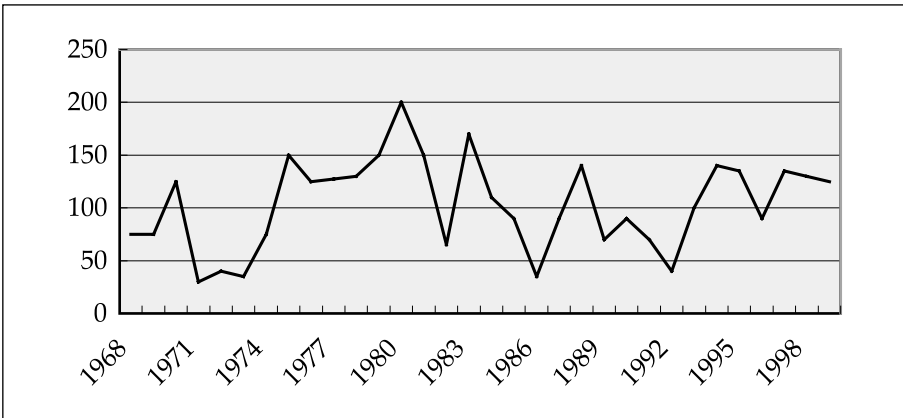
Trends in North Korea's Psychological Warfare

North Korea's distribution of leaflets reveals certain trends in its psychological warfare: it has fluctuated with sharp increases and decreases. North Korea has increased the number of leaflets, designed new types of propaganda materials and raised its tone of propaganda on occasions.

North Korea has intensified its efforts to wage psychological warfare by distributing propaganda materials as it seeks opportunities to disturb people in South Korea: 1) to conceal its own bad behavior such as terrorism and development of the nuclear weapon program, 2) to instigate disorder when social disturbances occur in South Korea, 3) to cause alienation between the United States and South Korea. It is worth noting that North Korea has at no point stopped its psychological warfare, although there have been some fluctuations in its intensity. North Korea has seemingly prepared to make further rounds of attacks during brief periods when hopes for detente between the two Koreas blossomed.

North Korea has pursued a mixture of evoking anxiety and pacifying antagonism against Pyongyang. Between 1969 and 1970 North Korea has intensified criticism of South Korea to divert excessive attention from its failed attempt to dispatch armed spies to Uljin and the Blue House in 1968. North Korea's rebukes on an annulment of the national vote on the revision of the ROK constitution in October, and President Park's "declaration of peace and unification" in August 1970 reveal its attempt to foment social disturbance and intention to attribute its provocation to the hard-line stance of the South Korean government. In 1974 the first tunnel presumably dug by the North Korean government across the DMZ was uncovered and, at the same time, a "peace talk" with the United States was suggested by the North Korean government. Between 1979 and 1980, North Korea demonstrated its willingness to hold meetings between high-ranking officials of the two Koreas to spread a sense of relief among South Korean people through propaganda materials, but just a few months later it sent spy vessels along the coast near Pohang and Whenggando. Countering criticism of its provocation, North Korea, in turn, argued that South Korea would fake accidents and increase tension through unproven accusa-

Figure 1. Types of Leaflets



Source: Lee Youn-kyu, *Analysis on North Korea's Psywar toward South Korea*.

tions. North Korea's propaganda began to be intensified in 1983 when 17 top governmental officials died in the bombing in Rangoon, Burma. North Korea used propaganda to avoid accusations as it came under suspicion for its connection to the accident, arguing that it was "irrelevant" to North Korea.

North Korea attempted to destabilize the South Korean government and the South's social order, taking advantage of the rise of nationalism and, ironically, the democratization movement. Before the 1970s, North Korea's propaganda was focused on triggering anti-government movements and assisting dissidents in South Korea. In 1960, when the April 19 revolution occurred, North Korea tried to incite people who expressed a desire for peaceful unification and appeared to side with college students and activists who opposed the military regime under President Park. In particular, the number of leaflets began to surge in 1974 when President Park announced a special statement related to the Yushin Constitution. The tone of North Korea's harsh rhetoric was extremely high, especially after the death of President Park and Gwangju Crisis in 1980. North Korea's intention to escalate social upheaval to protest against the South Korean government might be rooted in its strategy to socialize the entire Korean peninsula through promoting a revolutionary spirit. North Korea attempted to create a negative image of South Korea when Seoul came into the spotlight of the international

community. It tried to defame South Korea through a barrage of denunciation of the South Korean government and threatened South Korea's biggest national event, the Olympic Games in 1988. North Korea seemed to water down its remarks on South Korea when Pyongyang concluded an agreement with Seoul, pledging to keep the Korean peninsula nuclear-free. However in 1994 when the death of Kim Il Sung was reported, North Korea refused the IAEA access to two suspected waste depositories and announced that it was withdrawing from the NPT in March.¹⁴ North Korea, on one hand, emphasized self-praise of its regime to reinforce internal solidity and, on the other hand, brag about its military capability to spread anxiety among South Koreans to gain more from the negotiations over its nuclear program.

North Korea intended to provoke anti-Americanism among South Korean people by accusing the United States of imperialistic dominance of the Korean peninsula and called for withdrawal of the USFK, especially when national events such as summit talks occur between the United States and South Korea: the state visit paid by President Ford in 1974, by President Carter in 1979 and by President Reagan in 1983, respectively. However, it is highly likely that North Korean government has desired to normalize diplomatic relations with the United States for a security guarantee and economic benefits. It becomes clear to see that North Korea preferred bilateral talks with the United States, thus isolating South Korea from the negotiation table. It was in the late 1990s and early 2000s when debates over North Korea's nuclear program and WMD cooled the relationship between the two countries and the United States branded North Korea as part of an "Axis of Evil." North Korea immediately responded to the United States by exchanging name-calling. Since then North Korea seemed to change its former strategy by trying to alienate South Korea from the United States by promoting a pro-DPRK atmosphere in South Korea. It is worth noticing that North Korea began to confuse South Koreans by hinting at its hope to warm the frigid relationship with South Korea while ascribing their

14 The IAEA indicated that it could not certify North Korea's compliance with the inspection agreement, and North Korea announced that it had begun removing the 8,000 fuel rods from the 5-megawatt reactor without allowing international inspectors to take test samples.

longtime confrontation to America's interference in the peninsula's internal affairs. This approach successfully appealed to those who had an emotional attachment to the North and see unification as the ultimate long-term goal. What is interesting about the threat perception toward North Korea is that a considerable number of South Korean people view North Korea as less threatening than the United States. More importantly, such an affinity that was formerly shared only by a marginal group of people is likely to soon become common sense to the majority.

North and South Korea decided to end 42 years of propaganda broadcasts and remove all propaganda materials according to the results of inter-Korean working-level military contacts in July 2004 and completed the entire process in August 2005. North Korea made a broadcast on June 15, 2004, saying "all kinds of propaganda activities within the DMZ are being stopped, which is entirely the shining result of General Kim Jong Il's great unification ideology and guidance. We, from one blood and using one language, can no longer live separated and we must put the earliest possible end to the tragedy of national division."¹⁵ It was clear that this move highlighted the end of extended psychological warfare that has lasted ever since the Korean War. However, it was a change of tactics, not the strategy.

As blaring broadcasts and posting banners along the DMZ has been part of psychological warfare, it is hard to say that North Korea has given up operating psychological warfare toward South Korea. The year 2002 marked the second nuclear crisis, which is far more tense and difficult than the first in the 1990s. Pyongyang suspended international monitoring of its existing nuclear program and threatened to reprocess its plutonium for weapons. In early 2003, North Korea's propaganda posters started demonstrating a flurry of sarcasm: "Meet coercion with hard blows;" "Meet castigation with merciless punishment;" "American imperialists, see the national power of Korea;" "With the united power of the whole nation smash the nuclear war provocations of America;" "Merciless punishment of the American imperialists;" etc.¹⁶

15 "Two Koreas End Propaganda Broadcasts," Radio Free Asia, June 16, 2004, available at <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/2004/06/16/138734> (accessed on June 5, 2005).

While repeating its intention to resolve nuclear issues through the six-party framework, North Korea boycotted the resumption of the talks for almost 13 months since June 2004, creating favorable conditions for negotiations. Throughout the North Korean nuclear crisis, Pyongyang has resorted to defiant and insulting language against the United States, complaining that Washington's hostility was escalating the situation. North Korea might have intended to wait and see how international opinion was being created. For example, Naenara is available not only in Korean, but also in seven other languages including languages spoken in for other countries that make up the Six-Party Talks, namely English, Russian, Chinese, and Japanese. The result was that the other members of the Six-Party Talks advised the United States not to say or do anything that could be construed as not being in favor of continuing the Six-Party Talks. North Korea might, however, not stop playing the rhetoric game until the North Korean nuclear crisis comes to an end.

It is clear that North Korea would continue to operate psychological warfare in this tripartite relationship: to create favorable conditions during the period of exchanging terse remarks between the United States and North Korea and to achieve its political objectives in a confrontation over South Korea. Accordingly, it is safe to say we have entered a new round of psychological warfare.

North Korea's Non-conventional Psychological Warfare

Background

There are many reasons why North Korea needs to implement psychological warfare. First, the tools that can be utilized for psychological warfare are limitless. Besides, there are no fixed rules for conducting psychological warfare. Accordingly, the faster communication technologies advance, the wider the range of options North Korea has to launch psychological warfare. Second, whether or not one country is

16 Posters posted by the Korean Central News Agency in January 2003 can be found at the UCLA Asia Institute's Web site. Available at <http://international.ucla.edu/asia/nk/nkp1.asp> (accessed on July 15).

conducting psychological warfare is hard to determine as it has the highest form of intangible power that appeals to the hearts and minds of people. Thus it is hard to detect when and where North Korea's psychological warfare is operating. Third, unlike conventional warfare that requires mass investment of financial resources, psychological warfare requires basic infrastructure with the use of non-military technology. For North Korea, in a poor economic condition, psychological warfare might be the most efficient form of warfare.

Unlike conventional psychological warfare, non-conventional psychological warfare needs conditions such as pan-national, inexpensive, fast dissemination without regulation. While conventional tools of psychological warfare can only send one-directional information at a high cost, the Internet facilitates communication, coordination, and qualitative reviewing. In this regard, the Internet might be a good tool to meet requirements of the non-conventional psychological warfare. First, the Internet represents a fundamental and extensive force of change that leaves few areas of human lives unaffected. Almost all individuals have access to a computer, and all computers are linked to the Internet. Second, the Internet enables fast dissemination of information at a particular point in time. Third, the Internet requires no expensive database. Lastly, there's no regulation or institutional instrument to monitor and restrict dissemination of information through the Internet. Taken together, North Korea might have sought and acquired a new form of waging psychological warfare through the Internet.

Changing conditions on the global, inter-state and domestic level might have prompted North Korea to continue its psychological warfare. First, on the global level, the inauguration of the second Bush administration marked a significant shift in the rhetoric of war—a war on tyranny that might replace the war on terror.¹⁷ Washington designated North Korea as one of the tyrant regimes needing to be transformed,¹⁸ asked people under a tyrant regime to stand up against their

17 In his January 20, 2005 inaugural speech, Bush declared, "It is the policy of the United States to seek and support the growth of democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture, with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world." Available at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/01/20050120-1.html>.

government and called for coordinated action and managed pressure on North Korea. South Korea is also asked to speak with the same voice to North Korea on nuclear issues.¹⁹ Under these circumstances, North Korea is in need of unifying its people, reducing hostility against its regime and breaking up the close cooperation among other members of the Six-Party Talks, especially South Korea. North Korea is apparently trying to deliver confusing messages to South Korea to weaken its ties with the United States, emphasizing the three-principle agreement.²⁰ As a series of diplomatic conflicts with China and Japan and the rise of nationalism in South Korea²¹ have resulted in deep animosities, North Korea has kept on emphasizing brotherhood and joined in a denunciation of Japan's neo-imperialistic initiatives, in order to evoke sympathy among South Korean people. Besides, the United States would drastically transform its military forces in South Korea if the environment is considered no longer favorable to the continuation of the alliance and of the presence of U.S. Forces in Korea. Growing anger and complaints among citizens over the U.S. military presence might even lead to the weakening or dismantling of the alliance itself. Accordingly, North Korea might have thought that it is an opportune time to conduct psychological warfare to further disturb Korean society. It is clear, according to Sun Tzu's four priorities of war strategy, that North Korea

18 In the prepared statement at confirmation hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on January 18, 2005, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice hinted Washington's target-list of tyrants amidst an otherwise bland statement in her Senate testimony. She announced, "... in our world there remain outposts of tyranny ... in Cuba, and Burma and North Korea, and Iran and Belarus, and Zimbabwe." Available at <http://www.usembassy-china.org.cn/press/release/2005/011905ris.html>.

19 Assistant Secretary Christopher Hill made a speech at the Korea Press Center to KUJAS on Feb. 18, 2005, saying, "What we need to do is to coordinate our approaches and make sure that North Korea does not try to exploit any differences among any of the partners in the six-party process." Available at <http://usembassy.state.gov/posts/ks1/wwwwh0143.html>.

20 Three-principle agreement includes national independence, opposition to war, and independent unification for a new national power.

21 South Korea is quarreling with Japan over Dokdo Island, new history textbooks and Prime Minister Koizumi's shrine visit, as well as with China over territorial disputes.

is pursuing the second strategy—to attack the alliance—as its new strategy toward South Korea. North Korea's psychological warfare through the Internet might be presumed to be achieving this objective.

Second, at the inter-state level, the North-South military talks in June 2004 were a turning point that introduced a new phase of psychological warfare as both agreed on removal of all forms of propaganda materials.²² It was reported that North Korea had requested removal of all propaganda in late May, as North Korea was concerned that South Korea's broadcasts might affect its soldiers. North Korea announced that it would stop running the Voice of National Salvation beginning from August 1 as a part of steps to suspend propaganda as agreed at the 11th ministerial talk between North and South. At the executive meeting between North and South Korean military officials in the truce village of Panmunjeom on July 20, 2005, the North and South again confirmed that both would complete the process of dismantling propaganda installations along the DMZ. Thus, North Korea is in need of creating an alternative tool to operate psychological warfare that can have more influence on South Korea while it is less affected. Besides, political divisions in South Korean society might have provided a favorable condition to North Korea. As one of the goals of psychological warfare is to manipulate tensions in the enemy's society, North Korea would take advantage of the social fissures in South Korea. South Korea has experienced significant change in the political arena since the beginning of the new millennium. Different voices of minority groups are now gaining over-exposure in public debates, especially on the Internet Web sites, and it is thus becoming easy to magnify conflicts of views. The gap in approaches toward North Korea has widened within the governmental organizations and political parties. As tension among political parties can be increased to breaking point, North Korea might attempt to cause frictions and conflicts of political confidence and interests.

22 The fact that North and South Korea agreed on the removal of all forms of propaganda materials along the DMZ blocked ways to wage psychological warfare toward South Korea. Both sides promised to stop by June 15, 2004 all distracting propaganda, including broadcasts and brochures, and not to resume similar activities.

Third, at the domestic level, North Korea has developed an IT industry while still isolating its people from the outside world. North Korea has strived to create the basic infrastructure it needs to conduct psychological warfare through the Internet since 2000. With efforts focusing on boosting the North Korean economy through development of its IT industry, North Korea focused first on software and later on telecommunication and the Internet.²³ North Korea has recently produced its own Pentium IV PC as well as portable amplifier, notebook computer, and other new hardware items, showing significant progress in building up sufficient infrastructure based on the IT industry, although it is still relatively undeveloped.²⁴ In addition, the North Korean government has stepped up its efforts to provide IT education for young people. The North Korea program education center conducts research on establishing IT education infrastructure in universities and publishes IT related textbooks for teachers and students. The Korean Central News Agency has allegedly reported that 120 IT-related books were distributed through a computer network and 20 textbooks for “computer elites” were published.²⁵ The Kim Il Sung University recently started to place emphasis on producing young IT experts who have world-class competence through intensified elite courses.²⁶ Almost 1,400 students are enrolled in the department of computer science at the Kim Il Sung University and through an exchange program, almost 120 foreign students are studying at the Kim Il Sung University.²⁷ The North Korean government assists promising students to study in

23 It was late 1986 when North Korea brought *Hangeul DOS* from China and later began to produce its own software products in 1988. North Korea developed its new program *Changdeok* in September 1990, and *Dangun* in 1996. North Korea developed software such as *Baegeum*, *Samcheonri* and *Seomgwang* that are currently exported to abroad. North Korea has established an *Achim-Panda Computer*, a joint corporation, in September 2002 and produced over 130,000 assembled 586 computers and 100,000 monitors every year.

24 “Interview with President Jo Nam Ho,” *Chosun Shinbo*, March 15, 2003.

25 Jeong Sangyong, “North Korea, undertaking diverse IT projects,” *Yonhap News*, May 29, 2003.

26 Jeong Junyoung, “Kim Il Sung University, intensifies IT elite education,” *Yonhap News*, Jan. 4, 2004.

27 “North Korea, searching for economic rehabilitation through IT evolution,” *Kyoto Tongshin*, May 12, 2004.

China, Russia and European countries to educate them and provide incentives such as exemption from military service, party membership, doctoral degrees and many other prizes.²⁸ While North Korea educates the young generation as potential warriors in the new psychological warfare, it refuses accessibility to the outside world out of fear that it might undermine North Korea's system. The important thing is that North Korea prevents its people from having access to the Internet with an excuse that it needs to protect its regime from external influences. Pyongyang has made clear that only several thousand people, who had a phone line with international connections, have been approved to be connected to the Internet.²⁹ Thus, North Korea's psychological warfare is one-directional in this case, which means that South Koreans are vulnerable to the influence of North Korea's propaganda through the Internet.

Trends in North Korea's Psychological Warfare through the Internet

The fact that North Korea has progressed in establishing infrastructure to operate psychological warfare through the Internet reveals the commitment of the North Korean government in conducting a new kind of psychological warfare. Through continuous efforts since the early 2000s, North Korea has launched a new form of operation in cyber space.

North Korea's efforts to switch its psychological warfare from offline to online have clearly already taken off. There are many evidences that the North Korean government has an intention to utilize the Internet as a means of achieving its political goals. North Korea's Joint Chief of Staffs announced that the North Korean government ordered an active use of the Internet and described it as a "gun of guerilla units" because the Internet is a special space, free from debates over violation of the "National Security Law" in February 2003.³⁰ The

28 Ministry of Unification, "North Korea, education of experts in the 3Ts," *Weekly North Korean Report* (Seoul: MOU, Feb. 23, 2004).

29 "North Korea takes baby steps for the Internet," *Korea Herald*, September 1, 2005, p. 4.

30 Lee Sung-seop, "North Korea, Intensifying Psychological Warfare," *Yonhap*

Democratic People's United Front Broadcast Agency sent a message to use the Internet to demonstrate anti-Americanism and anti-war protests in its broadcast, "Let's crush America's blockade" on July 24, 2003. It emphasized the use of Internet Web sites to accelerate participation of people in the fight against the United States.³¹ Rodong Shinmun reported that North Korea would not end its campaign for unification with South Korea although it has stopped broadcasting through the Voice of National Salvation in August 2003.³²

North Korea opened an Internet Web site, "www.dprkorea.com," in October 1999 for the first time in history.³³ North Korea exchanged electronic mail through its Internet Web site, "silibank.com," in late 2001 and the Chosun International Communication Office began international e-mail service in December 2003. North Korea's monthly, Chosun, reported that one of North Korea's Web sites, "Korea Computer Center" began to launch an Internet portal site that uses a Berlin-based Internet web server in June 2004. The North Korean government has made great advances in building up its IT infrastructure as it connected 200 military bases with cables to celebrate the 55th anniversary of KWP in October 2000 and every corner of North Korean society in December 2003.³⁴ Thus, with this new development, North Korea has demonstrated far more progress in launching psychological warfare. The North Korean government has supported many foreign-based Internet Web sites that operate in Japan, America, China and Australia since 1996. In November 2004, the Open University Management Committee and the Voice of National Salvation were temporarily closed but it opened Internet Web sites. Among many newly-emerging Web sites, "uriminzokkiri" was the first official Web site directly run by the North Korean government as a main tool since its launch on April 1, 2003.

News, Feb. 25, 2003.

31 Kim Kui-kun, "Internet for an anti-America and anti-War struggle," *Yonhap News*, July 24, 2003.

32 Kim Sang-hwan, "Minminjeon, campaign for unification will be continued," *Yonhap News*, Aug. 25, 2003.

33 Choi Sun-young, "North Korea Website DPRKOREA Renewed," *Yonhap News*, Aug. 18, 2004.

34 Lee Yu, "North Korean IT industry, great success last year," *Yonhap News*, Jan. 6, 2004.

The National Intelligence Service confirmed on April 23, 2005,³⁵ that ‘uriminzokkiri’ was under direct control of the United Front Department and the Committee on Broadcasting toward South Korea.

By the end of 2002, there were eight official Internet Web sites run by the North Korean government, nine Web sites run by pro-DPRK organizations abroad, 98 Web sites run by pro-DPRK organizations in South Korea, and over 2,000 Web sites run by other minor support groups.³⁶ Foreign-based Internet Web sites are operating in Japan and China under direct and indirect control of the North Korean government.³⁷ Japan-based North Korean Web sites are *Chongryun*, *Baekdu Net*, *Minjushinbo*, and *Bumminryun*; and China-based North Korean Web sites are *Chosun Info Bank*, *Minjok Tongshin*, and *Jinbo Korea*. These Web sites post the original material provided by the United Front department. As of December 31, 2004, North Korean propaganda posted on the South Korean Internet Web sites amounted to 7,751. Among these propaganda items, 2,511 were posted by the National Alliance for Democracy & Reunification of Korea, 755 by *Tongil Youndai*, 667 by the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions and 1,237 by *Jinbo Network* respectively. There were 26.6 million people who are affiliated to these organizations. The ministry of national defense assumed that at least 30,000 people can read North Korean propaganda, given the availability of free access to these pro-DPRK Web sites both within and outside Korea.³⁸

Looking at the details of North Korea’s propaganda materials, we can notice that North Korea’s concern has slightly changed, according to the changing security environment. What is consistent, however, is that North Korea has continued to provoke anti-Americanism in South Korea and gradually emphasized national consciousness by introducing a new term ‘uriminzokkiri.’ Several documents reportedly posted on the North Korean Web sites during 2004–2005 show changes of rhetoric in North Korea’s propaganda. Before the nuclear crisis began, North

35 Jeong Jun-young, “Uriminzokkiri, belongs to North Korea propaganda department,” *Yonhap News*, April 23, 2005.

36 Joint Chief of Staffs, *North Korea’s Recent Psywar*.

37 Kim Sang-hwan, “Pro-DPRK Internet Websites,” *Yonhap News*, Jan. 26, 2004.

38 Joint Chief of Staffs, *North Korea’s Recent Psywar*.

Korea's rhetoric has been mostly related to denunciation of the political conservatives, the superiority of North Korea's system, idolization of the DPRK leader, anti-Americanism, social disturbances and pro-DPRK sentiment. North Korea seemed to slightly shift its target of criticism from South Korea to the United States. The major issues that North Korea's propaganda materials deal with now are anti-Americanism, unity and cooperation between two Koreas, criticism of conservative political parties and individuals. It seems likely that North Korea is gradually shifting much more focus to "national consciousness" and the "three agendas of cooperation" as proclaimed in the June 2002 Joint Declaration. Interestingly, North Korea uses more reserved expressions when it verbally attacks South Korea, while maintaining its hard-line stance toward the United States. This reveals that North Korea is cautious not to provoke unnecessary hatred among South Korean people.

North Korea's recent Internet propaganda shows similar characteristics that have been manifested in the past: bandwagon, fear, double-speak, glittering generalities, and name-calling.

North Korea uses the "bandwagon" strategy to ask if people are "being either with us or against us." Its propaganda appeals to feelings of nationalism as brothers and sisters. It asks South Korean people to stay away from the United States and create solid unity among Koreans. North Korea tries to spread fear throughout South Korean society as it repeats brinkmanship to puzzle and spread anxiety in South Korea.³⁹ North Korea's propaganda warns the audience that disaster will come if South Korea supports the United States and lets the United States army deploy nuclear weapons on the Korean peninsula. Doublespeak was often used to disguise North Korea's actual intention to dominate the southern part of the Korean peninsula in the past. It still tries to reduce worries and tensions by hiding its intention to develop nuclear weapons, although it is clear that North and South are under an armistice and not a peace treaty and North Korea's weapons are still

39 Park Young-su, North Korean delegate, warned South Korea to turn Seoul into a "sea of fire" at the height of the first nuclear crisis in March, 1994. In 2003, North Korea repeated it, saying that area occupied by the United States would be a "sea of fire" when it declared its intention to withdraw from the NPT treaty.

Table 1. Expressions of North Korea's Propaganda

Period	Major Issues	Expressions
2004	Anti-Americanism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The U.S. is an aggressor with antagonism toward Korea and the most dangerous destroyer of global peace - U.S. comments on peace and liberation, are a distortion of truth and mock of justice
	Three agendas of cooperation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - People's solidarity, a weapon far more powerful than nuclear weapons - Realize unification with our own independent force by putting an end to anti-North Korean policy
	Criticism of conservative political party	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Counter-progressive to unification, the concept of our main enemy
2005	Unity of people on Korean peninsula	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The entire Korean peninsula is in danger of nuclear devastation - Promote pan-national protests against the U.S.
	Spirit of "uriminzokkiri"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Spread revolutionary spirit on the Korean peninsula
	Mixture of nationalism and anti-Americanism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cooperation with the U.S. will ultimately lead to annihilation of the Korean people - USFK, hindrance to unification - Anti-American and anti-war protests are the most imminent task of Korean people - Abandon pro-Americanism for the sake of N-S relations

Source: *Yonhap News* (2004–2005).

aimed at South Korea while the two are confronting each other. Vague terms were deliberately constructed to arouse faith and belief that the North Korean government is dedicated to unification, whether or not its method to achieve its political objective—communization of the entire Korean peninsula—is peaceful. Using vague terms with high moral connotations is what North Korea recently often uses to arouse spirit of national unity among South Korean people. North Korea often emphasizes "uriminzokkiri" and "three agendas of cooperation" to make listeners believe the values that North Korea defines. Lastly, name-calling is what North Korea usually uses to denounce the United

States. Exchanging insults seems to be endless as tension over North Korea's nuclear program escalates. North Korea has harshly criticized the Bush administration for its hard-line policy toward North Korea and responds to every word coming from the U.S. government with negative retorts such as "destroyer of peace," "origin of evil," "aggressor on Korean peninsula," etc. Taken together, North Korea is still sending confusing messages through its old propaganda techniques to operate psychological warfare.

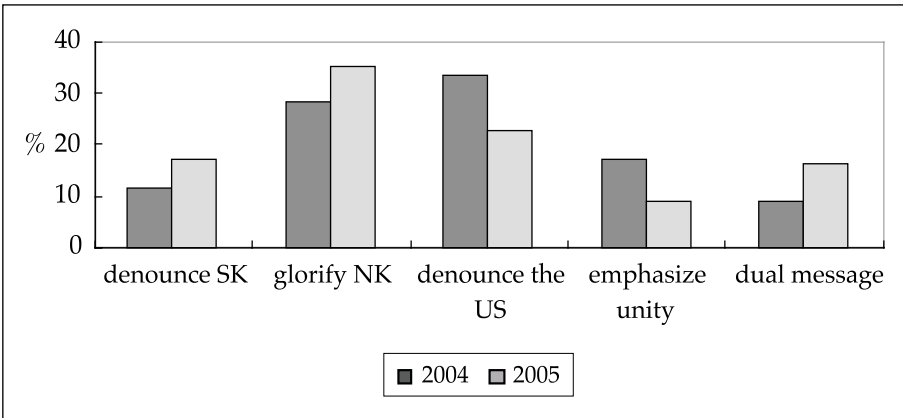
Recent Changes in North Korea's Psychological Warfare through the Internet

On the assumption that North Korea's recent psychological warfare aims to promote a pro-DPRK atmosphere and alienate South Korea from the United States, we can examine how propaganda serves its policy objectives. All of North Korea's propaganda materials can be classified into five broad categories, based on Pyongyang's objectives and its influence: 1) Denounce South Korea, 2) praise the North Korean regime and society, 3) denounce South Korea's allies, 4) promote a cooperative North-South spirit, 5) weaken the ROK-U.S. alliance as it rebukes the United States and appeals to national consciousness at the same time. If the ultimate goal of North Korea's political objective is to bring about North Korean style unification by veiling its real intention in mystery, just criticizing South Korea might be the least effective method, or even counter-productive, but vilifying the United States and evoking a spirit of unity at the same time might double the effectiveness.

North Korea did not merely denounce its targets—either South Korea or the United States—but rather used a dual-strategy to achieve its twin objectives simultaneously in 2005. North Korea's targets of criticism were a specific group—the Grand National Party—and individuals—top officials in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the Ministry of Unification and the Ministry of Defense. Major topics were policies of the South Korean government such as the national security law, North Korean defectors, Northern Limit Line (NLL) clashes, cooperative self-reliant defense, etc.

North Korea's intent to emphasize national consciousness can be seen in the topics of self-praise. Instead of the personality cult of the

Figure 2. NK Propaganda: Frequency



Source: *Yonhap News* (2004–2005).

Kim family and self-praise of the social system, North Korea's main subjects of praise are related to traditional Korean culture—literature, song, dance, and national heritage—and national heroes in ancient times. Quite recently, North Korea has been praising itself for preserving Korea's traditional culture to arouse nostalgia.

North Korea's main target of criticism is of course the United States. Major propaganda topics are the nuclear threat, warning against a preemptive attack on North Korea, human rights issues, Proliferation Security Initiative, Operation Plan, the presence of the USFK and so on. Interestingly, when problematic social issues arise in South Korea, North Korea used to immediately reproach the South Korean government. Nowadays, however, North Korea intentionally makes full use of serious developments or events to criticize the United States. For example, when South Korea's secret nuclear program was revealed, North Korea attributed these problems to the United States. North Korea argued that the United States was responsible for South Korea's nuclear program and that the report was manipulated for America's strategic purposes.

North Korea tries to project a peaceful image of itself and disguise peace by proposing peaceful cooperation between the two Koreas. Its famous "three agendas of cooperation" appeals to national independence, anti-war campaigns and unification to evoke nationalism among

the South Korean people.

Lastly, with a mixture of nationalism and anti-Americanism, North Korea utilizes anti-Americanism to promote a pro-DPRK atmosphere. North Korea takes advantage of tension between South Korea and the United States and its propaganda targets both neutral and liberal groups to justify and rationalize its message.

North Korea’s propaganda materials can be classified into two categories—tactical and strategic propaganda—based on an assumption that the more the Internet becomes vital to North Korea as a tool for psychological warfare, the more likely it is that North Korea might prefer strategic propaganda to tactical propaganda for achieving its long term goal.

Tactical propaganda is a timely propaganda designed to show

Table 2. Subjects of Propaganda

Denounce South Korea	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cooperative self-reliant defense - National security law - NLL clash - North Korean defectors
Praise and idolize North Korea	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Advancement of technology - National heritage - Kim Jong Il’s brilliant skills
Denounce the U.S.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Human Rights Act of 2004 - Presence of USFK - Anti-terrorism campaign - Economic imperialism - Nuclear threat
Emphasize cooperative spirit and unity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - End of confrontation and mistrust - National consciousness - Peaceful unification - Three agenda of cooperation
Dual message: denounce the U.S. and evoke national consciousness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - U.S. opposition to N-S economic cooperation - USFK, hindrance of unification - Territorial sovereignty - Anti-American and anti-War protests

Source: *Yonhap News* (2004–2005).

immediate results: escalating tensions, confusing people before the truth is known, etc. As immediate reaction is good for convincing people to believe the propaganda at face value, North Korea's tactical propaganda might be more effective for an exchange of denunciation within a limited time frame. Strategic propaganda on the other hand pursues rather long-term goals: weakening antagonism, changing attitudes toward North Korea, etc. North Korea might use strategic propaganda on a regular base without a specific reason to infuse people with its own ideas and values through repetition of the message. Thus we can assume that tactical propaganda was utilized when the message was to respond to a certain event for a specific purpose and strategic propaganda was used when the message was not related to a certain event or when there was no particular reason at all.

It has emerged that strategic propaganda amounted to almost 61.05 percent and tactical propaganda amounted to 38.95 percent among propaganda-related materials posted on the Internet sites from January 2004 to June 2005. Interestingly, North Korea's psychological warfare through the Internet is changing from tactical to strategic propaganda. The amount of strategic propaganda increased from 55.6 percent to 67.5 percent, while the amount of tactical propaganda decreased from 44.4 percent to 32.5 percent between 2004 and 2005. This means that North Korea sees the Internet as an efficient tool to realize its long-term strategy rather than an ad hoc tool to merely respond to a certain event.

A more detailed comparison of North Korea's propaganda materials disseminated between 2004 and 2005 shows that there have been some meaningful changes in North Korea's psychological warfare tactics. When it comes to criticizing South Korea, the North responded to certain events if and when necessary. Pyongyang, however, focused more on strategic propaganda when it denounced the United States and Japan in 2005. In cases of sending dual messages—to promote cooperative spirit as well as to damage the alliance between South Korea and the United States—there was more strategic propaganda. North Korea relied more on strategic propaganda when it heaped praises on its own regime and emphasized North-South cooperation. In addition, North Korea highlighted the spirit of national unity at times. This trend signifies that North Korea is determined to attack the ROK-U.S. alliance and promote a pro-DPRK atmosphere in South Korea for achieving its long-

Table 3. North Korea's Strategic and Tactical Propaganda

	Strategic (%)	Tactical (%)
Denounce SK	6.7	26.0
Idolization	47.2	6.7
Denounce the US	17.2	46.2
National unity	11.7	4.8
Dual messages	17.2	16.3

Source: *Yonhap News* (2004–2005).

term objectives.

It is meaningful to examine to what extent North Korea's new psychological warfare is proving effective to determine whether its policy objectives can be achieved in the near future. Many South Korean people are not aware of the significance of North Korea's new psychological warfare. Even at the governmental level, there has been a growing atmosphere to allow free access to pro-DPRK Internet Web sites. Thirty-four Assemblymen in Korea asked the National Assembly to revise the "Law on North-South Exchange Cooperation" on July 4, 2004. This allows access to North Korean Internet Web sites without obtaining prior approval of the Minister of Unification, saying it is an excessive, out-of-date restriction to fine South Korean people who freely visit North Korean Web sites.⁴⁰

A similar movement has grown among civic groups. One of South Korea's monthly magazines, *People*, argued that the South Korean government should close access to 1,000 Web sites for gambling if South Korean people are not allowed access to North Korean Web sites, calling it an unjust measure. On February 28, 2004, civic groups started to collect signatures from one million people, asking the South Korean government to allow contacts with North Korean people via the Internet. These observable events and discernable changes of attitudes represent the effect of North Korea's psychological warfare. It certainly influences the spirit and mood of South Korean people.

40 Cheon Seung-hyun, "Revised Law to allow free Internet Access between North and South Submitted," *Yonhap News*, July 14, 2004.

Implications

The fact that North Korea has manifestly entered a new phase of psychological warfare suggests some implications. First, the scope of influence of North Korea's propaganda has become wider. North Korea's psychological warfare along the DMZ only affected a limited number of people, but with the use of the Internet with its unlimited range of influence North Korea today has a greater influence over more target groups than ever before. IT technology has made it available to anyone with a computer and an Internet connection. A recent study conducted by "Research International Korea" and "Korean Click" in March 2004 showed that almost 69.9 percent of South Korean people use the Internet.⁴¹ Internet users among college students in South Korea comprised up to 94.3 percent, high school students were 98.9 percent, junior high school students were 97.9 percent and elementary school students were 94.9 percent respectively. The number of Internet users is showing an exponential increase and accordingly it needs to be understood that the more familiar people are with the use of the Internet, the higher the risk that South Koreans are exposed to North Korea's psychological warfare. In particular, the fact that young students might be immature and their mental abilities might not be sufficiently developed to make a critical and unbiased judgment based upon their own conviction tells us that the younger generations might be prone to accept unquestioningly the entire message of North Korea's propaganda.

Second, due to the familiarity with Internet usage, the message delivered through North Korea's psychological warfare is becoming generally accepted and is hardly being questioned at all any longer. Repetition of a certain message can brainwash people and, in the end, be accepted as a social norm. Propaganda might also be transmitted implicitly. Propaganda can be transmitted and inculcated as sacrosanct truth, thus establishing it as an accepted fact about a given issue. It is a new phenomenon that even a minor issue involves hot debates in cyberspace nowadays and radical activists make use of cyber-debates

41 RI Korea and Korean Click conducted a survey on Korean people aged from seven to 65 in March 2004. The "8th report on the Internet Usage" assumed, based on their survey result, that 2,708 people in South Korea uses the Internet.

to maximize the spill-over effect to the public in general before civil movements and protests are organized. Debates in cyberspace can easily spawn social movements, as seen in the protest against the USFK in 2002 involving the deaths of two young schoolgirls. In this way, common belief, once formed, might have a tremendous effect on credulous people who blindly accept messages without suspecting their possible falsification. As North Korea's propaganda permeates through South Korean society, it intensifies criticism and reproaches against the United States and specific persons by heightening tensions on the peninsula, falsely labeling ROK-U.S. joint military exercises as 'exercises to attack the North,' carrying out disguised peace offensives, and projecting a peaceful image for itself. Sugar-coated adoration for unification might appeal to South Korean people who can easily sympathize with the spirit of national consciousness, resulting in softening prejudices toward North Korea and altering perceptions of friends and foes.

Third, as it is technically impossible to comprehensively police the Web, it is difficult to check and restrain North Korea's psychological warfare. It is said that cyberspace is a separate global realm. Although South Korean government could block access to 25 pro-DPRK Internet Web sites on November 12, 2004, it is still doubtful where and when North Korea's new psychological warfare is operating. The Internet, by virtue of its basis in global standards and openness, is bound to defeat any major efforts to control access to it. What the South Korean government can do is to control the assignment of names and addresses, but any entity might not be good at managing operations and cutting free flow of information. This "ungovernability" makes it harder to counter-campaign against attempts to spread propaganda. It is also still unresolved how to counter the burgeoning numbers of new pro-DPRK groups. Thus it is likely that North Korea might exploit the lack of an effective monitoring system.

Fourth, due to the obscurity of its message, it is hard to determine whether or not any information posted on the Web sites is related to North Korean psychological warfare. Anonymity that is guaranteed in cyberspace allows information to be indiscriminately disseminated. The fact that most of the pro-DPRK Internet sites, directly and indirectly operated under the supervision of the North Korean government, are foreign-based enables North Korea to disperse grey and black propa-

ganda with ease. It is probable that these Web sites might be purported to have nothing to do with North Korea or their source might be hardly identified. As the influence of pro-DPRK groups and individuals rises in South Korean society and the freedom of expression is guaranteed in democratic society, it becomes harder to draw a clear line between North Korea's propaganda and pro-DPRK sentiments. Under these circumstances, North Korea's propaganda might go unchallenged.

Conclusion

The fundamental goals of North Korea's policy toward South Korea are constant, but nonetheless North Korea's strategies to achieve its political objectives have certainly changed. Psychological warfare through the Internet might be North Korea's new strategy to impose a 'desirable' mental attitude upon the people of South Korea. For North Korea, under the current unfavorable security environment, its renewed capabilities to operate psychological warfare might be another control, next to military, economic and diplomatic power. Therefore, North Korea might be waiting for a culminating point when conditions are mature to achieve its permanent objective—a unified Korea through communization.

As the new information age permits precision-guided propaganda, almost in the same way that modern technology introduces precision-guided bombs, it is timely and necessary to re-examine and revise traditional views regarding the true nature of propaganda. It is important to recognize the significance of psychological warfare through the Internet which has revolutionized the concept of psychological warfare in the 21st century. Clausewitz said that the nature of warfare—a contest of wills—remains unchanged, but the nature of each conflict varies with the intensity of a nation's willpower.⁴² If warfare is not a battle of assets but a battle of wills, asymmetries in the wills of the opponents might bring about favorable conditions to win the battle. Accordingly, efforts should be exerted to raise awareness that propaganda is another

42 Carl von Clausewitz, *On War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 75.

asymmetric military capability between North and South.

Consequently, it is desirable for Seoul to concede that the Internet has already become an intrinsic part of psychological warfare and North Korea's propaganda strategy might therefore become more sophisticated and elaborate. So, the focus should not be limited to defending threats from cyber-terrorism, such as disrupting airlines schedules and attacking banking systems. For this reason, the South Korean government should not only hide the realities of North Korea's psychological warfare from the public but rather make people actively confront it with balanced and critical viewpoints because self-regulation of the propaganda through the Internet is the only way to deal with this psychological warfare. South Korean people, in particular, need to be advised to be aware that they are being continually exposed to North Korea's psychological warfare, while people in the North are not, and that they should therefore avoid uncritical admiration for nationalism. In this regard, individuals, with intangible military power, are players of defensive psychological warfare.

As long as people are exposed to the power of the Internet and media coverage on North Korea it should be recognized that North Korea's endless game continues *ad infinitum*.